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ÆTAT. 70.
I. Sturt sculp
John Walden Citizen of London.
Tabula meritò Votiva in perpetuam rei memoriam.
Cujus in hac humili confusus imagine pendes,
Et maciem hanc spectas pallidaq ora senis:

OF

# MATTERS

MOST.

## Special and Memorable,

Happening in the

WITH AN

## Univerſal HISTORY

Of the ſame.

Wherein is ſet forth at Large, the whole Race and Courſe of the CHURCH, from the Primitive Age to theſe later Times of Ours, with the Bloody Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Perſecutions againſt the true MARTYRS of Chriſt,

Sought and Wrought as well by Heathen Emperors, as now lately practiſed by *Romiſh* Prelates, eſpecially in this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*.

Now again, as it was Recognized, Peruſed, and Recommended to the Studious Reader, by the Author,

Whereunto are annexed certain Additions of like PERSECUTIONS which have happened in theſe Later Times.

To which alſo is added the LIFE of the AUTHOR both in *Latine* and *Engliſh*.

The Ninth Edition.

Apoc. 7. *Salus ſedenti ſuper Thronum & Agno.*

*LONDON:*

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## January hath 31. days.

*The Moon XXX.*

| | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | A | 1 | Circumcision. | | |
| | | | *John Wickliff, Preacher, Martyr.* | | 1387 |
| | | 3 | John Aton, Confessor. | | 1382 |
| | | | William Sawtey, Priest, martyr. | | 1400 |
| | | 5 | Swinderby a Priest, martyr. | | |
| 8 | | 6 | Epiphany. | | |
| | | 7 | *Sir Roger Acton, Knight, Martyr.* | | 1401 |
| | | 8 | John Brown, Gentleman, martyr. | | 1413 |
| 5 | | 9 | John Beverly, Preacher, martyr. | | 1413 |
| | c | 10 | Richard Silbeck, martyr. | 14 | 1413 |
| 12 | d | 11 | John Castellane, Doctor, martyr. | 12 | 1521 |
| 2 | e | 12 | Thomas Whittle, Minister, martyr. | 27 | 1525 |
| | f | 13 | Bartlet Green, Gentleman, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| 10 | g | 14 | John Tudson, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| | A | 15 | Thomas Went, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| 18 | b | 16 | Thomas Browne, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| | c | 17 | Isabel Foster, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| 7 | d | 18 | Joan Waste, alias Lashford, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| | e | 19 | John Lomas, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| 15 | f | 20 | Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| 4 | g | 21 | Joan Catmer, martyr. | | |
| 12 | A | 22 | Agnes Snoth, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| | b | 23 | Joan Sole, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| 1 | c | 24 | Will. Waterer, martyr. | | |
| 9 | d | 25 | Conversion of Paul. | | |
| | e | 26 | Stephen Kemp, martyr. | | |
| | | | William Hay, martyr. | 15 | 1556 |
| | | | Thomas Hudson, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| 17 | f | 27 | William Lowicke, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| | g | 28 | Will. Nowting, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| | | | Nicholas Finall, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| 6 | A | 29 | Matthew Bradbridge, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| 14 | b | 30 | *John Philpot, Martyr.* | 16 | 1557 |
| 3 | c | 31 | Thomas Stevens, martyr. | 17 | 1557 |

## February hath 28. days.

*The Moon XXIX.*

| | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | d | 1 | William Thorpe, Priest, Confessor. | | 1407 |
| 11 | e | 2 | Purification of our Lady. | | |
| 19 | f | 3 | John Phaldon, martyr. | | 1413 |
| 8 | g | 4 | Richard Turmine, martyr. | | 1413 |
| | | | Zisca, a Confessor. | | 1416 |
| | A | 5 | *Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Martyr.* | | 1418 |
| 16 | b | 6 | Richard Hoveden, martyr. | | 1430 |
| 5 | c | 7 | Thomas Bagley, Priest, martyr. | | 1431 |
| | d | 8 | Paul Crawes, martyr. | | 1431 |
| 13 | e | 9 | Thomas Rhedon, martyr. | | 1437 |
| 2 | f | 10 | Rainold Pecocke, Bishop, Confessor. | | 1437 |
| | g | 11 | *Sir Roger Oneley, Priest, Martyr.* | | 1 |
| 10 | A | 12 | Elenor Cobham, Gentleman, Confessor. | | |
| | b | 13 | Mother of the Lady Pony, martyr. | | 1490 |
| 18 | c | 14 | Thomas Noyce, martyr. | | 1507 |
| 7 | d | 15 | Thomas Eckles, martyr. | | 1510 |
| | e | 16 | Thomas Bungay, martyr. | | 1511 |
| 15 | f | 17 | *D. Martin Luther, Confessor.* | 18 | 1546 |
| 4 | g | 18 | | | |
| | A | 19 | Pope of Eay, martyr. | | 1512 |
| 12 | b | 20 | Peake, martyr. | | 1512 |
| 1 | c | 21 | George Carpenter, martyr. | 8 | 1527 |
| | d | 22 | *John Rogers, Preacher, Martyr.* | 4 | 1555 |
| 9 | e | 23 | *Lawrence Sanders, Preacher, Martyr.* | 8 | 1555 |
| | f | 24 | *John Hooper, Bishop, Martyr.* | 9 | 1555 |
| 17 | g | 25 | Matthias Apostle. | | |
| 6 | A | 26 | *Rowland Taylor, Doctor, Martyr.* | 9 | 1555 |
| | b | 27 | *Robert Farrar, Bishop, Martyr.* | 22 | 1555 |
| | | | Agnes Potten, martyr. | 19 | 1556 |
| 14 | c | 28 | Trunchfields wife, martyr. | 19 | 1557 |

## March hath 31. days.

*The Moon XXX.*

| | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | d | 1 | William Taylor, martyr. | 2 | 1422 |
| | | | John Wesselianus, a Doctor, martyr. | | 1479 |
| | e | 2 | Doctor Wesselius, alias Basilius, Confessor. | | 1490 |
| 11 | f | 3 | Henry Sutphen, martyr. | | 1524 |
| | g | 4 | John Hougley, martyr. | | 1526 |
| 19 | A | 5 | Petrus Flesedius, martyr. | | 1528 |
| 8 | b | 6 | Adolphus Clabarbius, martyr. | | 1528 |
| | c | 7 | Patrike Hamelton, martyr. | | 1528 |
| 16 | d | 8 | Thomas Hitton, martyr. | | 1530 |
| 5 | e | 9 | *Thomas Bilney, Martyr.* | | 1531 |
| | f | 10 | Davy Foster, martyr. | | 1531 |
| 13 | g | 11 | Edward Freese, Confessor. | | 1531 |
| 2 | A | 12 | Valentine Freese, and his wife, martyrs. | | 1531 |
| | b | 13 | Father Bate, Confessor. | | 1555 |
| | | | Rawling White, martyr. | 5 | 1555 |
| 10 | c | 14 | Thomas Tomkins, martyr. | 15 | 1555 |
| 18 | d | 15 | Thomas Higbed, Gentleman, martyr. | 25 | 1555 |
| | e | 16 | Thomas Cawston, Gentleman, martyr. | 25 | 1555 |
| 7 | f | 17 | William Hunter, martyr. | 25 | 1555 |
| | g | 18 | William Pygot, martyr. | 28 | 1555 |
| 15 | A | 19 | Stephen Knight, martyr. | 28 | 1555 |
| | b | 20 | John Laurence, Minister, martyr. | 29 | 1555 |
| | c | 21 | *Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of* | 21 | 1556 |
| 12 | d | 22 | *Canterbury, Martyr.* | | |
| 1 | e | 23 | Robert Spicer, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | f | 24 | | | |
| 9 | g | 25 | Annunciation of our Lady. | | |
| | A | 26 | William Coverley, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| 17 | b | 27 | Paundzell, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| 6 | c | 28 | Richard Crashfield, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| | d | 29 | Cuthburt Simpson, martyr. | 28 | 1558 |
| 14 | e | 30 | Hugh Fox, martyr. | 28 | 1558 |
| 3 | f | 31 | John Devonish, martyr. | 28 | 1558 |

## April hath 30. days.

*The Moon XXX.*

| | | | | Day of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | g | 1 | Robert Hatches, martyr. | | 1519 |
| | | | Archer, martyr. | | |
| 11 | A | 2 | Hawkins, martyr. | | |
| | | | Thomas Bound, martyr. | | |
| | b | 3 | Wrigsham, martyr. | | |
| 19 | c | 4 | Lansdale, martyr. | 4 | |
| 8 | d | 5 | Pikris's Smith, Widow, martyr. | 4 | 1531 |
| 16 | e | 6 | James Bainham, Gentleman, martyr. | | 1532 |
| 5 | f | 7 | Jo. Awocke, Confessor. | 2 | 1553 |
| | g | 8 | George Marsh, Preacher, martyr. | 24 | 1555 |
| 13 | A | 9 | William Flower, Minister, martyr. | 24 | 1555 |
| 2 | b | 10 | Robert Drakes, Minister, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | c | 11 | Thomas Tyms, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | | | Richard Spurge, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| 10 | d | 12 | Thomas Spurge, martyr. | | |
| | | | John Cavill, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | e | 13 | George Ambrose, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | | | John Harpole, martyr. | | |
| 18 | f | 14 | Joan Bech, martyr. | 1 | 1556 |
| 7 | g | 15 | John Hullier, Minister, martyr. | 2 | 1556 |
| | A | 16 | Christopher Lister, Minister, martyr. | 28 | 1556 |
| 15 | b | 17 | John Hace, martyr. | | 1556 |
| | | | John Spencer, martyr. | 28 | 1556 |
| 4 | c | 18 | Simon Joyne, martyr. | | |
| | d | 19 | Richard Nichol, martyr. | 28 | 1556 |
| 12 | e | 20 | John Hamond, martyr. | 28 | 1556 |
| 1 | f | 21 | St. George, Martyr. | | |
| | g | 22 | Thomas Loseby, martyr. | 12 | 1556 |
| 9 | A | 23 | Mark Evangelist. | | |
| | b | 24 | Henry Ramsey, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| 17 | c | 25 | Thomas Thyrtle, martyr. | 12 | |
| 6 | d | 26 | Margaret Hyde, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| | e | 27 | Agnes Stanley, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| 4 | f | 28 | | | |
| | | 29 | William Nicholl, martyr. | | 1557 |
| | g | 30 | | | 1557 |

| May hath 31. days. *The Moon XXX.* | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | b | 1 | Philip and Jacob, Apostles. | 11 | |
| | c | 2 | *John Hus, Martyr.* | | 1415 |
| 19 | d | 3 | *Hieronymus Savonarola, Martyr.* | 23 | 1599 |
| 8 | e | 4 | Dominick, Martyr. | 23 | 1499 |
| | f | 5 | Sylvester, Martyr. | 23 | 1499 |
| 16 | g | 6 | Peter Roy, Martyr. | | 1531 |
| 5 | A | 7 | Robert King, Martyr. | | 1532 |
| | b | 8 | Robert Debnam, Martyr. | | 1532 |
| 13 | c | 9 | Nicholas Harth, Martyr. | | 1532 |
| 2 | d | 10 | *John Cardmaker*, alias *Tailor, Preacher, Martyr.* | 31 | 1555 |
| | e | 11 | John Warne, Martyr. | 31 | 1555 |
| 10 | f | 12 | Margaret Ellis, Confessor. | 13 | 1556 |
| | g | 13 | Hugh Laverocke, Martyr. | 15 | 1556 |
| 18 | A | 14 | John Appice, Martyr. | 15 | 1556 |
| 7 | b | 15 | Katharine Hut, Widow, Martyr. | 16 | 1556 |
| | c | 16 | Elizabeth Thacknel, Martyr. | 16 | 1556 |
| 15 | d | 17 | Joan Hoynes, Martyr. | 16 | 1556 |
| | e | 18 | A blind Boy, and another with him, Martyrs. | 5 | 1556 |
| | f | 19 | Thomas Spicer, Martyr. | 21 | 1556 |
| 12 | g | 20 | John Denny, Martyr. | 21 | 1556 |
| 1 | A | 21 | William Poole, Martyr. | 21 | 1556 |
| | b | 22 | John Slely, Confessor. | 30 | 1556 |
| 9 | c | 23 | William Nozant, Martyr. | 29 | 1557 |
| | d | 24 | Stephen Gratwike, Martyr. | 29 | 1557 |
| 17 | e | 25 | John Thurstone, Confessor. | | 1557 |
| 6 | f | 26 | William Seaman, Martyr. | 19 | 1558 |
| | g | 27 | Thomas Carman, Martyr. | 19 | 1558 |
| 14 | A | 28 | Thomas Hudson, Martyr. | 19 | 1558 |
| 3 | b | 29 | William Harris, Martyr. | 26 | 1558 |
| | c | 30 | Richard Day, Martyr. | 26 | 1558 |
| 11 | d | 31 | Christian George, Martyr. | 26 | 1558 |

| June hath 30. days. *The Moon XXIX.* | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | e | 1 | *Hierome of Prague, Martyr.* | 1 | 1516 |
| 19 | f | 2 | Anne Askew, Martyr. John Lacels, Gent. Martyr. Nicholas Belman, Martyr. | | 1546 |
| 8 | g | 3 | Thomas Hawkes, Martyr. Thomas Wats, Martyr. John Simpson, Martyr. | 10 | 1555 |
| 16 | A | 4 | John Ardley, Martyr. Nich. Chamberlain, Mart. Thomas Holmond, Martyr. | 14 | 1555 |
| 5 | b | 5 | Will. Bamford, Martyr. Thomas Harland, Martyr. | 15 6 | 1555 1556 |
| | c | 6 | John Oward, Martyr. Thomas Read, Martyr. | 20 | |
| 13 | d | 7 | Thomas Abington, Martyr. Thomas Wood, Minister, Martyr. | | |
| 2 | e | 8 | Thomas Milles, Martyr. | | |
| | f | 9 | William Adherall, Minister, Confessor. | 23 | |
| 10 | g | 10 | John Clement, Confessor. Henry Adlington, Martyr. | 25 26 | 1556 |
| | A | 11 | Law. Perman, Martyr. Henry Wice, Martyr. | 27 | |
| 18 | b | 12 | William Halliwell, Martyr. Thomas Bowyer, Martyr. George Serle, Martyr. | 27 | |
| 7 | c | 13 | Edmund Hurst, Martyr. Lion Cawch. | 27 27 | 1556 |
| | d | 14 | Ralph Jackson, Martyr. John Derifall, Martyr. | 27 | |
| 15 | e | 15 | John Roth, Martyr. Elizabeth Pepper, Martyr. | 27 | |
| 4 | f | 16 | Agnes George, Martyr. Thomas Parret, Confessor. | 27 | 1556 |
| | g | 17 | Hunt and Ambrose, Conf. | 28 | |
| 12 | A | 18 | John Noice, Confessor. Roger Bernard, Martyr. Adam Foster, Martyr. Robert Lawson, Martyr. | 29 | |
| 1 | b | 19 | Walter Apleby, and Petronell his wife, Martyrs. | 30 | 1557 |
| | c | 20 | Edmund Allen, and Katharine his wife, Martyrs. | 18 | |
| 9 | d | 21 | John Bradbridge, Martyr. John Manning, Martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| | e | 22 | Eliz. a blind Maid, Martyr. Thomas Noze, Martyr. | | |
| | f | 23 | Nichol. White, Martyr. | | |
| 17 | | | Nichol. Pardue, Martyr. John Filycocke, Martyr. | 19 | 1557 |
| 6 | g | 24 | Barbara Finall, Martyr. Bradbridges Wife, Martyr. | | |
| | A | 25 | Bendens wife, and Willons wife, Martyrs. | 19 | 1557 |
| 14 | b | 26 | Rich. Woodman, Martyr. Nat. of S. John Baptist. G. Stephens, Will. Maynard, Martyrs. | 22 | 1557 |
| 3 | c | 27 | Margery Noice, James Noice Son, Dennys Burges, Asdownes wife, Groves wife, Martyrs. | 22 | 1557 |
| | d | 28 | Henry Pond, Martyr. Richard Etland, Martyr. | 27 | 1557 |
| 11 | e | 29 | Robert Southam, Martyr. Matthew Ricarby, Martyr. Peter and Paul. John Loyd, Martyr. John Holiday, Martyr. | | |
| | f | 30 | Roger Holland, Martyr. | 27 | 1557 |

| July hath 31. days. *The Moon XXX.* | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | g | 1 | Henry Aloz, Martyr.<br>John Elch, Martyr. | 1 | 1522 |
| 8 | A | 2 | *John Frith, Martyr.* | 4 | 1523 |
| | b | 3 | Andrew Hewet, Martyr.<br>Anthony Person, Martyr.<br>Robert Testwood Martyr. | 18 | 1543 |
| 16 | c | 4 | Henry Filmoze, Martyr. | | |
| 5 | d | 5 | *John Bradford, Preacher, Martyr.* | 1 | 1555 |
| | e | 6 | John Leake, Martyr. | | |
| 13 | f | 7 | John Pelley, Martyr. | | |
| 2 | g | 8 | William Ming, Minister, Martyr. | 2 | 1555 |
| | A | 9 | Richard Hook, Martyr. | | |
| 10 | b | 10 | John Bland Preacher, Martyr. | 12 | 1555 |
| | c | 11 | John Frank, Martyr. | | |
| 18 | d | 12 | Humfrey Middleton, Martyr. | 12 | 1555 |
| 7 | e | 13 | Nich. Sheterden, Martyr. | 12 | 1555 |
| | f | 14 | William Dighel, martyr. | | |
| 15 | g | 15 | Dirike Carver, martyr.<br>John Launder, martyr. | 12 | 1555 |
| | | | Thomas Iveson, martyr. | 13 | 1555 |
| 4 | A | 16 | Nicholas Hall, martyr.<br>John Alewath, Confessor. | | |
| | | | John Careles, Confessor. | 1 | 1556 |
| | b | 17 | John Guin, martyr. | | |
| 12 | c | 18 | Julius Palmer, a Schoolmaster, and Askine, martyrs. | 16 | 1556<br>1556 |
| 1 | d | 19 | Katharine Cauches, and Perotine Mally, with her Child not one hour old, and Guillemme Gilbert, martyrs. | 17 | 1556 |
| | e | 20 | | | |
| 9 | f | 21 | | | |
| | g | 22 | Thomas Dungate, martyr. | | |
| 17 | A | 23 | John Foxeman, martyr. | 18 | 1556 |
| 6 | b | 24 | Simon Miller, martyr. | | |
| | c | 25 | Elizabeth Cooper martyr. | 13 | 1556 |
| | | | *Mary Magdalene.* | | |
| 14 | d | 26 | Richard Yeoman, Minister, martyr. | 10 | 1558 |
| 3 | e | 27 | William Pikes, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |
| | | | *James Apostle.* | | |
| | f | 28 | Stephen Cotton, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |
| | | | John Slade, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |
| 1 | g | 29 | Stephen Wight, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |
| | | | Robert Wiles, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |
| | A | 30 | Robert Dines, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |
| 19 | b | 31 | Thomas Benbrick, Gentleman, martyr. | 14 | 1558 |

| August hath 31. days. *The Moon XXX.* | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | c | 1 | Leonard Keyfar, martyr. | 16 | 1527 |
| 16 | d | 2 | James Abbes, martyr. | | 1555 |
| 5 | e | 3 | John Denley, Gentleman, martyr. | 8 | 1555 |
| | f | 4 | John Newman, martyr. | 28 | 1555 |
| 13 | g | 5 | Patricke Patingham, martyr. | 28 | 1555 |
| 2 | A | 6 | William Coker, martyr. | 23 | 1555 |
| | b | 7 | William Hopper, martyr. | 23 | 1555 |
| 10 | c | 8 | Henry Laurence, martyr. | 23 | 1555 |
| | d | 9 | Richard Collier, martyr. | 23 | 1555 |
| 18 | e | 10 | William Steere, martyr. | 23 | 1555 |
| 7 | f | 11 | Richard Wright, martyr. | 23 | 1555 |
| | g | 12 | Elizabeth Warne, martyr. | | |
| 15 | A | 13 | George Tankerfield, martyr. | 26 | 1555 |
| 4 | b | 14 | Richard Smith, martyr. | 8 | 1555 |
| | c | 15 | Stephen Harwood, martyr. | 30 | 1555 |
| 2 | d | 16 | Thomas Fuller, martyr. | 30 | 1555 |
| 1 | e | 17 | William Haile, martyr. | 31 | 1555 |
| | f | 18 | Robert Samuel, Preacher, martyr. | 31 | 1555 |
| 9 | g | 19 | Joan Waste, martyr. | | 1556 |
| | A | 20 | William Pongeoz, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 17 | b | 21 | Robert Purcas, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 6 | c | 22 | Thomas Hennald, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| | d | 23 | Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 14 | e | 24 | Bartholomew, Apostle. | | |
| | | | Ellen Ewring, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 3 | f | 25 | Elizabeth Folks, Maid, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| | g | 26 | William Munt, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 11 | A | 27 | Alice Munt, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 19 | b | 28 | Rose Allin, Maid, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| | c | 29 | John Johnloy, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| 8 | d | 30 | George Eagles, martyr. | 2 | 1557 |
| | e | 31 | One Frier, and the said George Eagles Sister, martyrs. | 2 | 1557 |

| | | | September hath 30. days. *The Moon XXIX.* | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | f | 1 | Father Abraham, martyr. | | 1428 |
| 5 | g | 2 | William Wright, Priest, martyr. | | 1428 |
| | | | John Waddon, Priest, martyr. | | 1428 |
| | A | 3 | William Gardiner, martyr. | | 1552 |
| 13 | b | 4 | William Allen, martyr. | | 1555 |
| | | | Thomas Cob, martyr. | | 1555 |
| | | | Thomas Coo, martyr. | | 1555 |
| 2 | c | 5 | William Andrew, Confessor. | | |
| 10 | d | 6 | Thomas King, Confessor. | | |
| 18 | e | 7 | Thomas Leig, Confessor. | 5 | 1555 |
| | f | 8 | George Catmer, martyr. | 6 | 1555 |
| 7 | g | 9 | Robert Streater, martyr. | | 1555 |
| | A | 10 | Anthony Burward, martyr. | | 1555 |
| | b | 11 | George Bradbridge, martyr. | 6 | |
| | | | James Tutty, martyr. | | |
| 15 | c | 12 | Thomas Hayward, martyr. | | 1555 |
| | | | John Goseway, martyr. | | 1555 |
| | | | Robert Glover, martyr. | 20 | 1555 |
| 4 | d | 13 | Cornelius Bungay, martyr. | 8 | 1556 |
| | e | 14 | Edward Sharpe, martyr. | | |
| | | | John Hart, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| 12 | f | 15 | Thomas Ravensdale, a Shoomaker or a Currier, martyr. | 25 | 1556 |
| 1 | g | 16 | John Hyne and another [illegible] martyrs. | 20 | 1556 |
| | A | 17 | John Kurd, martyr. | 23 | 1557 |
| | b | 18 | Cicelie Dynes, martyr. | | |
| | | | Joyce Lewis, martyr. | 10 | 1557 |
| 9 | c | 17 | Ralph Allerton, martyr. | 17 | 1557 |
| 17 | d | 20 | Richard Roth, martyr. | | |
| 6 | e | 21 | Matthew Apostle. | | |
| | | | James Auko and Margery his Wife, martyrs. | 17 | 1557 |
| | f | 22 | Agnes Bongeor, martyr. | 17 | 1557 |
| 14 | g | 23 | Par. Thurstone, martyr. | | |
| 3 | A | 24 | John Warne, martyr. | | 1557 |
| | b | 25 | Christian Glover, martyr. | | |
| 11 | c | 26 | Thomas Athath, martyr. | | |
| 19 | d | 27 | John Athdone, martyr. | | 1557 |
| | e | 28 | Thomas Spurdaunce, martyr. | | 1557 |
| 8 | f | 29 | Michael Archangel. | | |
| | g | 30 | John Foxton, martyr. | | 1557 |

| | | | October hath 31. days. *The Moon XXX.* | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | A | 1 | Bartholet Millon, martyr. | | 1534 |
| | b | 2 | John de Burge, a rich Merchant, martyr. | | 1534 |
| 3 | c | 3 | The Receiver of Maunts, martyr. | | 1534 |
| 2 | d | 4 | Henry Polle, martyr. | | 1534 |
| | | | Catelle, a School-Mistris, martyr. | | |
| | e | 5 | Stephen de la Foarge, a Merchant, martyr. | | 1534 |
| 10 | f | 6 | *William Tyndall, Martyr.* | | 1534 |
| | g | 7 | William Leyton, martyr. | | 1536 |
| 8 | A | 8 | Puttedew, martyr. | | 1537 |
| 7 | b | 9 | John Lambert, alias Nicolson, martyr. | | 1537 |
| | c | 10 | Collins, martyr. | | 1538 |
| | | | Cowbridge, martyr. | | 1538 |
| 15 | d | 11 | Peter, a Germain, martyr. | | 1539 |
| 4 | e | 12 | Lancelot, martyr. | | 1539 |
| | | | John a Painter, martyr. | | 1539 |
| | f | 13 | Giles Germane, martyr. | | |
| 12 | g | 14 | Robert Barnes, martyr. | | 1539 |
| | | | Thomas Garrard, martyr. | | 1539 |
| 1 | A | 15 | William Hierome, martyr. | | 1541 |
| | b | 16 | William Wolsey, martyr. | 4 | 1555 |
| 9 | c | 17 | Robert Pygot, martyr. | 4 | 1555 |
| | d | 18 | Luke Evangelist. | | |
| 17 | e | 19 | *Nicholas Ridley, Bishop, Martyr.* | 16 | 1555 |
| 6 | f | 20 | *Hugh Latimer, Bishop, Martyr.* | | 1555 |
| | g | 21 | John Web, Gent. martyr. | 31 | 1555 |
| | | | George Roper, martyr. | | |
| | | | Gregory Packe, martyr. | | |
| 14 | A | 22 | Adam Walles, martyr. | 12 | 1551 |
| 3 | b | 23 | Mark Burges, martyr. | | |
| | c | 24 | William Hooker, martyr. | | 1556 |
| 11 | d | 25 | Simson, Priest, Webereeh Frier, Reyler black Frier, Davy Straton, Gentleman, Norman Goley, Vicar of Dolor, Black Canon, with four other martyrs. | | |
| 19 | e | 26 | | | |
| | f | 27 | | | |
| 8 | g | 28 | Simon and Jude. | | |
| | A | 29 | Three died in prison at Cicester, Confessors. | 18 | 1556 |
| 16 | b | 30 | Mother Seaman, Confessor. | | 1556 |
| 5 | c | 31 | Mother Bennet, Confessor. | | 1556 |

## November hath 30. days.

*The Moon XXIX.*

| | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | d | 1 | The Feast of all Saints. | | |
| 13 | e | 2 | Richard Yekings, martyr. | | 1541 |
| 2 | f | 3 | Richard Spenser, martyr. | | 1541 |
| | g | 4 | Andrew Hewet, martyr. | | 1541 |
| 10 | A | 5 | John Potter, Confessor. | | 1542 |
| | b | 6 | Thomas Bernard, martyr. | | 1542 |
| 18 | c | 7 | James Poxton, martyr. | | 1542 |
| 7 | d | 8 | George Wilehart, Gentleman, martyr. | | 1546 |
| | e | 9 | John Kerby, martyr. | | 1546 |
| 15 | f | 10 | Roger Clarke, martyr. | | 1546 |
| 4 | g | 11 | Richard Bayfield, alias Somerham, martyr. | 20 | 1531 |
| | A | 12 | John Clarke, Confessor. | | 1556 |
| 12 | b | 13 | Dunstane Chittenden, Confessor. | | 1556 |
| 1 | c | 14 | William Foster, martyr. | | 1556 |
| | d | 15 | Alice Potkins, Confessor. | | 1556 |
| | | | John Archer, Confessor. | | 1556 |
| 9 | e | 16 | Hooke, martyr. | | 1556 |
| | f | 17 | Jo. Hallingdale, martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| 17 | g | 18 | William Sparrow, martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| 6 | A | 19 | Richard Gibson, Gentleman, martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| 14 | b | 20 | Sander Gouch, martyr. | 4 | 1558 |
| | c | 21 | Elizabeth Dyver, martyr. | 4 | 1558 |
| 3 | d | 22 | Phil. Humfrey, martyr. | 5 | 1558 |
| | e | 23 | John Davy, martyr. | 5 | 1558 |
| 11 | f | 24 | Henry Davy, martyr. | 5 | |
| 19 | g | 25 | John Cornforth, martyr. | 5 | 1558 |
| | A | 26 | Christopher Brown, martyr. | 10 | 1558 |
| 8 | b | 27 | John Herst, martyr. | 10 | 1558 |
| | c | 28 | Alice Snoth, martyr. | 10 | 1558 |
| 10 | d | 29 | Katherine Knight, martyr. | 10 | 1558 |
| 5 | e | 30 | Andrew Apostle. | | |

## December hath 31. days.

*The Moon XXX.*

| | | | | Days of their death. | Year of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | f | 1 | William Tracy, Esquire, Confessor. | | 1534 |
| | | | | | 1545 |
| 13 | g | 2 | Peter Sapience, martyr. | | |
| 2 | A | 3 | George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, martyr. | | |
| | b | 4 | An old man of Buckinghamshire, martyr. | | 1531 |
| | c | 5 | Two grey Friers martyrs. | | 1582 |
| 10 | d | 6 | John Hilton Confessor. | | 1513 |
| | e | 7 | John Coignes, Confessor. | | 1517 |
| 18 | f | 8 | Robert Ward, Confessor. | | 1517 |
| 7 | g | 9 | A Scholar of Abbeville, martyr. | | 1522 |
| | A | 10 | A Jew, martyr. | | 1528 |
| | b | 11 | Richard Hunne, martyr. | 4 | 1515 |
| 15 | c | 12 | John Tewkesbury, martyr. | 20 | 1531 |
| 4 | d | 13 | James Goze, Confessor. | 7 | 1555 |
| | e | 14 | William Wileman, Confessor. | 13 | 1555 |
| 12 | f | 15 | John Philpot, Preacher, martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| | g | 16 | John Rough, Preacher, martyr. | 22 | 1557 |
| 1 | A | 17 | Margaret Pering, martyr. | | 1558 |
| | b | 18 | Thomas Tyler, Confessor. | | 1558 |
| 9 | c | 19 | Matthew Withers, Confessor. | | 1558 |
| 17 | d | 20 | Dale Confessor. | | 1550 |
| 6 | e | 21 | Thomas Apostle. | | |
| | f | 22 | William Plaine. | | |
| | g | 23 | Elizabeth Lawson, Confessor. | | 1550 |
| 14 | A | 24 | John Glover, Confessor. | | |
| | | | Nicholas Burton, martyr. | 22 | 1562 |
| 3 | b | 25 | Nativity of our Lord. | | |
| 11 | | | Stephen, Martyr. | | |
| | | | John Evangelist. | | |
| | | | Childermals, | | |
| 19 | c | 26 | Thomas Rhedondensis, an Earl, martyr. | | 1336 |
| | d | 27 | Picus Mirandula, Confessor. | | 1497 |
| 8 | e | 28 | Erasmus Roterodamus, Confessor. | | 1513 |
| 16 | f | 29 | Martin Bucer, Confessor. | | 1545 |
| | | | Paul. Phagius, Confessor. | | 1551 |
| | | | Philip Melancthon, Confessor. | | 1559 |
| 5 | g | 30 | Peter Martyr, Confessor. | | 1462 |
| 5 | A | 31 | *King Edward the sixth, Confessor.* | | 1553 |

AD

# DOMINUM

## Jeſum Chriſtum

## SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMUM,

Euchariſticon

# JOHANNIS FOXI.

CONfecto nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auſpiciis ac voluntate aggreſſus (ſumme & adorande Jeſu, idemque Servator clementiſſime) inchoavi, quodq; demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque abſolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: ſupereſt itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votiva tabula, gratias, ſi non quantas debeat (utinam enim id poſſit) at quantas queat maxime, munificentiſſimæ tuæ perſolvat Majeſtati; quæ tam miſerum homuncionem, vel ſyphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantiſque iſtis, qui vel aſellum quemvis ἀχθοφόρον poſſent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno ſucceſſu ac ſolatio tam clementer ſuffulſerit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic cauſari attinet, quæ vix æſtimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majeſtas, hujus, qualecunque ſit, negotii confectio, quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigiliis, moleſtiis conſtitit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri eſſemus, niſi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affulſiſſet, ac ſeſe quodam modo admiſcuiſſet operi. Quid ni enim fatear ac teſter ingenuè, quod re ipſa experti ſumus? Perſenſimus enim, peneque oculis ipſis conſpeximus, ſingularem excelſæ dextræ tuæ ἐνεργείαν non modo in ſucceſſu negotii provehendo, ſed in vita etiam ſpiritúque inter labores conſervando. Tui igitur muneris eſt (clementiſſime Jeſu) quòd opus tuis ſuſceptum auſpiciis huc uſque provectum ſit. Nos viciſſim, quod noſtri ſit officii, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum noſtro privatim, tum publico quodammodo Eccleſiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti cauſam Martyrum tuorum æſtimes, quando eorum illuſtrando nomini tantâ faveas propenſione. Quanquam verò ſi nunc ex extaret eorum recordatio, non poſſent non omnibus modis eſſe illuſtriſſimi, quorum ſint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inſcripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majeſtas, nobiſque innoteſcere hominibus, quàm honorificum ſit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo ſic vindicas, ſic cauſam tueris, ſic dignitatem illuſtras, ut eandem cum gloriæ fœnore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm ſi ipſi nunquam alioqui perdidiſſent. Habet ſiquidem peculiare hoc ſibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diverſum, quod in caſtris tuis militantes ſive vivant, ſive moriantur, multò clareſcant à funere fœlicius, quam ſi vixiſſent maximé.

*Auxilium Chriſtum in concinnando hoc opere.*

Sic *Crannerum* videmus, *Ridleum*, *Latimerum*, *Johannem Hooperum*, *Bradfordum*, cæteróſque ejuſdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuiſſe cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quam ſi, relicta ſtatione in qua erant collocati, ſaluti ipſi ſuæ cauſam tuam poſtpoſuiſſent. Quæ enim gens, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetuſtàs, quæ hominum poſteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoſcet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis *Wiclevum* unquam, aut *Cobhamum* natum fuiſſe exiſtimaſſet, niſi tua in cauſa tam egiſſent ſtrenuè? Quanto honori illud *Huſſio Bokemenſi*, noſtróque *Tindalo* fuit, quòd vitam in Evangelii tui cauſa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipſi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diverſa parte adverſarios tuos, quorum tam multas eſſe conſtat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adverſus tuos, multaq; item occultè & ſceleſtè ab iiſdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam ſperabant fore palam: & tamen quid unquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis eſt deſignatum tam occultè adverſus Eccleſiam, quod non in apricum produxit tua producétque providentia? Atq; ita produxit, ut unde ipſi laudis ſibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde ſummum ſibiipſis dedecus peperierint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis *Guiſos*, *Bonneros*, *Storios*, *Gardineros*, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterebit dies, aut ſepeliet memoria? Etquid hos in tanta multitudine hoſtium tuorum recenſeo? Cui unquam proſperè ceſſit tuo rebellare numini, aut hoſtium ſe Eccleſiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celèbre & glorioſum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probroſius? Cardinalitium faſtigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multáq; proſequi reverentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum Collegia ſuum quondam habebant plauſum apud plebem ſimplicem & credulam. At poſtquam ſpreta veritate tua cœperunt grafſari contra te, tuorúmque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem ſunt prolapſi (exceptis paucis

*Felix ac glorioſum pro Chriſto mortem oppetere.*

*Papæ nomen nunc probroſum. Cardinalium Monachorum, Nonarum nomina adhuc nominiſam nunc relicta.*

lucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua fex nihil aliud jam eſſe præter vocabula quædam ad ignominia relicta videatur.

Hæc nimirum (ſanctiſſime Domine ac Deus noſter) juſtiſſimi judicii tui ſunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æſtimare ſit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi ſint, quos in hoc ipſo ſeculo, hoc eſt, in ſuo ipſorum Regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omiſſis his, ad ſanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine meritò à nobis perenne velut ſacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuæ debetur, ſimul & habetur, bonitati. Primùm, quòd in Eccleſiæ tuæ cauſa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem ſpiritum omnibúſque tormentis majorem adverſus parricidas Papiſtas ſubminiſtraſti. Deinde quòd & nobis in illorum deſudantibus hiſtoria propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur & hoc privatim meo quoque nomine ſingulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, quantum tu ſolus noviſti, laboris immenſitate conſervatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effuſiſſimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammas & cineres adegerit perverſitas, cauſam & innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiámque Eccleſiæ tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus ſit. Etſi enim dubium non eſt, quin in ſupremo illo judicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum movebuntur, omnis eorum ad amuſſim excutietur cauſa ante tribunal tuum, eſt tamen aliquid hîc quoque in Eccleſia tua, cauſam ipſorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipſorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia conſtare poterit, non quid ipſi ſolum fecerint, ſed quid & nobis eorum ſit exemplo faciendum.

*Deploratio noſtrorum tum & ſuorum.*

Sed hîc rurſus (dulciſſime Jeſu) opus eſt benigno favoris tui præſidio. Nos enim qui filii Martyrum tuorum ſumus, quoſque maximè majores noſtros imitari conveniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ ſolam hanc, quam ſuo partam ſanguine relinquerunt, libertatem: Qua etiam ipſa nimiùm abutimur intemperanter, ut jam periculum ſit, ne non filii modò Martyrum, ſed ne fratres quidem ipſorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim interſit diſcriminis, quamque prorſus diſconvenit ordine toto noſtra Conſuetudo ab illorum veſtigiis & Diſciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cujus nihil non perſpicit Majeſtas ac intuetur? Quanto illis ſtudio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque, adeoque ſeipſos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus deſideriis flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas ſpernere? Nec ſinebant pericula undique imminentia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, noſtra nunc vita, ſtudium, omníſque adeo contentio, quid niſi mundum ſpirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur & ambitus? Ac illi quam præclarè ſecum actum putaſſent, ſi vel vivere modò licuiſſet. Ideoque multi fuere eorum, qui *Mariæ* Reginæ facultates & poſſeſſiones omnes aduſque extremum aſſem obtulerunt, dummodo ſolam ipſis remitteret conſcientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec unus nec mediocris victus poſſit eſſe ſatis? Sine modo, ſine fine, opibus, Sacerdotis, cenſuique dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non ut vivamus ſolùm, verùm ut ſublimes vivamus & honorati? De fide, de manſuetudine eorum, tolerantia, ſimplicitate, ac patentia incredibili, quid dici ſatis poteſt? Quanta conſtantia, qua animi alacritate perpeſſi ſunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam, omnem Deo remittentes, cui & cauſam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adverſariorum dejicere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla conſternere, nec delinire blanditiæ potuerunt.

*Quanta degeneratio noſtrorum nunc hominum ab exemplis ſpectatiſſimorum Martyrum.*

Componamus nunc noſtram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare poſſit, quæ non illico præcipitates ac tranſverſos rapiat in avaritiam, in faſtum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis objici poterit injuriola, pro qua non cœlum terræ miſcemus, mariáque turbamus ab imo? ex quo in promptu eſt colligere, quantum ab eo abſumus, ut mortem ſimus unquam tua cauſa ſubituri? ſi quando res Martyrum flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem iſtos tuo amputare juſſu velimus. Quapropter ut Martyrum quidem illorum cauſa gratias agimus nomini tuo ſancto; ita noſtra viciſſim cauſa deprecamur, ut qui largitus ſit ipſis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aſpires; ſicque Eccleſiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, nec ubi ſeducti hujus mundi illecebris, ſocordiores ipſi in retinenda Evangelii tui victoria, quàm illi in comparanda ſtrenui, videamur. Poſtremò, quoniam hiſtoriam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggreſſi, in ea re operam ſtudiúmque poſuimus, quo facta geſtáque ſanctorum tuorum (ſanctiſſime Jeſu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum Eccleſiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, ſimulque hiſtoriæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui & opus ipſum totumque me ipſum, quem tot modis tuæ miſericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima totiſq; viribus commendo, dedico, conſecroq; cui omne cadat genu, omníſque vox & lingua confeſſionis gloriam per omnes Eccleſias tribuat perſonetque. Amen.

*Neceſſaria Precatio.*

TO THE

# RIGHT VERTUOUS,

Moſt Excellent and Noble Princeſs,

# Queen ELIZABETH,

OUR

Dread Lady, By the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of *Chriſts* Faith and Goſpel, and Principal Governor both of the Realm, and alſo over the ſaid Church of *England* and *Ireland*, under *Chriſt* the Supream Head of the ſame, *&c.* JOHN FOX, Her humble Subject, wiſheth daily increaſe of GODS Holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyful Peace to Govern His Flock committed to Her Charge; To the Example of all good Princes, The Comfort of his Church, And Glory of his bleſſed Name.

CHRIST the Prince of all Princes, *who hath placed you in your Throne of Majeſty, under Him to Govern the Church and Realm of* England, *give your Royal Highneſs long to ſit, and many years to Reign over Us, in all flouriſhing Felicity, to his gracious Pleaſure, and long laſting joy of all your Subjects.* Amen.

*When I firſt preſented theſe* Acts *and* Monuments *unto your Majeſty (moſt dear Sovereign, Queen* ELIZABETH *our peaceable* Salome) *which your Majeſties rare Clemency received in ſuch gentle part; I well hoped that theſe my Travels in this kind of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my Studies again to other purpoſes after mine own deſire, more fit than to write Hiſtories, eſpecially in the* Engliſh-*Tongue. But certain evil diſpoſed Perſons, of intemperate Tongues, Adverſaries to good proceedings, would not ſuffer me ſo to reſt, fuming and fretting, and raiſing up ſuch miſerable Exclamations at the firſt appearing of the Book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Chriſt to have been new-born again, and that* Herod, *with all the City of* Jeruſalem *had been in an uproar. Such bluſtring and ſtriving was then againſt that poor Book through all Quarters of* England, *even to the Gates of* Lovain, *ſo that no* Engliſh *Papiſt almoſt in all the Realm thought himſelf a perfect Catholick, unleſs he had caſt out ſome word or other to give that Book a blow.*

*Whereupon, conſidering with my ſelf what ſhould move them thus to rage, firſt I began with more circumſpect diligence to overlook again that I had done. In ſearching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not ſo much in the Book it ſelf (to ſay the truth) as in another certain privy myſtery and working of ſome; of whom* Joan. Avent. *ſhall tell us in his own words, and ſhew us who they be,* Quibus (inquit) audiendi quæ fecerint pudor eſt; nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubeſcunt. Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus eſt, ibi verentur, *&c. Who, being aſhamed belike to hear their worthy ſtratagems like to come to light, ſought by what means they might the ſtopping of the ſame. And becauſe they could not work it* per brachium ſeculare, *by publick Authority (the Lord of Heaven long preſerve your Noble Majeſty) they renewed again an old wonted practiſe of theirs; doing in like ſort herein, as they did ſometimes with the holy Bible in the days of your renowned Father of famous Memory, King* Henry *the Eighth; who when they neither by manifeſt reaſon could gain-ſay the matter contained in the Book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then ſought they by a ſubtil deviſed train to deprave the Tranſlation, Notes, and Prologues thereof, bearing the King in hand, and all the people, that there were in it a thouſand lyes, and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it ſuch lyes in very deed; but that the coming of that Book ſhould not bewray their lying falſhood, therefore they thought beſt to begin firſt to make Exceptions themſelves againſt it; playing in their ſtage like as* Phormio *did in the old Comedy, who, being in all the fault himſelf, began firſt to quarrel with* Demipho, *when* Demipho *rather had good right to lay* Phormio *by the heels.*

*With like facing brags theſe Catholick* Phormiones *think now to daſh out all good Books, and amongſt others alſo theſe Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide being alive, ſo neither can they now ſuffer their memories to live after their death, leſt the Acts of them being known might bring perhaps their wicked Acts and cruel Murthers to deteſtation; and therefore ſpurn they ſo vehemently againſt this Book of Hiſtories, with all kind of Contumelies and Uproars, railing and wondering upon it; much like as I have heard of a Company of Thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highways-ſide, when they had found a piece of Gold or two about him more than he would be known of, they cried out of the falſehood of the world, marveling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.*

*Even ſo theſe men deal alſo with me; for when they themſelves altogether delight in untruths, and have repleniſhed the whole Church of Chriſt with feigned Fables, lying Miracles, falſe Viſions, and miſerable Errors contained in their Miſſals, Portuſes, Breviars, and Summaries, and almoſt no true tale in all their Saints Lives and Feſtivals, as now alſo no great truths in our* Lovanian *Books, &c. Yet notwithſtanding,*

as

*as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great Verity; and as though there were no Hiſtories elſe in all the world corrupted, but only this Hiſtory of* Acts and Monuments, *with Tragical Voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, ſparing no coſt of hyperbolical phraſes to make it appear as full of lyes as lines,* &c. *Much after the like ſort of impudency as Sophiſters uſe ſometimes in their Sophiſms to do (and ſometimes is uſed alſo in Rhetorick) that when an argument cometh againſt them which they cannot well reſolve indeed, they have a rule to ſhift off the matter with ſtout words and tragical admiration, whereby to daſh the Opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand the ſame to be the weakeſt and ſlendereſt argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be anſwered, but utterly to be hiſſed out of the Schools.*

*With like ſophiſtication theſe alſo fare with me, who when they neither can abide to hear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the ſame, which they hear, to be true, for three or four eſcapes in the Book committed (and yet ſome of them in the Book amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly underſtanding that they read, inveigh and malign ſo perverſly the ſetting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that ſtory were true, nor any other ſtory falſe in all the world beſides. And yet in accuſing theſe my Accuſers I do not ſo excuſe my ſelf, nor defend my Book, as though nothing in it were to be ſponged or amended. Therefore I have taken theſe pains, and reiterated my Labours in traveling but this ſtory again; doing herein as* Penelope *did with her web, untwiſting that ſhe had done before: Or as Builders do ſometimes, which build and take down again, either to tranſpoſe the faſhion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recogniſing this Hiſtory I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand, partly alſo to aſſay, whether by any pains taking I might pacifie the ſtomachs, or to ſatisfie the judgments of theſe importune Quarrelers: which nevertheleſs I fear I ſhall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hiſſing* Hydra *will never be cut off, though I were as ſtrong as* Hercules. *And if* Apelles *the skilful Painter, when he had beſtowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good Artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without ſome controuling* Sutor, *which took upon him* ultra crepidam, *much more may I look for the like in theſe controuling days.*

Ne ſutor ultra crepidam.

*Nevertheleſs committing the ſucceſs thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this ſtory of the Church, and have ſpent not only my pains, but alſo almoſt my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finiſhed, like as before I did, ſo again I exhibit and preſent the ſame unto your Princely Majeſty, bleſſing my Lord my God with all my heart; firſt for this liberty of peace and time which through your peaceable Government he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like Books, Tractations and Monuments requiſite to the behoof of his Church, which hitherto by iniquity of time could not be contrived in any Kings Reign ſince the Conqueſt, before theſe* Halcyon *dayes of yours.*

*Secondly, As we are all bound with publick Voices to magnifie our God for this happy preſervation of your Royal Eſtate; ſo privately for my own part, I alſo acknowledge my ſelf bound to my God and to my Saviour, who ſo graciouſly in ſuch weak health hath let me time, both to finiſh this Work, and alſo to offer the ſecond Dedication thereof to your Majeſty; deſiring the ſame to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthineſs of the thing given, yet as a teſtification of the bounden ſervice and good will of one, which by this he here preſenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.*

*And though the ſtory being written in the Popular-Tongue ſerveth not ſo greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for ſuch as be learned; yet I ſhall deſire both you and them to conſider in it the neceſſity of the ignorant Flock of Chriſt committed to your Government in this Realm of* England. *How as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindneſs for lack eſpecially of Gods Word, and partly alſo for wanting the light of Hiſtory, I thought pity but that ſuch ſhould be helped, their ignorance relieved, and ſimplicity inſtructed. I conſidered they were the Flock of Chriſt, and your Subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the ſame price, and having as dear Souls to the Lord as other. And though they be but ſimple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore, what inconvenience groweth of ignorance where knowledge lacketh, both I conſidered and experience daily teacheth.*

*And therefore hearing of the vertuous Inclination of your Majeſty, what a provident zeal full of ſolicitude you have, minding (ſpeedily I truſt) to furniſh all Quarters and Countries of this your Realm with the Voice of Chriſts Goſpel, and faithful preaching of his Word, I thought it alſo not unprofitable to adjoyn unto this your godly proceedings, and to the Office of the Miniſtry, the knowledge alſo of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which in my mind ought not to be ſeparate from the ſame; that like as by the one the people may learn the Rules and Precepts of Doctrine, ſo by the other they may have Examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their Faith, and the edification of Chriſtian life. For as we ſee what light and profit cometh to the Church by Hiſtories in old times ſet forth of the* Judges, Kings, Macchabees, *and the* Acts of the Apoſtles *after Chriſts time; ſo likewiſe may it redound to no ſmall uſe in the Church, to know the Acts of Chriſts Martyrs now ſince the time of the Apoſtles.*

Profit to be taken by Examples of Chriſtian Martyrs.

Gods Works to be obſerved in Hiſtories.

*Beſides other manifold Examples and Experiments of Gods great Mercies and Judgments in preſerving his Church, in overthrowing Tyrants, in confounding Pride, in altering States and Kingdoms, in conſerving Religion againſt Errors and Diſſenſions, in relieving the Godly, in brideling the Wicked, looſing and tying up again of Satan the Diſturber of Common-weals, in puniſhing Tranſgreſſions, as well againſt the firſt Table as the ſecond; wherein is to be ſeen Idolatry puniſhed, Blaſphemy plagued, Contempt of Gods holy Name and Religion revenged, Murther with Murther rewarded, Adulterers and Wedlock-breakers deſtroyed, Perjuries, Extortions, covetous Oppreſſion, and fraudulent Counſels come to nought, with other excellent Works of the Lord: the obſerving and noting whereof in Hiſtories miniſter to the Readers thereof wholſome admonitions of life, with experience and wiſdom both to know God in his Works, and to work the thing that is godly; eſpecially to ſeek unto the Son of God for their Salvation, and in his Faith only to find that they ſeek for, and in no other means. The continuance and conſtancy of which Faith the Lord of his Grace and goodneſs grant to your Noble Majeſty, and to his whole beloved Church, and all the Members of the ſame to everlaſting life.* Amen.

What uſe cometh by reading of Hiſtories.

Ad

# Ad Doctum Lectorem

# JOHANNES FOXUS.

COgitanti mihi, verſantique mecum in animo, quàm periculoſæ res aleæ ſit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculóſque multorum ſubeat, his præſertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibuſque, ubi tot hominum diſſidiis, tot ſtudiis partium, tot moroſis capitibus, tam rigidis cenſuris, & Criticorum ſannis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum ſit quicquam tam circumſpectè ſcribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profectò fœlicéſque videntur ii, quibus eum vitæ curſum tenere liceat, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, ſic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in Theatro otioſi ſedentes ſpectatores, ut nullum interim ipſis vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum ſit. Me verò neſcio quo pacto, longè diverſa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam fœlicitatem, in cujus complexibus tam multos ſuaviter foveri video, nec otii amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam deguſtare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror quam ſemper contempſi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, ſi modò labores ii tantum vel prodeſſe vel placere cæteris poſſent hominibus, quantum me privatim arterunt incommodántque. Nunc ad meæ infœlicitatis cumulum accedit inſuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod præter lugubrem rerum ipſarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro Autorem ipſum redigit Anguſtiæ, ut neque falſa narrare ſine injuria Hiſtoriæ, nec verum dicere ſine magna ſua invidia odióque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo Hiſtoriæ argumento mihi verſandum fuit, quod non ad ſuperiorum modò temporum res geſtas altéque repetitas pertineat, ſed hanc ipſam ætatem noſtram, noſtræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præſentes, vivóſque ſic attingat, ſic perfricet, ſic deſignet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere neceſſariò faciendum fuit: quæſo, quid hîc mihi aliud expectandum ſit, niſi poſtquam fruſtra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos perdiderim, ſenium acciverim, corpus exhauſerim demum ut poſt hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, ſibilis, invidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot iſtis aſperitatibus cùm nihil me tutum præſtare poterit, non *Cæſar*, non Monarchæ, non Rex, non Regina, non ulla hujus mundi præſidia, præter ſolam Divini numinis potentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutiſſimum aſylum me recepi, huic me libríumque commendavi & commendo. Tum vero inſuper in eodem Dómino tuum illum candorem (docte piéque Lector) eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis ſtudiiſque te ſcio præditum, quo noſtris his ſudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut ſi approbationem non mereamur, ſaltem ne favoris deſit benignitas: cui ſi approbatum iri hanc Hiſtoriæ noſtræ farraginem ſenſerimus, cæterorum judicia obtrectatorum, levius feremus.

Nam alioquí non defuturos ſat ſcio qui variis modis nobis faceſſent moleſtiam. Habebit hîc Momus ſuos morſus, Sycophanta ſuos ſibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori ſua lingua & aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet Hiſtoriæ; ille artificium in tranctando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus judicium deliderabit. Illi forſan operis diſplicebit moles, vel minus diſpoſita ſervatáque temporum ratio. Et ſi nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta Religionis pugna, in tanta judiciorum, capitum, ſenſuum varietate, ubi ſuæ quiſque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè, aut circumſpectè enarrari poteſt, quod placeat univerſis? Quin & jam nunc muſſitari etiam audio a nonnullis qui longa ſeſe teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem *Legenda noſtra*, ut appellant, *Aurea* vulganda ſit: qui ſi noſtram primùm in eo tarditatem reprehenſam velint, næ ego ſuaves iſtos homines viciſſim rogatos velim, ut ipſi prius in edendis ſuis ſe præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam inceſſant lentitudinem.

Deinde, ſi tardius exeat ipſorum opinione volumen, meminerit, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam eſſe feſtinationem oportere; & bos dicitur laſſus fortiùs pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili noſtra; Egimus ſpero & pro officio, ſi non ſatis pro temporis modo expediter, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus ſupra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipſorum venia adjicere liceat, egiſſe nos maturiùs quàm ipſis forſan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatiùs egimus quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque poſtulabat, cùm à nobis vix integros datos eſſe menſes octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendiſque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, reſcribendis his quæ ſcripta mandata erant, caſtigandis formulis, conciſinandæ Hiſtoriæ, & in ordinem redigendæ, &c. noverint ii qui teſtes adfuerint, & temporis conſcii, & laboris ſocii. Quod ſi autem *Aureæ ſuæ Aureæ* titulum huc eò accommodant, quod illius exemplo hanc ſimiliter fabuloſam putent Hiſtoriam, hincque odioſo vocabulo ejus præjudicent veritati, quid his reſpondeam aliud quam quòd ingenuè ſuam ipſi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quòd ipſos tandem aliquando *Legendæ ſuæ legendæ* pudeat tam fabuloſæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, ſi qui *Legendæ illæ*; hoc eſt, mendaciſſimis illorum nugis auderent detrahere. Quare nihil magis eſſe poſſit impium, quàm ſacroſanctam Eccleſiæ fidem fabulamentis hujuſmodi confictiſque præter omnem veri fidem deliriis commaculare; tamen ineptiſſimi iſti nugatores, ex ſuo ingenio cæteros quoſque ſcriptores metientes, nec ipſi verum adferre ſatagunt, nec afferentibus aliis fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet ſuis aureis ſomniis ſimilia exiſtimantes? Quin apage cum *Aurea tua Legenda*, nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum ſcimus, nec ipſe ignoras prodigioſis mendaciorum portentis & vaniſſimis undique commentis ſcatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abeſt ut cum verè ſeriis gravibuſque Eccleſiæ Hiſtoriis quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia Papiſtis illis tuis & impuris Monachis lic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum ſuorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem Hiſtoriæ authoritatem putas in Eccleſia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de *Euſebii* Eccleſiaſtica, & tripartita *Sozomeni* & *Socratis* cæterorúmque Hiſtoriis judicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quædam de ſanctis & Divis conſcripta miracula, quæ propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut *Legendæ illæ Papiſticæ* annumerentur, etiam quæ ſuſpectiſſimæ ſunt fidei. Quanquam de ſcriptoribus cæteris mea nihil intereſt cenſuram ferre. Quòd ad hanc verò noſtram ὡς ἐπὶ μαρτυρικῶ, attinet, teſtatum id velim univerſis, datam eſſe à nobis operam ſedulò ne quid uſquam ineſſet operi fabuloſum, aut ejuſmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legendæ illæ Aureæ* (magis dicam plumbeæ) non undique foret diſſimillimum. Id quod res ipſa & nativa Hiſtoriæ facies teſtari poterit, cujus tota textura ex ipſis Epiſcoporum Archivis atque Regiſtris, partímque ex propriis Martyrum ipſorum literis hauſta ac conflata videri poterit. In qua Hiſtoria etſi neque id exigam ut ſingula hîc pro oraculis habeantur; at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut ſi non plene aſſequeremur, accederemur tamen quàm proximè ad veterem illam Hiſtoriæ legem, ut duas res, præcipuas Hiſtoriæ peſtes, vitaremus, timorem videlicet & aſſentationem; quarum altera ſæpe minus dicit, altera ſemper plus addit, quàm par ſit narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipſo magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione aſtrui honeſtius eſt. Habet enim veritas ipſa ſimplicem ſuam & nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non mucoſis naribus lectori, ex ipſo vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aſpectu, ſive aliis circumſtantiarum notis deprehendere

hendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbii experientia; Faciunt quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in Martyrologicis ſanctorum legendis vitiſque deſcribendis mendacia, ac nugaciſſimæ ſomniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut cæteræ ejuſdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter ſuſpicionem ſubeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicive in Eccleſia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, ſatis erit, quod noſtrarum erat virium id nos præſtitiſſe. Quod ſupereſt, Divinæ curandum providentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatéque Hiſtoriæ hæc hactenus: quæ utinam ne tam vera quidem certáque eſſet, quàm iſti videri volunt, at falſa potius, conſimiliſque hùic, quam dicunt, *Aureæ ipſorum Legendæ*, aut Vitis patrum, aut Feſtivali, aut Dormi-ſecure, cæteriſque Papiſticis iſtis τοῖς τῶν λήρων λήροις foret. Nunc verò Martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, ſed inflicta à vobis ſupplicia, atroxque cædes veriorem hanc comprobant hiſtoriam, pluréſque ſuæ veritatis teſtes habent quam vellemus ipſi qui hiſtoriam ſcripſimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ *de Calendario* fortaſſis objicietur. Audio enim & hîc mihi obſtrepere non tacitas modò ſententias, ſed apertas Papiſtarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè à me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explotis veteris Eccleſiæ Divis, Martyribus, Confeſſoribus, Virginibúſque, novos eorum loco Martyres ac Confeſſores inſuliciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum Divorum hoc facto præjudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter Divos à me referuntur iſti, quòd inſeruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidenter ſumpſit *Gregorius* nonus. Porro, neque eò ſpectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam feſtorum dierum legem præſcribam Eccleſiæ; tum multò minus cultum ſancti alicujus inſtituo. Feſtorum dierum jam plus ſatis erat in mundo. Utinam Dominicum ſolum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par eſt, tranſigeremus. Habeant per me ſuum Papiſtæ Calendarium. Habeat & Eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim iidem ne colantur, modo quàm ſint vetuſti tàm verè etiam ſancti ſint.

Verùm enimvero cum non dubitavit ſua etiam ætate *Hieronymus* multos exiſtimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi paſſim pro ſanctis haberent in Eccleſia; quid hîc tum diceret *Hieronymus*, ſi modo ſuperſtes Papiſticam hanc ſanctorum colluviem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Epiſcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi ut *pro indice* duntaxat, ſuum cujuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, ad privatum Lectoris ſerviret uſum. Et tamen ſi in Templis etiam fas ſit ſingulorum Menſium dies propriis ſanctorum nomenclaturis conſignare, quî minus liceat id mihi in veris iſtis facere Martyribus, quod ipſi *in ſuis* pſeudomartyribus, tanta ſibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiſerunt? Si non pœna, ſed cauſa Martyrem faciat, cur non unum *Cranmerum* ſexcentis *Becketis Cantuarienſibus* non conferam, ſed prætulerim? Quid in *Nicolao Ridleo* videtur cum quovis divo *Nicolao* non conferendum? Qua in re *Latimerus*, *Hoperus*, *Marſheus*, *Simpſonus*, cæteríque Chriſtiani Martyrii Candidati, inferiores ſummis maximíſque illis Papiſtici Calendarii Divis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni ſanctíque viri (modò qui verè ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in Templis collocari, ſed domeſticæ tantum lectioni præparari.

Sed miſſis hiſce adverſariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candidéque Lector (quoniam hæc ad te inſtituta eſt Epiſtola) tempus eſt ut recurrat Oratio, cujus in his rebus judicium ut pluris æſtimo, ita egeo magis hîc quoque Patrocinio. Scio enim, in vaſta hac congerie reperies nonnulla ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facilè potuit, præſertim in tanta operis præcipitatione, ut cuncta ad amuſſim atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex laſſitudine dormitaret ſcriptor, vel per incuriam excideret Authori aliquid, vel ex feſtinatione eveniret, quod cani ſolet in proverbiis nimium præ ſtudio properanti, Cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam cenſura imploranda eſt. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte ſimul & humaniſſime Lector, ante operis ingreſſum libuit προμνάζειν, ut ſi quid inter evolvendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad *Cleantis* lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquiſitum Theologorum acumen expreſſum, aut minus alioqui acutiſſimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data eſſe, ſed meis; hoc eſt, craſſioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam judicantur. Aut ſi ne id quidem graviſſimæ tuæ ſententiæ fecerit ſatis, liceat illa mihi uti lege, qua ſemper permiſſum eſt, opere in magno, ſcriptori obrepere ſomnum. Quod ſi verò tuam hac in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obſtrepant, Græci memor Proverbii, cujus & ipſos commeminiſſe velim, μυμήσεται πίθηκος ἢ μιμήσεται.

To

# To the True and Faithful Congregation of CHRIST'S Universal CHURCH, with all and ſingular the Members thereof, whereſoever congregated or diſperſed through the Realm of *England*, a Proteſtation or Petition of the *Author*, wiſhing to the ſame abundance of all Peace and Tranquillity, with the ſpeedy coming of CHRIST the Spouſe, to make an end of all Mortal Miſery.

SOLOMON, *the peaceable Prince of* Iſrael, *as we read in the third of* Kings, *after he had finiſhed the Building of the Lords* Temple *(which he had ſeven years in hand) made his Petition to the Lord for all that ſhould pray in the ſaid* Temple, *or turn their face toward it; and his Requeſt was granted, the Lord anſwering him, as we read in the ſaid Book, Chap. 6.* I have heard *(ſaith he)* thy Prayer, and have ſanctified this Place, *&c. All eit the infinite Majeſty of God is not to be compaſſed in any material Walls, yet it ſo pleaſed his Goodneſs to reſpect this Prayer of the King, that not only he promiſed to hear them which there prayed, but alſo repleniſhed the ſame with his own Glory. For ſo we read again in the Book aforeſaid,* Et non poterant miniſtrare propter nebulam, quia replevit Gloria Domini domum Domini, 3 *Reg.* 7.

*Upon the like truſt in Gods gracious goodneſs if I ſinful Wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but following the zeal of the Builder, might either be ſo bold to ask, or ſo happy to ſpeed, after my ſeven years travel about this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I would moſt humbly crave of Almighty God to beſtow his bleſſing upon the ſame; that as the Prayers of them which prayed in the outward* Temple *were heard, ſo all true diſpoſed minds which ſhall reſort to the reading of this preſent Hiſtory, containing the Acts of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may by example of their Life, Faith, and Doctrine, receive ſome ſuch ſpiritual fruit to their Souls, through the operation of his Grace, that it may be to the advancement of his Glory, and profit of his Church, through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.* Amen.

*But as it happened in that* Temple *of* Solomon, *that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, ſome to gaze and ſee News, other to talk and walk, ſome to buy and ſell, ſome to carp and find fault, and finally ſome alſo at the laſt to deſtroy and pull down, as they did indeed; (For what is in this World ſo ſtrong, but it will be impugned? what ſo perfect, but it will be abuſed? ſo true, that will not be contraried? or ſo circumſpectly done, wherein wrangling* Theon *will not ſet in his tooth?) Even ſo neither do I look for any other in this preſent Hiſtory, but that amongſt many well diſpoſed Readers, ſome Waſpes Neſt or other will be ſtirred up to buz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now adays to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man muſt offend the Godly, or by true ſpeaking procure hatred of the Wicked. Of ſuch ſtinging Waſpes and buzzing Drones I had ſufficient trial in my former Edition before; who if they had found in my Book any juſt cauſe to carp, or upon any true zeal of truth had proceeded againſt the untruths of my ſtory, and had brought juſt proofs for the ſame, I could right well have abide it. For God forbid but that faults, whereſoever they be, ſhould be detected and accuſed. And therefore Accuſers in a Commonwealth, after my mind, do ſerve to no ſmall ſtead.*

*But then ſuch Accuſers muſt beware they play not the dog, of whom* Cicero *in his Oration ſpeaketh, which being ſent in* Capitolio *to fray away Thieves by night, left the Thieves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not amiſs. But to carp where no cauſe is; to ſpie in other ſtraws, and leap over their own blocks, to ſwallow Camels, and to ſtrain at Gnats; to oppreſs truth with lyes, and to ſet up lyes for truth; to blaſpheme the dear Martyrs of Chriſt, and to Canonize for Saints, whom Scripture would ſcarce allow for good Subjects; that is intolerable. Such barking Currs, if they were well ſerved, would be made a while to ſtoop. But with theſe brawling ſpirits I intend not at this time much to wraſtle.*

*Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leiſure ſerve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought in the mean ſeaſon, by way of Proteſtation or Petition, to write unto you, both in general and particular, the true Members and faithful Congregation of Chriſts Church, whereſoever either congregated together, or diſperſed through the whole Realm of* England, *that forſomuch as all the ſeeking of theſe Adverſaries is to do what they can, by diſcrediting of this Hiſtory with ſlanders and ſiniſter ſurmiſes, to withdraw the Readers from it: this therefore ſhall be in few words to premoniſh and deſire of all and ſingular of you (all well minded Lovers and Partakers of Chriſts Goſpel) not to ſuffer your ſelves to be deceived with the big Brags, and Hyperbolical Speeches of thoſe ſlandering Tongues, whatſoever they have or ſhall hereafter exclaim againſt the ſame; but indifferently ſtaying your judgment till truth be tried, you will firſt peruſe, and then refuſe; meaſuring the untruths of this Hiſtory, not by the ſcoring up of their hundreds and thouſands of lyes which they give out, but wiſely weighing the purpoſe of their doings according as you find, and ſo to judge of the matter.*

*To read my Books I allow neither one nor other. Every man as he ſeeth cauſe, ſo let him like as he liſteth. If any ſhall think his labour too much in reading this ſtory, his choice is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof ſhall recompence the Readers*

*travel, then would I wiſh no man ſo light eared, to be carried away for any ſiniſter clamor of Adverſaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but therefore find faults becauſe they would deprave. As for me and my Hiſtory, as my will was to profit all and diſpleaſe none; ſo if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpoſe been ſimple, and certes the cauſe no leſs urgent alſo, which moved me to take this Enterpriſe in hand.*

*For firſt to ſee the ſimple Flock of Chriſt, eſpecially the unlearned ſort, ſo miſerably abuſed, and all for ignorance of Hiſtory, not knowing the courſe of Times, and true deſcent of the Church, it pitied me that part of diligence ſo long to have been unſupplied in this my Country Church of* England. *Again, conſidering the multitude of Chronicles and Story-Writers, both in* England, *and out of* England, *of whom the moſt part have been either Monks or Clients to the See of* Rome, *it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their ſtories. Whoſe painful travel albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitful to be known, nor unpleaſant to be read; yet it lamented me to ſee in their Monuments the principal Points, which chiefly concerned the ſtate of Chriſts Church, and were moſt neceſſary of all Chriſtian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inſerted, yet were all things drawn to the honour ſpecially of the Church of* Rome, *or elſe to the favour of their own Sect of Religion. Whereby the vulgar ſort, hearing and reading in their Writings no other Church mentioned or magnified, but only that Church which here flouriſhed in this World in riches and jollity, were drawn alſo to the ſame perſwaſion, to think no other Church to have ſtood in all the Earth but only the Church of* Rome.

The partial dealing of Story-writers.

*In the number of this ſort of Writers, beſides our Monks of* England *(for every Monaſtery almoſt had his Chronicler) I might alſo alſo recite both* Italian *and other Country Authors, as* Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antonius, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Polyd. Virgilius, *with many more, who taking upon them to entermeddle with matters of the Church, although in part they expreſs ſome truth in matters concerning the Biſhops and See of* Rome; *yet in ſuppreſſing another part they play with us, as* Ananias *and* Saphyra *did with their money, or as* Apelles *did in* Pliny, *who, painting the one half of* Venus *coming out of the Sea, left the other half unperfect. So theſe Writers, while they ſhew us one half of the Biſhop of* Rome, *the other half of him they leave unperfect, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out on the one part gliſtering in Wealth and Glory, in ſhewing what ſucceſſion the Popes had from the Chair of Saint* Peter, *when they firſt began and how long they ſate, what Churches, and what famous Buildings they erected, how far their Poſſeſſions reached, what Laws they made, what Councils they called, what Honour they received of Kings and Emperors, what Princes and Countries they brought under their Authority, with other like ſtratagems of great Pomp and Royalty; ſo on the other ſide, what Vices theſe Popes brought with them to their Seat, what Abominations they practiſed, what Superſtition they maintained, what Idolatry they procured, what wicked Doctrine they defended contrary to the expreſs Word of God, to what Hereſies they fell, into what diviſion of Sects they cut the unity of Chriſtian Religion, how ſome practiſed by Simony, ſome by Necromancy and Sorcery, ſome by poyſoning, ſome indenting with the Devil to come by their Papacy, what Hypocriſie was in their Lives, what Corruption in their Doctrine, what Wars they raiſed, what Bloodſhed they cauſed, what Treachery they traverſed againſt their Lords and Emperors, impriſoning ſome, betraying ſome to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other under their Feet, alſo in beheading ſome, as they did with* Fredericus *and* Conradinus, *the Heirs and Off-ſpring of the Houſe of* Fredericus Barbaroſſa, *in the Year,* 1269. *Furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath ſtood againſt them, how their Wars never proſpered againſt the* Turk, *how the judgments of the godly learned from time to time have ever repugned againſt their Errors, &c. Of theſe and a thouſand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under* Benedicite, *in auricular Confeſſion.*

*This partial dealing and corrupt handling of Hiſtories when I conſidered, I thought with my ſelf nothing more lacking in the Church than a full and a compleat ſtory, which, being faithfully collected out of all our Monaſtical Writers, and written Monuments, ſhould contain neither every vain written Fable, for that would be too much, nor yet leave out any thing neceſſary, for that would be too little; but with a moderate diſcretion taking the beſt of every one ſhould both eaſe the labour of the Reader from turning over ſuch a number of Writers, and alſo ſhould open the plain truth of Times lying long hid in obſcure darkneſs of Antiquity. Whereby all ſtudious Readers, beholding as in a Glaſs the ſtay, courſe, and alteration of Religion, decay of Doctrine, and the Controverſies of the Church, might diſcern the better between Antiquity and Novelty. For if the things which be firſt (after the Rule of* Turtullian) *are to be preferred before thoſe that be later, then is the reading of Hiſtories much neceſſary in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cauſe* Hiſtoria, *in old Authors, is called the* Witneſs of Times, *the* Light of Verity, *the* Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, *and* Shewer of Antiquity, &c. *Without the knowledge whereof mans life is blind, and ſoon may fall into any kind of error, as by manifeſt experience we have to ſee in theſe deſolate later Times of the Church, when as the Biſhops of* Rome *under colour of Antiquity have turned Truth into Hereſie, and brought ſuch new-found Deviſes of ſtrange Doctrine and Religion, as in the former Age of the Church were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of Times, and for lack of true Hiſtory.*

*Primum quodque veriſſimum eſt.* Tertul.

*For to ſay the truth, if times had been well ſearched, or if they which wrote Hiſtories had without partiality gone upright between God and* Baal, *halting on neither ſide, it might well have been found, the moſt part of all this Catholick corruption intruded into the Church by the Biſhops of* Rome, *as Tranſubſtantiation, Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament, Auricular Confeſſion, forced Vows of Prieſts not to marry, Veneration of Images, private and ſatisfactory Maſſes, the Order of* Gregories *Maſs now uſed, the uſurped Authority and* Summa poteſtas *of the See of* Rome, *with all the rout*

*of*

*of their Ceremonies and Weeds of Superſtition overgrowing now the Church; all theſe (I ſay) to be New-nothings lately coined in the Mint of* Rome, *without any ſtamp of Antiquity, as by reading of this preſent Hiſtory ſhall ſufficiently (I truſt) appear. Which Hiſtory therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other Story-Writers heretofore have employed their travel to magnifie the Church of* Rome, *ſo in this Hiſtory might appear to all Chriſtian Readers the Image of both Churches, as well of the one as of the other; ſpecially of the poor oppreſſed and perſecuted Church of Chriſt. Which perſecuted Church though it hath been of long ſeaſon troden under foot by Enemies, neglected in the World, not regarded in Hiſtories, and almoſt ſcarce viſible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true Church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preſerving the ſame in all extream Diſtreſſes, continually ſtirring up from time to time faithful Miniſters, by whom always have been kept ſome ſparks of his true Doctrine and Religion.*

Image of both Churches.

*Now foraſmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with ſome other Church or Chappel of the Devil to deface and malign the ſame, neceſſary it is therefore the difference between them to be ſeen, and the deſcent of the right Church to be deſcribed from the Apoſtles time. Which hitherto in moſt part of Hiſtories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durſt not, partly for ignorance, that men could not diſcern rightly between the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of* Rome *to be ſo viſible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, ſo ſhining in outward beauty, to bear ſuch a Port, to carry ſuch a Train and Multitude, and to ſtand in ſuch high Authority, ſuppoſed the ſame to be the only right Catholick Mother. The other, becauſe it was not ſo viſibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Chriſt. Wherein they were far deceived: for although the right Church of God be not ſo inviſible in the world that none can ſee it, yet neither is it ſo viſible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the nature of Truth; ſo is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none ſeeth it, but ſuch only as be the Members and Partakers thereof. And therefore they, which require that Gods holy Church ſhould be evident and viſible to the whole World, ſeem to define the great Synagogue of the World, rather than the true Spiritual Church of God.*

The deſcent of Chriſts Church from the Apoſtles time deſcribed.

How the true Church of Chriſt is viſible and not viſible

*In Chriſts time who would have thought but the Congregations and Councils of the* Phariſees *had been the right Church? and yet had Chriſt another Church in Earth beſides that; which albeit it was not ſo manifeſt in the ſight of the World, yet was it the only true Church in the ſight of God. Of this Church meant Chriſt, ſpeaking of the Temple which he would raiſe again the third day. And yet after that the Lord was riſen, he ſhewed not himſelf to the World, but only to his Elect, which were but few. The ſame Church after that encreaſed and multiplied mightily among the* Jews, *yet had not the* Jews *eyes to ſee Gods Church, but did perſecute it, till at length all their whole Nation was deſtroyed.*

*After the* Jews, *then came the* Heathen *Emperors of* Rome, *who, having the whole Power of the World in their hands, did what the World could do, to extinguiſh the Name and Church of Chriſt. Whoſe violence continued the ſpace of three hundred years. All which while the true Church of Chriſt was not greatly in ſight of the World, but rather was abhorred every where, and ye notwithſtanding the ſame ſmall ſilly Flock ſo deſpiſed in the World, the Lord highly regarded and mightily preſerved. For although many then of the Chriſtians did ſuffer death, yet was their death neither loſs to them, nor detriment to the Church; but the more they ſuffered, the more of their blood increaſed.*

*In the time of theſe Emperors God raiſed up then in this Realm of* Britain *diver's worthy Preachers and Witneſſes, as* Elnanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, *and other more. In whoſe time the Doctrine of Faith without mens traditions was ſincerely preached. After their death and Martyrdom it pleaſed the Lord to provide a general quietneſs to his Church, whereby the number of his Flock began more to encreaſe.*

The Antiquity of the Church here in *England*, with the deſcent of the ſame.

*In this Age then followed here in the ſaid Land of* Britain, Faſtidius, Nivianus, Patricius, Bachiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampſon, Elnodugus, Aſaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Nivius, *and a great ſort more, which governed the Church of* Britain *by Chriſtian Doctrine a long ſeaſon; albeit the Civil Governors for the time were then diſſolute and careleſs, as* Gildas *very ſharply doth lay to their Charge, and ſo at length were ſubdued by the* Saxons.

*All this while about the ſpace of four hundred years Religion remained in* Britain *uncorrupt, and the Word of Chriſt truly preached, till about the coming of* Auguſtine *and of his Companions from* Rome, *many of the ſaid* Britain-*Preachers were ſlain by the* Saxons. *After that began Chriſtian Faith to enter and ſpring among the* Saxons, *after a certain* Romiſh *ſort, yet notwithſtanding ſomewhat more tolerable than were the times which after followed, through the diligent induſtry of ſome godly Teachers which then lived amongſt them, as* Aidanus, Finianus, Colman *Archbiſhop of* York, Beda, John of Beverly, Alcuinus, Noetus, Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealtedus, Alexander Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Alfricus, Sygeferthus, *and ſuch other; who though they erred in ſome few things, yet neither ſo groſly, nor ſo greatly to be complained of in reſpect of the abuſes that followed. For as yet all this while the Error of Tranſubſtantiation and Elevation, with Auricular Confeſſion, was not crept in for a publick Doctrine in Chriſts Church, as by their own Saxon Sermon made by* Ælfricus, *and ſet out in the ſecond Volume of this preſent Hiſtory may appear. During the which mean time, although the Biſhops of* Rome *were had here in ſome reverence with the Clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making Laws touching matters of the Church of* England; *but that only appertained to the Kings and Governors of the Land, as is in this ſtory to be ſeen.*

Tranſubſtantiation not yet received for a publick Doctrine.

The Church when it began to fall from God.

*Æneas Sylvius* ſaith, That *Mathilda* made the Pope Heir of thoſe Lands which are called the *Patrimony of Saint Peter.* *Ex Aven. lib. 6.*

*And thus the Church of* Rome, *albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet during all this while it remained hitherto in ſome reaſonable order, till at length, after that, the ſaid Biſhops began to ſhoot up in the world through the liberality of good Princes, and eſpecially of* Mathilda *a noble Dutcheſs of* Italy, *who at her death made the Pope Heir of all her Lands, and endued his See with great Revenues. Then Riches begat Ambition, Ambition deſtroyed Religion, ſo that all came to ruine. Out of this Corruption ſprang forth here in* England *(as did in other places more) another* Romiſh *kind of Monkery, worſe than the other before, being much more drowned in Superſtition and Ceremonies, which was about the year of our Lord,* 980. *Of this Swarm was* Egbertus, Aigelbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfrede, Agathon, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunſtan, Oſwold, Athelwold, Althelwine *Duke of* Eaſtangles, Lanfrac, Anſelme, *and ſuch other.*

Monkery when it began to reign in *England.*

*And yet in this time alſo, through Gods Providence, the Church lacked not ſome of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh with the darkneſs of thoſe days. For although King* Edgar *with* Edward *his baſe Son, being ſeduced by* Dunſtan, Oſwold, *and other Monkiſh Clerks, was then a great Author and Fautor of much Superſtition, erecting as many Monaſteries as were Sundays in the year; yet notwithſtanding, this continued not long. For eſtſoons after the death of* Edgar *came King* Ethelrede *and Queen* Elfthred *his Mother, with* Alferus *Duke of* Merceland, *and other Peers and Nobles of the Realm, who diſplaced the Monks again, and reſtored the married Prieſts to their old Poſſeſſions and Livings. Moreover, after that followed alſo the Danes, which overthrew thoſe Monkiſh Foundations as faſt as King* Edgar *had ſet them up before.*

*And thus hitherto ſtood the condition of the true Church of Chriſt, albeit not without ſome repugnance and difficulty, yet in ſome mean ſtate of the truth and verity, till the time of Pope* Hildebrand *called* Gregory *the Seventh, which was near about the year One thouſand and eighty, and of Pope* Innocentius *the Third, in the year One thouſand two hundred and fifteen. By whom all together was turned upſide down, all Order broken, Diſcipline diſſolved, true Doctrine defaced, Chriſtian Faith extinguiſhed. In ſtead whereof was ſet up preaching of mens Decrees, Dreams and idle Traditions. And whereas before Truth was free to be diſputed amongſt learned men, now Liberty was turned into Law, Argument into Authority. Whatſoever the Biſhop of* Rome *denounced, that ſtood for an Oracle of all men to be received without Oppoſition or Contradiction; whatſoever was contrary* ipſo facto *it was Hereſie, to be puniſhed with Faggot and flaming fire. Then began the ſincere Faith of this* Engliſh *Church, which held out ſo long, to quail. Then was the clear Sunſhine of Gods Word overſhadowed with Miſts and Darkneſs, appearing like Sackcloth to the people, which neither could underſtand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could underſtand. In theſe miſerable days, as the true Viſible Church began now to ſhrink and keep in for fear: So up ſtart a new ſort of Players, to furniſh the Stage, as School-Doctors, Canoniſts, and four Orders of Friers. Beſides other Monaſtical Sects and Fraternities of infinite variety. Which ever ſince have kept ſuch a ſtir in the Church, that none for them almoſt durſt rout, neither* Cæſar, *King, nor Subject. What they defined, ſtood; what they approved, was Catholick; what they condemned, was Hereſie; whomſoever they accuſed, none almoſt could ſave. And thus have theſe hitherto continued or reigned rather in the Church, the ſpace now of* 400 *years and odd. During which ſpace the true Church of Chriſt, although it durſt not openly appear in the face of the world, oppreſſed by Tyranny; yet neither was it ſo inviſible or unknown, but by the Providence of the Lord ſome Remnant always remained from time to time, which not only ſhewed ſecret good affection to ſincere Doctrine, but alſo ſtood in open defence of Truth againſt the diſordered Church of* Rome.

The true Church when it began firſt to decay.

The true Church continueth in the midſt of their Enemies.

*In which Catalogue, firſt, to pretermit* Bertramus *and* Berengarius, *which were before Pope* Innocent *the Third, a learned multitude of ſufficient Witneſſes here might be produced, whoſe Names neither are obſcure nor Doctrine unknown; as* Joachim *Abbot of* Calabria, Almericus *a learned Biſhop, who was judged an Heretick for holding againſt Images in the time of the ſaid* Innocentius. *Beſides the Martyrs of* Alſatia, *of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the ſaid* Innocentius *in one day, as writeth* Hermanus Mucius. *Add likewiſe to theſe the* Waldenſes *or* Albingenſes, *which to a great number ſegregated themſelves from the Church of* Rome. *To this number alſo belonged* Reymundus *Earl of* Tholouſe, Marſilius Patavius, * Gulielmus de S. Amore, Simon Tornacenſis, Arnoldus de nova Villa, Johannes Semeca, *beſides divers other Preachers in* Suevia *ſtanding againſt the Pope, One thouſand four hundred and forty.* Ex Crantz. Laurentius Anglicus *a Maſter of* Paris, Anno, *One thouſand two hundred and ſixty.* Petrus Johannes *a Minorite, who was burned after his death.* Anno, *One thouſand two hundred and ninety.* Robertus Gallus *a Dominick Frier,* Anno, *One thouſand two hundred ninety one.* Robert Groſthead *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *which was called* Malleus Romanorum, Anno, *One thouſand two hundred and fifty. Lord* Peter de Cugneriis, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred twenty nine. To theſe we may add moreover,* Gulielmus Ockam, Bongratius Bergomenſis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Laudenſis, Ulricus Hangenor *Treaſurer to the Emperor,* Johannes de Ganduno, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and thirty mentioned in the Extravagants,* Andreas de Caſtro, Buridianus, Euda, *Duke of* Burgundy, *who counſelled the* French *King not to receive the new-found Conſtitutions, and Extravagants of the Pope into his Realm,* Dantes Alligerius, *an* Italian, *who wrote againſt the Pope, Monks, and Friers, and againſt the Donation of* Conſtantine, Anno, *Thirteen hundred and thirty.* Taulerus *a* German *Preacher,* * Conradus Hager, *impriſoned for preaching againſt the Maſs,* Anno, *Thirteen hundred thirty nine, The Author of the Book called* Pœnitentiarius Aſini, *compiled about the year, Thirteen hundred forty three,* Michael Ceſenas, *a Gray Frier,* Petrus de Corbaria, *with* Johannes de Poliaco, *mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the Pope,* Johannes de Caſtilione, *with* Franciſcus de Arcatara, *who were burned about the year of our Lord,* 1322. † Johannes Rochtaylada, *otherwiſe called* Haybaldus, *with another Frier martyred about the year,* 1346. Franciſcus Petrarcha, *who called* Rome *the Whore of Babylon,* &c.

* *Extravagant. ca. Non ſine multa. Ex Nitol. Emerico, lib. Inquiſitionum.*

* *Ex Jo. Aventio, lib. 7. Extravagant cap.* Licet *infra doctrinam. Ex bullis quibuſdam Othonis* Epiſc. *Herbipolenſis.* † *Extravagant. Joan. 22. Ex Joan. Froſſard. Volum. 1. cap. 211.*

Anno,

Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and fifty*, * Georgius Ariminenſis, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and fifty*, Joannes de Rupe Sciſſa, *impriſoned for certain Propheſies againſt the Pope*, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and forty*, Gethardus Ridder, *who alſo wrote againſt Monks and Friers, a Book called* Lacrymæ Eccleſiæ, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and fifty*, Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Joannes Monachus Cardini, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, *Preacher*, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred ſixty four*, Militzius *a* Bohemian, *who then preached, That Antichriſt was come, and was excommunicate for the ſame*, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred ſixty ſix*, Jacobus Miſnenſis, * Matthias Pariſienſis *a* Bohemian *born, and a Writer againſt the Pope*, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and ſeventy*, Joannes Montziger, *Rector of the Univerſity of* Ulm, Anno 1384. Nilus *Archbiſhop of* Theſſalonica, Henricus de Jota, Henricus de Haſſia, &c. Ex Trithemio. Ex Bulla Gregorii, cap. 11. Ex Illyrico.

*I do but recite the principal Writers and Preachers in thoſe days. How many thouſands there were which never bowed their knees to* Baal, *that is known to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one* * Bruſhius, *that ſix and thirty Citizens of* Magunt*ia were burned*, Anno, *One thouſand three hundred and ninety. Who, following the Doctrine of the* Waldenſes, *affirmed the Pope to be the* Great Antichriſt. *Alſo* Maſſæus *recordeth of one hundred and forty, which in the Province of* Narbon *were put to the fire, for not receiving the Decretals of* Rome, *beſides them that ſuffered at* Paris *to the number of four and twenty at one time*, Anno 1210. *and the next year after were four hundred burnt under the name of* Hereticks; *beſides alſo a certain good* Heremit, *an* Engliſhman, *of whom mention is made in* John Bacon, Diſt. 2. Quæſt. 1. *who was committed for diſputing in* Pauls *Church againſt certain Sacraments of the Church of* Rome, Anno 1306. Ex Bruſhio. Ex Chriſtiano Maſſæo. Ex *Joan. Bacon.* Diſt. 2. Quæſt. 1.

*To deſcend now ſomewhat lower in drawing out the Deſcent of the Church. What a multitude here cometh of faithful Witneſſes in the time of* John Wickliff, *as* Ocliff, Wickliff, Anno 1379. William Thorp, White, Purvey, Fatſhal, Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gaſcoin, Will. Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, *about the year*, 1400. John Badby, *Anno* 1410. Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagſtaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldſmith, *with an Anchoreſſe called* Mathilde *in the City of* Leiceſter, *Lord* Cobham, *Sir* Roger Acton *Knight*, John Beverley *Preacher*, John Huſſe, Jerome *of* Prague, *a Schoolmaſter, with a number of faithful* Bohemians, *and* Thaborites *not to be told; with whom I might alſo adjoyn* Laurentius Valla, *and* Joannes Picus, *the learned Earl of* Mirandula. *But what do I ſtand upon recital of Names, which almoſt are infinite?*

*Wherefore, if any be ſo far beguiled in his Opinion to think the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome *(as it now ſtandeth) to be of ſuch Antiquity, and that the ſame was never impugned before the time of* Luther *and* Zuinglius *now of late, let them read theſe Hiſtories: or if he think the ſaid Hiſtory not to be of ſufficient credit to alter his Perſwaſion, let him peruſe the Acts and Statutes of Parliaments, paſſed in this Realm of ancient time, and therein conſider and confer the courſe of times; where he may find and read*, Anno 5. Regis Richardi 2. *in the year of our Lord*, 1380. *of a great number (which there be called evil perſons)* going about from Town to Town in Freeze Gowns, preaching unto the people, &c. *Which Preachers although the words of the Statute do term there to be diſſembling perſons, preaching divers Sermons containing Hereſies and notorious Errors, to the emblemiſhment of Chriſtian Faith, and of holy Church, &c. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithſtanding every true Chriſtian Reader may conceive of thoſe Preachers to teach no other Doctrine, than now they hear their own Preachers in Pulpits preach againſt the Biſhop of* Rome, *and the corrupt Hereſies of his Church.* Statut. in An. 5 *Rich.* 2. Anno Dom. 1380

*Furthermore, he ſhall find likewiſe in* Statut. Anno 2 Hen. 4. cap. 15. *in the year of our Lord*, 1402. *another like company of good Preachers and faithful Defenders of true Doctrine againſt blind Hereſie and Error. Whom albeit the words of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falſly term to be* falſe and perverſe Preachers, under diſſembled Holineſs, teaching in thoſe days openly and privily new Doctrines and heretical Opinions, contrary to the Faith and determination of holy Church, &c. *yet notwithſtanding whoſoever readeth Hiſtories, and conferreth the order and deſcent of times, ſhall underſtand theſe to be no falſe Teachers, but faithful Witneſſes of the Truth, not teaching any new Doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church; but rather ſhall find that Church to be unholy which they preached againſt, teaching rather it ſelf heretical Opinions, contrary both to Antiquity, and Verity of Chriſts true Catholick Church.* Ex Stat. in Anno 2 H. 4. cap. 15. Anno Dom. 1402

*Of the like number alſo, or greater, of like faithful Favourers and Followers of Gods holy Word, we find in the year*, 1422. *ſpecified in a Letter ſent from* Henry Chicheſly *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *to Pope* Martin *the Fifth, in the fifth year of his Popedom, where mention is made* of ſome many here *in England* infected *(as he ſaid)* with the Hereſies of *Wickliff* and *Huſſe*, that without force of Army they could not be ſuppreſſed, &c. *Whereupon the Pope ſent two Cardinals to the Archbiſhop, to cauſe a tenth to be gathered of all ſpiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the Chamber Apoſtolik; and if that were not ſufficient, the reſidue to be made up of Chalices, Candleſticks, and other Implements of the Church, &c.* Ex literis Archiepiſc. *Cant. ad Martin.* 5. Anno Dom. 1422

*What ſhall need then any more Witneſſes to prove this matter, when you ſee ſo many years ago whole Armies and Multitudes thus ſtanding againſt the Pope? who though they be termed here for Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, yet in that which they call Hereſie ſerved they the living Lord within the Ark of his true ſpiritual and viſible Church.*

*And where is then the frivolous brag of the Papiſts, which make ſo much of their painted ſheath, and would needs beat us down, that this Government of the Church of* Rome, *which now is, hath been of ſuch an old ſtanding, time out of mind, even from the Primitive Antiquity, and that never was any other Church demonſtrable here in Earth for men to follow, beſides the ſaid only Catholick Mother Church of* Rome? *which as we have ſufficiently proved before, by the continual deſcent of the Church*

*till*

*till this preſent time, that the ſaid Church, after the Doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter, but even the old continued Church, by the providence and promiſe of Chriſt ſtill ſtanding, which albeit it hath been of late years repreſſed by the tyranny of* Roman *Biſhops more than before, yet notwithſtanding it was never ſo oppreſſed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his Goſpel, againſt Hereſies and Errors of the Church of* Rome, *as in this Hiſtory more at full is to be ſeen.*

*Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this deſcent of the Church unto the* 1501 *year.*

Bloody Marks of Chriſts Paſſion ſeen on mens garments in *Germany*, *An.* 1501.

*In which year the Lord began to ſhew in the parts of* Germany *wonderful Tokens, and bloody Marks of his Paſſion, as the bloody-Croſs, his Nails, Spear, and Crown of Thornes, which fell from Heaven upon the Garments and Caps of Men, and Rocks of Women, as you may further read in this Book. By the which Tokens Almighty God, no doubt, preſignified, what grievous Afflictions and bloody Perſecutions ſhould then begin to enſue upon his Church for his Goſpels-ſake, according as in this Hiſtory is deſcribed; wherein is to be ſeen what Chriſtian-blood hath been ſpilt, what Perſecutions raiſed, what Tyranny exerciſed, what Torments deviſed, what Treachery uſed againſt the poor Flock and Church of Chriſt; in ſuch ſort as ſince Chriſts time greater hath not been ſeen.*

Seventy years of Captivity well near expired.

*And now by revolution of years we are come from that time of* 1501, *to the year now preſent* 1570. *In which the full ſeventy years of the* Babyloniſh-*Captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the firſt appearing of theſe bloody Marks above mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of* Luther *and his Perſecution, then lacketh yet ſixteen years. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked World, or what reſt he will give to his Church after theſe long Sorrows, he is our Father in Heaven, his Will be done in Earth as ſeemeth beſt to his divine Majeſty.*

*In the mean time let us for our parts with all patient Obedience wait upon his Graces leiſure, and glorifie his holy Name, and edifie one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our diſputing and contending one againſt another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And foraſmuch as it is the good Will of our God, that Satan thus ſhould be let looſe amongſt us for a ſhort time; yet let us ſtrive in the mean while what we can to amend the malice of the time with mutual humanity. They that be in Error let them not diſdain to learn. They which have greater Talents of Knowledge committed, inſtruct in ſimplicity them that be ſimple. No man liveth in that Commonwealth where nothing is amiſs; but yet becauſe God hath ſo placed us* Engliſhmen *here in one Commonwealth, alſo in one Church, as in one Ship together; let us not mangle or divide the Ship, which being divided periſheth; but every man ſerve with diligence and diſcretion in his Order, wherein he is called. They that ſit at the Helm keep well the point of the Needle, to know how the Ship goeth, and whither it ſhould. Whatſoever weather betideth, the Needle well touched with the Stone of Gods Word, will never fail. Such as labour at the Oars ſtart for no Tempeſt, but do what they can to keep from the Rocks. Likewiſe they which be in inferior Rooms take heed they move no Sedition nor Diſturbance againſt the Rowers and Mariners. No Storm ſo dangerous to a Ship on the Sea, as is diſcord and diſorder in a Weal publick. What Countries and Nations, what Kingdoms and Empires, what Cities, Towns and Houſes diſcord hath diſſolved, in Stories is manifeſt; I need not ſpend time in rehearſing Examples. The God of Peace, who hath Power both of Land and Sea, reach forth his merciful hand, to help them up that ſink, to keep up them that ſtand, to ſtill theſe Winds and ſurging Seas of Diſcord and Contention among us; that we profeſſing one Chriſt, may in one Unity of Doctrine gather our ſelves into one Ark of the true Church together, where we continuing ſtedfaſt in Faith, may at the laſt luckily be conducted to the joyful Port of our deſired landing-place, by his heavenly Grace. To whom both in Heaven and Earth, be all Power and Glory, with his Father and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.*

Exhortation to the Church of *England*.

## *The Utility of this* STORY.

THe World being repleniſhed with ſuch an infinite multitude of Books of all kind of matters, I may ſeem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand ſuperfluous and needleſs, at this preſent to ſet out ſuch Volumes, eſpecially of Hiſtories, conſidering now adays the World is ſo greatly peſtered, not only with ſuperfluous plenty thereof, but of all other Treatiſes, ſo that Books now ſeem rather to lack Readers, than Readers to lack Books. In the which multitude of Books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail this inſatiable boldneſs of many now adays both in Writing and Printing; which, to ſay the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man elſe beſide; and would therefore no man ſhould think that unadviſedly or with raſhneſs I have attempted this Enterpriſe, as one being not only doubtful, but alſo both baſhful and fearful within my ſelf for ſetting the ſame abroad. And why? Firſt, I perceived how learned this Age of ours is in reading of Books, neither could I tell what the ſecret judgments of Readers would conceive, to ſee ſo weak a thing to ſet upon ſuch a weighty Enterpriſe, not ſufficiently furniſhed with ſuch Ornaments able to ſatisfie the perfection of ſo great a ſtory, or ſufficient to ſerve the Utility of the Studious, and the delight of the Learned. Which ability, the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the leſs I durſt be bold to become a Writer. *Multitude of Books lamented.*

But again on the other ſide, when I weighed with my ſelf what memorable Acts and famous Doings this later Age of the Church hath miniſtred to us by the patient Sufferings of the worthy Martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that ſo precious Monuments of ſo many matters, meet to be recorded and regiſtred in Books, ſhould be buried by my default, under darkneſs of Oblivion. Me thought ſomewhat was to be ſaid of them for their well deſerving, and ſomething again of our parts for benefit by them received. But above all other things, nothing did ſo ſtir me forward hereunto, as the diligent conſideration and ſpecial regard of the common Utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of thoſe Monuments or Martyrology; which Hiſtory as I have taken in hand chiefly for the uſe of the *Engliſh*-Church, ſo have I framed it in that Tongue which the ſimple people could beſt underſtand.

Now if men commonly delight ſo much in other Chronicles which entreat only upon matters of Policy, and rejoyce to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the Stratagems of valiant Captains, the terror of foughten Fields, the ſacking of Cities, the hurlyburlies of Realms and People; And if men think it ſuch a gay thing in a Commonwealth to commit to Hiſtory ſuch old Antiquities of things prophane, and beſtow all their Ornaments of Wit and Eloquence in garniſhing the ſame, how much more then is it meet for Chriſtians to conſerve in remembrance the Lives, Acts, and Doings, not of bloody Warriors, but of mild and conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, which ſerve not ſo much to delight the ear, as to garniſh the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Chriſtian godlineſs? As firſt, by reading thereof we may learn a lively teſtimony of Gods mighty working in the life of man; contrary to the opinion of *Atheiſts*, and all the whole Neſt of *Epicures*. For like as one ſaid of *Harpalus* in times paſt, that his doings gave a lively teſtimony againſt God, becauſe he being ſo wicked a man, eſcaped ſo long unpuniſhed; ſo contrariwiſe in theſe men we have a much more aſſured and plain witneſs of God, both in whoſe Lives and Deaths appeared ſuch manifeſt Declarations of Gods divine working, whiles in ſuch ſharpneſs of Torments we behold in them ſtrength ſo conſtant above mans reach, ſuch readineſs to anſwer, ſuch patience in impriſonment, ſuch godlineſs in forgiving, chearfulneſs, ſo couragious in ſuffering, beſides the manifold ſenſe and feeling of the Holy Ghoſt, which they in their Lives ſo plentifully taſted in their Afflictions, as in reading of their Letters evidently we may underſtand. Over and beſides this the mild deaths of the Saints do not a little avail to the ſtabliſhing of a good Conſcience, to learn the contempt of the World, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm Faith, encreaſe Godlineſs, abate Pride in Proſperity, and in Adverſity do open an hope of heavenly Comfort. For what man reading the miſery of theſe godly perſons may not therein, as in a Glaſs, behold his own caſe, whether he be godly or godleſs? For if God give Adverſity unto good men, what may either the better ſort promiſe themſelves, or the evil not fear? And as by reading of prophane ſtories we are made perhaps more skilful in Warlike affairs; ſo by reading this we are made better in our livings, and beſides are better prepared unto the, like Conflicts, (if by Gods permiſſion they ſhall happen hereafter) more wiſe by their Doctrine, and more ſtedfaſt by their Example. *comparison between worldly Souldiers and the Souldiers of Chriſt.*

To be ſhort, they declare to the World what true Chriſtian Fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which ſtandeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the Reſurrection to come, and is now, I truſt, at hand. In conſideration whereof, me thinks I have good cauſe to wiſh, that like as other Subjects, even ſo alſo Kings and Princes, which commonly delight in Heroical Stories, would diligently peruſe ſuch Monuments of Martyrs, and lay them always in ſight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their Walls, Cups, Rings, and Gates. For doubtleſs ſuch as theſe are more worthy of honour than an

hundred

hundred *Alexanders*, *Hectors*, *Scipio's*, and War-like *Julies*. And though the World judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are to be reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a Weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods Cause do retain an invincible constancy against the Threats of Tyrants, and Violence of Tormentors. Such as these are indeed the true Conquerors of the World, by whom we learn true Manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the World. With this valiantness did that most mild Lamb, and invincible Lion of the Tribe of *Juda* first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable Fortitude we hear this Prophetical admiration, *Who is this* (saith he) *which walketh so in the multitude of his strength*; Forsooth the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the World, and yet conquering the World after the same manner he was conquered. Isa. 63.

The like dance did all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the ancient Antiquity of the Church did attribute so much honour, as never King or Emperor could purchase in this World with all their Images, Pillars, high Spires, Triumphs, Temples, and all their solemn Feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the Memory but also the Reliques of those goods Martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient Christians. We have also for witness the learned Hymns and Songs of *Prudentius* and *Nazianzen*, wherewith *Pindarus* did never so much set out his Triumphs of *Olympia* and *Nemea*. I need not here rehearse the learned Orations of Eloquent *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Jerome*, who never shewed their Eloquence more, than when they fell into the Commendations of the godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to Martyrs; with what Gratulation, Rejoyce, Mirth, and common Joy the Afflictions of those godly, dying in Christs Quarrel, were sometime received and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the Church did well consider how much she was beholding to their benefits, by whose death she understood her Treasures to increase. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our time deserve any less Commendation, than the other in the Primitive Church; which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatness of their Torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of Posterity, and increase of the Gospel. They did water with their Blood the Truth that was newly springing up; so these by their deaths restored it again, being so decayed and faln down. They standing in the foreward of the battel, did receive the first Incounter and Violence of their Enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such Tyranny; these with like courage again, like old beaten Souldiers, did win the field in the rereward of the battel. They like famous Husbandmen of the World did sow the Fields of the Church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these with fatness of their Blood did cause it to batten and fructifie. Would to God the Fruit might be speedily gathered into the Barn, which only remaineth behind to come.

*Comparison between the Martyrs of the Primitive Church, and of the later Church.*

Now, if we ascribe such Reputation to godly Preachers (and worthily) which diligently Preach the Gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of Persecution; how much more reasonable cause have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their Lives for the defence of the same? All these premisses duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous Martyrs in this our Age, [illegible] not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkind to them, than the Writers of the Primitive Church were unto theirs. And though we repute not their Ashes, Chains, and Swords in stead of Relicks; yet let us yield thus much unto their Commemoration, to glorifie the Lord in his Saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their Lives at the least with like Innocency. They offered their Bodies willingly to the rough handling of the Tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortifie our Flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the Riches and Glory of the World for the love of Christ, but also their Lives; and shall we then keep so great a stir one against another for the transitory trifles of this World? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done to them, and when their very hearts blood gushed out of their Bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor Brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their Persecutors; and therefore ought we, which are now the Posterity and Children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but being admonished, by their Examples, if we cannot express their charity toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any. And if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving and not revenging the same. And let us not only keep our Hands from shedding of Blood, but our Tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, by Martyrdom, or loss of Life, according to their Example, to yield up the same in the defence of the Lords Flock. Which thing if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the World than now is. And thus much touching the Utility and Fruit to be taken of this History.

TO

# To all the Profeſſed FRIENDS and FOLLOWERS of the POPES Proceedings.

## *Four Queſtions Propounded.*

TO you all and ſingular which profeſs the Doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy Father, and of your Mother-Church of *Rome*, pretending the Name of *Catholicks*, commonly termed *Papiſts*, whereſoever abiding in the Realm of *England*, theſe four Queſtions or Problems hereunder following I would move, deſiring you all either to muſe upon them, or to anſwer them at your leiſure. Four demands or queſtions put forth to the Papiſts.

### The firſt Queſtion.

FIrſt, Forſomuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Iſaith the Hill of his Holineſs) beareth in the Scripture an undoubted Type of the Spiritual Church of Chriſt; and forſomuch as the ſaid Iſaiah, Chapter eleventh, and ſixty fifth, propheſying of the ſaid Mount Sion, ſaith in theſe words, Non nocebunt. *Iſa.* 11. neque affligent in omni monte ſancto meo, dicit Dominus, &c. That is, They ſhall not kill nor hurt in all my holy 65. Hill, ſaith the Lord, &c. And again in the ſame Chapters thus we read, Habitabit Lupus cum Agno, & Pardus cum Hædo accubabit, Vitulus & Leo & Ovis una commorabuntur, & puellus parvulus ducet eos, &c. That is, The Wolf ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard with the Kid; the Calf, the Lion, and the Sheep ſhall feed together, and a young Child ſhall rule them. The Cow alſo and the Bear ſhall abide together with their young Ones, and the Lion ſhall eat Chaff and Fodder like the Ox, &c. The firſt queſtion.

Upon theſe premiſſes now followeth my queſtion; How the Church of Rome can be anſwerable to this Hill of Sion, ſeeing in the ſame Church of Rome is and hath been now ſo many years ſuch killing and ſlaying, ſuch cruelty and tyranny ſhewed, ſuch burning and ſpilling of Chriſtian blood, ſuch malice and miſchief wrought, as in reading theſe Hiſtories may to all the World appear? Objection.

To this if they anſwer, and expound theſe words of the Prophet, as pertaining to the Church-Triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the ſame place and in the ſame ſentence expreſſed, that ſenſe cannot ſtand, forſmuch as the Prophet in the very ſame place, where he propheſieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy Mountain without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the Earth, and ſheweth alſo the cauſe of that godly peace. Becauſe (ſaith he) the Earth is repleniſhed with Knowledge and Science of the Lord, &c. Ibid. And furthermore the Prophet, ſpeaking of the ſame day when this ſhall be, addeth, ſaying, In that day the Root of *Jeſſe* ſhall ſtand for a ſign to the people, for the *Gentiles* to be converted, and to ſeek unto him, &c. Which day in no wiſe can be applied to the Church in Heaven Triumphant, but only here Militant in Earth. Refutation

Touching which place of Iſaiah further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the States, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal) is not reſtrained the publick penalty of good Laws needful to be executed upon publick Malefactors, but here is reſtrained the fierceneſs, revenge, cruelty and violence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly ſubject by nature, through grace and working of the Goſpel they are altered, reformed, and changed to another diſpoſition, from ſtoutneſs to ſoftneſs, from violence to ſufferance, from fierceneſs to forbearing, from pride to humility, from cruelty to compaſſion, from wylineſs to ſimplicity, from ſolemn ſingularity to humanity and meekneſs. Which verdues, if they had been in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of Saint Paul, Which willeth men that be ſtronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the ſpirit of meekneſs, &c. *Rom.* 15. *Gal.* 6.) I ſhould not have needed now at this time to write ſuch a long Hiſtory as this, of the ſuffering of ſo many Martyrs. Publick execution of Laws not forbidden in Scripture. The Conditions and Properties of the true Church of Chriſt. *Rom.* 15. *Gal.* 6.

### The ſecond Queſtion.

MY ſecond Queſtion is this, To demand of you Catholick Profeſſors of the Popes Sect, which ſo deadly malign and perſecute the Proteſtants profeſſing the Goſpel of Chriſt; What juſt or reaſonable cauſe have you to alledge for this your extream hatred ye bear unto them, that neither your ſelves can abide to live with them, nor yet will ſuffer them to live amongſt you? If they were Jews, Turks, or Infidels, or in their Doctrine were any idolatrous Impiety, or deteſtable Iniquity in their lives; if they went about any deadly Deſtruction, or privy Conſpiracies to oppreſs your lives, or by fradulent dealing to circumvent you; then had you ſome cauſe to complain, and alſo to revenge. Now ſeeing in their Doctrine ye have neither Blaſphemy, Idolatry, Superſtition, nor miſbelief to object unto them; ſeeing they are baptized in the ſame Belief, and believe the ſame Articles of the Creed as ye do; having the ſame God, the ſame Chriſt and Saviour, the ſame Baptiſm, and are ready to confer with you in all kind of Chriſtian Doctrine, neither do refuſe to be tried by any place of the Scripture; how then riſeth this mortal malice of you againſt them? If you think them to be Hereticks, then bring forth, if ye can, any one Sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, expounded by the cenſure of moſt ancient Doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confeſs the ſame? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault find you? They ſerve God, they walk under his fear, they obey his Law, as men may do: and though they be Tranſgreſſors towards him, as other men are, yet toward you what have they done, what have they committed or deſerved, why you ſhould be ſo bitter againſt them? The ſecond queſtion. The deadly hatred of the Papiſts againſt the Proteſtants grounded upon no juſt cauſe or deſerving.

What offended the poor Inhabitants of Merindoll and Cabriers, when the Biſhop of Aix, the Cardinal of Turon, and other Biſhops of France, wreſting from Francis the French King a Commiſſion, ſent Minerius with his Captain John de Gray, to deſtroy their Country, Anno 1530. who driving the poor people there into a Barn full of ſtraw, ſet the Barn on fire, and burned up Men, Women, and Children? And likewiſe in a Church exerciſed the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the ſame time to the number of a thouſand Young and Old, Women, Children, and young Infants, beſides ſeven whole Towns, with the moſt part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the ſaid Country of Provence. Malice and cruelty of Papiſts againſt the Country of Merindol and Cabriers

Alſo

Malice of Papiſts againſt the Citizens of *Tholouſe* in *France*.

Alſo before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouſe and Avinion, when Pope Gregory the Ninth ſet Lewis the French King to War againſt them, and againſt Raymundus their Earl, without cauſe; where alſo the ſaid King died at the Siege.

Malice and cruelty of Papiſts againſt the Proteſtants of the Town of *Vaſſy*.

Or to ſpeak of later years, what hurt or harm did the poor Proteſtants in the Town of Vaſſy, who, being peaceably at a Sermon, were miſerably ſlain and cut, Men, Women, and Children, by the Duke of Guiſe and his armed Souldiers? Beſides other infinite Examples almoſt not to be numbred of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other Countries more.

Clemency and mercy ſhewed to Papiſts in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

But to let other Countries paſs, let us turn now to the peaceable Government in this Realm of England, under this our ſo mild and gracious Queen now preſently reigning. Under whom you ſee how gently you are ſuffered, what mercy is ſhewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you would have, having almoſt the beſt Rooms and Offices in all the Realm, not only without any loſs of life, but alſo without any fear of death? And though a few of your Arch-Clerks be in cuſtody, yet in that cuſtody ſo ſhrewdly are they hurt, that many a good Proteſtant in the Realm would be glad with all their hearts to change Rooms and Diet with them, if they might. And albeit ſome other for their pleaſure have ſlipt over the Seas; if their courage to ſee Countries abroad did ſo allure them, who could let them? Yet this is certain, no dread there was of death that drave them. For what Papiſt have you ſeen in all this Land to loſe either life or limb for Papiſtry, during all theſe twelve years hitherto ſince this Queens Reign? And yet all this notwithſtanding, having no cauſe to complain, ſo many cauſes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleaſed with peace, nor ſatisfied with ſafety, but hope for a day, and fain would have a change. And to prevent your deſired day, ye have conſpired, and riſen up in open Rebellion againſt your Prince, whom the Lord hath ſet up to be your Governour.

The traiterous murdering of the Lord *James* Regent of *Scotland*, Martyr.

And as you have ſince that now of late diſturbed the quiet and peaceable State of Scotland, in murdering moſt traiterouſly the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in ſparing the Queens life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore loſt his own;) ſo with like fury, as by your Rebellion appeareth, would you diſturb the golden quiet and tranquillity of this Realm of England, if ye might have your will. Which the merciful Grace of the Almighty, for Chriſt his Sons ſake our Lord, forefend and utterly diſappoint. Amen.

The chief cauſe of all theſe later Perſecutions in the Church, is only the private quarrel of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Wherefore theſe premiſſes conſidered, my queſtion is to aſk of you and know, what juſt or reaſonable cauſe ye have of theſe your unreaſonable doings, of this your ſo mortal and deadly hatred, fury and malice you bear againſt theſe your even-Chriſtened, of theſe your Tumults, Conſurations, Gaping and Yoping, Rebellions, Putterings, and Murders wherewith you trouble and diſquiet the whole World? Of all which miſchiefs if the true cauſe were well known, the truth would be found doubtleſs to be none other but only the private cauſe of the Biſhop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

The Plantation of the Popes Supremacy proved not to be of God.

Touching which cauſe how unreaſonable and unjuſt it is, more ſhall be ſaid (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I ſhall ſee their anſwer, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe them, or any of them to anſwer this queſtion. In the mean time, this for a brief note ſhall ſuffice; that it ſtandeth not with Scripture, but contrary to Scripture, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould ſo revenge his own private cauſe. If this Title and Plantation be good and of God, why doth he not refer it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be ſo, God will maintain it though the whole World ſaid No. If it be otherwiſe, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the World ſaid Yea. Yea the greateſt argument to prove this Plantation of the Popes Supremacy not to be of God, is, that the Pope, fighting in his own private cauſe, by outward and worldly force ſeeketh his own glory. Chriſt our Saviour, being here refuſed himſelf, yet neither revenged his own cauſe, nor ſought his own Glory, but only the Glory and Will of his Father, thus ſpeaking of himſelf, Si ego glorifico meipſum, gloria mea nihil eſt, pater meus eſt qui glorificat me, &c. *John* 8. That is, If I glorifie my ſelf, my glory is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me, &c. Even ſo I ſay with Scripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not ſo wraſtle for his glory, as he doth; But forſomuch as he ſeeketh by ſuch cruelty and bloodſhed to exalt himſelf, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he ſhould be brought low, &c. *Luke* 18. Luke 18.

*John* 8.

## The third Queſtion.

The third queſtion. *Apoc.* 13.

My third queſtion I take of the thirteenth Chapter of the Book of Revelation, Which Book as it containeth a Prophetical Hiſtory of the Church, ſo likewiſe it requireth by Hiſtories to be opened. In this Hiſtory mention is made, firſt of a certain Beaſt coming out of the Sea, having ſeven Heads and ten Horns, with ten Diadems of Blaſphemy: Unto the which Beaſt the Dragon the Devil gave his ſtrength, and great Power to fight againſt his Saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty two months; of the which Beaſt one of his heads was wounded at length to death, &c.

The two Beaſts in the Book of *Revelation* deſcribed.

The ſecond Beaſt with horns like a Lamb.

After this, immediately in the ſame Chapter, mention followeth of another Beaſt riſing out of the Land, having two Horns like a Lamb, and ſpake like a Dragon, and did all the Power of the former Beaſt before his face, and cauſed all dwellers of the Earth to Worſhip the Beaſt, whoſe Head was wounded and lived. Who alſo had had Power to give ſpirit and life to the ſaid former Beaſt, to make the Image of the Beaſt to ſpeak, and to cauſe all men, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to take the mark of the Beaſt in their Hands and Foreheads; and whoſoever worſhipped not the Image of the Beaſt, ſhould be killed, &c.

Upon this deſcripcion of theſe two Beaſts riſeth my queſtion; wherein I deſire all Papiſts, from the higheſt to the loweſt, either to anſwer, or to conſider with themſelves, what the ſpirit of the Proph[illegible] meaneth by the ſaid two Beaſts. Neither is the myſtery of this Propheſie ſo obſcure, but being Hiſtorical by Hiſtories it may be explained and eaſily expounded. Writing therefore to the Papiſts, as men expert in Hiſtories, my queſtion is this, That ſeeing the Propheſie of theſe two Beaſts muſt needs prefigure ſome People or Dominion in the World, of ſome high eſtate and power; they will now declare unto us, what people or domination this ſhould be. Which if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and properties of the ſaid two Beaſts here ſet forth, they muſt needs be driven of force inevitable to grant and confeſs, the ſame to agree only to the City and Empire of Rome, and to no other; which by theſe Reaſons following of neceſſity muſt needs be concluded.

The myſtery of the firſt Beaſt riſing out of the Sea, applied.

Firſt, The Beaſt which came out of the Sea, having the Strength, the Seat and Power of the great Dragon (the Devil called the Prince of this World) committed to him, who alſo had Power given over all Tribes, Nations, Languages, People and Countries in the Earth, muſt needs be an Empire or Monarchy of great force, paſſing all other Monarchies in the world beſides: and this muſt needs argue the Empire of Rome and none other.

The Image of the Beaſt reſembled to the Monarchy of *Rome*, Apoc. 13.

Secondly, In that the Beaſt had ſeven heads and ten horns, with ten Diadems full of blaſphemy upon them; thoſe ſeven heads being expounded in the ſame Book, Chap. 17. for ſeven Hills, notoriouſly importeth the City of Rome, wherein were ſeven hills contained. The like alſo may be thought of the ten horns, being there expounded

pounded for ten Kings (ſignifying belike the ten Provinces and Kingdoms of the world, ſubdued to the Roman Empire) with ten Crowns of Blaſphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree to the City of Rome.

Thirdly, Where the ſaid Beaſt had Power to make 42 months, and to fight againſt the Saints, and to overcome them, &c. Thereby moſt manifeſtly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the Heathen perſecuting Emperors, which had Power given the ſpace of ſo many months (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, 294 years) to perſecute Chriſts Church, as in the Table of the Primitive Church hereafter following is diſcourſed more at large. Of theſe forty two months, and the expoſition thereof read after.

Fourthly, Where the Prophet ſpeaketh of one of the heads of the Beaſt to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured again; by that ye have to underſtand the decay and ſubverſion of the City of Rome, and of Italy which, being one of the heads of the Roman Monarchy, was ſubdued by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and the City of Rome thrice ſackt and taken, between the Reign of Honorius Emperor of Rome, and the time of Juſtinian Emperor of Conſtantinople; and ſo remained this head of Rome wounded a long time under the Dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound was cured again, as the ſequel of this Prophecie declareth. For ſo it followeth in the aforeſaid Chapter of the Revelation; And after this I ſaw (ſaith he) another Beaſt riſing out of the Land, having two horns like the Lamb, and ſpake like the Dragon. Who practiſed all the Power of the firſt Beaſt before his face, and cauſed all the Inhabitants of the Earth to worſhip the firſt Beaſt, whoſe head was wounded and cured again, &c. And to him it was given to give life to the Image of the Beaſt, and to make it ſpeak: and alſo to make all them that will not worſhip the Image of the Beaſt, to be ſlain, and cauſed all from the moſt to the leaſt, both rich and poor, free-men and bond-men, to take the mark of the Beaſt in their right hand and in their foreheads, ſo that none ſhould buy or ſell, unleſs he had the Beaſts mark about him, &c. The wounded head of the Beaſt in the *Revelation* what it meaneth. The ſecond Beaſt riſing out of the Land, pretending the horns of a Lamb, what it meaneth.

The deſcription of this ſecond Beaſt being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but it muſt be applied to the Biſhop of Rome, and to none other; as by Hiſtory, and order of times is evident to be proved. For who elſe repreſenteth the horns of the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the World, but only he? Who ſpeaketh with the voice of the Dragon ſo proudly as he? The voice of the Dragon ſpake unto Chriſt, That all the glory of the World was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it, &c. And doth not this falſe horned Lamb, ſpeaking in the ſame voice of the Dragon, ſay by the mouth of P. Greg. 7. That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were his, and that he had Power in Earth to looſe, and take away Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what elſe ſoever mortal men may have, and to give them where he would, &c. *Ex Plat. in vit. Gregor. 7.* *Apoc. 13.* The myſtery of the thirteenth Chapter of the *Revelation* expounded.

Furthermore, at what time the declining State of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought under ſubjection of the Lombards, then the Pope ſtirred up Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part againſt the Lombards, and to reſtore again the old glory of that Monarchy to his former State. And therefore who cured the wounded head of this Beaſt again, but only he? Who gave life and ſpeech to the Image of the Beaſt, but he? who, after that by the help of the French Kings he had ſubdued thoſe Lombards with other Aliens, and had gotten the poſſeſſion of Rome into his own hands, he ſo repaired and advanced the fame and name of Rome, that ſince that time all perſons from the higheſt to the loweſt, both rich and poor, have been glad to ſend and ſeek to Rome, yea Kings, Emperors, Queens and Dukes have been glad to kiſs that Biſhops feet, and to lead his horſe by the bridle. So that the Majeſty of Rome, in the old Heathen Emperors days was never more terrible nor glorious, nor ever had more power to perſecute and overcome Gods Saints, than theſe Lambelike Biſhops of Rome had, and have exerciſed theſe 500 years in Chriſtendom. And therefore who elſe in all the World hath ſo much Power to do the Works of the firſt Beaſt before his face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive the Seal, and ſo become loyal to the City and See of Rome; ſo that whoſoever hath not the mark whereby to be known to hold of the Church of Rome, ſhall have no place to buy and ſell, nor to occupy in all Chriſtendom. *Ex Platina in vita Greg. 7.* The Image of the old Monarchy revived by the Biſhop of *Rome.* Power to do the works of the Beaſt before his ſight. *Apoc. 13.*

Now if any Papiſts whatſoever, in anſwering to this my queſtion, can apply this prophetical myſtery of theſe two Beaſts otherwiſe than thus, I would heartily deſire him to take ſo much pains to ſatisfie this doubt at his good pleaſure and leiſure. In the mean ſeaſon, let this ſtand for a Corolarium, that the Biſhop of Rome by this deſcription muſt be that ſecond Beaſt prophecied to come in the later time of the Church under a falſe pretenſed Lamb, to reſtore again the old Perſecutions of Rome, and to diſturb the whole Church of Chriſt, as this day too truly it is come to paſs.

## The fourth Queſtion.

AS touching my fourth queſtion, although I could urge you with another like prophetical place of Scripture, no leſs evident againſt the Biſhop of Rome, taken out of the ſecond Epiſtle of Saint Paul to the Theſſalonians, where mention is made of the Son of Perdition, ſitting in the Temple of God, as God, and advancing himſelf above all that is called God, &c. Which place ye can by no reaſonable evaſion avoid; yet notwithſtanding to let this paſs, I turn my queſtion to ask this of you; Whether the Religion of Chriſt be more ſpiritual, or elſe corporal? If ye affirm it to be corporal, as was the old Religion of the Jews, conſiſting in outward Rites, Sacrifices, and Ceremonies of the Law; then ſhew if ye can, what any one outward action or obſervation is required in Chriſtian Religion by the Scripture, as neceſſary in a Chriſtian man for remiſſion of ſins and ſalvation, ſave only the two Sacramental Ceremonies of outward Baptiſm, and of the Lords Supper? Howbeit, neither theſe alſo as they are corporal; that is to ſay, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remiſſion of ſins nor ſalvation, but only are viſible ſhews of inviſible and ſpiritual Benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom we ſerve be Spiritual; how can his Religion and Service be Corporal, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, ſaying, God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worſhip him muſt worſhip in Spirit and Verity, &c. *John* 4.

Now if you grant (as ye muſt needs) this our Chriſtian Religion to be ſpiritual, and not a corporal Religion, then ſhew, if ye can, any one point of all theſe things, which ye ſtrive for ſo much with us, to be ſpiritual, but altogether corporal, and extern matters and Ceremonial Obſervations, nothing conducing to any ſpiritual purpoſe, as your outward ſucceſſion of Biſhops, Garments, Veſtures, Geſtures, Colours, choice of Meats, difference of days, times and places, hearing, ſeeing, ſaying, touching, faſting, numbring of Beads, gilding and worſhipping of Images, building of Monaſteries, riſing at midnight, ſilence in Cloyſters, abſtaining from fleſh and white meat, faſting in Lent, keeping Ember-days, hearing Maſs and Divine Service, ſeeing and adoring the Body in form of Bread, receiving holy-Water and holy-Bread, creeping to the Crois, carrying Palms, taking Aſhes, bearing Candles, Pilgrimage going, cenſing, knæling, knocking, Altars, ſuper-Altars, Candlecticks, Pardons; In Diners, croſſing, anointing, ſhaving, wearing Marriage; In Baptiſm, croſſing, ſalting, ſpeeting, exorciſing, waſhing of hands; at Eaſter, ear-confeſſion, Penance-doing, ſatisfaction: And in receiving, with Beards new ſhaven, to imagine a Body where they ſee no Body; and though he were there preſent to be ſeen, yet the outward ſeeing and touching of him, of it ſelf, without Faith conduceth no more, than it did to the Jews. At Rogation-days to carry Banners, to follow the Croſs, to walk about the fields. After Pentecoſt, to go about with Corpus Chriſti play. At Hollomas to watch in the Church, to ſay a Dirge, and Commemorations, and to ring for All-Souls, to pay Tythes truly, to give to the high Altar. And if a man Religion of Chriſt Spiritual, and not corporal. The whole ſum of the Popes Catholick Religion ſet forth in parts. The Pope turneth the ſpiritual Religion of Chriſt to a corporal Religion.

will be a Prieſt, to ſay Maſs and Mattens, to ſerve the Saint of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In ſickneſs to be annealed, to take his Rites; after his death to have Funerals, and Dirites ſaid for him, and to be rung for at his Funeral, month mind, and year mind, &c. Add moreover to theſe the outward Sacrifice of the Maſs, with opus operatum ſine bono motu utentis, &c.

A man may be a Catholick by the Popes Religion, without any working of the Holy Ghoſt.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole ſummary and effect of all the Popes Catholick Religion; ſo are they all corporal exerciſes, conſiſting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholick Chriſtian, then it may be ſaid, that men may be made perfect Chriſtians by fleſh and blood, without any inward working of Faith, or of the Holy Ghoſt. For what is in all theſe, but that which fleſh and blood of his ſtrength is able to accompliſh, though no inward ſtrength or motion of the Holy Ghoſt did work?

The nature of true Chriſtian Religion deſcribed.

But now the order of our Religion, and way of ſalvation, conſiſteth not in ſuch corporal or outward things as theſe, but in other more high and more ſpiritual gifts, which do far exceed the capacity of fleſh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefeſt and only main cauſe that ſaveth man, and remitteth ſins, is his Faith in Chriſt. Which Faith I thus define; for a man to believe by the bloodſhedding of Jeſus the Son of God, his ſins to be forgiven, Gods wrath to be pacified, and himſelf to be juſtified perfectly from all Accuſations that can be laid unto him, &c. And though the Papiſts make a light matter of this, to believe in Chriſt; and when they hear us ſay, That Faith only juſtifieth, they object to us again, and make it a ſmall matter to be ſaved, if Faith only juſtifieth us; yet notwithſtanding this Faith, if it be well examined, is ſuch a thing that fleſh and blood is not able to attain thereto, unleſs Gods holy Spirit from above do draw him.

Salvation of man ſtandeth only in Faith in Chriſt. Faith in Chriſt no light matter to fleſh and blood.

Moreover, beſides this Faith, many other things are incident alſo to the Doctrine of our Salvation. Albeit as no cauſes thereof, but either as Sacraments and Seals of Faith, or as declarations thereof, or elſe as fruits and effects following the ſame. So Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord be as teſtimonies and proofs, that by our Faith only in Chriſt we are juſtified, that as our bodies are waſhed by water, and our life nouriſhed by bread and wine, ſo by the blood of Chriſt our ſins be purged, and the hunger of our ſouls relieved by the death of his body.

Many things incident to ſalvation beſides Faith; but not as cauſes thereof.

Upon the ſame Faith riſeth alſo outward profeſſion by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things alſo as fruits and effects do follow after Faith, as peace of Conſcience, joy in the Holy Ghoſt, Invocation, Patience, Charity, Mercy, Judgment, and Sanctification. For God for our Faith in Chriſt his Son therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of Peace and Sanctification, whereby mans heart is moved to a godly diſpoſition to fear God, to ſeek him, to call upon him, to truſt unto him, to ſtick to him in all Adverſities and Perſecutions, to love him, and for his ſake alſo to love our Brethren, to have mercy and compaſſion upon them, to viſit them if they be in priſon, to break Bread to them if they be hungry, and if they be burdened to eaſe them, to cloath them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houſeleſs, Matthew the five and twentieth, with ſuch other ſpiritual exerciſes of Piety and Sanctification as theſe. Which therefore I call ſpiritual, becauſe they proceed of the holy Spirit and Law of God, which is ſpiritual.

Works of Sanctification, how they come and follow Faith.

Eſay 58.

Mat. 25.

And thus have ye a Catholick Chriſtian defined, firſt after the Rules of Rome, and alſo after the Rule of the Goſpel. Now confer theſe Antitheſes together, and ſee whither of theſe is the true Chriſtian, the ceremonial man after the Church of Rome, or the ſpiritual man with his Faith and other ſpiritual Fruits of piety following after the ſame. And if ye ſay that ye mix them both together, ſpiritual things with your corporal Ceremonies, to that I anſwer again, that as touching the end of remiſſion of ſins, and ſalvation, they ought in no caſe to be joyned together, becauſe the main cauſes of all our Salvation and Remiſſion is only ſpiritual, and conſiſteth in Faith and in no other.

And therefore upon the ſame cauſe I come to my queſtion again, as I began, to aſk whether the Religion of Chriſt be a mere ſpiritual Religion; and whether in the Religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but only mere corporal things required, to make a Catholick man. And thus I leave you unto your anſwer.

IN turning over the firſt leaf of this Book, thou ſhalt find, gentle Reader, the Arguments of Pighius and Hoſius, wherein thus they argue, That forſomuch as Chriſt muſt needs have a Catholick Church ever continuing here in Earth, which all men may ſee, and whereunto all men ought to reſort; and ſeeing no other Church hath indured continually from the Apoſtles, viſible here in Earth, but only the Church of Rome; they conclude therefore, the Church of Rome only to be the right Catholick Church of Chriſt, &c.

In anſwering whereunto, this is to be ſaid; that forſomuch as the medius terminus of this Argument, both in the Major and Minor conſiſteth only in the word (viſible and unknown) if they mean by this word (viſible) in the Major, that Chriſts Church muſt be ſeen here to all the world, that all men may reſort to it, it is falſe. Likewiſe, if they mean by the ſame word (viſible) in the Minor, that no other Church hath been ſeen and known to any, but only the Church of Rome, they are likewiſe deceived. For the true Church of Chriſt neither is ſo viſible, that all the world can ſee it, but only they which have ſpiritual eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet ſo inviſible again, but ſuch as be Gods Elect, and members thereof, do ſee it, and have ſeen it, though the worldly eyes of the moſt multitude cannot do ſo, &c. Whereof read more in the Proteſtation above premixed to the Church of England.

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# Four Conſiderations given out to Chriſtian Proteſtants, Profeſſors of the Goſpel, With a brief Exhortation inducing to reformation of Life.

### *The firſt Conſideration.*

AS in the Page before four Queſtions were moved to the Catholick Papiſts, to anſwer them at their leiſure; ſo have I here to the Chriſtian Goſpellers four Conſiderations for them to muſe upon with ſpeed convenient.

The firſt Conſideration is this, That every good man well weigh with himſelf the long Tranquillity, the great Plenty, the peaceable Liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath beſtowed upon this Land during all the Reign hitherto of this our Sovereign and moſt happy Queen *Elizabeth*, in ſuch ſort as the like example of Gods abundant mercies is not to be ſeen in any Nation about us; ſo as we may well ſing with the *Pſalm* in the Church: *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, & opes gloriæ ſuæ non manifeſtavit eis*; Firſt in having the true Light of Gods Goſpel ſo ſhining among us, ſo publickly received, ſo freely preached, with ſuch liberty of conſcience without danger profeſſed; having withall a Prince ſo vertuous, a Queen ſo gracious given unto us, of our own native Country; bred and born amongſt us, ſo quietly governing us, ſo long lent unto us, in ſuch Peace defending us againſt ſuch as would elſe devour us; briefly, what could we have more at Gods hand, if we would wiſh? Or what elſe could we wiſh in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not Grace to uſe that well which we have?

The

*The ſecond Conſideration.*

AS theſe things firſt are to be conſidered concerning our ſelves, ſo ſecondly let us conſider likewiſe the ſtate and times of other our Countrymen and bleſſed Martyrs aforepaſt; what ſtorms of Perſecutions they ſuſtained, what little reſt they had, with what Enemies they were matched, with what croſſes preſſed, under what Princes, under what Prelates they lived, or rather died, in the days of King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, King *Henry* the Seventh, King *Henry* the Eighth, Queen *Mary*, *&c.* under *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Cholmley*, *Story*, Biſhop *Arundel*, *Stokeſley*, *Courtney*, *Warham*. At what time Children were cauſed to ſet fire to their Fathers; the Father adjured to accuſe the Son, the Wife to accuſe the Husband, the Husband the Wife, Brother the Siſter, Siſter the Brother, Examples whereof are plenty in this Book to be ſeen.

*The third Conſideration.*

THirdly, Let us call to mind, conſidering thus with our ſelves, Theſe good men and worthy Martyrs in thoſe dangerous days taſting as they did the heavy hand of Gods ſharp Correction, beginning commonly with his own Houſe firſt; if they were alive now in theſe Halcyon-days, under the Protection of ſuch a peaceable Prince, O what thanks would they give to God! How happy would they count themſelves having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conſcience and ſafety of life? Or if in caſe we our ſelves had been in thoſe times of theirs, ſo troubed and diſtreſſed as they were, ſpoiled of Goods, hated of the World, cited in Conſiſtories, pinched in Priſons, ſequeſtred from Houſe, Wife, and Children, looking for nothing but death; what would we ſay? what would we think? what would we do? Much otherwiſe doubtleſs than we do now; God grant we may do better, for worſe I think we cannot if we would. *John Wickliff*, *W. Swinderby*, *Thorpe*, *Sawtry*, with a number of godly men more, being then glad in Frieſe Gowns, going bare-foot, to preach where they could; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of theſe days, what pains would they take, yea, what pains would they not take in preaching the Goſpel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor paſſing for Promotions or Dignities of the Church? Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, with divers worſhipful Gentlemen a great number, if they being in our ſtate might enjoy with us their Houſes and Lands, with the good favour of their Prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they have contented themſelves, though they never raiſed their Rents and Fines to the undoing of their poor Tenants? Likewiſe in the time of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, the Nobility and Gentlemen of *Bohemia*, if they might have had half this Tranquillity which we have, to enjoy the liberty of Gods Word and true uſe of the Sacraments without moleſtation of *Romiſh* Prelates, what would they have cared how ſimply they walked in their attire, without any ſuch monſtrous pomp in pranking up themſelves, as we *Engliſhmen* in theſe Reformed-days walk now, more like Players on a Stage, than Gods Children in his Church?

*The fourth Conſideration.*

WHerefore, welbeloved, theſe things being ſo, let us call our ſelves to mind, conſidering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we ſtand, and by whom we ſtand. If it be the favour of God only that doth ſupport us in the midſt of ſo many Enemies, let us beware that in no wiſe we provoke his Indignation. If it be his Truth and Goſpel that we profeſs, let us walk in the light of his Truth, and keep our ſelves within the compaſs of his Goſpel. What the Goſpel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? yet who followeth that he knoweth? If St. *Paul* willeth every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jeſus; and if the Lord Jeſus himſelf teſtifieth plainly his Kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that Kingdom ſo Spiritual, and our conditions ſo worldly, match well together? To rip up all our deformities in particular I mind not here, neither need I, the ſame being ſo evident to all mens eyes, that who cannot ſee our exceſſive outrage in pompous Apparel, our carnal deſires and unchaſte demeanors without fear of God, our careleſs ſecurity without conſcience, as though there were no judgment to come, our ſtudies ſo upon this World, as though there were no other Heaven? What pride and idleneſs of life, double diſſembling in word and deed without ſimplicity, avarice unſatiable, little regard to hear Gods Word, leſs to read it, leaſt of all to follow it, every man aſpiring to worldly Wealth and Promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of Rents and Fines, bribing and taking unmeaſurable? What ſhould I ſpeak of the contentions and unbrotherly diviſions amongſt us, moſt lamentable to ſee, but more lamentable, if all were ſeen which may or is like to follow upon the ſame. Such were the times once of the Church before the horrible Perſecution of *Dioclefian*; for ſo we read, ſuch hatred and diſdain through much Peace and Proſperity of the Church to creep in amongſt the Church-men.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim our ſelves while time doth ſerve. If we find the Lord ſo gracious in ſparing us as he doth, let not that make us worſe but better. It is a lewd Child that will not learn without beating. A well-minding man will be good, not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As Adverſity if it come, ought not to diſmay us; ſo Proſperity now preſent ought not to puff us up in ſecurity, conſidering what commonly is wont to follow, as *Plato* well writeth, *Summæ atque effrenatæ libertatis ſervitutem plerumq; aſſeclam eſſe.* Of immoderate liberty and two much ſecurity, followeth moſt commonly extream ſervitude. And as *Hypocrates* ſaith, *Diſpoſitions of Bodies when they are come to the higheſt perfection of health, then are they moſt ſubject to danger of ſickneſs, &c.* Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the Children of light. Otherwiſe, if we walk like Children of Diſobedience, God hath his Rods to ſcourge us; if we will needs be Rebels, he hath his *Pharaohs* and *Nabuchodonoſors* to plague us. Or if we will be ſo inordinate and (with reverence be it ſpoken, without offence to God or man) ſo doggiſh and curriſh one to another, the Lord lacketh not his Dog-ſtrikers to whip us. And would God our lives were ſuch, that the deſtruction and ruine here of late ſeen among us may portend nothing againſt us, as I truſt there is no cauſe for us to fear, but rather to fear the Lord, and walk in his Obedience, and amend that which is amiſs amongſt us. *Amen.*

The Grace of our Lord Jeſus bleſs thee gentle Reader, that long thou maiſt read, and much thou maiſt profit. *Amen.*

*Pax Prædicantibus, Gracia Audientibus, Gloria Jeſu Chriſto.* Amen.

## In Martyrologium *Joan. Foxi, Laurentius Humfredus.*

TRiſtes Iliadas docti miramur *Homeri*,
Quas ſcitè ſtuduit texere πυρὸς ἀνὴρ.
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæc madidis ſpectant mœſta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, ſed Vatum ſomnia multa
Fictis intexunt vera, probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ,
Quam ſtabulum Augeæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem ſanctorum narrat, ut errat?
Ut pingit, fingit Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, nova, vera Legenda;
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris hiſtoria.
Authorem commendat opus, ſic rurſus adornat
Author opus; ſimul hæc utraque felle carent.
Authorem ſpecta; pius eſt, & terſus, & amplus,
Judicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem conſideras, caſus, cædeſque bonorum
Tractat, & immeritæ ſtigmata ſæva crucis.
Illudant alii, carpant, at Zoilus olim
Dum periit, quid ſit rodere, jam docuit.
Hic diſcas Lector, quam ſit furioſa Tyrannis
*Romanæ* caulæ cornigeríque gregis;
Ut Lupus innocuos ſemper graſſetur in Agnos;
Ut fremat, atque avidis faucibus oſſa voret.
Nonne ſatis fuerat Chriſti pia membra cremare?
Et vivos flammis perdere, nonne ſatis?
Nonne ſatis damnaſſe ſenes, pueroſque, viroſque,
Fœmellas, omni ex ordine, nonne ſatis?
Cur juvat, heu, Manes ſcriptis lacerare jacentes,
Et Divos *Foxi* dicere ſtercoreos?
Ah miſer, ah Chriſti teneros compungis ocellos.
Pupillam tangis, quiſquis es ergo, ſape.
Hæc eſt progenies cujus ſtola, lota cruore
Agni, per Chriſtum candida tota nitet.
Illa ſub altari queruletur, Chriſte, quouſque?
*Apoc. 6.* Chriſte veni properè, Chriſte quouſque feres?
Extra tela tua eſt, & prædicat illa Tonantem;
Mors pretioſa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabioſe Satan? quid ſpicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniáſque pios?
Fruſtra carnifices, carcer, tormenta, facéſque;
In cœlo regnant membra caputque ſimul.
Corpora ſanctorum mundus conſumpſit, in altum
Migrarunt animæ, nomina *Foxus* habet.
*Ad Chriſtum præcatio.* Nomina *Foxus* habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina jam nullo contumulanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus *Foxus*, cum numine vivent
Nomina, cumque ſuo ſtirps generoſa Deo.
Monſtra, Chriſte, tuis portum, compeſcito fluxus,
Jactatæ navi ſit ſua, Chriſte, quies.
Sanguine fraterno poſthæc ne terra madeſcat;
Ne pergat *Foxus* ſcribere Martyria.
Perdita decurtes ſceleratæ tempora vitæ,
Tandem mortiferus tranſeat iſte calix.
Sit finis, veniatque tuum, pater optime, regnum;
Sit tibi, ſit Chriſto, Spirituique decus.

## In Sanct. Martyrum hiſtoriam, *Abrah. Hartwelus.*

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non *Midſummus* ipſi
Sed nos, non cœlum, *Foxe*, ſed orbis eget,
Illorum creviſſe malis lætoque putatum eſt
Quos nunc ipſe vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, hiſtoria velut ignibus antè
Calfiet quod nunc friget Evangelium.
Certabitque ætas veniens milleſima, quorum
Fortia facta leget, fortia facta ſequi.
Et calamo ſervata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,
Funera tot, lachrymas, damna, pericla, neces,
Nulla dies tollit, non qui malus intulit hoſtis;
Non quamvis omni cum Phlegetonte velit.
Non renuente Deo, quondam, qui ſæviit hoſtis.
Non, renuente Deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremat; innocuo rapietur cum grege Paſtor,
Grex cadet & paſtor, ſpeſque futura gregis.
Nullus reſtabit laceris in ovilibus agnus,
Nulla, Deus, recta ſimplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus; alma
Simplicitas fuco, perfidiæque fides:
Injuſto, falſo, ſcelerato, ſanguineoque,
Virtutum ſacer Evangelidumque chorus.
Quid facient diſce ex factis; ventura probantur
Præteritis;
Ni tua de cœlo veniat Clementia, cujus
Tolluntur digito parva, ſuperba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, invicte, triumphans;
Sic, ut in *Ægypto* vel *Babylone*, veni.
Non tanti *Babylone* Draco Beluſque fuere,
Cultuſque inſani, & fœda ſuperſtitio.
Et licet *Ægypti* crudelia facta legentur,
*Ægyptus* non tam ſæva minaxque fuit.
Utraque, nec ſatis eſt, monſtrum concrevit in unum,
Et ſi qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, ſtylive Magiſter?
Doctæ quid poterunt veriparæque Scholæ?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus ſanguiſluusque liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui vivos undique telles,
Factores vivos, & modò geſta canit?
Scilicet ut monſtret ſanctorum Eccleſia qualis,
Collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi
Ut doceat, firmet, ſoletur corda piorum;
Dedoceat, vincat, excrucietvè malos.
Ut tibi parta, Deus, ſtet ſemper gloria, nati
Ut poſſit tecum gloria ſtare tui;
Sanguinis ut ſacri non occultanda trophæa,
Utraque poſteritas, ſancta, maligna, ſciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæſita labore,
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exantlata tot, & ſudata diebus,
Tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos.
Chriſti, non hominum, laudes ſparſura per orbem
Factaque (credo) ætas qualia rara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobiſque ſecundet,
Numinis in laudem perpetuumque decus.
Invideat Satanas, & Zoilus ilia rumpat,
Obtrectet mendax cum grege *Roma* ſuo.

### *In idem Argumentum*, Rob. R.

EN iterum in magnos nova commentaria vates;
Auctius & plus eſt, quàm fuit antè, decus.
Sanctorum hiſtorias, & noſtri perfida ſecli
Tempora lector habes, terrificumque ſcelus.
Dignum certè opus eſt, quamvis ſit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat, poſteritaſque probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) majus; numeroſa ſophorum eſt
Littera, ſed ſimilis pondere & arte ſtylus.
Crede mihi Hiſtoriam hanc quondam lectura vetuſtas
Suſpiciet genium (*Foxe* diſerte) tuum.
Non tamen inſani ſinit hæc dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patiturve viros.
Hiſtrio, ſcurra, dicax, paraſitus, hypocrita, mimus,
Vappa mage arrident, leno, Papiſta placent.
Neſcis adulari, nec verum (*Foxe*) ſilere;
Scriptaque miraris non placuiſſe tua?

### *Ejuſdem.*

QUiſque bonus te (*Foxe*) colit, tua ſcripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc ſtudii tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat, doctorum concio laudat,
Unde ergo in libros invidia iſta tuos?
Unde Papizantis ſubita hæc converſio ſectæ;
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud puduit.
Unde tot Harpiæ, nempe Hardyngique, Copique?
Unde hæc *Lovanii* garrula turba Scholæ?
Cauſa patet; furiæ muſas, nec ſacra Papiſmus,
Nec Chriſte athletas raſa larina probat.
Nec te adeò oderunt puto, ſed verumque fidemque,
Heu bene nulla poteſt lingua maligna loqui.

## *In acta Martyrum, Carmen* Thom. Drant.

Papa.

ERgone ſic Papa potuit vox improba juſſu
Tam dirum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Cont umulaſſe rogis, cineres ſine honore Sepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? Quæve hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit gens ulla, pios ſine lege necari,
Totque ſimul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabieſque furorque,
Corpora tam diris ſanctorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miſcere hominum, tot plectere cives,
Vaſtare & toto diviſos orbe *Britannos*?
Dic quid noſtrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima paſſis
Vix pars ulla manet terræ qua panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata eſt frauſque doluſq;
Et πολυαργυμόυνε & amor ſceleratus habendi?
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem ſonat; ergo
Rite putabamus Papam cacodæmone natum?
An quod cum Chriſto nos conſpirare dolebas?
Quod te cum Chriſto non conſpirare videmus?
Quod te *Romanam* crebris cum comibus hydram
Prodimus, ut ſceleris magni vitiique miniſtrum?
Hinc illud quod ſe verſat diriſq; miniſque,
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus uſſit.
Sis miſer & nulli cuiquam miſerabilis. Hujus
Bonnerus. Tu cladis tantæ pars magna *Bonnere* fuiſti:
Mactator pecudum Chriſti, diſperſor ovilis,
Triſte malum ſtabulis, & nil niſi peſſima clades.
Vos quoque, vos omnes Ihovæ tetlgiſſe Prophetas,
Et calcaſſe pios, numen ſpreviſſe benignum
Quéis loculare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.
Jam ſatis eſt (proh) plus ſatis eſt, reſipiſcite ſetô,
Sera nimis non ulla dies, nunc diſcite tandem,
Diſcite vel tandem moniti non temnere Chriſtum.
Oſcula libertis gnato, ne ſæviat ultor,
Et male vos ſparſos deturbit tramite vitæ,
Ad Martyres. At vos qui læti quidvis ſuperaſtis acerbum,
Cœlicolæ, quibus æternum licet eſſe beatis,
Dulce decuſque Dei, Chriſtum quia morte decora
Ornaſtis clari ſuperi, cœtuſque triumphans,
Non caro, non mundus, non vos Turcæ, Papa, Dæmon,
Non Phœbe pernox vexabit, ſolvè diurnus.
Et vos ô cuncti, ſcanſo qui culmine cœli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relicta;
Quid carcer, quid vincula, compes, tormenta cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tela, quid ignes?
Scilicet ut ſulvum ſpectatur in ignibus aurum;
Si vos mactarunt ſpectata holocaumata Chriſto,
Interitas veſter Domini pretioſus ocellis.
Horum (*Foxe*) piis dum tu ſic nomina ſcriptis,
Et mortem & mores longum diffundis in ævum.
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipſo.
Ergo tu doctis pergis palleſcere chartis,
Nocturna verſando manu, verſando diurna,
Athlas clarorum gnavus gnaruſque laborum.
Et ſtudiis dum magna cohors ſua commoda captans
(Auſpice non Chriſto) mundi venatur honores,
Vel tu *Romano*, vel tu Sermone *Britanno*
Scribito præteriti vel produe temporis acta,
Patre Deo monſtrante viam, data fata ſecutus;
Omne feres punctum ſi miſces utile dulci.
Magne Deus cœlique fator, mundique Monarcha,
Quem nos terrarum tempeſtatumque potentem
Credimus, & ſolum ſcimus venerabile numen,
Aſpicis inſano vexari cuncta tumultu,
Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volvi?
Parce gregi parvo, pacem te poſcimus omnes.
Sis bonus (o) Fœlixque tuis, vel parcito Chriſto,
Cujus membra niſis jam mundus lædit & odit,
Per tibi dilectam ſponſam promiſſaque pacta,
Per paſſum Chriſtum, per dulcia pignora paſſi,
Per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

## *Contra Papiſtas Incendiarios.*

SI fas cædendo cœleſtia ſcandere cuique eſt,
Papicolis cœli maxima porta patet.

*J. F.*

## *In idem argumentum* Ægidius Fletcher Cantabrigienſis.

JAm tua ter magnum ſpatiis emenſa laborem
Æquora luſtravit puppis, ter littora vidit,
*Foxe.*
Duſque fugas, enſeſq; canis, conſumptaq; flammis
Corpora conſumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent
Membra, ſed utilior nobis tibi noxia ſoli
Indefeſſa manet virtus. Quin otia carpas
Mollia, jam ſolare tuos (divine) labores.
Non potes, & ſemper mentem tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparatque novas in pectore vires.
Ergo age, quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorum
Facta canis ſacro properans indulge labori.
Jam veniet magni ſeriem dum colligit ævi
Poſteritas, quam longa tenet cuſtodia famæ,
Dumque tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimóſque duces, mediоſque petita per ignes
Sydera, te ventura ſimul mirabitur ætas,
Et veterum ſacras imitabitur æmula laudes.
Scilicet æthereas ardentia pectora flammas,
Non ignes alii non ipſa potentia regum,
Nec vis ulla domat ferri, non tela, nec enſes.
Qualis ubi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert munus, cineréſque; paternos,
Dumq; rogum, flammaſq; parat ſibi, major ab igne
Egreditur, quaque illa novis volitaverit alis,
Indigenæ volucres læto clamore ſequuntur:
Fœlices animæ vobis ſuper alta beatis
Sydera calcantur, quicquid mortalia tangit
Pectora, nec jam noſter honor, nec præmia curæ;
Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus invida tellus,
Ecce tamen, quales poterit; perſolvet honores
Poſteritas, dum facta legens ingentia, vires
Miratur; plauſuq; fidem ſuper aſtra ſequetur
Victricem (hoc ſiquid debent) mortalibus) ipſi
Sanctorum cineres tibi ſe debere fatentur,
*Foxe.*
Tempus erit, cum tu poſt fata, pioſq; labores,
Auctурus ſuperos fœlix ſuper alta videbis
Sydera jam quorum tranſcribis nomina famæ,
Inſignes heroas, & ipſe videberis illis.
Jamque patres ſuperans mundo labente ſequetur
Progenies, cœlo ſeclarior exeret alto
Religio, humani generis decus, optima cuſtos
Imperii, quam ſancta fides comitatur euntem,
Et circum lætis creſcet pax aurea terris:
Tum quoque divini paſſim monumenta laboris,
Et ſacrum florebit opus, fructúſque beabit
Et populum, & populi per ſecula longa nepotes.

## *In idem Argumentum* Thom. Ridley Cantabrigenſis.

COrpora quæ quondam juſto caruere Sepulchro
Oſſaque per campos undique ſparſa pia,
Collegit magna cum ſedulitate peritus
*Foxus*, & in unum conglomeravit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna, Papiſtæ,
Fruſtra tam ſanctum perſequerentur opus:
Auxit, & ex uno idem bina volumina fecit,
Obſtruxitque ſuis hoſtibus ora pius.
Nec ſic contentus, rurſus limavit, & auctum
Arctavit, populi commoditate ſui:
Nequaquam veritus ſtolidæ convitia linguæ,
Dum veſtra ô ſancti fortia facta ſonet.
O vos fœlices animæ, quæ ſanguine veſtro
Cœleſtes nobis teſtificaſtis opes.
Et tu qui tali decoraſti funere ſanctas
Relliquias, peragens triſte miniſterium:

Sed tibi præclarum, nobis nec inutile, ut iſtis
Exemplis fortes poſſumus eſſe fide.

*M. M. S.*

PErlege, quæ faſtis ſignata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Angligenûm & fervida fata virûm.
Admiranda tibi gemini ſpectacula cœtus,
Pugnantéſque ſuo diſpare marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbens ſævo ferus impete Satan
Tartareas præfert in ſua regna faces.
Illinc rex ſuperûm, trans flammas, tranſque cruentas
Mille neces, Chriſtus ſternit ad aſtra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lachrymæ, jejunia Templis,
Juſſus honos ſummi juſſáque ſacra patris.
Concilium hoc Cyclopum rabies, fera corda fatigant
Eumenides, triſti pectora ſenta ſitu.
Miſſa volat flammis, & ſanguinis ebria rivis
Ante, gradum retrò *Roma* maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat *Foxus* certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit:
Interea veri vis ſtat ſata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato jam Phlegetonte ſuper.
Poſt alios fœtus, alios poſt deinde labores
Hæc extrema ſubit vindicis ira manus;
Tertiaque iſta patri ſuſpendimus arma Quirino,
Parva prius, jam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis jam tum miracula ſaxi
Prodidit *Aſſyria* regius exul humo.
Exiguus lapis hic, ſed qui ſe attollere in auras
Juſſus Atlantæos æquiparare ſinus.
Nunc quoque qui implevit ſinuoſo fragmine mundum
Æthereoque ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipſe tonans flagranti diſtulit axe
Imperia, & vertit regna ſuperba ſolo.
Sæva Silex quid nam flammantibus incitâ fundis
Urbium & elatis pernicioſa minis?
Coctilibus muris *Romana Semiramis* audax,
Proſpice, jam *Babylon* jam ruit illa tua.
Saxea jam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas ſtrages miſeris horrida Romulidis?
Ultimus hic labor eſt montis rapientis avari
Puppicolaſque Papas papicolaſque popas.
At vos fœlices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Sæcla, pias puro funditis ore preces;
Aligeræque acies, cives ſtellantis Olympi,
Plaudite: *Roma* fuit *Babela*, Papa fuit.

*In ſanguiſugas Papiſtas*, Phil. Stubbes.

QUi ſacrum Chriſti ſatagit convellere verbum,
Vulnificum contra calcitrat hic ſtimulum.
Florida quæ nimio compreſſa eſt pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta ſuis.
Auricomanſque crocus quo calcatur magis exit
Hoc magis, excreſcit, floret eóque magis.
Sic' Ευαγγέλιον quantumvis turba Papalis,
Conſpuat, exuat, creſcit ubique tamen.

## In *Jo. Foxum* Theologum Celeberrimum, cum Chriſto exultantem.

*IN quiet peace thou ſleepeſt now at reſt,*
*O learned* Fox, *the Phœnix of our age;*
*Moſt happy thou with Crown of Glory bleſt,*
*For ever freed from perſecuting rage:*
*With comfort great thou gained haſt the ſhore,*
*And ſtormy tempeſt now needſt fear no more.*

*Thy Life not ſtain'd with ſpot of ſoul defame,*
*Thy Learning great, who dare the ſame deny?*
*Thy worthy Works abroad do ſound thy name,*
*And ſhall for ever to Poſterity.*
*So long as Learning, and the Learned live,*
*Thy Works to thee Immortal Praiſe will give.*

*Thy famous Work of thoſe that witneſs bare*
*To Chriſt his Truth, and ſeal'd it with their Blood,*
*That with* Alcides *Labours may compare,*
*Shall witneſs ſtill thy zeal for Churches good:*
*Shall witneſs ſtill to Ages yet to come,*
*Thy hatred juſt againſt that Whore of* Rome.

*Thy hand was always ſtretched out to give,*
*Thy eye from Poor was never turn'd aſide:*
*What one of thee might not have learn'd to live?*
*Who in thy life ſo many ways waſt tride:*
*And yet the ſame didſt always ſtill endure,*
*No change thy Heart to change could once procure.*

*Th' afflicted Soul by thee did comfort find,*
*The Conſcience weak by thee did ſtrength attain;*
*Thy Sermons ſweet rais'd up the feeble mind,*
*And many a Soul from Hell to Chriſt did gain:*
*Such care thou hadſt Gods Mercies ſtill to Preach,*
*Such Grace thou hadſt the Truth of Chriſt to Teach.*

*Thy Tongue and Pen the Truth did ſtill defend,*
*Thou baniſhment for Chriſt didſt gladly bide;*
*In him thou liv'ſt, in him thou mad'ſt thy end,*
*Moſt happy thou that hadſt ſo good a Guide.*
*Moſt happy thou while life thou didſt retain,*
*Moſt happy now, that doſt with Chriſt remain.*

Jo. Hopkins.

THE

# THE LIFE OF Mr. John Fox,

Tranſlated out of the Latine.

## TO THE READER.

HAving been often and earneſtly requeſted by many, to gratifie Poſterity, with the Hiſtory of my Fathers life, which I had written above thirty years ſince; and finding that no new matter had faln out, for which (though I were ſilent) I ſhould diſtruſt the judgment of after Ages, concerning a man ſo well known; but that many things to this Purpoſe neceſſary, were now out of my power, by the death of thoſe, upon whoſe Teſtimony the truth of each Particular depended; I made no queſtion, but both eaſily with all men, to find Pardon for my firſt refuſal; and if ſtill I ſhould continue in the ſame mind, as eaſily to keep my ſelf in the right I have to uſe my liberty herein. But when I perceived, that ſome, who were meer ſtrangers to him, and utterly ignorant of his Converſation, had taken upon them, to write his Life; of which they could learn nothing, but by Hear-ſays, and flying Reports; whereby it fell out, that many of his actions were amplified above the truth; many things otherwiſe related than performed; and much paſſed over, that came not to their knowledge; having my ſelf when I was a young man, been always Converſant with him in his later days, and

when

when I was abſent from him, had better Intelligence of any remarkable paſſage in his life; I thought it but my duty, to preſerve his Memory from wrong; and if I could add nothing to it, at leaſt to place it in its true and proper light. Neither feared I, but that I ſhould be able to juſtifie this to the Readers, that being his Son I publiſhed my Fathers life, though in reſpect of my nearneſs to him, I may be ſuſpected. For firſt, that ſo memorable a man ſhould be unknown to Poſterity, even the injury done him, by thoſe who had ill handled his Story, would not ſuffer: neither was it ſafe, that any but his own Friends ſhould undertake to right him; and what reaſon is there, that his Sons credit ſhould be more ſuſpected, than the force of their anger and grief, who deſire that no Memory of him might at all remain? Thus long I have forborn, till being in equal danger, of the offence that may be taken, by the adverſe Party, and thoſe that deſired his Story, I choſe at length to ſatisfie their Minds, who not without ſome vehemence requeſted it of me. At whoſe importunity, I have conſented to ſet forth this Book, written at firſt to no other intent, than to preſerve by me the Image of my Fathers life; and now, in ſo confirmed a Fame of him, rather thought neceſſary by others, than ſo judged by my ſelf.

THE

# THE LIFE OF Mr. John Fox.

JOHN FOX was born in *Boſton*, an ancient Town in the County of *Lincoln*, *Anno* 1517. his Father and Mother being of the Commonalty of that Town, well reputed of, and of good ſtate. While he was very young, his Father dying, and his Mother being martied again, he came into the Tutelage of his Father in law, with whom he dwelt during his Childhood: which he had ſcarce paſſed over, when his Friends well approving his good inclination and towardneſs to Learning, ſent him to ſtudy at *Oxford*. The firſt Nurſe of his more ſerious Studies, was *Braſen-Noſe* Colledge, where he was Chamber-Fellow with Doctor *Nowell* ſo famous a man in this City afterward, and Dean of *Pauls*, That no great marvail it was, if their manners were ſo like in the courſe of their lives, whoſe Education, and Nurture in Youth was the ſame. The native excellence, and ſharpneſs of his wit, were well ſeconded by the fitneſs of the place; where the emulation of Equals was frequent; and where each Students Proficiency was narrowly ſought into: Neither was Induſtry wanting, which as it ſeldom accompanieth the greateſt Wits, ſo where it is conjoyned is moſt available. By which Vertues, when in a ſhort ſpace he had won the admiration of all, and the love of many, in reward of his Learning, and good behaviour he was choſen Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge; which being accounted a Principal Honour in the Univerſity, and uſually due to the Students of that Houſe, was ſeldom, and not unleſs in regard of ſingular Deſerts, beſtowed upon any others. It ſhould ſeem he deſigned the firſt over-branching of any early wit, to the exerciſes of Poetry, and wrote divers *Latine* Comedies yet to be ſeen, in a copious, and graceful Stile, but ſomewhat lofty, which fault of writing, (in all things elſe ſo grave and temperate) he left not altogether in his elder years, though age, and experience did not a little mitigate it. But even then he began to give earneſt of what he afterward proved, for that neither thoſe firſt flouriſhes of his Youth were ſpent, but in holy Hiſtories of the *Bible*: nor followed he that vein long. He betook himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity with ſomewhat more fervency, than circumſpection, and diſcovered himſelf in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to them that maintained the Cauſe, or were of ability to protect the Maintainers of it: whence grew his firſt Troubles. This was the time when King *Henry* the Eighth uncertain what courſe to take, being at Variance with the Pope, and unreſolved in himſelf, thinking the affairs of the Church (then grown to an infinite height of Power and Pride) neither in all reſpects tolerable, nor that it was neceſſary wholly to alter them, while he deſired to ſhew moderation in both, prevailed in neither, obſcuring an Act, than which none was of more Glory ſince the World began, by an unprofitable indifferency. Never before were the people in more diſtraction, or leſs ſecurity of their Lives, and Eſtates, there being in the Laws ſuch contrarieties, as no man could tell what to take to with ſafety, or what to avoid. For although the Popes Supremacy had been renounced, yet was Doctrine ſtill retained. The firſt News of the aboliſhing the Popes Supremacy was as proſperous as welcome to the Reformers; and divers joyned themſelves to them out of love to the Truth, being further aſſured of the Kings Intentions, by the puniſhment taken on ſome of the contrary part, and eſpecially when the Abbies were diſſolved; nor was their hope a little increaſed, when they perceived the Noblemen more or leſs to riſe in the good Opinion and Favour of the King, as any of them moſt oppoſed the Popes Dominion. In the mean while the Act of the ſix Articles was ſtill in force, and if any were found guilty of the breach thereof, they were ſure of puniſhment. So that as long as the King held the middle way between his own Genius, and the advice of his Counſellors, feeding them with Favours, upon which they could build no aſſurance, and pleaſing himſelf in his own ſeverity, fear and hope, equally prevailed.

But when the Protectors themſelves, and Pillars of the Reformed Religion, were taken away. The Duke of *Suffolk* by untimely death, the Lord *Cromwel* by the Sword, the Archbiſhop *Cranmer* and his Friends born down by thoſe of the contrary ſide; and that neither in the Laws, nor the Protection of the Peers, there was any, the leaſt help remaining; then began all things to haſten back again headlong to their former abuſes, and that with ſo much the more violence, becauſe the conqueſt ſeemed a kind of revenge.

In

In the Univerſities and Schools there was yet no open change, or innovation: I know not whether through fear, or that they would not be Followers.

This was the eſtate of the Church-affairs, when Maſter *Fox* began attentively to ſeek into the ſubſtance of the Controverſie, then in agitation.

He found the Contention to have been of great Antiquity, and no Age to have been free from ſome debate in the Church. But thoſe firſt quarrels were rather for Dominion, and increaſe of Territory. The *Romans* endeavouring by ſubtil Practiſes, and pretext of Religion to retain under the Juriſdiction of a High Prieſt, the ancient honour of their City, which by open force they could not defend.

Then no ſooner could any ſhew himſelf to differ from them in point of Faith, but the haſtening of his puniſhment prevented any infection that might ſpread it ſelf among others.

Thus by their Cruelty, and the patience of Princes, who ſuffered it, the greateſt part of theſe Diſſenſions were appeaſed: neither hitherto were all tracts of the old *Roman* vertue quite worn out, at leaſtwiſe ſome reſemblances of vertue remained among many things that were perverted, and by long time utterly defaced.

Afterward the Pope grown bolder by good ſucceſs, began to draw to himſelf all Power and Authority, nor contented to have weakned the eſtate of the *Roman* Empire alone, now, longed to be fingring the Scepters of other Princes; and to compaſs his deſign, ſpared not to violate any Humane, or Divine Right: Mean while the Clergy little weighed with how great damage to Religion, men of ſpotted life and converſation were ſometimes choſen to the Papacy, by whoſe example the ſtrictneſs of life, uſed by their Forefathers, was drawn into ſcorn, and their poverty into exprobration; The induſtry of the Prieſthood languiſhed, and on the contrary ſide Ambition, Riot, and Avarice began to reign among them. Then at length were the Practiſes of the Churchmen brought to light, and their Deluſions laid open. It was then known why the Ceremonies and Rites in the Church, had been brought to that exceſſive multitude, to wit, that the number of the Clergy might be increaſed to perform them: Theſe of neceſſity were to be maintained; and to that end were ſuch Opinions broached, as ſeemed moſt likely to draw money from all places: Of the dignity of Works; Of Purgatory; Of the power of Abſolution, and the Popes Indulgences: All which being in themſelves falſe, and ſoon ſubject to decay, were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and ſubtil invention of the Popes infallibility in matters of Faith.

By this handſome connexure, and linking one Opinion to another, the credulity of the Chriſtians was eaſily inſnared; all this while the new forg'd Opinions yielding plentiful increaſe, and great ſums of money, by a hundred deviſes ſcrewed out of the Clergy, and common people, came daily to the Pope, and Court of *Rome*.

I have often heard Maſter *Fox* affirm, That the firſt matter which occaſioned his ſearch into the Popiſh Doctrine, was, that he ſaw divers things in their own natures, moſt repugnant to one another, thruſt upon men at one time to be both believed: as that the ſame man might in matters of Faith be Superior, and yet in his life and manners inferior to all the World beſides. Upon this beginning, his reſolution and intended obedience to that Church, were ſomewhat ſhaken, and by little and little followed ſome diſlike to the reſt.

His firſt care was to look into both the ancient and modern Hiſtory of the Church: to learn what beginning it had; what growth and increaſe; by what Arts it flouriſhed, and by what Errors it began to decline; to conſider the cauſes of all thoſe Controverſies which in the mean ſpace had ſprung up, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either ſide was produced ſound or infirm.

This he performed with ſuch heat of ſtudy, and in ſo ſhort a time; that before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the *Greek* or *Latine* Fathers had left in their writings; the Schoolmen in their Diſputations; the Councils in their Acts; or the Conſiſtory in their Decrees; and acquired no mean skill in the *Hebrew* Language.

By report of ſome who were Fellow-Students with him, he uſed over and above his days exerciſe, to beſtow whole nights at his Study, or not till it were very late to betake himſelf to reſt. Near to the Colledge was a Grove, wherein for the pleaſantneſs of the place, the Students took delight to walk, and ſpend ſome idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had Maſter *Fox* choſen, with the horror of ſolitude and darkneſs, to confirm his mind; which as a freſh-water-Souldier trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

How many nights he watched in theſe ſolitary Walks; what combats and wraſtlings he ſuffered within himſelf; how many heavy ſighs, and ſobs, and tears he poured forthwith his prayers to Almighty God; I had rather might be ſpared from this Diſcourſe, than touched with opinion of Oſtentation: But therefore of neceſſity, was it to be remembred, becauſe from hence ſprang the firſt ſuſpition of his alienated affections. For no ſooner was the fame ſpread of his nightly retirements, but that the more underſtanding ſort out of their own wiſdom, others according as they ſtood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all to the worſt ſenſe. At length thoſe with whom he was intimate, being drawn into ſuſpition of him; there were ſome imployed, who under pretence to admoniſh him, might obſerve his walks, and pry with more curioſity into his words and actions; and there wanted not others, who comparing his cuſtoms formerly uſed, with the preſent courſe he now took, did with more bitterneſs aggravate the fact. Why ſhould he not come to Church, ſo often as in former times he had accuſtomed? Why ſhould he ſhun the company of his Equals, and refuſe to recreate himſelf after his wonted manner, unleſs he had felt in his mind ſome ſuddain alteration? nor if that alteration were for the better, would he conceal it.

Being

Being thus reported of, ſurrounded with Treacheries, and by every one accuſed; when the matter came to more ſevere ſcanning, and that he could neither hide his reſolution longer, nor being a man of plain dealing, thought fit to excuſe himſelf by forging a lye; by the judgment of the Colledge, he was convicted, condemned as an Heretick, and removed the houſe. Nevertheleſs his Adverſaries affirmed he was favourably dealt with by that ſentence, and might have been queſtioned for his life, if they had not rather uſe clemency towards him than extremity. But this Wound raged worſe than was thought it would; his Friends upon the report of this accident being ſorely diſpleaſed, and eſpecially his Father in law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived againſt him for this cauſe, or pretending himſelf agrieved, that he might now with more juſtice, at leaſt with more ſecurity withhold from Maſter *Fox* his own Fathers eſtate. For he both knew it could not be ſafe for one publickly hated, and in danger of the Law, to ſeek remedy by it; and that Maſter *Fox* was by nature ſo ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much ado confeſs himſelf wronged, even then, when he had in his hands ability of revenge.

When he was thus forſaken by his own Friends, and left naked of all humane aſſiſtance, GODS Providence began to ſhew it ſelf, procuring him a ſafe Refuge in the houſe of a worſhipful Knight of *Warwickſhire*, called Sir *Thomas Lucy*, to whom he was ſent for, to inſtruct his Children: In which houſe, he afterwards married a Wife, and there continued till the Children coming to riper years, had now no longer need of a Tutor. But the fear of the Popiſh Inquiſitions haſtned his departure thence; which now relying on the favour of the Laws, were not contented to purſue publick offences, but began alſo to break into the ſecrets of private Families.

Oft would Maſter *Fox* in the later times of his life, with much vehemence of mind, in diſcourſe with his Friends, deteſt the wretched condition of that departing; and ſay, That all other miſchances he had pretty well indured; but in this caſe the miſery was ſo much the greater; becauſe to have born it patiently, would have ſeemed unnatural; having brought his faithful Conſort, who entirely loved him, from her Friends and Kindred, whoſe grief and tears were with all officious piety to be comforted. It behoved him therefore, either to find ſome ſpeedy remedy, or in aſſurance of his love to weep with her. For in vain ſhould he ſhew an example of his conſtancy, where ſhe might rather ſuſpect her grief unregarded, than his mind unconquered with ſo great Calamities. He conſulted therefore with himſelf what was beſt to be done, and of two ways only left, whereby he might free himſelf from further incovenience, long debated, whether he might with moſt ſafety, make choice of; either to go to his Wives Father, or his Father in law by marriage of his Mother.

His Wives Father dwelt neareſt, being a Citizen of *Coventry*, nor yet bearing any hatred towards him, and more likely to be entreated for his Daughters ſake. His Father in law was better known to him, but more ſuſpected. At laſt he reſolved to go firſt to his Wives Father, and in the mean while by Letters to try, whether his Father in law would receive him or not. His Father in laws anſwer was, That it ſeemed to him a hard condition, to take one into his houſe, whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a Capital Offence: neither was he ignorant, what hazard he ſhould undergo in ſo doing: nevertheleſs that he would ſhew himſelf a Kinſman, and for that cauſe neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to ſtay as long as himſelf deſired: but if he could not be perſwaded to that, he ſhould content himſelf with the ſhorter tarriance, and not bring him and his Mother into hazard of their Fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his ſake.

Maſter *Fox* his eſtate was at that paſs, that he thought no condition to be refuſed: Beſides he was underhand adviſed by his Mother to come, and not fear his Father in laws ſeverity; For that (perchance) it was needful to write as he did, but when occaſion ſhould be offered, he would make recompence for his words with his actions. The truth is, he had better entertainment with both of them, than he any way hoped for: but ſo his buſineſs required, that he ſhould rely long upon neither; and therefore by often going to and fro, from the one to the other, (which carried with it ſome ſhew of buſineſs) he both deceived their diligence, who enquired after him, and effected, that neither grew weary of his company.

But howſoever he by this means kept himſelf concealed; yet certain it is, that no time of his life paſſed more unknown to Poſterity than that; whether that while he did but little, which is ſcarce credible: or whether it more concerned them who knew what he did, that it ſhould be ſhut up in ſilence, than publiſhed abroad. For his own part he always forbare with particular regard, to ſpeak of that ſtory; leſt where he had deſerved ſo much, he might by extolling a ſmall courteſie, ſeem rather to upbraid the ſlenderneſs of the requital, than to ſhew himſelf thankful by remembring it. Afterward he took his journey towards *London*; but upon what motives is uncertain; unleſs we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him thither; which being full of all ſorts of company, both Inhabitants and Strangers from all places might aſſure him ſufficient occaſions, whether he ſhould chooſe to conceal himſelf, or make known his abilities, and get acquaintance with thoſe of alike inclination.

By computation of times, I ſhould think the chief cauſe of his going thither to have been, that about that time Religion began at length a little to recover it ſelf, and gather ſtrength, eſpecially about the City. For he came not to Town till within a few years before King *Henry* departed this life: Who (as I ſaid before) though the Kingdom were divided into Factions, yet as long as his youth and ſtrength remained, ſo ordered the matter, that ſometimes the power of each party being equalled, and ſometimes one or other prevailing, by his authority both were

retained

retained in their Obedience: But when he grew into years, perceiving his health every day impaired, and that his death could not be far off; he then began to conſider with himſelf which ſide was moſt truſty, and which moſt to be doubted; and at what age he ſhould expoſe his Son, to the raging hatred of the Papiſts, who was yet by reaſon of his youth unfit to govern, and brought up in the Diſcipline of a Religion which they oppoſed.

He therefore at laſt reſolved upon that, which in reaſon ſeemed moſt wholſome, and in the end proved moſt fortunate; and having put the Papiſt-Officers from their authority, by his Will he appointed his Son ſuch Tutors, whoſe love to himſelf he had always found readieſt, and by long trial of their fidelity, thought likely to continue the ſame to his Succeſſor. This ſet Religion again in ſafety: But howſoever the Profeſſors thereof, were thereby ſecured of their lives; yet hence no publick benefit or profit was afforded them: So that Mr. *Fox* was ſtill in as much want as before, having already ſpent, what either his Friends had beſtowed on him, or his own daily induſtry had acquired.

I ſhould forbear to ſpeak of a marvelous accident, and great example of Gods mercy, were not the matter ſo well known abroad, that it would be to no purpoſe for modeſty ſake to be ſilent.

As Maſter *Fox* one day, ſate in *Pauls* Church, ſpent with long faſting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, after the gaſtful manner of dying-men; every one ſhunning a Spectacle of ſo much horror, There came to him one whom he never remembred to have ſeen before, who ſitting by him, and ſaluting him with much familiarity, thruſt an untold ſum of money into his hand; bidding him be of good chear; adding withall, that he knew not how great the miſfortunes were which oppreſſed him, but might ſuſpect it was no light Calamity: That he ſhould therefore accept in good part that ſmall gift from his Countryman, which common courteſie had enforced him to offer; that he ſhould go, and make much of himſelf, and take all occaſions to prolong his life; in the mean time let him know, that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of Livelihood. Never could Maſter *Fox* learn who that man ſhould be, by whoſe ſo ſeaſonable bounty, in that extream neceſſity, he had been relieved; though he earneſtly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that Propheſie, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was ſent by ſome others, who by all means deſired Maſter *Foxes* ſafety; and that it might (perchance) be through the Servants negligence, that he ſuffered the extreameſt of all miſeries, before any relief came. Certain it is, that within three days ſpace, the iſſue ſeemed to make good the Preſage, there being ſome ſent from the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, who upon fair terms did invite him into her Service. It had ſo faln out not long before, that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the famous Warrior, and moſt renowned General of his time, together with his Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, a man as far as may be imagined of ſincere meaning, and ſharp underſtanding, was committed to Cuſtody in the *Tower* of *London*; for what Crimes is uncertain: While they were in priſon, the Earls Children were ſent to the foreſaid Dutcheſs their Aunt, to be brought up, and educated: *Thomas* who ſucceeded in the Dukedom, *Henry* who was after Earl of *Northampton*, and *Jane* afterwards Counteſs of *Weſtmerland*.

To theſe young Lords was Maſter *Fox* appointed Tutor, to inſtruct them both in Manners and Learning: In which charge he deceived not the expectation which the Dutcheſs, a Woman of great Wiſdom, had of him.

For the two Sons grew to that height of Proficiency in their Behaviour and Scholarſhip; that building in their riper years, upon this foundation, The elder *Thomas* ſeemed to deſerve more than the Kingdom could beſtow upon him; and the younger *Henry* came to that happineſs, that he was able to meaſure his Fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own ſaciety.

The young Lady *Jane*, profited ſo wonderouſly in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues; that ſhe might well ſtand in competition with the moſt learned men of that time, for the praiſe of Elegancy in both kinds.

There he dwelt during thoſe golden days of Felicity (not ſeen long time before) in the laſt years of King *Henries* Reign, and through the five years Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth (a young Prince incomparably hopeful, and hope by perfecting the Work begun by his Father, paſſed all the Acts of his Predeceſſors) till the beginning of Queen *Maries* Sovereignty; who coming to the Crown, and turning the ſtream of Religion, all things again yielded to the Papiſts Authority; whence not long after, that cruel Tempeſt proceeded, the noiſe whereof hath come alſo to the ears of our Age; many who ſuffered in that common Shipwrack, ſwimming out to theſe peaceful times, as to ſafe Harbours of everlaſting Tranquility.

Among theſe Maſter *Fox* made one, at that time ſheltred by the Protection of the Duke his Sholar; yet not without the eyes of many, who for hatred, or envy looked askew on him, and ſecretly laid wait for, by Doctor *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who both ſaw ſomething in him, which he greatly feared, and alſo diſdained much, that the Heir of one of the chiefeſt Families in the Kingdom, and neareſt joyned to himſelf in Friendſhip, ſhould by his company be depraved.

Of this man becauſe he was Maſter *Foxes* greateſt enemy, it will not be from our purpoſe to ſpeak ſomething further; that both their natures may the better be known.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was a man famous in his Youth (for of his Birth or Parentage, I have no certainty:) one that ſtood in the midway, between good and bad; and always as he

grew

grew elder, growing worſe. Induſtry, Wit, and Eloquence, Nature had beſtowed on him: his Pride, Craftineſs, and deſire of bearing Sway, he learned of the Cardinal.

Hence were his abilities fit for any Imployments, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new Honours; and having obtained them, he then put on Boldneſs inſtead of Induſtry, Flattery for Obedience; and inſtead of Fidelity, Deceit and Complements, and ſuch like frivolous faſhions of the Court. He was in bearing thoſe Honours which his Vertue won to him cruel and proud: in regaining any that he loſt, able to weary any man with ſubmiſſion and humility. For in his Fortunes alſo appeared as great diverſity, as in his conditions. Some while he he was pleaſing to King *Henry*, and high in his favour; having by his Pen maintained the Kings Authority againſt the Pope: Afterwards, when his prevaricating therein was underſtood, he was by the King ſlighted, and that he might be the leſs able to do hurt, ſtript out of his Dignity. Under *Edward* the Sixth he was not only neglected, but impriſoned, and abid the reproach of a mean eſtate. At length in Queen *Maries* Reign he was ſet at liberty, and being again reſtored to his former Honors, he exerciſed not ſo much command as tyranny: till even ſick with envy, that Cardinal *Pool* in Dignity out-ſhined him, and with height of Honors overſhadowed his glory, having often, but ſtill in vain tried to cure his Malady with a Cardinalſhip, anger at length exaſperating his Diſeaſe, he pined away.

After this manner began, and ended that man, commended for many excellencies of mind, while he lead a private life; but in his Honors unbrideled, and of no moderation: Well might one ſay, Nature had made him a worthy man, and Fortune corrupted him.

Now Maſter *Fox* although he was cheriſhed in the boſome of a moſt loving Duke; yet after he ſaw all ſorts of men troubled for their Religions ſake, ſome impriſoned, and others burnt; in brief nothing on all ſides, but Flight, Slaughter, and Gibbets; and that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was the principle Incendiary of all this, who for private reſpects was already his enemy; he then began to fear what might become of him, and to think of ſome ſpeedy way for his departure thence. As ſoon as the Duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulneſs, he uſed many words to perſwade him to leave all thought of going away; affirming it neither agreeable to honour or modeſty, for him to ſuffer his Tutor, ſo well deſerving at his hands, at any time of his life, to be taken from him: but that it ſhould then be done, was not beſeeming for him that deſired it. Let him but think with himſelf, how great a burthen of hatred his Scholar muſt needs bear, among thoſe who were ignorant, whether he forſook him of his own accord, or were forſaken by him: yet that he intreated not to be excuſed from any hatred, which might light upon him, if at leaſt he might do it with Maſter *Foxes* commodity: But in flying, what miſery would be wanting? Baniſhment, Poverty, Contempt, and among thoſe which knew him not, the reproach of a Runagate. That he acknowledged all this leſs evil than death; but that it was not yet come to ſuch extremity; neither would he ſuffer it ſhould: That he had yet Wealth, and Favour, and Friends, and the Fortune of his houſe: if the miſchance prevailed further, himſelf would partake of the danger, and make the deſtruction common: That he remembred, with what Precepts he had fortified his younger years; neither had he with more attention hearkened to his Inſtructions, than he would with conſtancy put them in practice; only let him be of good courage, and ſo avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his Friends company: That this he ſpake, as hoping by his authority to prevail with him: but if that might not be obtained, he would then further him in the courſe he intended.

There was in the Dukes Speech the more credit, becauſe it was known to proceed from the inbred ſincerity of his heart, and a moſt tender good will towards him: and he grew now aſhamed, not ſo much of that he had done in asking leave, as that he had believed his requeſt might have been granted: But his modeſty excuſed him: His anſwer being, That the ſame care befitted not the Lord, and his Servant: That it was indeed for the Dukes Honor, to defend his Tutor from any injury; but his own part, to have a care, leſt for his ſafety, the Duke might incur apparent danger, or perpetual trouble: neither that his fear wanted all excuſe. For though he well knew the Duke could not be drawn from his promiſe and good intentions towards him; yet was he not ignorant, that by ſome wile or other, he might be circumvented and deceived.

For even at that time was the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* very intimate with the Duke, relying upon the ancient Obſervance he had always uſed to that Family, by whoſe credit he had increaſed his Dignity. Thither he often reſorted, to preſent his Service to the Duke; and at ſeveral times deſired of him, that he might ſee his old Tutor. At firſt the Duke denied his requeſt, one while alledging his abſence, another while that he was ill at eaſe; ſtill after fainting ſeveral delays, to put him off. At length it chanced, that Maſter *Fox* (not knowing the Biſhop was within the houſe) entred the room where the Duke and he were in diſcourſe; and ſeeing the Biſhop, with a ſhew of baſhfulneſs withdrew himſelf. The Biſhop asking who that was; the Duke anſwered, His Phyſitian, who was ſomewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the Univerſity. I like his counteance and aſpect very well replied the Biſhop, and when occaſion ſhall be, will make uſe of him. The Duke ſtraight underſtood that ſpeech, as the Meſſenger of ſome approaching danger; and now he himſelf thought it high time for Maſter *Fox* no longer to remain within the ſame City, or within the ſame See, againſt the force of a crafty, and then open deceiver; but by all means, the Biſhops being ſick, muſt be prevented. From that time he cauſed all things neceſſary for his flight, with the leaſt noiſe that might be, to be provided; ſending one of his Servants before to *Ipſwich*-Haven, to hire a Bark, and make ready all things needful for the Voyage: and becauſe it ſeemed ſcarce ſafe for Maſter *Fox* to ſtay in

any City, or place of reſort, he choſe out the houſe of one of his Servants a Farmer, where he might with convenience expect the warning of a fair Wind to put to Sea. Thither Maſter *Fox* went as ſecretly as he could, taking his Wife as companion in his Travels, then great with child, but reſolved to go with him, nor yielding to the intreaty of thoſe, who perſwaded her to the contrary; and as ſoon as it was told him, his company expected him, he made haſt to the Port, and went abroad.

Scarce had they weighed Anchor, when ſuddenly a rough Wind riſing from the contrary ſhore, troubled the Sea with ſo great violence of Waves, that the ſtouteſt Mariners began to tremble: Then followed a dark night, with continual ſhowres, and a great multitude of Clouds gathered together into a thick ſtorm of rain and hail, both hindred the Sea-mens work, and took away all poſſibility by the Compaſs any longer to direct their courſe. That night with much ado, they lay at Anchor, and as ſoon as the day appeared when the Tempeſt ſeemed not like to ceaſe, they began to caſt about, and make back again to the ſhore: ſo that the Tide a little favouring them, at length with much difficulty they arrived in the evening at the ſame Haven again, from whence they had looſed the day before. In the mean while that Maſter *Fox* had been at Sea, a Purſevant from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had broke open the Farmers houſe with Warrant to apprehend him, whereſoever he might be found, and bring him back Priſoner to the City; but underſtanding he was gone already, after he had purſued him even to the Port, and there found that the Ship he was embarqued in, was yet ſcarce out of ſight, had returned back without his arrant. Maſter *Fox*, as ſoon as he came aſhore, hearing by report of the people what had paſſed, although the News ſomewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himſelf, preſently took horſe, and made as if he would have left the Town; but the ſame night returning, he bargained with the Maſter of the Ship to ſet ſail again with the firſt convenience of the Winds; telling him that ſo his buſineſs required, nor did he much care what ſhore he landed at; only deſiring him to go forward, and not doubt but that God would proſper ſo pious a Work. Whether for reward or pieties ſake, the Pilate took upon him this venturous task, and performed it accordingly. For looſing thence in the nights ſilence, as ſoon as the Tide turned, though the Sea were rough, and the weather bluſtring, within two days ſpace he landed Maſter *Fox* and his company in ſafety at *Newport*-Haven on the other ſide the Sea.

Whoſoever ſhall read this ſtory, needeth not a more evident argument, to force him to acknowledge, either the certain courſe of Providence, or the uncertainty of all humane forecaſt; when he may ſee the ſubtileſt deliberations of the wiſeſt heads, oftentimes by errors come to no effect; often overthrown by ſuddain accidents; and now and then thwarted by contrary Counſels: and that all this is done to teach men ſo to uſe their authority, as that the more power Fortune hath conferr'd upon them, ſo much the leſs they ſhould know they are able to do of themſelves, and not deſpiſe thoſe that are of meaner condition. For that God regardeth all men alike, having made them in nature equal, and differenced them by degrees, not to ſwell the one ſort, or ſhame the other, but to exerciſe both their modeſties, or his own Juſtice, if they neglect their duty.

Maſter *Fox* when he had ſpent ſome few days at *Newport*, in refreſhing himſelf and his company, went to *Antwerp*, and from thence by ſmall Journeys to *Baſil*.

This City was at that time much ſpoken of for the great friendſhip and courteſie ſhewed to thoſe of the *Engliſh* Nation: for which cauſe many famous men withdrawing themſelves from the cruelty of the Times, had eſcaped out of *Ergland* thither. Of theſe were many, but of ſlender eſtate, who ſome one way, and ſome another, but the moſt part maintained their Livelihood, by reviewing and correcting the eſcapes of the Preſs; this place for careful Printing, and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that Profeſſion, then ſurpaſſing all the Cities of *Germany*; and preferring the induſtry of our men, in that Employment, before any of their own Countrymen.

To theſe men Maſter *Fox* joyned himſelf, ſo much the better liked of, becauſe having been always inured to hardineſs, and in his Youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to indure labour; and that which ſeemed the greateſt miſery to others, to ſuffer want, to ſit up late, and keep hard diet; were to him but the ſports of Fortune. This (perhaps) may ſeem ſtrange to many, who remember Maſter *Fox* to have been all his life long but a ſlender bodied man, and in his elder years ſomewhat ſickly: But let no man compare his old age, worn out, and eaten up with cares, and even by the courſe of Nature ruinous, with the flouriſhing prime of his Youth; which by ſo many his works appeareth to have been moſt healthful: whether it be, that in thoſe of indifferent ſize, an upright ſhape of the Limbs and Members may ſufficiently ſerve for health: or that the mind enflamed with deſire of vertuous actions, being content with its own abilities to purſue thoſe things it affecteth, needeth the leſs help from the Body.

His Induſtry may be from hence abundantly teſtified, That being ſo full of employment at *Baſil*, there nevertheleſs he began to write his Hiſtory of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*: a Work by the Title alone ſeeming beyond mans belief. At firſt it ſufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the firſt lines or rudiments, or as it were to faſten the Warp to the Loom: the whole body of the Hiſtory he added and interwove it, after he returned into his own Country. Firſt, he wrote it in *Latine*, and ſent the Copy to *Baſil* to be printed; where the Work is ſtill in great eſtimation, as alſo in divers other foreign Nations, among our own men hardly known, whilſt we ſeek after, and admire ſtrangers only; either through careleſsneſs, or envy neglecting

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our Country-men. Shortly after to gratifie the Unlearned, he wrote it in his Mother Tongue.

In the mean while the Reformed Religion began again to flouriſh in *England*, and the Papiſt Faction much to decline, by the death of Queen *Mary*; a Woman, while ſhe followed her own inclination, every way excellent, and well worthy ſo Royal Parentage; but while ſhe denied not any thing to ſome wicked Counſellors, getting this, that ſhe both wanted that praiſe ſhe had otherwiſe deſerved; and if ſhe be not ill ſpoken of, it may be accounted the modeſty of the ſucceeding Age, whoſe cuſtom it is either to commend, or at leaſt to tolerate all the actions of Princes.

I dare neither affirm, that Mr. *Fox* foreſaw this ſuddain change of the Publick Affairs; nor yet (which by no other I would do) will I take from him the teſtimony of the Reverend and famous Divine, Doctor *Elmare*, ſometimes Biſhop of *London*; who in preſence of many yet living, was wont to ſay, That he was himſelf at a Sermon, wherein Maſter *Fox*, among many things which he preached, to comfort the baniſhed *Engliſh*, did with confidence tell them, That now was the time come for their return into *England*, and that he brought them that News by Commandment from God. For which words he was then ſharply reproved by the graver Divines there preſent; but excuſed afterwards by the event; when by comparing of times it was found, that Queen *Mary* died but the day before Maſter *Fox* had thus preſaged.

The whole Chriſtian World ſtraight felt ſome benefit by this Change of the *Engliſh* Government.

The neighbouring-Nations, now disburdened of the exil'd *Engliſhmen*, rejoyced for the good Fortune of their Gueſts, as for their own. But at home what could be deviſed to aſſure their Safety, or relieve their Diſtreſſes, which they did not ſooner enjoy than preſume to hope for? They who had forſaken their Houſes, were now called home: They who had ſuffered Impriſonment, were now releaſed: They who by loſs of Goods were decayed, were now by Gifts repaired: They who had been thruſt from Places of Honour, were now reſtored to their former Dignities: The unjuſt Laws were in the mean while abrogated, and the wholſome Laws eſtabliſhed in their places: Their Minds were at quiet: Their Conſcience at liberty: All degrees at peace among themſelves, and every mans Goods without danger. For in ſuch ſort did Queen *Elizabeth*, even in the Infancy of Her Reign, diſpoſe the Affairs of the Commonwealth, that whatſoever the long and proſperous Government of other Princes, doth hardly produce in many years, at her very firſt Entrance, all at once brake forth, beyond the peoples wiſh, as if ſome Deity had diffuſed it ſelf, and poured forth Felicity upon the World. Of which incomparable, and ſince Mans creation, moſt glorious Queen, to have made mention upon any occaſion, and not from thence taken cauſe of ſome further digreſſion, let it be counted for a Capital Crime among all Writers of Hiſtory.

She was born of the Lady *Anna Bolen*, whom King *Henry* the Eighth, after his Divorce from his firſt Marriage, took to Wife. From her ſhe received, as a Princely Dowry, a true Zeal to Religion. As ſhe grew elder in years, ſo ſhe increaſed in Manners, Wit and Beauty, which as well make, as beſeem a Princeſs. So that both Nature ſeemed to have boaſted in her, the Maſterpiece, of her moſt abſolute Workmanſhip; and Fortune to have raiſed her, to as high a degree, as Hope could ever aſpire to.

It made her the more capable of ſo great a Fortune, that ſhe had firſt learned to obey; then to command, and ſo uſe that Honour firſt to others, which was ſhortly after to be uſed by others to her: having in a private life had experience of the hatred, fatal to the Succeſſors of great Empires, yet of a more noble ſpirit, than to return the like upon thoſe who were to ſucceed her. As ſoon as ſhe came to the Kingdom, her ſeveral Vertues appeared at once in their brighteſt luſtre; eſteeming all Vices, as well as all Men beneath her. Her mind therefore deſcended not to an overnice care of her Body. The Principles of her new Sovereignty were, to acquaint her ſelf with the publick Reaſons of State; To ſeek fit men to bear part of her Cares; To ſtrengthen all parts of the Kingdom, with faithful Miniſters; To know the Natures and Abilities of thoſe about her; and to ſearch into the Strength, Councils and Attempts of foreign Princes: But all theſe Qualities, if not well tempered, might have had (perhaps) no long continuance. Such therefore was her Gravity, as nothing more pleaſing: Such her Severity, as nothing more gentle; and ſuch her Frugality, as nothing more bountiful. Only ſhe knew no meaſure, in thoſe Excellencies, whoſe glory is founded, not in the even ballancing of differing Vertues; but as it were in the throng of illuſtrious Actions. So was the Nobility of her Birth, heaped with deſire of Glory: Her Religion (though moſt ſincere) ſeconded with Zeal to a holy Life; and her Beauty (though of it ſelf unparallel'd) enriched by a Reſolution of perpetual Chaſtity. But when all theſe Vertues brake forth into Actions: (good God) what days of Happineſs we then enjoyed? What ever more chearful, more ſecure or wealthy did *England* ſee, than that four and forty years of Peace? For never voluntarily did ſhe provoke any with War, and always preferred the juſtice of the Quarrel before the Victory: To the *Iriſh*-War, Honour, and ſhame to have loſt a Province, enforced her: To the *French*, Piety, and pity of her Neighbours danger: To the *Spaniſh*, her own Safety, and neceſſity comprehending in it ſelf the force of all other Cauſes, compelled her.

In the Progreſs of this War we heard of, and ſaw that which (perchance) never happened in any before. For other Nations, though they fought with never ſo mortal hatred each to other, yet were their Battels reſtrained to ſome certain Fields and Places; but this War was ſo ſcattered over all places, and managed with ſuch haughtineſs of Courage on both ſides, that

through all Seas and Havens from Eaſt to Weſt, the Sun might ſtill behold the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Navies fighting for their Lives, Honours or Eſtate. Never till then had that Sea, which was accuſtomed to no other command but ours, frothed with ſtrokes of foreign Oars. Nor would a large Volume contain the diſcourſe, if I ſhould relate the number and ſtateline ſs of Ships, the ſtrength of Sea and Land Forces, the multitude of Munition, Engins, Weapons, Guns, and proviſion of Victuals belonging to that Navy, which *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, with intention to raze out the *Engliſh* name, ſent hith r in the year of our Redemption, 1588. Let this ſuffice, That never was any preparation by Sea comparable to this Fleet, made by any the moſt powerful Princes or States to be ſhewed in all the Records of Antiquity: Yet that ſo huge and threatning *Armada*, ſwelling with ſelf-confidence, and a preſumed hope of Victory, was by the Fortune of this invincible Princeſs, even in a moment utterly defeated.

The Navies met together, for number and ſtrength unequal: but the manner of the fight was to the *Spaniards* diſadvantage, becauſe the *Engliſh* Veſſels being for bulk much leſs, and lower built afore, could with more eaſe caſt about for the Wind, and immediately having diſcharged, retire to open Sea; thereby deluding the ſluggiſh and unweildy Ships of their Enemies, and by levelling at the broad-ſides of the *Spaniſh* Gallions, beſtowing their ſhot with a more certain and ſucceſsful aim. To this, our Captains in the skill of Sea-fight, and knowledge of the Tides, far excelled the *Spaniſh* Commanders, who now taught by the former days experience, that they could no way, but in a ſet fight bear the *Engliſh* Encounters, calling their Anchors near *Callice*, there expected new Forces out of *Flanders*, and by the goodneſs of their Ordnance defended themſelves. This laid them open to the *Engliſh* for the Victory. For having filled ſome Ships with Tow, Pitch, Brimſtone, and all ſorts of materials ſuddenly combuſtible, and ſetting them on fire, with a favourable Tide, they drove them directly upon the Enemies; who were by this action ſo exceedingly terrified, that the whole Fleet, cutting their Cables as faſt as they could, betook themſelves headlong to flight. In which flight ſome of their Ships were burnt, ſome ſunk, ſome forced to run themſelves on ſhore, ſome ſplit upon the Rocks, and ſome for haſt falling foul on their Fellows, and ſo torn and bruiſed, were taken by our Souldiers. Thoſe that ſcaped beſt, not daring to go back the ſame way they came thither, with long travail both by Sea and Land, returned at length into *Spain*, by the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and the Iſlands of the *Orcades*, through thoſe Seas, which in no age had been ſailed on, but by ſuch as were very good at flying.

Where ſo great Vertues and Victories met together in one perſon, of neceſſity Envy would be an Attendant, followed by hatred and treacheries; which could not, by this moſt innocent Queen, be ſo avoided, but that her ſafety (upon whom the ſafety of almoſt all Nations in *Europe* depended) was through all her life daily indangered. Which maketh me the rather wonder, what rare Doctrine of our Adverſaries this may be, for pieties ſake which they pretend, perſecuting even vertue it ſelf, whereas (not only in no Heathen, but in none the moſt barbarous Nation, which doth at all acknowledge any Deity) it was never thought juſt to take revenge upon Vertue (which certainly cometh neareſt to the Nature of God) even in their Enemies: unleſs it be ſo that the indulgence of the Chriſtian Religion may be ſo far extended, that although we are commanded to forgive our Enemies, either they muſt not be vertuous, or they muſt not be forgiven. But evident enough it is, that in humane affairs, the deſires of men are often employed to one end, and the Will of God to another. By him was Queen *Elizabeth* protected always, from the Injuries and wicked Enterpriſes of her Enemies, and brought full of years to that Honour, as to carry with her that glory unſpotted to Heaven, which ſhe wan upon Earth, Envy now in vain barking at her after death, whoſe cauſe all Poſterity doth Patronage.

Now let us return to our Story.

Maſter *Fox*, when by his Friends he underſtood the happy News in *England*, That Queen *Elizabeth* reigned, and that the ſtate of Religion was ſure, and ſo like to continue, about the end of that year, in which this was in hand, came back to his Country: So much ſpace he had taken to bethink himſelf, leſt (if by any inconſtancy of the people, they ſhould grow weary of their preſent eſtate) he ſhould again be forced, to ſeek his Fortunes abroad: beſides (his Family being then increaſed with two Children) he was fain to ſtay, till money might from home be ſent him, to bear his charges in travelling. But before he could get from thence, he was informed that ſome hard Speeches had paſſed of him, as if through Pride he had delayed to come, thereby ſeeking a ſhorter and more ſpeedy way to preferment, as being due to him, when he ſhould be ſent for: This he knew to be a caſt of their cunning, who themſelves with all earneſtneſs ſtriving for Honours, feared Maſter *Fox*, as a man deſerving, and like (if he would) to be preferred before them. Yet he thought it not worth his labour, to make any excuſe for ſuch a Crime, as would of it ſelf come to nothing: but equally deſpiſing Injuries, and neglecting his own right, hid himſelf wholly in his Study.

As in our Bodies it is commonly ſeen, that thoſe men are more healthful, which uſe moderate diet and exerciſe, than thoſe which exceed in either: So I ſuppoſe doth the caſe ſtand with our Minds, that he, who if Fortune hath given him no rule, preſcribeth none to himſelf, can hardly perſiſt in the ſoundneſs of his duty; whereas he who uſeth modeſty in his Fortunes, is always more freſh and vigorous for any illuſtrious undertakings. For Maſter *Fox*, being

being for his Abilities famous and ſupported (as I before ſhewed) with the Friendſhip of great Perſonages, might with eaſe have attained to whatſoever his deſires had inclined him: but affecting neither Riches nor Authority, the wiſhes of happy men, (though his deſerts were equal with any) yet was he well contented to keep the conſcience of well-doing to himſelf, and that Rewards ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of others. This I neither admit, as wholly to his Commendation; nor yet find fault with, as many have done: Let us at leaſt favour good men ſo far, as to allow Vertue, to chooſe what degree of Fortune it liſteth to ſhine in; or if we will needs reſtrain it within certain limits, let us do it to thoſe who are good with hope of reward; as for them who are ſo for no deſign, if their glory overwhelm us not, we ſhall not need to fear their multitude.

I ſhall write of a life, bearing continually true and ſolids fruits, but not ſuch whereon the Readers ſenſes may ſurfeit; where neither the rare ſtratagems of War or Peace ſhall be related, nor any ſuch diſcourſes as Writers uſe, when they intend to captivate the ears of the hearers. I am to ſpeak of a life paſſed over without noiſe, of modeſty at home and abroad, of continence, charity, contempt of the World, and thirſt after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions ſo performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others.

I have ſhewed before, that Mr. *Fox* firſt applied himſelf to write the Hiſtory of the Church, whilſt he was at *Baſil*, and that the cauſe he did not there finiſh it, was, that he might afterwards uſe the Teſtimony of more Witneſſes. This Work, not a little, vexed the minds of the Papiſts. For well they ſaw that, in vain, they had ſpilt ſo much blood, and to no effect, been guilty of ſo great cruelty, if an account of theſe proceedings muſt be rendred to ſucceeding Ages: and that the Work it ſelf could not be taken out of mens hands, they well underſtood. There was therefore no other hope left, but by charging the Author with falſhood, and feigning ſome Cavils againſt him, ſo to leſſen his credit and authority; which whilſt Mr. *Fox* endeavoured to remove, and take away from himſelf, he could not avoid it, but muſt needs paſs much the lawful bounds of an Hiſtory, by a new heap of matters and teſtimonies. And let us but by this judge of the induſtry of our Author, that he not only gathered together ſo many ſeveral things, as the materials of his Work, from all diſtances of times or places, and through all Shires of the Kingdom, collected the Acts of both Courts, and the Records of matters judged, but alſo alone by a moſt diſtracted kind of diligence ſearched out, examined, freed even from motheating, and afterward reduced into convenient order thoſe things themſelves, being partly as it were ruſty, and eaten out by Antiquity, partly by hatred or flattery of Authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged and ſhort form of old writing. I find by the Authors own Notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finiſhed; and very probable it is, that Work ſhall live, which was ſo long in bringing forth: Neither in all that time, uſed he the help of any Servant about his writing or other buſineſs: So much doth induſtry employed to one purpoſe, and gathered into it ſelf, afford more uſeful aſſiſtance, than being ſcattered, and the mind divided into many cares at once, though it hath never ſo many helping hands. I have often begun to conſider with my ſelf, of thoſe two ſorts of toylings, which men eſteem an Honour to undertake, which may be the more painful or more grievous, warfare or ſtudying. Many things ſeem to make for both ſides, but not in ſhew alike perſwaſive: For the miſeries of War being grievous, not only to thoſe who endure them, but even to thoſe that but hear them reported, as they give ſcope enough to the Relator, ſo they make no light impreſſion in the judgment of the ſenſe it ſelf: whereas the labour of ſtudying is chiefly conſiderable in the ſilent teſtimony of that, whereby life is maintained, and whereof only the Intellect can determine. Thus is the queſtion transferred to the Mind, and the Body, that of theſe two, that may be thought to have the better cauſe, whoſe evils do in greatneſs outweigh the others. I will neither take to my ſelf authority to decide ſo weighty a Controverſie; nor yet will I conceal what I know many wiſemen to have thought concerning that matter; which is this, That thoſe evils which happen to the Body, though they may be exceſſively raging and diſpleaſant, yet they uſe always to determine in one of theſe three, wearineſs, pain or death; whereof the two firſt are curable by time, and aſſwaged by remedies, and the laſt valiant men uſe alſo to deſpiſe. Now the mind when it is overſtrained, though it produceth in ſome ſort the ſame miſchiefs, yet it ſtoppeth not at wearineſs or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruine of that whereon even the life of man dependeth. For that in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his Work for a while, or abating ſome part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former ſtrength; nor overcome the diſcommodities he ſhall thereby endure, though with never ſo great abundance of other contentments. They do therefore conclude, that there is as much more miſery in this ſober, than in that glorious kind of warfare, as there is more danger in loſing an appetite to meat or drink, than in having the meat or drink it ſelf taken away; or to lie long ſick of a lingring Conſumption, than to endure the ſmarting of a wound for the preſent; in ſum, that in War, a man loſeth more of his pleaſures, but in eagerneſs of ſtudying, more of himſelf.

The truth of this was, by Mr. *Foxes* example confirmed, who when he had, for many years, left no time free from thought of his ſtudy, either not at all, or not ſeaſonably affording himſelf what Nature required, was at length brought to that paſs, that his natural livelineſs and vigour being ſpent; neither his Friends nor Kindred could by ſight remember him. By this means he firſt fell into that withered leanneſs of Body, in which many afterward ſaw him, never again returning to that pleaſing and chearful countenance which he had before; but when he would by no means be perſwaded to leſſen his accuſtomed Labours, or lay aſide his ſtudy,

to recreate himſelf, the cauſe of his hurt not being removed, the ſigns thereof did likewiſe remain.

From this time Maſter *Fox* began to be much ſpoken of, for a good Hiſtorian; the other Vertues of his Mind, as they were leſs known abroad, ſo being by that which was known overſhadowed. Shortly after, he began alſo for other Endowments, to wax famous, not only as a man learned, but as one for his friendlineſs uſeful, and no leſs by art, than a natural inclination made to be helpful to others. But modeſty will not allow me, by way of *Journal*, to rehearſe the voluntary pains he took upon him: in general to ſay ſomething of it will not be amiſs; and how, either by good Advice, comfortable Perſwaſions, or a charitable Hand, he either relieved the wants, or ſatisfied the deſires of innumerable perſons; whereupon no mans houſe was in thoſe times thronged with more Clients than his. There repaired to him both Citizens and Strangers, Noblemen, and common people of all degrees, and almoſt all for the ſame cauſe; To ſeek ſome Salve for a wounded Conſcience. At length, ſome who were likewiſe ſick in Body, would needs be carried to him; but this, to ſtop rumours, he would not ſuffer to be uſed. For, becauſe they were brought thither, they were by ſome reported to be cured.

Thus ſpending the day at home in ſuch like Duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to viſit thoſe, who were not able to come themſelves to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courteſie of his own diſpoſition was injoyned him, and neglected not the performance of that duty, which the Office of his Miniſtery had impoſed upon him. That little time which his Friends, either called away by other occaſions, or aſhamed of being too tedious, had left free to his own diſpoſure, he beſtowed not in ſleeping, or taking his pleaſure, but in prayer and ſtudying; in both which, he always retired himſelf into ſome private place apart, or made uſe of the nights ſilence for ſecrecy, unleſs by chance ſometimes the vehement groans he mingled with his Prayers, being heard by ſome that were near the place, gave notice how earneſt he was in his Devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his Labours ended; but often hath the next mornings light ſeen the laſt of his nights care diſpatched.

Now although theſe things be true, yet well I know there are many who will find fault, that I have ſo ſlightly paſſed them over; and demand, why I produce not the matters themſelves, as witneſſes of his actions, or at leaſtwiſe ſome particular example in each kind, that they may with more ſecurity give credit to the reſt. But many things there are which hinder me from ſo doing. Firſt, that common civility forbiddeth us, to publiſh abroad that, which the Conſcience of another hath committed to our ſecrecy; and a very ill example ſhould he give, who ſhould not rather by all means conceal, than make known to the World, the ſecrets of private Houſes, the jarrings of Friends, and ſuch privy ſlips in mens lives, whereof it may either aſhame, or repent them: Next, that the matters themſelves, which uſed in the greateſt privacy that might be, to be diſpatched, could by no means come to our knowledge; or if by ſuſpition ſomewhat were gathered, and that I ſhould inſtance in one or two Particulars; yet what great aſſurance in the reſt, could I draw from hence.

I will now bring the laſt Argument, I know not whither I ſhould ſay, of his Ability or Induſtry; that he, who ſo wholly had given himſelf to pleaſure his Friends, that he had ſet apart no time, for his other occaſions, yet wrote ſo much, as it might well have been believed, he had done nothing elſe.

I have here for their ſakes, who may deſire it, ſet down the Titles of thoſe Books he wrote; which are theſe, *Comædiarum libri 2. Syllogiſticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapſis per errorem in Eccleſiam reſtituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Chriſto gratis juſtificante. De Chriſto Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Oſorium de Juſtitia. Meditationes ſupra Apocalypſim Rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum Commentarii. The Acts and Monuments of the Church.*

We are now come ſo far, as to be able from hence, to give the Readers a full ſight at once, of the reſt of Maſter *Foxes* life; which ought (I ſuppoſe) in like manner to pleaſe them, as we ſee thoſe that travel, when they have been long tired with continual rugged ways and rough Foreſts, and come at length into the plain and Champion-Countries, are with the very change of ſoil not a little delighted and refreſhed.

In this (as it were) draught of his conditions, we ſhall firſt obſerve that which might well be thought the chiefeſt of his Vertues; to wit, a deliberate and reſolved contempt of all things, which are in greateſt eſteem among men, and eſpecially of Pleaſures: which mind of his, whether inbred by Nature, acquired by Diſcipline, or infuſed by God, did of neceſſity give him great ability to perform with commendation in whatſoever he liſted to take in hand; there being nothing which can miſlead the mind into errors, which would otherwiſe of it ſelf hold the right way, but what proceedeth from ſome pleaſure or other; lying in wait to entrap us in our journey. But ſo did Maſter *Fox* hold play with theſe Enemies, as one who deſired not to ſave himſelf by flying, or ſhelter himſelf in ſome ſecret place of retire; but by often skirmiſhing, and experience in the manner of fight, to encreaſe his own ſtrength, and give to others an example of fortitude; uſing to ſay, That they did no great matter, who forſook buſineſs and employments in the World, leſt they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be allured and deceived by them. For, that the things were in themſelves innocent, and then firſt of all grew hurtful, when they were overvalued and purſued with avaritious deſire; which he that can beat back when it aſſaileth him, and ſtriveth to break in upon him, is deſervedly called temperate; but that he who was never in any temptation, may rather ſeem to have been good through want of occaſion to be otherwiſe, than by his own Vertue.

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He never therefore declined the Friendſhip of Illuſtrious Perſonages; not to gain honour to himſelf, that thereby he ſaw his commendation would be more effectual, when he ſhould deſire favour on the behalf of others. The money, which ſometime rich men offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the Poor. He likewiſe frequented the Tables of his Friends, not for his pleaſure-ſake, being of a ſpare diet; but both in courteſie to keep them company, and leſt any ſhould imagine, he either feared, or fled from the wraſtling, and ſtriving with voluptuous Encounters, or that he thought himſelf, by being abſent, better defended againſt the pleaſures incident to eating and drinking, than by the guard of his own moderation. In a word, ſo did Mr. *Fox* behave himſelf in thoſe things which are followed by delights, that certain it is, none of thoſe who were always in his company, can remember any ſpeech or action of his, which might bewray the leaſt ſhew of a deſire to them; and ſo far was he from thirſting after Honour, Riches, Applauſe, or any outward good; that he would at no time ſuffer the care of his private Eſtate to enter his mind, much leſs that it ſhould by taking thought for his Houſhold-affairs, be overcome or drawn aſide: which either ſecurity of his, or as ſome called it, Slothfulneſs in his own Fortunes, I will hereafter declare whence it proceeded. In the mean time, whilſt I conſider the cauſe wherefore he thought all other things ſo much contemptible, eſpecially ſince that could not be imagined to ariſe from any obſtinate diſdainfulneſs, much leſs from a ſleepineſs or ſluggiſhneſs of mind; I aſſure my ſelf, it was only the love of God, wherewith his mind was ſo filled, and ſo much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleaſures, of his own accord ſeparating himſelf from the faſhions of the World, of which he was not otherwiſe incapable; and devoting himſelf wholly to this care, like one who had found an invaluable Treaſure, he bent his eyes and his mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting any thing beſides, but reſolved to make this the ſcope of all his wiſhes and deſires: Whereby (as in ſuch a caſe muſt needs happen) it ſo fell out, that they who obſerved his mind ſo ſtedfaſtly fixed upon God, and that he both ſpoke and did many things beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be void of ſome divine Inſpiration; and now ſome began, not as a good man to honour him, but as one ſent from Heaven, even to adore him, through the folly of mankind, madly doting upon any thing, whatſoever their own will hath ſet up to be worſhipped.

I will neither mince the truth of any ſtory, nor will I with additions flatter Report. Many things did Maſter *Fox* foretel, by occaſion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying thoſe that were ſtubborn, to which the event proved after anſwerable, and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what conſtancy, whilſt he remained at *Baſil* among his baniſhed Country-men, he ſignified the times of their return. It is likewiſe well known, what Anſwer he gave concerning that noble and vertuous Woman, the Lady *Anne Hennage*, who lying ſick of a violent Feaver, when the Diſeaſe had ſo far increaſed, that the Phyſitians had pronounced it deadly, Maſter *Fox* was called to be preſent at her ending, whoſe counſel and fidelity ſhe had often made uſe of, in matters appertaining to her Souls health. After he had performed what he came for, in reading Prayers, and comforting the ſick Woman, with ſuch perſwaſions as ſeemed good to him; Well have you done (ſaid he) and according to your duty, to prepare your ſelf for all events; but know this from me, That of this ſickneſs you ſhall not die. By chance, among thoſe who ſtood by, was Sir *Moyle Finch*, a well known and honourable Knight, the Ladies Son in law, who either moved with ſo unuſual a Speech, or deſirous to get ſomewhat more out of him, as ſoon as Maſter *Fox* was a little withdrawn from the reſt of the company, began ſeemingly to chide with him; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that contrary to the opinion of the Artiſts, he being an unskilful man, ſhould preſume to determine the end of the Diſeaſe, and by ſo doing bring the ſick Woman, by condition of her Sex, wavering, yet hitherto undiſmayed, to an impatience of dying, by giving her this hope and expectation of life: if his Mother in law might be likely to live, that no man had more cauſe of joy than himſelf; but if her death were indeed at hand, it befitted no man leſs to diſſemble it, than he, who ought to provide for the good of her Soul: that he did therefore, for the friendſhip he bare him, much fear, leſt, by that untimely word, he had loſt a great part of the good opinion which men had formerly of his truth and modeſty. To this Maſter *Fox*, ſmiling, made anſwer, That for his part he hindred not any man to think of him as he pleaſed; but concerning the ſick Lady, it had ſo ſeemed good unto God, that ſhe ſhould recover of that Diſeaſe; and that he had ſaid no more than was commanded him. The Lady recovered: nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no leſs true was that ſtory of Miſtriſs *Honiwood*, an honourable Gentlewoman, who had almoſt twenty years lain ſick of a Conſumption through Melancholy, neither did any one ſeem to have advice or courage ſufficient againſt the force of ſo miſchievous a Diſeaſe, though ſhe had already conſulted with the graveſt Divines, and the beſt Phyſitians, and with all, who either in the art of curing, or power of perſwading were accounted to excel the reſt. At length ſhe ſent alſo for Mr. *Fox*. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entred into a more heavy or afflicted houſe. There ſate by the ſick Woman to attend her, her Friends, Kinsfolk, Children and Servants, ſome upon Seats, and ſome on the Chamber-floor, not weeping or ſighing, as thoſe commonly do that lament, but having ſpent all their tears, reſolutely ſilent, neither riſing to thoſe that came in, nor anſwering thoſe who asked any queſtion, as if that alſo became their mourning; you might have gueſt them ſo many

many ſtatues of Mourners in humane likeneſs. The ſick Woman lay upon her Bed, without any hope of life, together with her frequent ſighs, faintly breathing forth ſome few words, the effect whereof was, That ſhe deſired to end her days. Maſter *Fox* when he had ſo many Patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief ſo violent would make ſtrong reſiſtance, to attempt any thing in vain, leſt, in not being by reaſon overcome, they might ſeem to have had reaſon on their ſides, left all other means of conſolation, and what he thought neceſſary to cure their afflicted minds, he diligently mingled with his Prayers; ſo that within a few days, they who were thought impoſſible, by mans help to be cured, did now ſeem, of their own accord, to begin to recover. At length, having farther endeared himſelf, he then told her, That ſhe ſhould not only grow well of that Conſumption, but alſo live to an exceeding great age. At which words the ſick Gentlewoman a little moved, and earneſtly beholding Maſter *Fox*: As well might you have ſaid (quoth ſhe) that if I ſhould throw this Glaſs againſt the Wall, I might believe it would not break to pieces; and holding a Glaſs in her hand, out of which ſhe had newly drunk, ſhe threw it forth; neither did the Glaſs, firſt by chance lighting on a little Cheſt ſtanding by the Bed-ſide, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it: And the event fell out accordingly. For the Gentlewoman, being then threeſcore years of age, lived afterward for all example of ſenſcity, ſeldom ſeen in the Off-ſpring of any Family, being able, before the 90 year of her age, (for ſhe lived longer) to reckon three hundred and threeſcore of her Childrens* Children and Grandchildren.

* Among which at this day, to wit, in the year of our Lord, 1641. In which this Book is ſet forth, there liveth Mrs. *Horace Hennage*, the Daughter of the ſaid Miſtriſs *Honnard*, a Gentlewoman of great worth, and the Widow of an honourable Gentleman, Maſter *Michael Hennage*, who affirmeth, that ſhe was preſent at the ſame time this was done, being a witneſs of more Integrity, and more ſincere than thather Teſtimony ſhould without great wrong be doubted of.

I could here relate many ſtories of like nature, but they, for the moſt part, being dead, who might juſtifie the Particulars, I will not intreat to be believed, where I cannot bring proof enough to deſerve it. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it ſhould need to be confirmed by Witneſſes.

Maſter *Fox* went one day, in duty, as his cuſtom was, to ſee the Earl of *Arundel*, Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Father to this Right Honourable Earl now living. The Earl, in his courteſie, when he was going away, brought him to the Water-ſide, at the lower end of his Garden; but obſerving the River very rough by the ſuddain riſing of the Winds, he counſelled Maſter *Fox* not to truſt himſelf in ſo boiſterous a Tempeſt upon the Waters: But he continuing in his reſolution of going; So my Lord (quoth he) let theſe waters deal with me, as I have in truth and ſincerity delivered to you all that I have ſpoken: and with that entring into the Boat, before they could put off from the Bridge, the Wind ceaſed, and the River began to run with a ſmoother ſtream.

Being often asked by his familiar Friends, why he had no more regard to the ſtraightneſs of his own Eſtate, it being the firſt precept of Charity to begin at home; his anſwer was, That God by his Covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to beſtow it; and ſince he had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifeſt ingratitude?

Theſe and ſuch like things, although by all men much wondred at, yet dare I not preſume to affirm, what that was in all theſe actions, which did principally tend to Maſter *Foxes* commendation: whether it be, that the mind by how much the purer and more ſublime it is, ſeeth ſo much the farther: or whether there be ſome hidden cauſe, why God may be pleaſed ſometimes to declare his purpoſes, by men, not ſpeaking out of their own knowledge, but as they are moved.

We muſt make haſte now to other matters, in which there was nothing that ſo much wan to Maſter *Fox* the love of people, as the pity he uſually ſhewed to all ſorts of men in diſtreſs; and ſome you may find, who affirm, that Maſter *Fox*, not only gave away to the poor his Money, but his Cloaths and Houſhold-ſtuff alſo, without his Wives privity; which modeſty forbiddeth me to maintain for truth. For ſince I know well enough, that many things, concerning the reſt of his behaviour, have been either feigned, or amplified by the affections of men, I ought not a little to ſuſpect, leſt in this they have done the like. True it is, that Maſter *Fox* gave largely to the Poor, and therein exceeded the meaſure of his own ſubſtance, but that his bounty ever proceeded to the diſfurniſhing of his houſe, I neither have any Author worth the credit, who avoucheth it; nor is it likely that he ſhould deſcend to ſuch extream courſes, who by the liberality of others that ſupplied him with money to that purpoſe, wanted not ſufficient means to ſhew his Charity.

All theſe Vertues of his were fenced about, as with a Bulwark, by a ſingular modeſty and integrity of life; which ſuffered not any thing either to enter into his manners, or to break forth in his actions, but what was firſt with much diligence ſearched into and examined, whether it might beſeem him or not; which alſo having always before him, if at any time (by the condition of mans frailty) ought within began to be ſhaken, yet was proviſion quickly made, before the matter proceeded to any great breach in his manners, by forſaking all commerce with any kind of Vices, againſt which the ſhame to do evil, and the regard he had to his own credit, kept a continual watch and ward.

Yet for all this there want not ſome, who accuſe Maſter *Fox* of Injuſtice, in the higheſt degree; which injury, becauſe many are intereſſed in, I ſhall further inquire into.

Maſter *Fox* in that part of his Hiſtory, wherein he deſcribeth the lamentable Troubles in the five years Reign of Queen *Mary*, hath by name mentioned not only the Authors of thoſe Executions, but alſo many, who were but Miniſters and Aſſiſtants, among whom were ſome perſons of great note. This, ſome of their Poſterity complain to have been done unjuſtly by

Maſter

Maſter *Fox*, and that the fatal neceſſity of thoſe times, their modeſty in obeying, or the publick Offices impoſed upon them, ought not to be a ſcandal to them, or their Poſterity. Now though I might juſtly anſwer theſe men, that the ſame excuſe of neceſſity, which they alledge for their Anceſtors, ought to ſuffice on Maſter *Foxes* behalf, ſince he could no way leave the Miniſters nameleſs, but he ſhould leave his Adverſaries occaſion of cavilling at his ſtory: yet willingly would I give them further ſatisfaction, than they can in juſtice challenge; deſiring, that what hath been done might poſſibly have been done otherwiſe, and intreating them, not to ſuppoſe that done with a thought of hurting, which was only the Fortune of thoſe who were hurt; in the mean while (notwithſtanding) I adviſe them, that they joyn not their grief, with the anger of thoſe men, who are offended with Maſter *Fox* for a far different cauſe, and under colour of the perſons, ſtrike at a matter of another condition; there being two ſorts of men, who in this reſpect complain they are injured, the one out of Nature, the other out of Faction. To the firſt, as their due, I willingly grant all benefit that courteſie can afford them. Though they are angry, they are ſtill Subjects, and in their Obedience: neither would I make ſo light of the grief, though unjuſtly taken by any good Subject, as not rather to loſe a part of my right, than that he ſhould relinquiſh any part of his Loyalty. To the laſt, I have ſomewhat elſe to ſay, as to men, who had the Fortune to fall out firſt with their Country, and to have that as the true and principal Cauſe of their hatred: than to grow angry with Maſter *Fox*, whom they hate not, but for their Countries ſake. To theſe men I am ſo far from thinking any ſatisfaction due, as that I cannot afford them the favour of reaſoning with them, which is granted even to Enemies. For the ſafety of civil entercourſe, and all hope of reconcilement they have taken away, and broken all ties of humane ſociety: And what can I hope he ſhould ever after do, either like an underſtanding man, or like a man at all, who could forſake his duty to his Country? which alone ſo draweth into it ſelf the power and right of all duties, that according as any man ſheweth more or leſs love towards it, ſo may the moſt infallible judgment be given, how he ſtandeth affected towards God. But if they ſay, their Country hath failed in its duty: Firſt, that will be a queſtion, whether it hath failed or not and how far it hath failed; but it is without all Controverſie their duty to let paſs any diſcontent for their Countries ſake: Next, how bold a face muſt he have, who being himſelf a party to an Action, of which God only can determine, ſhould preſume to make himſelf his own Judge, and (not content to have ſet at nought that Authority, which amongſt men is moſt weighty) neither grant to his Country ſpace of appealing, nor awaite the Judgment of Almighty God, but as if he had already won the day, ſeize all things before hand by foul and ſtubborn attempts, and rather gratifie an Enemy with his diſloyalty, than perform his duty to his Country ſo well, deſerving it? So that if it ſhould happen at any time, that this famous Kingdom (which is not impoſſible in this ſtate of humane weakneſs) ſhould err in any part of duty towards God, yet might moſt dangerous examples of treachery be given, if when any man ſhall have a deſire to his Countries deſtruction, he may by excuſe of his Countries Crime, not only ſeem to have quitted himſelf of ſo hainous a fault, but alſo to have done what his duty required.

This I have ſpoken of the more largely, becauſe I underſtand that many of our own Party think fit, that ſome Anſwer ſhould be made to the Papiſts, concerning the evil Speeches they have uſed againſt Maſter *Fox*. To ſatisfie whoſe deſire in a few words, let us firſt ſee what thoſe evil Speeches are: That he is a lying Author: It is therefore a lye, that Maſter *Rogers*, Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Hooper*, Biſhop *Ridley*, Biſhop *Latimer*, and other moſt holy and innocent men of the ſame train were burned for their Religion. But if this, even by their own confeſſion, be true, what (I marvel) may thoſe matters be, by whoſe falſhood the reſt of the whole work hath incurred the infamous Title of a lye, as they do make their Followers believe? Some things they alledge miſtaken in the names or number of ſuch as ſuffer, or in the time of their ſuffering, which were either recalled in the following Editions, or by the Author ſo well defended, that as long as he lived no man exclaimed any more. Somethings they likewiſe urge in the Hiſtory of former Ages, contradicted by the Hiſtoriographers themſelves, which they might eaſily do, in ſo great contention of differing Opinions, that whatſoever Author a man ſhould follow, he muſt ſtill fall into the ſame inconvenience. Yet all they can ſay is of ſuch a nature, as neither we much care if it were true, nor they if it be falſe. But let us (if you will) grant them ſomewhat, and be liberal of Maſter *Fox* his right: If I ſhall take quite out of the Hiſtory, all that they have ſaid to be falſe, will they then promiſe me to ſuffer their Followers with freedom to read the reſt? They will no more yield to this condition, than they will be contented to be quiet: What ſhall a man do to ſuch men, as are never ſatisfied, whether you grant that they plead for, or deny it them? And how great a frowardneſs it were to expect from any Author, that in the whole courſe of ſo long a ſtory, whilſt one man doth with his own only labours handle ſo many ſeveral matters, he ſhould never ſo much as miſtake any thing? As well might they tax that moſt accompliſhed Writer *Julius Cæſar* with telling a lye, if where he deſcribeth our Iſle of *Great Britain*, he ſhould by chance in the circuit of any Iſland, or paſſage from one place to another, differ by a few miles from later accompt, who (indeed) wrote the Hiſtory of his Wars and Expeditions, with that truth he ought to do, but in the reſt followed the common report, and believed the Relations of others, not willing to be over curious in things of no great importance.

And thus much it ſeemed good to me to anſwer, rather out of the opinion of ſome of our own ſide, than that my ſelf thought it neceſſary: But if our Adverſaries themſelves require a further Anſwer, I will deal with them upon other terms; Let them firſt return to their Obedience,

dience, make ſatisfaction to their Country, and then proſecute their private diſpleaſures, when they are clear of all publick Offences: But if they will needs run on ſtill in this heat, and after they have neither any hope nor credit left, think to frighten us with railing, I ſhall (for my part) be well content to let them gain as much commendation for their good pleading, as they have reaped fruit in that courſe of life they have heretofore uſed; and to allow them this double glory, neither in evil-doing, nor in evil-ſpeaking to have any Fellows: If this condition ſeemeth over hard, yet (at leaſt) let them equal the dignity of that Hiſtory they ſo much carp at. Let them be Authors of equal credit. So would the fight be more honourable, if they might with as much damage to themſelves be overcome, as they ſhould with advantage get the Victory. If otherwiſe it be their deſire to purchaſe to themſelves ſome blaſt of fame, by cavilling at this laſting Work, in their Pamphlets and under-hand Invectives, not ſuch as the judgments of underſtanding men, but the fancies of ſome eaſier Women; is there any man ſo ſenſeleſs, as by oppoſing them, to make thoſe Writings of longer continuance, which would, by being contemned, in a ſhort time be quite forgotten?

Now further, that they may underſtand how much their ill Language hath made more for Maſter *Fox* his honour than reproach; I will ſpeak a word or two of his moderation towards them. I could produce Letters of his, wherein he perſwadeth the Lords and others, who then held the places of chiefeſt Authority, not to ſuffer *Edmund Campian*, and his fellow Conſpirators to be put to death, nor to let that cuſtom continue longer in the Kingdom, that death rather than ſome other puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the Papiſt Offendors. And leſt he might ſeem only out of the goodneſs of his Nature, and not out of the judgment of his mind to have ſo ſpoken, he there endeavoureth to prove by many reaſons, how much it was to the weakning of the cauſe, rather to follow the example of their Adverſaries, in appointing puniſhments, than their own mildneſs; and that they much rather ought to ſtrive, as well in mercy and clemency to overcome them, as they had already in the juſtice of their cauſe got the upper hand. This he repeated often, adventuring, even till he was in danger of giving offence by his importunity to intreat for them. Whereas on the other ſide the Lords gave him to underſtand; That this was a matter of State, not of Controverſie; That the Kings life, the publick Liberty, and the aſſurance of the Kindgom reſted on this Point; That Subjects ought by their own peril to be warned, how they grow too prodigal of their Countries bleſſings; That ſuch was the eſtate of the Kingdom, as that nothing could be more glorious, or more ſecure, if the Subjects, only would conſent, to keep their abilities to their Countries uſe, nor had it further failed of that felicity, than it had been hindred by the revolts and conſpiracies of our own men. Yet for all this did Maſter *Fox* continue in his opinion, and though he could by intreaty gain nothing, yet would he with many ſighs teſtifie his ſorrow, as often as he heard, that any of them were put to death.

And thus having ſeen his moderations to the perſons, it will not be out of the way to add in general what he thought of the Churches of *Rome*, and the Biſhop thereof, as far as they may be gathered out of his Speeches, when being of ripe years, he had ſtrengthened his judgment with much experience.

The Heads of his Opinions were theſe:

That among the Chriſtian-Churches, the *Roman* had been in dignity always chiefeſt, and of moſt Antiquity. That it retained this dignity and opinion many Ages after, by little and little growing to greater Authority, not by conſent of people, or by any right to that Claim, but by reaſon of a certain inclination and cuſtom among men, that where any chance far to excel others, they firſt begin to be powerful among the reſt, and at length to exerciſe command over them. That the greateſt Honour and Authority it had, was among theſe Weſtern Kingdoms, which, as every one moſt affected the Chriſtian Religion, ſo were they by the diligence and piety of the *Romans* moſt aſſiſted, in which reſpect it had not ill deſerved to be called the Mother of thoſe Churches. That the occaſion of ſo great an increaſe was, that the City of *Rome* being of ſo ancient Renown, and as it were by deſtiny appointed Monarch of the World, in all Ages abounding with men of great courage and vertue, being well peopled, wealthy, uſefully ſeated, and always under the Emperors ſight, eaſily afforded this convenience. That at the firſt the Chriſtians could no where meet together with leſs trouble, more plentifully be provided for, more ſafely be concealed, or, when need was, die with more conſtancy; all which made Poſterity ſo much to admire and honour them. That the Church at firſt flouriſhed rather in good Diſcipline, and the approved holineſs of the Profeſſors, than in abundance of riches, there being yet no looſeneſs, no pride or ambition found in the manners of the Clergy, and Money, Servants, Lands, Jewels, and ſuch like goods, altogether unknown to them; in fine, all things ſo reſtrained, either by modeſty in uſing what they had, or contentedneſs in wanting what they had not, as that in *Rome* only, ſeemed to be the Seat of Chriſtian Religion. That all this was with moſt ſtrictneſs obſerved in the times neareſt to the Churches Infancy; but in proceſs of time, by little and little began to be neglected and corrupted, after the ſame manner as Rivers, whoſe ſtreams near their head being ſmalleſt and cleareſt, the farther they proceed, run in a larger Channel, but with more troubled waters; till at length, by mixture with the Sea, they grow alſo unwholſome; and though in no one place, we can perceive where they are, any jot changed from their firſt purity; yet may we eaſily enough find a great difference, if we compare the extreams together. For that in the Church it ſo fell out, that having brought all Nations to the Chriſtian Faith, after they once began to think it for the Honour of the Empire, that the Prieſts ſhould no longer (as they had formerly accuſtomed)

endure

endure Poverty, but live in a more plentiful way, to which purpoſe the Emperors granted many things to the Church-men, both as an Ornament and Reward to them; then alſo the Prieſts began, firſt to be taken with the love of Riches, then by degrees to grow wanton through abundance, and not care how little pains they took, after (as always the ſucceeding Age addeth to the Vices of the former) they affected Power alſo, which when they had once obtained, and by the Emperors Gift, received the Command of the Church, they gave not over, till (having caſt down the Emperors, by whoſe bounty they had ſo prevailed) they both invaded the Priviledges of the Empire, and now laid Claim to both Spiritual and Temporal Government; in the mean while neglecting thoſe Rules of Religion which their Predeceſſors had preſcribed them, neither themſelves much ſearching the Scriptures, nor permitting others to do it; and eſteeming the Worſhip of God to conſiſt rather in outward Devotion, and Pomp of Ceremonies, than in the Obedience of Faith. That by this means it ſo came to paſs, that the Church of *Rome* (as all other immoderate Empires) not only fell from that high degree it once held, but alſo ſubverted in it ſelf the very ſubſtance and ſtate of a Church: nor that this ought to ſeem ſtrange, if as the moſt healthful Bodies fall into ſickneſs with moſt danger, ſo it befalleth, that the prime of all Churches ſhould have no mean, but either remain in the perfection of health, or become the moſt dangerous Enemy to it; and that for this cauſe the Pope now ſeemed to be Antichriſt. That notwithſtanding the caſe was ſo plain, yet neither part ought to lend too much belief to Arguments, nor be too earneſt in hindering it, if by any moderation of men the matter might be brought to ſoundneſs and agreement. That it was not (perchance) in our Power to take from *Rome* her ancient Honour, and the opinion of her Religion ſo fixed already in the minds of men. That the Church of *Rome* had fallen by her own covetouſneſs, ambition, and prevarication; but that never any man had gone ſo far in ſinning, as that Repentance had not pierced as far. That therefore it were fit to allow them, as a returning to Repentance, ſo ſome convenient means to move them to it, and ſufficient ſpace to repent in. That it might be the Author diſliked them, becauſe a *German* or *French man*, and not an *Italian* of their own Nation had told them of their Errors. That there might one day among their own men be found ſome, by whoſe Authority they ſhould not be aſhamed to amend their faults, and with more willingneſs part with their own power, to procure the peace of the whole World. That there was at leaſt this hope left, it might ſo fall out, that they had no further erred in the Articles of Faith, than that they would not ſuffer too much to be known. That the conditions of agreement would be, firſt, That the Pope ſhould forſake all thoſe Tenents, by which he gained ſo great ſums of money; there being nothing, whereto the people might with more difficulty be perſwaded, than that Chriſt, the Saviour of the World, had inſtructed his Church in the ways of money, and ſetting Scriptures to ſale. Next that he ſhould renounce all Secular Juriſdiction, and not ſuppoſe himſelf to have Title, or any thing to do with the right of Princes. That on the other ſide his Oppoſers ſhould not refuſe, that ſome one man may have the principal place of Counſel and Government in the Church-affairs, as being a thing which would have many conveniences in it, when it might be done with ſecurity; neither that the *Roman*-Church had once fallen, ought to make againſt it, nor that it had firſt flouriſhed, to prevail for it, herein to be preferred before any other, but that all this was to be left to the diſcretion of a General-Council of the Chriſtians, which might be ſo equitable, as that neither the Power or Favour of any one ſhould be able, either from the place of meeting, or the difference in number of Voices to promiſe it ſelf any advantage to the injury of the reſt. That in the mean while it would be of great moment to the hope and ſpeedineſs of ſetling all Controverſies, if hereafter on both ſides they would give ſuch Inſtructions, as might cauſe in each Party a better hope and opinion of the other, eſpecially that they ought to leave off that ſtubborn conceit, whereby each of them, preſuming it ſelf to be the only true Church, ſuppoſeth the other excluded. For that it were not only wicked, but alſo highly to the diſhonour of God, to think that he had ſo given his Commandments to Mankind, as that they ſhould be turned to the deſtruction of thoſe that obey them; which muſt of neceſſity come to paſs, if when all men will not conſent in the ſame opinion, they who underſtand moſt ſhall refuſe to admit of the reſt; Was therefore the Kingdom of Heaven reſerved only for the more underſtanding ſort, and thoſe that know moſt? Where ſhould then the Fools of the World be; where ſhould little Children be, whom Chriſt had ſet apart for himſelf? How much better ſhould we ſerve God, by following that which was evident, than by interpreting that which was doubtful? How much more probable were it, that Gods mercy was ſo abundant, as when men were once agreed in point of general Obedience, there ſhould nothing elſe be laid to their charge? For, that the force of Obedience was before God ſo great, as thereby only all other inequalities might be made even; but if all were not in equal condition, that certainly with God they were beſt eſteemed, who judged with moſt modeſty of others.

From Maſter *Fox* his Enemies, I will now paſs to his Friends, among which I have already ſhewed, with how great affection he was beloved by the Duke of *Norfolk*, being by his bounty maintained in his life, and after his death, by the Penſion he beſtowed on him, which his Son, the Right Honourable Earl of *Suffolk*, to whom thoſe Revenews deſcended, out of his liberality, confirmed.

His Fortunes were encreaſed by the Lord *William Cecill*, then Lord Treaſurer, a man beyond expreſſion excellent, whom it as much availed Queen *Elizabeth*, to have for her Miniſter, as it availed the Kingdom, to have *Elizabeth* for their Queen; and without doubt moſt deſerving, that in himſelf, and his Poſterity, he ſhould flouriſh in that Kingdom, which he had by his wiſdom and advice made moſt flouriſhing. He of the Queens Gift obtained for Mr. *Fox* the Rectory of *Shipton*, upon no other inducement but his publick Deſert, and when Mr. *Fox* delayed, and after his manner entreated leave to excuſe himſelf, the Lord *Cecill* politickly overcame his bathfulneſs, by telling him, That he neither accepted that for an anſwer, nor had he deſerved that the blame of Mr. *Foxes* refuſing the Queens Gift, ſhould be laid upon him, as if he had been his hindrance.

To the Earls of *Bedford* and of *Warwick*, he was very acceptable, and approved by them for the likeneſs of his inclination.

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He was very intimate with Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Secretary of State, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who deſervedly was the firſt that advanced the Power of the Secretariſhip.

The two Brethren, Sir *Thomas Hennage* and Maſter *Michael Hennage*, he entirely affected, the firſt for the ſweetneſs of his Behaviour, the other for his ſolid Learning and ſingular modeſty of Life, and though they were each of them in their kind moſt accompliſhed Gentlemen, yet was he wont to ſay, that Sir *Thomas Hennage* had as much as was requiſite any way to a compleat Courtier, but that Maſter *Michael Hennage* had both all his Brother in himſelf, and that beſides of his own, which the Court had not corrupted.

To Sir *Drue Drury* he bare (likewiſe) ſingular affection, as to a man of ſincere intentions, and of great conſtancy in all Fortunes and (perchance) the only man in the Court, who continued his favour without loſs of his Freedom.

Among the Prelates he principally reverenced Doctor *Grindal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Doctor *Elmar* Biſhop of *London*, Doctor *Pilkington* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, who were his Partners in baniſhment at *Baſil*.

Among the Writers of his time, he preferred before the reſt, Doctor *Humphrey*, Doctor *Whitetaker*, and Doctor *Fulk*, with whoſe Learning he was wondrouſly delighted, and eſteemed it no ſmall benefit to be again beloved by them.

But with none had he more familiar acquaintance, than with Maſter *John Crowly*, and Maſter *Baldwine Collins*, whoſe counſel he made uſe of in all his affairs, eſpecially of Maſter *Collins*, concerning whom he was wont to ſay, That he knew not which had greateſt ſhare in him, excellence of knowledge, or modeſty of mind.

Among military men, Sir *Francis Drake* was much delighted with his Familiarity; whom to commend near the times, he lived in, were needleſs, but to commend him to Poſterity, according to his deſert, many Volumes would ſcarce ſuffice.

Among the Citizens of *London*, he always found great good will; eſpecially with Sir *Thomas Greſham*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Alderman *Bacchus*, Maſter *Smith*, Maſter *Dale*, and Maſter *Sherington*, who had him in great account and eſtimation, being part of them ſuch as had born the higheſt places of Honour in the City, and part of them Merchants of great ſubſtance.

I paſs by many, who (perhance) had as great ſhare in Maſter *Fox* his Friendſhip, as any of theſe; nor ought it to be accounted a fault, if I either knew not, or remembred not at all: But this I ought not to ſlip, (as being the chiefeſt cauſe why I thought fit to mention the forenamed worthy men) That theſe were they, from whom, I before ſaid, Maſter *Fox* received ſuch large ſums of money to divide among the poor: which although they did with ſo much privacy, as that they truſted not to Meſſengers in delivering it, not regarding any outward praiſe, their well doing might procure them, knowing the conſcience thereof to be as much as they needed to deſire; Yet was it not fitting for me in Maſter *Fox* his Hiſtory to diſſemble it, or to give any man occaſion to ſuppoſe the truth not opened by Maſter *Fox*, though they themſelves thought good to neglect the fruit of ſo great Liberality, eſpeciall ſince it may abundantly ſerve for commendation of both him and them, that they ſhould be known by their own actions, and he by none but his own.

He uſed always among his Friends a pleaſant kind of familiarity, wherewith he ſeaſoned the gravity and ſeverity of his other behaviour.

Being once asked at a Friends Table, what Diſh he deſired to be ſet up to him, to begin his meal with, he anſwered, the laſt; which word was pleaſantly taken, as if he had meant ſome choicer Diſh, ſuch as uſually are brought for the ſecond Courſe; whereas he rather ſignified the deſire he had to ſee dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad (by chance) he met a Woman that he knew, who pulling a Book from under her arm, and ſaying, See you not that I am going to a Sermon; Maſter *Fox* replied, But if you will be ruled by me, go home rather, for to day you will do but little good at Church; and when ſhe asked, At what time therefore he would counſel her to go; Then (anſwered he) when you tell no body before hand.

It happened at his own Table, that a Gentleman there ſpake ſomewhat too freely againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*, which when Maſter *Fox* heard, he commanded a Bowl filled with Wine to be brought him, which being done: This Bowl (quoth he) was given me by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſo ſtopping the Gentleman in his intemperate Speeches without reprehending him.

When a young man, a little too forward, had in preſence of many, ſaid, That he could conceive no reaſon, in the reading of the old Authors, why men ſhould ſo greatly admire them. No marvel indeed, (quoth Maſter *Fox*) For if you could conceive the reaſon, you would then admire them your ſelf.

I could ſpeak of many ſtories of this kind, but that I will not exceed my intended limits too far.

At length having in ſuch actions, and ſuch behaviour ſpent out his Age, being now full of years, and ſtored with Friends, ere he had quite paſſed through his ſeventieth year, he died, not through any known Diſeaſe, but through much Age. Yet did he foreſee the time of his departure, nor would ſuffer his Sons (which notwithſtanding he entirely loved) to be preſent at his death, but forbad the one at any hand to be ſent for, and ſent the other on a Journey three days before he died, then calling both of them unto him, when he well knew, though they made never ſo great haſte, they ſhould come too late; whether he thought them unable to bear ſo heavy a Spectacle, or would not have his own mind at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to deſire life. Which to me and my Brother was the moſt grievous of all chances, that thereby we could neither come to cloſe his eyes, to receive his laſt Bleſſing and Exhortations, nor ſatisfie our minds with that laſt ſight of him. Perchance we could with more patience have endured to ſee the fainting approaches of his death drawing on, than to have loſt in him ſo good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death the whole City lamented, honouring the ſmall Funeral which was made for him, with the concourſe of a great multitude of people, and in no other faſhion of mourning, than as if among ſo many, each man had buried his own Father, or his own Brother.

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# AD LECTOREM.

COntendentibus a me multis, idque ſæpenumero, ut Patris mei vitam, ante triginta annos a me conſcriptam poſteritati donarem; cum nulla nova res acciderit, propter quam (vel me tacente) judicio poſterorum de clariſſimo viro diffiderem; multa autem me nunc neceſſaria huic inſtituto deficerent, exceſſu eorum, in quorum teſtimonio fides rerum continebatur: non dubitavi quin & prioris recuſationis meæ veniam apud cunctos conſequi, & ſi in recuſando perſeverarem, hujus quoque libertatis jus tenere facile potuiſſem. Sed cum viderem homines alienos, & conſuetudinis ejus prorſus ignaros, hoc ſuum negotium feciſſe, ut de vita ejus ſcriberent; de qua nihil niſi per vagas, & fortuitas auditiones doceri potuerunt; eoque fieri, ut multa de eo ſupra quam facta ſunt, extulerint; multa ſecus quam facta ſunt narrarint; plurima ignoratione præterierint; qui adoleſcens ſupremis ejus vitæ temporibus perpetuus interfui, & cum abeſſem propiores cauſas cognoſcendi quicquid attentius geſſiſſet ſemper habui; adductus ſum officio, ut memoriam ejus illæſam eſſe vellem; & ſi luce eam donare non poſſem, at eam in vero, & ſuo lumine collocarem. Neque veritus ſum, ut hoc factum meum legentibus probare poſſim, quod filius Patris mei vitam compoſuerim, exemplo propter propinquitatem ſuſpecto: Nam primum celari poſteros memorabilem virum, nec injuria eorum qui perperam de eo ſcripſerunt finebat: defendi autem eum aliter quam ab ſuis, tutum non erat: neque eſt, cur in filio magis ſuſpecta ſit fides ſua, quam in iis qui nullam de eo memoriam extare volunt vis doloris, & iracundiæ ſuæ. Hactenus ſuſtinui, donec æquato periculo offenſionis inter infenſos, & cupidos, vicit tandem ratio parendi eis, qui hoc meum ſtudium, etiam cum expoſtulatione, flagitabant; quorum importunitate conſenſi in opus emittendum, initio non alio deſtinatum, quam ut imaginem Paternæ conſuetudinis apud me ſervarem, & nunc, in tanta hominis fama, aliorum magis opinione, quam judicio meo neceſſarium.

JOANNIS

# JOHANNIS FOXII
# VITA.

JOhannes Foxius *Boſtona antiquo oppido conventus* Lincolnienſis *ortus*, Anno 1517. *utroque genere plebeio, ſed honeſto inter ſuos, & copioſo fuit: Patrem parvulus admodum amiſit: cujus morte poſtquam mater denupſerat, in domum vitrici conceſſit; ibique puritiam exegit; qua vix dum egreſſus, probatiſque ſuis ob bonitatem, vigoremque indolis,* Oxonium *ad artes capeſſendas miſſus eſt. Prima literarum elementa in Collegio* Aenei *naſi hauſit, datus in contubernium* Alexandro Noello, *ſummo poſtea hujus civitatis viro, & Decano* Paulinæ *Eccleſiæ; ut non mirum ſit, quorum educatio par, idemque pueritiæ cultus fuit, inter eos ſimilitudinem quoque morum ad extremam ſenectam duraviſſe. Egregium, acremque ad ſtudia animum incendit locus, ferax æmulationum, & exactor profectus ſui in ſingulis; aderatque induſtria, quæ raro excellentibus ingeniis comes, ubi ea quoque adjumitur, tum demum efficaciſſima eſt: Ob quas dotes cum intra breve tempus admirationem ſui apud cunctos, charitatem apud plurimos peperiſſet, eruditionis, morumque nomine, delectus eſt in numerum ſodalium* Magdalenenſium, *qui honor inter præcipuos Academiæ habitus, & Alumnis Collegii debitus, paucis externis, nec niſi in præmium ſingularis virtutis concedi ſolet. Apparet prima exuberantis ingenii* Germina *Poetices ſtudioſe profudiſſe: Extant Comœdiæ ab ipſo conſcriptæ, ſtilo uberi, & ornato, ſed* Paulo *tumentiore, quod vitium Orationis, & ſi ætas, & experientia multum mitigavit, cum ipſo tamen magna ex parte conſenuit, cum in aliis rebus eſſet ſedatiſſimus: Sed & tum ſpecimen dedit, quem in virum evaſurus eſſet; cum illi ipſi luſus effervescentis adoleſcentiæ, non niſi Argumentis ſacræ Hiſtoriæ inſtruerentur: matureque coercuit. Ad Theologiæ ſtudium acrior, quam prudentior tranſivit; deſcenditque in profeſſionem Reformationis tum inceptæ; prius quam iis noſceretur, qui vel cauſam ipſam fovebant vel fautores protegere poſſent: Id illi intium moleſtiarum fuit. Hoc fuit illud tempus quo* Henricus octavus *Rex, ambiguus propoſiti, ſibique & Papæ diſcors, Eccleſiæ res in immenſum potentiæ, ſuperbiæque auctas, neque tolerandas ex toto, neque mutandas ducens, cum in utroque modum cuperet, in neutro valuit; factumque poſt homines natos gloriosiſſimum, inutili temperamento fœdavit: Non alias diſtractior populus, neque magis anxius ſalutis ſuæ, fortunarumque fuit; ignoto per legum contrarietatem, quid ſequi, quid fugere tutum eſſet; abolito Papatu, & retento tamen dogmate. Initia tamen exacti Papatus ut læta, ita ſecunda magis Reformatoribus fuerunt; plurimique mortales conſenſum intulere, conſcientia recti & illigato Regis animo per ſupplicia adverſantium, & demolitis maxime Monaſteriis: addiditque fiduciam, quod ex Proceribus ut quiſque Papali faſtigio infeſtior erat, ita magis Regis gratia, amicitiaque floruit. Interim vigebat ſtatutum ſex Articulorum, ſonteſque plectebantur. Ita ſparſus ex æquo terror, & ſpes quamdiu Rex inter ingenium ſuum, & conſilia ſuorum medius, ſeveritate illud, hos diſcordi indulgentia pavit: Mox protritis Reformantium ducibus; poſtquam* Suffolcius *morte,* Cromwellus *ferro cecidiſſet, intractaque per æmulorum audaciam* Cranmeri *Archiepiſcopi patientia, nihil vel in legibus, vel in Proceribus præſidii ſupereſſet, cuncta in antiquas ſordes, licentiamque ruere cœperunt; tantoque impetuoſius, quod vindictæ ſpecies erat viciſſe. At in Academiis, Scholiſque nihil mutatum, innovatumque niſi occulto; dubium an metu, an ambitione, ne ſequi viderentur. In quo ſtatu rerum, Religionisque,* Foxius *ad controverſiæ tum gliſcentis conditionem cognoſcendam attentius animum convertit: Vetus dimicatio erat, neque ullum ſeculum prorſus expers diſſidiorum in Eccleſia fuit: ſed primæ illæ contentiones quæſtionibus de Regno, & jure finium magis complicabantur; nitentibus* Romanis, *ut veterem urbis amplitudinem, quam armis nequibant, artibus & obtentu Religionis ſub ſummi Pontificis jure retinerent: Tum ſi qui ab ipſis de fide diſſenſerant, eorum feſtinatus exitus contactum in reliquos antevertit. Ita vel crudelitate, vel principum patientia pleraque turbarum compoſita ſunt; manentibus etiamnum* Romæ veſtigiis primævæ virtutis, *aut ſaltem imitamentis virtutum inter pluraque inverſa, vel vetuſtate obliterata. At poſtquam coalita ex ſucceſſu audacia, ſecurum Pontifici fuit omnium rerum jus, poteſtatemque ad ſe trahere; & conciſſis Imperii opibus, reliquorum Regum ſceptra attrectare libido eſſet; ejuſque cauſa fas omne divinum, & humanum miſcere; interim Clerus ipſe nihil penſi haberet quanta Religionis jactura homines interdum maculoſi in Papatum ſublegerentur, quorum exemplo vetus illa parentum ſeveritas, & ſanctimonia deriſui, paupertas probo eſſe, ſacerdotum induſtria torpere, contra furere luxus, & avaritia, & ambitio cœpit: tum demum intellectæ ſunt Eccleſiaſticorum artes, cognitumque ludibrium: Idcirco nimirum multiplicatos ritus numerumque Cæremoniarum, quo Cleri numerus faciendis ſacris augeretur: Hos ali neceſſe: Ad horum ſumptum inductas opiniones cogendis pecuniis potentiſſimas, de dignitate operum, de Purgatorio, de poteſtate abſolutionis, & indultorum Papalium: quas omnes ſua natura falſas, & fluxas eſſe; verum conſtabiliri novo illo omniumque vaferrimo cæmento: Papam in fide errare non poſſe. Sic decoro opinionum nexu, compageque vinctam Chriſtianorum credulitatem: inter ejus opinionum proventus, pecuniarumque, quæ tum ab Clero, tum ab populo extorqueretur, immenſam vim ad Papam, curiamque Papalem ſub infinitis nominibus, pervenire. Sæpe audivi* Foxium *narrantem, eam ſibi primam cauſam fuiſſe inquirendi in Doctrinam Pontificiorum, quod res Natura pugnantiſſimas ſimul offerri credentibus vidiſſet: Eundem ſcilicet Hominem & fidei ſummum, & tamen vita, moribuſque ultimum mortalium eſſe poſſe. Tali autem principio cum animus, obſequiumq; ejus primo nutaviſſet, diſſenſio*

*in*

*in reliquis ſenſim ſecuta eſt. Prima illi diligentia fuit Eccleſiæ Hiſtoriam omnem tum veterem, tum novam evolvere, cognoſcere quis Eccleſiæ exortus, quæ incrementa, quibus artibus floruerit, quo errore declinaverit, expendere controverſiarum quæ intervenerant cauſas, vim, & quid in utraque parte ſanum, quid ægrum eſſet: quo in conatu ſic exarſit ſtudium, & celeritas ejus ut ante trigeſimum Ætatis ſuæ annum, quicquid Patres Latini, Græcive in ſcriptis, quicquid Schola in concluſionibus, quicquid Concilia in Actis, Curia in Decretis reliquerat, id omne, modo obvium eſſet, legendo perčurrerit; in* Hebræorum *quoque literis peritiam non vulgarem aſſecutus ſit. Retulerunt æquales ipſius ſolitum illi fuiſſe, ſuper diurnum laborem, pernoctare quoque in ſtudiis, aut non niſi multa admodum nocte ad quietem ſe recipere. Lucus eſt extra Collegium amœnitate loci, ſtudentium otio, & ambulationibus dicatus: Eum locum, nocteque delegerat, ubi tyronem animum pavidum conſcientia novæ cogitationis, adverſus metum, ipſo terrore ſolitudinis, & tenebrarum firmaret. Quas ibi vigilatas noctes, quos fluctus, æſtuſq; animi perpeſſus ſit; quantum ſingultuum, gemitus, lacrymarum precibus apud Deum interfuderit, malim ſilentio tramitti, quam in ſpeciem oſtentationis memorari: Sed ideo tradi oportuit, quod hinc prima indicia alienatæ voluntatis eruperunt. Quippe evulgata fama nocturnorum ſeceſſuum, cum ſuſpicaciſſimus quiſq; ſuopte ingenio, cæterum quiſq; ab eo alienior, ita pronior in ſiniſtram interpretationem penderet, tandem familiares quoq; ejus trahebantur; immiſſique qui ſpecie monitionis digreſſus ejus, ſermones, actus ſingulos accuratius ſpecularentur. Et erant, qui comparatione priſtinæ conſuetudinis facta atrocius urgerent: Cur infrequentius rem divinam faceret quam ſoleret? cur vitaret congreſſus æqualium? Cur ſolatia conſueta dimitteret? quæ mente iſta faceret niſi mutata? neque occulturum ſi in melius mutaretur. Igitur appetitus rumore, inſidiis, inſimulatione omnium, quæſtione ſeverius habita, cum ultra celare conſilium ſuum non poſſet, neq; in mendacio perfugium quærendum putaret, homo ſimpliciſſimi inſtituti, Collegiali judicio convictus, damnatuſque de hæreſi, motuſque collegio eſt. Ea ſententia molliſſime cum eo agi dicebant adverſarii, & potuiſſe capitis appellari niſi clementiam maluiſſent. Sed vulnus illud longe ſævius quam pro opinione erat, offenſis eo nuncio neceſſariorum quoq; animis & præſertim vitrici, quem implacabilem ſibi reddiderat ſeu vero odio, ſeu ficto, quo honeſtius ſibi aliquid, jam ſaltem ſecurius in bonis* Foxii *paternis detinendis poſſet polliceri. Nam neque lege agere hominem publice inviſum, legibuſq; obnoxium tuto poſſe ſciebat; &* Foxius *natura vindictæ adeo neſcius fuit, ut ſe læſam aliquando, cum ulciſci poſſet, vix agnoſceret. Deſertum ab ſuis, nudatumq; omni ope humana, divinus favor ſtatim excepit, receptumq; oſtendit in domo optimi, & ampliſſimi viri,* Tho. Lucii, *Equitis* Warwicenſis; *ad quem accitus eſt liberorum educandorum cauſa: In qua domo uxorem poſtea duxit, ibique permanſit, quoad pueris adultior jam ætas præceptoris neceſſitatem exuerat. Sed maturavit diſceſſum ejus major metus inquiſitionum Papalium, quæ favore jam legum ſubnixæ non modo publice delicta venari ſed privatarum quoq; domum ſecreta perrumpere cœperunt. Profectionis illius miſerrimam ſpeciem ſolebat* Foxius *ſupremis vitæ temporibus, multa apud amicos cum animi ſermoniſq; vehementia deteſtari; cum diceret, alios quidem caſus ſe utcunq; tuliſſe, in hoc id inſuper calamitatis acceſſiſſe, ut eo inhumanior videretur ſi toleraviſſet: Abductam domo & Penatibus conjugem fidei & amoris rariſſimi, cujus luctum & lacrymas, omni pietatis officio ſolari oporteret: Aut medendum igitur ſtatim dolori, aut in fidem amoris ſociandas lacrymas. Nam fruſtra conſtantiæ exemplum dari, ubi ea ſpretam potius ab viro mœſtitiam ſuam, quam non victum tanto malo animum ejus interpretareiur. Conſultanti ſecum quid factu opus eſſet, duæ omnino viæ expediendi incommodi oſtendebantur; quarum utram eligeret diu incertus animi fuit: ad ſocerumne, an ad vitricum proficiſceretur. Ille loco propinquior, utpote qui civis è proxima civitate* Coventriæ *erat, nondum odio ſui imbutus, & filiæ charitate placabilior: Alter notior erat ſed ſuſpectior. Placuit primum adiri ſocerum: Interim per literas explorari vitrici animum, an reciperetur. Reſponſum ab vitrico eſt: duram conditionem ſibi videri petere, ut is in domum reciperetur, quem capitalis admiſſi compertum, damnatumq; ſciebat: neq; neſcire ſe quanto id cum capitis ſui periculo facturus ſit: verumtamen ſe neceſſitudini omnia tribuere, cujus cauſa pericula ſua ſe neglecturum docebat: veniret ea lege ut ſi mentem mutandam cenſeret eam quam ipſe cuperet apud ſe manendi copiam fore intelligeret: ſin id facere non poſſet eo breviore mora contentus eſſet; neq; matrem & ſe omnia ſuæ cauſa facere paratos in diſcrimen fortunarum adduceret. Erant res* Foxii *eo loco, ut nullam conditionem beneficii rejiciendam putaret; ſimul mater occultis mandatis, ut veniret monuerat; neq; vitrici ſeveritatem pertimeſceret: ſic fortaſſe ſcripto opus fuiſſe, cum occaſio eſſet dicta factis compenſaturum. Benignius ab utroq; tum ſocero, tum vitrico quam ſperaverat acceptus eſt: ſed poſtulabat res ut neutri loco diu fideret. Crebris hinc inde commeatibus, & æquato inter utrumq; onere id conſecutus eſt, ut tum inquirentium curam negotii ſpecie falleret, & ſatietatem ſui apud utrumq; minueret. Utcunq; latuit, certum eſt nullum vitæ ejus tempus obſcuriore in poſteros fama fuiſſe quam illud: ſive otio tranſiit, quod vix credibile eſt: ſive eorum qui cognitionem habebant magis intereat ſileri illud poſtea quam noſci. Nam ipſe ſemper eum ſermonem, etiam cum cura vitaverat, ne in maximo merito modicum beneficium prædicando exilitatem potius objectaviſſe, quam ſervaviſſe memoriam videretur. Neq; vero conſtat cujus rei potiſſimum impulſu* Londinum *ſe poſtea tranſtulit; niſi ſuſpicari libeat illectum loci opportunitate id feciſſe; utpote qui incolarum, convenarumq; omnis generis abundantiſſimus facultatem ſummam præſtabat, ſive occultare ſe mallet, ſive ingenium ſuum proferre, & apud ſimiles ſui noteſcere. Supputatione temporis facta, exiſtimaverim præcipuam ei cauſam adeundi urbem fuiſſe, quod Religionis res tum demum recreari parumper, & revalceſcre iterum apud urbem præſertim cœperunt. Paucis enim annis prius venit, quam* Henricus *Rex humanis exceſſit. Is, uti dictum eſt, quam diu vires & ætatis robur ſuppetebant, ſciſſum in ſtudia regnum ita tamen moderabatur, ut modo æquata partium potentia, modo prævaleſcente altera, utramq; in officio authoritate ſua contineret. Sed poſtquam jam ſenior factus minui indies valetudinem, & finem imminere intellexit; reputans ſecum quid in partibus fidum ſibi maxime, quid ſuſpectum eſſet, quaq; ætate filium nondum habilem Regno, & innutritum contrariis diſciplinis flagrantibus Pontificiorum odiis committeret; flexit ad id conſilium, quod ratio ſaluberrimum, exitus fœliciſſimum comprobavit: dejectiſq; de dignitate & de Adminiſtratione Pontificiis, eos filio tutores Teſtamento dedit, quorum voluntatem erga ſe ſemper*

promptiſſimam fuiſſe perſpexit, eandemque ſucceſſori manſuram, multa fidelitatis experientia judicavit. Ea res Religioni ſalutem attulit. Verum ut ſalus eorum qui Religionem ſectabantur magis in ſecuro conſtituta eſt; nondum tamen quicquam publici emolumenti, utilitatiſque ad ipſos pervenit: unde Foxio eadem egeſtas quæ antea fuit; conſumpto quicquid vel neceſſariis ipſius erogaverant, vel ipſe quotidiana induſtria quæſiverat. Rem miram, & Divinæ miſerationis documento inſignem ſuperſederem referre; niſi modeſtiam ſilentii fama rei celebris fruſtra faceret. Sedebat quodam die Foxius in Æde Paulina, inedia longa victus, vultuque, & oculis in ſupremam morientium torvitatem excavatis. Cæteris autem vitantibus tam deformem aſpectum; acceſſit ad eum homo quidam facie incognitus; qui poſtquam juxta aſſediſſet, familiariterq; ſalutaſſet, prehenſa ejus dextera incertæ pecuniæ ſummam illi in manum inſeruit; jubens bonum animum haberet, & ſubjiciens: non quidem ſe ſcire quantus infortunii modus eſſet quo conflictaretur, verum ſuſpicari debere haud levem eſſe: proinde non gravaretur id abs ſe populari ſuo munuſculi accipere, quod vel communis humanitatis ratio expreſſerat iret, refocillaret animum & vivendi cauſas reciperet: interim ſciret haud multorum dierum intervallo adeſſe ſpes novas, & ſubſidia vitæ certiora. Quis ille mortalium fuerit, cujus opportuna liberalitate ultima illa neceſſitas depulſa ſit, reſciri poſtea nunquam potuit, quamvis multum admitente Foxio ut detegeretur. Crediderat qui vaticinii exitum altius attendebant, hunc non ſuo, ſed aliorum ſtudio miſſum, qui Foxium omnino ſalvum eſſe cupiebant: nam quod extrema prius adierit, quam ſubventum ipſi eſſet, in eo fortaſſe miniſtri negligentia erratum. Certe eo triduo nondum exacto, præſagii fides impleri viſa eſt; miſſis ad eum ab Duciſſa Richmondenſi qui ſub honeſtiſſimis conditionibus eum in familiam ſuam perlicerent. Acciderat per eos dies ut Dux Norfolcius, is quem inclytum Militia & Imperatoriis artibus celeberrimum illa ætas vidit, unaque cum eo filius, Comes Surriæ, vir in quantum dici poteſt rectiſſimæ mentis, acerrimiq; ingenii, incertum quibus criminibus, in cuſtodiam Arci Londinenſi traderentur. Dum hi in vinculis erant, liberi Comitis apud amitam præfatam Ducifſam educabantur, Thomas qui in Ducatu ſucceſſit, Henricus poſtea Comes Northamptonæ, & Jana poſtea Comitiſſa Weſtmerlandiæ. Horum puericiæ Foxius admotus eſt, ut & mores eorum regeret & literas doceret. In quo munere prudentiſſimæ fœminæ de ſe judicium minimè fefellit. Nam Thomas & Henricus eos morum, & ſcientiæ profectus fecerunt, quibus ſubſtructa eorum grandior ætas, illum ad id opinionis extulit, ut plus meruiſſe quam regnum ei conferre poſſet videretur: hunc ad id fælicitatis, ut conſtet modum fortunæ ſuæ eum non in hominum judicio, ſed in ſatietate ſua habuiſſe: & Jana græcis latiniſque literis in miraculum exculta, doctiſſimis illius temporis viris de utraq; eleganti concertavit. Interim pertranſierunt tempora illa non alias viſæ fœlicitatis, ab ſupremis Henrici annis, per quinquennium Edvardi ſexti, (incomparabilis ſpei juvenis, & perfecto patris opere omnium Regum opera prætervecti,) ad initia principatus Reginæ Mariæ: qua rerum potita, converſoque Religionis ſtatu, cuncta rurſus Pontificiorum potentiæ ceſſerunt: unde non multo poſt atrox illa tempeſtas inhorruit, cujus fragorem noſtra etiam ætas ſenſit, multis eorum qui illud naufragium perpeſſi ſunt, ad hanc pacem & in æternum duraturæ tranquillitatis ſtationem enatantibus: In quibus Foxius noſter fuit, tum fide, & authoritate Ducis diſcipuli ſui incolumis, ſed obliquis in eum odio, atq; invidia multorum oculis, & clam Gardineri Epiſcopi Wintonienſis inſidiis petitus; utpote qui notum hominis ingenium metuebat, pariterq; indignabatur, conſuetudine ejus ſobolem principis in Regno familiæ, ſibique conjunctiſſimæ depravari. De quo viro, quoniam Foxio inimiciſſimus fuit, altius repetere nos abs re fuerit, ut utriuſque ingenium noſcatur. Erat Wintonienſis (nam de initiis ejus nihil habeo compertum) adoleſcentia clarus, vir inter bonas, malaſque artes medius, eo ſemper deterior, quo provectior. Induſtriam, indolem, eloquentiam, ab Natura acceperat: ſuperbiam, vafritiem & appetitum potentiæ in domo Cardinalitia didicerat. Hinc ingenium erat negotiorum mire capax, eaque impigre pro parandis honoribus adminiſtrabat: Eos adeptus pro induſtria audaciam, pro obſequio adulationem, pro fide fucum, & formulas, cæteraq; Aulæ inania induit. Idem in gerendis honoribus quos virtute paraverat atrox, & ſuperbus: in recuperandis quos amiſerat, uſq; ad tædium, humilis, & demiſſus fuit. Nam ut morum ita fortunæ quoq; varietatem ſenſit. Aliquamdiu Regi ſuo Henrico gratus, & in animo ejus validus fuit: cujus nimirum authoritatem contra Papam ſcripto defenſaverat: poſtea cognita prævaricatione neglectus, & quo minor nocendi facultas eſſet dignitate exutus eſt. Sub Edvardo ſexto vincula etiam & extremæ ſortis opprobrium pertulit. Tandem regnante Maria exolutus iterum, reddituſq; dignitati non potentiam amplius, ſed rabiem exercuit, donec invidia prænitentis in Polo Cardinalitii fulgoris æger, cujus faſtigio obumbrari gloriam ſuam videbat, fruſtraque, & ſæpe tentato Cardinalatus remedio, iracundia aſperante ægritudinem contabuit. Eumq; ad modum cæpit & finivit ille vir, dum privatum ageret ob multa bona animi laudatus, in magiſtratibus impotens, & immodicus, ut diceres Naturam illum egregium virum feciſſe, Fortunam corrupiſſe. At Foxius quamquam in ſinu optimi Ducis fovebatur poſtquam tamen omnis generis homines ob Religionem vexari animadvertit alios vinciri, cremari alios, undiq; fugam, cædes, patibula, & præcipuam ejus incendii facem Wintonienſem eſſe, ſibi privatis de cauſis infenſum, vehementer vereri rebus ſuis cæpit, & conſilia fugæ agitare. Id ubi Norfolcius reſcivit increpita clementer Foxii formidine, cum eo multis egit ut abeundi cogitationes deponeret: affirmans neq; dignitatis, neq; verecundiæ ſuæ eſſe, ſinere divelli abs ſe ullo vitæ ſuæ tempore præceptorem de ſe optime meritum: id vero eo præſertim tempore fieri, neq; ipſi qui petebat decorum fore: Reputaret ſecum quanta invidiæ molæ oneratum alumnum ſuum relinqueret apud neſcios utrum relinqueret, an relinqueretur. Neque tamen invidiam ſuam ſe deprecari quæ ejus ſaltem commodo fiat: ſed in fuga quid non ineſſe incommodi? Exilium, egeſtatem, contemptum, & apud ignaros etiam perfugæ contmeliam: minus mala ſe fateri hæc quam mortem; verum non ad id diſcriminis proceſſum eſſe, neque paſſurum ſe ut procedatur: ſupereſſe ſibi opes, & gratiam, & amicos, & fortunam domus ſuæ: quod ſi caſus ingruat, conſociaturum ſe periculum ſuum, & communem ruinam fore: meminiſſe ſe quibus præceptis adoleſcentiam ſuam munierit; neque avidiore ſe animo monita ejus hauſiſſe, quam conſtantibus factis executurum: firmaret modo animum, & inimicorum impetus ſic declinaret, ut amicorum non pæniteret: atque hæc ſe cum eo loqui

tanquam

*tanquam authoritate impetraturum: cæterum ſi id impetrare non poſſet, proviſurum etiam in ea quæ deſtinaviſſet. Inerat orationi Ducis eo plus fidei quod ea ab innato animi ejus candore attentiſſimaq; voluntate proficiſci noſcebatur, puduitque* Foxium *non tam facti ſui, quam quod fieri id potuiſſe crediderat. Sed modeſtia defendebatur. Non enim eadem utrumque decere, & dominum & ſervum: Duci quidem in gloriam conducere, præceptorem ſuum inviolatum ab injuria ſervare: ſuas partes eſſe ne incolumitas ſua Duci vel perniciem, vel perpetuam ſollicitudinem afferret: neque timorem ſuum defenſione cărere: ſcire ſe Ducem de fide & benevolentia deduci non poſſe; circumduci & decipi dolis eum poſſe non ſe ignorare. Etenim* Wintonienſis *etiam tum* Norfolcio *valde charus habebatur, veteri domus obſervantia nixus, cujus potentia floruerat. Is officii cauſa ad* Norfolcium *ventitare crebro ſolebat, petereque ab eo, ut Præceptoris ſui videndi copiam faceret. Id* Norfolcius *primo abnuere, excuſare ejus abſentiam, vel valetudinem, poſtea prolatare, & eludere. Demum accidit ut dum ſimul in colloquio eſſent,* Foxius, *ignarus* Wintonienſem *in domo eſſe, in occurſum iis ſe daret, & viſo* Wintonienſi, *tanquam per verecundiam ſe ſubduceret. Percunctanti* Wintonienſi *quiſnam is eſſet? reſpondit Dux, medicum ſuum eſſe, hominem è Schola rudem: Intulit* Wintonienſis *placere ſibi hominis aſpectum, & cum occaſio daretur, uſurum. Intellecta ſtatim eſt vox nuntia appropinquantis periculi: neque jam ipſe* Norfolcius *manendum* Foxio *in ea urbe vel intra idem mare putabat contra vim veteratoris aſtuti & tam manifeſti, præveniendam omni modo* Wintonienſis *ægritudinem. Exin neceſſaria fugæ quanto potuit fieri ſilentio adornantur. Præmiſſus ad portum* Ipſuicenſem *ſervus, qui navigium conduceret, & apta itineri compararet: & quoniam in oppidis, locisque publicis morandi parum tuta ratio videbatur, delecta eſt domus cujuſdam ex Ducis famulitio, villici, ubi* Foxius *commodum mare, & navigandi ſignum opperiretur. Eo clam* Foxius *proficiſcitur, ſuſcepta comite uxore tum gravida, ſed eundi certa, & retinentium precibus invicta; & poſtquam nuntiatum eſt expectari illum à comitibus, expeditus ad portum deferitur, navemque conſcendit. Vix dium tenuerant, cum ſubito effuſus ab contrario littore ventus mare turbavit, tanta fluxus violentia, ut ab firmiſſimis etiam nautis trepidaretur: tum nox continuis imbribus fœda, nubiumque globus in denſiſſimum nimbum convolutus, & adminiſtrationem omnem nauticam impedierat, cœleſtis calculi rationem ademerat. Ea nocte anchoris vix hæſere: ubi illuxit poſtquam tempeſtas nihil remittere viſa eſt, converſa in littus prora, retro adigere navem cæperunt, paulum jam ſecundante æſtu, & tandem ſuperata difficultate ſub veſperam poſtride dici quo ſolverant, in eundem portum invecti ſunt. Interea dum* Foxius *ad mare eſſet, lictores à* Wintonienſi *miſſi domum villici irruperant. Ii mandata habebant, ut* Foxium *ubicunque capi poſſet, vincirent, vinctumque ad urbem retraherent. Sed cognito illum diſceſſiſſe, poſtquam etiam ad portum uſq; inſecuti, vix navem qua vectabatur, ex conſpectu abiiſſe cernerent, delufi præda reverteruntur. Id* Foxius *ſimulatque navi egreſſus eſt, vulgi Sermonibus edoctus, quanquam multum animo conturbaretur, colligit tamen ſe, conſcenſiſq; propere jumentis, ſimulat ſe oppido abire; ſed eadem nocte clam reverſus, paciſcitur cum navicolario, ut primas ventorum remiſſiones ad navigandum arripiat: Docet id res ſuas poſcere, neque ſua referre, quo continentis littore ejiceretur: pergeret modo, neque dubitaret affuturum pio operi Deum. Sive meritis, ſive pietas valuit, ſuſcepit homo audaciſſimi conatus rem, & perfecit. Solvens enim antelucano ſilentio, favore recurſantium æſtuum, quamvis ſævo adhuc mari, & truculento cœlo,* Foxium *cum ſuis eo biduo in adverſi littoris portu* Nauporto *ſalvum exponit. Non illuſtriore documento qui iſta legerit agnoſcat, quam certa divinæ providentiæ ratio ſit: quam incerta humanæ; cum videat accuratiſſimas prudentium deliberationes ſæpe erroribus everti; interpellari caſibus, aut contrariis conſiliis ſuperari: idq; fieri ut homines pro diſciplina habeant, ſic Imperio uti, ut quo plus ex fortuna poſſunt, tanto ſe minus ex ſe poſſe ſciant, neq; impotentes deſpiciant: Deum enim utramq; fortunam ex æquo reſpicere, hominesq; ortu pares honoribus diſtingui, non in ſuperbiam, contumeliamve, ſed ut utriſq; locus modeſtiæ pateat, vel adverſus utrumq; ultioni.*

*Jam* Foxius, *ubi dies aliquot* Nauporti, *reſidendis ab Nauſea corporibus conſumpſiſſet.* Antuerpium *proficiſcitur: inde modicis itineribus* Baſileam *contendit. Ea urbs comitatis atque officii erga noſtros ſingularem tum famam obtinebat: Ob quam cauſam multi ex* Anglia *celebres viri ſævitiæ temporum ſe ſubducentes eo confluxerant: ex quibus qui tenuiori fortuna erant, alius aliter, ſed longe major pars recenſendis librariorum tipis, præliq; vitiis caſtigandis vitam tolerabant; quod ea urbs Typographiæ cura, copiaque diligentiſſimorum, ditiſſimorumque in ea facultate hominum reliquas* Germaniæ *urbes id temporis antecedebat, qui noſtrorum hominum in ea re ſtudium ſuorum diligentiæ anteponebant. His ſe* Foxius *adjunxit, eo acceptior quod duriſſima olim diſciplina habitus, exercitaque per omnem adoleſcentiam patientia labores perferre didicerat, quæque aliis miſeria videbantur: egeſtatem, vigilias, inediam perferre; ea illi pro ludo fortunæ erant. Id multis fortaſſe mirum videri poteſt, qui* Foxium *per omnem ætatem gracili admodum corpore, & per ſenectam tenuiſſima ſemper valetudine fuiſſe meminerunt: ſed nemo illius extremam vitæ ætatem attritam, depaſtamque curis, & tum naturæ vitio fatiſcentem cum vigore integræ juventutis comparaverit, quam ex tot ejus operibus firmiſſimam ei fuiſſe conſtat, ſive in modica ſtructura, erecta artuum membrorumq; compages ad firmitatem ſufficiat, ſive animus ipſe, accenſus deſiderio honeſtarum actionum, ſeipſo contentus ſit, ad exequendum ea quæ vult, minima corporis adminiculatione adjutus.*

*Induſtriæ autem ejus fidem abunde fecerit, quod inter tantas occupationes Hiſtoriam ſuam Actorum Eccleſiæ* Baſiliæ *nihilominus inchoaverit, opus vel ipſius tituli profeſſione menſuram humanæ fiduciæ ferme egreſſum. Et primo adumbraviſſe tantum contentus eſt, tanquam lineas vel ſtamina duceret, corpus & ſubtegmen. Hiſtoriæ poſtea adjecit reverſus in patriam, vulgavitq; primum latino Sermone (mox ſuo, ut plebi gratificaretur,) opuſq; ipſum imprimendum* Baſileam *miſit, ubi etiamnum in honore eſt, legiturq; paſſim per exteras nationes, noſtris hominibus ferè incognitum, dum externa tantum miramur noſtra, vel incuria, vel invidia tramittimus.*

*Interim in* Anglia *fortuna Religioni tandem vicem reddiderat, magnisque momentis res Pontificiorum inclinare denuo cœperunt exceſſu Reginæ* Mariæ, *fœminæ dum ſuis moribus ageret egregiæ, tantoque Patre dignæ, ſed dum peſſimis nihil negat, id conſecutæ, ut laude quam meruit careat, quod infamia careat, id inſequentium temporum modeſtiæ debeatur: quibus moris eſt omnia Principum acta vel laudare, vel certe tolerare. Commutationem fortunæ publicæ præſenſiſſe* Foxium *non affirmaverim, neq; tamen, quod in alio non facerem, fraudabor eum teſtimonio ampliſſimi clariſſimiq; viri,* Jo. Elmari, *nuper Præſulis hujus civitatis. Is multis qui adhuc ſuperſunt præſentibus narrare ſolitus eſt ſe concioni interfuiſſe qua* Foxius *inter alia quæ conſolandi cauſa apud exules* Anglos *pronunciaret auſus eſt dicere: Adeſſe tempus quo Patriæ redderentur, idque ſe Dei monitu ipſis afferre: Eumque de ea re à grandioribus natu valde reprehenſum; ſed excuſatum poſtea exitu prædictionis, poſtquam collatione temporum repertum eſt,* Mariam *pridiè vita migraſſe quam* Foxius *ita fore prædixerat. Senſit ſtatim orbis Chriſtianus beneficium immutati in* Anglia *principatus. Deoneratæ exulibus circumvicinæ nationes de hoſpitum reſtitutione tanquam in ſua fortuna gratulabantur. Domi vero, quid eſt quod ad ſalutem, vel ſolatium quiſpiam excogitare poſſit quo homines non prius frui quam ſperare inciperent? Qui domo profugerant revocati: qui carceribus abditi liberati: qui bona amiſerant donati: qui dignitate exuti reſtituti ſunt. Leges interim iniquæ abrogatæ: latæ ſalubres. Pax mentibus, conſcientiæ libertas, concordia ordinibus, ſecuritas bonis redierat, ita initia Regni temperante* Elizabetha, *ut quæ ſub aliis Principibus, vix longa regnantium fœlicitas ſolet producere, ea cuncta ſub hujus introitu, tanquam explicante exporrigenteq; ſe numine ſuperius omnium voto expedirentur. Cujus præcellentiſſimæ, & poſt homines; conditos fulgentiſſimæ feminæ mentionem ex quacunq; occaſione feciſſe flagitium Scriptoris fuerit, ut non major ſemper ex ſe præbita occaſio videatur, cur ultra dicatur. Ea matre* Anna Bolena *genita eſt, quam* Henricus *Rex repudiata priore conſorte ſecundis nuptiis uxorem duxit. Ab eâ in dotem principalis fortunæ Religionis amorem accepit. Adolevit moribus, ingenio, formâ, quæ Principem non magis decerent quam facerent; ut in eadem & abſolutiſſimæ operis exemplum Natura, & Fortuna faſtigium ſummæ ſpei collocaſſe viderentur. Capaciorem tantæ fortunæ fecit, quod parere prius quam imperare didicerat; id aliis facere docta quod ipſi mox alii facerent; expertaque eſt in privata vita odium fatale ſucceſſoribus magnorum Imperiorum, major animo, quam ut ſuis rependeret. Ut Regnum attigit effulſere ſimul virtutes; tamque omnia vitia infra ſe ſtatim quam homines habuit. Itaque non illi animus ad ſtudium corporis per mollitiem abjectus eſt. Rationes Regni publicas noviſſe, adjutores in partem curarum conquirere, Regni partes optimis miniſteriis firmare, ſuorum ingenia callere, externorum Principum copias, conſilia, conatus explorare, ea illi rudimenta novi Principatus fuerunt. Poſſent iſta eſſe minus diuturna niſi temperarentur. Nihil illa gravitate amœnius, nihil illa ſeveritate placabilius, nihil illa frugalitate effuſius unquam fuit. In iis tantum bonis modum non novit, quorum dignitas non ex contrainitentium virtutum libramine, ſed in ipſa celſiſſimarum actionum congerie ſpectatur. Sic Nobilitatem generis ſtudio gloriæ, Religionem quamvis rectiſſimam ſtudio ſanctitatis, Formam corporis quamvis incomparabilem caſtitatis perpetuæ propoſito cumulavit. Ut mores ad facta tranſtulit Deus ſumme quanta tum temporum fœlicitate fruti ſumus? Quid illa* 44. *annorum pace ſerenius, vel ſecurius, vel opulentius intra ſe* Anglia *unquam vidit? Nim bello neque quemquam ſponte laceſſivit, & bellandi juſtas cauſas potiores ſemper victoriæ habuit. Ad* Hibernicum, *dignitas, & recuperandæ Provinciæ pudor, ad* Gallicum *pietas, & miſeratio vicini periculi; ad* Hiſpanienſe *ſalus ſua, & omnium cauſarum vim complexa neceſſitas rapiebat. In hoc bello nobis audiviſſe, & vidiſſe contigit quod in nullo alio forſan uſu venit. Nam aliæ nationes, quamvis attrociſſimis inter ſe odiis contenderint, certis tamen ſedibus lociſque dimicaverunt. Hoc bellum tam diffuſum, tot in locis, tantiſque animis geſtum eſt, ut ubicunque Sol exurgeret, occideretve, ibi* Anglorum, Hiſpanorumque *acies, per omnia maria, portuſque deprehenderet, de vita, de facultatibus, aut de dignitate decernentes. Tum primum mare iſtud noſtrorum Imperio ſuetum, externarum navium proris inalbuit. Numerum, ſpeciemq; navigiorum, copiarum terreſtrium, navalium q; vim; munitionis, machinarum, telorum, tormentorum, commeatuſq; reliqui modum, quibus illa claſſis conſtabat, quam* Philippus *Secundus* Hiſpaniæ *Rex, extinguendi hujus nominis cauſa, miſit* Anno *ſal. hum.* M. D. L. XXXVIII. *vix juſti operis volumen reciperet. Suffecerit dixiſſe, nullum uſpiam maritimum apparatum ab quoquam Regum, Populorumq; potentiſſimorum factum comparandum huic ex omni antiquitatis delectu monſtrari poſſe. Hanc tamen claſſem tam immanem, tam formidabilem fiducia ſui, & præſumpta victoriæ ſpe tumentem, fortuna invictiſſimi Principis momento temporis disjecit. Concurrere Claſſes numero, viribusq; impares. Sed genus pugnæ adverſum* Hiſpanis *fecit, quòd noſtræ naves minores & humiliore roſtro ædificatæ faciliùs in ventum circumagi atq; eluctari poterant: quo facto promptum illis fuit* Hiſpanas *tardiores, & ad inſequendum inhabiles, vel cedendo illudere, vel in patentes alveos pugnando certiori ictu vulnerare. Accedebat quòd noſtri Duces omnis maritimi officii peritia & notitia æſtuum* Hiſpanos *longè antecedebant. Contra* Hiſpani *edocti ſuperiorum dierum uſu, ſe niſi ſtabili pugna noſtros ſuſtinere non poſſe, jactis ante* Caletum *anchoris, ibi & auxilia* Flandrorum *expectabant, & præſtantia tormentorum ſe defendebant. Id nobis rationem victoriæ primùm aperuit. Naves ſtupa, pice, ſulphure, omniſq; generis arida materia infarctæ incenſæq; proho æſtu in hoſtium claſſem impellebantur; tantumq; conſternationis ea res improviſa attulit, ut univerſæ naves ſectis properè funibus, in fugam præcipitarentur. Qua in fuga pars navium flamma, pars fluctu hauſta eſt, pars littoribus, ſcopuliſve impacta, pars ictibus, aut concurſu fugientium lacera, in poteſtatem noſtrorum venerunt. Validiores regredi non auſæ, per* Scotiæ Orcadumq; *extremam oram, & niſi gnaviter fugientibus intentatum ullo ſeculo æquor, immenſo marium, terrarumq; circuitu in* Hiſpaniam *tandem reverterunt. In tanto virtutum victoriarumq; curſu, proximum fuit invideri, ab invidia proximum odio, atq; inſidiis peti, quæ, licet integerrimè omnium Princeps, ſic effugere nequivit, quin ſalus ſua per omnem fere vitam infeſta fuerit, in cujus vita omnium fere* Europæ *gentium ſalus fundata eſt. Quo magis ſubit animum mirari, quæ iſta præclara adverſariorum*

*ſariorum diſciplina ſit, pietas quam obtendunt cura virtutes ipſas inſectantium? Quod in nulla non dicam Ethnica ſed ne barbara natione uſu venit, ut qui modo numen eſſe ſcirent virtutem, quæ certe Deo proxima eſt, vel in hoſtibus ulciſcendam putarent: niſi nobis Religio Chriſtiana ita omnia indulgeat, ut cum inimicis ignoſcere præceptum ſit, iis aut bonis eſſe non liceat, aut liceat non eſſe ignotis. Sed manifeſtum eſt alio fine in humanis rebus voluntatem divinam, alio cupiditates hominum verſari. Eâ* Elizabetham *ab inimicorum ſcelere atque injuria ſemper prohibuit, eòque perduxit Saturam jam annis, ut quam apud homines gloriam adepta eſt, eam illibatam cœlo inferret, fruſtrà quòque in mortuam graſſante invidia, cujus ultor omnis Poſteritas eſt. Nunc ordo operi reſtituatur.*

Foxius *ubi in* Anglia *lætas res, regnare* Elizabetham, *fidumque, & manſurum Religioni ſtatum eſſe, ex amicorum literis edoctus eſt, fine ejus anni quo iſta gerebantur in Patriam regreditur. Id tempus ad deliberandum ſumpſerat: ne ſi qua hominum inconſtantia præſentis conditionis pertæſum eſſet, in caſum rurſus ſe dare cogeretur. Sed & tum quoq; familiam trahebat duobus liberis auctus, ut in itineris ſumptum neceſſe eſſet pecuniam ab domo afferri interim expectari. Ibi cognovit, ſiniſtros de ſe Sermones jactos eſſe, tanquàm per ſuperbiam tardaviſſet, in eoq; compendium ſibi ad honorem quæſiviſſet, tanquàm debitum ſi acciretur. Id intelligebat eorum artificio fieri, qui cum ipſi omni vi ad honores contenderent* Foxium *ut dignum, & ſi vellet anteceſſurum metuebant. Neq; ille purgare ſe tanto crimine, quod iniquitate ſua caſurum erat, operæpretium ſibi eſſe duxit: Sed juxta injuriarum atq; juris ſui negligens ſe totum in ſtudia abdidit. Quod corporibus noſtris contigit, ut ea firmiore valetudine tuantur quæ intra modum cibantur exercenturvè, quam quæ excedunt, id animis quoq; opinor noſtris contingere, ut difficillimè quis in ſanitate officiorum perſeverare poſſit, qui ſi fortuna ſui modum non fecit, ipſe ſibi non fecerit; contra, qui fortunam per modeſtiam habuere, ii habitiores & vegetiores ad egregia ſtudia ſemper fuerint. Nam* Foxio *integrum fuit quàcunq; animus inclinavit ea emergere, multa ingenii fama & præclaris, uti dictum eſt, amicitiis fultus. Ille non opes neque potentiam, fælicium hominum vota, affectavit: ſed cum pari cum cæteris virtute eſſet, conſcientiam penes ſe, præmia penes alios eſſe libenter tulit. Quod ego factum neque inter laudes ejus prorſus recipio, neque tamen arguo quod multi fecerunt. Concedatur ſane bonis viris, ut virtus quemlibet fortunæ locum legat, ubi eniteat: aut ſi finibus ea arctanda ſit, quin ad eos convertere, qui propter ſpem aliquam boni eſſe volunt: nam qui gratuitò tales ſunt, ſi eorum gloria non obruare, numerum non reformides. Commemoraturus ſum vitam continuam fructibus, non iis quibus legentium ſenſus hauriuntur, ſed ſolidis veriſque. Non hic bellorum aut pacis illuſtria facinora narrantur, aut ſi quæ alia ſcriptorum ſpatia ſunt, per quæ captivas hominum aures ducunt. Nobis vita ſine ſtrepitu acta, intus, foriſque pudor, continentia, charitas, rerum humanarum contemptus, divinarum ardor, indefeſſa ſtudia, cuncta in exemplum, vel utilitatem proximi compoſita dicenda ſunt. Demonſtratum paulò ante eſt,* Foxium *dum* Baſileæ *eſſet Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ ſcribendæ mentem adjeciſſe; quod ultimam manum non impoſuerat cauſam fuiſſe, quo teſtatius aliquando ſcribere poſſet. Id opus Pontificiorum animos varie anxit. Fruſtra enim tantum ab ſe effuſum ſanguinis, fruſtra ſuſceptam tantæ crudelitatis conſcientiam videbant, ſi horum omnium reddenda poſteris ratio eſſet. Et opus ipſum ex hominum manibus tolli non poſſe intelligebant. Relinquebatur ſi falſitatis coargui, & conflictis ad id calumniis extenuari fides ejus, atque authoritas poſſet. Quibus amoliendis, depellendiſque ab ſe dum* Foxius *annititur, evitari non potuit, quin ex tot rerum, teſtimoniorumq; novo aggeſtu, legitimum Hiſtoriæ limitem multum exſcenderet. Indeque æſtimetur diligentia noſtri ſcriptoris, qua non modo tot res ceu materiem operis ſui, ex omni temporum, locorumque diſtantia comportaverit, & utriuſque fori acta, tabulaſque rerum judicatarum per omnes Regni Juriſdictiones congeſſerit, ſed etiam eas ipſas res partim vetuſtate tanquam rubigine adroſas, partim eorum qui ſcripſerunt odio vel aſſentatione depravatas, partim in informi truncaque veterum ſcriptura latentes, ipſe ſolus, diſtractiſſimo conatus genere, primum eruerit, examinarit, ab ſitu vindicarit, deinde in convenientem ſtructuram redegerit. Undecimo quam ſcribi cæptum eſt anno finitum opus fuiſſe ex commentariis authoris reperio, ut credibile ſit victurum opus, cujus tam prolixa fœtura fuit. Quo tamen tempore, neq; ipſe Amanuenſis unquam opera ad ſcribendum, neq; ſervi ad alia vitæ miniſteria uſus eſt. Tanto plus in ſe efficacis ſubſidii induſtria habet uni tantum rei inſerviens, & in ſe unam collecta, quam extra ſe licet multis adminiculantibus, ſi modo ipſe in plura divideris.*

*Sæpe apud animum meum inſtitui inquirere, ex duobus ærumnæ generibus, quæ maxime ſubire homines dignitatis ſuæ eſſe arbitrantur, quodnam uſu gravius, atq; aſperius reperiatur, militiæne, an ſtudiorum. Pro utroq; multa facere videntur, ſed non utraq; juxta in ſpeciem valida. Nam bellandi incommodo non modo iis qui ea præferunt, ſed audientibus etiam gravia, ut liberum narrandi egreſſum, ita pronum in ipſius ſenſus æſtimatione patrocinium habent. Contra meditandi labor, & exercitatio tantummodo in principiorum vitæ tacitis ſuffragiis vim ſuam retinet, quorum judex intellectus eſt. Ita quæſtio ad animum corpuſq; transfertur, ut ex his duobus, cujus mala alterius malis magnitudine præponderant, id potiorem cauſam habere exiſtimetur. Mihi neq; definiendæ tantæ litis arbitrium adſumitur, neq; tamen reticebo quid ſapientes viros de ea re ſenſiſſe intelligo. Id ita ſe habet. Quæ enim corpori contingunt, etſi ea ſæva & acerba vehementer eſſe poſſint, eorum tamen extremum ſemper conſuevisſe eſſe, vel defatigationem, vel dolorem, vel deniq; mortem, quorum illa altera ad tempus ſunt, & remediis cedunt; hanc viri fortes etiam contemnere ſolent. Jam animus ubi intenditur, etſi paria his genere mala infert, non tamen ultimum illud habet, ut homo defatigetur, vel doleat, ſed potius illud quod cum eorum unde homo exiſtit ruina conjungitur. In his enim malis fieri, ut neq; vacationibus, remiſſionibuſq; laborum fatigatus denuo inſtauretur, neq; ex copia commodi incommodum arceatur. Ita concludunt, quanto pernicioſius eſſe, appetentiam ſomni, cibique, quam ſomnum ipſum, cibumve auferri; & ex tabe, quam ex vulnere decumbere, tanto plus miſeriarum in hoc ſobrio, quam in illo luculento militiæ genere ineſſe: in altero nimirum plus voluptatis, in altero plus hominis homini ademptum eſſe.*

*Confirmavit*

*Confirmavit rem ita esse* Foxius, *qui cum per tot annos nullum omnino tempus ab cogitationibus scribendi vacuum feciſſet, plurimumque ſibi in iis quæ naturæ debentur vel denegaviſſet, vel intempeſtive conceſſiſſet, eo ſe tandem redegerat, ut conſumpto quod corpori inerat naturaliter floridi, ſuccu-lentique, non ab amicis, non ab propinquis noſci potuerit. Hoc enim initio cæpit primum in eam cor-poris maciem areſcere, qua multi eum fuiſſe viderunt: neque rediit unquam priſtini vultus decor, aut flos, ſed manentibus noxæ cauſis, cum nullo modo dimittendam ſibi conſuetudinem ſuam, aut laxan-dum ab curis animum putaret, etiam indicium noxæ permanſit. Multus igitur dehinc* Foxius *in re hominum fuit Hiſtorici nomine: Nam reliqua quæ animum ejus incolebant bona, ut minus nota in vul-gus, ita notorum magnitudine obterebantur. Mox aliis quoq; artibus cæpit clareſcere: neq; modo lite-ris bonus videri, ſed & officiis commodus, & ad juvandum alios non minus arte, quam naturali qua-dam anxietate comparatus. Sed inſtituta induſtriæ ejus per modum Diariorum componere vetat mo-deſtia operis: per genera noſci non indecens erit, ut ille conſolando, conſilio, nunu infinitorum hominum, aut inopiam ſublevarit, aut deſideria implerit. Hinc nullius domus conſulentium cætibus; frequentior ea tempeſtate quam* Foxii *fuit. Adiere eum cives, pariter atq; Advenæ; illuſtres, atq; plebei; etiam infimæ conditionis homines. Una fere omnibus adeundi cauſa; conſcientiæ vulnera: His medela quærebatur. Tandem ægri quoq; corpore portari cæpti. Id fieri vetuit ut rumoribus occurreret, quia duci, etiam ſanari dicebantur. Cum autem per talia officia domi diem eximeret, tum foris etiam frequentiſſime prædicando, adeundoq; eos ab quibus ipſe adiri non poterat, & quod humanitatis ſuæ erat implevit, & quod paſtoris munus erat non intermiſit. Reliquum tempus quod ſibi amicorum, vel digreſ-ſus, vel pudor fecit, non amœnitati, aut ſomno, ſed vel orationi, vel ſtudiis addixit, & utriſque ſecre-tum adhibuit loci, vel noctis, niſi qua erumpentes pectore gemitus ex propinquo auditi orantis impetum prodebant: Nam nocturnæ curæ finem nemo unquam; lux nova ſæpè deprehendit. Cum hæc ita ſint, ſcio tamen futurum, ut multi hæc à me tanquam nimis aridè decurſa reprehendant, poſtulentq; res ipſas, teſtes officiorum protluci, aut ſaltem in unoquoq; genere ſingulare aliquod factum proferri quo fides de reliquis ſecurior ſit. Id vero ne facere poſſem multis prohibeor. Primum quod conſcientiæ depoſita efferri in vulgus vel ipſa humanitatis ratio vetat: peſsimoq; exemplo fecerit, qui arcana domuum, neceſſariorum controverſias, clandeſtinos hominum lapſus, cujuſque quemq; in vita vel pudet, vel pœni-tet, non omni modo celanda potius, quam enarranda exiſtimet. Deinde quod hæc ipſæ res, quæ ſecre-tiſſimis colloquiis tranſigi conſueverunt ad noſtram cognitionem pervenire nullo pacto potuerunt, aut ſiquæ ſuſpicionibus emanarunt, unumq; aut alterum tale exemplum prodatur, at quota id pars diſſolvendæ fidei fuerit? Jam ultimum illud induſtriæne, an ingenii dicam argumentum proferatur? Hunc virum qui ſe adeo totum amicorum uſibus condonaſſet, ut nihil ſibi ad eam curam reliqui faceret, ſic tamen interim ſcripſiſſe tanquam nihil aliud facere videretur. Libros quos ſcripſit eorum cauſa quibus id gratum erit adjungere hoc loco viſum eſt: Ii ſic circumferuntur: Comediarum lib. 2. Syllogiſticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapſis per errorem in Eccleſiam reſtituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Chriſto gratis juſtificante. De Chriſto Crucifixo, Papa confutatus. Contra Oſorium de Juſtitia. Medi-tationes ſupra Apocalypſim. Rerum in Eccleſia geſtarum Comentari Latine. Actorum & Monumento-rum Eccleſiæ Anglicè.*

*Perventum jam eſt ad id, unde ſimul in totam reliquam* Foxii *vitam proſpectus datur. Id vero legentibus (opinor) pergratum accidere debet, perinde atq; in itinere hominibus uſuvenire videmus, ut qui ſe multum locis aſperis, ſaltuoſiſq; fatigaverint, ii poſtquam campos, & planitiem aperuerint, ipſa variantis ſoli ſpecie reſici, & tanquam renovari videantur. In hoc veluti tractu morum occurrit primum quod facile primum in virtutibus* Foxii *fuit: Omnium ſcilicet rerum quæ hominibus maxime in pretio ſunt, voluptatumq; imprimis deliberata contemptio. Quod illi ſive ab Natura ingenitum, ſive ab diſciplina hauſtum, ſive divinitùs datum, neceſſe fuit, ut magnam ei facultatem afferret, præ-clare quicquid vellet faciendi: cum nihil ſit quod animum per ſe recta iturum in prava detorqueat quin id ab aliqua voluptatum tanquam inſidiatore, ſpeculatoreq; itineris noſtri proficiſcatur. Cum hoc tamen hoſte rem ſic habuit* Foxius, *ut qui non fuga aut latebra incolumis eſſe vellet; ſed qui potius cuperet uſu congrediendi, & notitia certaminum, tum robur ſibi augeri, tum aliis exemplum reſiſ-tendi dari: ſolituſq; eſt dicere, nihil eos magnum facere, qui res, & negotia eo fine deſererent, ne capi ſe, aut deliniri ab iis paterentur: Res enim ipſas natura innocentes eſſe: nocere tum incipere, cum nimiùm æſtimentur, cupianturq; quam cupiditatem qui irrumpentem, inferentemq; ſe propellere poſſet, eum merito temperantem eſſe; qui in nullo unquam periculo fuerit, cum non tam propria virtute quam occaſionis defectu bonum videri. Itaq; neque ille illuſtres amicitias unquam recuſavit: non quo ſibi honori eſſent, ſed quod in iis magnum uſum commendationis ſuæ, quoties aliquem ab ſe adjutum vellet ſore intellexit. Pecunias ab divitibus oblatas accepit, ſed quas in pauperes refunderet. Etiam convivia amicorum multoties celebravit: non animi cauſa, cum cibi parciſſimus eſſet: Intereſſe voluit, cum urbanitatis cauſa, tum ne quis exiſtimaret ſe luctam, & certamen voluptarii congreſſus reformi-dare, vel refugere, aut adverſus epularem laſciviam abſentiæ, quam moderationis ſuæ præſidio muniti-orem ſibi videri. Breviter dicam: In his rebus ad quas voluptas conſequitur* Foxium *ſic eſſe verſatum, ut conſtet neminem eorum qui una ſemper adfuimus meminiſſe poſſe ejus vel vocis, vel facti, quo ille, vel leviſſimam cupiditatem prodiderit: adeoque non honoris, non pecuniæ, non laudis, aut cujuſpiam externi boni aut avidum, aut appetentem fuiſſe, ut ne rei quidem familiaris curam intrare animum ejus ullo tempore, nedum vinci eum aut abduci domeſticis cogitationibus pateretur. Quam ego ejus ſive ſecuritatem, ſive, ut alii appellarunt, in propriis fortunis ſocordiam, unde profecta ſit, alio loco demon-ſtrabo.*

*Interim, dum mecum cauſas conſidero, propter quas ille vir reliquia omnia tantopere ſpernenda cen-ſeret, cum præſertim id neque ab parva ambitione, multoque minùs ab ſomno, aut torpore animi profectum exiſtimari poſſit; compertum habeo: unum amorem divinum fuiſſe, quo perfuſus, atque impletus animus ejus, non locum non effectum ad reliquas voluptates relinqueret, ultroq; ipſe ſe ſeculo*

*tanquam*

*tanquam abrumperet, alioqui ſeculi non incapacem. In hanc ille curam abſorptus, tanquam qui ingentis gazæ theſaurum reperiſſet, ac zelo retinendi quæ repererat hunc unum oculis, atq; animo obſervare, nihil præter hunc in ſpe, atq; expectatione haberg, hanc metam omnium votorum cupiditatumq; facere inſtituerat. Quo facto id illi contigit, quod in tali re contingere neceſſe fuit, ut qui animum ejus ſic penitus defixum in Deo contuebantur, multaq; cum & facere, & loqui quæ communis probitatis opinionem egrederentur, non illum afflatus Divini expertem eſſe crederent, neq; jam ut pio honorem, ſed ut cœleſti viro venerationem, vitio hominum ad ſponte culta inſanientium attribuerent. Non ſubtraham quicquam juſtæ fidei, neq; ſublandiar famæ. Multa per occaſionem conſolandi, aut terrendi monuit* Foxius, *non vano exitu. In multis etiam fortaſſe falſus eſt: Demonſtratum antea eſt, qua conſtantia Sermonis* Baſileæ *dum eſſet apud extorres* Anglos, *de reditu ipſorum pronunciavit. Circumfertur illud de* Anna Hennagia, *lectiſſima, nobiliſſimaq; fœmina reſponſum ejus celebre. Decumbebat ea febre rapidiſſima, jamque eo malum creverat, ut medici exitiale eſſe pronunciarent. Vocatus ad ſuprema ejus* Foxius, *cujus ad animæ regimen conſilio, & fide plurimum utebatur. Poſtquam quæ viſa ſunt ad conſolationem ægræ expoſuiſſet, peractaque; cujus cauſa venerat re Divina? Tu inquit recte, atq; ex officio feciſti, quæ te in omnem exitum compoſueris: ſed ſcito, me internuncio, te ex hoc morbo minime eſſe interituram. Inter aſtantes forte tum erat gener* Hennagiæ Moyleus Fluellius, *eques ampliſſimus atq; clariſſimus hodie vivens. Is dicti novitate permotus, ſive ſtudio plura eliciendi, digreſſum paullulum ab turba* Foxium *ficto jurgio adoritur: Mirari ſe dicens, qua mente feciſſet, ut contra quam res, & periti artis judicabant, imperitus ipſe, de ægritudinis fine ſtatuendum putaret, eoq; facto mulierem, ſexu ipſo mobilem, adhuc tamen interritam, ad impatientiam moriendi, ſpe, atq; expectatione vitæ converteret: ſi inter vivos referri ſocrus ſua poſſet, nullius lætitiæ juſtiores eſſe cauſas quam ſuæ, ſin moriendum illi ſit, nulli minus convenire, id diſſimulare, quam ei qui in animam conſuleret. Vehementer igitur ſe pro amicitia vereri, ne ille magnam partem opinionis, quam de fide, atq; modeſtia ejus homines habebant eo intempeſtive dicto deperdidiſſet. Ad quæ renidens* Foxius *reſpondit: per ſe non ſtare quo minus quiſq; quod ei collibitum eſſet, de ſe ſentiret: ſed de ægra ſic viſum Deo, ut eo morbo non extingueretur: idq; ſe demandato dicere. Convaluit fœmina, neq; mendacio locus eſt, viventibus etiamnum qui poſſent arguere. Simile huic erat illud de* Maria Honivoda, *illuſtri imprimis matrona, neq; minus fidum. Ea viginti jam prope annos tabe melancholica laboraverat, neq; contra vim teterrimi morbi ſatis in quoquam conſilii, animive ſupereſſe videbatur; quanquam adhibitis melioribus, quiq; aliquam præ cæteris vel artis, vel facundiæ commendationem habebant. Placuit tandem* Foxium *quoq; acciri. Qui una ierant retulerunt ſe mœſtiorem illa, afflictioremque domum nunquam introiviſſe. Aſſidebant quotidie per officium ægræ familiares, propinqui, liberi, ſervi, pars ſedilibus affixa, pars humi fuſa, non flentes, gementeſque, quod vulgo fit; ſed conſumptis lacrymis, contumaci ſilentio: ſub ſpecie humana tot ſimulachra mœrentium diceres; itaque non aſſurgere venientibus, non interrogati reſpondere, tanquam id quoque luctum deceret: Ipſa ægra, projecta ſpe vitæ jacebat in lectulo, inter denſa ſuſpiria, obſcurum quid pectore expromens, cujus ſumma erat, quod exolui ſe cuperet. Cum tantum ægrorum præ manibus* Foxius *haberet, neque contra violentiſſimum doloris renixum quicquam fruſtra tentari placeret; ne rationem quoque habere viderentur qui ratione victi non eſſent, reliqua omnia demulcendi doloris remedia dimiſit: ſi quid ad ſanandas eorum mentes pertinebat, id precibus diligenter immiſcuit. Ita conſuetudine paucorum dierum effecit, ut qui humana ope ſanari ſe poſſe diffiderent ultro ſaneſcere viderentur: Cum tandem charior factus pronunciaret coram plurimis, futurum, non modo, ut ægra ex ea tabe convaleſceret, ſed ut quam extenſiſſimam in ſenectam vita ejus protolleretur: Quo Sermone audito, ægra paullùm excitata, &* Foxium *acriter intuita: Qua eadem inquit ratione, ſi ego vitrum hoc in parietem adegero, confidam fore, ut non frangatur: Tenebat autem in manu ciathum vitreum, ex quo biberat, projecitque: neque vas caſu impactum primo in ciſtellam lecto attiguam, & poſtea ſolo illapſum, ulla ex parte comminutum eſt. Acceſſitque omini fides: Reſtituta enim valetudini paulò poſt mulier, tum ſexagenaria, duravit in exemplum rariſſimæ in ſobole felicitatis, qua ante nonageſimum ætatis ſuæ annum (nam diutius vixit) ſexageſimum ſupra trecenteſimum nepotem, abneptemve numeravit, ex liberis quos genuerat*.*

* In quibus hodie. Anno nimirum ſalut: hum. 1461. quo hæc editio paratur, ſupereſt filia dictæ *Mariæ*, lectiſſima fœmina Gratia Hennagia vidua ampliſſimi, atque clariſſimi viri, *Michaelis Hennagii*, quæ ſe interfuiſſe narrat memoratæ rei geſtæ, teſtis ſanctior, atque incorruptior quam ut de fide ejus fas ſit dubitare.

*Hujus generis alia complura referri poſſent, ſed defunctis ferme quorum conſcientia fulcimur, non precabor fidem quam nequeo obligare. Quæ ſequuntur vulgatiora fama ſunt, quam ut teſtimonii egeant. Ierat* Foxius *per conſuetudinem veteris officii, ad* Arundelium *comitem filium* Norfolcii, *hujus excellentiſſimi viri patrem: Eum digredientem ab ſe* Arundelius, *qua erat comitate, ad ripam horti ſui deduxit: ſed cum animadverteret flumen, coorto repente vento fluctibus intumuiſſe hortatus* Foxium *eſt, ne ſe tam infeſtis aquis committeret. Ille inſtitutum itineris ſequens. Ita (inquit) Comes, mihi ab iſtis aquis evenat, ut ego tibi omnia vera, & ſincera quæ dixi tradidi: ingreſſuſq; cimbam eſt, neq; prius ab ponte ſolverant, quam ventus remittere, flumenq; placidius fluere cæpit. Interrogatus ſæpè ab amicis cur ad familiares anguſtias tandem non reſpiceret, quod primum charitatis præceptum eſſet, ut ſuas res quam aliorum magis curatas commendataſq; haberet: reſpondit, curatorem ſe habere rerum ſuarum ex pacto Deum: Illi notum quid ſibi, aut quando conduceret: Hactenus non fefelliſſe: quando inciperet dubitare ut non ſimul ingratus eſſe inciperet? Hæc atq; alia, cum homines vulgo mirarentur, quid tamen in his illud ſit quod* Foxio *propriè in laudem hæreat non præſumpſerim affirmare: ſive animus ipſe, quanto purior, delicatiorq; eſt, tanto longius proſpectat, ſive aliqua alia occultior cauſa ſit, propter quam Deus patefacere conſilia ſua per homines aliquando dignetur neſcios, ſed loqui coactos. Feſtinandum ad alia eſt; in quibus nihil erat quod magis ſtudia hominum in* Foxium *vertit, quam ea qua in pauperes, & egenos omnis generis uſus eſt miſericordia; reperiaſq; qui affirment:* Foxium *non pecuniam modò, ſed & veſtem, & ſupellectilem, ipſumq; domus ſuæ inſtrumentum clam uxore pauperibus dilargiri ſolitum. Quod ego ne pro vero tradam verecundia teneor. Nam quod multa in reliquis* Foxii *moribus ſtudio hominum vel ficta, vel in majus exaggerata compererim, ne id quoque in hac parte contigerit vehementer debeo ſuſpicari. Donavit quidem* Foxius *pauperibus largiter,*

ter, in eaque re ſuarum ipſe virium modum egreſſus eſt: ſed neque quod ad diſſipationem domus ſuæ liberalitas ejus unquam progreſſa eſt, ullum dignum authorem habeo: neq; convenit, qua ipſe aliorum liberalitate adjutus eſt, qui pecuniam illi Eleemoſynæ nomine copioſiſſime ſubminiſtrabant, illum ad tam extraordinaria ſubſidia dilapſum. Quas omnes virtutes tanquam vallo clauſit inſignis vitæ modeſtia, atque integritas, ut nihil alienum in mores ingredi, nihil foras in facta prodire poſſet, niſi ſumma diligentia excuſſum, examinatumque an deceret. Cujus etiam objectu, ſi quid intus, per humanæ imbecillitatis ſortem, vacillare contingeret; ne tamen id in magnum morum detrimentum abiret providebatur, ſublato undiq; corruptelarum omnis generis commercio, contra quas perpetuis ſtationibus, atq; cuſtodiis pudor peccandi & decoris ſui cura excubabant. Interim tamen non deſunt qui Foxium ſummæ in ſe iniquitatis inſuſſent: id autem quale ſit, quoniam ad plures ea injuria pertinere videtur altius inveſtigabimus.

Foxius in ea parte Hiſtoriæ, qua luctuoſum illud quinquennii Reginæ Mariæ incendium deſcribit, multos nominaverat, non authores modo cladium, ſed etiam miniſtros, adjutoreſque; inter quos etiam aliquos illuſtri loco viros. Id horum poſteri Foxium injuſte feciſſe queruntur: neq; debuiſſe neceſſitatem illam fatalem temporum, modeſtiam parendi, aut impoſita publice miniſteria, aut ipſis, aut poſteris ipſorum ignominiæ eſſe. Quibus tametſi juſtiſſime reſpondetur eandem quam ipſi pro majorum facto afferunt, neceſſitatis excuſationem, pro Foxio quoq; valere debere; aliter enim calumniæ locum relinqui, ſi miniſtri non ederentur: his tamen ego longe aliter quam pro jure ſatisfactum velim: Cupere enim, ut quod factum ſit, id ita fieri omnino neceſſe non fuiſſet: petere etiam, ne quod fortuna læſorum factum eſt, id animo lædendi factum arbitrentur: monere tamen interim, ne dolorem ſuum cum eorum iracundia miſcere velint, qui Foxio longe alia de cauſa ſuccenſent, & ſub perſonarum invidia aliam rem proſcindunt. Duplex enim genus animadvertas eorum, qui nomine poſterorum ſe læſos ferunt: alterum natura: factione alterum. Illis uti dixi humanitatis fructus debetur, atq; conceditur: irati ſunt, ſed interim cives, atq; in officio ſunt: Neque ego cujuſpiam boni civis, quamvis injuſtum dolorem, ita contemnerem, ut non potius quam ille de fide, ego de jure meo cederem: Cum his alteris longe alia res eſt: quibus nimirum contigit, patriæ prius iraſci, quam Foxio, illamq; primam, & veram cauſam odii habere, hunc non niſi patriæ cauſa odiſſe. Quibus ego non modo ſatisfactionis ullam, ſed ne quod hoſtibus conceditur, vel expoſtulationis gratiam deberi exiſtimo. Suſtulerunt ipſi fidem commercii, ſpem reconciliationis; ſocietatis, humanitatiſq; fœdera omnia diremerunt. Quid enim eum vel pro ſano, vel pro homine poſtea facturum ſperem, qui patriæ charitatem potuit deponere? Ea una ſic omnium officiorum vim, atque jus in ſe trahit, ut nullum gravius judicium ſit, quo quiſq; animo in Deum affectus ſit, quam quanta in patriam charitate extiterit. At patria ipſa deſcivit. Primum id in controverſia eſt, deſciveritne, & quantum deſciverit: extra controverſiam eſt, debere eos omnem ſuum dolorem patriæ dimittere. Deinde quam duri illud oris eſt, cujus nimirum litis cognitionem ſolus Deus poteſt ſuſcipere, ejus litis litigatorum, judicem ſe facere, neq; modo eam quæ inter homines graviſſima eſt authoritatem non ſequi, ſed neq; vel patriæ provocandi, neq; ipſi Deo ſpacium determinandi velle concedere; ſed omnia fœdis, proteriſque factis ante capere, tanquam victa cauſa, & potius hoſtibus ſcelus ſuum commodare, quam optimæ patriæ præſtare officium? ut ſi contingeret præluriſſimam hanc patriam (quod tamen humana conditio facile recipit) contra Deum ulla in parte delinquere: at pernicioſiſſima exempla perfidiæ monſtrarentur, ſi quotuſquiſq; animum perdentæ patriæ ſumpſit, is excuſatione patrii delicti non modo liberaſſe ſe ſcelere, ſed id quod juris ſui eſt feciſſe videatur. Quæ eo pluribus quoniam intelligo in noſtris etiam multos eſſe, qui reſpondendum Pontificiis de maledictis in Foxium cenſent: Quibus ut paucis obſequar. Primum quid illud maledicti eſt quod jaciunt? Mendacem ſcriptorem eſſe: Igitur mendacium eſt Rogerium, Cranmerum, Hoperum, Ridleyum, Latimerum, alioſq; ejuſdem porticus ſanctiſſimos atq; innocentiſſimos viros Religionis cauſa eſſe exuſtos. Sin iſta, vel ipſorum confeſſione, vera ſunt, quænam tandem illa ſunt quorum vitio totum reliquum opus in mendacii infamiam abierit, quod ſuis perſuadent? Nonnulla afferunt in nominibus, in temporibus, in numeris errata; quæ partim in ſequentibus editionibus retractata ſunt, partim ab ipſo authore ita defenſa, ut eo vivo nemo amplius oblatraret. Nonnulla etiam afferunt in ſuperioris ſeculi Hiſtoria ab Hiſtoricis ipſis contradicta, quod facillimum factu fuit, in tanta diſcordantium Authorum pugna, ut quemcunque Authorem ſecutus ſis in eundem ſcopulum impingeres. Ejuſmodi tamen omnia afferunt, quæ neque ſi vera, nobis valde curæ ſint, neque illis ſi falſa. Demus tamen illis aliquid, ſi placet; ſimus liberales in Foxii jure: Si ego iſta falſa quæ faciunt de Hiſtoria penitus excerpſero, polliceanturne mihi paſſuros ſe reliquum opus in ſuorum manibus liberè verſari? Non magis ferant conditionem quam pacem. Quid his hominibus facias, qui neque datis neque negatis acquieſcunt? Jam illud quoque quantæ proteruiæ eſt, exigere ab ullo Scriptore, ut in curſu longi operis, dum innumerabiles res unius homines labore perſequitur, nuſquam vel hallucinetur? ut ſi Cæſarem contingat, quo in loco Britanniam noſtram deſcribit, de circuitu, vel trajectu inſularum paucis milliaribus diſſentire ab eo quod hodierna dimenſio reperit, idcirco abſolutiſſimus Scriptor mendacii poſtuletur. Scripſit ille bella, expeditioneſq; ſuas, quod inſtitutum operis fuit, ea fide qua debuit: in reliquis ſecutus eſt famam; credidit renunciantibus; noluit in re non nimis neceſſaria eſſe accuratus. Atq; hæc ex noſtrorum potius hominum opinione, quam quod id faciendum putavi reſpondere viſum eſt. Quod ſi illi ipſi reſpondendum ſibi poſtulent, alia cum illis conditione agam. Redeant ad obſequium, Satisfaciant patriæ, Diſcedant ab hoſtibus: cum nullum publicum crimen illis adhæreat, tum privatas offenſiones proſequantur. Sin perſeverare adhuc in ſtudio volunt, deinde poſtquam omnem ſpem, famamq; conſumpſerint, maledictis terrere incipiant; næ ego facile concedam, ut quem anteactæ vitæ fructum ceperint, eam orationis quoq; laudem habeant: ita utrumq; decus obtineant, ut neq; maleficio, neq; convitiis quiſquam cum iis poſſit contendere. Si iſta durior conditio videatur: Æquent ſaltem dignitatem inviſi operis. Sint Authores pari fama: Honeſtius certamen fuerit, ſi quanto ſuo compendio vicerint, tanto ſuo detrimento vinci paſſint. Quodſi per libellos, & furtivas declamationes obtrectando æterno operi, eo pacto nomen ſuum famæ ſtudeant inſerere, neque virorum, ſed mulierculârum animis per convitia adrepant, quis ita demens eſt, ut quæ ſcripta contemnendo perire ſtatim faciat, ea oppugnando faciat diuturniora?

Jam

*Jam porro, ut ipſi intelligant quantum* Foxio *ad dignitatem potius, quam ad contumeliam iſta eorum virulentia contulerit, pauca contrà de æquitate ejus erga ipſos dicam. Epiſtolas ejus proferre poſſum, quibus perſuadet Proceribus, iiſque qui tum ſummam in regno authoritatem habebant, ne* Ed. Campianum, *reliquoſque ejus conjurationis ſocios capitis condemnari permitterent, neve inveteraſcere in Regno conſuetudinem illam ſinerent, ut Pontificii morte potius, quam aliquo alio ſupplicii genere plecterentur. Et ne videretur iſtud ex naturæ ſuæ tantum benitate, & non judicio animi dicere, multis rationibus apud eos probare contendit, quantum illud ad diminutionem cauſæ ſuæ pertinebat, ſi in conſtituendis ſupplicijs judicium potius adverſariorum, quam ſuam clementiam ſequerentur. Multo enim magis debere eos conniti, ut quos juſtitia vicijſſent, eos manſuetudine quoque & miſericordia vincerent. Hæcque ſæpius inculcabat, etiam ad offenſionis periculum auſus deprecari; cum illi contra oſtenderent: Majeſtatis eſſe rem, non controverſiæ. Verti in eo exemplo vitam Principis, publicam libertatem, poſſeſſionem Regni: debere ſubditos periculo ſuo moneri, ne patrias facultates prodigerè condiſcant: eam Regni rationem eſſe, ut ſi ſua bona intra ſe ſervare conſenſerit, nihil illo ſublimius aut ſecurius eſſe poſſit: quantum enim ab ea fœlicitate defecerit, id noſtrorum hominum transfugiis, & conjurationibus eſſe decuſſum. Perſtitit tamen in ſententia* Foxius, *& cum nihil precibus proficeret, dolorem tamen ſuum multo gemitu teſtari ſolitus eſt, quoties quempiam ex iis morte affectum eſſe audiebat. Viſa æquitate ejus in homines non alienum fuerit adjungere quid* Foxius *in univerſum de* Romana *Eccleſia, ejuſque Pontifice ſenſerit, quatenus id ex ejus ſermonibus elici potuit, cum jam maturus annis judicium ſuum multo rerum uſu roborâſſet. Ejus ſententiæ capita hæc ſunt.*

Romanæ *Eccleſiæ primam, antiquiſſimamque inter Chriſtianos dignitatem ſemper fuiſſe: Eam ei dignitatem opinionemque multis poſtea ſeculis manſiſſe; authoritatem paulatim accreviſſe, non conſenſu, vel jure, ſed inclinatione, & conſuetudine quadam ferendi, ut quos multum aliis præſtare contingit, hi plurimum quoque apud eoſdem valere, iiſque tandem imperare incipiant: præcipua autem tum dignitate, tum authoritate apud hæ Occidentis Regna valuiſſe; quorum ut unumquodque Religionem Chriſtianam maxime appetebat, ita in eo ſtudio* Romanorum *potiſſimum pietate & labore ſublevabantur: unde neque male earundem Eccleſiarum matrem dici meruiſſe: Occaſionem tanto incremento dediſſe urbem* Romam *veteri gloria, & fato quodam imperandi monſtratam terris; quæ etiam cum ipſa omni tempeſtate ingentis animi, atq; virtutis viris abundarit, tum frequentia, & opibus, & opportunitate loci, & quod Imperatorum oculis ſubjecta erat, facile contulerit, ut initio Chriſtiani neque Congregari uſpiam facilius, neq; ſuſtentari copioſius, neque latere tutius, neq; cum opus eſſet mori conſtantius reperirentur: unde illis admirationem, & gloriam in poſteros acceſſiſſe. Sed initia Eccleſiæ rectiſſimis potius diſciplinis, & ſanctitate ſpectata hominum, quam divitiis floruiſſe. Nihil in Eccleſiaſticorum moribus diſſolutum, nihil faſtus, ambitioniſve. Pecuniam, ſervos, villam, gemmas ignota ipſis bona. Omnia vel pudore, vel cavendo coercita: ut non aliud quam* Romæ *Chriſtianæ fidei domicilium eſſe videretur: Atq; hæc quo magis finitima principiis eſſent, eo magis curæ fuiſſe: receſſu paulatim diffluere, & corrumpi cæpiſſe, more fluminum, quæ prope fontem minora ſed limpidiora, quanto longius progrediuntur, tanto conſpectiore alveo, ſed turbidioribus aquis fluunt, donec recepto tandem mari, inſalubres quoq; ea reddantur, & cum nullo in loco momenta primi diſcriminis deprehendas, extremorum tamen comparatione diverſiſſimas eſſe ſtatim perſpicias. Ita enim Eccleſiæ uſu veniſſe, ut poſtquam traductis ad fidem Chriſtianam nationibus, ex dignitate Imperii viſum eſſet ſacerdotes, quod in veteri Religione conſueverant, non inopem, ſed liberalem vitam ducere, ejuſque cauſa multa ab Imperatoribus tum in ornamentum, tum in præmium Eccleſiaſticis concederentur, eo initio Sacerdotes pecuniam primo adamare cæperint, tum paulatim ex copia laſcivire, & laborem aſpernari, ex hoc (ut prioribus vitiis ſemper, addit, pejor Poſteritas) potentiam cupere, cujus potitos, & Imperatorum munere principatum Eccleſiæ adeptos, non prius deſtitiſſe, quam dejectis quorum beneficio creverant Imperatoribus, & Imperii jura invaderent, & utrumq; humani generis regimen expoſtularent: Interim Religionis quam majores ipſis tradideram normam omittere; Scripturas neq; multum ipſi ſcrutari, neq; aliis ut id facerent permittere; cultumq; divinum non in Obedientiam fidei, ſed in externis devotionibus, & magnificentia ſacrorum habere.*

*Quibus ex rebus factum eſſe, ut Eccleſia* Romana, *ut cuncta alia immoderata imperia, non ſolum de gradu, & faſtigio dignitatis ceciderit, ſed & vim ipſam, ſtatumq; Eccleſiæ in ſeipſa labefactarit: neq; id mirum videri debere, ſi ut nulla corpora contingit lethalius ægrotare, quam quæ ſunt ſaniſſima, ita contigerit principi Eccleſiæ, ut nihil medium ei conveniret, quin aut in abſolutiſſima ſanitate maneret, aut in perniciоſiſſimum hoſtem evaderet; unde etiam Papam Antichriſtum videri.*

*Utcunq; in tam manifeſto negotio, debere tamen utramque partem non nimium Argumentis fiduciæ ſuæ tribuere; neq; primo ſtudio impedire, ſi qua hominum æquitate, res ad ſanitatem, atq; concordiam deduci poſſit. Non noſtrarum fortaſſe virium fuiſſe,* Romæ *antiquum decus, & confirmatam in hominum mentibus Religionis opinionem eripere.* Romanam *Eccleſiam ſua avaritia, ambitione, prævaricatione concidiſſe. Sed neminem unquam in delinquendo eo progreſſum, quo pœnitentia non penetraviſſet. Debere dari ut regreſſum ad pœnitendum, ita modus, & ſpatia pœnitendi: fortaſſe etiam authorem diſplicuiſſe quod* Germanus, *aut* Gallus, *& non è natione ſua* Italus *erratorum admoniſſet. Exoriri aliquando inter ipſos poſſe, cujus authoritate non pudeat ad ſanitatem reverti, jacturamque potentiæ ſuæ paci terrarum condonare: Id modo quantulumcumq; ſpei relinqui ita fore, quod in Capitibus ipſis fidei non ultra peccaverint quam quod ea non nimium noſci patiantur. Conditiones concordiæ eſſe, Si Pontifex* Rom. *omnes eas opiniones velit deſerere, ex quibus pecunia fit: nihil ægrius populo perſuaderi, quam Chriſtum ſervatorem Eccleſiæ ſuæ, pecuniæ artes, & nundinationem ſacrorum præcepiſſe. Si abrenunciet ſeculo, neque ſibi aut juris, aut negotii quicquam in alienis Regnis eſſe exiſtimet. Si contra adverſarii ejus non recuſent aliquem eſſe, qui in re Religionis principem conſilii & adminiſtrationis locum inter Chriſtianos obtineat: eam rem poſtquam metus abfuerit, multas ſecum utilitates afferre: neque contra Eccleſiam* Rom. *quin ea præferatur, debere magis valere, quod aliquando ceciderit, quam pro ea facere, quod prima floruerit. Hæc autem quo rectius fiant Concilio Chriſtianorum permitti debere, cujus ea æquitas ſit, ut neq; ex loco in quem conveniatur, neq; ex numero ſuffragiorum, cujuſpiam unius potentia, aut gratia quicquam ſibi in reliquorum injuria poſſit polliceri.*

Inte-

*Interim dum hæc fiant pertinere multum ad ſpem, celeritatemq; componendi; ſic hominum mentes deinceps informari, ut utrinq; de alteris melius & ſperare & ſentire incipiant: Præcipue autem debere homines ejus pertinaciæ oblivi ſci, qua utraq; pars, dum ſe ſolam Eccleſiam eſſe venditat, excludit alteram: id enim non impium modo, ſed & contumelioſum ſumme in Deum eſſe, exiſtimare, eum ſic mandata ſua hominibus dediſſe, ut obtemperantibus in perniciem vertantur: quod neceſſario futurum, ſi cum omnes homines idem ſentire noluit, qui plus aliis intelligendo diſſenſerint, ab iis reliqui arceantur. An igitur ſolis intelligentibus, & magna rerum ſcientia præditis cœlum ſervari? Ubi igitur fatuos ſeculi futuros, ubi pueros, quos Chriſtus ſibi ſe poſuit? quanto, rectius Deum coli, exequendo ea quæ manifeſta ſunt, quam interpretando quæ ſunt ambigua? quanto, probabilius eſſe tantam videri Dei miſericordiam, ut conveni-entibus de ſumma obſequendi nihil aliud fraudi eſſe poſſit? eam vim obedientiæ eſſe, ut ea ſola omnes inæqualitates apud Deum exæquet: quod ſi par omnium ratio non ſit, ſanè apud Deum longe potiores eos eſſe, qui modeſtius judicarint.*

*Ab inimicis ad amicitias* Foxii *tranſeo; inter quas dictum eſt, quanto ſemper ſtudio ab Duce* Norfolcio *dilectus eſt, cujus & opibus vivi, & penſionibus mortui alebatur, quas nimirum rata fecit liberalitas Filii ejus, Illuſtriſſimi Comitis* Suffolcienſis, *ad quem ii reditus pertinebant. Auxit fortunam ejus* Wilhelmus Ceciliur, *Theſaurius Regni, vir omni oratione major, quem tanti* Elizabethæ *intererat, miniſtrum ſibi habere, quanti Regni intereat,* Elizabetham *habere Principem, certeq; digniſſimus, qui in ea patria, & ſua & poſterorum fortuna floreret, quam is omnium florentiſſimam ſapientia & conſilio ſuo effecerat. Is Rectoriam Shiptonienſem, ab Regina, donum* Foxio *impetravit, nulla alia re adductus, niſi publicum ob meritum: cumq;* Foxius *cunctaretur, & more ſuo veniam recuſationis ab eo peteret, modeſtiam viri ſolertia ſua expugnavit: neq; accipere ſe reſponſum dixit, neq; meruiſſe, ut rejecti ab eo beneficii Regii, tanquam ab ſe averſi, culpa penes ſe eſſet. Comitibus* Bedfordienſi, & Warwicenſi *perquam gratus fuit, ob ſimilitudinem morum ipſis commendatus.* Franciſco Walſingamio, *Secretario Regni intimus fuit, impigerrimo, ſapientiſſimoq; viro, meritoq; qui Secretariatus vim primus intenderet.* Hennagios *fratres ſumme dilexit,* Thomam & Michaelem, *ſed illum elegantia morum ejus electus, hunc ob ſolida ſtudia, & ſingularem vitæ modeſtiam, ambo ampliſſimos, & in ſuo genere abſolutiſſimos viros, de quibus dicere ſolebat, in* Thoma *fuiſſe, quicquid Aula requirere poſſit, in* Michaele *totum fratrem, & præterea quicquid Aula non corruperat. Drnum Drurium quoq; multo ſtudio coluit, virum integerrimum propoſiti, & in omni fortuna conſtantiſſimum, & fortaſſe ſolum in ea Aula, qui & gratiam retinuit, neq; libertatem dimiſerat: Inter Præſules,* Ed. Grindallum *Archiepiſcopum* Cantuarienſem. Elmarum *Epiſcopum* Londinenſem, Pilkintonum Dunelmenſem, Noellum *Decanum* Paulinæ *Eccleſiæ, obſervavit,* Baſilienſis *exilii comites. Inter ſcriptores,* Laurentium Humfridum, Whitakerum, Fulkium *prætulit, quorum ingeniis mire delectatus eſt, locoq; beneficii habuit, ſe ab illis invicem amari. Sed nulla arctius conſuetudine tenebatur quam* Jo. Crowlii, & Bolduini Collini: *Hos omnibus conſiliis ſuis, curiſq; adhibuit;* Collinum *præcipue, de cujus viri poſſeſſione, veſcire ſe dixit, uter juſtius contenderet, an prudentiſſimus animus, an ſumma ſcientia. Inter militares viros,* Fran. Drakum *conſuetudine ſua mire devinxerat, quem virum prope ea tempora laudari quibus vixit ſuperſtuum fuerit, commendari poſteris, vel multis voluminibus vix ſuffecerit. Præclariſſima civium* Londinenſium *voluntate uſus eſt; inter quos apud* Tho. Greſhamum, Roum, Baccuſium, Smitheum, Dalum, Sherintonum *magnam authoritatem, opinionemq; habere viſus eſt, viros partim ampliſſimis honoribus in civitate uſos, partim copioſiſſimos negotiatores. Prætereo multos, quos fortaſſe contigit eundem in* Foxii *amicitia locum habuiſſe, neq; id mihi vitio verti debet, ſi omnium vel meminiſſe, vel notitiam conſequi minus potuerim. Illud præterire non debeo, cujus etiam præcipue causa præfatos ſummos viros memorari volui; hos fuiſſe, ab quibus demonſtratum eſt, pecunias Elemoſinæ nomine* Foxio *largiſſime ſuppeditatas fuiſſe pauperibus diſpenſandas: Quod cum illi ita clam facerent, ut nec internunciis fiderent, neq; in eo benefacti gratiam reſpicerent, cujus conſcientiam ſufficere ſibi intelligebant; non tamen id mihi in* Foxii *Hiſtoria diſſimulandum fuit, aut committendum, ni ſi illi tantæ liberalitatis fructum negligendum ſibi exiſtimarent, at non ab* Foxio *veritatem facti proditam eſſe quiſquam arguat, præſertim cum utriſque abundi ad laudem ſit, ut illi ſuis, hic non niſi ſuis factis noſcatur.*

*Multa deniq; comitate inter amicos fuit. Id ſeveritatis gravitatiſq; condimentum ſibi indulſerat. Rogatus quondam in Convivio, quondam afferri ſibi ferculum juberet, unde prandium inciperet: reſpondit ultimum. Acceptaq; comiter vox eſt, tanquam lectiores dapes, quæ ultimo fere poni ſolent innuiſſet; cum ille ad finem convivii & ad abeundi voluntatem adluderet. Forte habuit in via obviam mulierem quandam, ſatis ſibi cognitam. Ea prolato quem geſtabant libro, cum dixiſſet. Vides quo profectura ſum, nempe ad Concionem: reſpondit, At ut Sacor domum abi, hodie enim apud Deum nihil effeceris: & cum illa quereret, quando igitur ire me jubes; cum (inquit) nemini dixeris. Accidit in menſa ſua, ut quidam de* Leyceſtrio *Comiti liberius obloqueretur: Id cum* Foxius *audiviſſet, ſtatim pateram quandam, quam innuerat impleri vino, & afferri ſibi juſſit, qua allata, Hæc inquit patera mihi ab* Leyceſtrio *dono miſſa eſt: cohibuitq; hominis intemperantiam, neq; reprehendit. Ingratum hominem mari comparabat, quod cuncta ingeſta voraret, neq; ſignum relinqueret. Adoleſcenti cuidam audaculo, qui multis aſtantibus, dixiſſet, ſe nihil in antiquorum lectione percipere, quod homines adeo miraretur: Nihil inquit mirum eſt, ndm ſi perciperes mirareris. Infinita mihi hujus generis memorandi copia eſt: ſed nolo formam operis excedere.*

*Cum autem per talia facta, atq; mores* Foxius *ætatem exegiſſet, plenus annorum, amicorumq; nondum exacto ſeptuageſimo curſus ſui anno exceſſit, nulla nota valetudine oppreſſus, ſed multum ob ſenium. Præſenſit tamen tempus exitus ſui, neq; filios ſuos, quos ardentiſſime tamen dilexit, intereſſe ſupremis ſuis voluit: ſed alterum acciri prorſus vetuit; alterum nudiuſtertius dici quo mortuus eſt ab ſe dimiſit; & utrumq; revocavit cum vel feſtinantes parum in tempore adfuturos ſciret: ſive impares eos acerbiſſimo ſpectaculo fore credidit: ſive animum ſuum turbari domeſticis deſideriis nolebat: Quod fratri meo mihiq; ominum miſerrimum contigit, ut neque oculos componere, neque ſuprema ejus mandata excipere, neque ſatiari ultimo ejus aſpectu nobis liceret: quietiore fortaſſis animo deficientis momenta tolcraviſſemus, quam moriendi exemplum in eo amiſimus. Ad famam mortui indoluit civitas, elatumque permodico funere nigenti multitudinis ſuæ concurſu honoravit: neque alia lugentium ſpecie, quam ſi in tanto populo parentem, aut fratrem ſuum ſinguli ſepeliſſent.*

# Acts and Monuments

## OF THE

# CHRISTIAN MARTYRS,

## AND

## Matters Ecclesiastical passed in the Church of CHRIST;

From the Primitive beginning, to these our days, as well in other Countries, as namely in this Realm of *ENGLAND*, and also of *SCOTLAND*; Discoursed at large.

### And first, the difference between the Church of *ROME* that now is, and the Ancient Church of *ROME* that then was.

CHRIST our Saviour in the Gospel of S. *Matth. cap.16.* hearing the confession of *Simon Peter*, who first of all other, openly acknowledged him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of his Father therein, answered again, and alluding to his name, called him a Rock, upon which Rock he would build his Church so strong, that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it, &c. In which words three things are to be noted. First, that Christ will have a Church in this world. Secondly, that the same Church should mightily be impugned, not only by the World, but also by the uttermost strength and powers of all Hell. And thirdly, that the same Church, notwithstanding the uttermost of the Divel and all his malice, should continue. Which prophecy of Christ we see wonderfully to be verified, insomuch that the whole course of the Church to this day, may seem nothing else but a verifying of the said Prophecy. First, that Christ hath set up a Church, needeth no Declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and sorts of men, of Princes, Kings, Monarchs, Governors, and Rulers of this World, with their Subjects publickly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against this Church. And Thirdly, how the said Church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden his own. What storms and tempests it hath overpast, wondrous it is to behold. For the more evident declaration whereof, I have addressed this present History, intending by the favourable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the ears of my Country in reading of News, as most specially to profit the hearts of the godly, in perusing antiquities of ancient times, to the end that the wonderful works of God, first in this Church, might appear to his glory. Also that the continuance and proceedings of the Church from time to time, being set forth in these *Acts and Monuments*, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby, to the profit of the Reader and edification of Christian Faith.

Three things noted in Christs words.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute the matter, as may best serve to the profit of the Reader: I have thought good first, beginning from the time of the Primitive Church, and so continuing (by the Lords grace) to these latter years, to run over the whole state and course of the Church in general, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this History into five sundry diversities of times.

The order of the disposition of this History.

1. First, I will intreat of the suffering time of the Church, which continued from the Apostles age about three hundred years.

The suffering time of the Church.

2. Secondly, of the flourishing time of the Church, which lasted other three hundred years.

The flourishing time of the Church.

3. Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the Church, which comprehendeth other three hundred years, until the loosing out of Satan, which was about the thousandth year after the ceasing of Persecution. During which space of time, the Church although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the simple sincerity of the Primitive Time, yet in outward profession of Doctrine and Religion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a Church: notwithstanding some corruption of Doctrine, with Superstition and Hypocrisie was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that which followed after, it might seem as I said, something sufferable.

The declining time of the Church.

4. Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, and loosing of Satan, or desolation of the Church, whose full swinge containeth the space of four hundred years. In which time both Doctrine and sincerity of Life was utterly almost extinguished: namely, in the chief Heads and Rulers of this West Church, through the means of the *Roman* Bishops, especially counting from *Gregory* the seventh, called *Hildebrand*, *Innocentius* the third, and Friers which with him crept in, till the time of *John Wickliffe* and *John Huß*, during four hundred years.

The time of Antichrist in the Church.

5. Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist reigning in the Church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation and purging of the Church of God, wherein Antichrist beginneth to be revealed, and to appear in his colour, and his Antichristian Doctrine to be detected, the number of his Church decreasing, and the number of the true Church increasing. The durance of which time hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred and fourscore years, and how long it shall continue more, the Lord and Governor of all times, he only knoweth. For in these five diversities and alterations of times, I suppose the whole course of the Church may well be comprised. The which Church because it is universal, and sparsedly through all Countries dilated, therefore in this History standing upon such a general argument, I shall not be bound to any one certain Nation more than another: yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I have purposed principally to tarry upon such Historical Acts and Records, as most appertain to this my Country of *England* and *Scotland*.

The Reformation of the Church.

And for so much as the Church of *Rome*, in all these Ages above specified, hath challenged to it self the Supreme Title, and Ringleading of the whole Universal Church on Earth, by whose direction all other Churches have been governed: in writing therefore of the Church of Christ, I cannot but partly also intermeddle with the acts and proceedings of the same Church, for so much as the doings and orderings of all other Churches from time to time, as well here in *England*, as in other Nations, have this long season chiefly depended upon the same. Wherefore, as it is much needful and requisite to have the doings and orderings of the said Church to be made manifest to all Christian Congregations: so have I framed this History, according to the same purpose. First, in a general description briefly to declare, as in a summary table, the misguiding of that Church, comparing the former primitive state of the forenamed Church of *Rome*, with these latter times of the same: which done, then after in a more special tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so set

The Church of Rome.

ſuth as ſhall ſeem not unprofitable for the publick inſtruction of all other Chriſtian Churches, to behold and conſider the manner and dealing of this one. In the which one Church of *Rome* four things, as moſt ſpecial points, ſeem to me chiefly to be conſidered. To wit, Title, Juriſdiction, Life and Doctrine. Wherein I have here to declare, firſt, concerning the Title or Primacy of the Church, how it firſt began, and upon what occaſion. Secondly, concerning the Juriſdiction and Authority thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend. Thirdly, touching the miſorder of life and converſation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the Form of Doctrine, how ſuperſtitious and idolatrous of late it hath been. Of the which four, the firſt was prejudicial to all Biſhops. The ſecond, derogatory to Kings and Emperors. The third deteſtable to all men. The fourth, injurious againſt Chriſt.

Four things to be conſidered in the Church of *Rome*. 1. Title. 2. Juriſdiction. 3. Life. 4. Doctrine.

The title of the Pope.

For firſt, the Title and Stile of that Church was ſuch, that it overwent all other Churches: being called The *Holy Univerſal Mother Church, which could not erre:* and the Biſhop thereof, *Holy Father the Pope, Biſhop Univerſal, Prince of Prieſts, Supream Head of the Univerſal Church,* and *Vicar of Chriſt here in Earth, which muſt not be judged, having all knowledge of Scripture, and all Laws contained within the cheſt of his Breſt.*

The juriſdiction of the Pope.

Secondly, the Juriſdiction of that Biſhop was ſuch, that challenging to himſelf both the Swords, that is, both the Keyes of the Scripture and the Scepter of the Laity: not only he ſubdued all Biſhops under him, but alſo advanced himſelf above Kings and Emperors, cauſing ſome of them to lie under his feet, ſome to hold his ſtirrup, Kings to lead his Horſe by the Bridle, ſome to kiſs his feet, placing and diſplacing Emperors, Kings, Dukes and Earls, whom and when he lifted, taking upon him to tranſlate the Empire at his pleaſure; firſt, from *Greece* to *France*, from *France* to *Germany*, preferring and depoſing whom he pleaſed, confirming them which were elected. Alſo being Emperor himſelf *Sede vacante*, pretending Authority or power to inveſt Biſhops, to give Benefices, to ſpoil Churches, to give authority to bind and looſe, to call General Councils, to judge over the ſame, to ſet up Religions, to Canonize Saints, to take Appeals, to bind Conſciences, to make Laws, to diſpenſe with the Law and Word of God, to deliver from Purgatory, to command Angels, *&c.*

The properties of life in the *Romiſh* Clergy.

Thirdly, what was the life and converſation of the Court of *Rome*, hereafter in the proceſs of this Hiſtory followeth to be ſeen and obſerved.

The Doctrine of the Pope.

Fourthly, ſuch was his Doctrine in like manner, tedious to ſtudents, pernicious to mens Conſciences, injurious to Chriſt Jeſus, and contrary to it ſelf. In Laws more divers, in Volume more large, in diligence and ſtudy more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainful than ever was the ſtudy and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which four points well conſidered and adviſed in this preſent Hiſtory ſet forth, I truſt it may miniſter to the indifferent Chriſtian Reader, ſufficient inſtruction to judge what is of this See and Church of *Rome* to be eſteemed.

But here by the way it is to be noted, that all theſe deformities above touched of vain Title, of pretended Juriſdiction, of Heretical Doctrine, of Schiſmatical Life, came not into the Church of *Rome* all at one time, nor ſprang with the beginning of the ſame Church, but with long working, and continuance of time by little and little crept up, through occaſion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly of Pope *Silveſter*, partly of Pope *Gregory* the ſeventh, in the year of our Lord 1170. partly of *Innocentius* the third, and finally of Pope *Boniface* the eighth, in the year of our Lord 1300. Of the which four Popes, the firſt brought in the Title in the year of the Lord 670. which was never in ſuch ample wiſe before publickly enacted, and received publickly in the ſaid Church of *Rome*. The ſecond brought in Juriſdiction. The third which was Pope *Innocent* with his rabble of Monks and Friers (as *Thomas Aquine*, *Petrus Lombardus*, *Johannes Scotus*) and with ſuch other Biſhops as ſucceeded in the ſame See after him, corrupted and obſcured the ſincerity of Chriſts doctrine and manners alſo. And laſtly, Pope *Bonifacius* the eighth, and after him Pope *Clement* the fifth over and beſides the Juriſdiction ſufficiently advanced before by Pope *Hildebrand*, added moreover the Temporal Sword to be carried before them. And that no Emperor (were he never ſo well elected) ſhould be ſufficient and lawful, without the Popes admiſſion, in the year of our Lord 1300. whereby the Popes power was brought now to his full pride and perfection. And thus came up the corruption of the *Romiſh* Church in continuance of years by degrees, and not altogether, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Chriſt willing) ſhall be expreſſed.

Pope *Silveſter* the 2d. Pope *Gregory* the 7th called *Hildebrand*. Pope *Innocentius* the third. Pope *Boniface* the eighth.

Wherefore, whoſoever ſhall have hereafter to do with any adverſaries, about the Antiquity or Authority of the Church of *Rome*, let him here well conſider when and how, the Title, Juriſdiction and Corruption of Doctrine firſt began in the Popes See. And ſo ſhall he ſee, that the Church of *Rome*, as it is now governed with this manner of Title, Juriſdiction and Inſtitution of Doctrine, never deſcended from the Primitive Age of the Apoſtles, or from their Succeſſion, *Niſi tantum æquivoce, & non univoce*; Like as *Sancta Maria picta non eſt Sancta Maria, & homo pictus non eſt homo*, as the Schools do ſay: that is, As the picture of the Holy Virgin, is not the Holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the Wall is not a Man: ſo it is to be ſaid of the Church of *Rome* (the Inſtitution and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* I mean) that although it hath the name of the *Church Apoſtolical*, and doth bring forth a long Genealogy of outward ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, as the *Phariſes* did in Chriſts time bring their deſcent from *Abraham* their Father: yet all this is (as I ſaid) but only *Æquivoce*, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apoſtolical Church indeed; for as much as the definition of the Apoſtolical Church neither now agreeth with this preſent Church of *Rome*, nor yet the manner, form and inſtitution of the ſaid *Romiſh* Church, as it now ſtandeth with this Title, Juriſdiction and Doctrine, had ever any Succeſſion or Offspring from the Primitive Church of the Apoſtles. But as Chriſt ſaid by the *Phariſes*, that they were the Children, not of *Abraham*, but of the Devil: in ſemblable wiſe may be anſwered, that this Church of *Rome* now preſent, with this Title, Juriſdiction and Doctrine now uſed, cannot be fathered upon the Apoſtles, neither *Petrus*, nor *Linus*, but of another Author, whom here I will not name.

That is but name only, and not in very deed. *Univoce.* That is both in name, and alſo in definition and effect, agreeing with the name. The Church of *Rome*, as now it is, is not apoſtolical, but only *æquivoce*.

The argument of *Pighius*, *Hoſius* and *Eccius* for the authority of the Church of *Rome*.

And here now cometh in the Argument of *Pighius*, *Hoſius* and *Eccius*, to be anſwered unto, who arguing for the Antiquity and Authority of the Church of *Rome*, reaſon on this manner.

*Da* That forſomuch as an ordinary and a known Church viſible muſt here be known continually on earth, during from the time of the Apoſtles, to the which Church all other Churches muſt have recourſe:

*ri-* And ſeeing then there is no other Church viſible, orderly known to have indured from the Apoſtles time, but only the Church of *Rome*:

*i.* They conclude therefore, that the Church of *Rome* is that Church whereunto all other Churches muſt have recourſe, &c.

Anſwer. *Fallacia æquivoce.*

To the which Paralogiſme I anſwer thus: that this word *Durans Eccleſia*, the during Church in the *Minor*, hath *Fallaciam æquivoci*. For although the name of the Church and outward ſucceſſion of Biſhops have had their durance from the time of the Apoſtles, yet the definition and matter which maketh a true Apoſtolical Church indeed, and *Univoce*, neither is now in the Church of *Rome*, nor yet the form and inſtitution of the Church now uſed in *Rome*, was ever from the Apoſtles; which Apoſtles were never authors or fathers of this Title, Juriſdictions and Doctrine now taught in *Rome*, but rather were enemies ever to the ſame.

The minor examined.

The Major examined.

Again to the *Major*, which ſtandeth upon two parts, I anſwer: Firſt, although the neceſſity of the Church during from the Apoſtles, may and muſt be granted; yet the ſame neceſſity was not bound to any certain place or perſon, but only to faith: ſo that whereſoever, that is to ſay, in whatſoever Congregation true Faith was, there was the Church of Chriſt. And becauſe the true faith of Chriſt muſt needs ever remain on earth, therefore the Church alſo muſt needs remain on earth. And God forbid, that the ſaid true faith of Chriſt ſhould only remain in one City in the World, and not another as well. And therefore to the ſecond part of the *Major* is to be ſaid, that as this true and ſincere faith of Chriſt is not ſo given, to remain fixtly in one place or City alone: ſo neither is there any one Church in the

World

World ſo ordained and appointed of God, that all other Churches ſhould have their recourſe unto it, for determination of their cauſes and controverſies incident, &c. And thus much to the Argument of *Pighius* and *Hoſius*, *&c.*

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the ancient Doctors and holy Fathers in the commendation of the Church of *Rome*; here cometh in alſo to be noted, that whoſoever will underſtand rightly their authorities and anſwer to the ſame, muſt firſt learn to make a difference and diſtinction of the ſaid Church of *Rome*, from that it was, to that it is: foraſmuch as the Church of *Rome* is not the ſame Church now, which it was then, but only *Æquivoce*: otherwiſe as touching the very property and definition of a Church, it is another Church, and nothing agreeing to that it was then, ſave only in outward name and place. Therefore by this diſtinction made, I anſwer the place of *Ireneus*, *Cyprianus*, and other famous Drs. commending the Church of *Rome* as Catholick and Apoſtolical, and ſay that theſe Doctors, ſpeaking of the Church of *Rome* which then was, ſaid not untrue, calling it Catholick and Apoſtolical, for that the ſame Church took their ordinary ſucceſſion of Biſhops joyned with the ordinary Doctrine and Inſtitution from the Apoſtles. But ſpeaking of the Church of *Rome* which now is, we ſay the ſaid places of the Doctors are not true, neither do appertain to the ſame: all which Doctors neither knew the Church of *Rome* that now is, neither if they had, would ever have judged any thing therein worthy ſuch commendation.

A diſtinction.

The Church of *Rome* diſtinguiſhed into a double conſideration of times.

The Church of *Rome*, how it was commended of the old Doctors

Over and beſides, our adverſaries yet more objected againſt us, who heaving and ſhooving for the Antiquity of the *Romiſh* Church, for lack of other ſufficient reaſon to prove, are driven to fall in ſcanning the times and years. What (ſay they)? where was this Church of yours before theſe fifty years? To whom briefly to anſwer, firſt we demand what they mean by this which they call our Church? If they mean the ordinance and inſtitution of Doctrine and Sacraments now received of us, and differing from the Church of *Rome*, we affirm and ſay, that our Church was, when this Church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the ſhell, nor did yet ever ſee any light: that is, in the time of the Apoſtles, in the primitive age, in the time of *Gregory* the firſt, and the old *Roman* Church, when as yet no Univerſal Pope was received publickly, but repelled in *Rome*: nor this fulneſs of plenary power yet known, nor this Doctrine and abuſe of Sacraments yet heard of. In witneſs whereof we have the old acts and hiſtories of ancient time to give teſtimony with us, wherein we have ſufficient matter for us to declare the ſame form, uſage and inſtitution of this our Church reformed now, not to be the beginning of any new Church of our own, but to be the renewing of the old ancient Church of Chriſt: nor to be any ſwerving from the Church of *Rome*, but rather a reducing to the Church of *Rome*. Whereas contrary, the Church of *Rome* which now is, is nothing but a ſwerving from the Church of *Rome*, as partly is declared, and more ſhall appear (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

The principal objection of the *Papiſts* againſt the *Proteſtants*.

Anſwer to the objection.

The Church of *Rome* revolted from the Church of *Rome*.

And where the ſaid our adverſaries do moreover charge us with the faith of our Fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptiſed, accuſing and condemning us for that we are now revolted from them and their faith, wherein we were firſt chriſtened: To this we anſwer, that we being firſt baptiſed by our Fathers and Godfathers, in water, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſame faith wherein we were chriſtned then, we do retain: and becauſe our Godfathers were themſelves alſo in the ſame faith, therefore they cannot ſay that we have forſaken the faith of our Godfathers, &c. As for other points of Eccleſiaſtical uſes, and circumſtances conſidered, beſides the principal ſubſtance of Faith and Baptiſm, if they held any thing which receded from the Doctrine and Rule of Chriſt, therein we now remove our ſelves; not becauſe we would differ from them, but becauſe we would not with them remove from the Rule of Chriſts Doctrine. Neither doth the Sacrament of our Baptiſm bind us in all points to the opinions of them that baptiſed us, but to the Faith of him in whoſe Name we were baptiſed. For as if a man were chriſtened of an Heretick, the Baptiſm of him notwithſtanding were good, although the Baptiſer were naught: ſo if our Godfathers or Fathers, which chriſtned us, were taught any thing not conſonant to Chriſtian Doctrine in all points, neither is our Baptiſm worſe for that, nor yet we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themſelves did not follow the true Church of Chriſt.

Another objection of the *Papiſts*.

An anſwer to the objection.

No man bound to follow the opinions of his Godfathers in all points unleſs they be conſonant in all things

Wherefore as it is falſe, that we have renounced the faith of our Godfathers wherein we were firſt Baptiſed, ſo is it not true, that we are removed from the Church of *Rome*: but rather ſay, and (by the leave of Chriſt) will prove that the Church of *Rome* hath utterly parted from the Church of *Rome*, according to my diſtinction before touched. Which thing the more evidently to declare, I will here compare the Church of *Rome* with the Church of *Rome*; and in a general Deſcription ſet forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the Churches, that is, of both the times of the Church of *Rome*: to the intent it may be ſeen whether we or the Church of *Rome* have more apoſtated from the Church of *Rome*. And here firſt I divide the Church of *Rome* in a double conſideration of time: firſt, of thoſe firſt ſix hundred years which were immediately after Chriſt: and ſecondly, of the other ſix hundred years, which now have been in theſe our later days: and ſo in comparing theſe two together, will ſearch out what diſcrepance is between them both. Of the which two ages and ſtates of the *Roman* Church, the firſt I call the Primitive Church of *Rome*, the other I call the later Church of *Rome* counting this later Church from the thouſand years expired after the binding of Satan, to the time of his looſing again, according to the Prophecy of the twentieth Chapter of St. *Johns Revelation*: counting theſe thouſand years from the ceaſing of Perſecution, under *Conſtantinus Magnus*, to the beginning of Perſecution of the Church again under *Innocentius* the third, and *Ottomannus* the firſt *Turcian* Emperor. And thus have ye the Church of *Rome* parted into two Churches, in a double reſpect and conſideration of two ſundry ſtates and times. Now in ſetting and matching the one ſtate with the other, let us ſee whether the Church of *Rome* hath ſwerved from the Church of *Rome* more than we, or no.

The Church of *Rome* diſtinguiſhed from the Church of *Rome*.

Two times of the Church of *Rome* conſidered and examined.

AND to begin firſt with the order and qualities of life I ask here of this *Roman* Clergy, where was this Church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive Church of *Rome*, with this pomp and pride, with this riches and ſuperfluity, with this *Gloria mundi*, and name of Cardinals, with this pranſing diſſoluteneſs, and whoring of the Curtiſans, with this extortion, bribing, buying and ſelling of Spiritual Dignities, theſe Annats Reformations, Procurations, Exactions, and other practices for mony, this avarice inſatiable, ambition intolerable, fleſhly filthineſs moſt deteſtable, barbarouſneſs and negligence in preaching, promiſe-breaking faithleſneſs, poyſoning and ſupplanting one another, with ſuch ſchiſms and diviſions, which never were more ſeen than in the elections and Court of *Rome* theſe ſeven hundred years, with ſuch extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny in burning and perſecuting their poor brethren to death?

The firſt point.

The enormities of life in the later church of *Rome* deſcribed. Policies and practices of *Rome* to get money.

It were too long, and a thing infinite, to ſtand particularly upon theſe above rehearſed. And if a man ſhould proſecute at large all the Schiſms that have been in the Church of *Rome* ſince the time of *Damaſus* the firſt, which are counted to the number of eighteen ſchiſms: what a Volume would it require? Or if here ſhould be recorded all that this See hath burned and put to death ſince the looſing out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their ſleights to get money ſhould be deſcribed, as proceſs of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithſtanding, the moſt principal grounds are reckoned at leaſt to fourteen or fifteen ſlights.

Fifteen practices of the new church of *Rome* to get money.

1. Firſt, for annats or vacancies of Arch-Biſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Abbacies, Priories conventual, and other Benefices elective.

2. Secondly, for the holding and retaining of all other ſpiritual livings whatſoever, beſides this which now the Incumbent paieth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

3. Thirdly, new annates for all the ſame are required again, *Tories quoties* any one of all his ſpiritual livings be, or are ſained to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chanced divers times three or four annats to be paid for one Benefice.

4. Fourthly, for giving out preventions of Benefices before they fall, and many times ſome one prevention to be given to diveſs and ſundry perſons by the office for monies ſake.

5. Fifthly, for reſignations upon favour, which in many caſes the Pope challengeth to be reſerved to himſelf.

6. Sixthly, for Commendams.

7. Seventhly, for compounding with ſuch as be abſent from their charge, and give their attendance about the Court.

8. Eighthly, for infinite diſpenſations, as to diſpence with age, with order, with Benefices incompatible, as if the number be full, if the Houſe be of ſuch or ſuch an Order. *Item*, diſpenſation for irregularity, for whoredome and adultery, for times of marriage, for marrying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity Canonical for goſſips to marry, for the which it hath been ſeen in *France* a thouſand Crowns to be paid to *Rome* at one time, for diſpenſing with this Canonical affinity of Goſſips, as we call it, the ſame being yet not true but fained. *Item*, diſpenſing for eating meats in times prohibited.

9. Ninthly, for innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces for not viſiting, or viſiting by a Proctor, for confirmations of privileges, for tranſactions made upon ſpecial favour of Pope, for permutations of Benefices with diſpenſation annexed, or making of Penſions, with ſuch like.

10. Tenthly, for Mandats granted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, whereof every Ordinary if he have the collation or preſentation often, may receive one Mandat: if he have fifty, he may receive two Mandats: and for every Mandat there comes to the Pope about twenty Ducats. And yet notwithſtanding ſo many are ſold, as will come buyers to pay for them.

11. Eleventhly, for the Popes penitentiary, for abſolution of caſes reſerved to the Pope, for breaking and changing of Vows, for tranſlation from one Monaſtery to another, alſo from one order to another, for licence to enter into certain Monaſteries, to carry about Altars, with many other things of like device, pertaining to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

12. Twelfthly, for giving and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, to be read not only in publick temples, but alſo to be bought in private houſes, and of private perſons, in divers and ſundry reſpects.

13. Thirteenthly, for making Notaries, and Protonotaries, and other offices of the Court of *Rome*.

14. Fourteenthly, for granting out Bulls and Commiſſions of new foundations, or for changing of the old, for reducing regular Monaſteries to a ſecular ſtate or for reſtoring again into the old, and for other infinite reſcripts and writs about matters depending in controverſie, that otherwiſe might and ought by the Ordinary to be decided.

15. Fifteenthly, for giving the Pall to Archbiſhops newly elected. By reaſon of all which devices (beſides the firſt of the Annates) it hath been accounted out of the Kings Records in *France*, in the time of *Ludovick* the ninth (as teſtifies *Molineus*) to the number of two hundred thouſand Crowns, only out of *France*, payed and tranſported to *Rome*. Which Sum ſince that time hath been doubled and trebled, beſides Annates and Palls, which altogether are thought to make the total ſum yearly going out of *France* to the Popes Coffers of late years, ten myriads, or millions, every myriad mounting to ten thouſand Crowns. Now what hath riſen beſides in other Realms and Nations, let other Men conjecture.

*Summa totalis.*

Wherefore if the Goſpel ſend us to the fruits to know the Tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the Church of *Rome*, with theſe fruits of life? Or if we will ſeek the Church in length and number of years: where was this Church of *Rome* with theſe qualities then, at what time the Church of *Rome* was a perſecuted Church, not a perſecuting Church? And when the Biſhops thereof did not make Martyrs, as theſe do now, but were made Martyrs themſelves, to the number of five and twenty, in order one after another? Or when the Biſhops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conſpiring, not by power or parts taking, not by money or friends making, as they be now, but by the free voices of the People and of the Clergy, with the conſent of the Emperour joyned withal, and not by a few conſpiring Cardinals, cloſed up in a corner, as now they be, *&c.*

**The juriſdiction and power of this new Church of *Rome* examined.**

AND yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or elſe impute to the common fragility of man, and charge them no farther therein than we might charge our ſelves. Now over and beſide this deformity of life, wherein they are clean gone from the former ſteps of the true Church of *Rome*, we have moreover to charge them in greater points, more nearly touching the ſubſtantial ground of the Church, as in their juriſdiction preſumptuouſly uſurped, in their Title falſly grounded, and in their Doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this later pretended Church of *Rome* hath utterly ſequeſtred it ſelf from the image and nature of the ancient and true Church of *Rome*, and have erected to themſelves a new Church of their own making, as firſt uſurping a Juriſdiction never known before to their ancient Predeceſſors. For although the Church of *Rome* in the old primitive time had his due authority and place due unto that See, among other Patriarchal Churches, over and upon ſuch Churches as were within his Precinct, and bordering near unto it, as appears by the Acts of the *Nicen* Council: yet the univerſal fulneſs and plenitude of power in both the regiments, ſpiritual and temporal, in depoſing and diſpenſing matters of the Church not to him belonging, in taking Appeals, in giving Elections, inveſting in Benefices, in exempting himſelf from obedience and ſubjection of his ordinary power and Magiſtrate, with his coactive power newly erected in the Church of *Rome*, was never received nor uſed in the old *Roman* Church, from the which they diſagree in all their doings.

*This new Church of Rome in three points challenged.*

*Nicen. ca. 6.*

For although *Victor* then Biſhop of *Rome*, *Anno* 200. went about to Excommunicate the Eaſt Churches, for the obſervation of *Eaſter* day: yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by *Irenæus* ſo to do. And although *Boniface* the firſt likewiſe, writing to the Biſhops of *Carthage*, required of them to ſend up their appellations unto the Church of *Rome*, alledging moreover, the Decree of the *Nicen* Council for his authority: the Biſhops and Clergy of *Carthage* aſſembling together in a General Council (called the ſixth Council of *Carthage*) to the number of two hundred and ſeventeen Biſhops, after that they had peruſed the Decrees in the authentique Copies of the aforeſaid *Nicen* Council, and found no ſuch matter by the ſaid *Boniface* alleadged, made therefore a publick Decree, that none out of that Country ſhould make any Appeal over the See, *&c.* And what marvel if Appeals were forbidden them to be made to *Rome*, whenas both here in *England* the Kings of this Land would not permit any to Appeal from them to *Rome*, before King *Henry* the 2d. becauſe of the murther of *Thomas Becket*, being thereunto compelled by Pope *Alexander* the third? And alſo in *France* the like prohibitions were expreſly made by *Ludovicus Pius*, *Anno* 1268. which did forbid by a publick inſtrument called *Pragmatica ſanctio*, all exactions of the Popes Court within this Realm. Alſo by King *Philip* named *Le bel*, *Anno* 1296. the like was done, which not only reſtrained all ſending or going up of his Subjects to *Rome*, but alſo, that no Money, Armour, nor Subſidy ſhould be tranſported out of his Realm. The like alſo after him did King *Charles* the fifth, ſirnamed the wiſe, and his Son likewiſe after him *Charles* the ſixth, who alſo puniſhed as Traytors certain ſeditious perſons for appealing to *Rome*. The like reſiſtance moreover was in the ſaid Country of *France*, againſt the Popes reſervations, preventions, and other like practices of his uſurped Juriſdiction in the days of Pope *Martin* the fifth, *Anno* 1418. *Item*, when King *Henry* the ſixth in *England*, and King *Charles* the ſeventh in *France*, did both accord with the Pope, in inveſting and in collation of Benefices: yet notwithſtanding the High Court of Parliament in *France* did not admit the ſame, but ſtill maintained the old liberty and cuſtoms of the *French* Church. Inſomuch that when the Duke of *Bedford* came with the Kings Letters Patents to have the Popes procurations and reſervations admitted, yet the Court of Parliament would not agree to the ſame, but the Kings Procurator General was faigne to go betwixt them, as is to be ſeen in their Regiſters, *Anno* 1425. the fifth day of *March*. In the days of the which King *Charles* the ſeventh, was ſet forth in *France*, *Pragmatica ſanctio*, as they call it, againſt the Annats, reſervations, expectatives, and ſuch other proceedings of the Popes pretended Juriſdiction, *Anno* 1438. Wherefore what marvel if this Juriſdiction of the Popes Court in Excommunicating, taking Appeals, and giving of Benefices, was not uſed in the

*Victor ſtopped from his Excommunication by Irenæus.*

*Boniface the firſt, falſifieth the Council of Nice.*

*The ſixth Council of Carthage.*

*Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.*

*Appellations to Rome forbidden in France.*

*Ex Amonio de geſtis Francorum, lib. 5. ca. 33.*

*The Popes juriſdiction reſiſted in France.*

*Pragmatica ſanctio.*

the old Church of *Rome*, whenas in these later days it hath been so much resisted.

The Popes Jurisdiction concerning elections examined.

And what should I speak of the form and manner of Elections now used in the Church of *Rome*, clean converted from the manner of the old Church of their Predecessors? For 1st. in those ancient days, whenas yet the Church remained in the Apostles only, and a few other Disciples, the Apostles then with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers, as by the Apostles, *James* was made Bishop of *Hierusalem*, *Paul* in *Creta* elected *Titus*, and *Timothy* in *Ephesus*. Also *Peter* ordained *Linus* and *Clement* in *Rome*, &c. After which time of the Apostles, when the Church began more to multiply, the election of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitive Church, till the time, and after the time of *Constantine* the fourth Emperor, which Emperor (as writeth *Platina* and *Sabellicus*, *Ene*[illegible]. *lib*. 6.) published a law concerning the election of the *Roman* Bishop, that he should be taken for true Bishop, whom the Clergy and People of *Rome* did choose and elect, without any tarrying for any authority of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, or the Deputy of *Italy*: so as the custom and fashion had ever been before that day, *Anno* 280. And here the Bishops began first to writhe out their elections and their necks a little from the Emperors subjection, if it be so as the said *Platina* and *Sabellicus* after him reporteth. But many conjectures there be, not unprofitable, rather to think this constitution of *Constantine* to be forged and untrue: First, for that it is taken out of the Popes bibliothecary, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and master of the Popes library, a suspected author, who whatsoever feigned Writings or Apocrypha he could find in the Popes Chests of Records, making any thing on his masters side: that he compiled together, and thereof both *Platina*, *Sabellicus*, and *Gratianus* take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected, &c.

Platina Sab. Enead 8. l. 6.

*Constantine* the fourth Emperor of *Constantinople*. The Popes bibliothecary suspected. The Constitution of *Constantine* the fourth Emperor of *Constantinople* examined.

Secondly, where *Platina* and *Sabellicus* say that *Constantine* moved with the holiness of Pope *Benedict* the first, made that constitution: how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the Emperour was so far off from him, being at *Constantinople*, and also for that the said Pope reigned but ten Months? which was but a small time to make his Holiness known to the Emperor so far off. And grant he were so holy, yet that holiness might rather be an occasion for the Emperor so to confirm and maintain the old received manner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third conjecture is this, for that the said constitution was not observed, but shortly after by the said *Benedict*, was broken in the election of Pope *Conon*. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the People, and limited to the Clergy only, and muchless might be taken away from the Clergy, and be limited only to the Cardinals, without the consent of their Prince and Ruler, according to their own Rubric in their Decrees, where the Rubric saith: *De ordinatione Episcopi: Nullus invitis detur Episcopus; cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & desiderium requiratur*, &c. That is: Let no Bishop be given to any People against their wills: but let the consent and desire both of the Clergy and of the People, and of the order, be also required, &c. And in the same distinction also, *cap. Sacrorum*, we read the same liberty and interest to be granted by *Carolus magnus*, and *Ludovicus* his Son, not to a few Cardinals only, but to the order as well of the Clergy, as of the people, to choose not only the Bishop of *Rome*, but any other Bishop within their own Diocess whatsoever, and to the Monks likewise to choose their own Abbot, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, only for the worthiness of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for Doctrine and Example unto the Flock, &c. And this continued till the time of the aforesaid *Carolus magnus* and *Ludovicus* his Son, *Anno* 810. of the which two, *Carolus* the father, received expresly of Pope *Adrian* the first, full jurisdiction and power to elect and ordain the Bishop of *Rome*, like as Pope *Leo* the ninth did also to *Otho* the first *German* Emperor, *Anno* 961. The other, that is *Ludovicus*, Son to the aforesaid *Charles*, is said to renounce again, and surrender from himself and his successors, unto Pope *Paschalis* and the *Romans*, the right and interest of choosing the *Roman* Bishop, and moreover to give and grant to the said *Paschalis* the full possession of the City of *Rome*, and the whole Territory to the same belonging, *Anno* 821. as appeareth by the Decree, *Ego Ludovicus*, *Dist*. 63. But admit that fained Decree to be unfeignedly true (as it may well be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountain, with the constitution of *Constantine* aforementioned, that is, from the master of the Popes Library, of whom both *Gratianus* and *Volateran*, by their own confession, take their ground) yet the same Decree doth not so give away the freedom of that election, that he limiteth it only to the Cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the *Romans*: neither doth he simply and absolutely give the same, but with condition: so that, *Omnes Romani uno consilio, & una concordia, sine aliqua promissione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent*: that is, Whom as all the *Romans* with one Council, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall choose to be Bishop of *Rome*. And moreover in the same decree is required, that at the consecration of the same Bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the *French* King concerning the same.

*Rubrica de ordinatione episc. ex Cælestino Papa Dist*. 63. *ca. Cleri. di*. 63. *ca. sacrorum*.

Liberty granted to the Clergy, and to the People to to choose their Bishop

*Carol. Mag. Ludov. pius*.

The decree, *Ego Ludovicus, dist*. 63. suspected.

*Gratianus* and *Volateranus*, what ground they have of their records.

*Dist*. 63. *cap. Ego Ludov*. Election of the Bishop of *Rome* standeth upon the consent of the Clergy, and the people of *Rome*.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same Decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope *Stephen* the fourth, and Pope *Paschalis* the first, in *Ludovicus* time were impapased through discord, without election of the Emperor, yet they were faine by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of *Eugenius* the second, which succeeded next to *Paschalis*, *Lotharius* son of *Ludovicus*, and Emperor with his father, came to *Rome*, and there appointed Laws and Magistrates over the City. Whereby may appear the donation of *Ludovike*, in giving away the City of *Rome* to the Pope, to be feigned. And after *Eugenius*, Pope *Gregory* the fourth, who following within a year after *Eugenius*, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said Emperour *Ludovicus*. And so in like manner his successors, Pope *Sergius* the second, Pope *Leo* the fourth, Pope *Nicholas* the first, and so orderly in a long tract of time, from the aforesaid *Nicholas* the first, to Pope *Nicholas* the second, *Anno* 1061. (which *Nicholas* in his decree, beginning, *In nomine Domini*, *dist*. 23. ordained also the same) so that in the election of the Bishops of *Rome*, commonly the consent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergy of Rome was not lacking After which *Nicholas*, came *Alexander* the second, and wicked *Hildebrand*, which *Alexander* being first elected without the Emperours will and consent, afterward repenting the same openly in his preaching to the People, declared that he would no longer sit in the Apostolical See, unless he were by the Emperour confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into Prison by *Hildebrand*, and so deposed. Then *Hildebrand* and his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the Emperour, then the Lay People, after that, the Clergy also began to be excluded. And so the election by little and little was reduced to the hands of a few Cardinals, contrary to all ancient order, where ever since it hath remained.

The decree *Ego Ludovi*. proved false

*Dist*. 23. *cap. In nomine Domini*.

And like as in elections, so also in power judiciary, in deciding, and determining of causes of faith, and of Ecclesiastical discipline, the state of the Church of *Rome* now being, hath no conformity with the old *Roman* Church heretofore. For then Bishops debated all causes of faith only by the Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical discipline they determined by the Canons, not of the Pope, but of the Church, such as were decreed by the Ancient Councils, as writeth *Gregor. Turonensis in Francorum historia*. Whereas now both the rule of Scripture, and sanctions of the old Councils set aside, all things for the most part are decided by certain new Decretal, or rather, Extradecretal and extravagant constitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his Consistories practised.

The judiciary power of the Pope examined.

*G. Turonens. in Fran. hist. li*. 10. *ca*. 18. The Popes Jurisdiction usurped in giving and disposing ecclesiastical promotions.

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the Common Law, as of the sacred Councils and Institution of Ancient Fathers, have given to Bishops, and other Prelates, also to Patrons and Doctors of Ecclesiastical Benefices, every one within his own Precinct and Dominion,

also to Cathedral Churches and other, to have their free Elections, and to proſecute the ſame in full effect, ordering and diſpoſing promotions, collations, proviſions and diſpoſitions of Prelacies, Dignities, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices whatſoever, after their own arbitrement, as appeareth by the firſt General Council of *France*, 16. *q.* 7. *cap. Omnes Baſilicæ*, by the firſt General Council of *Nice*, *cap.* 6. Alſo by the General Council of *Antioch*, *cap.* 9. and is to be ſeen in the Popes Decrees, 9. *q.* 3. *Per ſingulas.* And likewiſe beſide theſe ancient decrees, the ſame is confirmed again in more later years by *Ludovicus* the ninth *French* King, in his conſtitution, called *Pragmatica ſanctio*, made and provided by full Parliament againſt the Popes Exactions, in the year of our Lord 1228. in theſe words as follow. *Item exactiones & onera graviſſima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam Eccleſiæ regni noſtri impoſitas vel impoſita (quibus regnum miſerabiliter depauperatum exiſtit) ſive etiam imponendas vel imponenda levari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: niſi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & urgentiſſima cauſa, vel inevitabili neceſſitate, ac etiam de expreſſo, & ſpontaneo juſſu noſtro, & ipſius Eccleſiæ regni noſtri*, &c. that is, *Item*, all Exactions and importable burdens of money, which the Court of *Rome* hath laid upon the Church of our Kingdom (whereby our ſaid Kingdom hath been miſerably hitherto impoveriſhed) or hereafter ſhall impoſe or lay upon us, we utterly diſcharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter for any manner of cauſe, unleſs there come ſome reaſonable, godly, and moſt urgent and inevitable neceſſity; and that alſo not to be done without the expreſs and voluntary commandment of us, and of the Church of the ſame our forefaid Kingdom, &c. Now contrary to and againſt theſe ſo manifeſt and expreſs Decreements of General Councils and Conſtitutions Synodal, this later Church of *Rome* of late preſumption, degenerating from all the ſteps of their elders, have taken upon them a ſingular Juriſdiction by themſelves, and for their own advantage, to intermeddle in diſpoſing and tranſpoſing Churches, Colleges, Monaſteries, with the collations, exemptions, election, goods and lands to the ſame belonging, by reaſon and example whereof have come in theſe Impropriations, firſt fruits, and reſervations of Benefices, to the miſerable diſpoiling of Pariſhes, and horrible decay of Chriſtian faith, which things among the old *Roman* elders were never known. For ſo much then did it lack, that due neceſſities were pluckt from the Church, that Emperours, Kings and Princes plucking from their own, did rather cumulate the Church with ſuperfluities.

16. q. 7. cap. Omnes baſilicæ. The Council of Nice, ca. 6. The general Council of Antioch. c. 9. 9. q. 3. ca. Per ſingulas. Pragmatica ſanctio, Ludovici.

Impropriations and firſt fruits of Benefices

Again, when ſuch goods were given the Church by thoſe Anceſtors, they were neither ſo given, nor yet taken to ſerve the private uſe of certain Churchmen taking no pains therein, but rather to ſerve the publick ſubvention of the needy, as is contained in the Canonical Inſtitutions by the Emperour *Ludovicus Pius*, ſet forth in the year of the Lord, 380. The words be theſe: *Res Eccleſiæ vota ſunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum*: that is, The goods of the Church be the vows and bequeſts of the faithful, prices to ranſom ſuch as be in captivity or priſon, and patrimonies to ſuccour them with hoſpitality that be needy.

Inſtitutiones canonicæ ſub Ludov. Pio.

The words of Proſper.

Whereunto agreeth alſo the teſtimony of *Proſper*, whoſe words be theſe: *Viros ſanctos Eccleſiæ res non vendicaſſe ut proprias, ſed ut commendatas pauperibus diviſiſſe*: that is, good men took the goods of the Church, not as their own, but diſtributed them as given and bequeathed to the poor. And ſaith moreover: *Quod habet Eccleſia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune*: that is, Whatſoever the Church hath, it hath it common with all ſuch as have nothing, &c.

Aug. ad Bon.

Add the worthy teſtimony of *S. Auguſt. ad Bonifac. Si autem privatim, quæ nobis ſufficiant poſſidemus, non ſunt illa noſtra, ſed pauperum, quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis uſurpatione damnabili vendicamus*, &c.

Vowſons & pluralities of benefices.

Likewiſe Vowſons and pluralities of Benefices were things then as much unknown, as now they are pernitious to the Church, taking away all free election of Miniſters from the flock of Chriſt.

three points wherein the Popes Church erreth in his

All which inconveniences as they firſt came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and juriſdiction abuſed in this later Church of *Rome*: ſo it cannot be denied, but the ſaid later Church of *Rome* hath taken and attributed to it ſelf much more than either the limits of Gods Word do give, or ſtandeth with the example of the old *Roman* Church, in theſe three things eſpecial. Whereof as mention is touched before, ſo briefly I will recapitulate the ſame.

1. Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction fully reſtrained and impropriate to the Church of *Rome*, which ought to be generally equal to all Churches Chriſtian.

The firſt is this, that whatſoever the Scripture giveth and referreth, either to the whole Church univerſally, or to every particular Church ſeverally, this Church now of *Rome* doth arrogate to it ſelf abſolutely and only, both doing injury to other Churches, and alſo abuſing the Scriptures of God. For albeit, the Scripture doth give authority to bind and looſe, it limiteth it neither to perſon nor place, that is, neither to the City of *Rome* only, more than to other Cities, nor to the See of *Peter*, more than to other Apoſtles, but giveth it clearly to the Church, whereof *Peter* did bear the figure, ſo that whereſoever the true Church of Chriſt is, there is annexed power to bind and looſe, given and taken meerly as from Chriſt, and not mediately by the Pope or Biſhop of *Peter*'s See.

2. Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction abuſed and extended in the Church of *Rome* further than the Word limiteth.

The 2d point wherein this preſent Church of *Rome* abuſeth his Juriſdiction contrary to the Scripture and ſteps of the old *Roman* Church, is this, for that it extendeth his authority further and more amply, than either the warrant of the Word, or example of time will give. For although the Church of *Rome* hath (as other particular Churches have) authority to bind and abſolve, yet it hath no ſuch authority to abſolve Subjects from their Oath, Subjection and Loyalty to their Rulers and Magiſtrates, to diſpenſe with perjury, to denounce remiſſion where no earneſt repentance is ſeen before, to number remiſſion by days and years, to diſpenſe with things expreſly in the word forbidden, or to reſtrain that which the word maketh free, to divide Religion into Religions, to bind and burthen Conſciences with conſtitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters, as for breaking of Parks, for not ringing of Bells at the Biſhops coming, for not bringing litter for their horſe, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the Church goods, for holding on their Princes ſide in princely caſes, for not going at the Popes commandment, for not agreeing to the Popes Election in another Princes Realm, with other ſuch things more, and more vain than theſe, &c. Again, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the Biſhop and Church of *Rome*, to miniſter Sacraments: yet it giveth no authority to make Sacraments, much leſs to worſhip Sacraments. And though their authority ſerveth to baptiſe men, yet it extendeth not to chriſten Bells: neither have they authority by any Word of God to add to the Word of God, or take from the ſame, to ſet up unwritten verities under pain of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to inſtitute ſtrange worſhip, otherwiſe than he hath preſcribed which hath told us how he would be worſhipped, &c.

Chriſtening of Bells.

3. The Juriſdiction of the Pope abuſed and uſurped in temporal matters where he has nothing to do.

The third abuſe of the Popes Juriſdiction ſtandeth in this, that as in ſpiritual juriſdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, ſo they have impudently intermedled themſelves in temporal Juriſdiction, wherein they have nothing to do. Inſomuch that they have tranſlated their Empire, they have depoſed Emperors, Kings, Princes, Rulers, and Senators of *Rome*, and ſet up other, or the ſame again at their pleaſure, they have proclaimed Wars, and have warred themſelves. And whereas Emperours in ancient time have dignified them in titles, have enlarged them with donations, and they receiving their confirmation by the Emperours, have like ingrateful Clients to ſuch Benefactors, afterward ſtampt upon their Necks, have made them to hold their Stirrop, ſome to hold the Bridle of their Horſe, have cauſed them to ſeek their Confirmation at their hand; yea, have been Emperours themſelves, *Sede vacante, & in diſcordia electionis*, and alſo have been Senators of the City; moreover, have extorted into their own hands the plenary fulneſs of power and juriſdiction of both the Swords; eſpecially ſince the time of Pope *Hildebrand*; which *Hildebrand* depoſing *Henry* the 4th Emperor, made him give attendance at his City gate. And after him Pope *Boniface* the 8th. ſhewed himſelf to the People on the 1ſt day like a Biſhop, with his keyes before him, and the next day in his Robes Imperial, having a naked ſword born before him, like an Emperor, in the year of our Lord 1298. And for ſo much as this inordinate juriſdiction hath not only been uſed of them, but alſo to this day is maintained in *Rome*; let us therefore now compare for

uſage

uſage hereof to the old manner in times paſt, meaning the Primitive and firſt age of the Church of the *Romans*. Wherein the old Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe days, as they were then ſubject to their Emperor, ſo were other Biſhops in like manner of other Nations ſubject every one to his King and Prince, acknowleding them for their Lords, and were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their Laws, and that not only in cauſes Civil, but alſo in regiment Eccleſiaſtical, as appeareth, *Diſt.* 10. *cap.* 1. & 2. *Diſt.* 97. *cap. De illicita.*

Popes ſubmitted in the old time to Emperors. *Ex cap. de juramento calumniæ.*

Alſo, 24. *q.* 3. So was *Gregorius*, ſirnamed *Magnus*, ſubject to *Mauricius*, and to *Phocas*, although a wicked Emperor. So alſo both Pope and People of *Rome* took their Laws of the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and were ſubmitted to them, not only in the time of *Honorius* an hundred years after *Conſtantine* the great, but alſo in the time of *Martianus*, *Anno* 451. and ſo further unto the time of *Juſtinian* and of *Carolus Magnus*, and alſo after the days of them: in all which continuance of time, it is manifeſt, that the Imperial Law of *Martian* did rule and bind in *Rome*, both in the days of *Juſtinian*, and 150 years after, till the time of the Empire being tranſlated from *Greece* unto *France*. Whereby it may appear falſe, that the City of *Rome* was given by *Conſtantine* the firſt, unto the Biſhop of *Rome* to govern: for that Pope *Boniface* the firſt, writing to the Emperor *Honorius*, calleth in the ſame place *Rome* the Emperors City, *Diſt.* 97. *cap.* 1. And *Lotharius* alſo Emperor, appointed Magiſtrates and Laws in *Rome*, as is above mentioned. Moreover, for further probation hereof, that both the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all other Eccleſiaſtical perſons were in former time, and ought to be ſubject to their Emperors and lawful Magiſtrates, in cauſes as well Spiritual as Civil, by many evidences may appear, taken out both of Gods Law and mans law. And firſt by Gods Law, we have example of godly King *David*, who numbred all the Prieſts and *Levites*, and diſpoſed them into four and twenty orders or courſes, appointing them continually to ſerve in the Miniſtry, every one in his proper order and turn, as came about: which Inſtitution of the Clergy alſo, good King *Ezechias* afterward renewed, of whom it is written: *He did that which was right in the ſight of the Lord, according to all things as his father David had done before: he took away the high groves, and brake down Images, &c.* 4 *Reg.* 8. The ſaid *Ezechias* alſo reduced the Prieſts and *Levites* unto their orders preſcribed by *David* before, to ſerve every one in his office of miniſtration: 2 *Paralip.* 30. 31. And this order from *David* ſtill continued till the time of *Zachary*, at the coming of Chriſt our Lord, being of *Abias* courſe, which was the eighth order of the Prieſts appointed to ſerve in the Tabernacle, *Luke* 1. To paſs over other lighter offices as tranſlated from the Prieſts to Kings authority, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the Temple, and reparations of the Lords Houſe, King *Solomon* diſplaced *Abiathar* the High-Prieſt by his Kingly Power, and placed *Sadoch* in his ſtead: 3 *Reg. cap.* 6. Alſo dedicating the Temple of the Lord with all the People, *bleſſed the whole Congregation of Iſrael*, 3 *Reg.* 8. *Judas Machabeus* alſo elected Prieſts, ſuch as being without ſpot, had a zeal to the Law of the Lord, to purge the Temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had before prophaned, 1 *Mac.* 4.

*Diſt.* 97. *c.* 1.

*Plat. in vita Euge.* 2. Evidences proving Eccleſiaſtical perſons to have been ſubject to their Magiſtrates in cauſes both Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal. Evidences out of the Scripture. *David.* 1 *Par. c.* 30. 31. *Ezechias.* 4 *Reg.* 8.

The order of *Abias* was the 8th. order among the Prieſts. 1 *Par.* 24.

*Solomon.*

*Judas Machabeus.*

1 *Mac.* 10. 1 *Mac.* 14. *Joſaphat.*

Alſo King *Alexander* witing to *Jonathas*, appointed him chief Prieſt in his Country, 1 *Mac.* 10. *Demetrius* ordained *Simon* and *Alchimus* in the like office of Prieſthood. *Joſaphat* likewiſe as in the whole Land did ſet Judges: ſo alſo in *Jeruſalem* he appointed Levites and Prieſts, and Heads of Families to have the hearing of cauſes, and to miniſter judgment over the People: 2 *Paral.* 19. By theſe and many other is to be ſeen, that Kings and Princes in the old time, as well when Prieſts were born Prieſts, as when they were made by election, had the dealing alſo in Eccleſiaſtical matters, as in calling the People to Gods ſervice, in cutting down groves, in deſtroying Images, in gathering Tithes into the Lords Houſe, in dedicating the Temple, in bleſſing the People, in caſting down the brazen Serpent within the Temple, in correcting and depoſing Prieſts, in conſtituting the order and offices of Prieſts, in commanding ſuch things as pertained to the ſervice and worſhip of God, and in puniſhing the contrary, *&c.* And in the New Teſtament, what meaneth the example of Chriſt himſelf, both giving and teaching Tribute to be given to *Ceſar*? to *Ceſar* I ſay, and not to the High-Prieſt. What meaneth his words to *Pilate*, not denying power to be given to him from above? *John* 19.

2 *Par.* 19.

And again, declaring the Kings of Nations to have dominion over them, and willing his Diſciples not ſo to do, giving us to underſtand the difference between the regiment of his ſpiritual Kingdom, and of the Kingdoms of this World, willing all worldly ſtates to be ſubject under the ſuperior Rulers and Magiſtrates, in whoſe regiment is dominion and ſubjection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth alſo the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, where it is written: *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers*, under whoſe obedience, neither Pope, Cardinal, Patriarch, Biſhop, Prieſt, Frier nor Monk is excepted nor exempted: as *Theophylactus* expounding the ſame place declareth and ſaith, *Univerſos erudit; ſive Sacerdos ſit ille, ſive Monachus, ſive Apoſtolus, ut ſe principibus ſubdant*: that is, He teacheth all ſorts, whether he be Prieſt, or Monk, or elſe Apoſtle, that they ſhould ſubmit themſelves under their Princes, *&c.* And S. *Auguſtine* writing *ad Bonifacium* ſaith in much like ſort: *Quicunque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare noluit, acquirit grande ſupplicium*: that is, Whoſoever refuſeth to obey the Laws of the Emperor, which make for the verity of God, incurreth the danger of great puniſhment, *&c.* Alſo in another place, writing *contra Creſconium*, hath theſe words, *In hoc enim reges, ſicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo ſerviunt, in quantum reges, ſi in ſuo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolum quæ pertinent ad humanam ſocietatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem, &c.* that is, Kings according as it is enjoyned them of God, do ſerve God in that they are Kings, if they in their Kingdoms command thoſe things that be good, and forbid things that be evil, ſuch as appertain not only to human ſociety, but alſo to Gods Religion, *&c.* And yet to come more near to the Popes own Doctors, *Thomas Aquine* not much diſcrepant from the injunction of the Apoſtle above alledged, thus deſcribeth the office of a King, *Hoc, inquit, officium Rex ſe ſuſcepiſſe cognoſcat, ut ſit in regno ſicut in corpore anima, & ſicut Deus in mundo, &c.* Let a King (ſaith he) underſtand, that he hath taken this office upon him to be as the ſoul within the body, and as God in the World. In like agreement with the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul*, joyneth alſo St. *Peter*: *Be you ſubject* (ſaith he) *to every humane creature, whether it be to the King as moſt preeminent, or to other ſet over you, &c.* Where the common gloſs addeth thereto, *To obey the ſame, whether they be good or evil.* Theſe places rightly pondered, let any man now judge, whether the Pope hath done open wrong to the Emperor, in ſurpriſing above the juriſdiction of his lawful Prince and Magiſtrate, notwithſtanding whatſoever his own Canon Law ſaith to the contrary.

*Aug. ad Bonifacium.*

*Aug. contra Creſconium lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.

*Thom. de Regim. princip. lib.* 1. *c.* 3.

1 *Peter* 2.

And as it is ſufficiently hitherto proved by Gods Law, that all Eccleſiaſtical perſons owe their due ſubjection to their lawful Princes, in matters as well temporal as ſpiritual: ſo no leſs evidences may alſo be inferred out of mans Law, and examples of the oldeſt Fathers to prove the ſame. And firſt to begin with the example of *Gregory* the great, who in his Epiſtle to *Mauritius* writeth thus, *Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: ecce per me ſervum ultimum ſuum & veſtrum reſpondebit Chriſtus, &c.* that is, You were then my Lord, when you were not the Lord of the whole Empire: behold Chriſt himſelf ſhall make you anſwer by me, which am his moſt ſimple ſervant and yours, *&c.* And before him *Eleutherus* his Predeceſſor, Biſhop of *Rome*, writing to *Lucius*, King of this Realm, calleth him by the name of Chriſts Vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the Popes Decrees and Canons be full of Records hereof, teſtifying how the ancient Church of *Rome*, not only received, but alſo required of the Emperors, Laws and Conſtitutions to be made, touching not only ſuch cauſes, but alſo ſuch perſons as were Eccleſiaſtical? And here to omit by the way the chapter, *Principes ſeculi*, alſo Chapter *Adminiſtratores*, 23, *quæſt.* 5. with divers other beſide, I will recite out of the Epiſtle of *Boniface* the firſt, to the Emperor *Honorius*, ſo much as ſerveth for our purpoſe, written *Diſt. cap.* 92 *Eccleſiæ, cap. Victor.* Where it is mentioned, that the ſaid *Bonifacius* Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent an humble ſupplication to the forenamed Emperor, deſiring him by his authority, to provide ſome

*Greg. ad Mauric. Aug. lib.* 3. *epiſt.* 61.

The Pope calleth King *Lucius* Chriſts vicar.

23. *q. ca.* 5. *principes cap Adminiſtratores. Diſt.* 97. *cap. Eccleſiis, ca. Victor.*

remedy

remedy againſt the ambitious contentions of the Clergy, concerning the Biſhoprick of *Rome*. Which Emperour *Honorius* incontinent at his requeſt, directed and eſtabliſhed a Law, that none ſhould be made Biſhop of *Rome* through ambition, charging all Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters to ſurceaſe from ambition; appointing moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them both ſhould be taken, but the election to proceed further to another to be choſen by a full conſent of voices, as is expreſſed, *Diſt. 79. cap. Si duo.*

*Diſt. 79. ca. Si duo.*

To this I adjoyn alſo the Law and Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, ratified and renewed afterward in the Council of *Paris*, in time of King *Ludovicus Pius*. Where all Biſhops and Prieſts be expreſly forbidden not to Excommunicate any man, before his cauſe was known and proved to be ſuch, as for the which the ancient Canons of the Church would have him to be Excommunicate. And if any ſhould otherwiſe proceed contrary to the ſame, then the Excommunicate perſon to be abſolved by the authority of an higher decree, and the Excommunicate to be ſequeſtred from the Communion, ſo long as ſhould ſeem convenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expreſſed, 24. *q.* 3. *De illicita*. The ſame *Juſtinian* moreover in his Laws and Conſtitutions, how many things did he diſpoſe and ordain in Church-matters, as to have a determinate number of Church-men or Clerks in Churches, *Conſt.* 3. Alſo concerning Monaſteries and Monks, *Conſt.* 5. how Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould be ordained, *Conſt.* 6. concerning removing of Eccleſiaſtical perſons from one Church to another. Alſo concerning the conſtitution of the Churches in *Africk*. And that the holy myſteries ſhould not be done in private houſes: ſo that whoſoever ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be deprived, *Conſt.* 57. Moreover, concerning Clerks leaving their Churches, *Conſt.* 58. Alſo concerning the order and manner of Funerals *Conſt.* 59. And that Biſhops ſhould not keep from their Flock, *Conſt.* 67. The ſame *Juſtinian* granted to the Clergy of *Conſtantinople* the priviledge of the ſecular Court, in caſes only civil, and ſuch as touched not the diſturbance of the Biſhop: otherwiſe in all criminal Cauſes he left them to the judgment of the ſecular Court, *Conſt.* 83. He giveth alſo Laws and Decrees for breach of Matrimony, *Conſt.* 117. and in divers others places. And in his *Conſt.* 123. after the Doctrine of S. *Paul*, he commandeth all Biſhops and Prieſts to ſound out their ſervice, and to celebrate the myſteries, not after a ſecret manner, but with a loud voice, ſo as they might not only be heard, but alſo be underſtood of the faithful people, what was ſaid and done. Whereby it is to be gathered, that Divine Prayers and Service then, was in the vulgar Tongue.

*24. q. 3. cap. De illicita.*

*Ex Novel 5. Juſtiniani.*

Divine Service uſed in the vulgar tongue.

And as the ſaid *Juſtirian*, and other Emperors in thoſe days had the Juriſdiction and Government over ſpiritual matters and perſons, the like examples alſo may be brought of other Kings in other Lands, who had no leſs authority in their Realms, than Emperours had in their Empire. As in *France*, *Clodoveus* the firſt chriſtened King at *Orleance*, cauſed a Council of thirty three Biſhops, where thirty three Canons were inſtituted concerning the government of the Church, within two hundred years after Chriſt: *Ex primo tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus*, beſide his other Laws and Edicts, political, called five Synods, one at *Mentz*, the ſecond at *Rome*, the third at *Rhemes*, the fourth at *Cabilone*, the fifth at *Arelate*, where ſundry Rites and Ordinances were given to the Clergy, about eight hundred and ten years after Chriſt. The ſame *Carolus* alſo decreed, that only the Canonical books of Scripture ſhould be read in the Church, and none other. Which before alſo was decreed *Anno* 417. in the third general Council of *Carthage*. *Item*, he exhorteth and chargeth Biſhops and Prieſts to Preach the Word, with a godly Injunction: *Epiſcopi vero ut ſive per ſe, ſive per vicarios, pabulum verbi divini ſedulo populis annuncient. Quia, ut ait beatus* Gregorius, *iram contra ſe occulti judicis excitat ſacerdos, ſi ſine prædicationis ſonitu incedit. Et ut ipſi clerum ſibi commiſſum in ſobrietate & caſtitate nutriant, Superſtitiones quas quibuſdam in locis in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent*: that is, The Biſhops either by themſelves, or their Deputies, ſhall ſhew forth the food of Gods Word to the people with all diligence. For as *Gregory* ſaith, the Prieſt procureth againſt him the wrath of the ſecret Judge, which goeth without the ſound of preaching. And alſo that they bring up their Clergy to them committed, in ſoberneſs and chaſtity. The ſuperſtition which in certain places is uſed of ſome, about the Funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and pluck up by the roots, &c.

Clodoveus.

*Conſtitutiones Aurelienſ. Carolus magnus.*

Canonical Scripture only to be read in Church. *Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 47.*

Biſhops and Prieſts charged to preach with diligence.

Superſtition at funerals forbidden. *Ex Anſegiſo abbate lib. 1. cap. 76.*

Moreover, inſtructing and informing the ſaid Biſhops and Prieſts in the office of preaching, willing them not to ſuffer any to ſain or preach to the people any new Doctrine of their own invention, and not agreeing to the Word of God, but that they themſelves both will preach ſuch things as lead to eternal life, and alſo that they ſet up other to do the ſame: and joyneth withal a godly exhortation. *Ideo, dilectiſſimi, toto corde præparemus nos in ſcientia veritatis, & mox: Ut divina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & creſcat, & multiplicetur, in profectum Eccleſiæ Dei ſanctæ, & ſalutem animarum noſtrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, Amen.* Furthermore, the ſaid *Carolus* in his Conſtitutions divideth the goods given to the Church &c. that in the more wealthy places, two parts ſhould go to the uſe of the poor, the third to the ſtipend of the Clergy. Otherwiſe in poorer places an equal diviſion to be made between the poverty and the Clergy, unleſs the gift had ſome ſpecial exception. *Ex Anſegiſo, lib. 1. cap.* 80. And in the ſame book a little after, *cap.* 83. the Author declareth, by the ſaid *Carolus* to be decreed, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon or perſons from thenceforth ſhould preſume to take of any perſon, any ſuch gift or donation, whereby the Children or Kinſfolks of the ſaid Donor ſhould be defeated of their Inheritance duly to them belonging. *Ludovicus Pius* King of *France*, and after Emperour, was Son to the foreſaid *Charles*, who being joyned together with the ſaid *Charles* his father in the Empire, ordained alſo with his father ſundry Acts and Obſervances touching the government of the Church, as in the Author before alledged may appear. As firſt, that no entry ſhould be made into the Church by Simony: again, that Biſhops ſhould be ordained by the free election of the Clergy and of the people, without all reſpect of perſon or reward, only for the merit of life, and gift of heavenly Wiſdom.

Ludovicus Pius.

*Ex Anſ. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

Alſo the ſaid Kings and Emperours forbad that any freeman or Citizen ſhould enter the profeſſion of Monkery, without licence asked of the King before: and added a double cauſe wherefore. Firſt, for that many not for meer devotion, but for idleneſs, and avoiding the Kings Wars, do give themſelves to Religion: again, for that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by ſubtil covetous perſons ſeeking to get from that which they have, *Lib. 1. cap.* 114. *ibidem. Item*, that no young children or boys ſhould be ſhaven, or enter any Profeſſion without the will of their Parents. And no young Maidens ſhould take the vail or profeſſion of a Nun, before ſhe came to ſufficient diſcretion of years to diſcern and chooſe what they will follow. That none ſhould be entered or buried thenceforth within the Church: which alſo was decreed by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinianus*, forty years before them. *Item*, the ſaid *Carolus*, two and twenty years before this Emperour, enacted that Murtherers and ſuch as were guilty of death by the Law, ſhould have no ſanctuary by flying into the Church, &c. which alſo was decreed by *Juſtinian* three hundred years before this *Carolus*. *Ex novel. Juſtinian.*

*Lib. 2. C. de ſacro Eccle. Juſtin. in Novel.*

Moreover, the aforeſaid *Ludovicus Pius*, with his Son *Clotharius* (or as ſome call him, *Lotharius*) joyned with him, among other Eccleſiaſtical Sanctions, ordained a godly Law, for Lay-men to communicate the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord in theſe words: *Ut ſi non frequentius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: niſi forte gravioribus quibuſdam criminibus impediantur*: That Lay-men do communicate at leaſt thrice, if not oftener, except they be let percaſe by ſome more have hainous and grievous offences. *Anſeg. lib. 2. cap.* 43. *Item*, they enacted that no goods of the Church ſhould be alienated under the pain *Leoninæ conſtitutionis*. Unto this *Lotharius*, *French* King and Emperour, Pope *Leo* the fourth writeth that *Romana lex*, that is, the *Roman* Law, (meaning the Law of the *French* Emperours) as it hath hitherto ſtood in force: *Ita & nunc ſuum robur proprumque vigorem obtineat*, that is, So now it may continue ſtill in its vigour and ſtrength. *Ino Carnotenſis, lib.* 11. *Decretorum*. About the year of the Lord, 848. after this *Lotharius*, ſucceeded his Son *Ludovicus* the ſecond, in the Kingdom and Empire of *France*, before

Ludovicus and Clotharius.

*Anſeg. lib. 2. cap. 43.*

Clodovicus II.

*Ex Inno. Caruſenſis lib. decretorum.*

The Pope pleadeth his cauſe at the Bar before the Emperor. 2 queſt. 6. Hoſti incontinenter. Ludovicus 9.

before whom the foreſaid Pope *Leo* was brought into judgment, and pleaded his cauſe of Treaſon, and there was before the Emperour quit and releaſed. Which declareth that Popes and Biſhops all this while were in ſubjection under their Kings and Emperours.

Moreover, deſcending yet to lower times. *Anno* 1228. *Ludovicus* the Ninth, called holy. *Ludovike*, made a Law againſt the peſtiferous Simony in the Church; alſo for the maintenance of the liberty of the Church of *France*, eſtabliſhed a Law or Decree, againſt the new Inventions, Reſervations, Preventions, and Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, called *Pragmatica ſanctio, S. Ludovici*, the which Sanction was alſo practiſed long after in the Kingdom of *France* againſt the Popes Collectors and under-Collectors, as appeareth by the *Areſtum* of the Council of *Paris*, *Anno* 1463. *Ex Molinæo in Commentariis.* Furthermore, King *Philip le Bel.* 1303. ſet forth a Law, called *Philippina*, wherein was forbidden any exaction of new tythes and firſt fruits, and other unaccuſtomed collections to be put upon the Church of *France*. *Carolus* the fifth, named *Sapiens*. *Anno* 1369. by a Law, commanded that no Biſhops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his Kingdom of *France*, ſhould execute any cenſure of ſuſpenſe, or Excommunication, at the Popes commandment, over or upon the Cities or Towns, Corporations, or Commons of his Realm. *Ex regiſt. antiquarum conſtat chart.* 26. *Item Carolus* the ſixth, *Anno* 1388. againſt the Cardinals and other Officials, and Collectors of the Pope, revoking again the power which he had given to them before provided by a Law, that the fruits and rents of Benefices, with other penſions, and Biſhops goods that departed, ſhould no more be exported by the Cardinals and the Popes collectors unto *Rome*, but ſhould be brought to the King, and ſo reſtored to them to whom they did rightly appertain.

*Pragmatica ſanctio, S. Ludovici. Areſtum Senatus Pariſien. ex Molineo. Philippus Pulcher. Carolus Sapiens.* *Carolus 6.*

The like alſo may be inferred and proved by the ſtories and examples of our Kings here in *England*, as King *Offa*, King *Egbertus*, *Edgarus*, *Aluredus*, *Athelwoldus*, *Canutus*, *Edwardus*, *William the Conquerer*, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the firſt, *Henry* the ſecond, till the time of King *John* and after. Whoſe dealing as well in Eccleſiaſtical caſes as Temporal, is a ſufficient demonſtration to prove what injury the Popes in theſe latter days have done unto the Emperours, their lawful Governors and Magiſtrates: in uſurping ſuch fulneſs of power and juriſdiction over them, to whom properly they owe ſubjection, contrary to the ſteps and example of the old *Roman* Biſhops their Anceſtors: and therefore have incurred the danger of a *Premunire*, worthy to be deprived. Although it is not to be denied, but that Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters and Servitors have their power alſo committed unto them, after their ſort, of the Lord: yet it becometh every man to know his own place and ſtanding, and there to keep him, wherein his own precinct doth pale him, and not raſhly to break out into other mens walks. As it is not lawful for a civil Magiſtrate to intermeddle with a Biſhops or a Preachers Function: ſo unſeemly and unorderly it is again, that *Boniface* the eighth ſhould have born before him the temporal Mace and naked Sword of the Emperour: or that any Pope ſhould bear a triple Crown, or take upon him like a Lord and King. Wherefore let every man conſider the compaſs and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a Biſhop or ſervitor Eccleſiaſtical was in the old Law to offer ſacrifice, to burn incenſe, to pray for the people, to expound the Law, to miniſter in the Tabernacle, with which office it was not lawful for any Prince or man elſe to intermeddle: as we read how *Joſias* was puniſhed for offering incenſe, and another for touching the Ark: ſo now the office of Chriſtian Miniſters, is, to preach the Word, to miniſter the Sacraments, to pray, to bind and looſe, where cauſe urgently requireth, to judge the ſpiritual caſes, to publiſh and denounce free reconciliation and remiſſion in the name of Chriſt, to erect and comfort troubled Conſciences, with the rich grace of the Goſpel, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the Law and the Goſpel, whereof the one belongeth to ſuch as be not in Chriſt, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true believers in the Son of God: to admoniſh alſo the Magiſtrates erring or tranſgreſſing in their office, &c.

The office of the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter.

And as theſe properly belong to the Function of the Eccleſiaſtical ſort: ſo hath the civil Governor or Magiſtrate again his proper charge and office to him aſſigned, which is, to ſee the adminiſtration of juſtice and judgment, to defend with power the right of the weak that ſuffer wrong, to defend from oppreſſion the poor oppreſſed, to miniſter with equity that which is right and equal to every man, to provide Laws good and godly, to ſee the execution of the ſame as cauſe moveth: eſpecially to ſee the Law of God maintained, to promote Chriſts Glory and Goſpel, in ſetting up and ſending out good Preachers, in maintaining the ſame, in providing Biſhops to be elected that be faithful, in removing or elſe correcting the ſame being faulty or negligent, in congregating the Clergy, when need is of any counſel or election, to hear their learning in cauſes propounded, and according to the truth learned, to direct his judgment in diſpoſing ſuch Rites and Ordinances for the Church, as make to edification, not to the deſtruction thereof: in conſerving the diſcipline of the Church, and ſetting all things in a congruous order. Briefly, the office of the civil Ruler and Magiſtrate, extendeth to miniſter juſtice and judgment in all Courts, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal: to have correction over all Tranſgreſſors, whether they be Lay-men or perſons Eccleſiaſtical. And finally, all ſuch things as belong to the moving of the Sword whatſoever, that is to ſay, all outward puniſhment is referred to the juriſdiction of the ſecular Magiſtrate, under whoſe ſubjection the Ordinance of God hath ſubjected all Orders and States of men.

The office of civil Rulers and Magiſtrates.

Here we have the witneſs alſo of *Hormiſda*, Biſhop of *Rome*, which being well weighed, maketh the matter plain, that Princes have to deal in ſpiritual cauſes alſo, not only in temporal: where the ſaid *Hormiſda* writeth to *Epiphanius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in this ſort: *Clara cœleſtis miſericordiæ demonſtratio procedit, quando reges ſeculi cauſas de fide cum gubernatione politiæ conjungunt. &c. ex Act. v. univerſ. concil. Conſtantini ſecundi. Anno* 528. And thus much and too much peradventure concerning the matter of juriſdiction, in which point this new Church of *Rome* hath ſwerved from the ancient Church of *Rome* which was, as is ſufficiently proved.

The third point wherein the Church of *Rome* is altered from the Church of *Rome*. The titles and ſtiles of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

THe third point wherein the Church of *Rome* hath broken, and is departed from the Church of *Rome*, is the form of ſtile and title annexed to the Biſhop of that See. As where he is called Pope, moſt holy Father, Vicar general, and Vicar of Chriſt, ſucceſſor of *Peter*, univerſal Biſhop, Prince of Prieſts, Head of the Church univerſal, *Summus orbis Pontifex*, *Stupor mundi*, head Biſhop of the World, the admiration of the World, neither God nor man, but a thing between both, &c. for all theſe terms be given him in Popiſh books. Albeit the name Pope, being a *Greek* name, derived of πάππας, which ſoundeth as much as Father in the *Syracuſane* Speech, may peradventure ſeem more tolerable, as which hath been uſed in the old time among Biſhops; for ſo *Auſtin* was called of the Council of *Aphrick*, *Hierome* of *Boniface* and others. Alſo *Cyprian* Biſhop of *Carthage* was called *Papa* 24. *q.* 1. *cap. loquitur & diſt.* 50. *cap. De eo tamen. Item Clodoveus* or (as *Rhenanus* calleth him) *Ludovicus*, firſt Chriſtian King of *France*, calleth a certain ſimpler Biſhop, *Papam. Hierome* alſo in his Epiſtle to *Chromatius*, calleth *Valerianus* by the name of Pope: and likewiſe writing to *Euſtathius* and *Fabiola*, he calleth *Epiphanius*, *Beatum Papam*. In the Apologies of *Athanaſius*, we read oftentimes that he was called *Papa*, and *Archiepiſcopus*. *Ruffinus* alſo *lib.* 2. *cap.* 26. calleth him *Pontificem maximum*. Alſo *Aurelius* Prefident in the ſixth Council of *Carthage*, was called of the ſaid Council *Papa, ex cap.* 4. *vj. Concil. Carthag.* And before this, *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, writing to King *Lucius*, the firſt Chriſtian King in this Land, calleth him in his Epiſtle, the Vicar of Chriſt, &c. But that any of theſe terms were ſo peculiarly applied to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that other Biſhops were excluded from the ſame, or that any one Biſhop above the reſt had the name of Oecumenical, or univerſal, or head, to the derogation of other Biſhops, or with ſuch glory as is now annexed to the ſame: that is not to be found neither in Hiſtories of the old time, nor in any example of the Primitive Church, nor in the teſtimonies of ancient approved Doctors. Firſt, before the Council of *Nice*, it is evident by Pope *Pius* the ſecond, that there was no reſpect had to the Church of *Rome*, but every Church then was ruled by her own governance, till the year of our Lord, 340. Then followed the Council of *Nice*, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole Univerſity of

*24. q. 1. cap. Loquitur. Diſt. 50. cap. De eo tamen.* Papa, a common name in the old time to all Biſhops of higher knowledge and vertue. *Hieronymus ad Chromatium, Epiſt. Idem ad Euſtathium & Fabiolam.*

*Ex Epiſt. Pii ſecundi.* 103.

Chriſts

Chriſts Church, which was now far ſpread over all the world, certain Provinces or Precincts, to the number of four, were appointed, every one to have his head Church, and chief Biſhop, called them Metropolitan or Patriarch, to have the overſight of ſuch Churches as did lie about him. In the number of which Patriarchs or Metropolitans, the Biſhop of *Rome* had the firſt place, the Biſhop of *Alexandria* was the ſecond, the Biſhop of *Antioch* the third, the Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* was the fourth Patriarch. Afterward, in the number of theſe Patriarchs came in alſo the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in the room of the Biſhop of *Antioch*. So theſe four or five Metropolitans or Patriarchs, had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in ſuch ſort, as one of them ſhould not deal within an others precinct, and alſo that there ſhould be among them equality of honour, whereupon we read ſo oft in the decrees of the old counſels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῶν θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς, that is, Equal degree of Thrones, and of honour among Prieſts and Miniſters. Again, ſpeaking of the ſaid Patriarchs or Primats, we read in the ſecond and third chapter of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, ἐπισκόπους τοὺς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, that is, That Biſhops ſhould not invade the Dioceſſe of other Biſhops without their borders, nor confound together Churches, &c. Moreover, the old Doctors for the moſt and beſt part, do accord in one ſentence, that all Biſhops placed whereſoever in the Church of God, be *Ejuſdem meriti & honoris & ſucceſſores Apoſtolorum*, that is, To be of one merit, of like honour, and all to be ſucceſſors together of the Apoſtles. Alſo, he that is the Authour of the Book called *Dionyſius Areopagita*, calleth all the Biſhops ὁμοταγεῖς, καὶ ἰσοτίμους, that is, Of equal order, and of like honour, &c. All this while the Biſhop of *Rome* was a Patriarch, and a Metropolitan or Biſhop called of the firſt See, but no Oecumenical Biſhop, nor head of the univerſal Church, nor any ſuch matter. In ſo much, that he, with all other Biſhops, was debarred from that, by a plain decree of the Council of *Carthage*, *Can.* 39. in theſe words, ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ποτε; that is, That the Biſhop of the firſt Seat ſhall not be called the Prince of Prieſts, or the High Prieſt, or any ſuch thing,

*The four Patriarchs appointed by the Council of Nice. Ex Concil. Nicen. Ex Concil. Conſtantinop. cap. 36.*

*Ex Concil. Conſtan. 2. cap. 36.*

*Ex Concil. Conſtan. cap. 2, 3.*

*Ex Concil. Carthag. Can. 39.*

And leſt any here ſhould take occaſion of cavelling, to hear him called Biſhop of the firſt Seat, here is to be expounded what is meant by the firſt Seat, and wherefore he was ſo called: not for any dignity of the perſon, either of him which ſucceedeth, or of him whom he is ſaid to ſucceed, but only of the place wherein he ſitteth. This is plainly proved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, *cap.* 28. Wherein is manifeſtly declared the cauſe why the See of *Rome* among all other Patriarchal Sees is numbred for the firſt See by the ancient Fathers: For why, ſaith the Council, καὶ γὰρ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα; that is, For that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chief degree of honour to the See of old *Rome*, becauſe the principal reign or empery was in that City, &c. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, declaring, *Quod excellentia* Romani *Imperii extulit papatum Rom. pontificis ſupra alias Eccleſias*; That the excellency of the *Roman* Empery did advance the Popedom of the *Roman* Biſhop above other Churches, &c. *Ex Gab. Biel.* Moreover, ſaith the ſaid *Cæſarienſis*; *Nicena Synodus hoc contulit privilegium Rom. pontifici, ut ſicut* Romanorum *Rex* Auguſtus *præ cæteris appellatur, ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris Epiſcopis Papa vocaretur*. That is, The Council (ſaith he) of *Nice* gave this priviledge to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that like as the King of the *Romans* is named Emperor above all other Kings, ſo the Biſhop of the ſame City of *Rome* ſhould be called Pope above other Biſhops, &c. By theſe places hitherto alledged (and ſuch other, many more than be here alledged) it appeareth, that though theſe Titles of Superiority had been attributed to the Biſhop of *Rome*: yet it remaineth certain, that the ſaid Biſhop received that preferment, *Jure non divino, ſed humano*, by mans law, not by the Law of God. And ſo is the diſtinction of the Popes proved falſe, where is ſaid: *Romanam Eccleſiam non a conſilio aliquo, ſed a divina voce primatum accepiſſe*, That the Church of *Rome* took not his primacy by any Council, but only by the voice of God. And this is to be ſaid, although it were true that theſe titles and terms were ſo given to the Biſhop of *Rome* in the old time: yet how and by whom they were given, ye ſee. Now to try this matter, as joyning an iſſue with our Adverſaries, whether theſe foreſaid Titles of Soveraignty were applied in the old time of the primitive Church to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as to be called the Vicar general of Chriſt, the head of the whole Church, and univerſal Biſhop, remaineth to be proved. Whereunto this in my mind is to be anſwered. that albeit the Biſhops of *Rome* (of ſome peradventure) were ſo called by the names of higher preeminence) of that City, of ſome going about to pleaſe them, or to crave ſome help at their hands: yet that calling, 1. Was uſed then but of a few. 2. Neither was given to many. 3. Was rather given than ſought for, of the moſt. 4. Was not ſo given that it maketh or can make any general neceſſity of Law why every one is ſo bound to call them, as the Biſhop of *Rome* now ſeeketh to be taken and called, and that by neceſſity of Salvation, as the decree of Pope *Boniface* the eighth witneſſeth, where is ſaid, *Quod ſit de neceſſitate ſalutis ut credatur primatus Eccleſiæ Rom. & ei ſubeſſe*: That it ſtandeth upon neceſſity of ſalvation, to believe the primacy of the Church of *Rome*, and to be ſubject to the ſame, &c.

*Ex Concil. Calcedon. cap. 38.*

*Ex Gabri. Biel. ſect. 25.*

*The Popes decree proved falſe.*

1\. 2. 3. 4.

*Boniface 8. Extravag. de majoritat. & obedient. cap. unam.*

As touching therefore theſe titles and terms of preeminence aforeſaid, orderly to ſet forth and declare what Hiſtories of times do ſay in that matter, by the Grace of Chriſt. First, we will ſee what be the Titles the Biſhop of *Rome* doth take and challenge to himſelf, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When they firſt came in, whether in the primitive time or not, and by whom. 3. How they were firſt given to the *Roman* Biſhops; that is, whether of neceſſary duty, or voluntary devotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few; and whether in reſpect of *Peter*, or in reſpect of the City, or elſe of the worthineſs of the Biſhop which there ſat. 4. And if the aforeſaid names were then given of certain Biſhops, unto the Biſhop of *Rome*: whether all the ſaid names were given or but certain, or what they were. 5. Or whether they were then received of all Biſhops of *Rome*, to whome they were given, or elſe refuſed of ſome. 6. And finally, whether they ought to have been refuſed being given, or not. Touching the diſcourſe of which matters, although it appertain to the profeſſion rather of Divines, than Hiſtorians, and would require a long and large debating: yet for ſo much as both in theſe, and divers other weighty Controverſies of divinity, the knowledge of times and Hiſtories muſt needs help Divines diſputing about the ſame, ſo much as the Grace of Chriſt ſhall aſſiſt me therein, I will joyn to the ſeeking out of truth ſuch help as I may.

1\. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

And firſt to begin with the Names and Titles now claimed and attributed to the See and Biſhop of *Rome*, and what they be, is ſufficiently declared above, that is, the *Chief Prieſt of the World*, The *Prince of the Church*, *Biſhop Apoſtolical*, The *univerſal Head of the Church*, The *Head and Biſhop of the Univerſal Church*, The *Succeſſor of* Peter, *Moſt holy Pope*, *Vicar of God on Earth*, *Neither God nor man, but a mixt thing between both*; The *Patriarch or Metropolitan of the Church of* Rome, The *Biſhop of the firſt See*, *&c.* Unto the which Titles or Stiles is annexed a triple Crown, a triple Croſſe, two croſſed Keys, a naked Sword, ſeven-fold Seals, in token of the ſeven-fold Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, he being carried pick-back upon mens ſhoulders, after the manner of the *Heathen* Kings, having all the Empire and the Emperor under his dominion: and that it is not convenient for any terrene Prince to Reign there, where he ſitteth, having the plenary fulneſs of power, as well of temporal things as ſpiritual things in his hands: that all things are his, and that all ſuch Princes as have given him any thing, have given him but his own, having at his will and pleaſure to preach Indulgences, and the Croſſe againſt Princes whatſoever: and that the Emperor and certain other Princes, ought to make to him confeſſion of ſubjection at their Coronation: having authority to depoſe, and that he *De facto*, hath depoſed Emperors and the King of *France*: alſo to abſolve the Subjects from their Allegiance to their Princes: whom Kings have ſerved for foot-men to lead his horſe and the Emperor to hold his ſtirrop; that he may and doth give power to Biſhops upon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to have Priſons; without whoſe Authority no general Council hath any force. And to whom Appellations in all manner of Cauſes may and ought to be made: That his

What names and titles be attributed to the Biſhop of Rome.

*Ex 6. decret. lib. 1. de elect. & electi poteſt. tit. 6. in cap. 17, in proœmio, gloſſ.*

The form of the Popes regality to his titles appertaining.

*Regalia ſancti Patri.*

Decrees

Decrees be equal with the decrees of the *Nicene Council*, and are to be obſerved and taken in no leſs force than if they had been confirmed with the heavenly voice of Saint *Peter* himſelf. *Ex fra. Barth. & aliis. Item*, that the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* hath the heavenly diſpoſition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the ſubſtance of one thing to another, *cap. Quando de tranſl. Epiſc. tit. 7. Item*, that he can of nothing make ſomething, and cauſe the ſentence, which before was none, to ſtand in effect: and may diſpenſe above the Law, and of injuſtice make juſtice, in correcting and changing Laws, for he hath the fulneſs of power. And again, *diſt. 40. cap. Si Papa*: If the Pope do lead with him innumerable Souls by flocks into Hell, yet no man muſt preſume to rebuke his faults in this World. *Item*, that it ſtandeth upon neceſſity of ſalvation to believe the primacy of the See of *Rome*, and to be ſubject to the ſame, &c.

*Ex frat. Barth. & alib.*

*Cap. quando de tranſl. & epiſc. tit. 7.*

*Diſt. 40. cap. Si Papa.*

These things thus declared, now let us ſee whether theſe names and titles, with the form and manner of this Authority and regality above rehearſed, were ever attributed to any in the primitive time of the Biſhop of *Rome*. For all theſe he doth challenge and claim unto him by old poſſeſſion from the time of Saint *Peter*. And here a queſtion is to be asked of our Adverſaries the Papiſts, Whether they will avouch all theſe aforeſaid titles, together with the whole form and tenour of regality to the ſame belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their Allegations, which they never have done yet, nor ever ſhall be able. If they will not, or cannot avouch them altogether in manner as is ſpecified, then why doth the Biſhop claim them all together ſo ſtoutly, uſurp them ſo falſely, and obtrude them upon us ſo ſtrictly? Moreover if the ſaid our Adverſaries, being convicted by plain evidence of Hiſtory, and example of time, will yield unto us (as they muſt needs) in part, and not in the whole; let us come then to the particulars, and ſee what part of this regality they will defend, and derive from the ancient cuſtom of the primitive Church, (that is, from the firſt five hundred years, I mean after Chriſt,) Firſt, in the Council of *Nice*, which was the year of our Lord, 340. and in the ſixth Canon of the ſaid Council, we find it ſo decreed: that in every Province or Precinct ſome one Church, and Biſhop of the ſame, was appointed and ſet up to have the inſpection and regiment of other Churches about him, *Secundum morem antiquum*; that is, After the ancient cuſtom, as the words of the Council do purport: ſo that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhould have power of *Libya*, and *Pentapolis* in *Egypt*, foraſmuch as the Biſhop of the City of *Rome* hath the like or ſame manner. And in like ſort alſo in *Antioch* and in other Countries; let every Church have his due honour, and conſequently that the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* have alſo his due honour to him reſerved, ſo that ſuch order be kept, that the Metropolian Cities be not defrauded of their dignity which to them is due and proper, &c. In this Council find in the ſame Canon ſixth and ſeventh, where the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, of *Rome*, and of *Antioch* are joyned together in one like manner of Dignity. Firſt, there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein. Secondly, forſomuch as in the ſaid two Canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no Biſhop ſhould be made without conſent of their Metropolitans, yea and that the City alſo of *Hieruſalem* ſhould be under his Metropolitan, and that the Metropolitan ſhould have the full power to confirm every Biſhop made in his Province: therefore it may be well ſuſpected, that the third Epiſtle Decretal of Pope *Anacletus*, and of Pope *Stephanus*, with other more, are forged, wherein theſe Biſhops, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *Rome*, is exempted and diſſevered from the name of a Metropolitan or an Archbiſhop, to the name of a Patriarch or Primate: as appeareth in the decrees, *Diſt. 22, cap. Sacroſancta*. Wherefore as we muſt needs grant the Biſhop of *Rome* to be a Metropolitan or Archbiſhop by the Council of *Nice*; ſo we will not greatly ſtick in this alſo, to have him numbred with Patriarchs or Primats. Which title ſeemeth in the old time to be common to more Cities than to *Rome*, both by the Epiſtle of *Anacletus*, of Pope *Stephanus*, of Pope *Julius* and *Leo*, &c.

*Ex Concil. Nice. cano.*

*Diſt. 65. cap. Mos antiquus.*

*Ex concil. Nicæ. cano.*

*Diſt. 22. cap. Sacroſancta.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* called Metropolitan, Archbiſhop, Patriarch, Primat.

After this followed a general Council in *Africk*, called the ſixth Council of *Carthage*, *Anno* 420. where were congregated two hundred and ſeventeen Biſhops, among whom was alſo *Auguſtinus*, *Proſper*, *Oroſius*, with divers other famous perſons. This Council continued the ſpace of five years, wherein was great contention about the Supremacy and Juriſdiction of *Rome*: the Biſhop whereof then was *Zoſimus*. This *Zoſimus* the *Roman* Biſhop had received the ſame time into the Communion of the Church without any examination, one that came to complain to him out of *Africk*, named *Apiarius*, a Prieſt whom *Aurelius* the Metropolitan with the Council of *Africk* had worthily excommunicated for his deteſtable conditions before. Upon this *Zoſimus* after that he had received and ſhewed ſuch favour to *Apiarius*, for that he did appeal to him, ſendeth to the Council his Meſſengers, to wit, *Fauſtinus* Biſhop of *Potentine*, and two Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, named *Philippus* and *Aſellus*, with theſe four requeſts: Firſt, that *Apiarius*, whom he had abſolved might be received of them again, and that it might be lawful for Biſhops or Prieſts to appeal from the ſentence of their Metropolites, and alſo of the Council to the See of *Rome*.

*Ex concilium tom. 1. in fœno ſynod. Carthag.*

Secondly, that Biſhops ſhould not fail over importunely *Ad comitatum*. Thirdly, that if any Prieſt or Deacon were wrongfully Excommunicate by the Biſhops of their own Province, it ſhould be lawful for them to remove the hearing and judging of their cauſe to their neighbour Biſhops. Fourthly, that *Urbanus* their Biſhop, either ſhould be excommunicated, or elſe ſent up to *Rome*, unleſs he would correct thoſe things that were to be corrected, &c. For the approbation whereof, the ſaid *Zoſimus* alledged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of *Nicene* Council. The Council of *Carthage* hearing this, and remembring no ſuch thing in the Council of *Nice* to be decreed, and yet not ſuſpecting the Biſhop of *Rome*, to dare wrongfully to falſifie the words of that Council, writeth again to *Zoſimus*, declaring that they never read to their remembrance, in their common *Latin* exemplar of the *Nicene* Council any ſuch Canon; yet notwithſtanding for quietneſs ſake, they would obſerve the ſame time till they might procure the Original Copies of that Council to be ſent to them from *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and from *Antioch*. In like effect afterward they wrote to Pope *Boniface*, which then ſucceeded *Zoſimus*. And thirdly alſo to *Celeſtinus*, which ſhortly after ſucceeded *Boniface*.

*Urbanus epiſcopus Siccenſis.*

The Popes of *Rome* taken with the manner in falſifying the decree of *Nicene* Council.

In the mean time this foreſaid Council ſent their Legates, *Marcellus* and *Innocentius* to *Atticus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and to *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, for the authentick Copies in *Greek* of *Nicene* Council, which being ſent unto them, and they finding in the true Originals no ſuch Canon, as the Biſhop of *Rome* had falſely forged, they wrote a ſharp and an handſome Letter to *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of *Rome*, calling him in the ſaid Letter by the way *Domine frater*: declaring to him, how they had perſued all the Copies of the Council of *Nice*, and could find no ſuch Canon as he and his Predeceſſors had falſely alledged, and therewithall reciting the ſixth Canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of the *Nicene* Council had committed all and ſingular perſons Eccleſiaſtical, as well Biſhops as other, unto the charge of their Metropolitans. Moreover expounding the ſame Decree, they ſhewed the reaſon thereof.

The Biſhop of *Rome* called *Dominus frater*, that is brother Biſhop.

Biſhops of *Rome* proved falſifiers of the *Nicene* Council.

Five reaſons why matters of Controverſie ought not to be had out of other Countries unto *Rome*.

1. For that (ſay they) the Fathers of that Council did well foreſee, to be moſt juſt and convenient, that Controverſies there be ended (*in iiſdem locis*) where they begin. 1.

2. For that it is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but that the Grace of God will be as preſt and ready in one Province as in an other, to inſtruct his Miniſters both prudently to underſtand judgment, and conſtantly to maintain the ſame. 2.

3. For that there is no need to ſeek further to any Outlandiſh help, becauſe ſpecially that the party whoſoever is not contented with the determination of his Judges or Commiſſioners, may lawfully appeal either to the Provincial or to any general Council. 3.

4. That way to be better, than to run to any foreign Judge, it muſt needs be granted; becauſe it is not like that our God will inſpire his Juſtice and Truth of examining unto one Biſhop, and deny it unto a multitude congregated in a whole Council. 4.

5. Neither can it be, that any ſuch Outlandiſh judgment in hearing and determining cauſes, can ſtand perfect and upright, for that the neceſſary perſons of witneſſes, either for infirmity of Sex, of Age, of Sickneſs, or ſome other Impeach- 5.

Every Country to appeal firſt to his own Metropolitan, ſecondly to a Provincial or general Council.

Impeachment, are not be able to present, by whom the truth of the sentence should be directed. Wherefore as by these and other reasons they thought it not convenient from them to bring their matters over unto *Rome:* so neither was it to be found, said they, by any Council of the old Fathers decreed, that any Legats should be sent from *Rome* to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said Bishop of *Rome*, that he would not induce *Fumosum typhum* (or rather as I may call it) *typhos seculi, in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis præfert iis qui Deum diligunt:* that is, That he would not induce the swelling pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which Church sheweth and giveth the light of simplicity and of humility to such as love God, &c. In these foresaid Letters moreover is signified, how the forenamed Malefactor *Apiarius*, whom the Bishop of *Rome* before had absolved and received to the Communion of the Church, was afterward found culpable, and therefore the Council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so injoyned him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the Bishop of *Rome* before proceeding.

*Fumosum typhum seculi.*

Summary notes gathered out the Council of Carthage against the Pope.

1\. 1. In sum, out of this Council of *Carthage* these points are to be noted. First, how glad the Bishops of *Rome* were to receive such as came to them for succour.

2\. 2. What pride they took by the occasion thereof, thinking and seeking thereby to have all under their subjection.

3\. 3. To the intent to allure other to seek to them, how ready they were to release and quit this *Apiarius* as guiltless, which after was to be tried culpable by his own confession.

4\. 4. How contrary to the acts and doings of the *Romish* Bishop, this Council condemned him, whom the said Bishop of *Rome* before had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the *Romish* Church.

5\. 5. How the Bishops of old time, have been falsifiers of ancient Councils and Writings, whereby it may be suspected, that they which shamed not to falsifie and corrupt the Council of *Nice*, muchless would they stick to abuse and falsifie the decretal Epistles and Writings of particular Bishops and Doctors for their own advantage, as no doubt they have done many one.

6\. 6. In this foresaid Council, whereat *Augustine* himself was present, and where *Aurelius* President of the same, was called *Papa*, the Bishop of *Rome* was called expresly in their Letters but Bishop of the City of *Rome*, and *Dominus frater*, that is, brother Lord Bishop.

7\. 7. The Dominion of this *Roman* Patriarch, in the said Council of *Carthage*, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of *Africk* to appeal over the Sea to him, nor for him to send over his Legats to them for ending their Controversies. Whereby it may sufficiently appear, that the Bishop of *Rome* in those days was not at all admitted to be the chief of all other Bishops, nor the head of the universal Church of Christ in earth, &c.

8\. 8. We hear in this Council, five causes or reasons given, why it is not necessary nor yet convenient for all foreign causes to be brought to one universal Head or Judge, as is before recited.

9\. 9. Lastly, by the said Council of *Carthage*, we hear a vertuous exhortation to be given to the Bishop of *Rome*, that he would not induce into the meek and humble Church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the World, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other Council of *Carthage*, it was moreover provided by express Law, and also specified in the Popes decrees, that no Bishop of the first Seat, should be called the Prince of Priests, or the chief Priest, or any such like thing; but only the Bishop of the first Seat, as followeth more in the said decree. *Universalis autem, nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur*, that is, Be it enacted, that no Bishop, no not the Bishop of *Rome*, be called universal Bishop, &c. And thus much concerning this foresaid Council of *Carthage*.

*Dist. 99 cap. fidei epis.*

The highest title belonging to a Bishop, is to be called the Bishop of the first Seat.

Not long before this Council, was celebrated in *Africk* an other Council, called *Synodus Milevitana*, about the year of our Lord, 4[illegible]2. at the which Council also S. *Augustine* was present, where it was decreed under pain of Excommunication, that no Minister or Bishop should appeal over the Sea to the Bishop of *Rome*. Whereby it may appear that the Bishop of *Rome* all this space was not universally called by the term of Oecumenical or universal Bishop, but Bishop of the first Seat: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the City of *Rome* only, but the first Seat then was called Metropolitan Church, as by the words of the *Nicene* Council, and other Constitutions more is to be seen, where the four Patriarchs were called πρῶτοι, or πρωτεύοντες, or προεστῶτες, as namely, by the words of the Council of *Carthage* may appear which be these: εἰ μὴ μετὰ ψηφίσματος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας τῆς ἰδίας ἑκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος κατεξαίρετον λάβῃ. That is, except he have some special licence or exception, by the consent of the first Seat of the proper Bishop in every Country, that is, of him that is the primate in the said Country, &c. Also the words of the *Can.* 39. of the Council of *Carthage*, before touched, be these, ὥστε τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ποτέ; that is, That the Bishop of the first Seat be not called Prince of Priests, or head Priest, or else any such like. Again, *Anicetus* the tenth Bishop of *Rome*, and Pope *Stephan*, and Pope *Felix*, making a difference between a Primate and Metropolitan, writeth thus: Let no Archbishops be called Primates, but only such as have the first Seat, &c. Thus it is made plain, how the Bishop of the first Seat, or first Bishop, or Primate is none other but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not only to the Church of *Rome*, but to all such Cities and places whereas before among the *Gentiles* were *Primi flamines, &c. dist.* 80. *cap. urbes & loca, & in illis.* Where, by the way, is to be noted the repugnance or contrariety of such as craftily, but falsely have counterfeited the Popes decretal Epistles: which besides other great and many Conjectures also hereby may be gathered. For where *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Epi.* 12. *Anicetus* and other, joyning together the office of Patriarchs and Primates, do divide the same from the order of Metropolitans, or Archbishops, alledging therein the constitution of the Apostles and their Successors, that is to be found false by the Canons of the Apostles, by the Council of *Nice*, and by the Council of *Antioch*, with other more. For in the Canons of the Apostles, where in every Canon almost, mention is made of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the Bishop, or lower than the Deacon; save only in the thirty three Canon, setting an order among Bishops, the Canon willeth the Bishop of every Nation to know their first or chief Bishop, and him to be taken for the Head of them: he saith not the Head of the Church, or Head of the world, but the Head of those Bishops. And where? not in *Rome* only, but plainly and expresly in every Nation, for so the words purport, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον; that is, The Bishops of every Nation ought to know the first or chief among them, &c. Moreover, the Council of *Antioch* reciting the foresaid Canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, in stead of τὸν πρῶτον, writing τὸν ἐν μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον: which is as much to say as Metropolitan; and in the end of the said Canon, calleth him τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, *Id est, Metropolitanum, 6. q. 3. per singulas.* Whereby it is concluded, that to be false, that *Clement* and *Anacletus*, and *Anicetus* be reported (but falsely) to put a difference between Primats or Patriarchs, and Metropolitans, or Archbishops: Whereas by sufficient authority it is to be proved, that in the old Church both Primats, first Bishops, Bishops of the first Seat, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops of the mother City, and Archbishops were all one. First, that Primats and Metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the Canons of the Apostles, and by the Council of *Antioch* aforesaid. Again, that Patriarchs and Archbishops were all one, it is evident *Ex Novella Justiniani, cap.* 23. where the said Constitution reciting the four Patriarchs (above mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbishops. And a little after calleth the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Archbishop, by these words: οἵτινες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχην εἰσίν· that is, Which be under the Archbishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople*. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, divers from that of *Clement*, *Anacletus*, and *Anicetus*, in placing these afore-

The Bishop of *Rome* forbidden to be called universal Bishop.

*Synodus Milevitana.*

No Bishop to appeal over the sea.

Bishop of the first seat what it meaneth.

*Concil. Car. can.* 23.

*Concil. Car. cano.* 39.

*Ex epist. decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.*

*Dist.* 80 *cap. Urbes & loca. ibid. ca. in illis.*

The Papists in their decrees contrary to themselves.

*Cano. Apo.* 33.

*Cano. apo.* 33.

The first Bishop or head Bishop expounded, how it is to be taken.

*Antioch. con. cap.* 9. 6. *q.* 3. *per singulas provincias.*

*Dist.* 99. *cap. Anacletus.*

*Novella Justiniani.* 23.

*Ex Novel. Justin. ibid.*

foresaid persons, first beginning with Bishops, then over them setteth the Metropolitan, and over him again the Archbishop, and there stayeth, making no further mention of any other above him: whose words be these, εἴπερ ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον, ὑφ' ὃν τελεῖ. that is, if a Bishop be accused, the Metropolitan to have the examination of those things that are brought against him; if the Metropolitan be accused, then the Archbishop to have the hearing thereof, under whom he dwelleth and pertaineth, &c.

And in the same constitution moreover, εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικοῦ, ἢ ἄλλου οἱουδήποτε προσέλευσις κατὰ ἐπισκόπου γίνεται, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω, καὶ εἴ τις τοῖς κρινομένοις ἀντείποι, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα, &c.

Archbishop and Metropolitan not to be both one.

If any suit or supplication be brought against a Bishop by a Minister, or any other, first the Metropolitan to have the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the judgment thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the Archbishop, &c.

An item against the forged Epistles decretal.

In this Constitution of *Justinian*, although the Metropolitan be placed above the Bishop, and the Archbishop above the Metropolitan; yet notwithstanding by this is sufficiently confuted the forged Constitution of *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Anicetus*, *Stephanus*, and *Felix*: who in their Epistles decretal, joyn together in one form and order, both Archbishop and Metropolitan, and above them both do place the Patriarch, and above the Patriarch the Apostolical See, to wit, the Bishop of *Rome*, as may appear in reading the first Epistle of *Clement*: *In illis autem civitatibus*, &c. The second Epistle of *Anacletus art.* 4. *Provinciæ, dist.* 99. *cap. Nulli Archiepiscop.* Also the Epistle of Pope *Stephan* the first, *Art*, 5. (where note by the way, that *Gratianus* referreth this place of the Epistle to Pope *Lucius*.) *Item*, the Epistle of Pope *Felix* the second, *Art.* 12. In all which foresaid Epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the first and principal place is given to Primates, or Patriarchs, the second to Metropolitans, or Archbishops, the third to Bishops, and finally above all these is extolled the Apostolical See of the Bishop of *Rome*, contrary to all that which before hath been alledged out of *Justinian*, the Council of *Nice* and of *Antioch*, &c. Whereby it may appear, that either *Justinian* in preferring Archbishops above Metropolitans, did not read these Epistles decretal, if they were unfeigned; or if they were forged, they which forged the said Epistles in their names, did not well advise that *Justinian* had written in this matter before.

*Clement. Epist.* 1. *Anaclet. Epist.* 2. *art.* 4. *Anicet. Epist. art.* 2. *dist.* 39. *ca. Nulli Archiepiscop. Stepha. epist. art.* 5.

Repugnance between the Institutions of *Justinian*, and the Epistles decretal.

Bishop, Metropolitan, Bishop of the first See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop, Chief Bishop; terms used in the primitive time of the Church.

Thus then these Titles above recited, as Bishop, Metropolitan, the Bishop of the first See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop; that is to say, chief Bishop, or head Bishop to other Bishops of his Province, we deny not but were in the old time applied, and might be applied to the Bishop of *Rome*, like as the same also were applied to other Patriarchs in other chief Cities and Provinces.

High Priest or high Priesthood.

As touching the name likewise of the High Priest, or high Priesthood, neither do I deny but that it hath been found in old Monuments and Records of ancient times: but in such wise and sort as it hath been common to Bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one Bishop or See. Whereof testimony we have out of the seventh general Council, *Dist.* 38. *cap. Omnes*, where the Bishops office is called *Summum sacerdotium*, The High Priesthood: in these words, *Substantia summi sacerdotii nostri sunt eloquia divinitus tradita*, i. *vera divinarum scripturarum disciplina*, &c.

*Dist.* 38. *cap. Omnes, summus sacerdos, summum sacerdotium.*

That is, the substance (say they) of our High Priesthood, is the word of discipline of holy Scriptures given us from above, &c.

And likewise the Council of *Agatha* maketh relation, *De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis.* Of Bishops set in the high Priesthood, meaning not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomsoever, 12. *q.* 3. *cap. Pontifices.* Also *Fabianus* Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of the Lord, 240. writing in general to his Brethren, and to all Bishops and Ministers Ecclesiastical, doth attribute to them the same title of *Summum sacerdotium*, in these words: *Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinavit vos, & omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur*, &c. God which hath pre-ordained you Brethren, and all them which bear the Office of High Priesthood, 3. *q. cap.* 1. *Deus ergo.*

*Ex Concil. Agathensi.* 12. *q.* 3. *cap. Pontifices.*

3. *q. cap. Deus ergo.*

With like phrase of Speech *Anacletus* also in his second Epistle speaking of Bishops in general, calleth them *Summos sacerdotes: Unde, inquit, liquet quod summi sacerdotes, i. Episcopi a Deo sunt judicandi*, &c. The High Priest, that is, Bishops, saith he. And moreover in the same place he calleth them Apostles, and Successors of the Apostles, &c. So doth *Innocentius* the first, in the year of our Lord, 405. as appeareth *Dist.* 61. *cap. Miserum. Item Zosimus* Bishop of the said City of *Rome*, in the year of our Lord, 420. as witnesseth *Dist.* 59. *cap.* 1. who speaketh, *De summo sacerdotio*, that is, Of high Priesthood, not only of the Church of *Rome*, but of all other Churches. *Urbanus* the first, was Bishop of *Rome* in the year of Christ, 226. who in his writings alledged by *Gratian*, referreth the name and place *Summi pontificis*, of the high Bishop, not only to the Seat of *Rome*, but uniformly to every Bishop, as appeareth in the words of the *Dist.* 51. *cap. Si officia*, &c.

*Ex Anaclet. epist.* 2. 9. 7. *cap. accusatio.* Bishops called the Successors of the Apostles. *Dist.* 61. *cap. Miserum. Dist.* 59 *c.* 1.

*Ex Urba.* 1. *dist.* 51. *cap. Si officia.*

And thus much as touching the name or title of High Priest, or Supream Bishop. Which title as I do not deny to have been used in manner and form aforesaid: so do I deny this title and stile of *Summus orbis Pontifex*, as it is now used in *Rome*, to have been used, or usually received during all the primitive time of the Church, that is five hundred years after Christ: after the manner and sort I mean of that authority and glory, which in these days now is used and is given to the same: until the time of *Phocas*, the wicked Emperour, which was after the year of the Lord, 608. The which title as it is too glorious for any one Bishop in the Church of Christ to use: so is it not to be found in any of the approved and most ancient Writers of the Church; namely these, *Cyprianus*, *Basilius*, *Fulgentius*, *Chrysostomus*, *Hieronymus*, *Ambrosius*, *Augustinus*, *Tertullianus*: but rather written against by the same, especially of the last. And therefore not without cause it is written and testified of *Erasmus*, who speaking of the said name of *Summus orbis Pontifex*, denieth plainly the same to be heard of among the old Writers, whose words be these: *Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omnium scriptis licet colligere*, &c. *lib. Epist.* 3. *Epist.* 1. *Art.* 37. &c. as whosoever readeth the same Authors, shall find to be true.

*Summus orbis Pontifex.*

*Ex Erasm. epist. lib.* 3. *epist.* 1. *art.* 73.

The like is to be affirmed also of other presumptuous titles of like ambition, as the Head of the universal Church, the Vicar of Christ in Earth, Prince of Priests, with such like: which all be new found terms, strange to the ears of the old primitive Writers and Councils, and not received openly and commonly before the time of *Boniface* the third, and *Phocas* the aforesaid.

*Universalis Pontifex. Caput universalis Ecclesiæ, Christi in terris Vicarius, Princeps sacerdotum*, &c.

Now remaineth the name of the Pope, which of his nature, and by his first origine, being a word of the *Syracusan* Speech called πάππας, and signifieth as much as *Pater*, Father, was then used and frequented of them in the old time, not so as proper only to the Bishop of *Rome*, but common and indifferent to all other Bishops or Personages, whosoever were of worthy excellency, as is partly before declared. But now contrarily, the generality of this name is so restrained and abused, that not only it is appropriate to the Bishop of *Rome*, but also distincteth and dissevereth the authority, and preeminence of that Bishop alone from all other Bishops, for which cause it is now worthily come into contempt and execrations. No less is to be rejected also the name of *Universalis* or *Oecumenicus Pontifex*, *Summus orbis Episcopus*, *Caput universalis Ecclesiæ*, *Christi in terris Vicarius*, *Princeps sacerdotum*, &c. All which terms and vocables, tending to the derogation of other Bishops and Patriarchs, as they were never received nor allowed in *Rome* (if we believe *Gregory*) during the time of the primitive Church, so now are worthily of us refused.

Papa.

Although it cannot be denied, but certain were in the primitive time which began privately to pretend that proud and wicked title of universal Bishop, as *Menna*, and especially *Johannes* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who calling a Council at *Constantinople*, went about to stablish and ratifie and to dignifie his Throne by the consent of the Council, and the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and obtained the same; as appeareth in the fifth general Council of *Constantinople*, Act the first, where both *Menna* is named *Oecumenicus Patriarcharum*, and also *Johannes* in the said

How they began first at *Constantinople*, to take the name of universal Bishop.

*Ex quinta synodo universali, actione prima, cap. post consulatum. Ibid. cap. dom. nostro.*

ſaid Council is titled *Oecumenicus Patriarcha: ex Concil. in general. 5. cap. Domino.* Concerning the which title although it was then uſed in *Conſtantinople* through the ſufferance of the Emperors, being then willing to have their Imperial City advanced: yet notwithſtanding this foreſaid title, all this while, was not in the City of *Rome*. And in *Conſtantinople* it ſtood not then in force (*Jure aliquo divino*) but only by mans Law. And thirdly, it was then but only *Verbalis titulus*: having no true domination upon all other Churches, or any real ſubjection belonging to the ſame; For as much as neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any of the *Weſt* Churches were ſubject or did acknowledge ſervice unto them, but rather did repugne the ſame: namely, *Pelagius* the ſecond, and *Gregorius* the firſt, both Biſhops at that time of *Rome*, which *Pelagius* writing to all Biſhops, ſaith plainly in theſe words, that no Patriarch ſhould take the name of univerſality at any time, becauſe that if any be called Univerſal, the name of Patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be far, ſaith he, from all faithful men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honour of his brethren is diminiſhed. Wherefore the ſaid *Pelagius* chargeth all ſuch Biſhops, that none of them in their Letters will name any Patriarch to be univerſal, leſt he take from himſelf the honour due to him, while they give that which is not due to another. What can be more evident than theſe words of *Pelagius*, who was Biſhop of *Rome* next before *Gregory*, *Anno* 583? In like manner or more plainly, and more earneſtly writeth alſo *Gregory* of this matter in his Regiſter, proving and diſputing that no man ought to be called Univerſal Biſhop. Moreover, with ſharp words and rebukes, deteſting the ſame title, calling it new, fooliſh, proud, perverſe, wicked, prophane, and ſuch as to conſent unto it, is as much as to deny the Faith. He added further and ſaith, That Whoſoever goeth about to extol himſelf above other Biſhops, in ſo doing followeth the fact of Satan, to whom it was not ſufficient to be counted equal or like unto other Angels. In his Epiſtles how oft doth he repeat and declare the ſame to repugne directly againſt the Goſpel, and ancient decrees of Councils? affirming that none of his Predeceſſors did ever uſurp to himſelf that ſtile or title, and concludeth that whoſoever ſo doth, declareth himſelf to be a Forerunner of *Antichriſt*, *&c.* With this judgment of *Gregory* well agree alſo the words of Saint *Auguſtine*, *lib.* 3. *cap. de baptiſmo*, where reciting the words of *Cyprian*, he thus ſaith: *Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum ſe Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum conſtituit, aut Tyrannico more ad obſequendi neceſſitatem collegas ſuos adigit, &c.* that is, For none of us doth ever ſet himſelf to be Biſhop of Biſhops, or after a tyrannical manner doth ſubdue and bring under his Fellows unto the neceſſity of his obedience. &c. By theſe words of *Cyprian*, and *Auguſtine*, it is manifeſt that in their time was no Supremacy, or univerſal Title among Biſhops received, nor that any great reſpect was had to the Biſhop of *Rome* (as *Pius* the Second ſaith, *Epiſt.* 301.) before the Council of *Nice*. And after in that Council the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* had no further authority to him limited, than only over his Province, and places ſuburbane, bordering about the City of *Rome*. Againſt whoſe Primacy divers Cities alſo did reſiſt long after that, as the Church of *Ravenna*, *Mediolanenſis*, and *Aquilegienſis*. Alſo the *Greek* Churches long reſiſted the ſame, ſo did the Churches of *Aſia Rutenicæ*, *Moſcoviticæ*, *Valachicæ*, and other more.

*Ex Prieg. 20. diſt. cap. 99. Nullus.*

*Gregory againſt the univerſality of the Biſhop of Conſtantinople.*

*Auguſt. lib. 3. ca. 3. de baptiſ. contra Eva.*

To be Biſhop of Biſhops forbidden by *Cyprian* and *Auguſt.* *Ex Pio ſecund. Epiſt.* 301.

The Popes primacy reſiſted.

But to return again to *Gregory*, who confirming the Sentence of *Pelagius* his Predeceſſor above mentioned, had no ſmall Conflicts about this Title matter, both with the Patriarch, and with the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, as witneſſeth *Antonius*, and other, &c. The Hiſtory is thus; After that *John* being made of a Monk Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, by his flattery and hypocriſie, had obtained of *Mauricius* the Emperor to be extolled above other Biſhops, with the name of Univerſal Patriarch, and that he would write to *Gregory* then Biſhop of *Rome*, for his conſent concerning the ſame: *Gregory* abiding ſtill in his conſtancy, did ſet himſelf ſtoutly againſt that Antichriſtian Title, and would give no place. At the ſame time the *Lombards* had invaded the Country of *Italy*, and the City of *Rome*, the Emperor keeping then at *Conſtantinople*, and ſetting in *Italy* an Overſeer called *Exarchus*, to rule in *Ravenna*. *Gregory* perceiving the Emperor *Mauricius* to be diſpleaſed with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to *Conſtantina* the Empreſs, arguing and declaring in his Letters, that Preſumption and Pride of him to be univerſal Patriarch, was both againſt the rule of the Goſpel, and decrees of the Canons; namely, the ſixth Canon of the *Nicene* Council, and the novelty of that new found title to declare nothing elſe, but that the time of *Antichriſt* was near. Upon this, *Mauricius* the Emperor taking diſpleaſure with him, calleth home his Souldiers again from *Italy*, and inciteth the *Lombards* againſt the *Romans*; who with their King *Agilulphus*, thereupon contrary to their League made before, ſet upon the City of *Rome* and beſieged it a whole year together, *Gregory* yet notwithſtanding ſtill remaining in his former conſtancy. After theſe Afflictions thus overpaſt, *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, writeth to the ſaid *Gregory* in his Letters, naming him Univerſal Pope: unto whom *Gregory* refuſing the ſame, anſwereth again as followeth.

*Ex Antonio tit. 12. c. 3.*

## *The Letter of* Gregory *to the Patriarch of* Alexandria.

The anſwer of Gregory to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria. *Diſt.* 99. *cap.* Eccl.

*Behold: in the Preface of your Epiſtle directed to me, ye have uſed a word of a proud name, calling me Univerſal Pope, which I pray your Holineſs you will ceaſe hereafter to do, for that is derogated from you, whatſoever is attributed to another more than right and reaſon requireth. As for me I ſeek not mine advancement in words, but in manners: neither do I account that any Honour wherein the Honour of my Brethren I ſee to be hindred: for my Honour I take to be the Honour of the Univerſal Church: my Honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my Brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth. For if your Holineſs call me Univerſal Pope, in ſo doing you deny your ſelf to be that, which ye affirm me to be, Univerſal: but that God forbid. Let theſe words therefore go, which do nothing but puff up Vanity, and wound Charity, &c.*

Gregory refuſeth the name of univerſal Pope.

It were too long here to infer all ſuch Letters and Epiſtles of his concerning this matter, written to the Emperor *Mauricius* and *Conſtantina* the Empreſs, but that ſhall more largely appear hereafter (Chriſt willing) in the body of the Hiſtory, when we come to the year and time of *Gregory*, which was well nigh ſix hundred years after Chriſt. In the mean ſeaſon this is ſufficient to declare, how the Church of *Rome* with the form and manner of their title of Univerſal Supremacy now uſed and maintained, hath utterly ſwerved from the ancient ſteps of the Primitive Church of *Rome*.

A ſophiſtical Cavillation upon the words of *Pelagius* and *Gregory* anſwered.

Now let us ſee what the Adverſary ſide hath to Object again for the title of their Univerſality, or rather Singularity. And firſt here cometh in a blind cavillation of a certain Sophiſter, who gloſſing upon the words of *Pelagius* above recited, laboureth to colour the plain Text with a ſubtile meaning, as though the ſenſe of the Canon were this, not to deny there the ſtate of Supremacy: *Sed negari ibi aliquem poſſe eſſe Univerſalem Epiſcopum, ſub eo ſenſu duntaxat, quod eſſet cujuſque Eccleſiæ proprius rector, ita quod nullus alius eſſet Epiſcopus, &c.* that is, But to deny there, that any may be Univerſal Biſhop after this ſenſe and meaning only, ſo that he ſhould be the proper Paſtor of every Church alone, and that there ſhould be no other Biſhop beſide himſelf, &c. Thus goeth this Sophiſter about to daſh out this Text, but he cannot ſo diſcharge the matter. For neither did *John* the Patriarch then ſeek any ſuch thing to be Biſhop and proper Paſtor of every Church alone; nor if he had, the Council of *Chalcedon* and the Emperor *Juſtinian* would never have agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, that this Gloſſer denieth *Pelagius*, here to forbid the Primacy or Supremacy of that Patriarch, which indeed is the only intent of *Pelagius* in that Canon; witneſſing as well other Hiſtoriographers, as namely, *Anton. tit.* 12. *cap.* 3. *par.* 13. and alſo the gloſs ordinary upon the ſame Canon, &c.

An objection of a certain late Engliſh Writer refuted.

Out of the ſame Fountain ſpringeth the like or very ſame reaſon of late renewed by a certain new ſtart *Engliſh* Clerk in theſe our days, who anſwering to the places of *Gregory* touching the ſaid matter, laboureth to avoid the clear authority of him, by a like blind cavillation, ſaying that *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, by this title of Univerſal Biſhop, underſtood himſelf only to be a Biſhop, and none elſe.

And

And that *Gregory* in reſiſting him, had none other meaning but the ſame. And to prove this to be the very meaning of *Gregory*, he reciteth the words of *Gregory*, written to the ſaid *John* Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople* as followeth, *Qui enim indignum te eſſe fateharis, ut Epiſcopus dici debuiſſes, ad hoc quandoque perductus es, ut deſpectis fratribus Epiſcopus appetas ſolus vocari*; that is to ſay, For thou (*John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*) which ſometime didſt graunt thy ſelf unworthy the name of a Biſhop, art now come to this, that thou doſt ſeek to be called a Biſhop alone, &c. Upon this word *Epiſcopus ſolus*; this Gloſſer would ground a ſurmiſe, that *Gregory* did find fault with the Archbiſhop, not for any Primacy which he ſought for above other Biſhops, but only for that he coveted to be a Biſhop and Paſtor alone in every Church, in ſuch ſort, as there ſhould be no other Biſhop nor Paſtor elſe, but himſelf only. But as is ſaid, that was never the Archbiſhops ſeeking, nor the matter of *Gregories* reprehenſion. For the ſaid Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* went not about to be Biſhop alone (which was too much abſurd, and alſo impoſſible) but to be Univerſal alone: nor to take away the office from other, but the honour from other; not to depoſe them, but to deſpiſe them. And therefore ſaith *Gregory*, *Ut deſpectis fratribus*, not *Depoſitis fratribus*: ſo that this word *Solus*, here noteth a deſpiſing of other, not a depoſing of other, and imporeth a ſingularity in condition above other, and not the office or ſubſtance of miniſtration without other, that is to be univerſal among many, and not to be alone without any, nor to diminiſh the number of them, but only to increaſe the honour to himſelf: For the more evident probation whereof (although the thing it ſelf is ſo evident, that it needeth no proof) what can be more plain, than the words themſelves of *Pelagius* and *Gregory*? wherewith they charge him for running before his Brethren, for challenging Superiority above them, for diminiſhing their honour, by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the Angel of Pride in exalting himſelf, in admitting that to him, which the Biſhops of *Rome* and their Predeceſſors had refuſed, being offered to them before, &c. All which declare that he ſought not to thruſt out all other Biſhops out of their Churches, and to be Biſhop himſelf alone. For that was never offered to the Biſhops of *Rome* by the Council of *Chalcedon*, that they ſhould be Biſhops alone, and none other. Neither did *Lucifer* ſeek to have no more Angels in all Heaven but himſelf, but he to be above all other alone.

A place of Gregory examined.

*Pelag. 2. Epiſt. 1.*

Likewiſe the word *Præcurrere*, that is, To run before other, in the Epiſtle of *Pelagius*, declareth that *John* ſought not to be Biſhop alone, but Biſhop univerſal. We ſay not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly *Præcurrere*, but *Solus currere*. Moreover, in ſeeking to be Superior to other Biſhops, he ſeeketh not to take away other Biſhops, but to make other Biſhops inferior to him. For where no Inferior is, there can be no Superior, forſomuch as theſe together are Correlatives, and infer neceſſary reſpect mutually. And if it were true as this Gloſſer ſaith, that he had ſought to be Biſhop alone, how would that Council either have granted that unto him, or have offered it to the Biſhop of *Rome* before? or if they had, how could it be poſſible for him alone to ſerve all Churches, without any Fellow Biſhop to help him? And where this foreſaid Clerk ſtandeth ſo much upon the words of Saint *Gregory*: *Solus Epiſcopus*: *Gregory* therefore ſhall expound *Gregory*, and one *Solus* ſhall declare another. Wherefore if this Divine (whatſoever he be, Doctor or Batchelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what (only Biſhop) meaneth in this place: another place of the ſaid *Gregory* may inſtruct him, where *Gregory* writing to *Eulogius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, giveth this reaſon why he refuſed the ſame title offered to him (which then was offered to the ſaid *John* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*) ſaying, *Quia videlicet ſi unus Patriarcha univerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, ſed abſit hoc, &c.* That is to ſay, For if one alone would be called a Patriarch univerſal, then ſhould the name of Patriarchs be derogated from all other, &c. Whereby two things are to be noted: Firſt, what thing it was which the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* did ſeek, for *Gregory* here findeth no other fault, but with the ſame which was given to *John*, which was to be called Patriarch Univerſal. The ſecond thing to be noted, is the cauſe why *Gregory* did rebuke this title, both given to *John*, and offered to him: becauſe (ſaith he) if one take upon him the name of Univerſal Patriarch, then is the name Patriarch taken from the reſt. As who would ſay, If I would take upon me to be named Univerſal Patriarch, then ſhould there be no other Patriarch, but I ſhould be Biſhop Patriarch alone. And here conſeth in your *Solus Epiſcopus*, *&c.*

*Ex Epiſt. Greg. 36. lib. 4.*

Furthermore the ſame *Gregory* ſpeaking of the ſaid *Solus*, in another place by, ſeemeth to declare there, what he meaneth by this *Solus* here, in theſe words as follow, *Ut & nulli ſubeſſe, & ſolus omnibus præeſſe videretur*: that is to ſay, So that he would be ſubject to none, and would be chieftain to all other alone, &c. And ſo by this place may the other place be expounded, *Ut ſolus Epiſcopus ſit is, qui ſolus inter Epiſcopos præeſſe appetat*: that is, He that ſeeketh to be as Biſhop alone: who alone ſeeketh to be extolled above other Biſhops. But to be ſhort in a matter that needeth not many words: he that thus cavilleth upon this place *Solus Epiſcopus* in *Gregory*, muſt be deſired here not to take *Solus* alone, but joyn withall the word going before, which is, *Deſpectis fratribus*. By the which might ſeem ſufficiently declared what *Gregory* meant by *Solus Epiſcopus*, meaning, that to deſpiſe other Biſhops, and to diminiſh their honour, to ſet up his own, and to be ſubject to none, but to prefer himſelf inequally before all others, is as much as to be counted Biſhop alone. And thus much touching this Objection.

Another Objection of our Adverſaries is this; Although (ſay they) no Biſhop of *Rome* was ever called, or would be called by the name of Univerſal Biſhop, yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be Heads of the Univerſal Church. Their reaſon is this:

Another objection reſolved.

As S. *Peter* had the Charge of the whole Church (by the teſtimony of *Gregory*) committed unto him, although he were not called Univerſal Apoſtle.

So no more abſurd it is for the Pope to be called the head of the whole Church, and to have the Charge thereof, although he be not called Univerſal Biſhop, &c.

A double untruth in one Popiſh argument. Peter how he had charge and not charge of the Church.

Wherein is a double Untruth to be noted: firſt, in that they pretend *Peter* to be the Head, and to have the Charge of the whole Church: if we take here (Charge or Head) for Dominion or Maſterſhip upon or above the Church in all Caſes judiciary, both Spiritual and Temporal: for the words of the Scripture be plain, *Non dominantes in clerum*, 1 Pet. *Vos autem non ſic*, Luk. 22. that is, Not as Maſters over the Clergy, &c. But you not ſo, &c. Again, that the Church is greater, or rather the head of *Peter*, it is clear, 1 *Cor.* 3. *All things are yours, whether it be* Paul, *or* Apollo, *or* Cephas: *either the world, death, or life, you be Chriſts, Chriſt is Gods, &c.* In which words the Dignity of the Church no doubt is preferred above the Apoſtles, and above *Cephas* alſo. Moreover, as the dignity of the Wife is above the Servant, ſo muſt needs the honour and worthineſs of the Church (being the Spouſe of Chriſt) ſurmount the ſtate of *Peter* or other Apoſtles, which be but Servants to Chriſt and to the Church; yea, and though they were Princes of the Church, yet after the mind of *Baldus*, *Magis attenditur perſona intellectualis, quam organica.* Otherwiſe if by this word (Charge) he meant only the office and diligence of teaching; to that I anſwer, The ſame Lord that ſaid to *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*, ſaid alſo to the other, *Go and Preach this Goſpel to all Nations.* And he that ſaid to *Peter*, *Whatſoever thou looſeſt*, ſaid alſo to the other, *Whatſoever ye remit in the Earth.* Moreover, if the matter go by preaching, *Paul* the Apoſtle laboured more therein, than ever did *Peter* by his own confeſſion, *Plus laboravi*; alſo ſuffered more for the ſame, *Plus ſuſtinui*; neither was his Doctrine leſs ſound. Yea, and in one point he went before *Peter*, and was Teacher and School-Maſter unto *Peter*, whereas *Peter* was by him juſtly corrected, *Gal.* 2. Furthermore, teaching is not always nor in all things a point of Maſterſhip, but ſometime a point of Service. As if a *French*-man ſhould be put to an *Engliſh*-man to teach him *French*, although he excelleth him in that kind of faculty: yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulneſs of power upon him, to appoint his Diet, to rule his Houſhold, to preſcribe his Laws, to ſtint his Lands, and ſuch other. Wherefore ſeeing in travel of Teaching, in pains of Preaching, in gifts of Tongues, in largeneſs of Commiſſion, in operation of Miracles, in grace of Vocation, in receiving the Holy Ghoſt, in vehemency of Torments, and death for Chriſts Name, the other Apoſtles were nothing inferior to

The dignity of the Church above the Apoſtles.

*Vide Baldum conſ. 169. lib. 3. ſecundum novam impreſſionem, & ſecund. ver. conſ. 359. lib. 1.* Proofs and reaſons that there was no inequality of preeminence among the Apoſtles.

Office of teaching giveth no dominion further than the book.

*Peter* in no point excelleth the reſt of the Apoſtles.

*Peter*: why *Peter* then ſhould claim any ſpecial Prerogative above the reſt, I underſtand no cauſe. As indeed he never claimed any: but the Patrons of the Apoſtolical See do claim it for him, which he never claimed himſelf: neither if he were here, would no leſs abhor it with Soul and Conſcience than we do now: and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of perſon, or any vantage to our ſelves, but only the vehemency of Truth, and Zeal to Chriſt and to his Congregation. Moreover, if theſe men would needs have *Peter* to be the Curate and Overſeer of the whole univerſal Church (which was too much for one man to take Charge of) and to be Prince of all other Apoſtles, then would I fain learn of them, what meaneth (*Dextræ ſocietatis*) the right hand of Society between *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Barnabe*, mentioned *Gal.* 2. What taking of hands is there between Subjects and their Prince, in way of fellowſhip? Or where fellowſhip is, what Maſterſhip is there? Or again, what ſtate of Maſterſhip is it like that Chriſt would give to *Peter*, who being indeed Maſter of all, took ſuch little Maſterſhip upon himſelf, and that not only in inward affection, but alſo in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that *Peter* in divers places of the Goſpel hath his Commendation, neither do I deny *Peter* to be worthy of the ſame. But yet theſe words of Commendation give to him no ſtate of Superiority, or Juriſdiction upon all others, to have all under his Subjection. As if a School-Maſter ſhould have more ſpecial charge to ſome one of his Scholars for his riper towardneſs: yet this giveth him no fulneſs of Authority, or Power coactive upon the reſt, unleſs by ſpecial admiſſion he be deputed thereunto. Whereof, nothing can be gathered of *Peter*; for if it be true that S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that ſuch things as were ſpoken to *Peter*, have no lightſome underſtanding, except they be referred to the Church, whereof *Peter* did bear a figure: then hath the perſon of *Peter* nothing to Claim by theſe words, but all redoundeth to the Church, which being meant by *Peter*, hath power by this reaſon, both over the perſon of *Peter*, and other perſons in the Lord.

*Dextræ ſocietatis.*

*Aug. in Pſal.* 103.

But here ſtumbleth in an argument of our Adverſary again, which he in the margent of his Book calleth an invincible argument drawn out of the bowels of S. *John Chryſoſtome*, *lib.* 2. *De Sacerd.* Whereby he ſuppoſeth to have given a ſhrewd blow to Proteſtants, and to have gotten *Hector's* victory upon a certain *Engliſh* Priſoner taken in plain field, and of all ſuch as take his part. The Text only of *Chryſoſtome* he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an invincible argument in the margent. But becauſe he either wiſt not, or liſt not to ſhew his cunning therein, I will form that an argument for him which he would have done, but did not: and ſo will form it (the Lord willing) as he himſelf muſt of neceſſity be driven to do, if the matter ever come to the trial of act, and not to the trifling of words. Firſt, he taketh his Text out of *Chryſoſtome*, as followeth, For what cauſe, I pray you, did Chriſt ſhed his blood? Truly to redeem thoſe ſheep, whoſe Charge he committeth to *Peter*, and to *Peters* Succeſſors. Upon this place of *Chryſoſtome*, this Clerk taketh his *medium*, Chriſts ſuffering. His concluſion is, That all which Chriſt died for, were committed to *Peter*: wherefore the form of the argument muſt needs ſtand thus in the third figure:

Anſwer to an invincible argument proving by *Chryſoſtome* the whole Church to be committed to St. *Peter*.

*Chryſoſt. lib.* 2. *de ſacerd.*

A Popiſh perilous paralogiſme.

Chriſt ſuffered for all men:

Chriſt ſuffered for them whom he committed to *Peter*.

*Ergo*, All that Chriſt died for, were committed to *Peter*.

If this be the form of his inſoluble argument, as it ſeemeth to be, by the order of his reaſoning, and alſo muſt needs be, taking that *medium*, and making that concluſion as he doth, (for elſe in the firſt figue, and firſt mood, the Text of *Chryſoſtome* will not ſerve him) then muſt the form and violence of this inexpugnable argument be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of *Logick*, making his concluſion univerſal, which in that figure muſt needs be particular, either affirmative or negative. And ſo this argument invincible, falleth into one of theſe two ſtraits; either concluding thus, the form will not ſerve him, or concluding in another figure, the words of *Chryſoſtome* will not anſwer to his purpoſe, to prove that all the world was committed to *Peter*. Which Propoſition as it is ſtrange in Scripture: ſo neither is it the Propoſition of *Chryſoſtome*. And though it were, yet both without inconvenience might be granted of us, and being granted, ſerveth his purpoſe nothing, ſo long as the Propoſition is not exceptive, excluding other Apoſtles. For the words of *Chryſoſtome* do not ſo ſound, that the whole world was committed to *Peter* only, and to none other. Likewiſe then as it may be well affirmed of us, that the world was committed to *Peter*: ſo can it not be denied of them that the world was alſo committed to *John*, *James*, *Bartholomew*, *Paul*, *Barnabe*, and other all and ſingular Apoſtles. For he that ſaid to *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*, ſaid alſo to all and ſingular his Apoſtles, *Go into all the world and Preach, &c. Matth. ult.* Moreover, for as much as this man collecteth out of *Chryſoſtome*, that the whole world was committed to *Peter*, how ſhall we then joyn this meaning of *Chryſoſtome* with Saint *Paul*, which ſaith that the Goſpel was committed to *Peter over the Circumciſion*, as was *Paul over the Uncircumciſion*? And here an anſwer to his doughty argument, both to the form, and to the matter thereof: albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be ſaid more of *Peters* Succeſſors in the Text of *Chryſoſtome*. By the which Succeſſors is not meant the Biſhop of *Rome* only (as the Papiſts would bear us in hand) but all ſuch true and faithful Paſtors, whom the Lords calling ſendeth, and ſetteth over his Flock, whereſoever, or whatſoever they be. For as *Peter* beareth a Repreſentation of the Church, by the teſtimony of *Auguſt. in Joan. tract.* 124. *Prefat. in Pſal.* 108. ſo the Succeſſors of *Peter* be all faithful Paſtors and Overſeers of Chriſts Church, to whom Chriſt our Lord hath committed the Charge of his Flock. Wherefore they are not a little deceived, which looking upon the Rock only of the perſon, and not the Rock confeſſion (contrary to the rule of *Hilary De trinit. lib.* 6.) do tie the Apoſtleſhip or Rock of *Peter* to one only Biſhop, and the ſucceſſion of *Peter* to one only See of *Rome*: whereas this being a ſpiritual office, and not carnal, hath no ſuch carnal Race or Deſcent after any worldly or local underſtanding: but hath a more myſtical meaning, after a ſpiritual ſenſe of ſucceſſion, ſuch as *Hierome* ſpeaketh of, *Epiſt. ad Evagrium. Omnes, inquit, Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt, &c.* that is, All, (ſaith he) ſpeaking of Biſhops) be Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, &c.

The World was committed as well to the Apoſtles as to *Peter*.

A place of *Chryſoſtome* examined by S. *Paul*.

The ſucceſſors of *Peter*.

*Auguſt. in Joan. tract.* 124.

*Hilarius*, lib. 6.

*Hierony. Epiſt. ad Evagrium.*

Of like force and faſhion, and out of the ſame figure, the ſame Author patcheth moreover another argument, proving, that the Biſhop of *Rome* was tituled the head of Chriſts Church, in the Primitive time of the old Anceſtors, before the age of *Gregory*. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure:

Saint *Peter* was called by the ancient Fathers, head of Chriſts Church;

Saint *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*:

*Ergo*, The Biſhop of *Rome* was called Head of the Church in the old ancient time.

An argument of the Papiſts.

This argument expoſitory, being clouted up in the third figure, and concluding ſingularly, hath rather a ſhew of an argument, than maketh any neceſſary concluſion, ſtanding upon no mood in the ſaid figure, if the Author thereof were put to trial. Albeit to leave the form, and to come to the matter of the argument. Firſt, how well will he diſpatch himſelf of the major, and prove us that S. *Peter* although he were at *Rome*, and taught at *Rome*, and ſuffered at *Rome*: yet that he was Biſhop and proper Ordinary of that City and ſpecial See of *Rome*? As touching the allegation of *Abdias*, *Oroſius*, *Ado*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome*, *Optatus*, *Auguſtine* brought forth for his moſt advantage, to prove his major: thus I anſwer concerning *Oroſius*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome*, and *Auguſtine*, that where they ſpeak of S. *Peters* Chair, or planting the Faith at *Rome*, ſtraightway this man argueth thereupon, that *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*. But that doth not clearly follow. For the office of the Apoſtles was to plant the Faith in all places, and in every Region, yet were they not Biſhops in every Region. And as for the Chair, as it is no difference eſſential that maketh a Biſhop (for ſo much as a Doctor may have a Chair, and yet be no Biſhop) ſo cannot he conclude by the Chair of *Peter*, that S. *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*. For all this proveth no further, but that *Peter* was at *Rome*, and there taught the faith of Chriſt, as *Paul* did alſo, and peradventure in a Chair likewiſe: yet we ſay not that *Paul* was therefore Biſhop of *Rome*: but that he was there as an Apoſtle of Chriſt, whether he taught there ſtanding on his feet, or ſitting in a Chair. In the Scripture commonly the Chair ſignifieth Doctrine or judgment, as ſitting alſo declareth ſuch as teach or judge, whether

Anſwer to the argument.

*Oroſius, Tertul. lib. de proſcript. adverſ. Hæreſ. Cypr. l.* 1. *Epiſt.* 3. *Hier. in cap.* 1. *& Epiſt.* 42.

whether they sit in the Chair of *Moses*, or in the Chair of Pestilence. Planting likewise is a word Apostolical, and signifieth not only the office of a Bishop. Wherefore it is no good consequent, He sate, he taught, he planted at *Rome*, his chair and seat was at *Rome*; *Ergo*, he was Bishop of *Rome*. And thus much touching *Orosius*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Augustine*.

As for *Abdias*, *Ado*, *Optatus*, and such others, although we should have much wrong offered, and never should make an end, if we should be prest with the authority of every one that could or did move pen, in all the whole first age of the Church, to be our Judges in every Ecclesiastical matter: and much more wrong should have, if the Authors either corrupted, or counterfeited, should be laid unto us, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherein they wrote; yet to help and to salve the authorities of these Authors so much as we may, I answer to their Allegations with this distinction of a Bishop, which is to be taken either generally, or specially. After the first, a Bishop is he to whomsoever the publick cure and charge of Souls is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of Bishop is co-incident with the office of Apostle, or any publick Pastor, Doctor, or Curate of the universal flock of Christ. And thus may *Paul*, *Peter*, or any other of the Apostles be called Bishops. So also is Christ himself by express word called ἐπίσκοπος and ποιμὴν, that is, Bishop and Pastor, 1 *Pet*. 2. And thus may *Peter* well be named a Bishop of these foresaid Authors after this manner of taking. But this publick and general Charge universally over the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the Apostles. For then were Bishops by places and Provinces appointed, to have special Over-sight of some particular Flock or Province, and so to be Resident and Attendant only upon the same.

A double taking of the word Bishop.

Christ himself a Bishop.

The other diversity of this name Bishop, is to be taken after a more special sort, which is, when any person orderly called, is assigned namely and specially to some one certain place, City, or Province, whereunto he is only bound to imploy his office and charge, and no where else, according to the old Canons of the Apostles, and of the Council of *Nice*. And this Bishop differing from the other, is called *Episcopus intitulatus*, having his name of his City or Diocess. And thus we deny that *Peter* the Apostle was ever Bishop elected, installed, or intituled to the City of *Rome*: neither doth *Optatus*, *Abdias*, *Ado*, or *Hierome* affirm the same. And if *Ado* say that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome* five and twenty years, until the last year of *Nero*, that is easily refuted both by the Scriptures and Histories: for so we understand by the Declaration of Saint *Paul*, Gal. 1. 2. that fourteen years after his Conversion, Saint *Paul* had *Peter* by the hand at *Hierusalem*.

*Canon. Apo.* 33. 14. 34. *Con. Nice.* ca. 15. *Concil. Antioch.* cap. 3. 13. *Peters* being at *Rome*.

Moreover, the said *Paul* in the foresaid Epistle witnesseth that the charge Apostolical was committed unto *Peter* over the circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also S. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, in his manifold Salutations to them in *Rome*, maketh no mention there of S. *Peter*, which doubtless should not have been unremembred, if he had been then in *Rome*. Again, S. *Peter* dating his Epistle from *Babylon*, was not then belike at *Rome*.

Furthermore, Histories do Record, that *Peter* was at *Pontus* five years, then at *Antioch* seven years. How could he then be five and twenty years at *Rome*? Finally, where our Adversary alledging out of *Ado*, saith, that Saint *Peter* was there five and twenty years, until the last year of *Nero*: how can that stand, when Saint *Paul* suffering under *Nero*, was put to death the same day twelve month, that is, a whole year after *Peter*? &c. But especially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Christ should make *Peter* an Apostle universal to walk in all the world? *Ite per universum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi testes usque ad fines terræ, &c.* And our Papists would needs make him a sitting Bishop, and intitle him to *Rome*. How accord these, *Apostolus* and *Episcopus*, *Ire* and *sedere*, *Omnes gentes* and *Roma* together?

And thus have I resolved the first untruth of that Popish Demonstration before rehearsed, wherein they think to prove that as *Peter*, although he was not called Universal Apostle, yet was the head of the whole Church: so the Pope might, and hath had after him the Charge of the whole Church, although he was not called Universal Bishop in the old time, &c.

Now followeth the second untruth to be touched in the same argument, which is, that because *Peter* was the head of the Church: so therefore the Pope must also be the head of the Church, and was: albeit he was not called Universal Bishop a long time. But this we do deny, yea, the matter denieth it self by their own position; for being granted by them, that the title of Universal Bishop was not received at *Rome*, but refused to the time of *Gregory*: then must it necessarily be granted, that the Bishops of *Rome* before Saint *Gregory*, had not the Charge of the whole Church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the Church. For so much as there can be no head, but which is Universal to the whole Body, neither can any have charge of the whole, but he must needs be Universal to all and singular parts of that, whereof he hath the Charge. As in Sciences, whosoever hath knowledge and cunning in all the seven liberal Sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal Knowledge, is said to be an universal learned man: so in office, to whomsoever the Publick Charge of all Churches doth appertain, how is he not to be called Bishop Universal? Now if before Saint *Gregories* time, the name of Universal Bishop was repealed in *Rome*: how then can the name be refused, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or else let our Adversaries tell us how they define an Universal Bishop, seeing this word Bishop is properly the name of office whereto is annexed Charge. Wherefore, if a Bishop be he which hath the charge of all Souls in his Diocess committed to him, and must render account for them all; then whose Charge extendeth to all and singular Churches, and must render account for every Christian soul within the whole world, to him cannot be denied the name of an Universal Bishop, having the office of an Universal Bishop. Or if he be not an universal Bishop, he cannot then have the Charge of the whole, that is, of all and singular Churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition: *Cui convenit definitio, convenit & definitum, & contra: Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur.* Although this word Universal, in the *Greek* Writers signifieth that, which we in our vulgar *English* Tongue call Catholick; yet I suppose our Adversaries here, will not take Universal in that sense. For after that meaning, as we do not deny that the Bishops of *Rome* may be Universal Bishops, so neither can they deny but other Bishops may also be as Universal, that is, as Catholick as they. But such as more distinctly and School-like discuss this matter, define Universal or Catholick by three things; to wit, by time, place, and person. So that whatsoever extendeth it self to all times, all places and all persons, that is properly Universal or Catholick. And contrariwise, what thing is to be called Universal or Catholick, reacheth to all those three aforesaid, comprehending all places, times, and persons, and extendeth it self of his own nature to the same, or else it is not to be called properly Universal or Catholick. And thus three things there be, which most commonly we call Catholick or Universal: that is the Church, which is called the Catholick Church: Faith, which is called the Catholick Faith: a man whom also we call a man Catholick, because these three of their own nature and disposition (no contrary obstacle letting) extend themselves so to all, that no time, place, nor person is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concur in the Charge of the Bishop of *Rome*, then is it an Universal Charge, and he an Universal Bishop: if not, then is his Charge neither Universal, nor he the Head of the Church, nor yet Universal Bishop. For how these three can be separated, I cannot see, except the Adversary part do prove it more evidently than they have done.

The second untruth of the argument above mentioned.

What is an Universal Bishop.

*Regula definitionis. Cui convenit definitio, & definitum.* Universal, defined by three things, time, place, and person.

Three things commonly called Catholick or Universal.

To have universal charge to be head of the universal Church, and to be universal Bishop are all co-incident together.

And thus much to the Objection of our Adversaries: arguing thus, that as Saint *Peter* being not called Universal Apostle, yet was the Head of the Universal Church: so the Pope, although he was not first called Universal Bishop, had, and might have the Charge of the whole Church, and was the universal Head of the same. The which Objection containing (as is said) a double untruth, our Adversaries, yet notwithstanding, do busie themselves greatly to fortifie by sundry Testimonies and Allegations, patched out of old and ancient Doctors, but specially out of *Theodoretus*, *Ireneus*, *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, proving by them, that the See of *Rome* having the Preeminence and Principality, hath been honoured above all other Churches. Whereupon the said adversary before minded, grounded this consequent.

*Ireneus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Amb. de dign. gent. lib. 2. cap. 6. Aug. Epiſt. 162.* An argument of the Papiſts. Anſwer.

*Ireneus*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine* and *Theodoretus* affirm, that the Church of *Rome* is the chief of all other Churches.

*Ergo*, the Biſhop and Head of that Church is chief and Head over all Biſhops, and Head over all other Churches.

But this conſequence is to be denied, for that the excellency of the Church or place doth not always argue the excellency of the Miniſter or Biſhop, not yet neceſſarily doth cauſe the ſame. For in matters of the Church, which are ſpiritual, all preeminence ſtandeth upon ſpiritual and inward Gifts (*Spiritualia enim ſpiritualibus comparantur,*) as Faith, Piety, Learning and godly Knowledge, Zeal and Fervency in the Holy Ghoſt, Unity of Doctrine, &c. which Gifts many times may excel in a Church, where the Miniſter or Biſhop is inferior to Biſhops or Miniſters of other Churches. As the moſt famous School in a Realm, hath not alway the moſt famous School-Maſter, neither doth make him thereby moſt excellent in Learning above all others. So if our Adverſaries do mean by this Preeminence of the Church of *Rome*, ſuch inward Gifts of Doctrine, Faith, Unity and Peace of Religion; then ſay I, the excellency hereof doth not infer or argue the excellency of the Biſhop. And thus concerning the Principality of the Church of *Rome*, commended at that time of the Doctors, it may be true, and ſo well expounded one way. And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and deny the conſequent. But here will our Adverſaries peradventure reply again and ſay, that the Principality of the Church of *Rome* which is commended by the Doctors, is not meant here ſo much by inward Gifts and Indowments belonging to a Chriſtian Church, as by outward Authority and Domination over other Churches. Whereto is to be anſwered: firſt, what neceſſity is there; or where did our Papiſts learn, to bring into the ſpiritual Church of Chriſt, this outward form of civil Regiment and Policy? that as the *Roman* Emperors in times paſt governed over all the world, ſo the *Roman* Biſhop muſt have his Monarchy upon the Univerſal Clergy, to make all other Churches to ſtoop under his Subjection. And where then be the words of our Saviour? *Vos autem non ſic.* If they hold their Affirmative *Quod ſic.* Where then is Chriſts Negative *Non ſic?* If they ſay, there muſt needs be diſtinction of degrees in the Church, and in this diſtinction of degrees, Superiotity muſt neceſſarily be granted for the outward Diſcipline of the Church, for directing matters, for quieting of Schiſms, for ſetting Orders, for commencing of Convocations and Councils, as need ſhall require, &c. Againſt this Superiority we ſtand not, and therefore we yield to our Superior Powers, Kings and Princes, our due Obedience, and to our lawful Governors under God of both Regiments, Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal. Alſo in the Eccleſiaſtical State, we take not away the diſtinction of ordinary degrees, ſuch as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the Primitive Church allowed, as Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Miniſters and Deacons, for of theſe four we ſpecially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diverſity of Office, ſo we admit in the ſame alſo, diverſity of Dignity: neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any ſingular Perſon. For as we give to the Miniſter place above the Deacon, to the Biſhop above the Miniſter, to the Archbiſhop above the Biſhop: ſo we ſee no cauſe of inequality, why one Miniſter ſhould be above another Miniſter: one Biſhop in his degree above another Biſhop to deal in his Dioceſs, or one Archbiſhop above another Archbiſhop. And this is to keep an order duly and truely in the Church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the Authority of *Auguſt. lib. de Civit. Dei.* Where he thus defineth that which we call Order: *Ordo eſt parium diſpariumque rerum ſua cuique loca tribuens diſpoſitio.* Order (ſaith he) is a diſcretion or diſpoſition given to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to every one his own right and proper place.

Preeminence of a Church eſteemed after a double conſideration.

Objection. Outward preeminence belongeth unto outward Kingdoms, not to the Church of Chriſt.

The firſt anſwer to the Objection.

*Non ſic.* ſaith Chriſt: *Quod ſic,* ſaith the Pope. Objection. Anſwer. Superiority in the Church. Diſtinction of degrees in the Church. Diverſity of Dignities in degrees. Order kept in the Church, and what true order is.

*Aug. lib. de Civ. Dei cap. 91.* Order defined.

This definition of S. *Auguſtine*, ſtanding with the things before premiſed; now here joyneth the queſtion between us and the Papiſts, whether the Metropolitan Church of *Rome*, with the Archbiſhop of the ſame, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitan Churches and Archbiſhops, through univerſal Chriſtendom, or not? To the anſwer whereof, if the voice of Order might here be heard, it would ſay, Give to things that be matches and like, like honour; to things unlike, unlike honour, &c. Wherefore, ſeeing the See of *Rome* is a Patriarchal See appointed by the Primitive Church, and the Biſhop thereof and Archbiſhop limited within his own bordering Churches, which the Council of *Nice* calleth *Suburbicas Eccleſias*, as other Archbiſhops be: he ought therefore orderly to have the honour of an Archbiſhop (ordering himſelf thereafter) and ſuch outward Preeminence as to other Archbiſhops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right Order, he falleth into preſumption, and doth wrong unto his Fellows: and they alſo do wrong unto themſelvess whoſoever they be, which feeding his humor of ambition, give more unto him than the foreſaid rule of Order doth require. For ſo much as they yield to him more than is his right, ſo much they take from themſelves, which is due to them. And the ſame is the cauſe, why both *Gregory* and *Pelagius* his Predeceſſor reprehendeth them, which gave to the Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that which now the Biſhop of *Rome* claimeth to himſelf, charging them with the breach of Order in theſe words, *Ne dum privatim aliquod daretur uni, honore debito Sacerdotes privarentur univerſi*; that is, Leſt that while any ſingular thing is given to one perſon, all other Prieſts be deprived of their due honour. And for the like caſe, *Pelagius* exhorteth that no Prieſt do give to any one Archbiſhop, the name of Univerſal Biſhop, *Ne ſibi debitum ſubtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert debitum*; that is, Leſt (ſaith he) in ſo doing, he take from himſelf his due honour, while he yieldeth that which is not due to another. And alſo in the ſame Epiſtle; *Quia ſi ſummus Patriarcha univerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur.* For (ſaith he) if he be called the chief univerſal Patriarch, then is the name of Patriarch derogated from others, &c. Wherefore as is ſaid, ſeeing the Biſhop of *Rome* is an Archbiſhop, as others be, Order giveth that he ſhould have the Dignity which to Archbiſhops is due; whatſoever is added more, is derogation to the reſt. And thus much concerning diſtinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honour.

*Ex regiſtro Greg. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.*

*Ex Epiſt. ad Pelagii 2. diſt. 99. cap. Nullus.*

The ſecond reaſon and anſwer to the Objection before moved, is this, That being granted to the Papiſts, that the Doctors aforeſaid, ſpeaking of the Principality of the Church of *Rome* do mean not only of the inward Vertues of that Church, but alſo of the outward Authority and Juriſdiction of the ſame, above other Churches: yet the cauſe wherefore they did attribute ſo much to that Church, is to be expended, which was this, as before was alleged out of the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Can.* 28. διὰ τὸ βασιλεύουσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, that is, For the Rule and Empery which that City of *Rome* had then above other Cities; which cauſe being outward and carnal, was neither then cauſe ſufficient, and now ceaſing, importeth not to us the like effect, according as they ſay, *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* So that by the reaſon thereof, the aforeſaid Principality of the Church of *Rome*, did not hold them *Jure divino ſed humano.* And as it holdeth by mans law, ſo by mans law may be repealed again.

The ſecond anſwer to the Objection before moved.

*Ex Concilio Chalced. cap. 28.*

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the Pope ſitteth and ſucceedeth in the Chair of *Peter*, and alſo that he is the Biſhop of the greateſt City in the world: yet it followeth not thereby that he ſhould have rule and Lordſhip over all other Biſhops and Churches of the world. For firſt touching the ſucceſſion of *Peter*, many things are to be conſidered:

Certain demands for the Papiſts to anſwer unto.

Firſt, Whether *Peter* ſate, and had his Chair in *Rome*, or not?

Secondly, Whether he ſate there as an Apoſtle, or as a Biſhop?

Thirdly, Whether the ſitting in the outward Seat of *Peter* maketh Succeſſors of *Peter*?

Fourthly, Whether he ſitteth in the Chair and Seat of *Peter*, which ſitteth not in the Doctrine of *Peter*?

Fifthly, Whether the Succeſſion of *Peter* maketh rather an Apoſtle than a Biſhop, and ſo ſhould we call the Pope the Apoſtle of *Rome*, and not the Biſhop of *Rome*?

Sixthly, Whether Eccleſiaſtical Functions ought to be eſteemed by ordinary ſucceſſion of place, or by Gods ſecret calling and ſending?

Seventhly and laſtly, Whether it ſtand by Scripture, any ſucceſſion at all to be pointed in Chriſts Church, or why more from *Peter* than from other Apoſtles?

All

All which Interrogatories being well diſcuſſed (which would ask a long Proceſs) it ſhould well appear what little hold the Pope hath to take this ſtate upon him, above all other Churches, as he doth. In the mean time, this one argument by the way may ſuffice, in ſtead of many, for our Adverſaries to anſwer to at their convenient leiſure. Which argument thus I form and frame in *Cameſtres.*

An argument proving the Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* not to be Succeſſors of *Peter.*

*Ca-* All the true Succeſſors of *Peter* ſit in the Chair of the Doctrine of *Peter*, and other Apoſtles uniformly:

*me-* No Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* ſit in the Chair of S. *Peters* and other Apoſtles Doctrine uniformly:

*ſres.* *Ergo*, No Popes of this latter Church of *Rome* be the true Succeſſors of *Peter.*

And when they have well peruſed the minor of this argument, and have well conferred together the Doctrine taught them of S. *Peter*, with the Doctrine taught now by the Popes, of juſtification, of a Chriſtian-man, of the office of the law, of the ſtrength and largeneſs of ſin, of mens Merits, of Free-will, of Works of ſupererogation, of ſetting up Images, of ſeven Sacraments, of auricular Confeſſion, of Satisfaction, of ſacrifice of the Maſs, of Communicating under one kind, of elevating and adoring the ſacramental Elements, of *Latin* Service, of Invocation, of prohibition of Meats and Marriage, of vowing Chaſtity of Sects and rules of divers Religions, of Indulgences and Pardons: alſo with their Doctrine taught now of Magiſtrates, of the fulneſs of Power and Regality of the See of *Rome*, with many other like to theſe, &c. then will I be glad to hear what they ſhall ſay to the Premiſes.

Secondly, If they would prove by the Allegation of the Doctors, *Ireneus*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Theodoretus* aforeſaid, the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the Chief of all Biſhops therefore, becauſe the City whereof he is Biſhop, is the chief and principal above all other Churches, that conſequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking as I ſay, the Principality of that Church to ſtand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, that is, upon the principal Dominion of that City) no more than this conſequent followeth.

*London* is the chief City in all *England*:

*Ergo*, the Biſhop of *London* is the chiefeſt of all Biſhops in this Realm.

Which argument were derogatory to the Archbiſhops both of *Canterbury* and *York.*

Yea, to grant yet more to our Adverſaries (which is all they can require) the mind of the aforeſaid Doctors, as *Ireneus*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, and *Theodoretus*, in giving Principality unto *Rome*, to have reſpect unto the vertue of ſucceſſion from *Peter*, and not unto the greatneſs of the City: yet notwithſtanding for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly conſidered; to ſay,

A falſe conſequent of the Papiſts.

The Apoſtolical See of *Rome*, having ſucceſſion from *Peter*, with the Biſhops thereof, was chief then of all other Churches in the Primitive time of theſe Doctors.

*Ergo*, The Apoſtolical See of *Rome*, with the Biſhops thereof, having ſucceſſion from *Peter*, ought now to be chief of all other Churches in theſe our days.

Anſwer to the conſequent.

This conſequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if ſucceſſion which gave them the cauſe of Principality, were the ſame now, which was then. But now the time and ſucceſſion is not correſpondent, for then ſucceſſion in the time of theſe Doctors, was as well in Doctrine Apoſtolical, as in place Apoſtolical. Now, the ſucceſſion of Doctrine Apoſtolical hath long ceaſed in the See Apoſtolical: and nothing remaineth but only place, which is the leaſt matter of true Spiritual and Apoſtolical ſucceſſion. And thus much to the authority and teſtimony of theſe forenamed Doctors.

Succeſſion Apoſtolical double-wiſe: to be conſidered.

Beſides theſe Objections heretofore recited out of *Ireneus*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, and *Theodoretus*; our Adverſaries yet object and heap up againſt us moreover Examples of the Primitive time of the Church, Teſtimonies of general Councils, and Opinions of ancient Writers taken out of the Book of Councils, and Epiſtles decretal, whereby their intent is to prove the foreſaid terms (of the Head of the Church, Ruler of the Church, Chief of all other Prieſts) to be applied not only to *Peter*, but alſo to the Biſhop of *Rome* within the compaſs of the Primitive time. And here cometh in the Teſtimony cited of *Vincentius Lirinenſis.* Of the Epiſtle of *Paſchaſius* and his Fellows, writing to *Leo* from the Counſil of *Chalcedon.* The teſtimony alſo of *Juſtinian* the Emperor in his *Codex*; where *Joannes* then Pope, was called *Caput omnium Eccleſiarum*, *Epiſt. inter claras*, *cap. De ſumma trinit. & fide cath.* The teſtimony alſo of *Athanaſius*, with his Fellow Biſhops of *Egypt*, of *Thebaida* and *Lybia*, in their Epiſtles to Pope *Marcus*, *Liberius*, and *Felix.* Likewiſe the teſtimony of *Jerome*, *In Præf. in* 4. *Evang.* *Item Ep.* 42. *tom.* 1. *Item Ep.* 41. *tom.* 2. Of S. *Ambroſe*, 1. *tom.* 3. Of S. *Auguſtine* to *Boniface.* *Ad Bonif. contra duas Epiſt. Palag. l.* 1. *c.* 1. *Item l.* 2. *de bapt. c.* 1. Of *Theodoretus* in his Epiſtle to Pope *Leo*, *Epiſt. commentar. in Pauli Ep. præfixa.* Of *Chryſoſtome*, *Epiſt. ad Innocentium*, *tom.* 5. *&c.* By which Teſtimonies our Adverſaries would prove Saint *Peter*, and after him the Biſhop of *Rome* to be called and taken for Head of the Church, Chief Biſhop, Prince and Ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which Objections fully and exactly to anſwer in order, would require a whole Volume by it ſelf. In the mean time, leaving the reſt unto them, unto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this own ſhort diſtinction I anſwer theſe and all ſuch other like places, where S. *Peter* with his Succeſſors are called Head of the Church, Chief of Biſhops, Prince of the Apoſtles, &c. In which places, this word Head, Chief, and Prince of the Apoſtles, may be taken two manner of ways to note either Dominion or elſe Commendation. For ſo we read ſometime *Caput* and *Principes*, to be words not of authority, but of excellency, whereby is declared the chiefeſt and worthieſt part among many parts, and not Poſſeſſor and Governor of the whole. Like as in the perſon of man, the Head is the Principal part of the whole Body, being indued with reaſon, and furniſhed with moſt excellent ſenſes, by the which the whole body of man is directed: ſo thereof is derived by a Metaphor, to what man or thing ſoever nature or condition hath given the greateſt excellency of Gifts and Properties above other parts or members, the ſame ſociety to be called of the ſaid Parties, *Caput* or *Princeps*, Head or Prince. And yet the ſame Head or Princes ſo called, hath not always Dominion or Juriſdiction of the reſt. So we call in our vulgar Speech, the Head or Chief men of the Pariſh, who for their Riches, Wiſdom, or Place, are moſt ſpecially noted: after like phraſe of Speech we call the head man of the Inqueſt, him that hath firſt Place: and yet neither they nor theſe have any Dominion or Juriſdiction upon the Reſidue. In a School the chiefeſt Schollar in Learning, is not therefore the Maſter or Governor of his Fellows. Neither hath M. *Cicero* any Title thereby to claim Subjection and Service of all other Orators, becauſe he is named *Princeps Eloquentiæ*; and goeth before them in that kind of phraſe. The ſame *Cicero*, *lib.* 1. *offic.* calleth *Cratippum principem hujus ætatis Philoſophorum:* as *Homer* may be alſo called *Poetarum Princeps:* and yet neither Philoſophers to *Cratippus*, nor Poets to *Homer* owe any thing elſe, but only fame and praiſe.

Teſtimonies alledged for the Principality of the Pope.

Anſwer by a diſtinction

*Caput* & *Princeps* have a double underſtanding.

How Peter is *Princeps Apoſtolorum*, *Princeps Eloquentiæ*, Cicero, *Princeps Philoſophorum* Cratippus.

And what if Saint *Peter* the bleſſed Apoſtle be called and counted by the old ancient Doctors, as Head and Prince of the Apoſtles, which is as much as *Coryphæus Apoſtolorum*, for his excellent Faith, for his Divine Confeſſion and ſingular Affection to the Lord Jeſus: yet what Intereſt or Charge either hath he to Challenge over the Apoſtles, or the Pope after him over all other Biſhops and the whole Church of Chriſt, although the Pope have the like excellency of Chriſts Faith which *Peter* had, as would God he had! As concerning theſe Allegations therefore out of the Doctors, two things are to be obſerved: firſt, that neither theſe Names and Titles, though they be given to *Peter*, do give him any State or Dominion over other Apoſtles: nor yet the ſucceſſion of him doth further any whit this celſitude and regality of the Pope to advance him above his Fellow Archbiſhops, as now he doth.

Petrus *Princeps & Coryphæus Apoſtolorum.*

And if our Adverſaries would needs provoke us to the numbering of Teſtimonies, and dividing the houſe (ſpeaking of the Writers and Councils of the Primitive Age) for theſe aforeſaid Teſtimonies alledged on their ſide: I could on the contrary part recite out of the witneſs of

Doctors,

Doctors, out of the examples of Councils, and practices of Emperors, no leſs than ſixty voices, much more repugnant againſt their aſſertion, than there is for the Pope. The tractation whereof for this preſent I do referr, either to them that have more leiſure at this time to diſcourſe them, or elſe omit it to another time, if the good pleaſure of the Lord ſhall be to grant me further leiſure in another Book to treat thereof at large in ſuch order, as (if the Lord ſo grant) ſhall appear ſufficient matter, to prove by the Doctors, general Councils, examples and hiſtories of time, that the Biſhops of *Rome*, during the firſt five hundred years after Chriſt, although for the greatneſs of the Empire, were ſomewhat more magnified than the other, and therefore were ſought of many, and were flattered of ſome, and they themſelves divers did ſet forth themſelves more than they ſhould: yet by the common conſent of Churches were ſtopped of their purpoſe, ſo that by the conſention of the moſt part, within the compaſs of that age, the Biſhops of *Rome* had not this Regal ſtate of Title, Juriſdiction and fulneſs of power, which now they uſurp, but were taken as Archbiſhops of equal honour, of equal merit with other Archbiſhops and Rulers of the Church. And if any preferment was given unto them ſomething above the reſt, yet neither was it ſo given of all, nor of the moſt part: ſecondly, neither was it ſo given of them for any ſuch neceſſity of Gods Word. *Aut jure aliquo divino*, as which did ſo bind them thereunto, nor yet ſo much for the reſpect of *Peter*, and his ſucceſſion: as for certain other cauſes and reſpects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteen.

Thirteen cauſes of advancing of the See of *Rome*.

Of which, the firſt is the greatneſs of the City and Monarchy of *Rome*.

1.

2. The ſecond, is the authority of the Emperor *Conſtantine* the great, firſt of the Emperors converted to the Faith, and ruling in the ſame City, by whom the univerſal liberty of the Church was firſt promoted: and the cauſes of the Biſhops being then at variance, were committed partly to the Biſhop of *Rome*, partly to other Biſhops near by, to be decided, as appeareth, *Euſeb. lib.* 10. *cap.* 5.

3. The third was the Council of *Nice*, which confirmed the preeminence of that Church to have the overſight of the Churches bordering about it.

4. The fourth cauſe of advancing the Church of *Rome*, was the unquiet ſtate of the *Greek* Church, much troubled in thoſe days with Sects, Factions and Diſſentions, whereof we may read, *Socrat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 15. *Sozom. lib.* 3. *cap.* 8.

5. The fifth, whenas Synods were called by other Metropolitans; then if it chanced the Biſhops of *Rome* to be abſent, and their ſentence being abſent to be required, by the occaſion thereof they began at length to take their ſentence for a Canon or rule Eccleſiaſtical, and thereby to refuſe other Synods, where their Decree or Sentence was not required.

6. Another cauſe was, that when any common matter was in hand at other places, whatſoever was done, commonly the manner was to write to the *Roman* Biſhop for his approbation in the ſame for publick unity and conſent to be had in Chriſts Church, as appeareth, *Lib.* 10. *Epiſt.* 78. *Ambroſ. ad Theophyl.*

7. *Item*, for that the teſtimony ſometimes of the *Roman* Biſhop was wont in thoſe days alſo to be deſired for admitting Teachers and Biſhops in other Churches, whereof we have example in *Socrat. lib.* 4. *cap.* 37.

8. Moreover, this was a great ſetting up of that Church, whenas their ſentence not only was required, but alſo received divers times of other Biſhops. And when Biſhops of other Provinces were at any diſſention among themſelves, they of their own accord appealed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, deſiring him to cite up both parties, and to have the hearing and deciding of the cauſe, as did *Macarius* and *Heſychius* ſend to *Julius* then Biſhop of *Rome*, *&c.*

9. *Item*, In that certain of the *Arians* returning from their *Arianiſme*, offered up and exhibited unto the Biſhops of *Rome* their libels of Repentance, and were of them received again, as *Urſatius* and *Valens* did to *Julius*, *Socrat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24.

10. The tenth cauſe was alſo, for that *Gratianus* the Emperor made a Law, that all men ſhould retaine that Religion which *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* did hold, *Sozom. lib.* 7. *cap.* 4.

11. And alſo if it hapned the Biſhop of *Rome* to diſallow the ordering of any Miniſter or Miniſters, the Popes perceiving how diligent and ready they were to ſeek their favour, and to ſend up their meſſengers to *Rome* for their purgation, took thereby no little manner of exaltation, *Theodoret. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

Beſides theſe aforeſaid, the Biſhops of *Rome* had alſo another artificial practice, that in ſending out their Letters abroad, as they did ſo many, in all their Epiſtles (if the Epiſtles be theirs, and not forged) ever they were harping of the greatneſs of their name, and of their Apoſtolick See, and of the primacy of Saint *Peter*, their Predeceſſor and Prince of all the Apoſtles, *&c.* And this they uſed in every Letter, whenſoever they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their Letters Decretal, namely, in the Letters of *Miltiades*, *Marcellus* and *Marcus*, *&c.*

Again, if any of the Eaſt Church directed any writing to them, wherein any ſignification was contained of never ſo little reverence given unto them (as learned men commonly uſe for modeſties ſake) that was taken by and by, and conſtrued for plain ſubjection and due obedience, as declareth the Letter of *Damaſus*, written to the Biſhops of the Eaſt Church beginning thus: *Quod debitæ reverentiæ &c.* In *Engliſh* thus: *But that your charity yieldeth due reverence to the Apoſtolical See, you in ſo doing (dear children) do much for your ſelves, &c. Theodoret. lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. whereas the Biſhops of the Eaſt Church notwithſtanding, had ſhewed little or no reverence in their Epiſtle to Pope *Damaſus* before.

Thus have ye the firſt and original grounds, by the means whereof, the Archbiſhops of the *Romiſh* See have atchieved to this their great Kingdom and celſitude over Chriſts Church, firſt beginning the myſtery of their iniquity by that which was modeſtly and voluntarily given them: afterward by uſe and cuſtome claiming it ambitiouſly unto them of duty and ſervice; and laſtly, holding faſt (as we ſee) that which once they had gotten into their poſſeſſion, ſo that now in no caſe they can abide the Birds to call home their feathers again, which they ſo long have uſurped.

This later Church of *Rome* differing from the firſt Church of *Rome* in form of government.

And thus much concerning the Life, Juriſdiction and Title of the *Roman* Biſhops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the Church of *Rome*. To theſe I might alſo joyn the manner of Government, wherein the ſaid *Romiſh* Biſhops have no leſs altered, both from the rule of Scripture, and from the ſteps of the true Church of *Rome*, which government as it hath been, and ought to be only ſpiritual, ſo hath the Biſhop of *Rome* uſed it of late years no otherwiſe than hath an earthly King or Prince governed his Realm and Dominions, with riches, glory, power, terror, outward ſtrength, force, priſon, death, execution, laws, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, revenging his affections, puniſhing and correcting faults againſt his perſon more than other offences againſt God committed, uſing and abuſing in all theſe things the Word of God for his pretext and cloke to work his worldly purpoſe withal: whereas indeed, the Word of God miniſtreth no ſuch power to ſpiritual perſons, but ſuch as is ſpiritual: according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle; *Arma militiæ noſtræ non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia, &c.* The Armour and Artillery ſaith Saint *Paul*, of our warfare, is not carnal, but ſpiritual: ſuch as ſerve not againſt fleſh and blood, nor againſt the weak perſon of man; but againſt Satan, againſt the gates of Hell, and the profundities of the wicked power, *&c.*

How the Church of Chriſt ought to be governed.

Which Armour, as it is all ſpiritual, ſo ought they, which have the dealing thereof, to be likewiſe ſpiritual, well furniſhed with all ſuch gifts and graces of the Holy Ghoſt, meet for the governance of his ſpiritual Church: as with wiſdom and knowledge in the Scripture to inſtruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foreſight of the crafty cogitations and operations of Satan, with power of the Spirit to reſiſt the ſame: with practice and experience of temptations, to comfort ſuch as be afflicted and oppreſſed of Satan: with heavenly diſcretion to diſcern ſpirits, and truth from untruth: with judgment and knowledge of tongues and learning to convict error: with zeal of Gods glory, with fervency of prayer, with patience in perſecution: with a mind contented with all caſes and ſtates incident, with tears and compaſſion on other mens griefs: with ſtoutneſs and courage againſt proud and ſtout oppreſſors: with humility toward the poor and miſerable: with the counſel of the Lord Jeſus by his Word and Spirit to direct

direct him in all things to be done: with ſtrength againſt ſin: with hatred of this world: with gift of faith: power of the keyes in ſpiritual cauſes: as to miniſter the Word, the Sacraments and Excommunication when the Word biddeth, that the ſpirit may be ſaved, and to reconcile again as cauſe requireth, *&c.* Theſe, and ſuch like are the matters wherein conſiſteth the ſinews and ſtrength of the Church, and for true governance of the ſame. But contrary to theſe aforeſaid both the Biſhop and Clergy of this later Church of *Rome*, proceeding in their adminiſtration and governance, as who under the name and pretence of Chriſt and his Word, have exerciſed of long time nothing elſe but a worldly dominion, ſeeking indeed their own glory, not the glory of Chriſt: riches of the world, not the lucre of ſouls: not feeding of the flock, but filling the purſe: revenging their own wrongs, but neglecting Gods glory: ſtriving againſt man only, and killing him; but not killing the vice, nor confuting the error of man: ſtrong againſt fleſh and blood, but weak againſt the Devil, ſtout againſt the ſimple, but meek againſt the mighty: briefly, doing almoſt all things prepoſterouſly, more like to ſecular Princes, than ſpiritual Paſtors of Chriſts flock, with outward forcement, and fear of puniſhment, with priſoning, famiſhing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, ſlaying, murthering, and burning, and warring alſo: on the other ſide, with his riches and treaſures, with his guard and guardiance, with ſtrength of Men, with Court and Cardinals: with pomp and pride about them, with their triple Crown, with the naked Sword, with their ordinary ſucceſſion: with their laws and executions: their promotions and preferments: their biddings and commandings: threatnings and revengings, *&c.*

Prepoſterous government of the Church by the Pope.

In fine, to compaſe therefore the images of a worldly Kingdom, with this Kingdom of the Pope, there is no difference, ſave only, that this Kingdom of the Pope, under hypocriſie maketh a face of the ſpiritual ſword, which is the Word of God: but in very deed doth all things with the temporal ſword, that is, with outward forcement and coaction: differing nothing from civil and ſecular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well conſidered. For as in an earthly Kingdom, firſt there is a Prince or ſome chief Magiſtrate appointed, having dominion over his Nobles and Commons, containing all his Subjects under his ſtatutes and laws; with the which laws notwithſtanding he diſpenſeth at his pleaſure; under whom all other inferiour Magiſtrates have their order and place to them appointed to rule over the Subjects, and yet to be ſubject under him: ſo if the ſtate and form of the Pope be well conſidered, we ſhall ſee it altereth nothing from the ſame, but only in the names of the perſons. In civil government, all ſubjection is referred to one head ruler, whoſe authority ſurmounteth all the reſt, and keepeth the munder obedience: in like manner the government of the *Popiſh* Church is committed to one man, who as chief ſteward, over-ſeer, and ruler of Chriſts houſhold in his abſence, hath ſupreme power over all Churches to moderate and direct all the affairs thereof. But here ſtandeth the difference, in civil Policy he is called a King or Prince: here he is called a Pope.

A compariſon between the Kingdom of this World, and the Kingdom of the Pope.

The King hath next unto him his Dukes and Earls: the Popes Nobility ſtandeth in his Cardinals and Legats; who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pomp and pride, will not only give check to them, but alſo mate to Kings themſelves, if they might be ſuffered, as did *Theodorus*, *Lanfrancus*, *Anſelmus*, *Thomas Becket*, and ſo would *Thomas Woolſey* have done, had not the King given him a neck to his mate betime. In Civil Policy next to Dukes and Earls followeth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, with Majors, Sheriffs, Conſtables, Bailiffs, Wardens, *&c.* The like race is to be ſeen alſo, although under other names, in the Popes policy: of Primats, Biſhops, Suffragans, Provoſts, Deans, Canons, Vicars, Archdeacons, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolyths, Exorciſts, Lectors, Dore-keepers, Singſters, with other Clerks. And is in the other, Under Wardens cometh the order of Scavengers: ſo neither doth the Popes Monarchy lack his Chanel-rakers, to whom may well be compared that rablement of Abbats, Provincials, Priors, Monks, Friers, with their Covents, and Nunneries.

Secular Nobility compared with eccleſiaſtical nobility.

Civil magiſtrates compared with eccleſiaſtical.

Moreover, from Juſtices, Judges, Lawyers, Sergeants, Attorneys, which be neceſſary Officers in the Commonwealth, what differ the Popes Inquiſitors, Canoniſts, Doctors, and Batchelors of the Popes Law, Commiſſaries, Officials, Proctors, Promoters, with ſuch others, which ſerve no leſs in ſpiritual Court, and in the Conſiſtory, than the other aforeſaid do in temporal Court, or in *Guildhal?* Now whoſo liſt to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other; alſo the power and ſtrength of the one regiment, with the power of the other; and ſo the riches of the one, with the riches of the other; I ſuppoſe he ſhall ſee no great odds between them both, taking the Popes Kingdom, as it hath ſtood in his full ruff, and yet doth ſtand where Churches are not reformed. As for ſubtilty and politick practice, there is no man that is indifferent that doubteth, or that hath his eyes that ſeeth not, that the Popes Hierarchy, in holding up their ſtate, far excelleth all the Kingdoms of worldly Princes, of whom all other may take example to learn.

Officers of the temporal court compared with the Officers of the ſpiritual Court.

Glory compared.

Power compared.

Riches compared.

Subtilty compared.

Thus in comparing the Popes regiment with civil governance, as they do little or nothing diſagree: ſo in comparing again the ſame with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old ancient Church of *Rome*, we ſhall ſee no reſemblance between them. As we read in the Apoſtles time, all the Armour of Chriſts Miniſters was ſpiritual and full of godly power againſt the ſpiritual enemies of our ſalvation, governing the Church then with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the ſword of the ſpirit, the ſhield of faith, the breſtplate of righteouſneſs, hearty charity, ſincere faith, and a good conſcience: ſo after the Apoſtles in the time of *Ambroſe*, by his own teſtimony it is to be underſtood, that the armour of Churchmen was then, *Preces & lachrymæ*, prayers and tears: where now the armor of the Popes Prieſthood is nothing elſe but *Ignis & ferrum*, fire and ſword, wherewith they keep all things under their ſubjection. And here cometh the enorm and horrible abuſe of excommunication, ſuſpenſion and interdiction in caſes frivolous, or worldly; and for ſuch things as for which the Civil Magiſtrate will not commit any Citizens to the ſtocks, the Popes cenſure will not ſtick to commit a Chriſtian to the Devil: not to ſpeak of their other uſurped dealings and doings in matters, that belong to the civil ſword, and be to them impertinent. As in puniſhing whoredom and adultery, in adminiſtration and probats of teſtaments, in bearing civil office, as Popes to be Senators of *Rome*, and Emperor alſo *Sede vacante*, Cardinals to be Captains in War, and Rulers of Regions: Biſhops to be Preſidents or Chancellors. Prieſts to be Stewards in great mens houſes, or Maſters of Mints, or Clerks of the Market, or Gardiners to Gentlemen, *&c.* All which here I overpaſs, referring them to the deeper conſideration of ſuch as have more leiſure to mark the order of their doings, and ſo to judge of the ſame with indifferency, according to the rule of truth taught in Gods Word, and publick examples of the ancient Church of Chriſt in the primitive time.

The diſference between the Popes regiment and the order of the primitive Church.

2 Cor. 10
Epheſ. 6.
1 Tim. 1.

The armor proper to Churchmen.

Horrible abuſe of excommunication in the Popes Church.

The Popes governing in matters to them not pertaining.

Thus having diſcourſed ſufficiently ſo much as concerneth the manner of life, title, juriſdiction and government of the Popes See (in all which points it is to be ſeen how this later Church of *Rome* hath receded from the true ancient Church of *Rome*) it now remaineth according to my promiſe, and order prefixed, conſequently to proceed to the fourth and laſt point, which is of Doctrine: wherein conſiſteth the chiefeſt matter that maketh with us and againſt them, in ſuch ſort as (their Doctrine ſtanding as it doth) neither are they to be reputed for true Catholicks, being altered ſo far from them: nor we other than Hereticks, if we ſhould now joyn with theſe. For the more trial whereof, let us examine the Doctrine and Rites of the ſaid Church of *Rome* now uſed, and compare the ſame with the teaching of the ancient Catholicks, to the intent that ſuch ſimple ſouls as have been hitherto, and yet are ſeduced by the falſe viſard and image of this pretenſed and baſtardly Church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eſchew the peril, if they liſt to be inſtructed; or if not, to blame none but themſelves for their own wilful deſtruction. And albeit I could here charge the new fangled Church of the Pope with ſeven or eight hainous crimes, as blaſphemy, idolatry, hereſie, ſuperſtition, abſurdity, vanity, cruelty and contrariety (in which it neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-elders, nor yet with themſelves in ſundry points) yet after a more temperate ſort to paſs this matter with them,

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes church examined and detected.

The falſe image of the Popes Church.

No comfort nor salvation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

them these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this Doctrine of the Pope now taught in the Church of *Rome*, is neither any consolation of Conscience, nor salvation of mans soul. For seeing there is no life nor souls health but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but only by faith in the son of God: what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least are most esteemed? For to say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the Popes law now set forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heap of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one jot to the justification of our souls before the terrible judgment of God.

The scope and summe of the Popes doctrine whither it tendeth.

And therefore as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the Pope is void of all true comfort and salvation: so likewise it seemeth that these, which addict themselves so devoutly to the Popes learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart, never entred into any serious feeling of Gods judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should soon have seen their own weakness, and been driven to Christ; then should they have seen what a horrible thing it is to appear before God the Father, or once to think on him (as *Luther* saith) without Christ. And on the contrary side, then should they know what a glory, what a Kingdom, what liberty and life it were to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bond-son of *Agar*, but with the free son of *Sara*: by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving: that God only might be praised, and not man.

*Papists* never lightly afflicted in conscience deeply.

An horrible thing to think of God without Christ. *Luther*.

And thus were the old *Romans* first taught by St. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*. The same did *Cornelius* the *Roman*, and first that was baptised of all the *Gentiles*, learn of St. *Peter* when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached. And in the same Doctrine the said Church of the *Romans* many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same Doctrine the Bishop of *Rome* with his *Romans* now also should still remain, if they were such ancient Catholicks as they pretend, and would follow the old mother Church of *Rome*, and hold the first liquor wherewith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdor and scent of that liquor and pleasant Must is now clean put out through other unsavoury infusions of the Popes thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor piece remaineth of all that primitive Doctrine, which St. *Paul* and other Apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvel if the *Romans* now in so long tract of time have lost their first sap, seeing the Church of the *Galatians* then in the very time of St. *Paul* their Schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had not so soon turned his back a little, but they were all turned almost from the Doctrine of faith, and had much ado to be recovered again.

The right faith of the old Romans. *Cornelius* a *Roman*, first baptised of all the Gentiles.

The Church of *Rome* hath lost the liquor wherewith it was first seasoned.

The *Galatians* almost gone from faith in St. *Pauls* time.

Of this defection and falling from faith, St. *Paul* expresly foretelleth us in his letters both to the *Thessalonians*, and also to *Timothy*, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certain shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, &c. *1 Tim.*4. and to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth us to understand in the same place, where the said Apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eat meats ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiving, for mans sustenance; most evidently, as with his finger, pointing out unto us the Church of *Rome*, which not in these points only, but also in all other conditions almost is utterly revolted from the pure original sincerity of that doctrine, which St. *Paul* planted in the Church of the *Romans*, and of all other Gentiles.

1 Tim.4.

## The summe of St. *Paul's* Doctrine delivered to the Gentiles.

A brief sum of St. *Pauls* doctrine delivered to the Gentiles.

1. First, the doctrine of St. *Paul* ascribeth all our justification freely and meerly to faith only in Christ, as to the only means and cause immediate, whereby the merits of Christs Passion be applied unto us, without any other respect of work or works of the law whatsoever: and in this Doctrine, the Church of the *Romans* was first planted.

2. Secondly, the same Doctrine of St. *Paul* cutting off, and excluding all glory of mans deserving, stayeth only upon Gods promise and upon grace, not mans merits: upon mercy, not mans labouring or running: upon election and calling, not mans willing &c.

Salvation by mercy only, and not by merits.

3. Thirdly the same Doctrine casting down the strength of man and his *Integra naturalia* (as the Schools do term them) concludeth all flesh under sin, and maketh the same destitute of the glory of God.

All flesh concluded under sin.

4. *Item*, it maketh manifest difference between the Law and the Gospel, declaring the use and end of them to be divers: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemn, the other to justifie; the one to have an end and a time, the other to be perpetual, &c.

Difference between the Law and the Gospel.

5. *Item*, the same Doctrine of St. *Paul*, as it sheweth a difference between the Law and the Gospel; so it maketh no less difference between *Justitia Dei*, and *Justicia propria*; that is, the righteousness of God and the righteousness of Man, abhorring the one, that is, mans own righteousness, coming by the law and works; and imbracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciously to us for Christ his Sons sake, in whom we believe.

*Justicia Dei Justicia propria.*

6. *Item*, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoever, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

The righteousness of God, & the righteousness of man, how they differ in Scripture.

7. Likewise it rejecteth and wipeth away all curious subtilties, and superfluous speculations and knoweth nothing else but Christ only crucified, which is only the object whereunto our faith looketh.

A true Christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified.

8. Furthermore as the same Doctrine of Saint *Paul* defineth all men to be transgressors by disobedience of one *Adam*, though they never touched the apple, they coming of his stock by nature; so doth it prove all men to be justified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, they being likewise born of him by spiritual regeneration and faith.

All men condemned by one.

9. And therefore as all men coming of *Adam* be condemned originally, before they grow up to commit any sin against the Law: so all men regenerated by faith in Christ, be saved originally before they begin to do any good work of charity, or any other good deed.

All men saved by one.

10. *Item*, the Doctrine of St. *Paul* perpending the high glory of a Christian mans state in Christ Jesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with Almighty God, *Rom.*5. Secondly, exempteth him from all condemnation, *Rom.*8. Thirdly, it matcheth him with Angels; it equalleth him with Saints and fellow Citizens of Heaven; it numbreth him with the houshold of God; and inheriteth him with Jesus Christ himself, *Ephes.*2. Fourthly, it adopteth him from the state of a servant, to the state of the Son of God, crying *Abba Father*, *Gal.*4. Fifthly, it openeth to him a bold access and entrance to the high majesty and throne of grace, *Ephes.*2.*Heb.*4. Sixthly, it subjecteth all things under him, as ministers, yea the Apostles themselves in their highest office, death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole World besides, and assigneth him no spiritual head, but only Christ, saying, *And you are Christs, and Christ is Gods*, 1 *Cor.*3. Seventhly, it advanceth and setteth him in a spiritual liberty or freedom, above all terrours of spirit, rising either of Gods Law, or Mans Law, above all dreadful fears of sin, damnation, malediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory: above all servile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customs, or what else soever oppresseth and entangleth the spiritual freedom of a Conscience, which Christ hath set at liberty; and requireth moreover that we walk and stand stout in that liberty whereto we are brought with the free-son of *Sara*, and not suffer our selves any more to be clogged with any such servile bondage: that is to say, although we must be content to subject our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet must we not yield our spiritual consciences and souls as slaves and servants, to be subject to the fear or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, for so much as we are in that part made Lords and Princes over all things whatsoever can harm, or bind, or terrifie us, *Gal.*4. *Col.*2.

Original sin, original justice. Rom.5. Rom. 8. Ephes. 2. *Itaq; jam non es servus sed filius.* Gal. 4. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. 1 Cor. 3. The glorious state of christian liberty and spiritual freedom in Christ Jesus. Gal. 4. Colos. 2.

11. *Item*, the right vein of Saint *Pauls* Doctrine putteth no difference nor observation in days and times, *Gal.*4. *Col.*2.

Days and times indifferent.

12. *Item*,

Meats indifferent with thanksgiving.

12. *Item*, it leaveth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiving, to ſerve the neceſſity of the body, and not the body to ſerve them, *Coloſſ.*2. 1 *Tim.*4.

Marriage lawful for all men.

13. *Item*, it permitteth Marriage without reſtraint or exception, lawful and alſo expedient for all men, having need thereof, 1 *Cor.*7.

One ſacrifice for ſin, and no more. Heb. 9.

14. *Item*, it admitteth no ſacrifice for ſin but the ſacrifice of Chriſt alone, and that done once for all with blood. For without blood there is no remiſſion of ſin, which is applied to us by faith only, and by nothing elſe, *Heb.*9.

The uſe of the holy Communion in ancient time of the primitive Church.

15. *Item*, as touching the holy Communion, by the Letters of Saint *Paul* to the *Corinth.*11. we underſtand, that the uſe then amongſt them was, to have the participation of the Bread called the Lords Body, and of the Cup called the Lords Blood, adminiſtred not at an Altar, but at a plain Board or Table, the Congregation there meeting together after the time of their Supper, where not the Miniſter alone did receive, and the other looked on; but the whole Congregation together did communicate with reverence and thankſgiving, nor lifting over the Prieſts head, nor worſhipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breaſts; but either ſitting at the Supper, or ſtanding after the Supper. According to which form the *Muſcovites* yet to this day, following the old Rite of the Country (although being drowned otherwiſe in much ſuperſtition) uſe to receive it after they be riſen from their Dinner, ſtanding. Experience whereof was ſeen here at *London* the firſt day of *October*, 1569.

No more Sacraments mentioned in St. *Paul*, but the Lords ſupper and Baptiſm.

16. *Item*, the ſaid Apoſtle, beſides the Sacramental Supper, maketh mention of Baptiſm, or waſhing of regeneration, although he himſelf baptiſed but few, 1 *Cor.*1. of the other Sacraments he maketh no mention.

17. *Item*, by the ſame Doctrine of St. *Paul*, no tongue is to be uſed in the Congregation, which is not known, and doth not edifie, 1 *Cor.*14.

The authority and office of the civil Magiſtrates.

18. *Item*, the Rule of Saint *Paul's* Doctrine ſubjecteth every creature under the obedience of Kings and Princes, and ordinary Magiſtrates, ordained of God to have the ſword and authority of publick Regiment, to order and diſpoſe in all things, not contrary to God, whatſoever pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the evil: from whoſe Juriſdiction there is no exemption of vocations or perſons, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Political. And therefore to this office it appertaineth to preſerve peace, to ſet things in lawful order, to conſerve Chriſtian Diſcipline in the Church of Chriſt, to remove offences, to bridle the diſobedient, to provide and procure wholeſome and faithful teachers over the people, to maintain learning, and ſet up Schools, to have overſight not only of the People, but alſo of all Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, to ſee every one to do his duty, and to remove or puniſh ſuch as be negligent: alſo to call Councils and Synods, and to provide that the Church Goods be faithfully diſpenſed by the hands of true dealers, to the ſuſtentation of the Church, of true Teachers, and to the publick neceſſity of the poor, *&c.*

The office and authority of Biſhops how far it doth extend.

19. Furthermore, by St. *Paul's* Doctrine, the Miniſters and ſuperintendents of Chriſts Church have their authority and armour likewiſe to them limited, which armour is only ſpiritual and not carnal, whereby they fight not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt the power of darkneſs, error and ſin; againſt the ſpiritual ſeduction and craftineſs in heavenly things, againſt the works and proceedings of Satan the Prince of this World, in comforting weak Conſciences againſt the terrors of the Devil and deſperation, and finally againſt every cogitation lifted up againſt Chriſt, to ſubdue every celſitude to the ſubjection and power of Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God.

## Another brief recapitulation of the ſame.

Another brief recapitulation of St. Paul's doctrine reduced to five points.

BRiefly to reduce the whole Doctrine of St. *Paul* into a compendious ſum, it conſiſteth chiefly in theſe five points:

1. Firſt, in ſetting forth the grace, great love and good will, and free promiſes of God the Father in Chriſt Jeſus his Son to mankind, which ſo loved the World, that he hath given his own Son for the redemption thereof, *John* 3. 16. Which gave his Son to die for us being his enemies, *Rom.*5. Which hath quickned us being dead in ſin, *Epheſ.*2. Which ſo mercifully hath reconciled the World to himſelf by his Son, and alſo by his Embaſſadors deſireth us to be reconciled unto him, 2 *Cor.*5. Who hath given his own Son to be Sin for us, 2 *Cor.*5. To be accurſed for us, *Gal.* 3. Which by firm promiſe hath aſſured us of our inheritance, *Rom.*4. Which not by the works of righteouſneſs that we have done, but of his own mercy hath ſaved us by the waſhing of Regeneration, *Tit.*3.

The great mercy of God in Chriſt. Galat. 3. 2 Cor. 5. Rom. 5. Titus 3.

2. The ſecond point conſiſteth in preaching and expreſſing the glorious and triumphant majeſty of Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, and the excellency of his glory; who being once dead in the infirmity of fleſh, roſe again with power, and aſcending up with majeſty, hath led away captivity captive, *Eph.*4. ſitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heavenly things above all principates and poteſtates, powers and dominations, and above every name that is named, not only in this World, but alſo in the world to come, *Epheſ.*1. At whoſe name every knee is to bend both in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue to confeſs our Lord Chriſt Jeſus to the glory of God the Father, *Phil.*2. In whom and by whom all things are made both in heaven and earth, things viſible and inviſible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates or poteſtates, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things conſiſt in him who is the head of his body the Church, the beginning and firſt born from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fullneſs, *Col.*1. To whom the Father hath given all judgment, and judgeth no man himſelf any more, *John* 5. To whom the Father hath given all things to his hands, *John* 13. To whom the Father hath given power of all fleſh, *John* 17. To whom all power is given in heaven and earth, *Mathult.* In whom all the promiſes of God are *Eſt & Amen*, 2 *Cor.*1.

The glory and majeſty of Chriſt Jeſus ſet forth by St. *Paul.* Epheſ. 4. Phil. 2. Coloſ. 1. John. 5. John 13. John 17. Math.ult. 2 Cor. 1.

3. Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his Croſs and Paſſion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to us by the ſame. By whoſe blood we have redemption and remiſſion of our ſins, *Epheſ.* 1. By whoſe ſtripes we are made whole, *Eſay.*53. By whoſe Croſs all things are pacified, both in heaven and in earth, *Col.*1. By whoſe death we are reconciled, *Rom.*5. Who hath deſtroyed death, and brought life to light, 1 *Tim.*1. Who by death hath deſtroyed him which had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and hath delivered them which lived under fear of death all their life in bondage, *Heb.*2. By whoſe obedience we are made juſt: by whoſe righteouſneſs we are juſtified to life, *Rom.* 5. By whoſe curſe we are bleſſed, and delivered from the malediction of the Law, *Gal.*3. By whoſe blood we that once were far of, are made near unto God, *Epheſ.*5. Who in one body hath reconciled both Jews and Gentiles unto God, *Epheſ.*2. Who by his fleſh hath taken away the diviſion and ſeparation between God and us, aboliſhing the law which was ſet againſt us in precepts and decrees, *Epheſ.* 2. Who is our peace, our advocate, and propitiation for the ſins of the whole world, 1 *John* 2. Who was made accurſed, and ſin for us, that we might be the righteouſneſs of God in him, 2 *Cor.*5. Who is made of God for us, our wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, and ſanctification, and redemption, 1 *Cor.*1. By whom we have boldneſs and entrance with all confidence through faith in him, *Epheſ.* 3. Who forgiveth all our ſins, and hath torn in pieces the obligation or hand-writing, which was againſt us in the law of commandments, and hath crucified it upon the Croſs, and utterly hath diſpatched and aboliſhed the ſame, and hath ſpoiled principates and poteſtates, as in an open ſhew of conqueſt, triumphing over them openly in himſelf, *Col.*2. Who juſtifieth the wicked by faith, *Rom.*4. In whom we are made full and compleat, *Col.*2. *&c.*

The great mercy of God in Chriſt. Galat. 3. 2 Cor. 5. Rom. 5. Titus 3. Phil. 2. Coloſ. 1. John. 5. John 13. John 17. Math.ult. 2 Cor. 1. Epheſ. 1. Eſay 53. Coloſſ. 1. Rom. 5. 1 Tim. 1. Heb. 2. Rom. 5. Gal. 3. Epheſ. 2. 1 Joh. 2. 2 Cor. 5. 1 Cor. 1. Epheſ. 3. Coloſ. 2. Rom. 4. Coloſ. 2.

The third branch. The vertue and effect of Chriſts death, and what exceeding benefits proceed thereof.

4. The fourth branch is, to teach us and inform us, to whom theſe benefits of Chriſts Paſſion and Victory do appertain, by what means the ſame is applied and redoundeth unto us; which means is only one, that is, only faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and no other thing. Which faith it pleaſeth Almighty God to accept for righteouſneſs. And this righteouſneſs it is, which only ſtandeth before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and eſpecially by the Doctrine of St. *Paul*. Which righteouſneſs thus riſing of faith in Chriſt, St. *Paul* calleth the righteouſneſs of God, where he ſpeaketh of himſelf, utterly refuſing the other righteouſneſs which is of the law, *that he might be found in him, not having his own righteouſneſs*

The fourth branch. Faith only the mean cauſe of ſalvation and nothing elſe

*which*

The righteouſneſs of the law. Philip. 3.

*which is of the law, but the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, which is of faith, Phil.* 3. Again, the ſaid Apoſtle writing of the Jews, which ſought for righteouſneſs and found it not; and alſo of the Gentiles, which ſought not for it, and yet found it, ſheweth the reaſon why: *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *the one ſought it by works and the Law, and not knowing the righteouſneſs of God, and ſeeking to ſet up their own righteouſneß, did not ſubmit themſelves to the righteouſneß which is of God.* The other, which were the Gentiles, and ſought not for it, obtained righteouſneſs, that righteouſneſs which is of faith, *&c. Rom.* 9. Alſo in another place of the ſame Epiſtle, Saint *Paul* writing of this righteouſneſs which cometh of faith, calleth it the righteouſneſs of God, in theſe words: *Whom God* (ſaith he) *hath ſet up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, whereby to make manifeſt the righteouſneß which is of himſelf in tolerating our ſins, &c. Rom.* 3. By the which righteouſneſs it is evident that St. *Paul* meaneth the righteouſneſs of faith, which Almighty God now revealeth and maketh manifeſt by preaching of the Goſpel. Wilt thou ſee yet more plainly this righteouſneſs of God, how it is taken in St. *Paul*, for the righteouſneſs of faith, and therefore is called the righteouſneſs of God, becauſe it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deſerved of man? In the ſame Epiſtle to the *Romans* and in the third Chapter aforeſaid, his words be manifeſt: *The righteouſneß of God* (ſaith he) *is by faith of Jeſus Chriſt, in all, and upon all that do believe, &c.*

The righteouſneſs of the Goſpel. Rom. 9.

The places of St. *Paul* expounded. Rom. 3.

The righteouſneſs of faith, why it is called Gods righteouſneſs.

Rom. 3.

A leſſon out of St. *Paul's* Doctrine, of all Chriſtians to be obſerved.

Wherefore whoſoever ſtudieth to be accepted with God, and to be found righteous in his ſight, let him learn diligently by the Doctrine of St. *Paul* to make a difference and a ſeparation, as far as from Heaven to Earth, between theſe two, that is, between the righteouſneſs of works, and righteouſneſs of faith: and in any wiſe beware he bring no other means for his Juſtification, or remiſſion of his ſins, but only faith apprehending the body or perſon of Chriſt Jeſus crucified. For as there is no way into the houſe but by the door, ſo is there no coming to God but by Chriſt alone, which is by faith. And as the mortal body, without bodily ſuſtenance of bread and drink, cannot but periſh; ſo the ſpiritual ſoul of man hath no other refreſhing but only by faith in the body and blood of Chriſt, whereby to be ſaved. With this faith the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Jeſus Chriſt, and received thereby righteouſneſs. *Cornelius* (the firſt baptiſed *Roman*) ſo ſoon as he heard *Peter* preach Chriſt, received ſtraightway the Holy Ghoſt. *Peter* himſelf confeſſed, and for his confeſſion had the Keys of Heaven, *Mat.* 16. *Zacheus* received the perſon of Chriſt into his houſe, and withal received ſalvation both to him and his whole houſhold, *Luke* 19. What a ſinner was *Mary*, which had no leſs in her than ſeven Devils, and yet becauſe ſhe ſet her heart and affection upon that perſon, many ſins were forgiven her? *Luke* 7. The right hand Thief, how far was he from all works of the Law, and yet by Faith entred he juſtified into Paradiſe the ſame day with Chriſt? *Luke* 23. In like manner although the poor Publican came to the Church with leſs holineſs after the Law, yet went he home to his houſe more juſtified than the Phariſee with all his works, and all by reaſon of faith, *Luke* 18. The Parable of the Prodigal Son which was loſt, yet revived again; alſo of the loſt groat, and of the loſt ſheep which went aſtray and was found again: what do theſe declare, but that which is loſt by the Law to be recovered by faith and grace? And how oft do we read in the Goſpels? *Thy faith hath ſaved thee, &c. Jeſus ſeeing their belief, &c. He that believeth in me, I will raiſe him up in the laſt day, &c. Believe alſo in me, &c. He that believeth in me hath everlaſting life, &c. Without me ye can do nothing, &c. He that is in me, &c. He that loveth me, &c. He that heareth me, &c. He that abideth in me, &c. He that receiveth me, &c. Unleß ye eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, &c. That they may receive remiſſion of ſins by their faith in me, &c.* Acts 26. *To him all the Prophets give witneß, to have remiſſion of ſins, whoſoever believeth in his Name, &c.* Acts 10. *He that believeth and is baptiſed,* Mat. ult. *He that believeth in me ſhall do the works that I do, and greater than theſe, &c.*

Salvation cometh only by faith. Acts 10. Mat. 16. Luke 19. Luke 7. Luke 23. Luke 18.

That which is loſt by the law is recovered by faith.

Luke 18. Mat. 9. Joh. 14. Joh. 14. Joh. 15. Joh. 6. Acts 26. Acts 10. Mat. ult. Joh. 14.

The Writings of St. *Paul* full of the name of Chriſt Jeſus.

And likewiſe in the writings of St. *Paul*, how often do we hear the name of Chriſt almoſt in every third or fourth line, where he ſtill repeateth: *In Chriſto Jeſu, per Chriſtum Jeſum per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum &c. Qui credunt in ipſo, &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo, &c. Credentes in illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen ejus, in nomine Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti. &c. Believe* (ſaith St. *Paul* to the Jaylor) *in the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved and thy whole houſe, &c.* Acts 16.

Belief only in Chriſt juſtifieth. Acts 16.

Thus then thou ſeeſt, as the Paſſion of Chriſt is only the efficient or perſonal cauſe immediate of our ſalvation: ſo is Faith only the inſtrumental or mean cauſe that maketh the merits of Chriſt to us available. For as the paſſion of Chriſt ſerveth to none but ſuch as do believe; ſo neither doth faith (as it is only a bare quality or action in mans mind) it ſelf juſtifie, unleſs it be directed to the body of Chriſt crucified as to his object, of whom it receiveth all his vertue. And therefore theſe two muſt always joyntly concur together, faith, and Chriſt Jeſus crucified. As for example, when the Children of *Iſrael* were bid of *Moſes* to look up to the brazen Serpent; neither could the Serpent have helped them, except they had looked up, nor yet their looking upward have profited them, unleſs they had directed their eyes upon the ſaid Serpent as the only object ſet up to the ſame purpoſe for them to behold. So our Faith in like caſe directed to the body of Jeſus our Savior, is the only means whereby Chriſts merits are applied unto us, and we now juſtified before God, according to the Doctrine of St. *Paul* (who in expreſs words deeming to us what this faith is, and how it juſtifieth) ſaith: *If thou ſhalt confeß with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and believe with thy heart that God raiſed him from death, thou ſhalt be ſaved, &c. Rom.* 10. Beſides this, what action or quality ſoever is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and believing, be it never ſo true, except it apprehend this object (which is) the body of Chriſt the Son of God, it ſerveth not to juſtification. And that is the cauſe why we add this particle (only) to faith, and ſay that only faith in Chriſt juſtifieth us, to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or works of man, from the cauſe of juſtifying; for ſo much as there is no other knowledge nor gift given of God to Man, be it never ſo excellent, that can ſtand before the judgment of God unto Juſtification, or whereunto any promiſe of ſalvation is annexed; but only this faith looking up to the Brazen Serpent, that is, to the body of Chriſt Jeſus for us crucified.

The perſonal cauſe of Salvation. The inſtrumental cauſe.

How faith juſtifieth. Chriſt the only object of faith which juſtifieth.

Example of the braſen Serpent.

What faith is by S. *Paul*. Rom. 10.

Faith only.

As for Example, when the *Turk* ſaith, that he believeth in one living God that made Heaven and Earth, his belief therein is true, yet it juſtifieth him not, becauſe he ſaileth the right object, which is Chriſt. So when the *Jew* ſaith, that he believeth in one God maker of Heaven and Earth, and believeth alſo the ſame God to be omnipotent, merciful, juſt, and true of promiſe, and that he hath elected the ſeed of *Abraham*: true it is that he believeth, and yet all this ſerveth him not, becauſe Chriſt the Son of God is not joyned withal. And though the ſaid *Jew* ſhould be never ſo devout in his prayers, or charitable in almes, or preciſe in keeping the Law, and believe never ſo ſtedfaſtly that he is elect to be ſaved; yet he is never the nearer to ſalvation for all this, ſo long as his faith is not grounded upon the head corner ſtone, which is the perſon and body of Jeſus Chriſt the true Savior. After like ſort it may be ſaid of the *Papiſt*, when he ſaith, that he is baptiſed, and believeth in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, and one God, and alſo confeſſeth Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God, which died for our ſins, and roſe again for our righteouſneſs, *&c.* his belief therein is true, and indeed would ſave him, if he did ſtay his ſalvation in this faith, and upon Chriſt his Savior only, according to the promiſe and grace of God, and go no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Chriſt only to be his perfect Savior without the help of the Patrons, Heads, Advocates, and Mediators, nor yet permitteth his faith in Chriſt only to be the means of his Juſtification, but ſetteth up other by-means, as Hope, Charity, Sacrifice of the Maſs, Confeſſion, Penance, Satisfaction, Merits and Pardons, ſuppoſing thereby to work his Juſtification before God, contrary to the word of promiſe, to the Goſpel of Grace, and to the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*, whereof we ſhall ſee more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Divers ſorts of believing. The *Turks* faith. The *Jews* faith.

Every truth may be believed, but the believing of every truth ſaveth not.

The *Papiſts* faith.

*Only.*

Hope and charity be no parts of our juſtification, nor cauſes to make the merits of Chriſt ours.

And thus much of the true cauſes of our Juſtification after the Doctrine of Saint *Paul*. Concerning which cauſes this diſtinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the original cauſes of our ſalvation, which be

The cauſes of our ſalvation diſtinguiſhed.

divers

divers and ſundry, ſome are external, and without us; ſome are internal, and within us. Of the external cauſes which are without us, the firſt and principal is the mercy and grace of God. Of this followeth Predeſtination and Election. Then cometh Vocation. The laſt and next cauſe to us is the death and bloodſhed of Chriſt, whereby we are redeemed, and all theſe be external cauſes, becauſe they are without us. Of internal cauſes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more in Scripture appointed, that is our faith in Chriſt, which is the gift of God in us. Beſides this, there is no gift of God given to man, vertue, work, merit, nor any thing elſe, that is any part or cauſe of ſalvation, but only this gift of faith, to believe in Chriſt Jeſus. And this is the cauſe why we hold that faith only juſtifieth, meaning that amongſt all the works, deeds, actions, labours and operations, whatſoever man doth or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh ſalvation, but only his faith given to him of God to believe in Chriſt his Son, following therein the trade of St. *Pauls* teaching: who in preciſe words ſo aſcribeth juſtification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the ſame Epiſtle to the *Romans*, St. *Paul* reaſoning of the glory of juſtifying, asketh this queſtion, how this glory is excluded; whether by the law of works? And concludeth no: aſcribing only the glory thereof to the law of faith, and conſequently upon the ſame he inferreth: *Colligimus enim juſtificari hominem per fidem ſine operibus legis: We hold that a man is juſtified by faith without the deeds of the law.*

Grace and mercy. Election. Vocation. Chriſts paſſion.

Chriſtian faith.

The meaning and cauſe why faith only juſtifieth.

All works of man excluded from the glory of juſtifying.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our Juſtification, which St. *Paul* utterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalf? Of which like excluſives, and negatives the whole courſe of *St. Pauls* Doctrine is full, where he ſtill concludeth; *Sine operibus, abſque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum eſt; ſecundum miſericordiam; non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur.* Epheſ. 2. *Non ex operibus juſticiæ quæ fecimus nos, ſed ſecundum propoſitum ſuum & gratiam, &c.* Tit. 3. *Non ſecundum opera noſtra, &c.* Tim. 1. That is to ſay, *It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man ſhould glory*, &c. *Not of the works of righteouſneſs, which we have done, but of his own mercy*, &c. *Not after our works, but after his own purpoſe and grace which is given to us*, &c. Again, *Gal.* 2. *Non juſtificatur homo ex operibus*, &c. That is, *A man is not juſtified by works*, &c. *Item, Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui juſtificat impium, fides imputatur ad juſticiam, &c.* Rom. 4. *To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which juſtifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for righteouſneſs, &c.* By theſe excluſives and negatives in St. *Pauls* Doctrine, what doth he elſe mean, but utterly to ſeclude all kind of mans merits, and works of the law from the office and dignity of juſtifying? And although he expreſſeth not the word, *Only*: yet upon his excluſives, and negatives, this exceptive muſt needs be inferred. For in all Logick the conſequence is neceſſary and formal, as, One man is ſuffered to come into the houſe, and no perſon elſe is ſuffered but one: *Ergo* one man only is ſuffered to enter into the houſe. And thus much concerning faith in Chriſt proved to be the only mean, or inſtrumental, or conditional cauſe of our ſalvation, and no other beſides the ſame alone, by the doctrine of S. *Paul* taught to the ancient *Romans*.

Epheſ. 2. Titus 3. 2 Tim. 1. Gal. 2. Rom. 4.

The excluſives and negatives of St. *Paul* to be marked.

5. The fifth branch, which I note in Saint *Paul*'s Doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus eſtabliſhed us in certainty of our ſalvation through faith in Chriſt, then after that, he exhorteth us vehemently and with all inſtance to good works, ſhewing the true uſe and end to good works: which is, Firſt, to ſhew our obedience and dutiful ſervice (as we may) unto God, who hath done ſo great things for us. Secondly, to relieve our neighbours with our charity and kindneſs, as God hath been kind to us his enemies. Thirdly, to ſtir up others by our example to praiſe God, to embrace the ſame Religion, and to do the like. For requiſite it is, that as God hath been ſo merciful to us and gracious in eternal gifts, we ſhould be merciful likewiſe to other in temporal commodities. And ſeeing it hath pleaſed him of his fatherly goodneſs (of our parts ſo little deſerved) to call us to ſo high a vocation, to give the blood of his Son for us, to forgive us all our ſins, to deliver us from this preſent wicked world, to make us Citizens of Heaven, yea his Children, more than Servants: little then can we do, and well may we think

The fifth branch.

The true uſe and end of good works.

thoſe benefits ill beſtowed, if we forgive not our neighbours, and ſhew not ſomething again worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called us, in mortifying our worldly luſts here, and ſtudying after heavenly things: and finally, if we being provoked with ſuch love and kindneſs, render not again ſome love for love, ſome kindneſs for kindneſs, ſeeking how to walk in the ſteps which he hath prepared for us to walk in, ſerving him (ſo much as we may) in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life. And though our obedience ſhall always be imperfect, do the beſt we can: yet reaſon would that ſome obedience we ſhould ſhew, as loving Children to ſuch a loving father.

And this is the cauſe why St. *Paul* is ſo vehement and urgent to call upon good works, not that works ſhould juſtifie, but that we being juſtified ſo mercifully and tenderly through his grace, ſhould not abuſe his grace in vain, but endeavour our ſelves to our uttermoſt to render our ſervice again to him, in ſuch converſation of life as may moſt make to his glory, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our Saviour ſeem in ſome places to attribute to our obedience and charity here in earth, great rewards in heaven, that is of his own free grace and goodneſs ſo to impute ſmall matters for great deſerts, and not for us to claim any meed thereby or thank at his hand, as by any worthineſs of our doings: no more than the ſervant can, who when he cometh from the Plough and ſerving the Cattel in the field, ſerveth firſt his Maſter at home and waiteth upon his Table: the Maſter is not bound (ſaith Chriſt) to thank his Servant therefore, and bid him ſit down: *So you* (ſaith he) *when you have done that is commanded you, ſay ye are unprofitable ſervants; ye have done but what your bound duty was to do, Luke.* 17.

Good works juſtifie not but follow the juſtified.

Luke 17.

Again, here alſo is to be underſtood, that where ſuch rewards be aſcribed unto mens deeds, it is not for the worthineſs of the deed it ſelf, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the work to be good in Gods ſight: for elſe if an Infidel ſhould do the ſame work that the Chriſtian doth, it were nothing but meer ſin before God. In that therefore the Chriſtian mans work is accepted be it never ſo ſmall (as to give a Cup of cold water) the ſame is only for his faith ſake that doth it, and not for the work which is done. Whereby again we may learn how faith only doth juſtifie a man, and that three manner of ways.

Faith juſtifieth three manner of ways.

Firſt, it juſtifieth the perſon in making him accepted, and the Child of God by regeneration, before he begin to do any good work.

Secondly, it juſtifieth a man from ſin, in procuring remiſſion and forgiveneſs of the ſame.

Thirdly, it juſtifieth the good deeds and works of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but alſo in making the ſame works to be good and acceptable in the ſight of God, which otherwiſe were impure and execrable in his ſight.

The office therefore of faith and works is divers, and muſt not be confounded. Faith firſt goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and juſtifieth him in the ſight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and making his good deeds acceptable to God, climbing up to Heaven, and there wreſtling with God and his judgment for righteouſneſs, for ſalvation, and for everlaſting life. Works and Charity follow faith, and are exerciſed here upon the earth, and glory only before Man, but not before God, in ſhewing forth obedience both to God and to Man. Further than this our good works do not reach, nor have any thing to do in the judgment of God touching ſalvation. I ſpeak of our good works (as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, *Rom.* 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For elſe if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Chriſt wrought them in the perfection of his fleſh; that is, if we could perfect them; then as it is ſaid: *Qui fecerit ea, vivet in eis.* But now ſeeing the imbecillity of our fleſh cannot attain thereto, it followeth thereof that all glory of juſtifying is taken from works, and transferred only to faith.

The office of faith, and the office of the Law compared together.

The works of man be imperfect, and therefore have nothing to do with juſtification.

And thus much concerning the principal contents of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine: wherein the Church of the ancient *Romans* was firſt grounded and planted, and ſo continued in the ſame, or at leaſt did not much alter, during the primitive ſtate of the Church. Likewiſe the ſame form of Doctrine the later *Romans* alſo that followed ſhould have maintained, and not have fallen away for any mans preaching,

but hold him accurſed, yea if he were an Apoſtle or Angel from Heaven, teaching any other Doctrine beſides that inſtitution which they have received, *Gal.*1. for ſo were they warned before by the Apoſtle St.*Paul* to do. And yet notwithſtanding all this forewarning and diligent inſtruction of this bleſſed Apoſtle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, eſpecially among the *Romans*, whereof the ſaid Apoſtle alſo foretold them ſo long before, fore-prophecying: *That the day of the Lord ſhall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of ſin ſhould be revealed, the proud adverſary of God, &c. Theſ.*2. meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the Holy Ghoſt had then planted by his Miniſtry among the Gentiles, as we ſee it now come to paſs in the Church of *Rome*. Which Church is ſo gone from the faith that St. *Paul* taught, that if he were now alive, and ſaw theſe Decrees and Decretals of the Biſhop of *Rome*, theſe heaps of ceremonies and traditions, theſe Maſs-books, theſe Porteſes, theſe Feſtivals and Legends, theſe Proceſſionals, Hymns, and Sequences, theſe Beads and Graduals, and the manner of their Invocation, their Canons, Cenſures, and later Councils, ſuch ſwarms of ſuperſtitious Monks and Friers, ſuch Sects, and ſo many divers Religions, the teſtament of St. *Francis*, the rule of St. *Benedict*, of St. *Bridget*, of St. *Anthony*, *&c.* the intricate ſubtilties and labyrinths of the Schoolmen, the infinite caſes and diſtinctions of the Canoniſts, the Sermons in Churches, the aſſertions in Schools, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the Clergy, the cruelty of perſecuting Prelats with their Officials and Promoters: he would ſay this were not a defection, but rather a plain deſtruction, and a ruine of faith; neither that this were any true Church of Chriſt, but a new found Religion, or Paganiſme rather, brought in under the ſhadow of Chriſtianity, wherein remaineth almoſt nothing elſe but the name only of Chriſt, and the outward form of his Religion, the true vein and effect whereof is utterly decayed; as to them which liſt to examine all the parts of this new *Romiſh* Religion may ſoon appear.

Gal. 1. — Defection of Faith in the Church of *Rome*. — A view of the Popes catholick Church. — Theſſ. 2. — The Church of *Rome* degenerated again almoſt to new Paganiſm.

For ſave only that they pretend the ſolemn form and words of the Creed, and are baptiſed, confeſſing the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt: as touching all other points and true ſincerity of the Chriſtian Faith, which they outwardly profeſs, they are utterly degenerated from that which S.*Paul* and the Word of God firſt had taught them.

First, they confeſs the Father in Word, but his Will in his Word expreſſed they renounce; his grace they acknowledge not, his benefits and promiſes given unto us in his Son they receive not, the vigor of his Law they feel not, the terror of his judgments earneſtly they fear not, his commandments they obſerve by traditions and commandments of their own.

The Popes Church only in words Catholick, in deed heatheniſh.

Likewiſe the name of Chriſt his Son in word they confeſs, but his office in deed they deface and diminiſh; his glory they ſeek not, but under his name they do ſeek their own; the power of his blood and paſſion they know not, or elſe diſſemble it, whom neither they admit to be the Head of his Church alone, nor Saviour alone, nor to be our only Patron and Advocate, but match him with our Lady, and other Patrons, ſo that every Pariſh almoſt in *Chriſtendom* hath his peculiar Patron beſides Chriſt to hold by.

In like manner they confeſs the name of the Holy Ghoſt, but God himſelf knoweth how far they are from the comfort, knowledge and taſte of the Holy Ghoſt; as well may appear by their Councils, by their expounding of Scripture, by their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, by their outward worſhipping and idolatrous Invocation to ſtocks and ſtones, and to dead creatures, by their ſcrupulous obſervation of days, times, places, numbers and geſtures: and no leſs alſo by their Doctrine, which defraudeth the poor hearts of ſimple Chriſtians of their due conſolation, joy and liberty in the Holy Ghoſt, and keepeth them ſtill in a ſervile bondage, and a doubtful incertainty of their ſalvation, contrary to the working of the Holy Spirit of God.

The Religion of the Popes Church proceedeth contrary to the working of the Holy Ghoſt.

And thus the Church of *Rome*, pretending only the name of Chriſt and of his Religion, is ſo far altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that under the name of Chriſt, it perſecuteth both Chriſt and his Religion: working more harm to the Church of Chriſt, than ever did the open Tyrants and perſecuting Emperors among the Heathen: not much unlike herein to the old Synagogue of the Scribes and Phariſes, who under the name of God crucified the Son of God, and under pretence of the Law, fought againſt the Goſpel, and under the title of *Abraham*'s children, perſecuted the Children of *Abraham*. And as they bragging ſo highly of the *Temple of the Lord*, the *Temple of the Lord*, did indeed deſtroy the true *Temple of the Lord*: right ſo theſe pretended Catholicks in theſe days, after they have raiſed up a Catholick Church of their own, and have armed the ſame with laws, and have gathered unto them a power of Prieſts, Prelats, Abbots, Priors, & religious men, of Cardinals, and alſo of ſecular Princes to take their part; now under the name of the Catholick Church they perſecute the true Catholick Church, and colouring their proceeding ſtill with *In nomine Domini*, moſt cruelly put them to death which die *Pro nomine Domini*; condemning them for Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels, not which deny any part of the Creed, which they themſelves profeſs, nor ſuch whom they can convince by any Scripture; but only ſuch, which will not joyn with their errors and hereſies, contrary to the honour of God, and truth of his Word.

The old Phariſes and the later Church of the *Romans* compared together.

The Popes Church under the name of the Catholick Church perſecuteth the true Catholick Church of Chriſt.

And leſt any ſhould think this, that we here proteſt againſt the corrupt errors and manifold deformities of this later church of *Rome*, to proceed of any rancour or affection, rather than grounded upon neceſſary cauſes, and demonſtrations evident, my purpoſe is (by the Lords leave) to take herein ſome little pains, as I have collected a little before the ſum and contents of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, wherewith the old Church of *Rome* was firſt ſeaſoned and acquainted, ſo now as in a like ſummary table to deſcry the particular branches and contents of the Popes Doctrine now ſet forth, to the intent that all true Chriſtian Readers, comparing the one with the other, may diſcern what great alteration there is between the Church of *Rome* that now is, and the Church of *Rome* that then was planted by the Apoſtles in the Primitive time. And to the end to open unto the ſimple Reader ſome way whereby he may the better judge in ſuch matters of Doctrine, and not be deceived in diſcerning truth from error; firſt we will propound certain principles of general poſitions, as infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, whereby all other Doctrines and Opinions of Men being tried and examined, as with the touchſtone, may the more eaſily be judged whether they be true or contrary, and whether they make againſt the Scripture, or no.

## *Certain Principles, or general Verities grounded upon the truth of Gods Word.*

Certain general Principles and Rules gathered out of the Scriptures.

The firſt Principle.

1. *AS ſin and death came originally by the diſobediene of one to all men of his generation by nature: ſo righteouſneſs and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by Faith and Baptiſm*, Rom.5. — Rom.5.

The ſecond Principle.

2. *The promiſe of God was freely given to our firſt parents without their deſerving; that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break the ſerpents head*, Gen.3. — Gen. 3.

The third Principle.

3. *Promiſe was given freely to* Abraham *before he deſerved any thing, that in his Seed all Nations ſhould be bleſſed*, Gen.12. — Gen. 12

The fourth Principle.

4. *To the Word of God neither muſt we add, nor take from it*, Deut.4. — Deut.4.

The fifth Principle.

5. *He that doth the works of the Law ſhall live therein*, Levit.18. Gal.3. — Levit.18 Gal. 3.

The ſixth Principle.

6. *Accurſed is he which abideth not in every thing that is written in the Book of the Law*, Deut.27. Gal.3. — Deut.27 Gal. 3.

The ſeventh Principle.

7. *God only is to be worſhipped*, Deut.6. Luke 4. — Deut. 6. Luke 4.

The eighth Principle.

8. *All our righteouſneſs is like a defiled cloth of a woman*, Eſay 64. — Eſay 64

The ninth Principle.

9. *In all my holy hill they ſhall not kill nor ſlay, ſaith the Lord*, Eſay 11.65. — Eſa. 11, 65.

The tenth Principle.

10. *God loveth mercy and obedience more than ſacrifice*, Oſe.6. 1 Reg.15. — Oſe. 6. 1 Reg. 15.

The

The eleventh Principle.

11. *The Law worketh anger, condemneth and openeth*
Rom. 3. *ſin*, Rom. 3.

The twelfth Principle.

12. *The end of the Law is Chriſt, to righteouſneſs to eve-*
Rom. 10. *ry one that believeth.* Rom. 10.

The thirteenth Principle.

10. *Whoſoever believeth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaved.*
Mat. ult. Matth. ult.

The fourteenth Principle.

14. *A man is juſtified by faith without works, freely by*
Gal. 2. *grace, not of our ſelves.* Gal. 2. Epheſ. 2.
Epheſ. 2.

The fifteenth Principle.

15. *There is no remiſſion of ſins without blood.*
Heb. 9. Heb. 9.

The ſixteenth Principle.

Rom. 14. 16. *Whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* Rom. 14. *Without*
Heb. 11. *faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Heb. 11.

The ſeventeenth Principle.

17. *One Mediator between God and Man, Chriſt Jeſus,*
1 Tim. 2. 1 Tim. 2. *And he is the propitiation for our ſins.* 1 Joh. 2.
1 Joh. 2.

The eighteenth Principle.

18. *Whoſoever ſeeketh by the Law to be juſtified, is*
Gal. 5. *fallen from Grace.* Gal. 5.

The nineteenth Principle.

19. *In Chriſt be all the promiſes of God*, Eſt & Amen.
2 Cor. 1. 2 Cor. 1.

The twentieth Principle.

20. *Let every ſoul be ſubject to ſuperior powers, giv-*
*ing to Ceſar that which is Ceſars, and to God that which*
Rom. 13. *is Gods.* Rom. 13.

Theſe Principles and infallible Rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny: ſo if they be granted, the Doctrine then of the Popes Church muſt needs be found not to be Catholick, but rather full of errors and hereſies, as in the ſequel following remaineth more expreſly and particularly by the Grace of Chriſt to be convinced.

## Here followeth a ſummary collection of the Errors, Hereſies, and Abſurdities, contained in the Popes Doctrine, contrary to the Rules of Gods Word, and the firſt Inſtitution of the Church of *Rome*.

### Of Faith and Juſtification.

The errors, hereſies and abſurdities in the Popes doctrine.

FIrſt as touching the only means and inſtrumental cauſe of our Juſtification, whereby the merits of Chriſts Paſſion be applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how Saint *Paul* aſcribeth the ſame only to faith; as appeareth by all his Letters, eſpecially to the *Romans*. Where he excluding all kind of works, aſcribeth all our ſalvation, juſtification, righteouſneſs, reconciliation and peace with God only unto faith in Chriſt. Contrary to which Doctrine, the Pope and his Church hath ſet up divers and ſundry other means of their own deviſing whereby the merits of Chriſts Paſſion (they ſay) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of ſins, and for our juſtification, as hope, charity, ſacrifice of the Maſs, auricular confeſſion, ſatisfaction, merits of Saints, and holy Orders, the Popes Pardons, *&c.* So that Chriſts ſacrifice, ſtripes, and ſuffering, by this teaching doth not heal us, nor is beneficial to us, though we believe never ſo well, unleſs we add alſo theſe works and merits above recited. Which if it be true, then it is falſe that *Eſay* the Prophet doth promiſe: Chap. 53. *In his ſtripes we are all made whole, &c.* This error and hereſie of the Church of *Rome*, though it ſeem at firſt ſight to the natural reaſon of man to be but of ſmall importance; yet if it be earneſtly conſidered, it is in very deed the moſt pernicious hereſie that ever almoſt crept into the Church, upon the which, as the only foundation, all or the moſt part of all the errors, abſurdities and inconveniences of the Popes Church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not juſtified by his faith in Chriſt alone, but that other means muſt be ſought by our own working and merits to apply the merits of Chriſts Paſſion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our ſalvation, nor end in ſetting up new means and merits of our own deviſing for remiſſion of ſins. Neither hath there been any hereſie that either hath rebelled more

The means of applying Chriſts merits unto us by the popes doctrine.

The taking away of this article of faith only to juſtifie, is the root of great inconvenience in Chriſts Church.

No hereſie to be compared to the hereſie of Papiſts.

preſumptuouſly againſt the high Majeſty of God the Father, nor more pernitiouſly hath injured the ſouls of the ſimple, than this Doctrine.

The firſt inconvenience

Firſt of all, it ſubverteth the will and teſtament of God. For where Almighty God of mercy hath given us his Son to die for us, and with him hath given out his full promiſe, that whoſoever believeth upon him, ſhould be ſaved by their faith, and aſſigneth none other condition, either of the Law, or any of works, but only of faith, to be the means between his Son and us: theſe men take upon them to alter this Teſtament that God hath ſet, and adjoyn other conditions, which the Lord in his Word never appointed nor knew. To whom the words of *Hierom* may be well applied upon the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, ſpeaking of ſuch: *Qui de Evangelio Chriſti faciunt homins Evangelium, vel quod pejus eſt, Diaboli &c.* That is, *Which make of the Goſpel of Chriſt the goſpel of Men, or rather the goſpel of the Devil, &c.*

No condition limited of God to Man for ſalvation but one.

*Hierom. in Epiſt. ad Gal. cap. 1.*

The ſecond inconvenience.

What hurt cometh into the Church by taking away the article of juſtification.

Secondly, whereas the Chriſtian Reader in the Goſpel, reading of the great grace and ſweet promiſes of God given to mankind in Chriſt his Son, might thereby take much comfort of ſoul, and be at reſt and peace with the Lord his God: there cometh in the peſtiferous Doctrine of theſe Hereticks, wherewith they obſcure this free grace of God to choke the ſweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghoſt, and oppreſs Chriſtian liberty, and bring us into ſpiritual bondage.

The third inconvenience.

Thirdly, as in this their impious Doctrine they ſhew themſelves manifeſt enemies to Gods Grace: ſo are they no leſs injurious to Chriſtian Men, whom they leave in a doubtful diſtruſt of Gods favour and of their ſalvation, contrary to the Word and Will of God, and right inſtitution of the Apoſtolick Doctrine. And whereas our new Schoolmen of late, to maintain the ſaid wicked point of Doctrine, do object unto us that we rather leave mens conſcience uncertain, forſomuch as, if life (ſay they) were not a due reward, it were uncertain: and now forſomuch as due debt is certain, and mercy or favour is uncertain, therefore (ſay they) we leaving mens conſciences to the mercy of God, do leave them in a doubtful uncertainty of their ſalvation. To this I anſwer, that due debt, if it be proved by the Law duly deſerved, muſt be certain. But if the Law ſhall prove it unperfect, or unſufficiently due, then it is not certain, neither can there be any thing duly claimed. Now as touching mercy, ſo long as it remaineth ſecret in the Princes will, and not known to his Subjects, ſo long it is uncertain. But when this mercy ſhall be openly publiſhed by Proclamation, ratified by promiſe, conferred by will and teſtament, eſtabliſhed in blood, and ſealed with Sacraments, then this mercy remaineth no more doubtful, but ought firmly to be believed of every true faithful ſubject. And therefore Saint *Paul* to eſtabliſh our hearts in this aſſurance, and to anſwer to this doubt, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, doth teach us, ſaying: *And therefore of faith, that after Grace the promiſe might be firm and ſure to the whole ſeed of Abraham, &c. Rom.* 4. Meaning hereby, that works have nothing to do in this caſe of juſtifying, and noteth the reaſon why. For then our ſalvation ſhould ſtand in a doubtful wavering, becauſe in working we are never certain whether our deſerts be perfect and ſufficient in Gods judgment or no. And therefore (ſaith Saint *Paul*) to the intent our ſalvation ſhould be out of all doubt and certain, it ſtandeth not of works in deſerving, but of faith in apprehending, and of Gods free grace in promiſing.

Objection of the Papiſts anſwered

The Papiſts do teach the mercy of God to be uncertain.

Mercy of God made certain by his promiſes.

Salvation ſtandeth ſure and certain by Gods promiſe.

The place of Saint *Paul* *Rom.* 4. expounded.

The fourth inconvenience.

Fourthly, as in this their ſiniſter Doctrine they break this principle of Chriſtian Religion, which ſaith that a man is juſtified by faith without works, ſo again it breaketh another principle above rehearſed. For this Rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to Gods Word, nor taken from it; then have theſe men done wickedly in adding (as they do) to Gods Word. For where the Word of God limiteth to our juſtification no condition but faith: *Believe* (ſaith he) *in the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved. and thy whole houſe, &c. Acts* 16. theſe juſticiaries do add thereto divers and ſundry other conditions beſides, and ſuch as the word alſo preciſely excludeth, as Hope, Charity, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the work of the Prieſt, *Ex opere operato*, Auricular Confeſſion, Satisfaction, meritorious deeds, &c. And thus much concerning the Doctrine of Faith and Juſtification. Whereby it may ap-

The fourth principle above recited broken.

pear to what horrible blindneſs and blaſphemy the Church of *Rome* is now fallen, where this kind of Doctrine is not only ſuffered, but alſo publickly profeſſed, which ſpeaking againſt faith, thus blaſphemouſly dare ſay: *Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certo ſtatuit propter Chriſtum ſibi remiſſa eſſe peccata, ſeſeque poſſeſſurum vitam æternam, non fides eſt, ſed temeritas; non ſpiritus ſancti perſuaſio, ſed humanæ audaciæ præſumptio.* That is, *That faith wherewith a man firmly believeth, and certainly aſſureth himſelf, that for Chriſts ſake his ſins be forgiven him, and that he ſhall poſſeß eternal life, is not faith, but raſhneß; not the perſwaſion of the Holy Ghoſt, but preſumption of a mans boldneß.*

*Ex Lindano in epitome doctrinæ evangelicæ.*

## *Of Works and the Law.*

*The firſt error of the Papiſts, touching good works.*

AS touching the Doctrine of good works, and the Law, what the teaching of Saint *Paul* was to the *Romans*, ye heard before. Who although he excludeth good works from the office of juſtifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practice and converſation of Chriſtian life, but moſt earneſtly calleth upon all faithful believers in Chriſt, to walk worthy their vocation, to lay down their old converſation, to give their members ſervants of righteouſneſs, to offer their bodies up to God a lively ſacrifice, &c. The like example of whoſe teaching, if the Churches now reformed do not follow, let their ſermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings and lives alſo bear record. Who although they cannot ſay with Chriſt, *Which of you can blame me of ſin?* yet they may ſay to the adverſaries, Whoſoever of you is without fault, caſt the firſt ſtone of reproach againſt us. Wherefore *Hoſius*, *Pighius*, with their fellows do them open wrong, and ſlanderouſly belie them in comparing them in this behalf to *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, and other Hereticks called *Anomei*, who taking the good ſentences of Saint *Paul*, did abuſe the ſame to filthy licence of the fleſh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

*Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſſionis, cap. 1.*

But to let theſe ſlanders paſs, now what the errors be of the Church of *Rome* touching this part of Doctrine, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe error firſt ſtandeth in this, that they, miſunderſtanding the definition of good works, do call good works, not ſuch as properly are commanded by the Law of God, but ſuch as are agreeable to the Popes law; as building of Abbies and Churches, giving to the High Altar, founding of Trentals, finding of Chanteries, gilding of Images, hearing of Maſſes, going on Pilgrimage, fighting for the Holy Croſs, keeping of Vows, entring to Orders, faſting of Vigils, creeping to the Croſs, praying to Saints, &c. All which are not only reputed for good works, but ſo preferred alſo before all other works, that to theſe is given pardon from the Pope, double and tripleſold, more than to any other good work of Charity commanded in the Law of Almighty God.

*The ſecond error of the Papiſts in the doctrine of good works.*

Another error alſo may be noted in the *Papiſts*, touching the efficient or formal cauſe of good works. For albeit they all confeſs in their Books, that *Gratia Dei gratis data* is the chief and principal cauſe thereof, and worketh in us *Juſtitiam primam* (as they call it) yet the good works after regeneration they refer to other ſubordinate cauſes, under God, as to free-will, or to *Habitum virtutis*, or *Ad integra naturalia*, and nothing at all to faith, when as faith only next under God is the root and fountain of all well doing: as in the fruits of a good tree, albeit the Planter or the Husbandman be the principal agent thereof, and ſome cauſe alſo may be in the good ground; yet the next and immediate cauſe is the root that maketh the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God in a ſoft and repentant mollified heart, planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good root cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but ſpringeth forth, and maketh both the tree fruitful, and alſo the fruit thereof to be good, which otherwiſe had no acceptation nor goodneſs in them, were it not for the goodneſs of the root from whence they ſpring; So St. *Paul*, although he had certain works in him, ſuch as they were, before his converſion: yet had he no good works before the Grace of Chriſt had rooted faith in him. So *Mary Magdalene* the ſinner, and *Zachæus* the Publican. So all the Nations of the Gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and eſpecially good fruit, when they began to be ingrafted in Chriſt, and to receive the root of his faith, whoſe fruits before that, were all damnable and unſavoury. As touching the cauſe therefore of good works, there is no other in man but faith, whoſe office as it is to juſtifie us in Heaven, ſo the nature of it is here in earth to work by love, as the root worketh by the Sap. For as a man ſeeth and feeleth by faith the Love and Grace of God toward him in Chriſt his Son: ſo beginneth he to love again both God and man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly ſpringeth the running fountain of all good works and deeds of Charity.

*Faith the root and cauſe of good works.*

*Works are not to be called good, but by reaſon of faith.*

*The office of faith to juſtifie.*

*The effect of faith to bring forth good works.*

*Fides per dilectionem operans.* Gal. 5.

Thirdly, as they err in the cauſe of good works, ſo do they err much more in the end of the Law, and of good works: for where S. *Paul* teacheth the Law to be given to this uſe and end: to convict our tranſgreſſions, to prove us ſinners, to ſhew and condemn our infirmity, and to drive us to Chriſt: they take and apply no other end to the Law, but to make us perfect, to keep us from wrath, and to make us juſt before God. And likewiſe where St. *Paul* proveth all our good works to be imperfect, and utterly ſecludeth them from the end of juſtifying: they contrariwiſe do teach, as though the end of good works were to merit remiſſion of ſins, to ſatisfie unto God, to deſerve Grace, to redeem ſouls from Purgatory, and that by them the perſon of the regenerate man doth pleaſe God, and is made juſt before God. For ſo they teach moſt wickedly and horribly, ſaying, that Chriſt ſuffered for original ſin, or ſins going before Baptiſm; but the actual ſins, which follow after Baptiſm, muſt be done away by mens merits. And ſo they aſſign to Chriſt the beginning of ſalvation, or obtaining the firſt grace (as they call it) but the perfection or conſummation of grace they give to works and our own ſtrength. Neither can they in any caſe abide, that we be juſtified freely by the mercy of God through faith only apprehending the merits of Chriſt. Howbeit neither do all *Papiſts* in this their error agree in one. For ſome make diſtinction, and ſay, that we are juſtified by Chriſt *Principaliter*, *id eſt*, principally: *Et minus principaliter*, *id eſt*, leſs principally, by the dignity of our own deeds, contrary to the eighth principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith, but by our vertues that follow after. Some again do thus expound the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *We are juſtified by faith*: that is (ſay they) by faith, preparing us, or ſetting us in a good way to be juſtified. Others expound it by the figure *Synecdoche*, that is, by faith conjoyned together with other vertues: Others thus: *By faith*, that is, being formed with charity, &c. Thus all theſe do derogate from the benefit of Chriſt, and attribute unto works a great or the greateſt part of our juſtification, directly againſt the true vein of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, and firſt inſtitution of the ancient Church of *Rome*, and againſt all the principles of Holy Scripture.

*The third error of the Papiſts, touching the end of the Law and good works.*

*The end of the Law and good works perverted.*

*Tho Aquin. Hoſius in 2. tom confeſs. cap. 1.*

*The divers opinions of the catholick Papiſts, how faith juſtifieth.*

*The Popes doctrine againſt the principles of Scripture.*

Furthermore, as touching the ſaid Doctrine of the Law and good works, they err in miſunderſtanding the nature of the Law and works. For where S. *Paul* diſputeth that the Law is ſpiritual, and requireth of us perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we being carnal, are never able to accompliſh: they affirm otherwiſe, that the Law doth require but only outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they ſay) man is not only able to perform, but alſo to do more and greater things than the Law requireth. Whereof riſe the works of Supererogation, contrary to the ſixth and eighth principles above ſpecified. Alſo there be (ſay they) among other, certain works of the Law, which pertain not to all men, but are *Conſilia*, Counſels, luſt for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and theſe they call *Opera perfectionis*, or *Opera indebita*, adding alſo unto theſe new devices, to ſerve God after their own traditions beſides the Word of God; as Monaſtical Vows, wilful poverty, difference of meats and garments, Pilgrimage to Relicks and Saints, worſhipping of the dead, ſuperſtitious ceremonies, roſaries, &c. with ſuch like; and theſe they call works of perfection, which they prefer before the other commanded in the Law of God. Inſomuch that in compariſon of theſe, the other neceſſary duties commanded and commended by the Word of God (as to bear office in the Commonwealth, to live in the godly ſtate of matrimony, to ſuſtain the office of a ſervant in a houſe) are contemned, and accounted as prophane in compariſon of theſe, contrary to the tenth principle above mentioned.

*The fourth error of the Papiſts touching the imperfection of man in ſatisfying the perfection of the Law.*

*Againſt the principles of Scripture.*

*Precepts & Counſels.*

*Works of ſupererogation.*

*Mens traditions preferred before the Works of Gods Law.*

*Againſt the principles of ſcripture.*

Of

## Of Sin.

Erroneous Doctrine of the later Church of *Rome* concerning ſin.

OF Sin likewiſe they teach not rightly, nor after the inſtitution of the Apoſtles, and the ancient Church of *Rome*, while they conſider not the deepneſs and largeneſs of ſin, ſuppoſing it ſtill to be nothing elſe but the inward actions with conſent of will, or the outward, ſuch as are againſt will: whereas the ſtrength of ſin extendeth not only to theſe, but alſo comprehendeth the blindneſs and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge and true fear of God, the untowardneſs of mans mind to God-ward, the privy rebellion of the heart againſt the Law of God, the undelighting will of man to God and his Word. The ſenſe of fleſh St. *Paul* alſo calleth an enemy againſt God, and feeleth in himſelf, that is, in his fleſh, nothing dwelling but

Original ſin what it is?

As touching alſo original ſin, wherein we are born, which is the deſtruction of original juſtice, and of Gods image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtineſs againſt the Law of God, and never ceaſing ſo long as man liveth) this original ſin the Popes Doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the ſame, and holdeth that this inward concupiſence, and vitious affections not burſting out in us with conſent of will, are no mortal nor damnable ſin, but only *Fomes peccati:* and ſay moreover, that this *Concupiſcentia* in us is no depravation of the higher, but only of the lower parts of man being a thing ἀδιάφορον, indifferent, and no leſs natural in us, than is the appetite to eat and drink, and that the ſame is left to remain in the Saints after Baptiſm, to be to them occaſion of more merriting, *&c.*

*Fomes peccati. Concupiſcentia.*

Original ſin extenuated.

## Of Penance or Repentance.

False doctrine of the later Church of *Rome* touching Penance.

OF Penance, this later *Lateran* Church of *Rome* of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle before) which Penance, ſay they, ſtandeth of three parts, contrition, confeſſion and ſatisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by ſtrength of free-will, without the Law and the Holy Ghoſt, *Per Actus elicitos*, through mans own action and endeavour. Which contrition firſt muſt be ſufficient, and ſo it meriteth remiſſion of ſin. In confeſſion they require a full rehearſal of all ſins, whereby the Prieſt knowing the crimes, may miniſter ſatisfaction accordingly. And this rehearſing of ſins, *Ex opere operato*, deſerveth remiſſion, contrary to the fourteenth principle before. Satisfactions they call *Opera indebita*, injoyned by the ghoſtly Father. And this ſatisfaction (ſay they) taketh away and changeth eternal puniſhment into temporal pains, which pains alſo it doth mitigate. And again, theſe ſatisfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence, *&c.*

Contrition. Confeſſion.

Satisfaction.

True Doctrine of repentance by the Scripture. Parts of repentance. 1. Contrition. 2. Faith. 3. New obedience.

This unſavoury and Heatheniſh Doctrine of Penance far differeth from the true teaching of Holy Scripture: By the which teaching, repentance properly containeth theſe three parts, contrition, faith and new life. Contrition is called in Scripture the ſorrow of heart, riſing upon the conſiderarion of ſin committed and of the anger of God provoked, which ſorrow driveth a man to Chriſt for ſuccour: whereupon riſeth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newneſs of life, which we call new obedience, working fruits worthy of repentance.

## Difference between the Law and the Goſpel.

The blind ignorance of the Popes Church in not diſtinguiſhing the Law from the Goſpel.

AS there is nothing more neceſſary and comfortable for troubled Conſciences, than to be well inſtructed in the difference between the Law and the Goſpel: ſo is the Church of *Rome* much to blame in this behalf, becauſe it confoundeth together thoſe two, being in nature ſo divers and contrary one from another; as threatnings with promiſes, things temporal with things eternal, ſorrowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedom. *&c.* Teaching the people that whatſoever the Law ſaith, the Goſpel confirmeth; and whatſoever the Goſpel ſaith, the ſame is agreeable to the Law, and ſo make they no difference between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*; ſave only that *Moſes* (they ſay) was the giver of the old law, Chriſt is the giver of the new and a more perfect Law. And thus imagine they the Goſpel to be nothing elſe but a new law given by Chriſt, binding to the promiſes thereof the condition of our doings and deſervings, no otherwiſe than to the old law. And ſo divide they the whole law after this diſtinction, into three parts, to wit, the law of Nature, the law of *Moſes*, and the law of Chriſt. And as for the Goſpel (they ſay) it is revealed for no other cauſe, but to ſhew to the world more perfect precepts, and councels, than were in the old law: to the fulfilling whereof they attribute juſtification, and ſo leave the poor conſciences of men in perpetual doubt, and induce other manifold errours; bringing the people into a falſe opinion of Chriſt, as though he were not a remedy againſt the law, but came as another *Moſes*, to give a new law to the world.

*Papiſts* make the Goſpel a new law.

*Papiſts* divide the law into the law of Nature, the law of *Moſes*, and the law of Chriſt.

The Popes Church blind in the office of Chriſt.

Furthermore, as they make no difference between the nature of the law, and the nature of the Goſpel, confounding *Moſes* and Chriſt together: ſo neither do they diſtinguiſh or diſcern the time of the law, and the time of the Goſpel aſunder. For where St. *Paul* bringeth in the law to be a Schoolmaſter, and limiteth him his time unto Chriſt, and ſaith that *Chriſt is the end of the law*, that is, whereas the law ceaſeth, there Chriſt beginneth, and where Chriſt beginneth there the law endeth: they contrary make the law to have no end nor ceaſing, but give to it immortal life and kingdom equal with Chriſt, ſo that Chriſt and the Law together do reign over the ſoul and conſcience of man. Which is untrue: For either Chriſt muſt give place and the law ſtand; or the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law I mean) muſt end, and Chriſt reign. For both theſe, Chriſt and the law, grace and malediction cannot reign and govern together. But Chriſt the Son of God, which once died, can die no more but muſt reign for ever. Wherefore the law with his ſtrength, ſting and curſe, muſt needs ceaſe and have an end. And this is it that S. *Paul* ſpeaking of the triumph of Chriſt ſaith, that he *Aſcending up led away captivity captive*, and hath ſet man at liberty; not at liberty to live as fleſh luſteth, neither hath freed him from the uſe and exerciſe of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, ſo that, *There is now no condemnation to them that be in Chriſt Jeſus, which walk not after the fleſh, &c.* Rom. 8. And in another place S. *Paul* ſpeaking of the ſame power and dominion of the law, ſaith, that *Chriſt had taken the obligation written againſt us in decrees, and hath nailed it upon the Croſs triumphing over all, &c.* So that as the Kingdom of Chriſt firſt began upon the Croſs; even ſo upon the ſame Croſs, and at the ſame time the Kingdom of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was ſo crucified upon the Croſs, that it ſhall never riſe again, to have any power againſt them that be in Chriſt Jeſus. For like as if a woman be diſcharged from her firſt husband being dead, and hath married another man, the firſt husband hath no more power over her: even ſo we now being eſpouſed unto Chriſt our ſecond husband, are diſcharged utterly from our firſt husband the law, and (as St. *Paul* in another place ſaith) *Are no more under the law*, that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, *but under grace*, that is, under perpetual remiſſion of ſins, committed not only before our Baptiſm, but as well alſo after Baptiſm, and during all our life long. For therein properly conſiſteth the grace of God, in not imputing ſin to us, ſo often as the repenting ſinner riſing up by faith, flieth unto Chriſt, and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remiſſion promiſed in him, according to the teſtimony both of the Pſalm. *Bleſſed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no ſin, &c.* and alſo of all the Prophets, *Which* (as Saint *Peter* ſaith) *give record to him, that through his name, all that believe in him ſhall receive remiſſion of their ſins, &c.* Act. 10. Which being ſo, as it cannot be denied, then what need theſe private and extraordinary remiſſions to be brought into the Church by auricular confeſſion, by meritorious deeds, and by the Popes pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the Law, and if this Law it ſelf which was the firſt husband, be captived, crucified, aboliſhed and departed, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Chriſt Jeſus, or by whom ſhould it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and general deliverance for all men, once gotten by the Victory of Chriſt from the penalty of the Law: what needeth then any particular remiſſion of ſins at ſundry times to be ſought at the Prieſts hands or the Popes pardons? He that hath a general pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for ſin be general and perpetual, once gotten, for ever

The time of the law, and time of the Goſpel diſtinguiſhed.

Malediction of the law ceaſeth in Chriſt.

The uſe of the law remaineth. Chriſt and the Law cannot reign together. Ephes. 4.

The power of the Law is for a time.

The power of Chriſt is eternal.

Rom. 8. Coloſ. 2.

The malediction of the Law giveth place to Chriſt.

The curſe of the Law is crucified, and ſhall never riſe again.

Rom. 7. Rom. 6.

To be under the law and under grace expounded.

What it is to be under grace.

Pſal. 31.

Acts 10.

One remedy for remiſſion of ſins and no more.

Auricular confeſſion no remedy for remiſſion of ſins.

Remiſſion of ſins ſtandeth upon a general cauſe, and not particular.

to

What difference the Papiſts put between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*.

A Babyloniſh confuſion in the Popes doctrine.

to all them that be in Chriſt Jeſus, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confeſſion? If it be not general and perpetual, how then is it true that St. *Paul* ſaith, *The Law is crucified, and condemnation aboliſhed?* Or how ſtandeth redemption perpetual and general, if remiſſion be not general? For what is redemption elſe, but remiſſion of ſin, or ſins bought out? Or what elſe to kill the Law, but to diſcharge us from condemnation for ever? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemies hand doth him a pleaſure: but he that killeth the enemy once out of the way, giveth perpetual ſafety. So if remiſſion of ſins by Chriſt were for ſome ſins, and not for all, the Law then muſt needs live ſtill. But now the killing and crucifying of the Law importeth full remiſſion and abſolute, and our ſafety to be perpetual. But here, perchaſe, will be objected of ſome: How ſtandeth remiſſion of ſins certain and perpetual, ſeeing new offences being daily committed, do daily require new remiſſion? Hereto I anſwer: Albeit ſins do daily grow, whereby we have need daily to deſire God to *Forgive our treſpaſſes, &c.* Yet notwithſtanding the cauſe of our remiſſion ſtandeth ever one and perpetual, neither is the ſame to be repeated any more, nor any other cauſe to be fought beſides that alone. This cauſe is the body of Chriſt ſacrificed once upon the Croſs for all ſins that either have been or ſhall be committed. Beſide this cauſe there is no other, neither confeſſion, nor mens pardons that remitteth ſins.

The Law crucified by Chriſt, what it meaneth.

Objection.

Anſwer.

The cauſe of remiſſion ever one and perpetual.

Furthermore, as the cauſe is one and ever perpetual, which worketh remiſſion of ſins unto us: ſo is the promiſe of God ever one, once made, and ſtandeth perpetual, that offereth the ſame to the faith of the repenting ſinner. And becauſe the ſaid promiſe of God is always ſure and cannot fail, which offereth remiſſion to all them that believe in Chriſt, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time ſoever a repenting ſinner believeth, and by faith applieth to him the ſacrifice of Chriſt, he hath by Gods own promiſe, remiſſion of his ſins, whether they were done before, or after Baptiſm.

The promiſe of remiſſion ever perpetual.

Remiſſion of ſins freely promiſed without limitation of time or number.

And moreover, for ſo much as the ſaid promiſe of God offereth remiſſion to the repentant ſinner, by no other means nor condition, but only one, that is, by faith in Chriſt: therefore excluding all other means and conditions of mans working, we ſay, that what repenting ſinner ſoever believeth in Chriſt, hath already in himſelf (and needeth not to ſeek to any Prieſt) perpetual aſſurance of remiſſion, not for this time or that time only, but for ever and a day. For the promiſe ſaith not, He that believeth in Chriſt ſhall be pardoned this time, ſo he ſin no more: neither doth it ſay, that the Law is ſtaid, or the ſentence reprived, but ſaith plainly that the Law with her condemnation and ſentence it ſelf, is condemned and hanged up, and ſhall never riſe again to them that be in Chriſt Jeſus: and promiſeth indeterminately, without limitation, remiſſion of ſins, *To all that* Acts 10. *believe in his name, &c.* Act. 10 And likewiſe in another place, the Scripture ſpeaking abſolutely, ſaith, *Sin ſhall not prevail over you*, and addeth the reaſon why, ſaying, *Becauſe ye are not under the Law, but under* Rom. 6. *Grace*, Rom. 6. Adding this leſſon withal (as followeth in the ſame place) Not that ſinners ſhould ſin more therefore, becauſe they are under grace, but only that weak infirmities might be relieved, broken conſciences comforted, and repenting ſinners holpen from deſperation, to the praiſe of Gods glory. For as God forgiveth not ſinners, becauſe they ſhould ſin, ſo neither doth infirmity of falling diminiſh the grace of Chriſt, but rather doth illuſtrate the ſame, as it is written, *My ſtrength is made perfect in infirmity*, 2 Cor. 12. And again, *Where Sin aboundeth,* 2 Cor. 12. *there Grace ſuperaboundeth alſo.*

The means whereby remiſſion is promiſed is only faith.

The words of promiſe free and abſolute.

Mans Infirmity impaireth not the Grace of Chriſt, but augmenteth it.

Rom. 5. In remiſſion of ſins therefore, theſe four things muſt concur together: firſt the cauſe that worketh (which is the ſacrifice of Chriſts body), ſecondly, the promiſe that offereth, thirdly, faith that apprehendeth, fourthly, the repenting ſinner that receiveth. And although ſins daily do grow, which daily provoke us to crave remiſſion: yet as touching the cauſe that worketh remiſſion of our daily ſins, and the means which apprehend and apply the ſaid cauſe unto us, they remain always one and perpetual: beſides which no other cauſe nor means is to be fought of man. So that to them that be repenting ſinners, and be in Chriſt Jeſus, there is no law to condemn them, though they have deſerved condemnation: but they are under a perpetual Kingdom, and a Heaven full of Grace, and remiſſion to cover their ſins, and not to impute their iniquities, through the promiſe of God in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

Four things concur in remiſſion of ſins.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, firſt, which ſeek any other cauſe of remiſſion, than only the blood of our Saviour: ſecondly, which aſſign any other means to apply the bloodſhedding of Chriſt unto us, beſides only faith: thirdly and eſpecially, which ſo limit and reſtrain the eternal priviledge of Chriſts paſſion, as though it ſerved but only for ſins done without and before faith, and that the reſt after Baptiſm committed, muſt be done away by confeſſion, pardons, and ſatisfactory deeds. And all this riſeth becauſe the true nature of the Law and the Goſpel is not known, nor the difference rightly conſidered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither again do they make any diſtinction between the malediction of the Law and uſe of the Law. And therefore whenſoever they hear us ſpeak of the Law (meaning the malediction of the Law) to be aboliſhed, thereupon they maliciouſly ſlander us as though we ſpake againſt the good exerciſes of the Law, and give liberty of fleſh to carnal men to live as they liſt. Whereof more ſhall be ſaid (by the Lords grace) as place and time ſhall hereafter require.

The Popes errour touching remiſſion of ſins detected.

What inconvenience riſeth for lack of diſtinction between the Law and the Goſpel.

## Of Free-will.

COncerning Free-will, as it may peradventure in ſome caſe be admitted, that men without Grace may do ſome outward functions of the Law, and keep ſome outward obſervances or traditions: ſo as touching things ſpiritual and appertaining to ſalvation, the ſtrength of man being not regenerate by grace, is ſo infirm and impotent, that he can perform no thing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who, after he be regenerated by Grace, may work and do well, but yet in ſuch ſort that ſtill remaineth, notwithſtanding, a great imperfection of fleſh, and a perpetual repugnance between the fleſh and ſpirit. And thus was the original Church of the ancient *Romans* firſt inſtructed. From whom ſee now how far this later Church of *Rome* hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may perform the obedience of the Law, and prepare themſelves to grace by working, ſo that thoſe works may be meritorious, and of congruity obtain grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (ſay they) perfectly perform the full obedience of the Law, and accompliſh thoſe ſpiritual actions and works which God requireth, and ſo thoſe works of condignity, deſerve everlaſting life. As for the infirmity which ſtill remaineth in nature, that they nothing regard nor once ſpeak of.

Erroneous doctrine of the Papiſts concerning free-will.

*Meritum de congruo.*

*Meritum condigno.*

## Of Invocation and Adoration.

OVer and beſides theſe uncatholick and almoſt unchriſtian abſurdities and defections from the Apoſtolical faith above ſpecified, let us conſider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they ſhould; but to dead men, ſaying: that Saints are to be called upon, *Tanquam mediatores interceſſionis*, As Mediators of interceſſion: *Chriſtum vero tanquam mediatorem ſalutis.* And Chriſt as the Mediator of ſalvation: And affirm moreover, that Chriſt was a Mediator only in time of his paſſion. Which is repugnant to the words of S. *Paul*, writing to the old *Romans*, chap. 8. where he ſpeaking of the interceſſion of Chriſt: *Which is* (ſaith he) *on the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us, &c.* And if Chriſt be a mediator of ſalvation: what needeth then any other interceſſion of Saints for our ſutes? For ſalvation being once had, what can we require more? Or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saints, which is ſure to be ſaved only by Chriſt? And then in their Catholick devotions, why do they teach us thus to pray to the bleſſed Virgin: *Salva omnes qui te glorificant*, that is, *Save all them that glorifie thee, &c.* if ſalvation belong only to Chriſt? unleſs they ſtudy of purpoſe to ſeem contrary to themſelves.

False doctrine concerning Invocation.

Mediator of interceſſion.

Mediator of ſalvation.

Chriſt a continual mediator by the doctrine of St. Paul. Rom. 8.

Chriſt only being our mediator of ſalvation, what needeth any other mediation of Saints.

Salvation falſly attributed to the bleſſed Virgin.

Hitherto alſo pertaineth the worſhipping of relikes, and the falſe adoration of Sacraments, that is, the outward ſigns of the things ſignified, contrary to the ſeventh Principle before. Add to this alſo the prophanation of the Lords Supper

Idolatrous adoration of relikes and Sacraments.

Prophanation of the Lords Supper.

False merits ting by Masses.

Supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the Communion ministred, in setting it to sale for money, and falsly perswading both themselves and others, that the Priest doth merit both to himself that saith, and to him that heareth, *Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c.* that is, *Only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him.*

## Of Sacraments, Baptism, and the *Lords Supper.*

False Doctrine touching Sacraments.

AS touching Sacraments, their Doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

The number

1. First, They err falsely in the number. For where the Institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth Principle above prefixed) have added to the Prescription of the Lords Word, five other Sacraments.

Cause final.

2. Secondly, In the cause final they err. For where the Word hath ordained those Sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions of spiritual things: they contrariwise do teach that the Sacraments do not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual without faith, *Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c.* As is to be found in *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Catharinus*, and others more.

The operation.

3. Thirdly, In the operation and effect of the Sacraments they fail, where they contrary to the mind of the Scriptures do say, that they give Grace, and not only do signifie, but also contain and exhibit that which they signifie, to wit, Grace and Salvation.

The application of Sacraments.

4. Fourthly, They err also in Application, applying their Sacraments both to the quick and the dead, to them also that be absent, to remission of sins, and releasing of pain, &c.

Errors and abuses of Baptism.

In the Sacrament of Baptism they are to be reproved, not only for adding to the simple words of Christs Institution divers other new-found Rites and Phantasies of men: but also where the use of the old Church of *Rome* was only to baptize men; they baptize also Bells, and apply the words of Baptism to water, fire, candels, stocks and stones, &c.

Baptising of Bells.

False Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning the Lords Supper.

But especially in the Supper of the Lord their Doctrine most filthily swerveth from the right mind of the Scripture, all order, reason and fashion; most worthy to be exploded out of all Christian Churches. Touching the which Sacrament, the first Error is their Idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking and kneeling unto it, in reserving also and carrying the same about in pomp and procession in Towns and Fields. Secondly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving there no substance of Bread and Wine to remain, but only the real Body and Blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called Bread his Body, therefore say they, he made it his Body, and so of a wholesome Sacrament, make a perilous Idol: and that which the old Church of *Rome* did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of meer accidents to bleer the peoples eyes, making them believe they see that they see not: and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their Maker, a Creature for their Creator: and that which was threshed out of a wheaten Sheaf, they set up in the Church, and worship for a Saviour: and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father: and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pit, where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by Scriptures, that the Body of Christ can never corrupt and putrifie: yet for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them which believe not that which is against true Christian belief.

Idolatry committed to the Sacrament.

The Sacrament turned to an Idol.

Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar.

## Of Matrimony.

Absurdities and Errors of the Popes Church touching Matrimony.

WHat order and rule Saint *Paul* hath set for marriage in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* it is manifest: where, as he preferreth single life in such as have the gift of Continence, before the married estate: so again, in such as have not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing every such one to have his wife: *Because of Fornication.* Furthermore, how the said Apostle alloweth a Bishop to be the Husband of one wife (so he exceed not to the manner of the *Jews*, which were permitted to have many) and how vehemently he reproveth them that restrain marriage, his Letters to *Timothy* do record. Moreover, what degrees be permitted by the Law of God to marry, in the Book of *Leviticus* is to be seen, Chapter eighteen. Also how Children ought not to marry without consent of their Parents by manifest Examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

1 *Cor.* 7. 1 *Tim.* 3. 1 *Tim.* 4. *Lev.* 18.

Contrary to these Ordinances of the Scripture, the new Catholicks of the Popes Church, first do repute and call marriage a state of Imperfection, and prefer single life, be it never so impure, before the same, pretending that where the one repleniseth the Earth, the other filleth Heaven. Furthermore, as good as the third part of Christendom, if it be no more, both Men and Women, they keep through co-acted Vows from marriage, having no respect whether they have the gift or no. Ministers and Priests such as are found to have wives, not only they remove out of place, but also pronounce Sentence of death upon them, and account their Children for Bastards and illegitimate: Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Degrees of Copulation forbidden they extend further than ever did the Law of God, even to the fifth or sixth degree. Which degree notwithstanding they release again when they list for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new-found Prohibition of spiritual Kindred, that is, that such as have been Gossips, or Godfathers and Godmothers together in Christening another mans Child, must not by their Law marry together. Briefly and finally in this Doctrine and Cases of Matrimony, they gain and rake to themselves much money from the people, they augment horrible Sodomitry, they nourish wicked Adultery and much Fornication, they fill the world with Offensions and Bastards, and give great occasion of murthering Infants.

Single life, be it never so impure, preferred before Matrimony.

The third part of Christendom stopt by the Popes Law to marry.

The Popes Doctrine against Priests marriage, and their Children.

The third part of the year exempted from marriage.

Marriage within the fifth or sixth degree, by the Popes Law.

Gossips inhibited to marry by the Popes Law.

What inconveniences come by restraining of marriage.

## Of Magistrates and civil Government.

YE heard before what Rules and Lessons Saint *Paul* gave to the old *Romans* concerning Magistrates, to whose Authority he would have all humane Creatures to be subjected, and how they are the Ministers of God, having the Sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false Doctrine and Idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right, *Rom.* 13. Now let us survey a little the Popes proceedings, and mark how far he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points almost from true Christianity.

The corrupt Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning civil Rulers and Magistrates.

*Rom.* 13.

1. First, The Pope with all his Clergy exempt themselves from all Obedience civil.

2. They arrogate to themselves Authority to Ordain and Constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary Magistrate.

3. Yea they take upon them to depose and set up Rulers and Magistrates, whom they list.

## Of Purgatory.

THe Paradoxes, or rather the Fantasies of the later Church of *Rome* concerning Purgatory, be monstrous, neither old nor Apostolical.

The Fantasies and antics of the Popes Church concerning Purgatory.

1. First (say they) There is a Purgatory, where Souls do burn in fire after this life.

2. The pain of Purgatory differeth nothing from the pains of Hell, but only that it hath an end; the pains of Hell have none.

3. The painful suffering of this fire fretteth and scowreth away the sins before committed in the body.

4. The time in these pains indureth in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.

*Ex Thom. Mono & alijs.*

5. After which time of their pains being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to Heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.

6. The pains of Purgatory be so great, that if all the Beggers of the World were seen on the one side, and but one Soul of Purgatory on the other side, the whole World would pity more that one, than all the others.

7. The whole time of punishment in this Purgatory must continue so long, till the fire have clean fretted and scowred away the rusty spots of every sinful Soul there burning, unless there come some release.

8. Helps

8. Helps and releaſes that may ſhorten the time of their Purgation, by the Popes Pardons and Indulgences, Sacrifice of the Altar, Dirges, and Trentals, Prayer, Faſting, meritorious Deeds out of the Treaſure-Houſe of the Church, Alms and Charitable Deeds of the living, in ſatisfying Gods Juſtice for them, &c.

9. Lack of belief of Purgatory bringeth to Hell.

Manifeſt defection of the Popes Church from the old Faith of *Rome*.

Many other falſe Errors and great Deformities, Hereſies, Abſurdities, Vanities, and Follies, beſides their blaſphemous Raylings, and Contumelies, may be noted in the ſaid latter Church of *Rome*, wherein they have made manifeſt defection from the old Faith of *Rome*, as in depriving the Church of one kind of the Sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods Word, in praying and ſpeaking to the people, and adminiſtring Sacraments in a Tongue unknown, in miſtaking the Authority of the Keys, in their unwritten Verities, in making the Authority of the Scripture inſufficient, in untrue judgment of the Church, and the wrong Notes of the ſame in the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, in their wrong Opinions of *Antichriſt*.

Contrariety between the Religion of Chriſt and of the Pope briefly noted.

But becauſe theſe, with all other parts of Doctrine, are more copiouſly and at large comprehended in other Books both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, ſet forth in theſe our days: I ſhall not need further herein to travel, eſpecially ſeeing the contrariety between the Popes Church and the Church of Chriſt, between the Doctrine of the one, and the Doctrine of the other, is ſo evident, that he is blind that ſeeth it not, and hath no hands almoſt that feeleth it not.

Chriſts Doctrine is wholely ſpiritual.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, that which may ſuffice for all) whereas the Doctrine of Chriſt is altogether Spiritual, conſiſting wholly in Spirit and Verity, and requireth no outward thing to make a true Chriſtian man but only Baptiſm (which is the outward profeſſion of Faith) and receiving the Lords Supper: Let us now examine the whole Religion of this latter Church of *Rome*, and we ſhall find it, from top to toe, to conſiſt in nothing elſe but altogether in outward and ceremonial Exerciſes; as outward Confeſſion, Abſolution at the Prieſts hand, outward Sacrifice of the Maſs, buying of Pardons, purchaſing of Obits, externe worſhipping of Images and Reliques, Pilgrimage to this place or that, building of Churches, founding of Monaſteries, outward Works of the Law, outward Geſtures, Garments, Colours, choice of Meats, difference of Times and Places, peculiar Rites and Obſervances, ſet Prayers, and number of Prayers preſcribed, faſting of Vigils, keeping of Holidays, coming to Church, hearing of Service, extern ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and of *Peters* See, extern Form and Notes of the Church, &c. So that by this Religion to make a true Chriſtian and a good Catholick, there is no working of the Holy Ghoſt almoſt required. As for example, to make this matter more demonſtrable, let us here define a Chriſtian-man after the Popes making: whereby we may ſee the better what is to be judged of the Scope of his Doctrine.

No outward thing is required in Chriſts Doctrine to make a Chriſtian man, but only Baptiſm and the Lords Supper.

All doctrine of the Popes conſiſteth only in outward things

## A Chriſtian man after the Popes making defined.

A Chriſtian man defined after the Popes Doctrine.

After the Popes Catholick Religion, a true Chriſtian man is thus defined: firſt, to be baptized in the *Latin*-Tongue (where the Godfathers profeſs they cannot tell what) then confirmed by the Biſhop: the Mother of the Child to be purified; after he be grown in years, then to come to the Church, to keep his Faſting-days, to faſt the *Lent*, to come under *Benedicite*; that is, to be confeſſed of the Prieſt, to do his Penance, at *Eaſter* to take his Rites, to hear Maſs and Divine Service, to ſee up Candles before Images, to creep to the Croſs, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on proceſſion, to carry his Palms and Candle, and to take Aſhes, to faſt the Ember-days, Rogation-days, and Vigils, to keep the Holidays, to pay his Tythes and Offering-days, to go on Pilgrimage, to buy Pardons, to worſhip his Maker over the Prieſts head, to receive the Pope for his Supream Head, and to obey his Laws, to receive Saint *Nicholas Clerkes*, to have his Beads, and to give to the high Altar, to take Orders if he will be a Prieſt, to ſay his Mattens, to ſing his Maſs, to lift up fair, to keep his vow, and not to marry, when he is ſick to be anneled and take the Rites of the Holy Church, to be buried in the Church-yard, to be rung for, to be ſung for, to be buried in a Fryers Coole, to find a Soul-Prieſt, &c.

Corporal exerciſe profiteth to ſmall profit.

All which Points being obſerved, who can deny but this is a devout man, and a perfect Chriſtian Catholick, and ſure to be ſaved, as a true faithful Child of the holy Mother-Church?

Now look upon this definition, and tell me (good Reader) what Faith or Spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghoſt in all this Doctrine is to be required. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus give the true light of his Goſpel to ſhine in our Hearts. Amen.

Ζὼν τῷ Χριστῷ.

# THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Acts and Monuments,

## CONTAINING

## The three hundred Years next after CHRIST, with the Ten Perſecutions of the Primitive Church.

THeſe things before premiſed, having thus hitherto prepared the way unto our ſtory, *let us* now (by the grace and ſpeed of Chriſt our Lord) enter into the matter: that as we have heretofore ſet forth in a general deſcription the whole ſtate as well of the primitive as of the later times of this Church of *Rome*: ſo now conſequently we may diſcourſe in particular ſort the acts and doings of every age, by it ſelf, in ſuch order as is before prefixed.

1. Firſt, To declare of the ſuffering time of the Church, which containeth about the time of three hundred years after Chriſt.

2. Secondly, The flouriſhing and growing time of the ſame, containing other three hundred years.

3. Thirdly, The declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, other three hundred years.

4. Fourthly, Of the time of *Antichriſt*, reigning and raging in the Church, ſince the looſing of Satan.

5. Laſtly, Of the reforming time of Chriſts Church, in theſe later three hundred years.

In the tractation of all which things our chief purpoſe and endeavour ſhall be (ſo near as the Lord will give us Grace) not ſo much to intermeddle with outward Affairs of Princes, or matters civil (except ſometime for example of life) as ſpecially minding (by the help of the Lord) to proſecute ſuch things which to the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Church are appertaining: as firſt to intreat of the ſtabliſhing of Chriſtian Faith, then of the Perſecutions of Tyrants, the Conſtancy and Patience of Gods Saints, the firſt Converſion of Chriſtian Realms to the Faith of Chriſt, namely, of this Realm of *England* and *Scotland*: firſt beginning with King *Lucius*, and ſo forward following the order of our *Engliſh* Kings here in this Land, to declare the Maintenance of true Doctrine, the falſe practiſe of Prelates, the creeping in of Superſtition and Hypocriſie, the manifold Aſſaults, Wars and Tumults of the Princes of this World againſt the people of God. Wherein may appear the wonderful Operation of Chriſts mighty Hand, ever working in his Church, and never ceaſing to defend the ſame againſt his Enemies, according to the verity of his own Word, promiſing to be with his Church while the World ſhall ſtand, ſo as by the proceſs of this ſtory may well be proved, and will be teſtified in the Sequel thereof.

Two things in this hiſtory chiefly to be noted.

In the tractation of all which things two ſpecial Points I chiefly commend to the Reader, as moſt requiſite and neceſſary for every Chriſtian man to obſerve and to note for his own experience and profit; as firſt the diſpoſition and nature of this World; ſecondly, the nature and condition of the Kindgom of Chriſt; the vanity of the one, and ſtabliſhment of the other; the unproſperous and unquiet ſtate of the one, ruled by mans Violence and Wiſdom, and the happy ſucceſs of the other ever ruled by Gods Bleſſing and Providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and his mercy upon the other. The World I call all ſuch as be without or againſt Chriſt, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by Heatheniſh life not following him, or by violence reſiſting him. On the other ſide, the Kingdom of Chriſt in this World, I take to be all them which belong to the Faith of Chriſt, and here take his part in this world againſt the world: the number of whom although it be much ſmaller than the other, and always lightly is hated and moleſted of the World, yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarly doth bleſs and proſper, and ever will. And this number of Chriſts Subjects is it, which we call the viſible Church here in Earth. Which viſible Church, having in it ſelf a difference of two ſorts of people, ſo is it to be divided in two parts, of which the one ſtandeth of ſuch as be of outward Profeſſion only, the other which by Election inwardly are joyned to Chriſt: the firſt in words and lips ſeem to honour Chriſt, and are in the viſible Church only, but not in the Church inviſible, and partake the outward Sacraments of Chriſt, but not the inward bleſſing of Chriſt. The other are both in the viſible and alſo in the inviſible Church of Chriſt, which not in words only and outward profeſſion, but alſo in heart do truly ſerve and honour Chriſt, partaking not only the Sacraments, but alſo the heavenly Bleſſings and Grace of Chriſt.

The World.

The Kingdom of Chriſt in this world.

The viſible Church.

The Church of Chriſt divided in two ſorts of people.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the World and the Kingdom of Chriſt there is a continual repugnance: ſo between theſe two parts of this viſible Church aforeſaid oft times groweth great Variance and mortal Perſecution, inſomuch that ſometime the true Church of Chriſt hath no greater Enemies, than of their own Profeſſion and Company, as happened not only in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, but alſo from time to time almoſt continually, *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.* but eſpecially in theſe later days of the Church under the Perſecution of *Antichriſt* and his Retinue, as by the reading of this Volume more manifeſtly hereafter may appear.

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

At the firſt Preaching of Chriſt, and coming of the Goſpel, who ſhould rather have known and received him, than the *Phariſees* and *Scribes* of that people, which had his Law? And yet who perſecuted and rejected him more than they themſelves? What followed? They in refuſing Chriſt to be their King, and chooſing rather to be ſubject unto *Cæſar*, were by the ſaid their own *Cæſar* at length deſtroyed; when as Chriſts Subjects the ſame time eſcaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuſe the Goſpel of God, when it is ſo gently offered.

Gods puniſhment for refuſing the Goſpel.

The like example of Gods wrathful puniſhment is to be noted no leſs in the *Romans* alſo themſelves. For when *Tiberius Cæſar*, having received by Letters from *Pontius Pilate* of the doings of Chriſt, of his Miracles, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion into Heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himſelf alſo moved with belief of the ſame, and did conſer thereof with the whole Senate of *Rome*, to have Chriſt adored as God: they not agreeing thereunto refuſed him, becauſe that contrary to the Law of the *Romans* he was conſecrated (ſaid they) for God before the

*Tiberius Cæſar* moveth the Senate to have Chriſt received.

Chriſt refuſed of the Senate of Rome.

The vain cauſe why the Senate of *Rome* refuſed Chriſt.

*Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

the Senate of *Rome* had ſo decreed and approved him, &c.' *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.* Thus the vain Senate following rather the Law of man, than of God, and which were contented with the Emperor to Reign over them, and were not contented with the meek King of Glory, the Son of God to be their King; were after much like ſort to the *Jews* ſcourged and intrapped for their unjuſt refuſing, by the ſame way which they themſelves did prefer. For as they preferred the Emperor, and rejected Chriſt: ſo the juſt permiſſion of God did ſtir up their own Emperors againſt them in ſuch ſort, that both the Senators themſelves were almoſt all devoured, and the whole City moſt horribly afflicted for the ſpace almoſt of three hundred years together. For firſt the ſame *Tiberius*, which for a great part of his Reign was a moderate and a tolerable Prince, afterward was to them a ſharp and heavy Tyrant, who neither favoured his own Mother, nor ſpared his own Nephews, nor the Princes of the City, ſuch as were his own Counſellors, of whom to the number of twenty he left not paſt two or three alive, and ſo cruel was he to the City, that as the ſtory recordeth, *Nullus a pœna hominum ceſſabat dies, ne religioſus quidem ac ſacer. Suetonius* reporteth him to be ſo ſtern of nature, and tyrannical, that in time of his Reign, very many were accuſed, and condemned with their Wives and Children, Maids alſo firſt defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty perſons to be drawn to the place of Execution. By whom alſo, through the juſt puniſhment of God, *Pilate*, under whom Chriſt was crucified, was apprehended and accuſed at *Rome*, depoſed, then baniſhed to the Town of *Lions*, and at length did ſlay himſelf. Neither did *Herod* and *Caiaphas* long eſcape, of whom more followeth hereafter. *Agrippa* alſo by him was caſt into Priſon, albeit afterward he was reſtored. In the Reign of *Tiberius*, the Lord Jeſus the Son of God, in the four and thirtieth year of his Age, which was the ſeventeenth of this Emperor, by the malice of the *Jews* ſuffered his bleſſed Paſſion for the conquering of ſin, death, and Satan the Prince of this World, and roſe again the third day. After whoſe bleſſed Paſſion and Reſurrection, this foreſaid *Tiberius Nero* (otherwiſe called *Biberius Mero*) lived ſix years, during which time no Perſecution was yet ſtirring in *Rome* againſt the Chriſtians, through the Commandment of the Emperor.

The Senate and City of *Rome* plagued for refuſing of Chriſt.

*Ex Suet. in vita Tiberii.*

Chriſt ſuffereth again.

{Anno 34.}

Saint *Paul* converted.

In the Reign alſo of this Emperor, and the year which was the next after the Paſſion of our Saviour, or ſomewhat more, Saint *Paul* was converted to the Faith. After the death of *Tiberius*, when he had reigned three and twenty years, ſucceeded *C. Cæſar Caligula*, *Claudius Nero*, and *Domitius Nero*: which three were likewiſe ſuch Scourges to the Senate and people of *Rome*, that the firſt not only took other mens Wives violently from them, but alſo defloured three of his own Siſters, and afterward baniſhed them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himſelf to be worſhipped as God, and Temples to be erected in his Name, and uſed to ſit in the Temple among the gods, requiring his Images to be ſet up in all Temples, and alſo in the Temple at *Hieruſalem*; which cauſed great diſturbance among the *Jews*, and then began *the Abomination of Deſolation to be ſet up in the holy place*, ſpoken of in the Goſpel. His cruel condition, or elſe diſpleaſure was ſuch towards the *Romans*, that he wiſhed that all the people of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he at his pleaſure might deſtroy ſuch a multitude. By this ſaid *Caligula*, *Herod* the Murtherer of *John Baptiſt*, and Condemner of Chriſt, was condemned to perpetual Baniſhment, where he died miſerably. *Caiaphas* alſo, which wickedly ſate upon Chriſt, was the ſame time removed from the High Prieſts room, and *Jonathan* ſet in his place. The raging fierceneſs of this *Caligula* incenſed againſt the *Romans* had not thus ceaſed, had not he been cut off by the hands of a Tribune and other Gentlemen, which ſlew him in the fourth year of his Reign. After whoſe death were found in his Cloſet two little Libels, one called a Sword, the other the Dagger: in the which Libels were contained the Names of thoſe Senators and Noblemen of *Rome*, whom he had purpoſed to put to death. Beſides this Sword and Dagger, there was found alſo a Coffer, wherein divers kinds of Poiſon were kept in Glaſſes and Veſſels for the purpoſe, to deſtroy a wonderful number of people, which Poiſons, afterward being thrown into the Sea, deſtroyed a great number of Fiſh. *Gotfri. Viterb.*

{Anno 35.}

{Anno 39}

*Cæſar Caligula.*

*Caligula* commanded his Image to be ſet up in the Temple of *Hieruſalem.*

The abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place.

*Herod* miſerably died in baniſhment.

*Caiaphas* depoſed.

{Anno 43.}

*F. Vincent. Bellovacenſis, part. 25.*

But that which this *Caligula* had only conceived, the ſame did the other Two which came after, bring to paſs; *Claudius Nero*, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but eſpecially the third of theſe *Neroes*, called *Domitius Nero*, which ſucceeding after *Claudius*, reigned fourteen years, with ſuch fury and tyranny, that he ſlew the moſt part of the Senators, and deſtroyed the whole Order of Knighthood in *Rome*. So prodigious a Monſter of nature was he, more like a Beaſt, yea rather a Devil than a man, that he ſeemed to be born to the deſtruction of men. Such was his monſtrous Uncleanneſs, that he abſtained not from his own Mother, his natural Siſter, nor from any degree of Kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he cauſed to be put to death his Mother, his Brother in Law, his Siſter, his Wife great with child, all his Inſtructors, *Seneca* and *Lucan*, with divers more of his own Kindred and Conſanguinity. Moreover, he commanded *Rome* to be ſet on fire in twelve places, and ſo continued it ſix days and ſeven nights in burning, while that he to ſee the example how *Troy* burned, ſung the verſes of *Homer*. And to avoid the Infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Chriſtian-men, and cauſed them to be perſecuted. And ſo continued this miſerable Emperor in his Reign fourteen years, till at laſt the Senate proclaiming him a publick Enemy unto Mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death. For the fear whereof, he flying the hands of his Enemies, in the night fled to a Manor of his Servants in the Countrey, where he was forced to ſlay himſelf, complaining that he had then neither Friend nor Enemy left that would do ſo much for him. In the latter end of this *Domitius Nero*, *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death for the Teſtimony and Faith of Chriſt. *Anno 69.*

*Claudius Nero.* {Anno 56.}

*Domitius Nero.*

The horrible wickedneſs and cruelty of *Nero.*

*Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered for Chriſt. {Anno 69.}

Thus ye ſee, which is worthy to be marked, how the juſt Scourge and heavy Indignation of God from time to time ever followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well proſper, where Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God is contemned, and not received; as by theſe Examples may appear, both of *Romans* which not only were thus conſumed and plagued by their own Emperors, but alſo by Civil Wars, whereof three hapned in two years at *Rome*, after the death of *Nero*, and other Caſualties (as in *Sueton* is teſtified) ſo that in the days of *Tiberius* aforeſaid, five thouſand *Romans* were hurt and ſlain at one time by the fall of a *Theater*. And alſo moſt eſpecially by the deſtruction of the *Jews*, which about this ſame time in the year threeſcore and thirteen, and forty years after the Paſſion of Chriſt, and the third year after the ſuffering of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, were deſtroyed by *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* his Father (who ſucceeded after *Nero* in the Empire) to the number of eleven hundred thouſand, beſides them which *Veſpaſian* ſlew in ſubduing the Country of *Galilee*, over and beſide them alſo which were ſold and ſent into *Egypt* and other Provinces to vile ſlavery, to the number of ſeventeen thouſand. Two thouſand were brought with *Titus* in his triumph; of which, part he gave to be devoured of the wild Beaſts, part otherwiſe moſt cruelly were ſlain. By whoſe caſe all Nations and Realms may take example, what it is to reject the Viſitation of Gods verity being ſent, and much more to perſecute them which be ſent of God for their Salvation.

*Veſpaſian* Emperor and *Titus* his Son.

The deſtruction of the *Jews.*

A note for all Realms to mark.

And as this wrathful Vengeance of God thus hath been ſhewed upon this rebellious people, both of the *Jews* and of the *Romans*, for their contempt of Chriſt, whom God ſo puniſhed by their own Emperors: ſo neither the Emperors themſelves, for perſecuting Chriſt in his members, eſcaped without their juſt reward. For among ſo many Emperors which put ſo many Chriſtian Martyrs to death, during the ſpace of theſe firſt three hundred years, few or none of them eſcaped either not ſlain themſelves, or by ſome miſerable end or other worthily revenged. Firſt, of the poyſoning of *Tiberius*, and of the ſlaughter of the other three *Neroes* after him, ſufficiently is declared before. After *Nero*, *Domitius Galba* within ſeven months was ſlain by *Otho*. And ſo did *Otho* afterward ſlay himſelf, being overcome by *Vitellius*. And was not *Vitellius* ſhortly after drawn through the City of *Rome*, and after he was tormented was thrown into *Tiber*? *Titus* a good Emperor is thought to be poyſoned of *Domitian* his Brother. The ſaid *Domitian*, after he had been a Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*, was ſlain in his Chamber, not without the con-

The *Romans* for contemning Chriſt, puniſhed by their own Emperors.

Examples of the juſt plague of God upon the *Roman* Emperors perſecuting and reſiſting Chriſt till the time of *Conſtantine.*

*Tiberius.*
*Caligula.*
*Claudius.*
*Domitius.*
*Nero.*
*Galba.*
*Otho.*
*Vitellius.*
*Titus.*
*Domitian.*

*Commodus.*
*Pertinax.*
*Julianus.*
*Severus.*
*Geta.*
*Baſſianus.*
*Macrinus.*
*Diadumenus*
*Heliogabalus*
*Alexander*
*Severus.*
*Maximinus.*
*Maximus.*
*Balbinus.*
*Gordianus.*
*Philippus.*
*Decius.*
*Gallus* and
*Voluſianus.*
*Aemilianus.*
*Valerianus.*
*Galienus.*

conſent of his Wife. Likewiſe *Commodus* was murdered of *Narciſſus*. The like end was of *Pertinax* and *Julianus*. Moreover, after that *Severus* was ſlain here in *England* (and lieth at *York*) did not his Son *Baſſianus* ſlay his Brother *Geta*, and he after ſlain of *Martialis*? *Macrinus* with his Son *Diadumenus* were both ſlain of their own Souldiers. After whom *Heliogabalus*, that monſtrous bellipanch, was of his own people ſlain, and drawn through the City and caſt into *Tiber*. *Alexander Severus* that worthy and learned Emperor, which ſaid he would not feed his Servants doing nothing with the bowels of the Common wealth, although in life and vertues he was much unlike other Emperors, yet proved the like end, being ſlain at *Mentz* with his godly Mother *Mammea*, by *Maximinus*, whom the Emperor before of a *muletor* had advanced to great Dignities. The which *Maximinus* alſo after three years was ſlain himſelf of his Souldiers. What ſhould I ſpeak of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* in like ſort both ſlain in *Rome*? *Of Gordian* ſlain by *Philip*: of *Philip* the firſt chriſtened Emperor, ſlain, or rather martyred for the ſame cauſe: of wicked *Decius* drowned, and his Son ſlain the ſame time in battel, of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus* his Son, Emperors after *Decius*, both ſlain by Conſpiracy of *Aemilianus*, who roſe againſt them both in War, and within three months after was ſlain himſelf? Next to *Aemilianus* ſucceeded *Valerianus* and *Galienus* his Son, of whom *Valerianus* (who was a Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*) was taken Priſoner of the *Perſians*, and there made a riding Fool of *Sapores* their King, who uſed him for a ſtool to leap upon his Horſe, while his Son *Galienus* ſleeping at *Rome*, either would not, or could not once proffer to revenge his Fathers Ignominy. For after the taking of *Valerian*, ſo many Emperors roſe up as were Provinces in the *Roman* Monarchy. At length *Galienus* alſo was killed by *Aureolus* which warred againſt him. It were too long here to ſpeak of *Aurelianus* another Perſecutor, ſlain of his Secretary; of *Tacitus* and *Florinus* his Brother, of whom the firſt reigned ſix months, and was ſlain at *Pontus*; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at *Tarſis*: of *Probus*, who although a good civil Emperor, yet was he deſtroyed by his Souldiers. After whom *Carus* the next Emperor was ſlain by Lightning. Next to *Carus* followed the impious and wicked Perſecutor *Diocleſian*, with his fellows *Maximian*, *Valerius*, *Maximinus*, *Maxentius*, and *Licinius*, under whom all at one time (during the time of *Diocleſian*) the greateſt and moſt grievous Perſecution was moved againſt the *Chriſtians* ten years together. Of which, *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* depoſed themſelves from the Empire. *Galerius* the chiefeſt Miniſter of the Perſecution, after his terrible Perſecutions, fell into a wonderful Sickneſs, having ſuch a Sore riſen in the nether part of his belly, which conſumed his Privy-members, and ſo did ſwarm with Worms, that being curable neither by Surgery nor Phyſick, he confeſſed that it happened for his cruelty towards the *Chriſtians*, and ſo called in his Proclamations againſt them. Notwithſtanding he not able to ſuſtain (as ſome ſay) the ſtink of his Sore ſlew himſelf. *Maximinus* in his War, being tormented with pain in his guts there died. *Maxentius* was vanquiſhed by *Conſtantine*, and drowned in *Tiber*. *Licinius* likewiſe, being overcome by the ſaid *Conſtantine the Great*, was depoſed from his Empire, and afterward ſlain of his Souldiers. But on the other ſide, after the time of *Conſtantine*, when as the Faith of Chriſt was received into the Imperial Seat, we read of no Emperor after the like ſort deſtroyed or moleſted, except it were *Julianus* or *Baſilius* (which expelled one *Zeno*, and was afterward expelled himſelf) or *Valens*. Beſide theſe we read of no Emperor to come to ruine and decay, as the others before mentioned. *Ex lib. hiſt. tripart.*

*Aurelianus.*
*Tacitus.*
*Florinus.*

*Probus.*

*Carus.*
*Diocleſianus*
*Maximianus.*
*Valerius.*
*Maximinus.*
*Maxentius.*
*Licinius.*

And thus have we in brief ſum collected out of the *Chronicles* the unquiet and miſerable ſtate of the Emperors of *Rome*, until the time of *Chriſtian Conſtantine*, with the Examples, no leſs terrible than manifeſt, of Gods ſevere Juſtice upon them, for their contemptuous refuſing and perſecuting the Faith and Name of Chriſt their Lord.

Moreover, in much like ſort and condition, if leiſure of time or haſte of matter would ſuffer me a little to digreſs unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like Examples I could alſo infer of this our Country of *England*, concerning the terrible Plagues of God againſt the churliſh and unthankful refuſing or abuſing the benefit of his truth. Firſt, we read how that God ſtirred up *Gildas* to Preach to the old *Britans*, and to exhort them unto Repentance and Amendment of Life, and afore to warn them of Plagues to come if they repented not. What availeth it? *Gildas* was laughed to ſcorn, and taken for a falſe Prophet, and a malicious Preacher. The *Britans* with luſty Courages, whoriſh Faces, and unrepentant Hearts went forth to ſin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God ſent in their Enemies on every ſide and deſtroyed them, and gave the Land to other Nations. Not many years paſt, God ſeeing Idolatry, Superſtition, Hypocriſie, and wicked living uſed in this Realm, raiſed up that godly learned man *John Wickliffe*, to Preach unto our Fathers Repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forſake their Papiſtry and Idolatry, their Hypocriſie and Superſtition, and to walk in the fear of God. His Exhortations were not regarded, he with his Sermons was deſpiſed, his Books and he himſelf after his death were burnt. What followed? They ſlew their right King, and ſet up three wrong Kings on a row, under whom all the Noble blood was ſlain up, and half the Commons thereto, what in *France*, and with their own Sword in fighting among themſelves for the Crown; and the Cities and Towns were decayed, and the Land brought half to a Wilderneſs, in reſpect of that it was before. O extream Plagues of Gods Vengeance! Since that time even of late years, God, once again having Pity of this Realm of *England*, raiſed up his Prophets; namely, *William Tindall*, *Thomas Bilney*, *John Frith*, Doctor *Barnes*, *Jerome Garret*, *Anthony Perſon*, with divers others, which both with their Writings and Sermons earneſtly laboured to call us unto Repentance, that by this means the fierce Wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they intreated? How were their painful Labours regarded? They themſelves were condemned and burnt as *Hereticks*, and their Books condemned and burnt as heretical. *The time ſhall come*, ſaith Chriſt, *that whoſoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good Service*. Whether any thing ſince that time hath chanced to this Realm worthy the name of a Plague, let the godly wiſe judge. If God hath deferred his Puniſhment, or forgiven us theſe our wicked Deeds, as I truſt he hath, let us not therefore be proud and high minded, but moſt humbly thank Him for his tender Mercies, and beware of the like ungodly Enterpriſes hereafter. Neither is it here any need to ſpeak of theſe our lower and later times, which have been in King *Henries* and King *Edwards* days, ſeeing the memory thereof is yet freſh and cannot be forgotten. But let this paſs, of this I am ſure, that God yet once again is come on Viſitation to this Church of *England*, yea and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this Viſitation he hath redreſſed many Abuſes, and cleanſed his Church of much Ungodlineſs and Superſtition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the old form and ſtate. And now how grateful Receivers we be, with what heart, ſtudy, and reverence we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that ſee our Fruits, or to the Sequel, which peradventure will declare it. But this by the way of digreſſion. Now to regreſs again to the ſtate of the firſt former times. It remaineth, that as I have ſet forth the Juſtice of God upon theſe *Roman* Perſecutors: ſo now we declare their Perſecutions raiſed up againſt the People and Servants of Chriſt, within the ſpace of three hundred years after Chriſt. Which Perſecutions in number commonly are counted to be Ten, beſides their Perſecutions firſt moved by the *Jews* in *Hieruſalem* and other places againſt the Apoſtles. In the which, firſt Saint *Stephen* the Deacon was put to death, with divers others more, in the ſame rage of time either ſlain or caſt into Priſon. At the doing whereof, *Saul*, the ſame time played the doughty *Phariſee*, being not yet converted to the Faith of Chriſt, whereof the Hiſtory is plain in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* ſet forth at large by S. *Luke*.

*Britant. Gildas.*

*Wickliffe* and his Books condemned, and he burnt for an *Hereticke* after his death.

John 16.

Gods benefits towards *England*.

A Caveat for *England*.

S. *Stephen* the firſt Ringleader of all chriſts martyrs.

After the Martyrdom of this bleſſed *Stephen*, ſuffered next *James* the holy Apoſtle of Chriſt, and Brother of *John*. Of which *James* mention is made in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, the twelfth Chapter. Where is declared, how

S. *James* the Apoſtle, Brother of *John* martyred.

how that not long after the ſtoning of *Stephen*, King *Herod* ſtretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the Congregation: among whom *James* was one, whom he ſlew with the Sword, &c. Of this *James*, *Euſebius* alſo inferreth mention, alledging *Clement*, thus writing a memorable ſtory of him. This *James* (ſaith *Clement*) when he was brought to the Tribunal Seat, he that brought him (and was the cauſe of his trouble) ſeeing him to be condemned, and that he ſhould ſuffer death: as he went to the Execution, he being moved therewith in Heart and Conſcience, confeſſed himſelf alſo of his own accord to be a *Chriſtian*. And ſo were they led forth together, where in the way he deſired of *James* to forgive him that he had done. After that *James* had a little paused with himſelf upon the matter, turning to him; *Peace* (ſaith he) *be to thee Brother, and kiſſed him*; and both were beheaded together, in the year of our Lord thirty and ſix.

*Hiſt. Eccle. lib 2. cap. 9. ex Clemente ſeptima Hypotypoſeon.* A notable converſion of a wicked Accuſer and after a Martyr.

*Dorotheus* in his Book named *Synopſis*, teſtifieth, that *Nicanor* one of the ſeven Deacons, with two thouſand others, which believed in Chriſt, ſuffered alſo the ſame day, when as *Stephen* did ſuffer.

*Nicanor* one of the ſeven Deacons, with two thouſand other martyred.

The ſaid *Dorotheus* witneſſeth alſo, that *Simon*, another of the Deacons, Biſhop afterward of *Boſtrum* in *Arabia*, was there burned. *Parmenas* alſo another of the Deacons ſuffered.

*Ex Dorotheo in Synopſ.* *Simon* a Deacon martyred: S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle ſuffered.

*Thomas* preached to the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, alſo to the *Germans*, *Hiraconies*, *Bactries*, and *Magies*. He ſuffered in *Calamina*, a City of *Juda*, being ſlain with a Dart.

*Simon Zelotes* preached at *Mauritania*, and in the Country of *Africk*, and in *Britannia*; he was likewiſe crucified.

*Simon Zelotes* crucified.

*Judas* Brother of *James*, called alſo *Thaddeus*, and *Lebbeus*, preached to the *Edeſſens*, and to all *Meſopotamia*: he was ſlain under *Augarus*, King of the *Edeſſens* in *Berito*.

Thaddeus the Apoſtle ſlain.

*Simon* called *Cananeus*, which was Brother to *Jude* above mentioned, and to *James* the younger, which all were the Sons of *Mary Cleophas*, and of *Alpheus*, was Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* after *James*, and was crucified in a City of *Egypt* in the time of *Trajanus* the Emperor, as *Dorotheus* recordeth. But *Abdias* writeth, that he with his Brother *Jude* were both ſlain by a tumult of the people in *Suanir* a City of *Parſidis*.

*Simon Cananeus* crucified.

*Mark* the Evangeliſt, and firſt Biſhop of *Alexandria*, preached the Goſpel in *Egypt*, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there *Bucolus*, under the Reign of *Trajanus* the Emperor.

*Mark* the Evangeliſt burned.

*Bartholomeus* is ſaid alſo to Preach to the *Indians*, and to have converted the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew* into their Tongue, where he continued a great ſpace, doing many Miracles. At laſt in *Albania* a City of greater *Armenia*, after divers Perſecutions, he was beaten down with ſtaves, then crucified, and after being excoriate, he was at length beheaded. *John de monte regali.*

*Bartholomew* the Apoſtle crucified and beheaded.

*Ex Joan. de monte regali*

Of *Andrew* the Apoſtle and Brother to *Peter* thus writeth *Hierome* in his Book *De Catalogo Scriptorum Eccleſ.* *Andrew* the Brother of *Peter* (in the time and Reign of *Veſpaſianus*, as our Anceſtors have reported) did Preach in the fourſcore year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to the *Scythians*, *Sogdians*, to the *Saxons*, and in a City which is called *Anguſtia*, where the *Ethiopians* do now inhabit. He was buried in *Patris* a City of *Achaia*, being crucified of *Egeas* the Governor of the *Edeſſians*. Hitherto writeth *Hierome*, although in the number of years he ſeemeth a little to miſs: for *Veſpaſianus* reached not to the fourſcore year after Chriſt. But *Bernard* in his ſecond Sermon, and Saint *Cyprian* in his Book *De duplici Martyrio*, do make mention of the Confeſſion and Martyrdom of this bleſſed Apoſtle; whereof partly out of theſe, partly out of other credible Writers we have collected after this manner: that, When as *Andrew* being Converſant in a City of *Achaia* called *Patris*, through his diligent Preaching had brought many to the Faith of Chriſt: *Egeas* the Governor knowing this, reſorted thither, to the intent he might conſtrain as many as did believe Chriſt to be God, by the whole conſent of the Senate, to do ſacrifice unto the Idols, and ſo give divine honour unto them. *Andrew* thinking good at the beginning to reſiſt the wicked counſel, and the doings of *Egeas*, went unto him, ſaying to this effect unto him; that, It behoved him which was Judge of men, firſt to know his Judge which dwelleth in Heaven, and then to worſhip him being known, and ſo in worſhipping the true God, to revoke his mind from falſe gods and blind Idols. Theſe words ſpake *Andrew* to the Conſul.

*Andrew* the Apoſtle crucified for the Goſpel. *Ex Hieronymo in Catalogo ſcrip. Eccleſ. Ex Cypriano lib. de duplici martyrio, ex Bernardo ſerm. 2. de ſanct. Andrea.*

The Words of *Andrew* to the Conſul.

But he greatly therewith diſcontented, demanded of him, Whether he was the ſame *Andrew* that did overthrow the Temple of the gods, and perſwaded men of that Superſtitious Sect, which the *Romans* of late had commanded to be aboliſhed and rejected. *Andrew* did plainly affirm, That the Princes of the *Romans* did not underſtand the Truth, and that the Son of God, coming from Heaven into the World for mans ſake, hath taught and declared how thoſe Idols, whom they ſo honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but alſo moſt cruel Devils, Enemies to Mankind, teaching the people nothing elſe but that wherewith God is offended, and being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and ſo by the wicked ſervice of the Devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedneſs, and after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds.

The fervency of *Andrew* againſt Idolatry.

But the *Proconſul* eſteeming theſe things to be as vain, eſpecially ſeeing the *Jews* (as he ſaid) had crucified Chriſt before, therefore charged and commanded *Andrew* not to Teach and Preach ſuch things any more; or if he did, that he ſhould be faſtened to the Croſs with all ſpeed.

*Andrew* abiding in his former mind very conſtant, anſwered thus concerning the puniſhment which he threatened, He would not have preached the honour and glory of the Croſs, if he had feared the death of the Croſs. Whereupon Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced, that *Andrew* teaching and enterprizing a new Sect, and taking away the Religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. *Andrew* coming to the place, and ſeeing a far off the Croſs prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecillity of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood ſhrink, neither did he fail in his ſpeech, his body fainted not, neither was his mind moleſted, his underſtanding did not fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did ſpeak, and fervent Charity did appear in his words as kindled ſparks; he ſaid, O *Croſs*, *moſt welcome and long looked for*; *with a willing mind joyfully and deſirouſly I come to thee, being the Scholar of* [illegible] *which did hang on thee: becauſe I have been always thy* [illegible] *lover, and have coveted to embrace thee.* So being crucified, he yielded up the ghoſt and fell on ſleep, the day before the *Kalends* of *December*.

The conſtant faith of *Andrew* to the end.

The Croſs herein is not taken for the material Croſs, but for the manner of death upon the Croſs, which death was to him welcome.

*Matthew*, otherwiſe named *Levi*, firſt of a *Publican* made an Apoſtle, wrote his Goſpel to the *Jews* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, as recordeth *Euſebius*, *lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. lib. 5. cap. 8. cap. 10.* Alſo *Irenæus*, *lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo ſcrip. Eccleſiaſt.* Concerning the doings and decreements of this bleſſed Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, divers things be recorded by *Julius Africanus*, under the pretenced name of *Abdias*; alſo of *Vincentius*, *Perionius*, and others, but in ſuch ſort, as by the contents may greatly be ſuſpected, the matter not to lack ſome crafty forgery, for the more eſtabliſhment of later decretals, and *Romiſh* Doctrine, as touching Merits, conſecration of Nunns, the ſuperſtitious preſcription of *Lent-faſt*, not only in abſtaining from all fleſh meats, but alſo from all Matrimonial Copulation between man and wife, during the ſaid time of *holy Lent*. *Item*, the ſtrict Prohibition not to taſte any bodily ſuſtenance, before receiving of the Lords Supper. In ordaining of Maſs, and that no Nunn muſt marry after the Vow of her Profeſſion, with ſuch other like.

S. *Matthew* the Apoſtle ſlain with a Spear. *Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 1. Hiero. in Catalogo ſcript.*

*Joan. de Monte Regali*, teſtifieth of *Matthias*, after he had preached to the *Jews*, at length he was ſtoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in *Ethiopia*.

*Matthias* the Apoſtle ſtoned and beheaded.

*Philippus* the holy Apoſtle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous Nations in preaching the Word of Salvation to them, at length he ſuffered as the other Apoſtles did, in *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*, being there crucified and ſtoned to death, where alſo he was buried, and his Daughters alſo with him.

*Philip* the Apoſtle crucified. *Ex Lido. li. de patribus novi teſtam.*

Of

## *Of* James *the Brother of the Lord, thus we read in the ſtory of* Clement *and* Egeſippus.

*James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem.*

AFter that *Feſtus* had ſent the Apoſtle *Paul* to *Rome* after his Appellation made at *Ceſarea*, and that the *Jews* by the means thereof had loſt their hope of performing their malicious Vow againſt him conceived, they fell upon *James* the Brother of our Lord, who was Biſhop at *Jeruſalem*, againſt whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the Faith of Chriſt. But he, otherwiſe than they all looked for, freely and with a greater conſtancy before all the multitude confeſſed Jeſus to be the Son of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the teſtimony of this man any longer, becauſe he was thought to be the juſteſt among them all, for the highneſs of Divine Wiſdom and Godlineſs, which in living he declared; they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accompliſh their miſchief, becauſe the Kingdom the ſame time was vacant. For *Feſtus* being dead in *Jewry*, the Adminiſtration of that Province was deſtitute of a Ruler, and a Deputy. But after what manner *James* was killed, the words of *Clement* do declare, which writeth that he was caſt down from the Pinacle of the Temple, and being ſmitten with the Inſtrument of a *Fuller*, was ſlain: but *Egeſippus*, which lived in the time next after the Apoſtles, deſcribeth the cauſe diligently in his fifth Commentary, after this manner as followeth:

*Ex Clemente.* *Ex Egeſippo in Commentario.*

*James* the Brother of our Lord took in hand to govern the Church after the Apoſtles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a juſt and perfect man. Many and divers other *Jameſes* there were beſide him, but this was born holy from his mothers Womb, he drunk no Wine nor any ſtrong Drink, neither did he eat any living Creature, the Razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with Oil, neither did he uſe Bath, to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with woollen Cloth, but with Silk, and he only entred into the Temple, falling upon his Knees, asking remiſſion for the people, ſo that his Knees by oft kneeling loſt the ſenſe of feeling, bing benummed and hardened like the knees of a *Camel*. He was (for worſhipping God, and craving forgiveneſs for the people,) called juſt, and for the excellency of his juſt life named *Oblias*, which (if you do interpret it) is the ſafeguard and juſtice of the people, as the Prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the *Hereticks* which were among the people asked him what manner of door Jeſus ſhould be, he anſwered, That he was the Saviour. Whereof ſome do believe him to be Jeſus Chriſt; but the aforeſaid *Hereticks* neither believe the Reſurrection, neither that any ſhall come, which ſhall render unto every man according to his works, but as many as believe, they believed for *James* his cauſe. Whenas many therefore of the Princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the *Scribes*, *Jews*, and *Phariſees*, ſaying, Is is dangerous left that all the people do look for this Jeſus, as for Chriſt. Therefore they gathered themſelves together, and ſaid to *James*, *We beſeech thee reſtrain the people, for they believe in Jeſus, as though he were Chriſt; we pray thee perſwade them all which come unto the Feaſt of the Paſſover of Jeſus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people do teſtifie of thee that thou art juſt, neither that thou doſt accept the perſon of any man; therefore perſwade the people that they be not deceived in Jeſus, and all the people and we will obey thee: therefore ſtand upon the Pillar of the Temple, that thou mayſt be ſeen from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this Paſſover all the Tribes do come with all the Country.* And thus the forenamed *Scribes* and *Phariſees* did ſet *James* upon the Battlements of the Church, and they cried unto him and ſaid, *Thou juſt man, whom all we ought to obey, becauſe this people is led after Jeſus, which is crucified, tell what is the door of Jeſus crucified.* And he anſwered with a great voice, *What do you ask me of Jeſus the Son of Man, ſeeing that he ſitteth on the right hand of God in Heaven, and ſhall come in the Clouds of the Sky?* But when many were perſwaded of this, they glorified God upon the witneſs of *James*, and ſaid, *Oſanna in the higheſt to the Son of David.* Then the *Scribes* and the *Phariſees* ſaid among themſelves, *We have done evil, that we have cauſed ſuch a Teſtimony of Jeſus, but let us go up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with fear, may deny that Faith.* And they cried out, ſaying, O, O, *this juſt man alſo is ſeduced*; and they fulfilled that Scripture which is ſpoken of in *Eſay*, *Let us take away the juſt man, becauſe he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works.* Therefore they went up to throw down the juſt man, and ſaid among themſelves, *Let us ſtone this juſt man James*; and they took him to ſmite him with ſtones, for he was not yet dead when he was caſt down. But he turning, fell down upon his knees, ſaying, *O Lord God, Father, I beſeech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

Apoc. 14.

Eſay 5.

But when they had ſmitten him with ſtones, one of the Prieſts of the Children of *Rechas*, the Son of *Charobim*, ſpake to them the teſtimony which is in *Jeremy* the Prophet, *Leave off, what do ye? The juſt man prayeth for you.* And one of thoſe which were preſent took a *Fullers* Inſtrument, wherewith they did uſe to beat and purge Cloth, and ſmote the juſt man on his head, and ſo he finiſhed his Martyrdom, and they buried him in the ſame place, and his Pillar abideth ſtill by the Temple. He was a true teſtimony to the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*. And ſhortly after, *Veſpaſianus* the Emperor deſtroying the Land of *Jewry*, brought them into Captivity. Theſe things being thus written at large of *Egeſippus*, do well agree to thoſe which *Clement* did write of him. This *James* was ſo notable a man, that for his juſtice he was had in honour of all men, inſomuch that the wiſe men of the *Jews*, ſhortly after his Martyrdom, did impute the cauſe of the betieging of *Jeruſalem*, and other Calamities which hapned unto them, to no other cauſe, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Alſo *Joſephus* hath not left this out of his hiſtory, where he ſpeaketh of him after this manner: Theſe things ſo chanced unto the *Jews* for a vengeance, becauſe of that juſt man *James*, which was the Brother of Jeſus, whom they called Chriſt, for the *Jews* killed him, although he was a righteous man.

Luk. 23.

*Joſeph. lib. 10.*

The ſame *Joſephus* declareth his death in the ſame Book and Chapter, ſaying, *Cæſar* hearing of the death of *Feſtus* ſent *Albinus* the Lieutenant into *Jewry*: but *Ananus* the younger being Biſhop and of the Sect of the *Saducees*, truſting that he had obtained a convenient time, ſeeing that *Feſtus* was dead, and *Albinus* entred on his journey, he called a Council, and calling many unto him, among whom was *James*, by name the Brother of Jeſus which is called Chriſt, he ſtoned them, accuſing them as Breakers of the Law.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other beſides *James* alſo at the ſame were martyred and put to death among the *Jews*, for the Faith of Chriſt.

*Martyrs.*

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## *A Deſcription of the ten firſt Perſecutions in the Primitive Church, with a lively Portraiture of the variety of their Torments.*

*The ten firſt Perſecutions in the Primitive Church.*

THeſe things being thus declared for the Martyrdom of the Apoſtles, and the Perſecution of the *Jews*: now let us (by the Grace of Chriſt our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the Perſecutions raiſed by the *Romans* againſt the *Chriſtians* in the Primitive Age of the Church during the ſpace of three hundred years, till the coming of godly *Conſtantine*, which Perſecutions are reckoned of *Euſebius*, and by the moſt part of Writers, to the number of ten moſt ſpecial.

*The ſundry tormentes of the holy Martyrs in the Primitive Church.*

Wherein marvellous it is to ſee and read the numbers incredible of *Chriſtian* Innocents that were ſlain and tormented, ſome one way, ſome another, as *Rabanus* ſaith and ſaith truly, *Alii ferro peremti: Alii flammis exuſti; alii flagris verberati; Alii vectibus perforati; Alii cruciati patibulo; Alii demerſi pelagi periculo; Alii vivi decoriati; Alii vinculis mancipati; Alii linguis privati; Alii lapidibus obruti; Alii frigore afflicti; Alii fame cruciati; Alii truncatis manibus, aliiq; cæſis membris, ſpectaculum contumeliæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c.* that is, Some ſlain with Sword; Some burnt with fire; Some with Whips ſcourged; Some ſtabbed with Forks of Iron; Some faſtned to the Croſs or Gibbet; Some

drowned in the Sea; Some their Skins pluckt off; Some their Tongues cut off; Some ſtoned to death; Some killed with cold; Some ſtarved with hunger; Some their hands cut off, or otherwiſe diſmembred, have been ſo left naked to the open ſhame of the world, &c. Whereof *Auguſtine* alſo in his Book *De civit.* 22. *cap.* 6. thus ſaith, *Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro ſalute, ſed ſalutem contemnentes pro ſervatore.* Whoſe kinds of Puniſhments, although they were divers, yet the manner of conſtancy in all theſe Martyrs was one. And yet notwithſtanding the ſharpneſs of theſe ſo many and ſundry Torments, and like cruelneſs of the Tormentors, yet ſuch was the number of theſe conſtant Saints that ſuffered, or rather ſuch was the power of the Lord in his Saints, that as *Hierome* in his Epiſtle to *Cromatius* and *Heliodorus*, ſaith, *Nullus eſſet dies qui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperiri poſſet aſcriptus, excepto die calendarum Januarii*; that is, There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thouſand Martyrs cannot be aſcribed, except only the firſt day of *January*.

*Aug. de civit. lib.* 22. *cap.* 6.

The number of holy Martyrs in the Primitive Church.

## *The firſt Perſecution.*

I. The firſt Perſecution. Anno 67. *Euſtor. Eccl. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24, 25, 26.

THe firſt of theſe ten Perſecutions was ſtirred up by *Nero Domitius*, the ſixth Emperor before mentioned, about the year of our Lord threeſcore and ſeven. The tyrannous Rage of which Emperor was ſo fierce againſt the *Chriſtians* (as *Euſebius* recordeth) *Uſque adeo ut videres repletas humanis corporibus civitates, jacentes mortuos ſimul cum parvulis ſenes, fœminarumque abſque ulla ſexus reverentia nudata in publico rejectaque ſtarent cadavera*; that is, Inſomuch that a man might then ſee Cities lie full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women caſt out naked, without all reverence of that Sex in the open ſtreets, &c. Likewiſe *Oroſius* writing of the ſaid *Nero*, ſaith, That he was the firſt which in *Rome* did raiſe up Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, and not only in *Rome*, but alſo through all the Provinces thereof, thinking to aboliſh and to deſtroy the whole name of *Chriſtians* in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreover the teſtimony of *Hierome* upon *Daniel*, ſaying, That many there were of the *Chriſtians* in thoſe days, which ſeeing the filthy Abominations and intolerable Cruelty of *Nero*, thought that he ſhould be *Antichriſt*.

*Oroſius, li.* 7.

Nero thought to be *Antichriſt*.

S. *Peter* the Apoſtle crucified at *Rome*.

In this Perſecution, among many other Saints, the bleſſed Apoſtle *Peter* was condemned to death, and crucified, as ſome do write, at *Rome*; albeit other ſome, and not without cauſe, do doubt thereof: concerning whoſe life and hiſtory, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed in the Text of the Goſpel, and in the Acts of Saint *Luke* 4. 5. 12. I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cauſe and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as *Hierome*, *Egeſippus*, *Euſebius*, *Abdias*, and others, although they do not all preciſely agree in the time. The words of *Hierome* be theſe, *Simon Peter* the Son of *Jona*, of the Province of *Galilee*, and of the Town of *Bethſaida*, the Brother of *Andrew*, *&c.* After he had been Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*, and had preached to the diſperſion of them that believed, of the Circumciſion, in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia*, and *Bithinia*, in the ſecond year of *Claudius* the Emperor (which was about the year of our Lord forty and four) came to *Rome* to withſtand *Simon Magus*, and there kept the Prieſtly Chair the ſpace of five and twenty years, until the laſt year of the aforeſaid *Nero*, which was the fourteenth year of his Reign, of whom he was crucified, his Head being down, and his Feet upward, himſelf ſo requiring, becauſe he was (he ſaid) unworthy to be crucified after the ſame form and manner as the Lord was, &c. *Egeſippus* proſecuting this matter ſomething more at large, and *Abdias* alſo (if any authority is to be given to his Book, who following not only the ſenſe, but alſo the very form of words of *Egeſippus* in this Hiſtory, ſeemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other Authors) ſaith, That *Simon Magus* being then a great man with *Nero*, and his Preſident and Keeper of his life, was required upon a time to be preſent at the raiſing up of a certain Noble young man in *Rome* of *Nero*'s kindred lately departed: whereas *Peter* alſo was deſired to come to the reviving of the ſaid Perſonage. But when *Magus* in the preſence of *Peter* could not do it, then *Peter* calling upon the Name of the Lord Jeſus, did raiſe him up, and reſtored him to his Mother, whereby the eſtimation of *Simon Magus* began greatly to decay and to be deteſted in *Rome*. Not long after the ſaid *Magus* threatned the *Romans* that he would leave the City, and in their ſight fly away from them into Heaven. So the day being appointed, *Magus* taking his wings in the Mount *Capitolinus*, began to fly in the Air: but *Peter* by the Power of the Lord Jeſus brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall, his legs and joynts were broken, and he thereupon died. Then *Nero*, ſorrowing for the death of him, ſought matter againſt *Peter* to put him to death. Which, when the people perceived, they intreated *Peter* with much ado that he would fly the City. *Peter*, through their importunity at length perſwaded, prepared himſelf to avoid. But coming to the Gate, he ſaw the Lord Chriſt come to meet him, to whom he worſhipping, ſaid, *Lord, Whither doſt thou go?* To whom he anſwered and ſaid, *I am come again to be crucified.* By this *Peter* perceiving his ſuffering to be underſtood, returned back into the City again, and ſo was he crucified in manner as is before declared. And this out of *Egeſippus*.

*Euſebius* moveover writing of the death not only of *Peter*, but alſo of his Wife, affirmeth, that *Peter* ſeeing his wife going to her Martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging upon the Croſs) was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, *Bad her remember the Lord Jeſus.* Such was then (ſaith *Euſebius*) the bleſſed bond of marriage among the Saints of God. And thus much of *Peter*.

*Euſeb. lib.* 3. *hiſt. Eccleſ. cap.* 30.

Peter put to death for Chriſt.

The words of Peter to his wife, going to death.

*Paul* the Apoſtle, which before was called *Saul*, after his great travel and unſpeakable Labours in promoting the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſuffered alſo in this firſt Perſecution under *Nero*, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth *Hierom* in his Book, *De viris illuſtribus*. *Paul*, otherwiſe called *Saul*, one of the Apoſtles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and of a Town of *Jewry* called *Giſcalis*, which Town being taken of the *Romans*, he with his Parents, fled to *Tharſus*, a Town of *Cilicia*; afterward was ſent up by his Parents to *Jeruſalem*, and there brought up in the knowledge of the Law, at the feet of *Gamaliel*, and was a doer of the death of *Stephen*. And when he had received Letters from the High Prieſt to perſecute the *Chriſtians*, by the way going to *Damaſcus*, he was ſtrucken down of the Lords Glory, and of a Perſecutor was made a Profeſſor, an Apoſtle, a Martyr, a witneſs of the Goſpel, and a Veſſel of Election.

Paul the Apoſtle.

Ex Hieronymo lib. de viris illuſtribus.

Saul brought up under Gamaliel, a Perſecutor.

Among his other manifold Labours and travels in ſpreading the Doctrine of Chriſt, he won *Sergius Paulus* the Proconſul of *Cyprus*, to the Faith of Chriſt, whereupon he took his name, as ſome ſuppoſe, turned from *Saulus* to *Paulus*. After he had paſſed through divers places and Countries in his laborious Peregrinations, he took to him *Barnabas*, and went up to *Jeruſalem* to *Peter*, *James* and *John*, where he was Ordained and ſent out with *Barnabas* to Preach unto the *Gentiles*.

Saulus turned to Paulus.

Paul ſent to the Gentiles.

And becauſe it is in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* ſufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable Converſion, and Converſation of this moſt worthy Apoſtle, that which remaineth of the reſt of his Hiſtory, I will here add, how the ſaid Apoſtle *Paul*, the five and twentieth year after the Paſſion of the Lord, in the ſecond year of *Nero*, at what time *Feſtus* ruled in *Jewry*, was ſent up in bonds to *Rome*, where he remaining in his free Hoſtery two years together, diſputed daily againſt the *Jews*, proving Chriſt to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his firſt Anſwer, or Purgation there made at *Rome*, the Emperor *Nero*, not yet fully confirmed in his Empire, and yet not burſting out into thoſe miſchiefs which Hiſtories report of him, he was at that time by *Nero* diſcharged, and diſmiſſed to Preach the Goſpel in the *Weſt* parts, and about the Coaſts of *Italy*, as he himſelf writing unto *Timothy*, afterward in his ſecond Apprehenſion, in his ſecond Epiſtle witneſſeth, ſaying, *In my firſt Purgation no man ſtood with me, but did all forſake me, the Lord lay it not to their Charge: but the Lord ſtood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his Word might proceed by me, and that all the* Gentiles *might hear and be taught; and I was deli-*

*Acts* 28.

2 *Tim.* 4.

This report ſeemeth neither to come of *Hierome*, nor to be true in *Peter*.

*Hieron. lib. de viris illuſtrib.*

*Egeſippus, lib.* 3. *de excidio Hieroſol. cap.* 2. *Abdias lib.* 2. *de vita Petri.*

*vered*

*vered out of the Lions mouth, &c.* In which place by the Lion, he plainly meaneth *Nero.* And afterwards likewiſe he ſaith, *I was delivered from the mouth of the Lion, &c.* And again, *The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath ſaved me unto his heavenly Kingdom, &c.* ſpeaking this, becauſe he perceived then the time of his Martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the ſame Epiſtle before, he ſaith, *I am now offered up, and the time of my diſſolution draweth on.*

Thus then, this worthy Preacher and Meſſenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of *Nero*, and the ſame day in which *Peter* was crucified (although not in the ſame year, as ſome write, but in the next year following) was beheaded at *Rome* for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and was buried in the way of *Oſtia*, the ſeven and thirtieth year after the Paſſion of the Lord. He wrote nine Epiſtles to ſeven Churches, to the *Romans* one, to the *Corinthians* two, to the *Galathians* one, to the *Epheſians* one, to the *Philippians* one, to the *Coloſſians* one, to the *Theſſalonians* two. Moreover he wrote to his Diſciples, to *Timothy* two, to *Titus* one, to *Philemon* one.

The Epiſtles of S. *Paul* to ſeven Churches.

The Epiſtle to the Hebrews.

The Epiſtle which beareth the title to the *Hebrews*, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the ſtile and phraſe, but either judged to be written of *Timothy*, as *Tertullian* ſuppoſeth, or of S. *Luke*, as others think; or elſe of *Clement* afterward Biſhop of *Rome*, who, as they ſay, was adjoyned with *Paul*, and compiling together his ſayings and ſentences, did phraſe them in his ſtile and manner. Or elſe as ſome do judge, becauſe S. *Paul* wrote unto the *Hebrews*, for the odiouſneſs of his name among that people, therefore he diſſembled, and confeſſed not his name in the firſt entry of his ſalutation, contrary to his accuſtomed condition. And as he wrote to the *Hebrews*, he being an *Hebrew*, ſo he wrote in *Hebrew*; that is, his own Tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cauſe why it differeth from his other Epiſtles, and is after a more eloquent manner tranſlated into the *Greek*, than his other Epiſtles be. Some alſo read the Epiſtle written to *Laodicea*, but that is exploded of all men. Thus much *Hierome.*

The Epiſtle to *Laodicea.*

As touching the time and order of the death and Martyrdom of Saint *Paul*, as *Euſebius*, *Hierome*, *Maximus*, and other Authors do but briefly paſs it over: ſo *Abdias* (if his Book be of any ſubſtantial authority) ſpeaking more largely of the ſame, doth ſay, That after the crucifying of *Peter*, and the ruine of *Simon Magus*, *Paul* yet remaining in free Cuſtody, was diſmiſſed and delivered at that time from Martyrdom by Gods permiſſion, that all the *Gentiles* might be repleniſhed with preaching of the Goſpel by him.

*Abdias de vitis, lib. 2.*

*Paul* declareth his Doctrine to the Emperor.

The ſum of *Paul's* Doctrine.

And the ſame *Abdias* proceeding in his ſtory, declareth moreover, that as *Paul* was thus occupied at *Rome*, he was accuſed to the Emperor, not only for teaching new Doctrine, but alſo for ſtirring up Sedition againſt the Empire. For this he being called before *Nero*, and demanded to ſhew the order and manner of his Doctrine, there declared what his Doctrine was, To teach all men Peace and Charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour; Rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their truſt in their treaſures, but in the living God; Mean men to be contented with food and rayment, and with their preſent ſtate; Poor men to rejoyce in their poverty with hope; Fathers to bring up their Children in the fear of God; Children to obey their Parents; Husbands to love their Wives; Wives to be ſubject to their Husbands; Citizens and Subjects to give their Tribute unto *Cæſar*, and to be ſubject to their Magiſtrates; Maſters to be courteous, not churliſh to their Servants; Servants to deal faithfully with their Maſters: and this to be the ſum of his teaching. Which his Doctrine *he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and the Father of Glory*, which ſpake to him from Heaven, the Lord Jeſus ſaying to him, *That he ſhould go and preach his Name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatſoever he did or ſaid, he would juſtifie it, &c.* After that *Paul* had thus declared unto the Emperor, ſhortly after, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him, that he ſhould be beheaded. Unto whoſe Execution then *Nero* ſent two of his Eſquires, *Ferega* and *Parthemius*, to bring him word of his death. They coming to *Paul*, inſtructing then the people, deſired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them, that ſhortly after they ſhould believe, and be baptized at his Sepulchre (as *Abdias* writeth.) This done, the Souldiers came and led him out of the City to the place of Execution, where he after his prayers made, gave his Neck to the Sword. *Abdias* reporteth, that as his head was ſtricken off, inſtead of blood iſſued out white Milk, and that at laying down his head, he ſigned himſelf with the ſign of a Croſs in his Forehead: but this being found in no other Hiſtory, *Abdias* ſeemeth either to add of his own, or elſe to borrow out of the *Legend*, as he doth many other things beſide, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Although the ſame miracle of Milk flowing out of his neck, is referred alſo unto *Ambroſe*, who in his Sermon threeſcore and eight (if it be not counterfeited) ſeemeth to affirm the ſame. Of the time and year when the bleſſed Apoſtles did ſuffer, Hiſtories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the Popes decrees, ſay, That both *Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered both in one day, and in one year: which opinion ſeemeth to be taken out of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*. *Hierome* in his Book *De viris illuſtr.* affirmeth, that they both ſuffered in one day, but he expreſſeth not the year. So doth *Iſidorus* and *Euſebius*. *Simon Metaphraſtes* bringeth in the opinion of ſome, which think that *Paul* ſuffered not with *Peter*, but after *Peter*, *Prudentius*, in his *Periſtephano*, noteth, that they both were put to death upon the ſame day, but not in the ſame year, and ſaith, that *Paul* followed *Peter* a year after.

A legend miracle.

The ſtory of *Abdias* ſuſpected.

Hiſtories do vary about the time of their Martyrdom.

If this be true *Prudentius* recordeth of *Paul* to ſuffer under *Nero*, and the year after *Peter*, then it is falſe which *Hierome* before teſtifieth, *Peter* to ſuffer the laſt year of *Nero.*

*Abdias*, above mentioned, recordeth, that *Paul* ſuffered two years after *Peter*. Moreover, if it be true which *Abdias* ſaith, that after the crucifying of *Peter*, *Paul* remained in his fair Cuſtody at *Rome*, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, which was as *Hierome* witneſſeth, the third or fourth year of *Nero*, then muſt it be ten years betwixt the Martyrdom of *Peter* and of *Paul*, foraſmuch as it is by all Writers confeſſed, that *Paul* ſuffered the fourteenth year, which was the laſt year of *Nero*. And ſo *Abdias* ſeemeth neither to agree with other Authors, nor with himſelf. And thus much of the firſt Perſecution.

## *The ſecond Perſecution.*

The ſecond Perſecution { Anno 69.

THe firſt *Roman* Perſecution beginning under *Nero*, as is aforeſaid, ceaſed under *Veſpaſianus*, who gave ſome reſt to the poor *Chriſtians*. After whoſe Reign was moved, not long after, the ſecond Perſecution, by the Emperor *Domitian*, Brother of *Titus*. Of whom *Euſebius* and *Oroſius* ſo write, that he firſt beginning mildly, afterward did ſo far outrage in Pride intolerable, that he commanded himſelf to be worſhipped as God, and that Images of Gold and Silver in his honour ſhould be ſet up *in Capitolio*. The chiefeſt Nobles of the Senators, either upon envy, or for their Goods, he cauſed to be put to death, ſome openly, and ſome he ſent into baniſhment, there cauſing them to be ſlain privily.

*Ex Oroſio. lib. 7.*

The tyranny and intemperance of *Domitian*

And as his Tyranny was unmeaſurable, ſo the intemperancy of his life was no leſs. He put to death all the Nephews of *Juda*, called the Lords Brother, and cauſed to be ſought out and to be ſlain all that could be found of the ſtock of *David* (as *Veſpaſian* alſo did before him) for fear, leſt he were yet to come of the Houſe of *David*, which ſhould enjoy the Kingdom. In the time of this Perſecutor, *Simeon*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom *Juſtus* afterward ſucceeded in that Biſhoprick.

*Simeon* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* crucified.

*John* the Evangeliſt.

In this Perſecution, *John* the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, was exiled by the ſaid *Domitianus* into *Pathmos*. Of whom divers and ſundry memorable Acts be reported in ſundry Chronicles. As firſt, how he was put in a Veſſel of boyling Oil, by the Proconſul of *Epheſus*. The *Legend* and *Perionius* ſay, It was done at *Rome*. *Iſidorus* alſo writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth, that he turned certain places of wood into gold, and ſtones by the Sea ſide into margarites, to ſatisfie the deſire of two, whom he had before perſwaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they repenting that for worldly treaſure they had loſt Heaven, for their ſakes again he changed the ſame into their former ſubſtance. Alſo how he raiſed up a Widow and a certain young man from death to life. How he drank poyſon and it hurt him not, raiſing alſo to life two which had drank the ſame before. Theſe and ſuch other Miracles, although they may be true, and are found in *Iſidorus*, and other Writers more, yet becauſe they are no

*Iſidorus de patribus noa vi teſtamenta*

*Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 10. Hiſtor. Eccleſ.*

{Anno 97.} *John* baniſhed. *John* releaſed out of baniſhment.

Articles of our Chriſtian Belief, I let them paſs, and only content my ſelf with that which I read in *Euſebius*, declaring of him in this wiſe, That in the fourteenth year after *Nero*, in the ſecond Perſecution, in the days of *Domitian*, *John* was baniſhed into *Pathmos* for the teſtimony of the Word, in the year fourſcore and ſeventeen. And after the death of the aforeſaid *Domitian*, he being ſlain, and his Acts repealed by the Senate, *John* was again releaſed under *Pertinax* the Emperor, and came to *Epheſus* in the year one hundred. Where he continued until the time of *Trajanus*, and there governed the Churches in *Aſia*, where alſo he wrote his Goſpel, and ſo lived till the year after the Paſſion of our Lord, threeſcore and eight, which was the year of his age, one hundred and twenty.

*Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 23.*

Moreover, in the aforeſaid Eccleſiaſtical ſtory of *Euſebius*, we read, that *John* the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, whom the Lord did love, was in *Aſia*, where he being returned out of *Pathmos*, after the death of *Domitian*, governed the Churches and Congregations. *Irenæus* in his ſecond Book thus writeth: And of him all the Elders do witneſs, which were with *John* the Diſciple of the Lord in *Aſia*, that he ſpake and wrote theſe things, &c. for there he continued with them unto the time of *Trajanus*, &c. Alſo the ſaid *Irenæus*, *lib. 3. Hypotheſ.* in like words declareth, ſaying, The Church of the *Epheſians* being firſt founded by *Paul*, afterward being confirmed of *John* (who continued in the ſame City unto the time of *Trajanus* the Emperor) is a true witneſs of this Apoſtolical tradition, &c. *Clemens Alexandrinus* moreover noteth both the time of this holy Apoſtle, and alſo addeth to the ſame a certain Hiſtory of him, not unworthy to be remembred of ſuch which delight in things honeſt and profitable. Of the which Hiſtory *Sozomenus* alſo in his *Commentaries* maketh mention. The words of the Author ſetting forth this Hiſtory be theſe, Hear a Fable, and not a Fable, but a true Report, which is told us of *John* the Apoſtle, delivered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the Tyrant, when *John* was returned to *Epheſus*, from the Iſle of *Pathmos*, he was deſired to reſort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to conſtitute Biſhops, partly to diſpoſe the cauſes and matters of the Church, partly to Ordain and ſet ſuch of the Clergy in Office, whom the Holy Ghoſt ſhould elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain City not far off, the name of which alſo many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the Brethren, he looking more earneſtly upon him which was the chief Biſhop among them, beheld a young man mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man (ſaith he) to thee with great diligence, in witneſs here of Chriſt and of the Church.

*Iren. lib. 2.*

*Clemens Alexandrinus.*

A notable Hiſtory of *John* the Evangeliſt.

When the Biſhop had received of him this Charge, and had promiſed his faithful diligence therein: again, the ſecond time *John* ſpake unto him, and deſired him in like manner and conteſtation as before. This done, *John* returned again to *Epheſus*. The Biſhop receiving the young man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nouriſhed him, and at length alſo did illuminate (that is) he baptized him, and in ſhort time through his diligence brought him into ſuch order and towardneſs, that he committed unto him the overſight of a certain Cure in the Lords behalf. The young man thus having more his liberty, it chanced that certain of his Companions and old Familiars being idle, diſſolute and accuſtomed of old time to wickedneſs, did joyn in company with him, who firſt brought him to ſumptuous and riotous Banquets; then incited him forth with them in the night to rob and ſteal, after that he was allured by them unto greater miſchief and wickedneſs. Wherein by cuſtom of time, by little and little, he being more practiſed, and being of a good wit, and a ſtout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken Horſe, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all miſorder and outrage. And thus, being paſt all hope of Grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholeſome Doctrine of Salvation, which he had learned before, began to ſet his mind upon no ſmall matters. And for as much as he was entred ſo far in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceeded in the ſame. And ſo aſſociating unto him the company of his Companions, and fellow Thieves, took upon him to be as Head and Captain among them, in committing all kind of Murder and Felony.

What wicked company doth.

In the mean time it chanced that of neceſſity *John* was ſent for to thoſe quarters again, and came. The cauſes being decided, and his buſineſs ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the Biſhop afore ſpecified, he requireth of him the pledge, which in the witneſs of Chriſt and of the Congregation then preſent he left in his hands to keep. The Biſhop ſomething amazed at the words of *John*, ſuppoſing he had meant of ſome money committed to his cuſtody, which he had not received, (and yet durſt not miſtruſt *John*, nor contrary his words) could not tell what to anſwer. Then *John* perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly: The young man (ſaith he) and the Soul of our Brother committed to your cuſtody, I do require. Then the Biſhop with a loud voice ſorrowing and weeping ſaid, *He is dead.* To whom *John* ſaid, *How, and by what death?* The other ſaid, *He is dead to God, for he is become an evil man, and pernitious, to be brief, a Theif: and now he doth frequent this Mountain with a company of Villains and Thieves like unto himſelf againſt the Church.* But the Apoſtle rent his Garments, and with a great lamentation ſaid, *I have left a good keeper of my Brothers ſoul; get me a Horſe, and let me have a Guid withme*; which being done, his Horſe and Man procured, he haſted from the Church as much as he could, and coming to the ſame place was taken of Thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refuſing, ſaid, *I came for this ſame cauſe hither, lead me*, ſaid he, *to your Captain.* So he being brought, the Captain all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and eſt-ſoons coming to the knowledge of him, was ſtrucken with confuſion and ſhame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, *My Son, why doſt thou fly from thy Father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? have pity on me, my Son, and fear not; for there is yet hope of Salvation; I will make anſwer for thee unto Chriſt, I will die for thee if need be; as Chriſt hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Chriſt hath ſent me.* He hearing theſe things, firſt, as in a maze ſtood ſtill, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had caſt down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly: and coming to the old man, imbraced him, and ſpake unto him with weeping (as well as he could) being even then baptized afreſh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the Apoſtle after that he had promiſed and firmly aſcertained him that he ſhould obtain remiſſion of our Saviour, and alſo prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kiſſed his murthering right hand, which for ſhame he durſt not ſhew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the Congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily faſtings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many Sentences, went not from him (as the Author reporteth) before he had reſtored him to the Congregation again, and made him a great example and trial of Regeneration, and a token of the viſible Reſurrection.

A notable Leſſon for all Miniſters to ſeek again their loſt ſheep.

O unſpeakable love ſhewed out to a wicked ſinner.

Moreover, the aforeſaid *Irenæus in lib. 3. cap. 3.* and *Euſebius, lib. 3. cap. 28.* and *lib. 4. cap. 14.* proſecuting the Hiſtory of *John*, declare in theſe words, ſaying, That there were certain which heard *Polycarpus* ſay, that *John* the Diſciple of our Lord going into *Epheſus* to be waſhed, ſeeing *Cerinthus* within, he leaped out of the Bath unbathed, becauſe he feared the Bath ſhould have fallen, ſeeing that *Cerinthus* an Enemy to the Truth was within. Such fear had the Apoſtles (ſaith *Irenæus*) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

An example of the godly to fly the company of the wicked.

And foraſmuch as we are here in hand with the ſtory of *John* the bleſſed Evangeliſt, here cometh in matter and occaſion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, ſuch as hath occupied all the Catholick, ſubtil, illuminate, and ſeraphical Doctors of the Popes Catholick Church, theſe five hundred years. The difficulty is this, That for ſo much as auricular confeſſion hath been, and is yet received in the Popes Catholick Church for an holy and neceſſary Sacrament, extending univerſally to all and ſingular Creatures Chriſtian: here then ariſeth a queſtion, Who was our Ladies Confeſſor, or ghoſtly Father? But that is decreed and confeſſed with full conſent of all the Catholicks to be Saint *John*. Whoſoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is ſtraightways *Ipſo facto* an *Heretick*. This then ſo determined, ariſeth another queſtion or doubt, that ſeeing our Lady was without all original ſin, and alſo

A Catholick queſtion concerning auricular confeſſion.

Solution.

Another Catholick queſtion.

alſo actual or mortal: what need then had ſhee of any Confeſſor? Or what ſhould ſhe confeſs unto him? for if ſhe had confeſſed any ſin, when ſhe had none; then had ſhe made her ſelf a lyar, and ſo had ſinned indeed. Here therefore (gentle Reader) in this perplexity theſe our illuminate Doctors ſtand in need of thine aid to help at a pinch. *Magnus Albertus* the great Divine, denieth not, but that ſhe indeed, though moſt pure, yet was confeſſed to her ghoſtly Father, to keep the obſervance of the Law, appointed for ſuch as had that need, which ſhe had not. And therefore (ſaith he) neceſſary it was that ſhe ſhould confeſs with mouth. But then here is to be asked, What did ſhe ſay in her confeſſion, when ſhe had nothing to confeſs? To this *Albertus* anſwereth again, and telleth us plainly what ſhe ſaid in her confeſſion, which was this, That ſhe had received that great Grace, not *Ex condigno*; that is, Not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithſtanding of congruity. And this was it (ſaith *Albert*) that ſhe ſaid in her confeſſion. *Albert. cap. 74. Super Evang. Miſſus eſt, &c*

Solution. *Albert. ſuper Evangelium Miſſus eſt.* Another queſtion with the ſolution.

*Albert. ibidem, cap. 17.*

S. Thomas *par 3. quæſt 27. art. 5.*

Moreover, to help this caſe out of all doubt, cometh in famous *Thomas* of *Watring*, and thus looſeth the knot, much after like effect, ſaying, That as Chriſt, although he did owe nothing to the Law, yet notwithſtanding received Circumciſion, to give to others example of Humility and Obedience: in like manner would our Lady ſhew her ſelf obedient to the obſervance of the Law, albeit there was no cauſe why ſhe had any need thereof. And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful queſtion moved and ſoluted, to the intent I would reveal to thee ſome part of the deep Divinity of our Catholick Maſters, that have ruled and governed the Church in theſe their late Popiſh days.

*Flavia* the daughter of a Conſul, baniſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

But breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this foreſaid ſecond Perſecution under *Domitianus*. In which Perſecution, beſides theſe afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly Martyrs, ſuffering for the like teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, was *Flavia* the Daughter of *Flavius Clemens*, one of the *Roman* Conſuls, which *Flavia*, with many others was baniſhed out of *Rome*, into the Iſle *Pontia*, for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, by the Emperour *Domitianus*, *Euſeb. lib. 3.*

The Emperor maketh inquiry for all that were of *Davids* ſtock. *Davids* ſtock feared of the Emperors.

This *Domitianus* feared the coming of Chriſt as *Herod* did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the Stock of *David* in *Jewry*. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lords kindred, which were the Nephews of *Jude*, that was called the Lords Brother after the fleſh. Theſe, when the Lieutenant of *Jewry* had brought up to *Domitian* to be ſlain, the Emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the Stock of *David?* Which when they had granted, he asked again, what poſſeſſions, and what ſubſtance they had? They anſwered, That they both had no more between them in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and ſuſtained their Families with the hard labours of their hands, ſhewing forth their hands unto the Emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witneſs that to be true which they had ſpoken: Then the Emperor inquiring of them concerning the Kingdom of Chriſt, what manner of Kingdom it was, how, and when it ſhould appear? They anſwered, That his Kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an Heavenly and Angelical Kingdom, and that it ſhould appear in the conſummation and end of the World, what time he coming in Glory, ſhould judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deſervings. *Domitian* the Emperor hearing this (as the ſaying is) did not condemn them; but deſpiſing them as vile perſons let them go, and alſo ſtaid the Perſecution then moved againſt the *Chriſtians*. They, being thus diſcharged and diſmiſſed, afterward had the government of Churches, being taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lords ſtock, and ſo continued in good peace till the time of *Trajanus*. *Hæc Egeſip. & Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 20.*

Two Nephews of *Jude* the Lords Brother preſerved.

The Kingdom of Chriſt not of this World.

The cauſes why the Emperors and Senate of *Rome* did ſo rage againſt the *Chriſtians*.

The Kingdom of Chriſt feared of the *Romans*.

By this ſtory here cited, may appear, what were the cauſes why the Emperors of the *Roman* Monarchy did ſo perſecute the *Chriſtians*: which cauſes were chiefly theſe, Fear and Hatred. Firſt, Fear, for that the Emperors and Senate of blind Ignorance, not knowing the manner of Chriſts Kingdom, feared and miſdoubted leſt the ſame would ſubvert their Empery, (like as the Pope thinketh now that this Goſpel will overthrow his Kingdom of Majeſty) and therefore ſought they all means poſſible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguiſh the name and memory of the *Chriſtians*. And thereupon ſeemeth to ſpring the old Law of the *Roman* Senate: *Non debere demitti Chriſtianos, qui ſemel ad tribunal veniſſent, niſi propoſitum mutent*; that is, that the *Chriſtians* ſhould not be let go, which were once brought to the Judgment-Seat, except they changed their purpoſe, &c. *Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 21.*

*Lex antiqua* Romana *contra Chriſtianos. Ex Euſeb. lib. 1. cap. 21.*

The Kingdom of Chriſt hated of *Roman* Princes

Secondly, Hatred, partly for that this world, of his own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the firſt beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the *Chriſtians* being of a contrary nature and Religion, ſerving only the true living God, deſpiſed their falſe gods, ſpake againſt their Idolatrous worſhippings, and many times ſtopped the Power of Satan, working in their Idols: And therefore Satan the Prince of this world, ſtirred up the *Roman* Princes and blind Idolaters to bear the more hatred and ſpite againſt them.

Upon theſe cauſes, and ſuch like, roſe up theſe malicious Slanders, falſe Surmiſes, infamous Lies, and ſlanderous Accuſations of the Heathen Idolaters againſt the *Chriſtian* Servants of God, which incited the Princes of this world the more to perſecute them: for what Crimes ſoever malice could invent, or raſh ſuſpition could miniſter, that was imputed to the *Chriſtians*; as that they were a people inceſtuous, that in the night in their concourſes, putting out their Candles, they ran together in all filthy manner, that they killed their own Children, that they uſed to eat mans fleſh, that they were ſeditious and rebellious, that they would not ſwear by the Fortune and Proſperity of *Cæſar*, that they would not adore the Image of *Cæſar* in the Market place, that they were pernicious to the Empery of *Rome*. Briefly, whatſoever miſhappened to the City or Provinces of *Rome*, either Famine, Peſtilence, Earthquake, Wars, Wonders, unſeaſonableneſs of weather, or what other evils ſoever happened, it was imputed to the *Chriſtians*, as *Juſtinus* recordeth. Over and beſide all theſe, a great occaſion that ſtirred up the Emperors againſt the *Chriſtians*, came by one *Publius Tarquinius* the chief Prelate of the Idolatrous Sacrifices, and *Mamertinus* the chief Governor of the City in the time of *Trajanus*; who partly with money, partly with ſiniſter and peſtilent Counſel, partly with infamous Accuſations (as witneſſeth *Nauclerus*) incenſed the mind of the Emperor ſo much againſt Gods people.

Falſe Accuſations and ſlanders againſt the *Chriſtians*. *Ex apol. Juſtin. Martyr.*

*Publius Tarquinius* and *Mamertinus* Perſecutors.

Alſo among theſe other cauſes aboveſaid, crept in ſome piece of covetouſneſs withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked Promoters and Accuſers for lucre ſake, to have the Poſſeſſions of the *Chriſtians*, were the more ready to accuſe them to have the ſpoil of their goods.

Thus haſt thou (*Chriſtian* Reader) firſt, the cauſes declared of theſe Perſecutions; ſecondly, the cruel law of their Condemnation; thirdly, now hear more what was the form of Inquiſition, which was (as is witneſſed in the ſecond Apology of *Juſtinus*) to this effect; that they ſhould ſwear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed *Chriſtians* or not: and if they confeſſed, then by the law the ſentence of death proceeded. *Juſt. Apol. 2.*

*Ex Juſt. Mart. in 2. Apolog.*

The form of Inquiſition againſt the *Chriſtians* in the old time.

Neither yet were theſe Tyrants and Organs of Satan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no leſs horrible than divers. Whatſoever the cruelneſs of mans invention could deviſe for the puniſhment of mans body, was practiſed againſt the *Chriſtians*, as partly I have mentioned before, and more appeareth by the Epiſtle ſent from the Brethren of *France*, hereafter following. Crafty trains, Outcries of Enemies, Impriſonment, Stripes and Scourgings, Drawings, Tearings, Stonings, Plates of Iron laid unto them burning hot, deep Dungeons, Racks, ſtrangling in Priſons, the teeth of wild Beaſts, Gridirons, Gibbets and Gallows, toſſing upon the horns of Bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and Dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried. *Ex Epiſtola fratrum Viennenſium ac Lugdunenſium, &c.*

The cruelty of Tyrants in killing of Chriſtian men.

*Ex Epiſt. fratrum Viennenſium & Lugdunenſium, ad fratres per Aſiam & Phrygiam ſcripta.*

And yet notwithſtanding for all theſe continual Perſecutions, and horrible Puniſhments, the Church of the *Chriſtians* daily increaſed, deeply rooted in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of men apoſtolical, and watered plenteouſly with the blood of Saints, as ſaith *Niceph. lib. 3.* Whereof let us hear the worthy teſtimony of *Juſtinus* Martyr in his Dialogue with *Tryphens*. And that none (ſaith he) can terrifie or remove us which believe in Jeſus, by this

*Ex Nicephoro. li. 3. c. 22.*

*Ex Juſt. Martyr. in Dialogorum Tryphon.*

it daily appeareth, for when we are ſlain, crucified, caſt to wild Beaſts, into the fire, or given to other Torments, yet we go not from our Confeſſion: but contrary, the more cruelty and ſlaughter is wrought againſt us, the more they be that come to Piety and Faith by the Name of Jeſus: no otherwiſe than if a man cut the Vine-Tree, the better the Branches grow. For the Vine-Tree, planted by God and Chriſt our Saviour, is his people. *Hæc Juſt.*

The Church increaſeth by Perſecution.

¶ To comprehend the names and number of all the Martyrs that ſuffered in all theſe ten Perſecutions (which are innumerable) as it is unpoſſible, ſo it is hard in ſuch a variety and diverſity of matter to keep ſuch a perfect order and courſe of years and times, that either ſome be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place, eſpecially ſeeing the Authors themſelves, whom in this preſent Work we follow, do diverſly diſagree both in the times, in the names, and alſo in the kind of Martyrdom of them that ſuffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the Church and Epiſtles decretal do take *Anacletus* to ſucceed after *Clement*, next before *Euariſtus*: contrary, *Euſebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6.* making no mention of *Cletus*, but of *Anacletus*, ſaith, That *Euraſtius* ſucceeded next to *Clement*. Likewiſe *Ruffinus* and *Epiphanius*, ſpeaking nothing of *Anacletus*, make mention of *Linus*, and of *Cletus*, next before *Clement*, but ſay nothing of *Anacletus*: whereby it may appear that *Cletus* and *Anacletus* were both one. *Sabellicus Aenead. 7. lib. 2.* ſpeaking of *Linus* and of *Cletus*, ſaith, that they were ordained helpers under *Peter*, while he laboured in his Apoſtleſhip abroad, and ſo ſaith alſo *Marianus Scotus*: contrary, *Irenæus, lib. 3. contra hæreſ.* ſpeaketh of *Anacletus*, making no mention of *Cletus*. Whereby it may appear by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretal Epiſtles, whom all the later Hiſtories of the Pope his Church do follow in this behalf, &c. Moreover, where *Antoninus*, *Vincentius*, *Jacobus In ſupplemento*, *Simoneta*, *Aloiſius*, with others, declare of *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clement*, *Anacletus*, *Euariſtus*, *Alexander*, Biſhops of *Rome*, that that they died Martyrs: *Euſebius*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory writing of them maketh thereof no mention.

Diſagreement in Authors touching the lives and times of Martyrs.

*Linus* Biſhop of *Rome*.

*Cletus* and *Anacletus* both one.

*Clement* a Biſhop counted a Martyr.

And firſt as touching *Clement* (whom *Marianus Scotus* calleth the firſt Biſhop of *Rome* after *Peter*) they ſay that he was ſent out into baniſhment of *Trajanus*, beyond *Ponticus*, with two thouſand *Chriſtians*, where he opened a well-ſpring to them which in the Wilderneſs were condemned to the Mines. Afterward being accuſed to the Emperor, he was thrown into the Sea with a millſtone faſtened about his neck, and not long after, his body was caſt up and buried (as *Platina* ſaith) at the place where the Well was made. Some ſay it was found firſt in the days of Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, *Faſcicul. tempor.* But foraſmuch as I find of his Martyrdom no firm relation in the ancient Authors, but only in ſuch new Writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives and hiſtories of good men, with fained additions of forged Miracles, therefore I count the fame of leſs credit, as I do alſo certain decretal Epiſtles, untruly (as may ſeem) aſcribed and intituled to his name. *Euſebius* in his third Book, writing of *Clement*, giveth no more of him, but thus, After he had governed the Church of *Rome* nine years, the ſaid *Clement* left the ſucceſſion thereof to *Euariſtus*.

The lives of Martyrs painted out with fained Miracles.

*Euariſtus* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

Of which *Euariſtus* next Biſhop of *Rome*, thus we find in *Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter* and *Paul* (ſaith he) committed the Charge of that Church to *Linus*: after whom came *Anacletus*, then ſucceeded *Clemens*, next to *Clemens* followed *Euariſtus*, after whom came *Alexander*, and then *Sixtus* the ſixth Biſhop of *Rome* after the Apoſtles: after *Sixtus* ſate *Teleſphorus*, then *Higinus*, then *Pius*, then *Anicetus*. And when *Soter* took the place after him, then the twelfth Biſhop of *Rome* was *Eleutherius*. Thus after *Clement* followed (as is ſaid) *Euariſtus* in the ſecond or third year of *Trajanus*, as ſaith *Euſebius*; or as *Nicephorus* ſaith, the fourth year of the ſaid Emperor. But howſoever the count of years ſtandeth, little or nothing remaineth of the Acts and Monuments either of this, or of other Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe days. Whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of *Roman* Biſhops in thoſe days, whoſe Acts and Deeds were then either ſo lightly reputed, or ſo ſlenderly committed to Hiſtory. Notwithſtanding, certain decretal Epiſtles are remaining, or rather thruſt upon us in their names, containing in them little ſubſtance of any Doctrine, but altogether ſtuffed with Laws, Injunctions, and ſtately Decrees, little to the purpoſe, and leſs ſavouring of the nature of that time then preſent. Amongſt whom alſo are numbred the two Epiſtles of this *Euariſtus*.

The decretal Epiſtles.

And when he had given theſe Orders, and had made ſix Prieſts, two Deacons, and five Biſhops in ſundry places (ſaith the ſtory) he ſuffered Martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cauſe he ſuffered, what conſtancy he ſhewed, what was the order or converſation of his life, is nothing touched, and ſeemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new Hiſtories do ſay: becauſe the old ancient Writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwiſe would not have paſſed ſuch things over in ſilence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the Authors fully agree in the time of his Martyrdom, which *Nauclerus* witneſſeth to be in the laſt year of *Trajanus*: but *Platina* thinketh rather that he ſuffered under *Hadrianus*, *Faſcicul. temporum* referreth it to the third year of *Hadrian*; *Volateranus* to the beginning of the Reign of *Hadrian*. Contrary, *Euſebius* coming near to the ſimple truth (as ſeemeth) doth affirm that *Euariſtus* ſucceeded *Clement* in the third year of *Trajanus*, and ſo giving to him nine years, it ſhould follow thereby that *Euariſtus* deceaſed the twelfth year of *Trajanus*.

*Nauclerus gen. 4. Platina. Volateran. Antropol. li. 22. Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 24.*

After whom ſucceeded next *Alexander* in the Government of that Church, of whoſe time and death the like diſcrepance is among the Writers. *Marianus Scotus* ſaith he was the fourth Biſhop from *Peter*: but that could not be. Some ſay he was the ſixth, and ſome the ſeventh: but they likewiſe were deceived; for the moſt part all do grant *Sixtus* to be the ſixth: *Damaſus* affirmeth, that he was in the Reign of *Trajan*. And how can that be? when the ſaid *Damaſus* affirmed before that *Euariſtus* his Predeceſſor ſuffered in the laſt year of *Trajan*, and then the Biſhoprick ſtood at leaſt a month void: except he mean that the ſaid *Alexander* ſucceeded *Euariſtus* in the laſt year of *Trajanus*. But then how can that ſtand with *Bede* and *Marianus Scotus*? which ſay that he ſuffered under *Trajanus*, or with *Otho Friſingenſis*; which ſaith he ſuffered the fourth year of *Hadrian*, when he had been Biſhop ten years by the general conſent of moſt Writers?

*Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

Authors diſagree.

They which write of the deeds and doings of this bleſſed Biſhop, as *Bergomenſis*, *Antoninus*, *Equilinus*, and ſuch as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the Senators to the Faith of Chriſt, amongſt whom was *Hermes* a great man in *Rome*, whoſe Son being dead *Alexander* raiſed again to life, and likewiſe reſtored ſight to his Maid being blind. *Hadrian* the Emperor then abſent, hearing this, ſent word to *Aurelianus* Governor of *Rome*, to apprehend *Alexander*, with *Euentius* and *Theodulus*, otherwiſe called *Theodorus*, as *Platina* ſaith, his two Deacons, and *Hermes*, and to commit them to ward with *Quirinus* the Tribune: which being done, as their ſtory recordeth, *Alexander*, incloſed in a divers Priſon from *Hermes*, notwithſtanding, by the guiding of an Angel through three doors with three locks a piece, was brought with Candle-light to the lodging of *Hermes*; and ſo returning to the Priſon again cured the Daughter of *Quirinus* his Keeper, named *Balbina*, by reaſon whereof the ſaid *Quirinus*, with his whole Houſhold, were all baptized, and ſuffered alſo for the Faith of Chriſt.

*Alexander*, *Euentius*, *Theodulus*, *Hermes* with his Houſhold, *Quirinus* with his Houſhold, Martyrs.

Thus then (ſaith the ſtory) about the ſecond year of *Hadrian*, *Aurelianus* the Ruler took *Alexander* the Biſhop, with *Hermes*, his Wife, Children, and his whole Houſhold, to the number of one thouſand two hundred and fifty, and threw them in Priſon. And not long after the ſaid *Alexander*, with *Euentius* his Deacon, and *Hermes*, and the reſt were burned in a Fornace. *Theodulus* another Deacon of *Alexander*, ſeeing and rebuking the cruelty of the Tyrant, ſuffered alſo the ſame Martyrdom.

*Quirinus* alſo the ſame time (as ſaith *Antoninus*) having firſt his Tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and caſt to the dogs. *Equilinus* ſaith, that he was beheaded and caſt into *Tiber* in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*; but that cannot be: albeit *Platina* maketh relation but only of *Alexander* with his two Deacons aforeſaid, declaring moreover, that in the time of this Biſhop, *Saphira* of *Antioch*, and *Sabina* a *Roman* ſuffered Martyrdom.

*Ex Platina in vita Alexandri.*

*Saphira* and *Sabina* martyrs. *Ex Florilego.*

*Florilegus,*

*Florilegus*, the Author of *Flores hiſtoriarum*, affirmeth, that *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome* was beheaded ſeven miles out of *Rome* (where he lieth buried) in the year one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the Chronicles above recited. *Euſebius* recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of *Hadrian*, he ended his life and office, after he had been Biſhop ten years.

Divers Miracles are reported of this *Alexander*, in the Canon Legends, and lives of Saints; which as I deny not, but they may be true, ſo becauſe I cannot avouch them by any grave teſtimony of ancient Writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the Authors and Patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever is to be thought of his Miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous Biſhop.

The ordinances of *Anarius*. *Diſt 93. cap. Diaconi.*

And as I ſay of his Miracles, the like judgment alſo I have of the Ordinances, both of him and of *Euariſtus* his Predeceſſor, teſtified in the Popes Decrees by *Gratianus*, as *Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi*, where is ſaid that *Euariſtus* divided divers Titles in the City of *Rome* to the Prieſts, alſo ordained in every City ſeven Deacons to aſſociate and aſſiſt the Biſhop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witneſs of truth. Notwithſtanding, if probable conjectures might ſtand againſt the authority of *Gratianus* and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this abſolute ordination of Prieſts was firſt forbidden by *Euariſtus*, and whether the intitulation of Prieſts was firſt by him brought in or not: wherein an inſtance may be given to the contrary, that this intitulation ſeemeth to take his firſt beginning at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and of Pope *Urban* in the Council of *Placentia*. In the which Council of *Chalcedon* the words of the Canon (making no mention of *Euariſtus* at all) do expreſly forbid, that any Eccleſiaſtical perſon either Prieſt or Deacon ſhould be ordained abſolutely; otherwiſe the impoſition of hands, without ſome proper title of the party ordained, to ſtand void and fruſtrate, &c. And likewiſe *Urbanus* in the Council of *Placentia* doth decree the ſame, alledging no name of *Euariſtus*, but the ſtatutes of former Councils.

*Ex Diſt. 70. cap. Nemi-nem.*

*Ibidem cap. Sanctorum.*

Moreover, in the time of *Euariſtus*, the Church then being under terrible Perſecutions, was divided into no peculiar Pariſhes or Cures whereby any title might riſe, but was ſcattered rather in corners and deſerts, where they could beſt hide themſelve. And as the Church of *Rome* in thoſe days was not divided into ſeveral Pariſhes or Cures (as I ſuppoſe) ſo neither was then any ſuch open or ſolemn preaching in Churches, that the aſſiſtance or teſtimony of ſeven Deacons either could avail among the multitude of the heathen, or elſe needed amongſt the Chriſtian ſecret Congregations. Again, the conſtitution of ſeven Deacons ſeemeth rather to ſpring out of the Council of *Neoceſarea* long after *Euariſtus*, where it was appointed that in every City, were it never ſo ſmall, there ſhould be ſeven Deacons after the rule. And this rule the ſaid Council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the Apoſtles, making no word or mention of *Euariſtus* at all, *Diſt. 93.* But But theſe (as is ſaid) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only ſhewing what may be doubted in their Epiſtles Decretal.

*Ex diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi.*

The inſtitutions of *Alexander*. Holy water firſt invented. *De conſecrat diſt. 3.*

More unlike it ſeemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of *Alexander*, whereof we read, *De conſecr. diſt. 2.* that he ſhould be the firſt founder and finder of holy water mixt with ſalt, to purge and ſanctifie them upon whom it is ſprinkled. The words of the *diſt.* be theſe: *Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendum eſſe mandamus, &c.* that is, *We bleſs water mixt with ſalt among the people, that all men being ſprinkled therewith may be ſanctified and purified; and this we command all Prieſts to do*, &c.

The mixing of water with the Wine in the Chalice.

The opinion is alſo, but how true I have not to affirm, that by him firſt was ordained water to be mixt with Wine in the Chalice.

*Qui pridie* put in the Maſs Canon.

*Item*, that by him was brought in the piece of the Maſs Canon, beginning, *Qui pridie* &c. And thus much of theſe foreſaid Biſhops of *Rome*, martyred in the days of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*.

## *The Third Perſecution.*

The third Perſecution of the Church. { Anno 100. }

BEtween the ſecond *Roman* Perſecution and the third, was but one year, under the Emperor *Nerva*, after whom ſucceeded *Trajanus*: and after him followed the third Perſecution. So the ſecond and the third are noted of ſome to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This *Trajanus*, if we look well upon his Politick and Civil Governance, (might ſeem, in compariſon of others) a right worthy and commendable Prince, much familiar with inferiors, and ſo behaving himſelf toward his ſubjects, as he himſelf would have the Prince to be to him, if he himſelf were a Subject. Alſo he was noted to be a great obſerver of Juſtice, inſomuch that when he ordained any Pretor, giving to him the Sword, he would bid him uſe the ſword againſt his enemies in juſt cauſes: and if he himſelf did otherwiſe than juſtice, to uſe then his power againſt him alſo. But for all theſe Vertues, toward Chriſtian Religion he was impious and cruel, who cauſed the third Perſecution of the Church. In the which Perſecution *Pliny* the ſecond, a man learned and famous, ſeeing the lamentable ſlaughter of Chriſtians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to *Trajanus* of the pitiful perſecution: certifying him that there were many thouſands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the *Roman* laws worthy perſecution: ſaving that they uſed to gather together in the morning before day, and ſing Hymns to a certain God whom they worſhipped, called Chriſt. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honeſt. Whereby the Perſecution by commandment of the Emperor was greatly ſtayed and diminiſhed. The Form and Copy of which Epiſtle of *Pliny* I thought here not inconvenient to ſet down, as followeth.

*Plinius ſecundus* wrote to *Trajan* to ſtop the perſecution.

## The Epiſtle of *Pliny*, an Heathen Philoſopher, to *Trajan* the Emperor.

The Epiſtle of *Pliny* to *Trajanus*.

*IT is my property and manner (my Sovereign) to make relation of all thoſe things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my ſlackneſs, or inſtruct mine ignorance, than you? I was never yet preſent my ſelf at the examination and execution of theſe Chriſtians; and therefore what puniſhment is to be adminiſtred, and how far, or how to proceed in ſuch inquiſitions, I am plain ignorant, not able to reſolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and perſon, whether the young and tender ought to be with like cruelty intreated as the elder and ſtronger, whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to deny, which hath been a Chriſtian, whether the name only of Chriſtians without other offences, or whether the offences joyned with the name of a Chriſtian ought to be puniſhed. In the mean ſeaſon, as touching ſuch Chriſtians as have been preſented unto me, I have kept this order. I have enquired the ſecond and third time of them, whether they were Chriſtians, menacing them with fear of puniſhment; and ſuch as did perſevere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatſoever their profeſſion was, yet their ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy ought to be puniſhed. Whether they were alſo of the ſame madneſs; whom, becauſe they were Citizens of* Rome, *I thought to ſend them back again to the City. Afterward, in further proceſs and handling of this matter, as the Sect did further ſpread, ſo the more caſes did thereof enſue.*

*There was a Libel offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themſelves to be Chriſtians, contented to do Sacrifice with Incenſe and Wine to the Gods, and to your Image (which Image I for that purpoſe cauſed to be brought) and to blaſpheme Chriſt: whereunto none ſuch as were true Chriſtians indeed could be compelled, and thoſe I did diſcharge and let go. Other ſome confeſſed that they had been Chriſtians, but afterward denied the ſame, &c. affirming unto me the whole ſum of that ſect or errour to conſiſt in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed, to convent before day, and to ſing certain Hymns to one Chriſt their God, and to confederate among themſelves, to abſtain from all Theft, Murder, and Adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man: which done, then*

The uſe of Chriſtians in the primitive Church.

The teſtimony of the Heathen of the Chriſtians.

*then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort again to take meat in companies together both Men and Women one with another, and yet without any act of evil.*

Two Maidens racked for Christ.

*In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two Maidens to be laid on the Rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but only lewd and immoderate superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquiry, till time that I might be further advertised in the matter from you; for so the matter seemed unto me worthy and needful of advisement, especially for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both Men and Women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the same peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only in Citys, but Villages also and Boroughs about, which seemeth that it may be stayed and reformed. For as much as we see in many places that the Temples of our Gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring Sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured, what multitudes of Men may be amended, if space and time be given them, wherein they may be reclaimed.*

## The Epistle of *Trajanus* to *Pliny*.

The answer of *Trajan* to *Plinys* letter

*THe Act and Statute, my* Secundus, *concerning the causes of the Christians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no such general Law can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution: so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himself to be a Christian; and do it unfeignedly in open audience, and do Sacrifice to our Gods, howsoever he hath been suspected before, let him be released, upon promise of amendment. Such Libels as have no names, suffice not to any just crime or accusation; for that should give both an evil president, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.*

*Tertullian* writing upon this Letter of *Trajanus* above prefixed, thus saith, O *Sentence of a confused necessity; he would not have them to be sought for as men innocent, and yet causes them to be punished as persons guilty.* And thus the rage of that Persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naughty disposed men and cruel officers there were, which upon false pretence to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers Provinces: and especially if any occasion were given never so little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the Provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in *Hierusalem* after that the Emperor *Trajanus* had sent down his commandment, that whosoever could be found of the stock of *David*, he should be enquired out and put to death: Upon this *Egesippus* writing, saith, that certain Sectaries there were of the *Jewish* Nation, that accused *Simeon* the Bishop then of *Hierusalem* and Son of *Cleophas*, to come of the stock of *David*, and that he was a Christian. Of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said *Egesippus*) that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of *David*, and so right justly were put to execution themselves which sought the destruction of others. As concerning *Simeon* the blessed Bishop, the foresaid *Egesippus* thus writeth, that *Simeon* the Lords Nephew, when he was accused to *Attalus* the Proconsul, by the malicious Sect of the *Jews*, to be of the Line of *David*, and to be a Christian, was scourged, during the space of many days together, being of age an hundred and twenty years. In which his Martyrdom he endured so constant, that both the Consul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer, and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

The stock of *David* feared and enquired for of the *Roman* Emperors.

*Ex Egesip.* *Simeon* son of *Mary Cleophas.*

A just punishment of God upon the malicious accusers of the Christians.

The age of *Simeon.*

The death and martyrdom of *Simeon.*

*Phocas* Bishop of *Pontus* Martyr.

In this Persecution of *Trajanus* above specified (which *Trajanus* next followed after *Nerva*) besides the other afore mentioned, also suffered *Phocas* Bishop of *Pontus*, whom *Trajanus*, because he would not do Sacrifice to *Neptunus*, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kilne, and afterward to be put into a scalding Bath, where the constant godly Martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entred into life. *Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.*

In the same Persecution suffered also *Sulpitius* and *Servilianus*, two *Romans*; whose Wives are said to be *Euphrosina* and *Theodora*, whom *Sabina* did convert to the Faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which *Sabina*, *Jacobus Philippus*, Author of the Book called *Supplementum*, reporteth that, in the Mount of *Laventine* in *Rome*, she was beheaded of *Clepidus* the Governour, in the days of *Hadrian*. Under whom also suffered *Seraphia* a Virgin of *Antioch*, as *Hermannus* witnesseth.

*Sr pitius.* *Servilianus,* *E phrosina,* *Theodora,* Martyrs. *Sabina* Martyr. *Ex supp. chr.* *Seraphia.*

The forenamed Authors *Antoninus* and *Equilius* make mention moreover of *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, who, in this Persecution of *Trajan*, had the Crown of Martyrdom, being put to death at *Rome*. *Eusebius* in his fourth book, *cap.* 26. maketh mention of one *Sagaris*, who about the same time suffered Martyrdom in *Asia*, *Servilius Paulus* being then Proconsul in that Province.

*Nereus* and *Achilleus* Martyrs.

*Sagaris* Martyr.

In this Persecution, beside many others, suffered the blessed Martyr of Christ *Ignatius*, who unto this day is had in famous reverence among very many. This *Ignatius* was appointed to the Bishoprick of *Antioch* next after *Peter* in succession. Some do say, that he being sent from *Syria* to *Rome*, because he professed Christ, was given to the Wild beasts to be devoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through *Asia*, being under the most strict custody of his Guarders, he strengthened and confirmed the Parishes through all the Cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the Word of God: and admonished them especially and before all other things, to beware and shun those Heresies risen up and sprung newly among them, and that they should cleave and stick fast to the tradition of the Apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing very necessary to travel in. And thus when he came to *Smyrna*, where *Polycarpus* was, he wrote one Epistle to the Congregation of *Ephesus*, wherein he made mention of *Onesimus* their Pastor, and another he wrote to the Congregation of *Magnesia*, being at *Meandre*; wherein also he forgetteth not *Dama* their Bishop. Also another he wrote to the Congregation of *Trallis*, the Governour of which City at that time he noteth to be one *Polybius*. Unto which Congregation he made an exhortation, lest they refusing Martyrdom, should lose the hope that they desired.

*Ignatius* Martyr. *Antho* III *Ex Euseb. l.* 3. *cap.* 35, 36.

*Ex Hier. in catalogo script. eccles.*

*Onesimus* Pastor at *Ephesus.*

The words of *Ignatius* strict having of *Ignatius.*

But it shall be very requisite that I alledge somewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore, as the words lie, in this sort. *From* Syria (saith he) *even till I came to* Rome, *had I a battel with Beasts, as well by Sea as Land, both day and night, being bound in the midst of ten cruel Libards,* (that is, the Company or Band of the Souldiers) *which, the more benefits that they received at my hands, became so much the worse unto me. But I, being exercised, and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more; but hereby am I not yet justified. And would to God I were once come to the Beasts, which are prepared for me, which also I wish with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke that they without delay may devour me, and forbear me nothing at all, as those whom before they have not touched or hurt for fear! And if they will not unless they be provoked, I will then inforce them against my self. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficial it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a Scholar; I force or esteem no visible things, nor yet invisible things, so that I may get or obtain Christ Jesus. Let the Fire, the Gallows, the devouring of Wild-beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the bruising or pressing of my whole body, and the torments of the Devil or Hell it self come upon me, so that I may win Christ Jesus.*

The notable constancy and burning zeal to Christ in this blessed Martyr to be marked.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid City unto the Congregations which we have recited. And when he was even now judged to be thrown to the beasts, he spake, for the burning desire that he had to suffer, what time he heard the Lions roaring: *I am the Wheat or Grain* (saith he) *of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of Wild Beasts, that I may be found pure bread.* He suffered in the eleventh year of *Trajan* the Emperor. *Hæc Eusebius & Hieronym.*

Ignatius devoured of Wild beasts.

Besides

Beſides this godly *Ignatius*, many thouſands alſo were put to death in the ſame Perſecution, as appeareth by the letter of *Plinius ſecundus* above recited, written unto the Emperor. *Hierome* in his Book intituled *De viris illuſtribus* maketh mention of one *Publius* Biſhop of *Athens*, who for the faith of Chriſt, the ſame time during this Perſecution, was put to death and martyred.

*Ex Hieron. lib. De viris illuſtribus. Publius* Biſhop of *Athens* martyr.

## Hadrian *Emperor.*

NExt after this *Trajanus* ſucceeded *Hadrian* the Emperor, under whom ſuffered *Alexander* the Biſhop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons *Euentius* and *Theodorus*: alſo *Hermes* and *Quirinus* with their families, as late before was declared.

*Zenon* with 10000 martyrs ſlain for Chriſt. *Ex Henr. de Erfordia & alijs.*

It is ſignified moreover in the Hiſtories, that in the time of this *Hadrian*, *Zenon* a Noble Man of *Rome* with ten thouſand two hundred and three were ſlain for Chriſt. *Henricus de Erfordia*, and *Bergomenſis lib.*8. make mention of ten thouſand in the days of this *Hadrian* to be crucified in the Mount *Hararat*, crowned with Crowns of thorne, and thruſt into the ſides with ſharp darts, after the example of the Lords Paſſion, whoſe Captains (as *Antoninus* and *Vincentius in ſpec. hiſtor.* declare) were *Achaicus*, *Heliades*, *Theodorus*, and *Carcerius*, *&c.* Whether this ſtory be the ſame with the other above of *Zenon* or not, it is doubted. As touching the Miracles done, and the ſpeaking of the Angel, I refer the certainty thereof to *Vincentius*, and ſuch other like Authors, where more things ſeem to be told than to be true.

*Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, Carcerius*, with ten thouſand Martyrs.

*Euſtachius* with his Wife and Children martyred for Chriſt.

There was one *Euſtachius* a Captain, whom *Trajanus* in time paſt had ſent out to War againſt the *Barbarians*. After he had by Gods grace valiantly ſubdued his enemies, and now was returning home with Victory; *Hadrian* for joy meeting him in his journey to bring him home with Triumph, by the way firſt would do Sacrifice to *Apollo* for the Victory gotten, willing alſo *Euſtachius* to do the ſame with him. But when *Euſtachius* could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to *Rome*, there with his Wife and Children he ſuffered Martyrdom under the foreſaid *Adrian*. It were a long proceſs here to recite all the Miracles contained or rather ſuſpected in this ſtory of this *Euſtachius* concerning his Converſion and Death. How the Crucifix appeared to him between the Horns of an Hart. Of the ſaving of his Wife from the Shipmen. Of one of his Sons ſaved from the Lion, the other ſaved from the Wolf. Of their miraculous preſervation from the Wild-beaſts, from the torments of fire mentioned in *Bergomenſis*, *Vincentius*, and others. All which as I find them in no ancient Records, ſo I leave them to their Authors, and compilers of the Legends.

*Fauſtinus* and *Jobita*, *Calocerius*, Martyrs.

We read alſo of *Fauſtinus* and *Jobita* Citizens of the City of *Brixia*, which ſuffered Martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the ſight whereof one *Calocerius*, ſeeing their ſo great patience in ſo great torments, cried out with theſe Words; *Vere magnus Deus Chriſtianorum*: that is, *Verily great is the God of Chriſtians*: Which Words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their Execution, was made partaker of their Martyrdom. *Ex Ant. Equilin.*

*Eleutherius* with his Mother *Anthia* martyrs *Ex Niceph. & ex Onom.*

The Hiſtory of *Nicephorus* maketh mention of *Anthia* a godly Woman, who committed her Son *Eleutherius* to *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome*, to be brought up in the Doctrine of Chriſtian Faith, who afterwards being Biſhop in *Apulia* was there beheaded with his foreſaid Mother *Anthia*. *Onomaſt.*

*Juſtus* and *Paſtor* brethren and Martyrs.

*Juſtus* alſo and *Paſtor* two brethren, with like Martyrdom ended their lives in a City of *Spain*, called *Complutum*, under the ſaid *Adrian* the Emperor.

*Symphoriſſa* with her ſeven children martyred.

Likewiſe *Symphoriſſa* the wife of *Getulus* the Martyr, with her 7 Children, is ſaid about the ſame time to ſuffer: who firſt was much and often beaten and ſcourged, afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at laſt having an huge ſtone faſtened unto her, was thrown headlong into the River, and after that her ſeven Children in like manner, with ſundry and divers kinds of puniſhment diverſly martyred by the Tyrant.

*Sophia* with her three children martyred.

The ſtory of *M. Hermannus*, and *Antoninus*, and others, report of *Sophia*, with her three children alſo; alſo of *Seraphia* and *Sabina*, to ſuffer under the ſaid Emperor, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and thirty.

As concerning *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons, alſo with *Hermes*, *Quirinus*, *Saphira* and *Sabina*, ſome Writers, as *Bede*, and *Marianus Scotus* record that they ſuffered under *Trajanus*. Others again, as *Otto*, *Friſingenſis* with like more, report that they ſuffered in the fourth year of this Emperor *Adrian*, but of theſe Martyrs ſufficiently hath been ſaid before.

While *Adrian* the Emperor was at *Athens*, he purpoſed to viſit the Country of *Eluſina*, and ſo did: where he ſacrificing to the Gentiles Gods, after the manner of the *Grecians*, had given free leave and liberty, whoſoever would, to perſecute the Chriſtians. Whereupon *Quadratus* a man of no leſs excellent zeal, than of famous learning, being then Biſhop of *Athens*, and Diſciple of the Apoſtles, or at leaſt ſucceeding incontinent the age of the Apoſtles, and following after *Publius* (who a little before was martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſt) did offer up and exhibite unto *Adrian* the Emperor a learned and excellent Apology in the defence of the Chriſtian Religion. Wherein he declared the Chriſtians, without all juſt cauſe or deſert to be ſo cruelly intreated and perſecuted, *&c.* The like alſo did *Ariſtides* another no leſs excellent Philoſopher in *Athens*, who for his ſingular learning and eloquence, being notified to the Emperor, and coming to his preſence, there made before him an eloquent Oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the ſaid Emperor a memorable Apology for the Chriſtians, ſo full of learning and eloquence, that as *Hierome* ſaith, it was a ſpectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to ſee Wit and Learning. Over and beſides theſe, there was alſo another named *Serenus Granius* a man of great Nobility, who likewiſe did write very pithy and grave Letters to *Adrian* the Emperor, ſhewing and declaring therein that it was conſonant with no right nor reaſon, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and ſo to be condemned for no fault, only for the Name and Sect that they followed.

*Quadratus* Biſhop of *Athens* offereth an Apology of Chriſtian Doctrine.

*Ariſtides*, a Philoſopher of *Athens*, defendeth before the Emperor the religion of Chriſt.

*Serenus Granius* a defender of Chriſtian religion. *Euſ. l.*4. *c.*8.

Thus the goodneſs of God being moved with the prayers and conſtant labour of theſe ſo excellent men, ſo turned the heart of the Emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profeſſion of the Chriſtians, became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the ſame directed his Letters to *Minutius Fundanus* (as is partly before mentioned) Proconſul of *Aſia*, willing him from henceforth to exerciſe no more ſuch extremity againſt the Chriſtians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected againſt them, but only their name. The Copy of which his Letter, becauſe that *Juſtin* in his Apology doth alledge it; I thought therefore to expreſs the ſame in his own words, as followeth.

The Emperor writeth for the Chriſtians.

### The Letter of *Adrian* the Emperor to *Minutius Fundanus.*

The Letter of *Adrian* the Emperor to *Fundanus* the Proconſul.

*I Have received an Epiſtle written unto me from* Serenus Granius, *our right worthy and welbeloved, whoſe Office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further adviſement and circumſpection to paſs, leſt our Subjects be moleſted, and malicious Sycophants boldned and ſupported in their evil. Wherefore if the Subjects of our Provinces do bring forth any accuſation before the Judge againſt the Chriſtians, and can prove the thing they object againſt them, let them do the ſame and no more, and otherwiſe for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out againſt them. For ſo, more convenient it is, that, if any man will be an accuſer, you take the accuſation quietly, and judge upon the ſame. Therefore, if any ſhall accuſe the Chriſtians, and complain of them as Malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But notwithſtanding whoſoever upon ſpite and maliciouſneſs ſhall commence or cavil againſt them, ſee you correct and puniſh that man for his unordinate and malicious dealing.*

Reſpit from Perſecution.

Thus by the merciful providence of God, ſome more quiet and reſt was given to the Church, although *Hermannus* thinketh theſe halcion days did not very long continue, but that the Emperor changing his Edict, began to renew again Perſecution of Gods People, albeit this ſoundeth not to be ſo by the words of *Melito* in his Apology to *Antoninus* hereafter enſuing. In the mean time

this

The ſecond deſtruction of the *Jews*. *Jeruſalem* reedified and inlarged.

this is certain, that in the days of this *Adrian*, the *Jews* rebelled again and ſpoiled the Country of *Paleſtin*. Againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Julius Severus*, who overthrew in *Jewry* fifty Caſtles, and burnt and deſtroyed nine hundred and fourſcore Villages and Towns, and ſlew of the *Jews* fifty thouſand; with Famine, Sickneſs, Sword and Fire, *Juda* was almoſt deſolate. But at length *Adrian* the Emperor, which otherwiſe was named *Ælius*, repaired and enlarged the City again of *Jeruſalem*, which was called after his name *Æliopolis*, or *Ælia Capitolina*, the inhabitance whereof he granted only to the Gentiles, and to the Chriſtians, forbidding the *Jews* utterly to enter into the City.

Some write that the place where Chriſt was crucified was taken into the Walls. *Jeruſalem* called by a new name *Æliopolis*.

*Antoninus Pius* Emperor. { Anno 140.

After the death of *Adrian* who died by bleeding at the Noſe, ſucceeded *Antoninus Pius*, about the year of our Lord, one hundred and forty, and reigned twenty and three years, who for his clemency and modeſt behaviour, had the name of *Pius*, and is for the ſame in Hiſtories commended. His ſaying was, *that he had rather ſave one Citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand of his adverſaries.* At the beginning of his Reign, ſuch was the ſtate of the Church, as *Adrian* his Predeceſſor had left it, as in which, although there was no Edict ſet forth to perſecute the Chriſtians, yet the tumultuous rage of the Heathen multitude for the cauſes above ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and aſcribing to the Chriſtians whatſoever misfortune happened contrary unto their deſires: moreover, inventing againſt them all falſe crimes, and contumelies whereof to accuſe them. By reaſon whereof, divers there were in ſundry places much moleſted, and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed, not by the conſent of the Emperor, who of nature was ſo mild and gentle, that either he raiſed up no Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, or elſe he ſoon ſtayed the ſame being moved. As well may appear by his Letter ſent down to the Countries of *Aſia*, the tenor whereof here inſueth.

## The Epiſtle of *Antoninus Pius*, to the Commons of *Aſia*.

The Letter of *Antoninus Pius* to the Commons of *Aſia*.

EMperor *and* Cæſar, Aurelius Antoninus Auguſtus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, *Tribune eleven times, Conſul thrice, unto the Commons of* Aſia *greeting. I am very certain that the Gods have a care of this, that they which be ſuch, ſhall be known, and not lie hid. For they do puniſh them that will not worſhip them more than you, which ſo ſore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have conceived, and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their joy and deſire, that when they are accuſed, rather they covet to die for their God, than to live. Whereby they are Victorers, and do overcome you, giving rather their lives, than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it ſhall not be inconvenient to advertiſe you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen among us, that when at the ſight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your caſe with them. For they upon a ſure confidence of their God, are bold and fearleſs, much more than you: who in all the time of this your ignorance, both do worſhip other Gods, and neglect the Religion of immortality, and ſuch Chriſtians as worſhip him, them you do drive out, and perſecute them unto death. Of theſe and ſuch like matters many Preſidents of our Provinces did write to our Father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his anſwer again, willing them in no caſe to moleſt the Chriſtians, except they were found in ſome treſpaſs prejudicial againſt the Empire of* Rome. *And to me alſo many there be, which write ſignifying their mind in like manner. To whom I have anſwered again, to the ſame effect and manner as my Father did. Wherefore if any hereafter ſhall offer any vexation or trouble to ſuch, having no other cauſe, but only for that they are ſuch, let him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be found to be ſuch (that is a Chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſtain the puniſhment, &c.*

A notable argument of the Emperor to prove the good Conſcience of Chriſtians, and the falſe conſcience of the Heathen.

He meaneth *Adrian* which adopted this *Antoninus* of his ſon in law to be his ſon and heir. O noble Edict.

This godly Edict of the Emperor was proclaimed at *Epheſus*, in the publick Aſſembly of all *Aſia*, whereof *Melito* alſo Biſhop of *Sardis*, who flouriſhed in the ſame time, maketh mention in his Apology written in defence of our Doctrine to *M. Antoninus Verus*, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appear. By this means then the Tempeſt or Perſecution in thoſe days began to be appeaſed, through the merciful Providence of God, which would not have his Church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

## The fourth Perſecution.

*M. Antoninus Verus* Emperor. { Anno 162.

AFter the deceaſe of the foreſaid quiet and mild Prince *Aurelius Antoninus Pius* (who among all other Emperors of that time made the moſt quiet end) followed his Son *M. Antoninus Verus*, with *Lucius* his brother, about the year of our Lord one hundred threeſcore and two, a man of nature more ſtern and ſevere. And although in ſtudy of Philoſophy, and in Civil Government no leſs commendable: yet toward the Chriſtians ſharp and fierce, by whom was moved the fourth Perſecution after *Nero*. In whoſe time a great number of them which truly profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruel torments and puniſhments both in *Aſia* and *France*. In the number of whom was *Polycarpus*, the worthy Biſhop of *Smyrna*, who in the great rage of this Perſecution in *Aſia*, among many other moſt conſtant Saints was alſo martyred. Of whoſe end and Martyrdom I thought it here not unexpedient to commit to Hiſtory, ſo much as *Euſebius* declareth to be taken out of a certain Letter or Epiſtle, written by them of his own Church to the brethren of *Pontus*: the tenor of which Epiſtle here followeth.

*Polycarpus* the bleſſed Martyr, Biſhop of *Smyrna*.

Ex *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4 cap. 15. Hieron. in catalogo.*

*The Congregation which is at* Smyrna, *to the Congregation which is at* Philomilium, *and to all the Congregations throughout* Pontus, *mercy to you, peace and the love of God our Father, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be multiplied, Amen. We have written unto you brethren of thoſe men which have ſuffered Martyrdom, and of bleſſed* Polycarpus *which hath ended and appeaſed this Perſecution as it were, by the ſhedding his own blood.* And in the ſame Epiſtle before they enter into further matter of *Polycarpus*, they diſcourſe of other Martyrs, deſcribing what patience they abode and ſhewed in ſuffernig their torments: which was ſo great and admirable (ſaith the Epiſtle) that the lookers on were amazed, ſeeing and beholding how they were ſo ſcourged and whipped, that the inward Veins and Arteries appeared, yea, even ſo much that the very intrails of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſeen, and after that, were ſet upon ſharp ſhells taken out of the Sea, edged and ſharp, and certain nails and thorns for the Martyrs to go upon, which were ſharpened and pointed, called *Obeliſci*. Thus ſuffered they all kind of puniſhment and torment that might be deviſed: and laſtly, were thrown unto the wild beaſts to be devoured. But eſpecially in the aforeſaid Epiſtle, mention is made of one *Germanicus*, how he moſt worthily perſevered and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is ingraffed in the common nature of all men, whoſe notable patience and ſufferance was ſo notable, that the whole multitude wondring at this beloved Martyr of God, for this his ſo bold conſtancy, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Chriſtians, began ſuddenly to cry with a loud voice, ſaying, *Deſtroy the wicked men, let* Polycarpus *be ſought for.* And whilſt a great uprore and tumult began thus to be raiſed upon thoſe cries, a certain *Phrygian* named *Quintus*, lately come out of *Phrygia*, ſeeing and abhorring the wild beaſts, and the fierce rage of them, of an over-light mind betrayed his own ſafety. For ſo the ſame Letter of him doth report, that he, not reverently, but more malipertly than was requiſite, together with others ruſhed into the Judgment place, and ſo being taken, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly and unreverently with ſuch boldneſs to thruſt in himſelf, to intermeddle in matters wherewith he hath not to do.

Twelve martyrs in *Aſia*.

The cruel and beaſtly handling of the chriſtian martyrs.

The ſingular patience and conſtancy of the Chriſtians.

*Germanicus* a moſt conſtant Martyr.

*Quintus* a *Phrygian* too hardy and bold.

But now we will ſurceaſe to ſpeak more of them, and return to *Polycarpus*, of whom the foreſaid Letter conſequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginning, when he heard of theſe things was nothing at all afraid nor diſquieted in mind, but purpoſed to have tarried ſtill in the City, till being perſwaded by the intreaty of them that were about him (which deſired him inſtantly that he would convey himſelf away) hid himſelf in a Grange or Village not far off from the City, and there abiding with a few more in his company, did nothing elſe (night nor day) but abode in ſupplication, wherein he made his humble petition

*Polycarpus* flieth Perſecution.

*Polycarpus* prayeth for the Church.

tition for the obtaining of peace unto all the Congregations throughout the World, for that was his accuſtomed manner ſo to do. And as he was thus making his prayers three days before he was apprehended, in a Viſion by night he ſaw the bed ſet on Fire under his Head, and ſuddenly to be conſumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and expounded unto them that were preſent his Viſion, and told them before what thing ſhould come to paſs, that is, how that in the fire he ſhould loſe his life for Chriſts cauſe.

*Polycarpus* hath a Viſion of his burning.

It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand, which ſo narrowly ſought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and love of his brethren to fly into another Village, to which place notwithſtanding within a little while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they ſo beat one of them with Whips, that by the bewraying or confeſſion of him they were brought unto the Inn where *Polycarpus* was. And they ſay that the purſuers making no great haſte to enter, found him in the uppermoſt place of the houſe, from whence he might have eſcaped into other houſes, if he would; but this he would not do, ſaying, *The will of God be done.* Furthermore, when he knew that they were come, as the ſaid Hiſtory ſheweth, he came down, and ſpake unto them with a chearful and pleaſant countenance, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which awhile agone knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and his grave and conſtant countenance, lamented that they had ſo much imployed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehended. To conclude, he commanded that ſtraightway without any delay the Table ſhould be laid for them, and perſwaded them that they would eat and dine well, and required of them boldly, that he might have an hours reſpite to make his prayers. Which thing, after it was granted, he aroſe and went to pray, ſo being repleniſhed with the grace of God, that they which were preſent, and hearing the prayers that he made, were aſtonied at it, and now many of them were ſorry that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

*Polycarpus* purſued and taken.

*Polycarpus* might eſcape and would not.

*Polycarpus* prayeth to prayer.

After this the aforeſaid Epiſtle or Letter, proſecuting the Hiſtory, addeth more, as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, and had called to his remembrance all thoſe things which ever happened unto him, and to the univerſal Catholick Church throughout all the world (whether they were ſmall or great, glorious or elſe inglorious) and that the hour was now come, in which they ought to ſet forward, they ſet him upon an Aſs, and brought him to the City upon a Solemn Feaſt day. And there met him *Irenarchus Herodes*, and his father *Nicetes*; which cauſing him to come up into the Chariot where they ſate, perſwaded him, and ſaid, *What hurt I pray thee, ſhall come thereof to thee, if thou ſay (by the way of ſalutation) My Lord Ceſar, and do Sacrifice, and thus to ſave thy ſelf?* But he at the beginning made them none anſwer, till that when they inforced him to ſpeak, he ſaid, *I will not do as ye counſel me I ſhould.* When as they ſaw he could not be perſwaded, they gave him very rough language, and of purpoſe moleſted him, that in going down the Chariot from them, he might hurt or break his Legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merrily and diligently forward, making haſte unto the place appointed. And when there was ſuch uproar in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of very few, there came a voice from Heaven to *Polycarpus*, as he was going into the Stage or appointed place of Judgment, ſaying: *Be of good cheer*, Polycarpus, *and play the man.* No man there was which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of us heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there was a great noiſe made by them which underſtood that *Polycarpus* was apprehended. The Proconſul asked him when he was come, whether his name was *Polycarpus* or not? And when he ſaid, yea it was, he gave him counſel to deny his name, and ſaid unto him, *Be good unto thy ſelf, and favour thine old age*; and many other ſuch like words which they accuſtome to ſpeak; *Swear*, ſaith he, *by the Emperors good fortune, look upon this matter, ſay thou with us: Deſtroy theſe naughty men.* Then *Polycarpus* beholding with conſtant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giving a great ſigh, looked up to Heaven, ſaying: *Thou, thou it is that wilt deſtroy theſe wicked men.* And the Proconſul thus being earneſtly in hand with him, ſaid: *Take thine Oath, and I will diſcharge thee, defie Chriſt. Polycarpus* anſwered, *Fourſcore and ſix years have I been his ſervant, yet in all his time hath he not ſo much as once hurt me: how then may I ſpeak evil of my King and ſovereign Lord, which hath thus preſerved me?* Then the Proconſul again inforced him and ſaid: *Swear thou, I adviſe thee, by* Ceſar's *Proſperity. Polycarpus* replieth, *If thou require of me this, fond word of vain boaſting, feigning not to know (as thou ſayeſt) who I am, I do thee to wit that I am a Chriſtian: and if thou deſire to know the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, appoint a day, and thou ſhalt hear. Perſwade the people unto this*, ſaid the Proconſul. *Truly*, ſaith *Polycarpus, I have thought it my part thus to ſay unto you, for ſo much as we are commanded to give unto the Governors and Powers ordained of God, the honour meet and due to them, and not hurtful unto us: but as for thoſe, I do judge them unworthy to purge my ſelf unto them.* Hereupon the Proconſul ſtood up; *I have*, ſaith he, *Wild-Beaſts to whom I will throw thee, unleſs thou take a better way.* Whereunto *Polycarpus* anſwered, *Let them come, we have determined with our ſelves, that we will not by repentance turn us from the better way to the worſe, but rather convenient it is, that a man turn from things that be evil, unto that which is good and juſt. Again*, ſaith the Proconſul, *I will tame thee with fire, if that thou ſet not by the wild beaſts, nor yet repent.* Then ſaid *Polycarpus, You threaten me with fire, which ſhall burn for the ſpace of an hour, and ſhall be within a little while after put out and extinguiſhed; but thou knoweſt not the fire of the judgment that is to come, and of everlaſting puniſhment, which is reſerved for the wicked and ungodly. But why make you all theſe delays? Give me what death ſoever ye liſt.* Theſe, and many other ſuch like things being by him ſpoken, he was repleniſhed with joy and boldneſs, and his countenance appeared ſo full of grace and favour, that not only he was not troubled with thoſe things which the Proconſul ſpake unto him, but contrarily, the Proconſul himſelf began to be amazed, and ſent for the Crier, which in the middle of the ſtage was commanded to cry three times; *Polycarpus hath confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian*: which words of the Crier were no ſooner ſpoken, but all the whole multitude both of *Gentiles* and *Jews* inhabiting at *Smyrna*, with a vehement rage, and loud voice cried; *This is that Doctor or Teacher of* Aſia, *the Father of the Chriſtians, and the deſtroyer of our Gods, which hath inſtructed a great number, that our Gods are not to be worſhipped*: and after this they cried unto *Philip* the Governor of *Aſia*, and required him that he would let looſe the Lion to *Polycarpus*. To whom he made anſwer, that *he might not ſo do, becauſe he had already his prey.* Then they cried again all together with one voice, that he would burn *Polycarpus* alive. For it was requiſite that the Viſion, which he ſaw as concerning his Pillow or Bolſter, ſhould be fulfilled: which when he had ſeen burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himſelf unto the faithful ſort which were with him, ſaying, by the way of Prophecy, *it will ſo come, that I ſhall be burned alive.* And the Proconſul had no ſooner ſpoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out of their Shops, Workhouſes and Barns, wood and other dry matter for that purpoſe, and eſpecially the *Jews* were moſt ſerviceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

*Polycarpus* refuſeth to do ſacrifice.

*Polycarpus* comforted by a voice from Heaven.

*Polycarpus* allured to change his name, and would not conſent.

A faithful ſervant of Chriſt his Lord.

*Polycarpus* ready to give a reaſon of his doctrine.

*Polycarpus* obedient to higher powers.

*Polycarpus* threatned with wild beaſts.

And thus the Pile being laid, and when he had now put off his garments and undone his girdle, and was about to pull off his ſhoos, which he had not done before, for that all the faithful ſort among themſelves ſtrived (as it were) who ſhould firſt touch his body at their farewell, becauſe for the good converſation of his life, even from his younger age, he was had in great eſtimation of all men: Therefore ſtraightway thoſe inſtruments which are requiſite to ſuch a Bone-fire, were brought unto him, and when they would have nailed him to the Stake with Iron Hoops, he ſaid, *let me alone as I am, for he that hath given me ſtrength to ſuffer and abide the fire, ſhall alſo give power, that without this your proviſion of Nails, I ſhall abide, and not ſtir in the midſt of this fire or pile of Wood.* Which thing when they heard, they did not nail him, but bound him. Therefore when his hands were bound behind him, even as the chiefeſt Ram taken out of the Flock, he was ſacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God, ſaying, *O Father of thy well-beloved and bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and Powers, and of every creature, and of all juſt men which live before*

An example of brotherly love.

The willing mind of Polycarpus to ſuffer.

His prayer before his death.

*before thee, I give thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to grant me this day that I may have my part among the number of the Martyrs in the Cup of Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of body and soul, through the operation of thy Holy Spirit; among whom I shall this day be received into thy sight for an acceptable sacrifice: and as thou hast prepared and revealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same, O thou most true God, which canst not lie. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, and bless thee, and glorifie thee by our everlasting Bishop, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory evermore,* Amen.

The thanksgiving of *Polycarpus*.

And as soon as he had ended this word *Amen*. and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flushed out vehemently, we, to whom it was given to discern the same, saw a marvellous matter, which were also to this purpose preserved. that we might shew the same to others. For the fire being made like unto a roof or vault of a house, and after the manner of a shipmans sail, filled with wind, compassed about the body of the Martyr, as with a certain Wall, and he, in the middle of the same. not as flesh that burned, but as gold and silver when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a savour so sweet, as if myrrh or some other precious balm had given a sent. At the last, when those wicked persons saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come unto him, and thrust him through with his sword. Which being done, so great a quantity of blood ran out of his body, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marvelled that there was so much diversity between the infidels and the elect. of whom this *Polycarpus* was one, being a disciple of the Apostles, and a prophetical instructor of our times, and Bishop of the Catholick Church of *Smyrna*: for what word soever he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the subtil and envious adversary when he saw the worthiness of his Martyrdom, and that his conversation even from his younger years could not be reproved, and that he was adorned with the Crown of Martyrdom and had now obtained that incomparable benefit. gave in charge that we should not take and divide his body, for fear lest the remnants of the dead corps should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon divers whispered *Nicera* the father of *Herod*, and his brother *Dalces* in the ear, to admonish the Proconsul, that in no case he should deliver his body, *lest* (saith he) *they leave Christ, and begin to worship him.* And this spake they, because the *Jews* had given them secret warning, and provoked them thereunto; who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we meant at no time to forsake Christ, which gave his life for the salvation of the whole world (as many I mean as are elected to salvation by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the Son of God, but the Martyrs do we love as Disciples of the Lord (and that worthily) for their abundant love towards their King and Master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his Disciples. When therefore the Centurion saw and perceived the labour of the *Jews*; the corps being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to do.

A Miracle shewed.

An example of much cruelty.

The *Jews* enemies always to the Christians.

Mark that he saith, we love them, and worship them not.

Twelve Martyrs put to death in *Smyrna*.

Thus good *Polycarpus* with twelve others that came from *Philadelphia* suffered Martyrdom at *Smyrna*; which *Polycarpus* specially above the rest is had in memory, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthy Disciple of the Apostles; whose History the brethren of the Congregation of *Smyrna* have written in this their Epistle, as is above recited.

Ex Irenæo lib.3 cap. 3. Euseb. lib. cap. 14.

*Ireneus* in his 3d. Book against Heresies, the 3d. Chap. and *Eusebius* in his 4th. Book and 14th. Chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, reporteth this worthy saying of *Polycarpus: This* Polycarpus (saith he) *meeting at a certain time* Marcion *the Heretick, who said to him; Dost thou not know me? made answer, I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan.* So little fear what evil might ensue thereof, had the Disciples of the Apostles, that they would not speak to them whom they knew to be the deprayers of the verity, even as S. *Paul* saith, *The Heretick after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing, that he which is such a one, is perverse or froward, and damneth himself.* This most holy Confessor and Martyr of Christ. *Polycarpus*, suffered death in the fourth Persecution after *Nero*, when *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* reigned, in the year of our Lord 167, as *Ursperg* affirmeth, in the year 170, as *Eusebius* witnesseth in his Chronicles, the seventh before the Kalends of *February*.

{Anno 167.}

Of *Germanicus* mention is made above in the story of *Polycarpus*, of whom writeth *Eusebius lib.4.cap.15.* noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christs Doctrine: whom when the Proconsul went to perswade to remember his age, and to favour himself being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly. and of his own accord incited and provoked the wild beasts to come upon him. and to devour him, to be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life. *Hæc Euseb. an.170.*

Germanicus. Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. Hist. Eccles.

The old age of *Polycarp*.

Thus have you heard out of the Epistle of the brethren of *Smyrna*, the whole order and life of *Polycarpus*: whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the Ministery about the space of 70 years. This *Polycarpus* was the Scholar and Hearer of *John* the Evangelist. and was placed by the said *John* in *Smyrna*. Of him also *Ignatius* maketh mention in his Epistle which he wrote in his journey to *Rome*, going toward his Martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his Church at *Antioch*, whereby it appeareth that *Polycarpus* was then in the Ministery. Likewise *Ireneus* writeth of the said *Polycarpus* after this manner: *He always taught* (said he) *those things which he learned of the Apostles (leaving them to the Church) and are only true.* Whereunto also all the Churches that be in *Asia*, and all they which succeeded after *Polycarpus* to this day bear witness. And the same *Ireneus* witnesseth also that the said *Polycarpus* wrote an Epistle to the *Philippians*. which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of *Polycarpus*, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said Epistle divers things are found very wholesome and Apostolick: as where he teacheth of Christ, of Judgment and of the Resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring. that by Grace we are saved. and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

*Polycarpus* was the Scholar of *John*.

Ireneus lib. 3. cap. 1.

The Epistle of *Polycarpus* to the *Philippians*.

Justification by faith.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 20. Ireneus conversant with Polycarpus.

In *Eusebius* we read in like manner a part of an Epistle written by *Ireneus* to *Florinus*, wherein is declared. how that the said *Ireneus* being yet young, was with *Polycarpus* in *Asia*; at what time he saw and well remembred what *Polycarpus* did, and the place where he sate teaching. his whole order of life and proportion of his body, with the sermons and words which he said to the People. And furthermore, he perfectly remembred, how that the said *Polycarpus* often times reported unto him those things which he learned and heard them speak of the Lord his doings, power and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their own ears, all which were more constant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture. This, with much more, hath *Ireneus* concerning *Polycarpus*.

*Polycarpus* conversant with the Apostles.

*Hierome* also writing of the same *Polycarpus*, hath, how he was in great estimation throughout all *Asia*, for that he was Scholar to the Apostles, and to them which did see, and were conversant with Christ himself: whereby it is to be conjectured, his authority to be much, not only with them of his own Church, but with all other Churches about him.

The authority of *Polycarpus* in the Churches of *Asia*.

*Polycarpus* came to *Rome*.

Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said *Ireneus*, that *Polycarpus* came to *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, about the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and seven in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, whose cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controversie of *Easter* day: wherein the *Asians* and the *Romans* something disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said *Polycarpus*, in the behalf of the brethren and Church of *Asia*, took his long journey thither, to come and confer with *Anicetus*. Whereof writeth also *Nicephorus lib.4.* declaring, that *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus* something varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and that notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in so much that *Anicetus* in his Church gave place to *Polycarpus* to minister the Communion and Sacrament of the Lords Supper for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of Ceremonies, was at that time retained in the Church without any offence of stomach, or breach of Christian peace in the Church.

*Polycarpus* conferreth with *Anicetus*.

The *East* Church and *Roman* Church differ about *Easter* day.

Ex Niceph. l. 4. cap. 39.

Difference of ceremonies caused no breach of charity in the primitive Church.

This *Polycarpus* (as is above mentioned) suffered his Martyrdom even in his own Church at *Smyrna*, where he had laboured so many years in planting of the Gospel of Christ.

Chriſt, which was about the year of our Lord, an hundred threeſcore and ten, as *Euſebius* reckoneth in his Chronicle, and in the ſeventh year of *Antoninus Verus* his Reign, whereby it appeareth that *Socrates* in *Hiſtoria tripartita* was much deceived, ſaying, That *Polycarpus* ſuffered in the time of *Gordianus*.

*Socrates deceived in his Hiſtoria tripartita.*

*Ex Euſeb. 4. cap. 17.*

In this fourth Perſecution, beſides *Polycarpus* and others mentioned before, we read alſo in *Euſebius* of divers others, who at the ſame time likewiſe did ſuffer at *Smyrna*.

*Metrodorus. Pionius.*

Over and beſides, in the ſame Perſecution ſuffered moreover *Metrodorus* a Miniſter, who was given to the fire, and ſo conſumed. Another was worthy *Pionius*, which after much boldneſs of ſpeech, with his Apologies exhibited, and his Sermons made to the people in the defence of *Chriſtian* Faith, and after much relieving and comforting of ſuch as were in Priſons, and otherwiſe diſcomforted, at laſt was put to cruel Torments and Affliction, then given likewiſe to the fire, and ſo finiſhed his bleſſed Martyrdom.

*Carpus, Papilus, Agathonica, Martyrs.*

After theſe alſo ſuffered *Carpus*, *Papilus*, and *Agathonica*, a woman, who after their moſt conſtant and worthy Confeſſions, were put to death at *Pergamopolis* in *Aſia*, witneſſing *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 7.

*Felicitas with her ſeven children. Januarius, Felix; Philippus, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, Martyrs.*

And as theſe ſuffered in *Aſia*, ſo in *Rome* ſuffered *Felicitas* with her ſeven Children, who under this *M. Antoninus Verus* ſuſtained alſo the cruelty of this Perſecution. The names of whoſe Children *Bergomenſis* and other Hiſtories do thus recite, *Januarius*, *Felix*, *Philip*, *Silvanus*, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, *Martialis*. Of whom her firſt and eldeſt Son *Januarius*, after he was whipped and ſcourged with Rods, was preſt to death with leaden weights. *Felix* and *Philip* had their brains beaten out with mawls. *Silvanus* was caſt down headlong, and had his Neck broken. Furthermore, *Alexander*, *Vitalis*, and *Martialis*, were beheaded. Laſt of all, *Felicitas* the Mother (otherwiſe than the accuſtomed manner was for ſuch as had born Children) was ſlain with the Sword, *Ex Supplem.*

In the rage of this fourth Perſecution, under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, ſuffered alſo good *Juſtinus*, a man in Learning and Philoſophy excellent, and a great Defender of Chriſtian Religion, who firſt exhibited unto the Emperor, and to the Senate, a Book or Apology in the defence of the *Chriſtians*, and afterward himſelf alſo died a Martyr. Of whom in the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 16. it is thus recorded, that about what time, or a little before that *Polycarpus* with divers other Saints ſuffered Martyrdom in *Pergamopolis* a City of *Aſia*, this *Juſtinus* (as is aforeſaid) preſented a Book in defence of our Doctrine to the Emperor, to wit, unto *Antoninus*, and to the Senate. After which he was alſo crowned with like Martyrdom unto thoſe, whom he in his Book had defended, through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of *Creſcens*.

*Juſtinus Martyr. Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 16.*

*Creſcens a Philoſopher procurer of the death of Juſtinus.*

This *Creſcens* was a Philoſopher, conforming his life and manners to the *Cynical* Sect, whom becauſe this *Juſtinus* had reproved in open audience, and had born away the victory of the truth which he defended; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this Crown of Martyrdom. And this did alſo *Juſtin* himſelf a Philoſopher, no leſs famous by his Profeſſion, foreſee and declare in his foreſaid Apology, telling almoſt all thoſe things beforehand which ſhould happen unto him, by theſe words, ſaying, And I look after this good turn, that I be ſlain going by the way, either of ſome of thoſe whom I have named, and to have my brains beaten out with a Bat, or elſe of *Creſcens*, whom I cannot call a Philoſopher, but rather a vain Boaſter. For it is not convenient to call him a Philoſopher, which openly profeſſeth things to him unknown, and whereof he hath no skill, ſaying and reporting of us, that the *Chriſtians* be ungodly and irreligious, and all to pleaſe and flatter them which are ſeduced by Error.

*Creſcens a railing Philoſopher, and a malicious railer.*

For whether he objecteth againſt us the Doctrine of the *Chriſtians* which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worſe than the unlearned Idiots, who for the moſt part uſe not to diſpute, or judge of things they know not, and to bear witneſs of the ſame. Or put the caſe that he had read it, yet underſtandeth he not the majeſty of the matters therein contained: or, if peradventure he underſtandeth them, and doth it for this purpoſe, that he would not be counted as one of them; then is he ſo much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondſlave of vile and beaſtly both fame and fear. For this I teſtifie of him, giving you truly to underſtand, that for a truth, which I declare unto you, how that I have appoſed him, and have put unto him many queſtions, whereby I know and perceive, that he underſtandeth nothing. But if ſo be that this our Diſputation with him hath not come unto your ears, I am ready to communicate unto you again thoſe queſtions which I demanded of him, which things ſhall not be unfit for your Princely honour to hear. But if ye know and underſtand both what things I have examined him of, as alſo what anſwer he hath made, it ſhall be apparent unto you, that he is altogether ignorant of our Doctrine and Learning; or elſe if he knoweth the ſame, he dare not utter it for fear of his Auditors; which thing, as I ſaid before, is a proof that he is no Philoſopher, but a ſlave to vain glory, which maketh none account of that, which his own Maſter *Socrates* had in ſo great eſtimation. And thus much of *Juſtine*, out of *Juſtine* himſelf.

*Creſcens proved an unlearned Philoſopher.*

Now, to verifie that which *Juſtine* here of himſelf doth Propheſie, That *Creſcens* would and did procure his death: *Tacianus* (a man brought up of a Child in the Inſtitutions of the *Gentiles*, and obtained in the ſame not a little fame, and which alſo left behind him many good Monuments and Commentaries) writeth in his Book againſt the *Gentiles* in this ſort, And *Juſtine* (ſaith he) that moſt excellent learned man, full well ſpake and uttered his mind, that the afore recited men were like unto Thieves or Liers by the High-way ſide. And in the ſaid Book ſpeaking afterward of certain Philoſophers, the ſaid *Tacianus* inferreth thus, *Creſcens* therefore (ſaith he) when he came firſt into that great City, paſſed all others in the vicious love of Children, and was very much given to covetouſneſs; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himſelf doth fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppreſs *Juſtine* with death, as with the moſt greateſt evil that was, and all becauſe that *Juſtine*, ſpeaking truth, reproved the Philoſophers to be men only for the Belly, and deceivers: and this was the cauſe of *Juſtines* Martyrdom. *Hieronie* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Catalogue* thus writeth, *Juſtine*, when in the City of *Rome* he had his Diſputations, and had reproved *Creſcens* the *Cynick* for a great Blaſphemer of the *Chriſtians*, for a Belly-god, and a man fearing death, and alſo a follower of luſt and lechery; at laſt by his endeavour and Conſpiracy was accuſed to be a *Chriſtian*, and for Chriſt ſhed his blood in the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and four, under *Marcus Antoninus*, as the Chronicles do witneſs; *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, and *Euſebius* in his Chronicle, in the thirteenth year of the Emperor *Antoninus*.

*Tacianus commended.*

*The praiſe of Juſtine Martyr.*

*Ex Catalog. Hieron.*

*The death and martyrdom of Juſtinus the noble Philoſopher and Chriſtian Martyr.*

Among theſe above recited, is alſo to be numbred *Praxedis*, a bleſſed Virgin, the Daughter of a Citizen of *Rome*, who in the time of *Anicetus* there Biſhop, was ſo brought up in the Doctrine of Chriſt, and ſo affected to his Religion, that ſhe, with her ſiſter *Potentiana*, beſtowed all her Patrimony upon the relieving of poor *Chriſtians*, giving all her time to faſting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the Martys. And after ſhe had made free all her Family with her Servants after the death of her ſiſter, ſhe alſo departed, and was buried in peace.

*Praxedis, Patricia and Chriſtian Virgins.*

Under the ſame *Antoninus* alſo ſuffered *Ptolomeus* and *Lucius* for the Confeſſion of Chriſt, in a City of *Egypt*, called *Alexandrina*, whoſe Hiſtory, becauſe it is deſcribed in the Apology of *Juſtinus* Martyr, I thought therefore ſo to ſet forth the ſame, as it is alledged in *Euſebius*, declaring the manner and occaſion thereof, *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 17. in words and effect as followeth, &c.

*Ptolomeus Lucius, Martyrs. Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

There was (ſaith he) a certain Woman married unto a Husband, who was given much to laſciviouſneſs, whereunto ſhe her ſelf in times paſt was alſo addicted. But ſhe afterward being inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, became chaſt her ſelf, and alſo perſwaded her Husband to live chaſtly; oftentimes telling him, that it was written in the Precepts of the *Chriſtians*, that they ſhould be puniſhed eternally which lived not chaſtly and juſtly in this life. But he ſtill continuing in his filthineſs, thereby cauſed his Wife to eſtrange her ſelf from his company. For why? the Woman thought it not convenient to continue in her Husbands company, which contemning the law of Nature, ſought otherwiſe to ſatisfie his filthy appetite. Therefore ſhe was purpoſed to be divorced from him. But her

*A ſlave of fame and fear.*

Neighbours and Kinſfolk provoked her, by promiſing his amendment, to keep company again with him, and ſo ſhe did. But he after this took his Journey into *Alexandria*, and when it was ſhewed her, that there he lived more licentiouſly than at any time before, for that ſhe would not be counted partaker of his inceſtuous life, by coupling her ſelf any longer with him, ſhe gave him a Letter of Divorce, and ſo departed from him. Then her Husband, who ought rather to have rejoyced to have ſo honeſt and chaſt a Wife, which not only would not commit any diſhoneſt thing her ſelf, but alſo could not abide any lewd or miſordered behaviour in her Husband, and that by this her ſeparation ſhe went about to reclaim him from his inceſt and wickedneſs to better amendment of life: he, in recompence to his Wife again, accuſed her to be a *Chriſtian*, which at that time was no leſs than death. Whereupon ſhe, being in great peril and danger, delivered up unto the Emperor (as *Juſtinus* in his *Apology* writing to the Emperor himſelf declareth) a ſupplication, deſiring and craving of his Majeſty, firſt, to grant her ſo much licence as to ſet her Family in order, and that done, afterward to come again and make anſwer to all that might or ſhould be laid againſt her: whereunto the Emperor condeſcended. Then her Husband ſeeing that he could have no advantage againſt her, deviſed with himſelf, how he might bring *Ptolomeus* (which was her Inſtructor in the Faith of Chriſt) in trouble and accuſation: uſing the means of a certain Centurion, who was his very friend, whom he perſwaded to examine *Ptolomeus*, whether he were a Chriſtian or not. *Ptolomeus* (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his Profeſſion) confeſſed no leſs then to the Examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and profeſſed the verity of Chriſtian Doctrine. For who ſo denieth himſelf to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himſelf unworthy of that, the Confeſſion whereof he flyeth, which thing is never found in a true and ſincere Chriſtian. Thus then he being brought before *Urbicius* the Judge, and by him condemned to ſuffer: one *Lucius* being alſo a *Chriſtian*, ſtanding by, and ſeeing the wrong Judgment, and hatty Sentence of the Judge, ſaid to *Urbicius*, *What reaſon I pray you or equity is this, that this man who neither is Adulterer, nor Fornicator, nor Homicide, nor Felon; neither hath committed any ſuch Crime, wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned only for his Name and Confeſſion of a* Chriſtian? *This Condemnation, and this manner of Judgments* (O Urbicius) *are neither ſeemly for the vertuous Emperor, nor to the Philoſopher his Son, nor yet for the Eſtate of his Senate of* Rome.

*The boldneſs and chriſtian conſtancy of Lucius.*

Which words being heard, *Urbicius* making no further Examination of the matter, ſaid unto *Lucius*, *Me thinketh thou art alſo a Chriſtian.* And when *Lucius* had given him to underſtand that he was alſo a *Chriſtian*, the Judge without further delay, commanded him to be had away to the place of Execution. To whom he anſwered, *I thank you with all my heart, that you releaſe me from moſt wicked Governors, and ſend me unto my good and moſt loving Father, being alſo the King of all Gods.* And in like manner the third man alſo, coming unto him, and uſing the like liberty of Speech, had alſo the like ſentence of Death and Condemnation, and was crowned alſo with the ſame Crown of Martyrdom. And thus much out of the *Apology* of *Juſtinus*, by the which ſtory it may appear not to be true that *Gratianus* attributeth unto *Higinus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, the deciding of Cauſes Matrimonial, ſeeing that in *Juſtinus* time (who was in the ſame age of *Higinus*) the divorcement of this Woman in this Hiſtory above touched, was not decided by any Eccleſiaſtical Law, or brought before any Biſhop, but was brought before an Heathen Prince, and determined by the Law Civil.

*Lucius* condemned and martyred.

*The third man alſo condemned and martyred.*

*A place of Gratianus ſuſpected.*

*Henricus de Erfordia* recordeth out of the *Martyrology* of *Iſuardus*, of one *Concordus* a Miniſter of the City of *Spolet*, who in the Reign of this *Antoninus Verus*, becauſe he would not Sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, but did ſpit in the face of the Idol, after divers and ſundry Puniſhments ſuſtained, at laſt with the Sword was beheaded. *Vincentius* in his tenth Book, Chap. 108. reciteth a long ſtory of his Acts and Life, whereof ſome part perhaps may ſeem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be falſe and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beſides his Sepulchre in the forenamed City of *Spolet*, unto the which water was

*Concordus martyr.*

*Concordus ſpitteth in the face of the Idol.*

given (ſaith *Vincentius*) by the vertue of him, for whoſe Name he ſuffered, to reſtore ſight to the blind, to heal the ſick, and to caſt out Devils, &c. Which kind of vertue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expel Devils, neither doth God give to any Creature of water, neither is it like that *Concordus* the bleſſed Martyr did or would require any ſuch thing at the hands of God.

*The ſtory of Vincentius ſuſpected of untruth.*

*Iſuardus* and *Bede*, *Vincentius* and *Henricus de Erfordia*, with other Authors more, make relation of divers other Martyrs that by ſundry kinds of Torments were put to death, under the aforeſaid *Antoninus Verus*: the names of whom be *Symmetrius*, *Florellus*, *Pontianus*, *Alexander*, *Caius*, *Epipodus*, *Victor*, *Corona*, *Marcellus*, *Valerianus*. The cauſe of whoſe Martyrdom was the reprehending of Idolatry, and becauſe at the Emperors Commandment they would not ſacrifice to Idols. Many ſorts of Puniſhments and Miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more ſuſpected, the Hiſtories of theſe Writers not to be certain or true, as well touching theſe as alſo other Martyrs, as may appear in *Vincentius*, in *Petrus de Natalibus*, and other Authors of like ſort. In which Authors they which liſt to read more of their Miracles there may find them.

*Ex Iſuardo, Vincentio, & Henrico de Erford. Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerian, Martyrs.*

*Authors in the writing of Miracles of Martyrs ſuſpected.*

A little before, mention was made of *Symphoriſſa*, otherwiſe named *Symphoroſa*, Wife of *Getulus*, with her ſeven Sons. This *Getulus* or *Getulius* was a Miniſter or Teacher (as witneſſeth *Martyrol. Adonis*) in the City of *Tiber*, which *Getulus*, with *Cerealis*, *Amantius*, and *Primitivus*, by the Commandment of *Adrian* were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moveover of the ſeven Sons of this *Symphoroſa*, I find to be *Creſcens*, *Julianus*, *Nemeſius*, *Primitivus*, *Juſtinus*, *Statteus*, and *Eugenius*, whom the Chronicle of *Ado* declareth to be put to death at the Commandment of *Adrian*, being faſtened to ſeven Stakes, and ſo racked up with a pully, and at laſt were thruſt thorow, *Creſcens* in the Neck, *Julianus* in the Breaſt, *Nemeſius* in the Heart, *Primitivus* about the Navil, *Juſtinus* cut in every joynt of his body, *Statteus* run thorow with Spears, *Eugenius* cut aſunder from the Breaſt to the lower parts, and then caſt into a deep Pit, having the name by the Idolatrous Prieſts, entituled, *Ad ſeptem Biothanatos*. After the Martyrdom of whom alſo *Symphoroſa* the Mother did likewiſe ſuffer, as is before declared.

*Getulus, Cerealis, Amantius, Primitivus, Martyrs. The ſeven ſons of Symphoroſa, Creſcent, Julianus, Nemeſius, Primitivus, Juſtinus, Statteus, Eugenius, Martyrs.*

Under the ſaid *Antoninus Verus*, and in the ſame Perſecution, which raged not in *Rome* and *Aſia* only, but in other Countries alſo, ſuffered the glorious and moſt conſtant Martyrs of *Lions* and *Vienna*, two Cities in *France*, giving to Chriſt a glorious Teſtimony, and to all Chriſtian men a Spectacle or Example of ſingular Conſtancy and Fortitude in Chriſt our Saviour. The Hiſtory of whom, becauſe it is written and ſet forth by their own Churches, where they did ſuffer, mentioned in *Euſeb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. I thought here to expreſs the ſame in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be ſeen. The title of which their Epiſtle written to the Brethren of *Aſia* and *Phrygia* thus beginneth.

*The Perſecution in Lions and Vienna, two cities in France. Ex Euſeb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2.

### *The Servants of Chriſt inhabiting the Cities of* Vienna *and* Lions, *to the Brethren in* Aſia *and* Phrygia, *having the ſame Faith and Hope of Redemption with us: Peace, Grace, and Glory from God the Father, and from Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.*

*A Letter of the brethren of France to the brethren of Aſia.*

THe greatneſs of this our Tribulation, the furious rage of the *Gentiles* againſt us, and the torments which the bleſſed Martyrs ſuffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deſerve, ſet forth. For the Adverſary with all his force, gave his endeavour to the working of ſuch Preparatives, as he himſelf liſted, againſt his tyrannous coming, and in every place practiſed he and inſtructed his Miniſters, how in moſt ſpiteful manner to ſet them againſt the Servants of God: ſo that not only in our Houſes, Shops and Markets, we were reſtrained, but alſo were univerſally commanded, that none (ſo hardly) ſhould be ſeen in any place. But God hath always mercy in ſtore, and took out of their hands ſuch as were weak amongſt them, and other ſome did he ſet up as firm and

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immoveable Pillars, which by ſufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withſtand the Enemy, enduring all their opprobrious puniſhment they could deviſe: to conclude, they fought this battel for that intent to come unto Chriſt, eſteeming their great troubles but as light: thereby ſhewing that all that may be ſuffered in this preſent life, is not able to countervail the great Glory which ſhall be ſhewed upon us after this life. And firſt they patiently ſuffered whatſoever the multitude of frantick people running upon head did unto them, as Railings, Scourgings, Drawings and Halings, flinging of Stones, Impriſonings, and what other thing ſoever the rage of the multitude is wont to uſe and practiſe againſt their profeſſed Enemies. Then afterward they being led into the Market-place, and there judged of the Captain and reſt of the Potentates of the City, after their confeſſion made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to priſon, until the return of their chief Governor. After this they being brought before him, and he uſing all extremity that poſſibly he might againſt them: One *Vetius Epagathus*, one of the Brethren, repleniſhed with fervent Zeal, both towards God and his Brethren, (whoſe Converſation, although he were a young man,) was counted as perfect as was the life of *Zachary* the Prieſt. For he walked diligently in all the Commandments and Juſtifications of the Lord, and in all Obedience towards his Brethren, blameleſs. He having within him the fervent zeal of Love, and Spirit of God, could not ſuffer that wicked Judgment which was given upon the *Chriſtians*; but being vehemently diſpleaſed, deſired that the Judge would hear the excuſe which he was minded to make in the behalf of the *Chriſtians*, in whom (ſaith he) is no impiety found. But the people cried again to thoſe that were aſſiſtants with the chief Juſtice, that it might not be ſo (for indeed, he was a Nobleman born) neither did the Juſtice grant him his lawful requeſt, but only asked him, *Whether he himſelf was a Chriſtian or not?* And he immediately with a loud and bold voice anſwered and ſaid, *I am a Chriſtian.* And thus was he received into the Fellowſhip of the Martyrs, and called the Advocate of the *Chriſtians*. And he having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time, than had *Zachary*, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gave his life in the defence of his Brethren, being a true Diſciple of Chriſt, *following the Lamb whereſoever he goeth.*

*Vetius Epagathus Martyr.*

The ſtoutneſs of a godly young man.

By this mans example, the reſt of the Martyrs were the more animated to Martyrdom, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accompliſh the ſame. Some other there were unready and not ſo well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to bear the vehemency of ſo great a conflict; of whom ten there were in number that fainted, miniſtring to us much heavineſs and lamentation. Who by their example cauſed the reſt, which were not yet apprehended, to be leſs willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variableneſs of confeſſion not a little aſtonied: not that we feared the puniſhment intended againſt us, but rather as having reſpect to the end, and fearing leſt any ſhould fall. Every day there were apprehended ſuch as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen: in ſo much that of two Churches, ſuch as were chiefeſt, and which were the principal Governors of our Churches, were apprehended. With theſe alſo certain of the *Ethnicks*, being our Men-ſervants, were apprehended (for ſo the Governor commanded, that all of us in general without any reſpect ſhould be taken) which Servants be overcome by Satan, and fearing the Torments which they ſaw the Saints to ſuffer, being alſo compelled thereunto by the means of the Souldiers, ſained againſt us that we kept the Feaſtings of *Thieſtes*, and Inceſt of *Oedipus*, and many ſuch other Crimes, which are neither to be remembred, nor named of us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

The fainting of certain weak Chriſtians.

Falſe ſlanders againſt the Chriſtians.

The rage of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians

Theſe things being now bruted abroad, every man began to ſhew cruelty againſt us, inſomuch that thoſe which before for familiarity-ſake were more gentle towards us, now vehemently diſdained us, and waxed mad againſt us. And thus was now fulfilled that which was ſpoken by Chriſt, ſaying, *The time will come, that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he doth God great good ſervice.* Then ſuffered the Martyrs of God ſuch bitter Perſecution as is paſſing to be told: Satan ſtill ſhooting at this mark, to make them to utter ſome blaſphemy by all means poſſible. Marvelous therefore was the rage both of the people and Prince, eſpecially againſt one *Sanctus*, which was Deacon of the Congregation of *Vienna*, and againſt *Maturus*, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy Souldier of Chriſt, and alſo againſt *Attalus*, being born in *Pergama*, which was the Foundation and Pillar of that Congregation, and alſo againſt *Blandina*: by whom Chriſt ſheweth thoſe things, which the World eſteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in Gods ſight, for the very love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and ſpecially her Miſtreſs in the fleſh, who alſo was her ſelf one of the number of the aforeſaid Martyrs, leſt haply for the weakneſs of body ſhe would not ſtand ſtrongly to her Confeſſion, the foreſaid *Blandina* was ſo repleniſhed with ſtrength and boldneſs, that they which had the tormenting of her by courſe, from morning to night, for very wearineſs gave over, and fell down, and were themſelves overcome, confeſſing that they could do no more againſt her, and marveled that yet ſhe lived, having her body ſo torn and rent: and teſtified that any one of thoſe torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have pluckt the life from her body. But that bleſſed Woman, fighting this worthy battel, became ſtronger and ſtronger, and as often as ſhe ſpake theſe words (*I am a Chriſtian, neither have we committed any evil*) it was to her a marvelous comfort & boldning to abide the torments.

The cruel handling and great patience of *Blandina.*

*Sanctus* alſo, another of the Martyrs, who in the midſt of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might away with, at what time the wicked ſuppoſed to have heard him utter ſome blaſphemous words, for the greatneſs and intolerableneſs of his torments and pains that he was in, abode notwithſtanding in ſuch conſtancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what Country-man he was, nor in what City brought up, neither whether he was a Free-man or a Servant: but unto every queſtion that was asked him, he anſwered in the *Latin* Tongue, *I am a Chriſtian*, and this was all that he confeſſed both of his Name, City, Kindred, and all other things in the place of Execution: neither yet could the *Gentiles* get any more of him: whereupon both the Governor and Tormentors were the more vehemently bent againſt him. And when they had nothing to vex him withall, they clapped plates of braſs red hot to the moſt tendreſt parts of his body, wherewith his body indeed being ſcorched, yet he never ſhrunk for the matter, but was bold and conſtant in his Confeſſion, being ſtrengthened and moiſtened with the Fountain of lively water, flowing out of Chriſts ſide. Truly his body was a ſufficient witneſs what torments he ſuffered: for it was all drawn together and moſt pitifully wounded and ſcorched, ſo that it had therewith loſt the proper ſhape of a man, in whoſe ſuffering Chriſt obtained unſpeakable Glory, for that he overcame his Adverſaries, and, to the inſtruction of others, declared that nothing elſe is terrible, or ought to be feared where the love of God is, and nothing grievous wherein the Glory of Chriſt is manifeſted.

*Sanctus* a Martyr.

The notable conſtancy of *Sanctus.*

The cruel torments of *Sanctus.*

And when thoſe wicked men began after a certain time again to torment the Martyr, and hoped well to bring it to paſs, that either they ſhould overcome him in cauſing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his body was ſo ſore and ſwollen, that he might not ſuffer a man to touch him with his hand, or elſe, that he died under their hands, yet that thereby they ſhould ſtrike ſuch fear into the hearts of the reſt, as to cauſe them to deny Chriſt: they were not only diſappointed herein, but alſo contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the later puniſhment and torments ſuppled and reſtored, and took the firſt ſhape and uſe of the members of the ſame, ſo that the ſame his ſecond torment was by the Grace of Chriſt (inſtead of puniſhment) a ſafe Medicine.

A miraculous working of God.

Alſo Satan now thinking to have ſetled himſelf in the heart of one *Biblides*, being one of them which had denied Chriſt, and thinking to have cauſed her, being a weak and feeble woman in Faith, to have damned her Soul, in blaſpheming the Name of God, brought her to the place of Execution: enforcing to wreſt ſome wicked thing out of the mouth of the *Chriſtians*. But ſhe in the middle of her torments, returning to her ſelf, and waked as it were out of her dead ſleep by that temporal pain, called to her remembrance the pains of Hell fire, and againſt all mens expectations reviled the Tormentors, ſaying, *How ſhould we Chriſtians eat young Infants (as ye reported of us) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any Beaſt?*

*Biblides* an holy Martyr.

Upon that, ſo ſoon as ſhe had confeſſed her ſelf to be a *Chriſtian*, ſhe was martyred with the reſt. Thus when Chriſt had ended thoſe tyrannical Torments, by the patience and ſufferance of our Saints, the Devil yet invented other Engins and Inſtruments. For when the *Chriſtians* were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a Rack or Engine made for that purpoſe, even unto the fifth hole. And many other ſuch puniſhments ſuffered they, which the furious Miniſters, ſtirred up with deviliſh fury, are wont to put men unto: ſo that very many of them were ſtrangled and killed in priſons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlaſting life, and ſet forth his Glory. And ſurely theſe good men were ſo pitifully tormented, that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impoſſible for them to live, and to be reſtored. And thus they remaining in priſon, deſtitute of all humane help, were ſo ſtrengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed that they comforted and ſtirred up the minds of the reſt: the younger ſort of them, which were later apprehended, and put in priſon, whoſe bodies had not yet felt the laſh of the Whip, were not able to endure the ſharpneſs of their impriſonment, but died for the ſame.

*Eculei. ad quintum foramen.*

Divers Martyrs ſtrangled in priſon.

Other Martyrs died in priſon.

The bleſſed *Photinus*, who was Deacon to the Biſhop of *Lions*, about fourſcore and nine years old, and a very feeble or weak man, and could ſcarcely draw breath for the imbecillity of his body: yet was he of a lively courage and ſpirit, and for the great deſire he had of Martyrdom, when he was brought unto the Judgment-Seat, although his body was feeble and weak, both becauſe of his old age, and alſo through ſickneſs, yet was his Soul or life preſerved to this purpoſe, that by the ſame Chriſt might triumph and be glorified. He, being by the Souldiers brought to the place of Judgment, many Citizens and men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude crying upon him diverſly, as though he had been Chriſt himſelf, gave a good teſtimony. For being demanded of the chief Ruler, what was the Chriſtian mans God? He anſwered, If thou be worthy to know thou ſhalt know. He, being with theſe words ſomewhat near touched, cauſed him to be very ſore beaten. For thoſe that ſtood next him, did him all the ſpite and diſpleaſure that they could both with hand and foot, having no regard at all to his old age or white hairs. And they which were further off, whatſoever came next to hand, they threw at him, and every man thought that he did very wickedly refrain, that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this means they thought that they did revenge the quarrel of their gods. *Photinus* now, even as it were gaſping after life, was thrown into priſon, and within two days after died.

*Photinus* a bleſſed Martyr.

The rage of the people againſt *Photinus*.

And here is the mighty Providence of God, and the unſpeakable mercy of Jeſus Chriſt declared, which providence, being aſſured amongſt a fraternity, is never deſtitute of the aid of Jeſus Chriſt. For thoſe which in their firſt Perſecution denied Chriſt, they alſo were put in priſon, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Chriſt, but they which confeſſed him were impriſoned as *Chriſtians*, neither was there any other Crime objected againſt them; but the other ſort taken like Homicides and wicked Doers, were laid hand on, and had double more puniſhment than the others had. Theſe men were refreſhed with the joy of Martyrdom, the hope of Gods Promiſes, the love towards Chriſt, and the Spirit of God: the others, their Conciences accuſed them, and that very ſore, inſomuch that by their gate, their Countenances bewraied unto the reſt their guilty Conſciences. For the *Chriſtians* went forth having chearful Countenances, very much adorned with Glory and Grace, inſomuch that the very Bonds wherewith they were tied, ſet them out as men in ſeemly Apparel, and like as Brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay Garments, and therewithal ſavoured as of the redolent ſmell of Chriſt, ſo that it might be ſuppoſed them to be anointed with ſome ſweet Balm: whereas the others were doubtful and ſad, abject, ill favoured, filled with all ſhame, and furthermore reviled of the *Gentiles* themſelves, as wretches degenerate having the Crime of Homicide, and deſtitute of the moſt precious, glorious, and lively Calling of the Chriſtian name. And truly by theſe ſights the reſt were confirmed, and being apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtaggering, not having ſo much as the thought of any ſuch deviliſh mind of denial. *And in the ſame Epiſtle of the foreſaid Brethren of* France, *writing to the Brethren of* Aſia, *it followeth in this manner:* After theſe things done, the Martyrdom of theſe holy Saints was divided diverſly into divers kinds and forms, as the offering to God the Father a Garland decked with divers and ſundry kinds of colours and flowers. For it ſo behoved the worthy Champions of God, after they had ſuffered divers kinds of torments, and ſo won a triumphant Victory, to obtain great reward of Immortality.

The comfort of the godly ſtanding to their Confeſſion. The deniers of their confeſſion comfortleſs, and notwithſtanding puniſhed.

Then *Maturus*, *Blandina*, and *Attalus* were brought together to the common Scaffold, there in the face of the people to be caſt and devoured of the Beaſts. And *Maturus*, with *Sanctus*, being brought the ſecond time to the Scaffold, ſuffered again all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had ſuffered nothing at all: yea rather the Adverſary being oftentimes put to the worſt, they as ſtriving for the Crown, ſuffered again more ſcourgings, the tearing of wild Beaſts, and what thing elſe ſoever the frantick people on every ſide cryed for and willed. And above all the reſt they brought an Iron Chair, in the which their bodies being ſet, were ſo fried and ſcorched, as on a Grid-Iron fried on the coals, and filled with the ſavour of the frying all the people that ſtood by. And yet for all that the torments ceaſed not, but waxed more fierce and mad againſt them, labouring to overcome the patience of the Saints. Notwithſtanding all this, they could not get out of *Sanctus* mouth any other thing but the confeſſion which at the beginning he declared. And thus theſe holy men, after they had long continued alive in this their moſt horrible conflict, at the length were ſlain, being made all that whole day a ſpectacle unto the world, in place and in ſtead of the games and ſights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning *Maturus* and *Sanctus*.

The ſpiteful handling of Gods people.

*Maturus* and *Sanctus* martyred.

Now concerning *Blandina*, ſhe being faſtned upon ſtake, was caſt to the ravening Beaſts to be devoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God: to this end, that while ſhe ſeemed to hang as it were upon a Croſs, by the ferventneſs of her prayer ſhe might comfort the reſt of the Saints, as beholding their Chriſt with their bodily eyes, which in that Agony ſuffered for them all; and that all which believe in him, and ſuffer for the Glory of Chriſt, might be aſſured to live with him for ever. And when they ſaw that no Beaſt would come near her thus hanging, they took her down from the Tree, and caſt her again into priſon till another time, that ſhe, having the victory of many battels, might triumph over that ugly Serpent the Devil, and that ſhe being a weak and ſilly woman, and not regarded, armed with Chriſt the invincible Conqueror, might incourage her Brethren, and by the enduring of this battel might win a Crown of Incorruptible Glory.

*Blandina* brought forth again.

Now to *Attalus*; who, being alſo required and called for of the people to puniſhment already prepared (for his Conſcience ſake) cometh forth to the ſight. For he being worthily exerciſed in the Chriſtian Profeſſion, was always a witneſs and a maintainer of our Doctrine. Therefore when the preſs of people was about the Scaffold, and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the *Roman* Tongue, *This is* Attalus *the Chriſtian:* then the people were in a marvellous rage againſt him. But the Governor, underſtanding that he was a *Roman*, commanded him again to priſon, with the reſt of his Priſon-Fellows: whereof he wrote to the Emperor, and waited for anſwer what his pleaſure herein was. The Priſoners were not idle in the mean ſeaſon, nor unprofitable to their Brethren, but by their patience the unſpeakable mercy of Chriſt ſhined out. For thoſe which were dead before were now revived by them that lived, and they which were Martyrs profited them which were none, and the Church did much rejoyce, as receiving them again alive, whom ſhe had loſt before as dead. For many of them, which before had denied, now by their denial were reſtored and ſtirred up, and learned to be Confeſſors. And now being revived and ſtrengthened, and taſting the ſweetneſs of him *which deſireth not the death of a Sinner, but is merciful to the Penitent*, came of their own accord to the Judgment-Seat again, that they might be examined of the Judge. And for that the Emperor had written back again to him, that all the Confeſſors ſhould be puniſhed, and the others let go, and that Seſſions or Sizes were now begun, which, for the multitude that had repair thither out of every quarter, was marvelous great: he cauſed all the the holy Martyrs to be

*Attalus* commanded to priſon.

The deniers returning again to their confeſſion.

brought

brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once again examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the *Roman* freedom he beheaded, the reſidue he gave to the Beaſts to be devoured. And truly Chriſt was much glorified by thoſe which a little before had denied him, which again, contrary to the expectation of the Infidels, confeſſed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the reſt, becauſe of their delivery; which being found confeſſors, were joyned to the company of the Martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then ſome abroad which had no Faith at all, neither yet ſo much as the feeling of the Wedding Garment, nor any cogitation at all of the fear of God, but blaſphemed his ways by the lewd converſation of their life, even ſuch as were the Children of damnation. All the reſidue joyned themſelves to the Congregation: which when they were examined, one *Alexander* a *Phrygian* born, and a Phyſitian which had dwelt long in *France*, and known almoſt of all, for the love he had to God, and boldneſs of ſpeaking (neither was he void of the Apoſtolical love) one *Alexander*, I ſay, ſtanding ſomewhat near to the Bar, by ſigns and becks perſwaded ſuch as were examined, to confeſs Chriſt: ſo that by his countenance ſometime rejoycing, ſome other while ſorrowing, he was deſcried of the ſtanders by. The people not taking in good part to ſee thoſe which now recanted by and by again to ſtick to their firſt Confeſſion, they cried out againſt *Alexander* as one that was the cauſe of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the Judge, and demanded what Religion he was of? he anſwered, *I am a Chriſtian.* He had no ſooner ſpoken the word, but he was judged to the Beaſts of them to be devoured.

*Alexander the Phrygian martyred.*

The next day following, *Attalus*, of whom I made mention a little before, and *Alexander*, were brought forth together. For the Governor granting *Attalus* unto the people, he was baited again of the Beaſts. When theſe men were brought to the Scaffold, and had taken a taſte of all the Inſtruments that there were prepared for their Execution, and had ſuffered the greateſt Agony they could put them to, they were alſo at the length ſlain: of whom *Alexander* never gave ſo much as a ſigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottom of his heart praiſed and prayed to the Lord. But *Attalus*, when he was ſet in the Iron Chair, and began to fry, and the frying ſavour of his burning body began to ſmell, he ſpake to the multitude in the *Roman* Language; *Behold* (ſaith he) *this which you do is to eat mans fleſh; for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickedneſs.* And being demanded what was the name of their God? *Our God* (ſaith he) *hath no ſuch name as men have.* Then ſaid they, *Now let us ſee whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands or not.*

*The worthy patience and conſtancy of Attalus.*

After this being the laſt day of the Spectacle, *Blandina* again, and one *Ponticus*, a Child of fifteen years old was brought forth, and this was every day, to the intent that they ſeeing the puniſhment of their Fellows might be compelled thereby to ſwear by their Idols. But becauſe they conſtantly abode in their purpoſe, and defied their Idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither ſparing the age of the Child, nor favouring the Sex of the woman, but put them to all the puniſhment and pain they could deviſe, and often times inforced them to ſwear, and yet were not able to compel them thereunto. For *Ponticus*, being ſo animated of his ſiſter as the *Ethnicks* ſtanding by did ſee, after that he had ſuffered all torments and pains gave up the ghoſt. This bleſſed *Blandina* therefore being the laſt that ſuffered, after ſhe had like a worthy Mother given exhortations unto her Children, and had ſent them before as Conquerors to their heavenly King, and had called to her remembrance all their battels and conflicts, ſo much rejoyced of her Childrens death, and ſo haſtned her own, as though ſhe had been bidden to a Bridal, and not in caſe to be thrown to the wild Beaſts. After this her pitiful whipping, her delivery to the Beaſts, and her torments upon the Grid-Iron, at the length ſhe was put in a Net, and thrown to the wild Bull; and when ſhe had been ſufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the ſame Beaſt, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and conſolation ſhe had in Chriſt and heavenly things, was thus ſlain, inſomuch that the very Heathen men themſelves confeſſed that there was never a woman put to death of them that ſuffered ſo much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus aſſwaged againſt the *Chriſtians*.

*Blandina and Ponticus again brought forth.*

*Ponticus martyred.*

*Blandina martyred.*

For the cruel barbarous people, like wild Beaſts, when they be moved, knew not when the time was to make an end, but invented new and ſundry torments every day againſt our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the *Chriſtians* to death, for that they wanted the ſenſe of men: for which cauſe both the Magiſtrate and people were vexed at the very hearts, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which ſaith, *He that is wicked, let him be wicked ſtill: and he that is juſt, let him be more juſt.* For thoſe which in their Priſons they ſtrangled, they threw after to the dogs, ſetting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they ſhould not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, ſome half burned, ſome left of the wild Beaſts, and ſome all to be mangled, alſo bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner commitied by them to the charge of the keepers to ſee them remain unburied. *Apoc.* 20.

The *Gentiles* grinded and gnaſhed at the *Chriſtians* with their teeth, ſeeking which way they might amplifie their puniſhment: ſome other flouted and mocked them, extolling their Idols, attributing unto them the cauſe of this cruelty and vengeance ſhewed to us. Such as were of the meeker ſort, and ſeemed to be moved with ſome pity, did hit us in the teeth, ſaying, *Where is your God that you ſo much boaſt of? and what helpeth this your Religion for which you give your lives?* Theſe were the ſundry paſſions and affects of the *Gentiles*, but the *Chriſtians* in the mean while were in great heavineſs, that they might not bury the bodies and relicks of the holy Martyrs. Neither could the dark night ſerve them to that purpoſe, nor any intreaty nor waging them with money, which were appointed for watch-men: but they ſo narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they ſhould have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the Martyrs made a wondring ſtock, and lay ſix days in the open ſtreets; at length they burned them, and threw their aſhes into the river of *Rodes*, ſo that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they as though they had been able to have pulled God out of his Seat, and to have let the regeneration of the Saints, and taken from them the hope of the Reſurrection, whereof they being perſwaded (ſaid they) bring in this new and ſtrange Religion, and ſet thus light by death and puniſhment. *Atque hæc ex Epiſtola Viennenſium, &c.*

Among others that ſuffered under *Antoninus*, mention was made alſo of *Juſtinus*, who (as it is ſaid before) exhibited two *Apologies*, concerning the defence of Chriſtian Doctrine, the one to the Senate of *Rome*, and the other to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, concerning whoſe ſuffering, and the cauſes thereof is partly before declared: this *Juſtine* was born in *Neapoli*, in the Country of *Paleſtine*, whoſe Father was *Priſcus Bachius*, as he himſelf doth teſtifie, by whom in his youth he was ſet to School to learn, where in proceſs of time, he became a famous and worthy Philoſopher, of whoſe excellency many learned and notable men do record. For firſt he being altogether inflamed and raviſhed with deſire of knowledge, would in no wiſe be ſatisfied in his mind, before he had gotten Inſtructors ſingularly ſeen in all kind of Philoſophy, whereupon he writeth of himſelf in the beginning of his Dialogue *Cum Triphone* thus, declaring that in the beginning he being deſirous of that Sect and Society, applied himſelf to be the Scholar to a certain *Stoick*, and remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in Divine knowledge (whereof the *Stoick* had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be neceſſary) he forſook him, and went to another of the Sect of the *Peripateticks*, a ſharp-witted man, as he thought; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a ſtipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon *Juſtine*, accounting him as no Philoſopher, left him, and departed. And yet not ſatisfied in mind, but deſirous to hear of further learning in Philoſophy, adjoyned himſelf to one that profeſſed the *Pythagorean* Sect, a man of great fame, and one who made no ſmall account of himſelf. Whom after he had followed a time, his Maſter demanded of him whether he had any ſight in *Muſick*, *Aſtronomy*, and *Geometry*, without the ſight of which Science, he ſaid he could not be apt to receive the Knowledge of Vertue and Felicity, unleſs before he had uſed to apply his Mind from ſenſible matters to the Contemplation of things intelligible. And

*Juſtinus.*

*Priſcus Baſchius Juſtinus Father.*

*Juſtine deſirous of Philoſophy.*

*Juſtine proveth all ſorts of Philoſophy.*

ſpeaking much in the commendation of theſe Sciences, how profitable and neceſſary they were: after that *Juſtine* had declared himſelf not to be ſeen therein, the Philoſopher gave him over, which grieved *Juſtine* not a little, and ſo much the more, becauſe he thought his Maſter to have ſome knowledge in thoſe Sciences. After this *Juſtine* conſidering with himſelf what time was requiſite to the learning of theſe Sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought beſt to reſort to the Sect of the *Platoniſts* for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he choſe unto him a ſingular learned man of that Sect, which lately was come to thoſe parts, and ſo remaining with him ſeemed to profit not a little in contemplation of ſupernal things, and inviſible forms, inſomuch that he thought ſhortly to aſpire to ſuch ſharpneſs of wit and wiſdom, that out of hand he might atchieve to the comprehenſion and contemplation of God, which is the end of *Plato* his Philoſophy. And in this manner he beſtowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the ſaid *Juſtine* came to the knowledge and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, it followeth likewiſe in his ſaid firſt *Apology*: where he affirmeth of himſelf (as witneſſeth *Euſebius* in his fourth Book) that when he did behold the Chriſtians in their Torments and Sufferings to be ſo conſtant in their Profeſſion, was therewith marveloully moved: after this manner reaſoning with himſelf, that it was impoſſible for that kind of people to be ſubject to any Vice or Carnality, which Vices of their own nature are not able to ſuſtain any ſharp Adverſity, much leſs the bitterneſs of death. The ſight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the ſearching of true Knowledge and Vertue) to begin thereby to love and imbrace Chriſtian Religion, for ſo he doth witneſs of himſelf in the end of the firſt *Apology*: ſignifying there how it was his ſeeking and endeavour to attain to Chriſtianity: underſtanding how the Chriſtians by malice of wicked Perſons were compelled to ſuffer wrong and torments, and to be evil ſpoken of. By ſight whereof, as he ſaith himſelf, he became a Chriſtian, through this occaſion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforeſaid, it came in his head for his more quietneſs to go aſide to ſome Deſart and ſolitary place void of Concourſe of People, unto a Village or Grange near to the Sea ſide: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old ancient Father of a comely Viſage and gentle Behaviour, who, following him a little off, began to reaſon with him: where after long Diſputation, when the old man had declared unto him, that there was no knowledge of truth amongſt the Philoſophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghoſt: and further had reaſoned with him of the immortality of the Soul, of the reward of the Godly and puniſhment of the Wicked: then *Juſtine* being confirmed with his Reaſons and Arguments, yielded to him of his own accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had ſpoken: who then counſelled him to read and ſearch the Prophets, adjoyning therewith prayer. But what Maſter (quoth *Juſtine*) ſhould I uſe for the inſtruction thereof, and who ſhall be able to help us if theſe Philoſophers (as you ſay) lack the truth, and are void of the ſame? To whom the old Father anſwered, There have been (ſaid he) many years before theſe Philoſophers, other more ancient than all theſe, which being accounted for Philoſophers were juſt and beloved of God: who ſpake by the Spirit of God, foreſeeing and propheſying theſe things which we ſee now come to paſs, and therefore they are called Prophets. Theſe only have known the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor paſſing for any; who were ſeduced with no Opinions of mans Invention, but only ſpake and taught thoſe things which they themſelves both heard and ſaw, being inſpired with the holy Spirit of God: whoſe Writings and Works yet to this day remain, out of which the Reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things as concerning the firſt Creation of the World, and end of the ſame, with all other things neceſſary to be known of every true Philoſopher which will give credit unto them. Neither in their teaching do they uſe any demonſtration, as being more certain of themſelves, than that they need any ſuch Demonſtration to be made, foraſmuch as the accompliſhing and the end of things both paſt and now preſent conſtraineth us of neceſſity to believe the words and Doctrine which they taught: which men not only therefore are to be believed, but alſo for their Miracles and Wonders done, are worthy of Credit; for that they both preached of God the Maker and Creator of all things, and alſo did Propheſie before of Chriſt his Son to be ſent of Him; the which, the falſe Prophets being ſeduced with falſe and wicked Spirits, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious Wonders for men to gaze at, ſetting out thereby to the World falſe and unclean Spirits. But then afore all things, make thy prayer that the Gate of Light may be opened unto thee, for otherwiſe theſe things cannot be attained unto of every man, but only of ſuch to whom God and his Chriſt giveth underſtanding.

*Juſtine a Platoniſt.*

*The end of Plato his Philoſophy.*

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

*Juſtine beginneth to favour Chriſtian Religion.*

*Juſtine goeth into a deſert.*

*Juſtinus miraculouſly converted by an old man.*

*The vanity of the old Philoſophers reproved.*

*The doctrin of the Prophets commended.*

*The utility of reading the Prophets*

*Prophets to be credited for two cauſes.*

These things, with much more (which now leiſure ſerveth not to proſecute) after the foreſaid old Father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had ſpoken: and after that *Juſtine* (as he himſelf witneſſeth) ſaw him no more. Immediately after this, *Juſtine* being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his Breaſt, began to conceive a Love and Zeal towards the Prophets and all ſuch as were favoured of Chriſt: And thus he, revolving in his mind more and more theſe words, found only this Philoſophy among all other Profeſſions both ſure and profitable, and ſo became he a Philoſopher, and in time by theſe means afterwards he was made a Chriſtian and baptized. But where he received this holy Sacrament of Baptiſm it is not read of, nor yet by what occaſion he left his Country and came to *Rome*. This only we read in *Jerome*, that he was in *Rome*, and there uſed certain Exerciſes which he called *Diatribas*, diſputing there with *Creſcens* a *Cynical* Philoſopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that *Juſtine* after he had received the Profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, became an earneſt Defender of the ſame, travelling and diſputing againſt all the Adverſaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the Doctrine of Chriſt againſt the malicious Blaſphemers, and alſo augment the number of Chriſtian Believers, as may appear by his vehement Diſputations againſt the Heathen Philoſophers: alſo moreover it well appeareth in that long diſputation which he had with one *Tripho* at *Epheſus*, as alſo in his Confutations of *Hereticks*. Furthermore, his Conflicts and Apologies which with great courage and ſecurity he exhibited againſt the Perſecutors of the Chriſtians, both to the Emperor and the Magiſtrates, yea and the whole Senate of *Rome*, do teſtifie the ſame.

*Juſtinus baptized.*

*Diatriba.*

*Juſtinus a earneſt defender of Chriſt.*

*Two apologies of Juſtinus.*

Of the which *Apologies*, the firſt he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, and after to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, as is before mentioned; where in the firſt writing with great liberty to the Senate, he declared that of neceſſity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and Conſcience to them. For that in perſecuting of the Chriſtians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admoniſhed. And further writing to *Urbicius* Lieutenant of the City, ſaid, *That he put men to death and torments for no Offence committed, but for the Confeſſion only of the Name of Chriſt; which proceedings and judgments neither became the Emperor, nor his Son, nor the Senate:* defending moreover in the ſaid *Apology*, and purging the Chriſtians of ſuch Crimes as falſly were laid and objected againſt them by the *Ethnicks*.

*The ſumm of his apologies.*

And likewiſe in his ſecond *Apology* writing to *Antoninus* the Emperor, and his Succeſſors, with like gravity and free liberty declareth unto them how they had the Name, commonly being reputed and taken as vertuous Philoſophers, Maintainers of Juſtice, Lovers of Learning; but whether they were ſo, their Acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was conſtrained thus to write unto them; but only to ſue unto them, and deſire a ſerious and righteous kind of dealing in their Judgments and Sentences (for it becometh Princes to follow Uprightneſs and Piety in their Judgments, not Tyranny and Violence,) and alſo in plain words chargeth as well the Emperor as the Senate with manifeſt wrong, for that they did not grant the *Chriſtians* that which is not denied to all other Malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the Name. *Other men which be appeached* (ſaid he) *in Judgment,*

*The ſecond apology of Juſtine.*

*ment, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on Us you take our Name only for the Crime, when as indeed you ought to ſee Juſtice done upon our Accuſers.* And again (ſaith he) *If a Chriſtian being accuſed only deny that Name, him you Releaſe, being not able to Charge him with any other Offence: but if he ſtand to his Name, only for his Confeſſion you caſt him; where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confeſs or deny, and according to their Demerits to ſee Juſtice done.*

The Lord take away this ſpirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be convicted.

And in the ſame further he ſaith, *You examine not the Cauſes, but incenſed with raſh Affections, as with the ſpur of Fury, ye ſlay and murther them not convicted, without any reſpect of Juſtice.* And further he addeth, *Some peradventure will ſay, certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil Doings: as though* (ſaith he) *you uſed to enquire upon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their Offence for the Cauſe above mentioned.* Where alſo in the end of the ſaid *Apology* after this manner he reprehendeth them. *You do degenerate* (quoth he) *from the goodneſs of your Predeceſſors, whoſe Example you follow not, for your Father* Adrian *of famous Memory cauſed to be proclaimed, That Chriſtians accuſed before the Judge ſhould not be condemned, unleſs they were found guilty of ſome Notorious Crime.* I find that all his vehement and grave Apology ſtandeth upon moſt ſtrong and firm probations, denying, that the Chriſtians ought by Conſcience at the Will and Commandment of the Emperor and Senate to do ſacrifice to the Idols: for the which they being condemned, affirm, that they ſuffer open wrong; affirming moreover, that the true and only Religion is the Religion of the Chriſtians, whoſe Doctrine and Converſation hath no fault. *Juſtinus*, although with theſe and ſuch like Perſwaſions, he did not ſo prevail with the Emperor, to cauſe him to love his Religion, and become a Chriſtian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that *Antoninus* writing to his Officers in *Aſia* in the behalf of the Chriſtians, required and commanded them, that thoſe Chriſtians only which were found guilty of any Treſpaſs ſhould ſuffer, and ſuch as were not convicted, ſhould not therefore only for the Name be puniſhed, becauſe they were called Chriſtians. By theſe it is apparent with what Zeal and Faith this *Juſtinus* did ſtrive againſt the Perſecutors, which (as he ſaid) could kill only, but could not hurt.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. ca. 16. A place of Epiphanius found faulty.

This *Juſtinus* by the means and malice of *Creſcens* the Philoſopher (as is before declared) ſuffered Martyrdom under *Marcus Antoninus Verus*, a little after that *Polycarpus* was martyred in *Aſia*, as witneſſeth *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. Here is to be gathered how *Epiphanius* was deceived in the time of his death, ſaying, *That he ſuffered under* Ruſticus *the Preſident, and* Adrian *the Emperor, being of thirty years of age*; which indeed agreeth neither with *Euſebius*, nor *Hierome*, nor *Suide*, nor others more, which manifeſtly declare and teſtifie how he exhibited his Apology unto *Antoninus Pius* which came after *Adrian*. Thus haſt thou (good Reader) the life of this learned and bleſſed Martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply diſcourſed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable Vertues, of whoſe final end thus writeth *Photius*, ſaying, *That he ſuffering for Chriſt, died chearfully and with honour.*

*Cum dignitate & lætus pro Chriſto periit.*

Thus have ye heard the whole Diſcourſe of *Juſtinus* and of the bleſſed Saints of *France*, *Vetius*, *Zacharias*, *Sanctus*, *Maturus*, *Attalus*, *Blandina*, *Alexander*, *Alcibiades*, with others, recorded and ſet forth by the writing of certain Chriſtian Brethren of the ſame Church and place of *France*. In the which foreſaid writing of theirs, moreover appeareth the great meekneſs and modeſt conſtancy of the ſaid Martyrs deſcribed in theſe words; Such Followers were they of Chriſt *(who when he was in the Form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the ſame Glory with him,)* that they not once nor twice, but oft times ſuffered Martyrdom; and taken again from the Beaſts, and bearing Wounds, Tearings and Skars in their Bodies, yet neither would count themſelves Martyrs, neither would they ſuffer us ſo to call them: but if any of us either by word or Letter would call them Martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, ſaying, *That the name of Martyrdom was to be given to Chriſt the faithful and true Martyr, the firſt born of the Dead, and the Captain of Life*; teſtifying moreover, That Martyrdom belongeth to ſuch, who by their Martyrdom were already paſſed out of this life: and whom Chriſt by their worthy Confeſſion hath received unto Himſelf, and hath ſealed up their Martyrdom by their end finiſhed: as for them which were not yet conſummated, they (ſaid they) were not worthy the names of Martyrs, but only were humble and worthy Confeſſors, deſiring alſo their Brethren with Tears to pray without ceaſing for their Confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true Martyrs, in reſiſting the Heathen with much liberty and great patience, without all fear of man, being repleniſhed with the fear of God, refuſed to be named of their Brethren for Martyrs. And after in the ſaid writing it followeth more, They humbled themſelves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they rendred to all men a reaſon of their Faith, they accuſed no man, they looſed all, they bound none, and for them which ſo evil did entreat them they prayed, following the example of *Stephen* the perfect Martyr, which ſaid, *O Lord, impute not their ſin to them.* And after again, Neither did they proudly diſdain againſt them which fell, but of ſuch as they had imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, ſhedding their plentiful tears for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and ſalvation; and as God gave it them, they alſo did communicate to their Neighbours, and thus they as Conquerors of all things departed to God. They loved peace, and leaving the ſame to us, they went to God, neither leaving any moleſtation to their Mother, nor Sedition or trouble to their Brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love to all.

The holy Martyrs refuſe to be called Martyrs.

Out of the ſame writing moreover concerning theſe Martyrs of *France* afore mentioned, is recorded alſo another Hiſtory not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the ſame Book of *Euſebius cap.* 3. which Hiſtory is this:

Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 3. *Alcibiades.* The ſtrict faſting of *Alcibiades* corrected by the Holy Ghoſt.

There was among theſe conſtant and bleſſed Martyrs, one *Alcibiades*, as is above ſpecified: which *Alcibiades* ever uſed a very ſtrict diet, receiving for his food and ſuſtenance nothing elſe but only Bread and Water. When this *Alcibiades* now being caſt into Priſon, went about to accuſtom the ſame ſtrictneſs of diet, after his uſual manner; it was before revealed by God to *Attalus* afore mentioned, one of the ſaid Company, being alſo the ſame time impriſoned after his firſt conflict upon the Scaffold, that *Alcibiades* did not well in that he refuſed to uſe and take the Creatures of God, and alſo thereby miniſtred to others a pernicious occaſion of offenſive example. Whereupon *Alcibiades* being advertiſed, and reformed, began to take all things boldly, and with giving thanks. Whereby may appear to all ſcrupulous Conſciences, not only a wholſome Inſtruction of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo here is to be noted how in thoſe days they were not deſtitute of the Grace of God, but had the Holy Spirit of God to be their Inſtructor. *Hæc Euſeb.*

A Leſſon for ſcrupulous Conſciences.

*Ireneus* newly made Miniſter, and commended to Eleutherius.

The foreſaid Martyrs of *France* at the ſame time commended *Ireneus*, newly then made Miniſter, with their Letters unto *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, as witneſſeth *Euſeb.* in the tenth Chapter of the ſaid Book, which *Ireneus* firſt was the hearer of *Polycarpus*, then made Miniſter (as is ſaid) under theſe Martyrs: and after their death made Biſhop afterward of *Lions* in *France*, and ſucceeded after *Photinus*. Beſides this *Juſtinus*, there was alſo the ſame time in *Aſia*, *Claudius Apollinaris*, or *Apollinarius* Biſhop of *Hieropolis*, and alſo *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of *Tertullian*, who ſucceeding after the time of the Apoſtles, in the Reign of this *Antoninus Verus*, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent Apologies in defence of Chriſts Religion, like us *Quadratus* and *Ariſtides* above mentioned did unto the Emperor *Adrian*, whereby they moved him ſomewhat to ſtay the rage of his Perſecution. In like manner did this *Apollinaris* and *Melito* (ſtirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cauſe of the *Chriſtians* unto this *Antoninus*. Of this *Melito Euſebius* in his fourth Book making mention, excepteth certain places of his Apology in theſe words, as followeth, *Now*, ſaith he, *which was never ſeen before, the godly ſuffer Perſecution by occaſion of certain Proclamations and Edicts proclaimed throughout* Aſia, *for villanous Sicophants, Robbers*

*Apollinaris* and *Melito* exhibited Apologies to the Emperor for the *Chriſtians*.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 4 cap 26. The ſum of the Apology of *Melito*.

The ſingular modeſty of the foreſaid Martyrs declared. Ex *Euſeb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 2.

*Robbers and Spoilers of other mens Goods, grounding themſelves upon thoſe Proclamations, and taking occaſion of them, rob openly night and day, and ſpoil thoſe which do no harm.* And it followeth after, *Which if it be done by your Commandment, be it ſo, well done: for a good Prince will never command but good things, and ſo we will be contented to ſuſtain the honour of this death. This only we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that calling before you and examining the Authors of this tumult and contention, then your Grace would juſtly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death, or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleaſure, and that it proceedeth not by your occaſion (which indeed againſt your barbarous Enemies were too bad) the more a great deal we are Petitioners to your Highneſs, that hereafter you will vouchſafe to hear Us thus ſo vexed and oppreſſed with theſe kind of Villainous Robberies. And verily our Philoſophy and Doctrine did firſt among the barbarous take place, which Doctrine firſt in the days of* Auguſtus *your Predeceſſor, when it did Reign and Flouriſh, thereby your Empire became moſt famous and fortunate: and from that time more and more the State of the* Roman *Empire increaſed in Honour, whereof you moſt happily were made Succeſſor, and ſo ſhall your Son too. Honour therefore this Philoſophy which with your Empire ſprang up, and came in with* Auguſtus, *which your Progenitors above all other honoured and moſt eſteemed. And verily this is no ſmall Argument of a good beginning, that ſince our Doctrine flouriſhed in the Empire, no misfortune or loſs happened from* Auguſtus's *time: but contrary, always Victory, good and honourable years, as ever any man would wiſh: only among all, and of all,* Nero *and* Domitian, *being kindled by divers naughty and ſpiteful perſons, cavillingly objected againſt our Doctrine; of whom this ſycophantical ſlandering of Us by naughty cuſtom firſt came and ſprang up. But your godly Fathers eſpying the ignorance of theſe, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerarious Attempts in that behalf: among whom your Grandfather* Adrian *with many others is read of, to have written to* Fundane *the Proconſul and Lieutenant of* Aſia: *and your Father, your own Father,* I ſay, *with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the Cities under his Signet, as the* Laerſens, Theſſalonicenſes, Athenienſes, *and* Grecians; *raſhly to innovate or alter nothing. Of your Highneſs therefore, who in this caſe is of that Sect as your Predeceſſors were, yea and of a more benigne and Philoſophical Mind, we are in good hope to obtain our Petition and Requeſt.*

The *Chriſtians* Religion began with the Empire of *Rome.*

*Chriſtian* Religion maketh common weals to flouriſh.

Thus much out of the Apology of *Melito*, who writing to *Oneſimus*, giveth to us this benefit, to know the true Catalogue and the names of all the authentick Books of the *Old Teſtament*, received in the ancient time of the Primitive Church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the ſaid *Melito* in his Letter to *Oneſimus* declareth; how that he returning into the parts where theſe things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the Books approved of the *Old Teſtament*, the names whereof in order he ſubſcribeth, and ſendeth unto him as followeth, *The five Books of* Moſes, *Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jeſus Nave, The Judges, Ruth, Four Books of Kings, Two Books Paralipomenon, The Pſalms, Proverbs of Solomon, The Book of Wiſdom, The Preacher, The Song of Songs, Job, The Prophets, Eſay, Hieremy, Twelve Prophets in one Book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Eſdras.* And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for theſe later times to underſtand, what in the firſt times was received and admitted as authentick, and what otherwiſe.

The Books of the Old Teſtament authentick and received.

But from this little digreſſion, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the Apologies of *Apolinarius* and *Melito*, in the ſtory ſo it followeth; that whether it was by the occaſion of theſe two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of *Athenagoras* a Philoſopher, and a Legat of the *Chriſtians*, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that the Perſecution the ſame time was ſtayed. Some do think, which moſt probably ſeems to touch the truth, that the cauſe of ſtaying this Perſecution did ariſe upon a wonderful Miracle of God ſhewed in the Emperors Camp by the *Chriſtians*, the ſtory whereof is this; At what time the two Brethren *Marcus Antoninus* and *Marcus Aurelius Commodus* Emperors, joyning together, warred againſt the *Quades*, *Vandales*, *Sarmates*, and *Germans*, in the Expedition againſt them; their Army by reaſon of the imminent aſſault of their Enemies, was cooped and ſhut in within the ſtraits and hot dry places, where their Souldiers, beſides other difficulties of battel, being deſtitute of water five days, were like to have periſhed, which dread not a little diſcomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this ſo great diſtreſs and jeopardy, ſuddenly withdrew from the Army a Legion of the *Chriſtian* Souldiers for their ſuccor, who falling proſtrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleaſant Showers from the Element, whereby as their Souldiers quenched their thirſt, ſo were a great number of their Enemies diſcomfited and put to flight by continual Lightnings which ſhotted out of the Air. This Miracle ſo pleaſed and won the Emperor, that ever after he waxed gentler and gentler to the *Chriſtians*, and directed his Letters to divers of his Rulers (as *Tertullian* in his Apology witneſſeth) commanding them therein to give thanks to the *Chriſtians*, no leſs for his Victory, than for the preſervation of Him and all his men. The Copy of which Letter inſueth.

A miraculous rain obtained by the *Chriſtians.*

*Ex Euſebio, ibidem.*

## *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, Emperor, to the Senate and people of *Rome.*

*I Give you hereby to underſtand what I intend to do, as alſo what ſucceſs I have had in my Wars in* Germany, *and with how much difficulty, I have victailed my Camp, being compaſſed about with ſeverity and four fierce Dragons, whom my Scouts deſcried to be within nine miles of us, and* Pompeianus *our Lieutenant hath viewed, as he ſignified unto Us, by his Letters. Wherefore I thought no leſs but to be overrun and all my bands of ſo great multitude, as well my Va-ward, Main-ward, as Rere-ward, with all my Souldiers of* Ephrata; *in whoſe Hoſt there were numbred of fighting-men, nine hundred ſeventy and five thouſand. But when I ſaw my ſelf not able to Encounter with the Enemy, I craved Aid of our Country gods: at whoſe hands I finding no comfort, and being driven of the Enemy unto an Exigent, I cauſed to be ſent for thoſe men which we call* Chriſtians, *who being muſtered were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage than I had good cauſe, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous Power; who forthwith did their endeavour, but without either Weapon, Munition, Armor, or Trumpets, as men abhorring ſuch Preparation and Furniture, but only ſatisfied in truſt of their God, whom they carry about with them in their Conſciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worſhip God in their hearts. For they falling proſtrate upon the Ground, prayed not only for me, but for the Hoſt alſo which was with me, beſeeching their God for help in that our extremity of Victuals and freſh water: for we had been now five days without water, and were in our Enemies Land, even in the midſt of* Germany; *who thus falling upon their Faces, made their prayers to a God unknown of me. And there fell amongſt us from Heaven a moſt pleaſant and cold ſhower, but amongſt our Enemies a great ſtorm of Hail mixt with Lightning, ſo that immediately we perceived the Invincible aid of the moſt mighty God to be with us: Therefore we give thoſe men leave to profeſs Chriſtianity, leſt, perhaps, by their prayers we be puniſhed with the like, and thereby I make my ſelf the Author of ſuch hurt as ſhall be received by the Chriſtian profeſſion. And if any ſhall apprehend one that is a Chriſtian, only for this cauſe, I will that he being apprehended, without Puniſhment may have leave to confeſs the ſame, ſo that there be none other cauſe Objected againſt him, more than that, he is a Chriſtian; but let this accuſer be burned alive. Neither will I that he confeſſing and being found a Chriſtian, ſhall be inforced to alter the ſame his opinion by the Governor of any of our Provinces, but left to his own choice. And this Decree of mine I will to be ratified in the Senate-houſe, and command the ſame publickly to be proclaimed and read in the Court of* Trajanus; *and that further from thence it may be ſent into all our Provinces by the diligence of* Veratius *Governour of our City* Polione. *And further, we give leave to all men to uſe and write out this our Decree, taking the ſame out of our Copy publickly in the Common Hall ſet forth.*

Thus

Thus the Tempeſtuous rage of perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, began for a time to aſſwage, partly by the occaſion hereof, partly alſo upon other cauſes incident, compelling the Enemies to ſurceaſe their perſecution, as great Plagues and Peſtilence lying upon the country of *Italy*; likewiſe great Wars, as well in the Eaſt parts, as alſo in *Italy* and *France*, terrible Earthquakes, great floods, noiſome Swarms of flies and Vermin devouring their Corn-Fields, *&c.* And thus much of things done under *Antoninus Verus*, which *Antoninus* in the beginning of his Reign, joyned with him in the Government of the Empire his brother *Marcus Aurelius Commodus*, who alſo was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Chriſtians, as *Euſebius cap. 5. lib. 5.* recordeth. Contrary, *Platina in vita Soteris*, and the book intituled *Flores Hiſtoriarum*, refer the ſame to the time of *Antoninus Verus*, and his ſon *Lucius Antoninus Commodus*, and not of *Marcus Aurelius Commodus* his brother. But howſoever the truth of years doth ſtand, certain it is, that after the death of *Antoninus Verus*, and of *Aurelius Commodus*, ſucceeded *Lucius Antoninus Commodus*, the ſon of *Verus*, who Reigned thirty Years.

*Antoninus Verus, M. Aurelius Commodus* Emperors.

The difference between *Euſebius* and *Platina*.

Anno 175

In the time of this *Commodus*, although he was an incommodious Prince to the Senators of *Rome*, yet notwithſtanding there was ſome quietneſs univerſally through the whole Church of Chriſt from perſecution, by what occaſion it is not certain. Some think, of whom is *Xiphilinus*, that it came through *Marcia* the Emperors Concubine, which favoured the Chriſtians: But howſoever it came (ſaith *Euſebius*) the fury of the raging Enemies was then ſomewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Chriſt unto the Church throughout the whole world: At what time, the wholeſome Doctrine of the Goſpel allured and reduced the hearts of all ſorts of people unto the true Religion of God, in ſo much that many, both rich and to noble Perſonages of *Rome*, with their whole families and houſeholds, to their ſalvation, adjoyned themſelves the Church of Chriſt.

Quietneſs given to the Church.

Among whom there was one *Apollonius*, a noble man, and a Senator of *Rome*, mentioned in *Euſebius, lib. 5. cap.* 21. who being Maliciouſly accuſed unto the Senate, by one whom *Hierome* writeth to be the ſervant of the ſaid *Apollonius*, and nameth him *Severus*: But whoſe ſervant ſoever he was, the wretched man came ſoon enough before the Judge, being condignly rewarded for that his Malicious diligence: For by a law which the Emperor made, that no man upon pain of Death, ſhould falſly accuſe the Chriſtians, he was put to Execution, and had his Legs broken forthwith by the ſentence of *Perenninus* the Judge, which being an heathen man, he Pronounced againſt him: But the beloved Martyr of God, when the Judge, with much ado had obtained of him, to render an account, before the honourable Senate, of his Faith, under whoſe defence and warrant of life he did the ſame, delivered unto them an eloquent apologie of the Chriſtian belief: But the former warrant notwithſtanding, he by the decree of the Senate was beheaded, and ſo ended his life; for that there was an antient law among them decreed, that none that profeſſed Chriſt, and therefore arraigned, ſhould be releaſed without recantation, or altering his opinion.

*Apollonius* martyr.

*Apollonius* accuſed by his own ſervant.

*Apollonius* exhibiteth an apologie of his Faith to the Senate.

An old wicked law of the Romans.

This *Commodus* is ſaid in ſtories to be ſo ſure and ſteddy handed in caſting the dart, that in the open Theater before the people, he would encounter with the Wild beaſts, and be ſure to hit them in the place where appointed. Among divers other his vitious and Wild parts, he was ſo far ſurpriſed in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called *Hercules*, and many times would ſhew himſelf to the people in the skin of a Lion, to be counted thereby the King of men, like as the Lion is of the Beaſts.

The vidicſ lous pride of the Emperor.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this *Commodus* calling the people of *Rome* together, in a great Royalty, having his Lions skin upon him, made ſacrifice to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, cauſing it to be cryed through the City, that *Hercules* was the Patron and defender of the City. There was the ſame time at *Rome*, *Vincentius*, *Euſebius*, *Peregrinus*, *Potentianus*, learned men, and inſtructors of the people, who, following the ſteps of the Apoſtles, went about from place to place where the Goſpel was not yet preached, converting the *Gentiles* to the faith of Chriſt. Theſe, hearing the madneſs of the Emperor, and of the people, began to reprove their Idolatrous blindneſs, teaching in Villages and Towns, all that heard them to believe upon the true and only God, and to come away from ſuch Worſhipping of Devils, and to give honour to God alone, which only is to be Worſhipped, willing them to repent and to be Baptiſed, leſt they periſhed with *Commodus*. With this their preaching they converted one *Julius*, a Senator, and others, to the Religion of Chriſt. The Emperor hearing thereof, cauſed them to be apprehended of *Vitellus* his Captain, and to be compelled to ſacrifice unto *Hercules*, which when they ſtoutly refuſed, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at laſt they were preſſed with leaden weights to death. *Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.*

*Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus* Martyrs.

*Julius* a Senator converted to Chriſt.

*Ex Vincent lib. 10. cap. 119. Henr. de Erfor.*

This Peregrinus above mentioned had been ſent before by *Xiſtus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, into the parts of *France*, to ſupply there the room of a Biſhop and teacher, by reaſon that for the continual and horrible perſecutions thereabout touched, thoſe places were left deſolate and deſtitute of Miniſters and inſtructors, where after he had occupied himſelf with much fruit among the ſtock of Chriſt, and had eſtabliſhed the Congregation there, returning home again to *Rome*, there he finiſhed at laſt (as it is ſaid) his Martyrdom.

*Peregrinus* ſent to *France* and returned at *Rome*. *Ex Platina in vita Sixti.*

Now remaineth likewiſe to ſpeak of *Julius*: which *Julius* being (as is afore deſcribed) a Senator of *Rome*, and now won by the Preaching of theſe bleſſed men to the faith of Chriſt, did eftſoones invite them and brought them home to his houſe, where being by them more fully inſtructed in Chriſtian Religion, he believed the Goſpel. And ſending for one *Ruffinus* a Prieſt, was with all his family by him Baptized, who not (as the common ſort was wont to do) kept cloſe and ſecret his faith, but incenſed with a marvellous and ſincere zeal, openly profeſſed the ſame, altogether wiſhing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to hazard his life for him. Which thing the Emperor hearing how that *Julius* had forſaken his old Religion, and become a Chriſtian, forthwith ſent for him to come before him, unto whom he ſpake on this wiſe: O *Julv*, what madneſs hath poſſeſſed thee, that thus thou doſt fall from the old and common Religion of thy Forefathers, who acknowledged and worſhipped *Jupiter* and *Hercules* their Gods, and now doſt imbrace a new and fond kind of Religion of the Chriſtians? At which time *Julius*, having good occaſion to ſhew and open his faith, gave ſtraightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that *Hercules* and *Jupiter* were falſe Gods, and how the Worſhippers of them ſhould Periſh with Eternal damnation and Puniſhments. Which the Emperor hearing how that he condemned and deſpiſed his Gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very cholerick) committed him forthwith to *Vitellius*, the Maſter of the Souldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to ſee *Julius* either to ſacrifice to mighty *Hercules*, or refuſing the ſame, to ſlay him. *Vitellus* (as he commanded) exhorted *Julius* to obey the Emperors commandment, and to worſhip his Gods, alledging how that the whole Empire of *Rome* was not only conſtituted, but alſo preſerved and maintained by them: which *Julius* denied utterly to do, admoniſhing ſharply in like manner *Vitellus* to acknowledge the true God, and obey his Commandments, leſt he with his Maſter, ſhould die ſome grievous Death: whereat *Vitellus* being moved, cauſed *Julius* with cudgels to be beaten unto Death.

*Julius* with his family baptized and after martyred.

Theſe things being thus briefly recited, touching ſuch holy Martyrs as hitherto have ſuffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the *Roman* Biſhops, ſuch as followed next after *Alexander*, or whom we left, whoſe ſucceeder next was *Xiſtus* or *Sixtus*, the ſixth Biſhop counted after *Peter*, who governed the Miniſtery the ſpace of Ten years, as *Damaſcus* and others do write. *Uſpergenſis* maketh mention but of nine years. *Platina* recordeth that he died a Martyr, and was buried at *Vaticane*. But *Euſebius* ſpeaking of his deceaſe, maketh no word or mention of any Martyrdom. In the ſecond tome of the Councels certain Epiſtles be attributed to him, whereof *Euſebius*, *Damaſcus*, *Hierome*, and other old authors, as they make no relation, ſo ſeem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any ſuch matter. In theſe counterfeit Epiſtles, and in *Platina* it appeareth that *Xiſtus* was the firſt author of theſe ordinances. Firſt, that the holy myſteries and holy Veſſels, ſhould be touched but only of perſons holy and conſecrated, eſpecially of no Woman. Item, that the Cor-

*Xiſtus* Biſhop of *Rome*.

The trifling ordinances of *Xiſtus*.

Corporas cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linnen. Item, that such Bishops as were called up to the Apostolick See, returning home again, should not be received at their return, unless they brought with them letters from the Bishop of *Rome*, saluting the People. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be sung this verse, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabboth.* Where moreover it is to be noted, that the said *Platina*, in the life of this *Xistus*, doth testifie that *Peter* ministred the celebration of the Communion only with the Lords *Prayer.*

S. *Peter* celebrated the Lords Supper only with the Lords Prayer. *Platina in vita Sixti.*

These trifling ordinances of *Xistus*, who is so rude that seeth not, or may not easily conjecture to be fallly fathered of *Xistus*, or of any father of that time? First by the uniform rudeness and stile of all those decretal letters, nothing favoring of that age, but rather of the later dunstical times that followed; also by the matter and argument in those letters contained nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome days. Neither again is it to be supposed, that any such recourse of Bishops was then to the Apostolical See of *Rome*, that it was not lawful to return without their letters: when as the Persecution against the Christians was then so hot, in the days of *Adrian*, that the Bishops of *Rome* themselves were more glad to fly out of the City, than other Bishops were to come to them unto *Rome*. And if *Xistus* added the *Sanctus* unto the mass canon, what piece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after *Xistus*? And if they came after *Xistus* that added the rest why did they set their pieces before his, seeing they that began the first piece of the canon, came after him?

The ordinance of *Xistus* suspected.

The same likewise is to be judged of the Epistles and ordinances of *Telesphorus*, who succeeded next unto *Xistus*, and being Bishop of that Congregation the term of eleven years, the first year of the Raign of *Antoninus Pius*, died Martyr about the year of our Lord, one hundred thirty and eight. His Epistle, like unto the rest, containing in it no great matter of Doctrine, hath these ordinances. First, he commandeth all that were of the Clergy to fast and abstain from flesh-eating seven week before *Easter*. That three Masses should be said upon the nativity day of the Lord. That no man should accuse either Bishop or Priest. He ordained moreover, *Gloria in excelsis*, to be added to the Mass, &c. But these things falsly to be feined upon him may easily be conjectured. For as touching the seven weeks fast, neither doth it agree with the old *Roman* term commonly received, calling it *Quadragesima*, that is, the forty days fast: neither with the example of our Saviour, who fasted not seven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning this forty days fast, we read of the same in the Epistle of *Ignatius*, which was long before *Telesphorus*: whereby it may appear that this *Telesphorus* was not the first inventor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of *Abdias* (but untruly as by many conjectures may be proved) there it is read, that in the days of S. *Matthew*, this Lent fast of forty days was observed long before *Telesphorus*, by these words that follow: In the days (said he) either of Lent, or in the time of other lawful fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from eating meat as also from the mixture of Bodies, doth incurre in so doing, not only pollution, but also committeth offence, which must be washed away with the tears of Repentance. Again, *Apollonius* affirmeth, that *Montanus* the Heretick was the first deviser and bringer in of these laws of fasting into the Church, which before was used to be free, *Euseb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 18. But especially by *Socrates*, Writer of the Ecclesiastical story, who lived after the days of *Theodosius*, it may be argued, that this seven weeks fast is falsly imputed to *Telesphorus*. For *Socrates* in his first Book, speaking of this time, hath these words: *Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas præter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas jejunant*, that is, The *Romans* (saith he) do fast three weeks continually before *Easter*, beside the Sabbath and *Sunday*. And moreover, speaking of divers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and divers Churches, he addeth these words: *And because that no man can bring forth any Commandment written of this matter, it is therefore apparent, that the Apostles left this kind of fast free to every mans will and judgment, lest any should be constrained by fear and necessity to do that which is good, &c.* With this of *Socrates* agree also the words of *Sozomenus*, living much about the same in his seventh Book, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some comprehend in six weeks, as do the *Illirians*, and west Churches, with all *Libia*, *Egypt* and *Palestina*: Some in seven weeks, as at *Constantinople*, and the parts bordering to *Phenica*: Other some in three weeks next before the day of *Easter*, and some again in two weeks, &c. By the which it may be collected, that *Telesphorus* never ordained any such fast of seven weeks: Which otherwise never would have been neglected in *Rome*, and in the west Churches: Neither again would have been unremembred of these ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his constitutions, but also of the other ancient Bishops and Martyrs which followed after him, as of *Higinus* in the year of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who succeeding him and dying also a Martyr, as *Volateranus*, *lib.* 22. declareth, is said, or rather fained to bring in the Cream, one Godfather and Godmother in Baptism, to ordain the dedication of Churches: When as in his time so far it was off, that any solemn Churches were standing in *Rome*, that unneth the Christians could safely convent in their own Houses. Likewise the distuinguishing the orders of *Metropolitans*, Bishops and other degrees, savor nothing less than of that time.

*Telesphorus* Bishop of *Rome* and martyr.

The ordinance of *Telesphorus*.

Lent fast and the original thereof examined.

*Montanus* first brought in the laws of fasting.

*Ex Euseb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 18.

*Ex Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib.* 5. *c.* 20.

*Ex Sozomeno, lib.* 7. *cap.* 19.

The ordinances of *Telesphorus* falsly to him ascribed.

*Higinus* Bishop of *Rome* and Martyr.

*Ex Volaterano. Antbrop. lib.* 22.

Cream One Godfather and Godmother in baptism.

Dedication of Churches

After *Higinus* followed *Pius*, who, as *Platina* reporteth, was so precisely devout about the holy Mysteries of the Lords Table, that if any one crum thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the Priest should do penance forty days: If any fell upon the super-altar, he should do penance three days: If upon the linnen corporas cloath, four days: if upon any other linnen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the Blood (saith he) should chance to be spilled, wheresoever it fell, it should be licked up, if it were possible: If not, the place should be washed or pared, and so being washed or pared, should be burned and laid in the Vestry. All which toyes may seem to a wise man more vain and trifling, than to savor of those pure and strict times of those holy Martyrs. This *Pius* (as is reported) was much conversant with *Hermes*, called otherwise *Pastor*. *Damasus*, saith he, was his brother. But how is that like, that *Hermes* being the disciple of *Paul*, or one of the threescore disciples, could be the brother of this *Pius*? Of this *Hermes*, and of the revelations, the aforesaid *Pius* in his Epistle decretal (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaring that unto him appeared the Angel of God in the habit of a shepherd, commanding him that *Easter* day should be celebrated of all men upon no other day, but on Sunday: Whereupon, saith the Epistle, *Pius* the Bishop, by his authority Apostolical decreed and commanded the same to be observed of all men.

*Pius* Bishop of *Rome*.

The danger of letting the holy mysteries fall from the Lords Table.

The revelation of *Hermes*.

The decretal Epistle of *Pius*.

Then succeeded *Anicetus*, *Soter*, and *Eleutherius*, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourscoure. This *Eleutherius*, at the request of *Lucius*, King of *Britain*, sent to him *Damianus* and *Fugatius*, by whom the King was converted to Christs faith, and Baptized about the year of our Lord one hundred threescore and nineteen. *Nauclerus*, *lib. Cron. Gen.* 6. saith, it was in the year one hundred fifty and six. *Henr. de Erfordia*, saith, it was in the year one hundred threescore and nine, in the ninteenth year of *Verus* the Emperor. Some say it was in the sixth year of *Commodus*, which should be about the year of our Lord one hundred fourscore and five. *Timotheus* in his story thinketh, that *Eleutherius* came himself: But that is not like. And as there is a variance among the Writers for the count of years; so doth there rise a question among some, whether *Eleutherius* was the first that brought the faith from *Rome* into this Land or not. *Nicephorus. lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. saith that *Simon Zelotes* came into *Britain*. Some other alledge out of *Gildas de Victoria*, *Aurel. Ambrosi.* that *Joseph* of *Arimathy*, after the dispersion of the *Jews*, was sent by *Philip* the Apostle from *France* to *Britain*, about the year of our Lord threescore and three, and here remaineth in this Land all his time, and so with his fellows, laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the *Britain* people. Whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth *Petrus Cluniacensis* call the Scotishmen, and so doth count them as more ancient Christians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the Testimony of *Origen*, of *Tertullian*, and the words also of the letter of *Eleutherius*, which import no less but that the Faith of Christ was here in *England* among the *Britain* people, before *Eleutherius* time, and before the King was converted:

*Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* and martyr.

*Soter* Bishop.

*Eleutherius* Bishop.

*England* converted to the faith of Christ.

*Ex Niceph. lib.* 4. *cap.* 4.

*Ex Gilda de victor. Aurel. Ambr.*

Whether this land of *Britain* received the Gospel before King *Lucius* days.

But

But hereof more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter (Chriſt willing) when after the tractation of theſe Ten Perſecutions, we ſhall enter into the matter of our *Engliſh* ſtories.

About this time of *Commodus* afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous Teachers whom God ſtirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raiſe up ſome) in his Church, to confound the Perſecutors by Learning and Writing, as the Martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was *Seraphion* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Egeſippus* a Writer of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from Chriſts Paſſion to his time, as witneſſeth *Hierome* and *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 8. & 22. which Books of his be now remaining: and thoſe that be remaining (which be five *De excidio Hieroſol.*) be not mentioned, neither of *Hierome*, *Euſebius*, nor of *Miltiades*, which alſo wrote his Apology in defence of Chriſtian Religion, as did *Melito*, *Quadratus*, and *Ariſtides* before mentioned. About the ſame time alſo wrote *Heraclitus*, who firſt began to write *Annotations* and *Enarrations* upon the *New Teſtament*, and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. Alſo *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, a man famouſly learned, which wrote divers Epiſtles to divers Churches, and among others written, exhorting *Ponitus*, a certain Biſhop, *Ne grave ſervandæ caſtitatis onus neceſſario fratribus imponat, ſed multorum ſeſe imbecillitati attemperet*; that is, That he would lay no yoke of Chaſtity of any neceſſity upon his Brethren; but that he would conſider the infirmity of others, and bear with it, *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *cap.* 23. Moreover, the ſaid *Dionyſius* in his Epiſtles writing of *Dionyſius Areopagita*, declareth of him how that he was firſt converted to the Chriſtian Faith by Saint *Paul*, according as in the *Acts* is recorded; and afterward was made the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*, but maketh there no mention of his Book *De Hierarchia*. Whereby it may eaſily appear, what is to be judged of that Book. Furthermore, by the Epiſtles of the ſaid *Dionyſius* of *Corinth*, this we have to underſtand, to be the uſe at that time in Churches, to read the Letters and Epiſtles, ſuch as were ſent by learned Biſhops and Teachers unto the Congregations, as may appear by theſe words of *Dionyſius*, who writing to the Church of the *Romans*, and to *Soter*, ſaith, *This day we celebrate the holy Dominical-day, in which we have read your Epiſtle, which always we will read for our Exhortation; like as we do read alſo the Epiſtle of* Clement *ſent to us before, &c. Euſebius ibid.* Where alſo mention is made of keeping of *Sunday* holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient Authors, before his time, except only in *Juſtinus* Martyr, who in his Deſcription declareth two times moſt eſpecially uſed for Chriſtian men to congregate together: firſt, when any Convert was to be baptized, the ſecond was upon the *Sunday*, which was wont for two Cauſes then to be hallowed: firſt, becauſe (ſaith he) upon that day God made the World: ſecondly, becauſe that Chriſt upon that day firſt ſhewed himſelf, after his Reſurrection, to his Diſciples, &c.

Over and beſide theſe above named, about the days of *Commodus*, wrote alſo *Clemens Alexandrinus*, a man of notable and ſingular Learning, whoſe Books, although for a great part be loſt, yet certain of them yet remain, wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the Books and Goſpels of the *New Teſtament*, *&c.*

The ſame time moreover lived *Pantenus*, which was the firſt in *Alexandria*, that profeſſed in open School to read, of whom is thought firſt to proceed the order and manner among the *Chriſtians* to read and profeſs in Univerſities. This *Pantenus* for his excellency of Learning, was ſent by *Demetrius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to Preach to the *Indians*, where he found the Goſpel of S. *Matthew* written in *Hebrew*, left there by S. *Bartholomew*, which Book afterward he brought with him from thence to the Library of *Alexandria*.

During all the Reign of *Commodus*, God granted reſt and tranquility, although not without ſome bloodſhed of certain holy Martyrs, as is above declared unto his Church. In the which time of tranquility, the *Chriſtians* having now ſome leiſure from the foreign Enemy, began to have a little contention among themſelves about the Ceremony of *Eaſter*: which contention albeit of long time before had been ſtirring in the Church, as is before mentioned of *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus*: yet the variance and difference of that Ceremony brought no breach of Chriſtian concord and ſociety among them: neither as yet did the matter exceed ſo far, but that the bond of Love, and Communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the Ceremony of the day. For they of the *Weſt* Church pretending the tradition of *Paul* and *Peter*, but indeed being the tradition of *Hermes* and of *Pius*, kept one day, which was upon the *Sunday* after the fourteenth day of the firſt month. The Church of *Aſia*, following the Ordinance of *John* the Apoſtle, obſerved another, as more ſhall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth Perſcution, let this hitherto ſuffice.

*Seraphion* Biſhop of *Antioch.*
*Egeſippus* Eccleſiaſtical Writer.
*Miltiades* Eccleſiaſti. Writer.
*Heraclitus* Eccleſiaſtical Writer.
*Theophilus* Eccleſiaſtical Writer.
*Dionyſius Corinthius* Eccleſiaſtical Writer.
The yoke of chaſtity not to be laid upon the infirm Brethren.
*Ex Euſeb. lib.* 4. *ca.* 23.
The Book of *Dionyſius Areopagita de Hierarchia* ſuſpected.
Celebration of the *Sunday.*
*Clemens Alexandrinus.*
The Goſpel of S. *Matthew in Hebrew.*
Difference about the Ceremony of *Eaſter.*

## *The fifth Perſecution.*

After the death of *Commodus* reigned *Pertinax* but few months, after whom ſucceeded *Severus*, under whom was raiſed the fifth Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtian* Saints: who reigning the term of eighteen years, the firſt ten years of the ſame was very favourable and courteous to the *Chriſtians*: afterward through ſiniſter Suggeſtions and malicious Accuſations of the malignant, was ſo incenſed againſt them, that by Proclamations he commanded no *Chriſtians* any more to be ſuffered. Thus the rage of the Emperor being inflamed againſt them, great Perſecution was ſtirred up on every ſide, whereby an infinite number of Martyrs were ſlain, as *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred and five. The Crimes and falſe Accuſations objected againſt the *Chriſtians*, are partly touched before; as Sedition and Rebellion againſt the Emperor, Sacriledge, murthering of Infants, inceſtuous Pollution, eating raw Fleſh, Libidinous Commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then *Gnoſtici*, were infamed. *Item*, it was objected againſt them for worſhipping the head of an *Aſs*: which whereof it ſhould riſe, I find no certain cauſe, except it were, perhaps, by the *Jews*. Alſo they were charged for worſhipping the *Sun*, for that peradventure before the Sun did riſe, they convented together, ſinging their morning Hymns unto the Lord, or elſe becauſe they prayed toward the *Eaſt*: but ſpecially for that they would not with them worſhip their Idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The Captains and Prelidents of this Perſecution under the Emperor were *Hilerianus*, *Vigellius*, *Claudius*, *Hermianus* Ruler of *Cappadocia*, *Cecilius*, *Capella*, *Veſpronius*, alſo *Demetrius* mentioned of *Cyprian*, and *Aquila* Judge of *Alexandria*, of whom *Euſeb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 5. maketh relation.

The place where the force of this Perſecution moſt raged, were *Africa*, *Alexandria*, *Cappadocia* and *Carthage*. The number of them that ſuffered in this Perſecution, by the report of the *Eccleſiaſtical ſtory*, was innumerable. Of whom the firſt was *Leonides* the Father of *Origen*, who was beheaded: with whom alſo *Origen* his Son, being of the age then of Seventeen years, ſhould have ſuffered (ſuch a fervent deſire he had to be martyred for Chriſt) had not his Mother privily in the night ſeaſon conveyed away his Clothes and his ſhirt. Whereupon more for ſhame to be ſeen, than for fear to die, he was conſtrained to remain at home: and when he could do nothing elſe, yet he writeth to his Father a Letter with theſe words, *Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quam Martyrii conſtanter faciendi propoſitum cogites*; that is, Take heed to your ſelf, that you turn not your thought and purpoſe for our ſake, &c. Such a fervency had this *Origen*, being yet young, to the Doctrine of Chriſts Faith, by the operation of Gods heavenly Providence, and partly alſo by the diligent Education of his Father, who brought him up from his Youth moſt ſtudiouſly in all good Literature, but eſpecially in the reading and exerciſe of holy Scripture, wherein he had ſuch inward and myſtical Speculation, that many times he would move queſtions to his Father of the meaning of this place or that place in the Scripture. Inſomuch that his Father divers times would uncover his breaſt being aſleep, and kiſs it, giving thanks to God which had made him ſo happy a Father of ſuch a happy Child. After the death of his Father, and all his Goods confiſcated to the Emperor, he with his poor Mother, and ſix Brethren were brought to ſuch extream Poverty, that he did ſuſtain both himſelf and them by teaching a School: till

*Severus* Emperor. Anno 195.
The fifth Perſecution
*Ex Euſeb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 2.
Anno 205.
The falſe Accuſations againſt the *Chriſtians.*
The Captains and Miniſters of this Perſecution.
*Ex Tertul. ad capulam.*
*Leonides* Father of *Origen* Martyr.
*Origen* kept from Martyrdom by his Mother
*Origen* commended.
*Ex Euſeb. lib.* 6 *cap.* 3.
*Ex Euſeb. Antonino Simonetæ &c.*

till at length, being weary of the Profeſſion, he transferred his ſtudy only to the knowledge and ſeeking of Divine Scripture, and ſuch other learning conducible to the ſame. So much he profited both in the *Hebrew* and other Tongues, that he conferred the *Hebrew* Text with the tranſlation of the threeſcore: and moreover did confer and find out the other tranſlations which we call the common tranſlation of *Aquila*, of *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*. Alſo he adjoyned to theſe aforeſaid other four tranſlations, whereof more is in the ſtory of *Euſebius* expreſſed.

They that write of the life of *Origen*, teſtifie of him that he was of wit quick and ſharp, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the Tongues, of a ſpare diet, of a ſtrict life, a great faſter; his teaching and his living were both one: his going was much barefoot: a ſtrict obſerver of that ſaying of the Lord, *Bidding to have but one Coat, &c.* He is ſaid to have written ſo much as ſeven *Notaries*, and ſo many Maids every day could pen. The number of his Books, by the account of *Hierome*, came to ſeven thouſand Volumns, the Copies whereof he uſed to ſell for three pence, or a little more, for the ſuſtentation of his living. But of him more ſhall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cauſe of Chriſt, and of Chriſts Martyrs, that he nothing fearing his own peril, would aſſiſt and exhort them going to their death, and kiſs them, inſomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be ſtoned of the multitude; and ſometimes by the proviſion of Chriſtian men had his houſe guarded about with Souldiers, for the ſafety of them which daily reſorted to hear his Readings. And many times he was compelled to ſhift places and houſes, for ſuch as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the Providence of God to preſerve him in the midſt of all this tempeſt of *Severus*. Among others which reſorted unto him, and were his Hearers, *Plutarchus* was one, and died a Martyr; and with him *Serenus* his Brother, who was burned. The third after theſe was *Heraclides*, the fourth *Heron*, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another *Serenus*, alſo beheaded, *Rhais* and *Potamiena* who was tormented with Pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her Mother *Marcella*, who died alſo in the fire. This *Potamiena* was of a freſh and flouriſhing beauty, who becauſe ſhe could not be removed from her Profeſſion, was committed to *Baſilides* one of the Captains there in the Army, to ſee the execution done. *Baſilides* receiving her at the Judges hand, and leading her to the place, ſhewed her ſome Compaſſion in repreſſing the rebukes and railings of the wicked Adverſaries: for the which *Potamiena* the Virgin, to requite again his kindneſs, bad him be of good comfort, ſaying, *That ſhe would pray the Lord to ſhew mercy upon him*, and ſo went ſhe to her Martyrdom, which ſhe both ſtrongly and quietly did ſuſtain.

*Plutarchus*, Scholar of *Origen* and *Serenus* his Brother, martyred. *Heraclides*, *Heron*, *Rhais*, *Potamiena*, *Marcella*, Scholars of *Origen* and Martyrs.

Not long after it happened that *Baſilides* was required to give an Oath in a matter concerning his fellow Souldiers, which thing he denied to do, plainly affirming that he was a *Chriſtian*: for their Oath then was wont to be by the Idols and the Emperor. At the firſt he was thought diſſemblingly to jeſt, but after, when he was heard conſtantly and in earneſt, to confirm the ſame, he was had before the Judge, and ſo by him committed to Ward. The *Chriſtians* marveling thereat, as they came to him in the Priſon, inquired of him the cauſe of that his ſudden Converſion. To whom he anſwered again, and ſaid, *That* Potamiena *had prayed for him to the Lord, and ſo he ſaw a Crown put upon his head*; adding moreover, *That it ſhould not be long but he ſhould be received*. Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of Execution, and there beheaded, *Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 5.* Albeit the ſaid *Euſebius* giveth this ſtory of no credit, but only of hear-ſay, as he there expreſſeth.

*Baſilides* of a Perſecutor made a Martyr.

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 5.*

As divers and many there were that ſuffered in the days of this *Severus*, ſo ſome there were again, which through the Protection of God his Providence being put to great torments, yet eſcaped with life. Of whom was one *Alexander*, who, for his conſtant confeſſion and torments ſuffered, was made Biſhop afterward of *Hieruſalem*, together with *Narciſſus*: who being then an old man of an hundred and threeſcore years and three, as ſaith *Euſebius*, was unweldy for his age to govern that Function alone.

*Alexander* Confeſſor and Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. The notable age of *Narciſſus*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

Of this *Narciſſus* it is reported in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, that certain Miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true. Firſt, of Water by him turned into Oil, at the ſolemn Vigil of *Eaſter*, what time the Congregation wanted Oil for their Lamps. Another Miracle is alſo told of him, which is this, There were three evil diſpoſed perſons, who ſeeing the ſoundneſs and grave conſtancy of his vertuous life, and fearing their own puniſhment, as a Conſcience that is guilty is always fearful, thought to prevent his Accuſations, in accuſing him firſt, and laying an hainous Crime unto his Charge. And to make their Accuſation more probable before the people, they bound their Accuſation with a great Oath, one wiſhing to be deſtroyed with fire, if he ſaid not true; the other to be conſumed with a grievous ſickneſs; the third to loſe both his eyes if they did lie. *Narciſſus*, although having his Conſcience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withſtand their Accuſation, bound with ſuch Oaths, gave place, and removed himſelf from the multitude into a ſolitary Deſart by himſelf, where he continued the ſpace of many years. In the mean time, to them which ſo willingly and wickedly forſware themſelves, this happened: The firſt, by caſualty of one little ſmall parkle of fire, was burnt with his Goods and all his Family. The ſecond was taken with a great ſickneſs from the top to the toe, and devoured with the ſame. The third, hearing and ſeeing the puniſhment of the other, confeſſed his fault, but through great repentance poured out ſuch tears, that he loſt both his eyes; and thus was their falſe Perjury puniſhed. *Narciſſus*, after long abſence returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the fact, and received into his Biſhoprick again: to whom as is ſaid, for impotency of his age, *Alexander* was joyned in execution of the Function. *Euſebius*, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. lib. 6. cap. 10.* Of this *Alexander* is recorded in the ſaid *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, that after his Agonies and conſtancy of his Confeſſion ſhewed in the perſecution of *Severus*, he was admoniſhed by a Viſion in the night ſeaſon to make his journey up to *Jeruſalem* and *Paleſtina* (for that place remained free from this Perſecution) to ſee there the Congregation, and to pray. Thus he taking his Journey, and drawing near to the City, a Viſion with plain words was given to certain chief Heads of *Jeruſalem*, to go out of the Gate of the City, there to receive the Biſhop appointed to them of God. And ſo was *Alexander* met and received, and joyned Partner with aged *Narciſſus*, as is before expreſſed, in the City of *Jeruſalem*, where he continued Biſhop above forty years, until the Perſecution of *Decius*, and there erected a famous Library, where *Euſebius* had his chiefeſt help in writing his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. He wrote alſo divers Epiſtles to divers Churches, and licenſed *Origen* openly to teach his Church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from *Jeruſalem* to *Ceſarea* before the Judge under *Decius*, where after his conſtant Confeſſion the ſecond time, he was committed to Priſon, and there died.

A miracle of water turned into oil. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 9.*

A terrible Example of perjury puniſhed.

*Narciſſus* and *Alexander* joyned together in one Biſhoprick.

*Alexander* ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by Gods miracle. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. ca. 11.*

The conſtancy and death of *Alexander* Biſhop.

Beſides theſe that ſuffered in this Perſecution of *Severus*, recited of *Euſebius*, *Vincentius* alſo, *Lib. 11. cap. 6. ex Martyrologio*, ſpeaketh of one *Andoclus*, whom *Polycarpus* before had ſent into *France*: which *Andoclus*, becauſe he had ſpread there the Doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended of *Severus*, and firſt beaten with Staves and Bats, and after was beheaded.

*Andoclus* Martyr.

To theſe above named, may alſo be added *Aſclepiades*, who, although he was not put to death in this Perſecution of *Severus*, yet conſtantly he did abide the Trial of his Confeſſion, and ſuffered much for the ſame, as *Alexander* before mentioned did. Wherefore, afterward he was ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, where he continued the ſpace of ſeven years, of whom *Alexander* writes unto the Church of *Antioch* out of Priſon, much rejoycing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their Biſhop.

*Aſclepiades* Biſhop of *Antioch* Confeſſor.

About the ſame time, during the Reign of *Severus*, died *Ireneus*, *Henr. de Erfordia*, *Ado*, and other Martyr Writers do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the Confeſſion and Doctrine of Chriſt, about the fourth or fifth year of *Severus*. This *Ireneus*, as he was a greater Writer, ſo was he greatly commended of *Tertullian* for his Learning, whom he calleth *Omnium Doctrinarum curioſiſſimum explorato-rem*. A great Searcher of all kind of Learning. He was firſt Scholar and Hearer of *Polycarpus*, from thence either was ſent, or came to *France*, and there by *Photinus*, and

*Ireneus* Biſhop of *Lions* and Martyr.

and the reſt of the Martyrs, was inſtituted into the Miniſtry, and commended by their Letter to *Eleutherius* as is before premoniſhed. At length, after the Martyrdom of *Photinus*, he was appointed Biſhop of *Lions*, where he continued about the ſpace of three and twenty years. In the time of this *Ireneus* the ſtate of the Church was much troubled, not only for the outward Perſecution of the foreign enemy, but alſo for divers Sects and Errors then ſtirring, againſt which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few Books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was ſuch, that he ever loved peace, and ſought to ſet agreement when any controverſie roſe in the Church. And therefore, when the queſtion of keeping the *Eaſter* day was renewed in the Church between *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the Churches of *Aſia*, and when *Victor* would have excommunicated them as Schiſmaticks, for diſagreeing from him therein: *Ireneus*, with other brethren of the *French* Church, ſorry to ſee ſuch a contention among brethren for ſuch a trifle, convented themſelves together in a common Council, and directing their Letter with their common conſent ſubſcribed, ſent unto *Victor*, intreating him to ſtay his purpoſe, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themſelves agreed with him in obſerving the Sunday *Eaſter* as he did: yet with great reaſons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal ſo rigorouſly with his other brethren, following the ancient Cuſtom of their Country manner in that behalf. And beſides this, he wrote divers other Letters abroad concerning the ſame contention, declaring the excommunication of *Victor* to be of no force.

*Tertullian* Eccleſiaſtical Writer.

Not long after *Ireneus* followed alſo *Tertullian* about the time of this *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla* his Son, a Man both in *Greek* and *Latine* well expert, having great gifts in diſputing, and in writing eloquent, as his Books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth teſtify no leſs. To whom *Vincentius Lirienſis* giveth ſuch praiſe, that he calleth him *the flower of all Latine Writers*: and of the eloquence of his ſtile he thus writeth, *that with the force of his reaſons*, he ſaith, *whom he could not perſwade, them he compelled to conſent unto him. How many words, ſo many ſentences, and how many ſentences, ſo many victories he had, &c.*

The Apology of *Tertullian* defending the Chriſtians.

Such men of doing and writing God raiſed up from time to time, as pillars and ſtaies for his poor Church, as he did this *Tertullian* in theſe dangerous days of Perſecution. For when the Chriſtians were vexed with wrongs, and falſly accuſed of the Gentiles, *Tertullian* taking their cauſe in hand, defendeth them againſt the Perſecutors, and againſt their ſlanderous accuſations. Firſt, that they never minded any ſtir or rebellion, either againſt the Empire or Emperors of *Rome*: for ſo much as the uſe of Chriſtians was to pray for the ſtate of their Emperors and Governors. And whereas they were accuſed falſly to be enemies of all Mankind, *how could that be* (ſaith *Tertullian* to *Scapula*) *ſeeing the proper office of the Chriſtians is by their profeſſion to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, when as all other do love but only their friends, and ſcarcely them?* As touching the horrible ſlander of murthering Infants, *how can that be true in the Chriſtians* (ſaith he) *whoſe order is to abſtain from all blood and ſtrangled; inſomuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beaſt at their Tables when they feed? from filthy copulation no ſort more free than they, which are, and ever have been, the greateſt obſervers of chaſtity, of whom, ſuch as may, live in perpetual virginity all their life; ſuch as cannot contract Matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication.* Neither can it be proved that the Chriſtians do worſhip the Sun: which falſe ſurmiſe *Tertullian* declareth to riſe hereof, for that the manner of the Chriſtians was to pray toward the Eaſt. Much leſs was there any of them ſo mad as to worſhip an Aſſes head; whereof the occaſion being taken only of the *Jews*, the ſlander thereof therefore he proveth to be falſly and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Chriſtians.

*Tertullianus ad Scapulam*

The occaſion hereof, belike came of the *Jews* worſhipping the jaw of an Aſs in the ſtory of *Sampſon*.

And likewiſe againſt all other lies and ſlanders objected of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians, the ſaid *Tertullian* purgeth the Chriſtians, declaring them falſly to be belied, and wrongfully perſecuted, not for any deſert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithſtanding, by the ſame Perſecutions, he proveth in the ſame Apology, the Religion of the Chriſtians nothing to be impaired, but rather increaſed. *The more* (ſaith he) *we are mown down of you, the more riſe up. The blood of Chriſtians is Seed. For what man* (ſaith he) *in beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not ſearch and inquire what is the cauſe? And when hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not deſire to ſuffer for it? Thus* (ſaith he) *this Sect will never die, which the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man ſeeing and wondring at the ſufferance of the Saints, is moved the more thereby to ſearch the cauſe; in ſearching, he findeth it, and finding he followeth it.* Tertullian. in eodem Apolog.

*Tertul. in apologetico.*

Thus *Tertullian*, in this dangerous time of Perſecution, being ſtirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Chriſtians againſt the blaſphemy of the adverſaries; and moreover, for the inſtruction of the Church he compiled many fruitful works, whereof ſome are extant, ſome are not to be found. Notwithſtanding the great learning and famous vertues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemiſhes are noted in his Doctrine, as were before both of *Origen* and *Ireneus*, and likewiſe of them, were they never ſo excellent that followed them. Which errors all here, in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this ſtory to proſecute. This by the way ſhall be ſufficient to admoniſh the Reader, never to look for any ſuch perfection of any man in this world, how ſingular ſoever he be (Chriſt only excepted) but ſome blemiſh or other joyneth it ſelf withal, whereof more, perchance, ſhall be ſaid when we come to *Cyprian*.

The errors and imperfections in learned men noted.

*Victor* 8 Biſhop of *Rome*.

*Victor* reported of ſome to die a Martyr.

And now, to return again to the order of Biſhops of *Rome* intermitted: After *Eleutherius* afore mentioned, next in the Biſhoprick of *Rome* ſucceed *Victor*, who, as *Platina* ſaith, died quietly in the days of *Severus*. But *Damaſus ſupplem. lib.* 8. and ſuch as do follow the common Chronicles, affirm that he died a Martyr, after he had ſitten ten (or as ſome ſay twelve) years. This *Victor* was a great ſtirrer (as partly before is ſignified) in the controverſie and contention of *Eaſter* day, for the which he would have proceeded in Excommunication againſt the Churches of *Aſia*, had not *Ireneus*, then Biſhop of *Lions*, with the counſel of other his brethren there aſſembled, repreſſed his intended violence. As touching that controverſie of *Eaſter* in thoſe days of the Primitive Church, the original thereof was this, as *Euſebius*, *Socrates*, *Platina*, and others record: Firſt, certain it is, that the Apoſtles, being only intentive and attendant to the Doctrine of Salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the obſervation of days and times, neither bound the Church to any Ceremonies and Rites; except thoſe things neceſſary mentioned in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, as ſtrangled and blood, which was ordained then of the Holy Ghoſt, not without a moſt urgent and neceſſary cauſe, touched partly in the Hiſtory before. For when the murthering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the Heathen Perſecutors againſt the Chriſtians, they had no other argument to help themſelves, nor to repel the adverſary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abſtain, not only from all mens blood, but alſo from the blood of all common beaſts. And therefore that law ſeemeth by the Holy Ghoſt to be given, and alſo to the ſame end continued in the Church, ſo long as the cauſe, that is, the Perſecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Beſides theſe, we read of no other Ceremonies or Rites, which the Apoſtles greatly regarded, but left ſuch things free to the liberty of Chriſtians, every man to uſe therein his own diſcretion, for the uſing or not uſing thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial obſervations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, veſtures, and ſuch others: of all theſe things neither was the diverſity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. In ſo much that *Ireneus* writing to *Victor* of the tradition of days, and of faſtings, and of the diverſity of theſe things then uſed among the Primitive fathers, ſaith: *Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter ſe retinuerunt & retinemus etiamnum, & jejunii diſſonantia fidei concordiam commendat, &c.* that is, *Notwithſtanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themſelves, and yet we keep it ſtill, and this difference of faſting among us commendeth more the con-*

The cauſe diſcuſſed why the Holy Ghoſt forbad blood and ſtrangled in the Primitive Church.

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 26.*

The doctrine of Chriſtian liberty in outward uſages.

*cord of faith.* And ſo long did the Doctrine of Chriſtian Liberty remain whole and ſound in the Church till the time of *Victor*, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred; although the diverſity of theſe uſages began before alſo in the days of *Pius* and *Anicetus*, about the year of Chriſt one hundred ſixty and three, to be miſliked; yet reſtraint hereof was not ſo much urged before, as in the time of *Victor*. And yet neither did the violence of *Victor* take ſuch place, but that the Doctrine of Chriſtian Liberty was defended and maintained by means of *Ireneus* and others, and ſo continued in the Church till after the Council of *Nice*. And thus much concerning the Doctrine of Chriſtian liberty, and of the differences of Rites and Ceremonies.

{Anno 200.}

Now to return to *Victor* again, to ſhew what diverſity there was in obſerving the day of *Eaſter*, and how it came, thus is the ſtory. Firſt, in the time of *Pius* and *Anicetus* in the year of Chriſt one hundred ſixty and three, the queſtion of *Eaſter day* began firſt to be moved, at what time *Pius*, by the revelation of *Hermes*, decreed the obſervation of that day to be changed from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the Moon in the firſt Moneth unto the next Sunday after. After him came *Anicetus*, *Soter* and *Eleutherius* Biſhops of *Rome*, which alſo determined the ſame. Againſt theſe ſtood *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, *Polycarpus*, and as ſome think, *Egeſippus*, with other learned men of *Aſia*. Which *Polycarpus*, being ſent by the brethren of *Aſia*, came to *Rome* as is aforeſaid, to confer with *Anicetus* in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithſtanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And ſo the celebration of *Eaſter* day remained *adiaphoron*, as a thing indifferent in the Church, till the time of *Victor*; who following after *Anicetus* and his fellows, and chiefly ſtirring in this matter, endeavoured by all means and might to draw, or rather ſubdue the Churches of *Aſia* unto his opinion; thinking moreover to excommunicate all thoſe Biſhops and Churches of *Aſia*, as Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, which diſagreed from the *Roman* order: had not *Ireneus* otherwiſe reſtrained him from that doing, as is aforeſaid, which was about the year of our Lord one hundred fourſcore and eleven, in the Reign of *Commodus*. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be firſt required as a thing neceſſary, and all they accounted as Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, which diſſented from the Biſhop and tradition of *Rome*.

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 26.*

*Polycarpus and Anicetus diſagreeing in controverſie, yet agreed in charity.*

*Uniformity in ceremonies not to be required as a thing neceſſary.*

With *Victor* ſtood *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, *Narciſſus* of *Jeruſalem*, *Ireneus* of *Lions*, *Palmas* of *Pontus*, *Banchillus* of *Corinth*, the Biſhop of *Oſtroena*, and others more. All which condeſcended to have the celebration of *Eaſter* upon the Sunday, becauſe they would differ from the *Jews* in all things as near as they might, and partly, becauſe the reſurrection of the Lord fell on the ſame day.

*Polycrates Biſhop of Epheſus.*

On the contrary ſide, divers Biſhops were in *Aſia*, of whom the principal was *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who being aſſembled with a great multitude of Biſhops and brethren of thoſe parts, by the common aſſent of the reſt, wrote again to *Victor*, and to the Church of *Rome*, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning obſerved that day, according to the rule of Scripture unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the ſame: alledging moreover for them the examples of the Apoſtles and holy Fathers their Predeceſſors, as *Philip* the Apoſtle, with his three daughters at *Hieropolis*; Alſo *John* the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt at *Epheſus*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, *Thraſeas* at *Eumenia* Biſhop and Martyr; likewiſe of *Sagaris* at *Laodicea* Biſhop and Martyr, holy *Papirius* and *Melito* at *Sardis*. Beſide theſe, Biſhops alſo of his own kindred, and his own anceſtors, to the number of ſeven which all were Biſhops before him, and he the eighth now after them. All which obſerved (ſaith he) the ſolemnity of the ſame day, after the ſame wiſe and ſort as we do now.

*Biſhops in thoſe days married.*

*Victor* excommunicating the Churches of *Aſia.*

*Victor*, being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounceth againſt them (more bold upon authority, than wiſe in his commiſſion) violent excommunication, albeit by the wiſe handling of *Ireneus*, and other learned men, that matter was ſtaid, and *Victor* otherwiſe perſwaded. What the perſwaſions of *Ireneus* were, partly may appear in *Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 26.* the ſum whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of Ceremonies is no ſtrange matter in the Church of Chriſt, when as this variety is not only in the day of *Eaſter*, but alſo in the manner of faſting, and in divers other uſages among the Chriſtians. For ſome faſt one day, ſome two days, ſome others faſt more. Others there be, which counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full days faſt. And this ſo divers faſhion of faſting in the Church of Chriſt began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet notwithſtanding, they with all this diverſity were in unity among themſelves, and ſo be we; neither doth this difference of Ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the Fathers of *Teleſphorus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, *Soter*, *Eleutherius*, and ſuch others, who neither obſerved the ſame uſage themſelves, nor preſcribed it to others, and yet notwithſtanding kept Chriſtian Charity with ſuch as came to communicate with them, not obſerving the ſame form of things which they obſerved, as well appeared by *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus*, which although they agreed not in one uniform cuſtom of Rites, yet refuſed not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other. Thus the controverſie being taken up between *Ireneus* and *Victor*, remained free to the time of the *Nicene* Council. *Hæc ex Irenæo. Euſebius.* And thus much concerning the controverſie of that matter, and concerning the doings of *Victor*.

*Diverſity commendeth the concord of faith.*

After *Victor*, ſucceeded in the See of *Rome*, *Zephirinus*, in the days of the foreſaid *Severus*, about the year of our Lord two hundred and three. To this *Zephirinus* be aſcribed two Epiſtles, in the firſt Tome of the Councils. But as I have ſaid before of the Decretal Epiſtles of other *Roman* Biſhops, ſo I ſay and verily ſuppoſe of this; that neither the countenance of the ſtile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time doth otherwiſe give to think of theſe Letters, but that they be verily baſtard Letters, not written by theſe fathers, nor in theſe times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by ſome, which, to let up the Primacy of *Rome*, have moſt pettilently abuſed the authority of theſe holy and ancient Fathers, to deceive the ſimple Church. For who is ſo rude, but that in conſidering only the ſtate of thoſe terrible times he may eaſily underſtand (except affection blind him) beſide a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor perſecuted Biſhops in that time would have been glad to have any ſafe covert to put their heads in: ſo far was it off, that they had any luſt or leiſure then to ſeek for any Primacy or Patriarkſhip, or to drive all other Churches to appeal to the See of *Rome*, or to exempt all Prieſts from the accuſation of any Lay-man; as in the firſt Epiſtle of *Zephirinus* is to be ſeen, written to the Biſhops of *Sicilia*: and likewiſe the ſecond Epiſtle of his to the Biſhops of the Province of *Egypt*, containing no manner of doctrine, nor conſolation neceſſary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to that purpoſe, argueth no leſs, but the ſaid Epiſtles neither ſo favour of that man, nor to taſte of that time.

*Zephirinus Biſhop of Rome.*

*The Epiſtle and Ordinance of Zephirinus, ſuſpected to be counterfeit.*

*The firſt Epiſtle of Zephirinus to the Biſhops of Sicilia.*

Of like credit alſo ſeemeth the conſtitution of the patins of glaſs, which *Damaſus* ſaith that the ſame *Zephirinus* ordained to be carried before the Prieſt at the celebration of the Maſs. Again *Platina* writeth that he ordained the adminiſtration of the Sacrament to be no more uſed in veſſels of Wood, or of Glaſs, or of any other Metal except only Silver, Gold and Tin, *&c.* But how theſe two teſtimonies of *Damaſus* and *Platina* joyn together, let the Reader judge: eſpecially, ſeeing the ſame Decree is referred to *Urbanus* that came after him. Again, what needed this Decree of Golden Chalices to be eſtabliſhed afterward in the Council of *Tiber* and *Rhenes* if it had been enacted before by *Zephirinus*? How long this *Zephirinus* ſate, our Writers do vary. *Euſebius* ſaith, he died in the Reign of *Caracalla*, and ſate ſeventeen years. *Platina* writeth that he died under *Severus*, and ſat eight years, and ſo ſaith alſo *Nauclerus*. *Damaſus* affirmeth that he ſat ſixteen years and two moneths.

*Patins of glaſs born before the Prieſt.*

*The Ordinances of Zephirinus of ſmall credit.*

*Golden Chalices. Concilium Tiburinum, Rhenenſe.*

*Matheus* Author of the Story intituled *Flores hiſtoriarum*, with other later Chronicles, maketh mention of *Perpetua*, and *Felicitas*, and *Revocatus* her brother, alſo of *Saturninus* and *Satyrus* brethren, and *Secundulus*, which in the Perſecution of this *Severus* gave over their lives to Martyrdom for Chriſt, being thrown to Wild beaſts, and devoured of the ſame in *Carthage* and in *Africk*, ſave that *Saturninus* brought again from the beaſts was beheaded, and *Secundulus* died in Priſon about the year of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth *Florilegus*.

*Ex Florileg. Perpetua. Felicitas. Revocatus. Saturninus. Satyrus. Secundulus. Martyrs.*

This

*Severus* warreth in *Britain.*

This *Severus* the Perſecutor reigned, as the moſt part of Writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who about the later time of his Reign came with his Army hither into *Britain*, where after many conflicts had with the *Britains*, in the borders of the North, he caſt up a Ditch with a mighty Wall made of earth and turfs, and ſtrong ſtakes, to the length of one hundred thirty and two miles from the one ſide of the Sea to the other, beginning at *Time*, and reaching to the *Scotiſh* Sea: which done, he removed to *York*, and there by the breaking in of the Northern men and *Scots*, was beſieged and ſlain, about the yeat of our Lord two hundred and fourteen, leaving behind him two ſons, *Baſſianus* and *Geta*. Which *Baſſianus*, ſirnamed *Caracalla*, after he had ſlain his brother *Geta* here in *Britain*, governed the Empire alone, the ſpace of ſix years. After whoſe death, he being ſlain alſo of his ſervants (as he had ſlain his Brother before) ſucceeded *Macrinus* with his Son *Diadumenus*, to be Emperor, who, after they had reigned one year, were both ſlain of their own people.

A wall between *England* builded one hundred thirty and two miles in length.

*Severus* the Perſecutor ſlain at *York*

Anno 215

*Baſſianus* Emperor. *Macrinus* with his ſon *Diadumenus* Emperor.

Anno 219.

After them followed *Varius Heliogabalus* in the Empire, rather to be called a Monſter than a Man, ſo prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthineſs, and ribaudry. Such was his pomp, that in his Lamps he uſed Balm, and filled his Fiſh-ponds with Roſe water. To let paſs his ſumptuous Veſtures which he would not wear but only of Gold, and moſt coſtly ſilks; his ſhooes gliſtering with precious Stones finely ingraved, he was never two days ſerved with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewiſe for his fleſhly wickedneſs, ſome days his company was ſerved at Meal with the Brains of Oſtriches, and a ſtrange Fowl called *Phenocoptery*, another day with the tongues of *Popingays*, and other ſweet ſinging Birds. Being nigh to the Sea, he never uſed Fiſh: in places far diſtant from the Sea, all his houſe was ſerved with moſt delicate Fiſhes: at one Supper he was ſerved with ſeven thouſand Fiſhes, and five thouſand Fowls. At his removing in his progreſs, often there followed him ſix hundred Chariots laden only with Bawds, common Harlots and Ribauds. He ſacrificed young children, and preferred to the beſt advancements in the common Weal moſt light Perſonages, as Bawds, Minſtrels, Carters, and ſuch like: in one word, he was an enemy to all honeſty and good order. And when he was foretold by his Sorcerers and Aſtronomers, that he ſhould die a violent death, he provided Ropes of Silk to hang himſelf, Swords of Gold to kill himſelf, and ſtrong Poyſon in Jacinths and Emrods to poyſon himſelf, if needs he muſt thereto be forced; moreover, he made an high Tower, having the Floor of Boards covered with Gold Plate, bordered with precious ſtones, from the which Tower he would throw himſelf down, if he ſhould be purſued of his enemies. But notwithſtanding all his proviſion, he was ſlain of the Soldiers, drawn through the City, and caſt into *Tiber*, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witneſſeth *Eutropius*, others ſay four years.

The monſtrous life of *Heliogabalus* Emperor.

A prodigious belly-God.

*Heliogabalus* ſlain of his ſouldiers. *Ex Eutrop.*

This *Heliogabalus*, having no iſſue, adopted to his Son and Heir *Aurelius Alexander Severus*, the Son of *Mammea*, who entring his Reign the year of our Lord two hundred twenty and four, continued thirteen years, well commended for vertuous, wiſe, gentle, liberal, and to no man hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himſelf, through the diligent education of *Mammea* his Mother, ſo he was a great favourer of men wiſe and learned. Neither did he any thing in the Commonweal, without the aſſiſtance of learned and ſage Counſellors. It is reported of him to bear ſuch ſtomach againſt corrupt Judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would caſt up choler, being ſo moved with them that he could not ſpeak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his Court he diſmiſſed all ſuperfluous and unneedful ſervants, ſaying, that he was no good Pupil, which fed idle ſervants with the bowels of his Commonweal.

*Alexander Severus* Emperor.

Anno 224.

Againſt corrupt Judges. The ſaying of *Alexander* to be noted and followed.

Idle ſervants eat up the bowels of the Commonweal.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth alſo that he was friendly and favourable unto the Chriſtians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the Chriſtians had occupied a certain publick place in ſome good uſe, belike for the aſſembling and conventing together of the Congregation; the company of the Cooks or Tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the Emperor, he judged it more honeſt, the place to be continued to the worſhip of God, howſoever it were, than the dirty ſlubbering of Cooks and Scullions.

A note worthy to be marked.

By this it may be underſtood, that in *Rome* no Chriſtian Churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithſtanding this favour of the Emperor,) no publick houſe could quietly be obtained for the Chriſtians. So that by the reaſon hereof may appear the Decretal Epiſtle and Ordinance of Pope *Higinus* concerning the Dedication of Churches above mentioned to be falſified. And likewiſe the Ordinance of *Pius* his ſucceſſor, concerning the Altar, or *Superaltare* to be alſo falſe. For what *Superaltare* was it like they had in the time of *Higinus* and *Pius*, when at this time, which was long after, no publick place almoſt could be granted them for the Chriſtians to aſſemble together.

*Platina in vita Pontiani.*

Of this *Alexander Platina* writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boaſters and flatterers, ſo he was of ſuch prudence, that no deceit could eſcape him, and bringeth in a ſtory of one *Turinus*, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people believe that he was of great authority with the Emperor, and that he could help them to have whatſoever they ſued for. Whereof the Emperor being certified, cauſed him in the open Market to be faſtned to a Stake, and there killed with ſmoke, where the Crier ſtood thus crying to the People, *Smoke he ſold, and with ſmoke he is puniſhed.*

Puniſhed with ſmoke, that ſold ſmoke.

*Mammea* the Mother of this *Alexander* above mentioned (whom *Hierome* calleth a devout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of *Origen*, being then at *Alexandria*, ſent for him to *Antioch*, deſirous to hear and ſee him: unto whom the foreſaid *Origen* according to her requeſt reſorted, and after that he had there remained a ſpace with the Emperor and his Mother, returned again to *Alexandria*.

*Mammea* the Mother of the Emperor.

And thus continued this good Emperor his Reign the ſpace of 13 years; at length at a commotion in *Germany*, with his Mother *Mammea* he was ſlain. After whom ſucceeded *Maximinus*, contrary to the mind of the Senate, only appointed by the Souldiers to be Emperor. During all this time between *Severus* and this *Maximinus*, the Church of Chriſt, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had ſome mean tranquility from Perſecution. Albeit ſome Martyrs there were at this time that ſuffered, whereof *Nauclerus* giveth this reaſon: *For although* (ſaith he) *Alexander being perſwaded through the intreating of his Mother* Mammea, *did favour the Chriſtians:* yet notwithſtanding, there was no publick Edict or Proclamation provided for their ſafeguard. By reaſon whereof, divers there were which ſuffered Martyrdom under *Almachius* and other Judges. In the number of whom, after ſome ſtories, was *Calixtus* Biſhop of *Rome*, who ſucceeded next unto *Zephirinus* above mentioned; and after him *Urbanus* alſo, which both being Biſhops of *Rome*, did both ſuffer, by the opinion of ſome Writers, under *Alexander Severus*.

*Ex Nauclero.*

*Calixtus* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

This *Calixtus* in his two Decretal Epiſtles, written to *Benedictus*, and to the Biſhops of *France*, giveth theſe ordinances, that no actions or accuſations againſt the Prelats or Teachers of the Church ſhould be received, that no ſecret conſpiracies ſhould be made againſt Biſhops: *Item*, no man to communicate with perſons excommunicate: alſo no Biſhop to excommunicate or to deal in anothers Dioceſs. And here he expoundeth the Dioceſs, or the Pariſh of any Biſhop or Miniſter to be his Wife. *The wife* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *is bound to the law, as long as the husband liveth; when he is dead, ſhe is free from the law: So* (ſaith *Calixtus*) *the wife of a Biſhop (which is his Church) ſo long as he liveth, is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or diſpoſed by any other man, without his will and judgment: after his death ſhe is free from the law, to marry to whom ſhe will, ſo it be in the Lord, that is* regulariter, *regularly.* In the end of the ſaid his Epiſtle Decretal, he confuteth the error of them which hold, *that they which are fallen are not to be received again.* Which Hereſie, after the time of *Calixtus* or *Caliſtus*, came in firſt by *Novatus*, in the days of *Cornelius*. Moreover, in his ſaid firſt Epiſtle Decretal is contained the faſt of the four times, commonly called the *Ember* faſt, whereof alſo *Marianus Scotus* maketh mention. But *Damaſus* ſpeaking of the ſame faſt, ſaith, he ordained the faſt but of three times, which was for the increaſe of Corn, Wine and Oyl.

The decretal Epiſtles of *Calixtus* examined.

The place of St. *Paul* unjuſtly expounded.

Ember Faſt firſt ordained.

By theſe hitherto premiſed, it is not hard for a quick Reader to ſmell out the crafty jugling of that perſon or perſons, whoſoever they were, that falſly have aſcribed theſe Decretal

inſtitutions to thoſe holy Fathers. For firſt, what leiſure had the Chriſtians to lay in their accuſations againſt their Biſhops, when we never read or find in any ſtory any kind of variance in thoſe days among them, but all love, mutual compaſſion, and hearty communion among the Saints? And as we read of no variance among the people in thoſe days, nor of any fault or backſliding among the Biſhops, who for the moſt part then died all conſtant Martyrs: ſo neither do we read of any Tribunal Seat or Conſiſtory uſed or frequented then about any ſuch matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of thoſe buſie days, he ſhall ſee the poor flock of the Chriſtians ſo occupied and pitiouſly oppreſſed by the cruel accuſations of the Heathen Infidels, that though the cauſe did, yet the time would not ſerve them to commence any Law againſt their Biſhops. Secondly, as touching their conſpiracy againſt Biſhops, What conſpiracy either would they then practice againſt them, which always gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conſpire in any companies together, when never a true Chriſtian man durſt once put his head out of his doors? neither was there in the Church any Chriſtian man in thoſe perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, ſuch as was far from all falſe conſpiracies. And when as all the World almoſt in all places conſpired againſt them: what time, what cauſe, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conſpire againſt their inſtructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that Hereſie, how ſtandeth the confutation with the time of *Calixtus*, when *Novatus* the Author of that Hereſie was after him in the time of *Cornelius*? Fourthly, if by the law of *Calixtus*, every Dioceſs be the proper Wife of every Biſhop or Miniſter, then how many Biſhops Wives and Parſons Wives, had the adulterous Pope of *Rome* deflour-ed in theſe later days of the Church, which ſo proudly and impudently hath intermedled and taken his pleaſure, and his own profit, in every Dioceſs and Pariſh almoſt through all *Chriſtendom*, without all leave and licence of the good man, who hath been in the mean time and yet is compelled ſtill, whereſoever the Popes holineſs cometh, *Vigilante ſtertere naſo*, and to give him leave unasked to do what he liſt? Wherefore if this Canon Decretal be truly his, why is it not obſerved, ſo as it doth ſtand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falſly forged upon him, and the Church of Chriſt deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falſifying of ſuch trifling traditions, under the falſe pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the Church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained ſo long undetected. For, as I think, the Church of Chriſt will never be perfectly reformed, before theſe Decretal Conſtitutions and Epiſtles, which have ſo long put on the Viſor of Antiquity, ſhall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour, wherein they were firſt painted.

*Againſt the decretal epiſtles and conſtitutions.*

And yet neither do I ſay this, or think contrary, but that it may be, that Biſhops of *Rome* and of the ſame name have been the true authors of theſe traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly ſuppoſe) that when other later Biſhops of the like name have deviſed theſe ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the firſt primitive fathers, although being of another time, yet bearing the ſame name with the true inventors thereof. But of *Calixtus* enough: who, as *Damaſus* ſaith, in the days of this *Alexander Severus* died a Martyr. *Vincentius* affirmeth, that he was tied to a great ſtone, and ſo out of a Window was thrown into a ditch. *Euſebius*, ſpeaking of his death, maketh no mention of his Martyrdom, and ſaith he ſate five years, *Platina* ſaith ſix years, *Sabellicus* giveth him ſeven years, and ſo doth *Damaſus*.

*Calixtus a Martyr. Ex Vincen. in ſpec. hiſt. Ex Anton. tit. 7. cap. 6.*

*Urbanus Biſhop of Rome.* Anno 227.

After *Calixtus* followed *Urbanus*, about the year of our Lord two hundred twenty ſeven, who in his Epiſtle Decretal (coming out of the ſame forge) which he wrote in common to all Biſhops, making no mention of the heavy Perſecutions of the Church, nor miniſtring any exhortation of comfort or conſtancy to the brethren, only giveth many ſtrict precepts, for not tranſporting or alienating the goods of the Church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow: alſo to have all common among the Clergy. Moreover, about the end of his Epiſtle he inſtituteth the confirmation of Children after Baptiſm (which the *Papiſts* be wont to take into the number of their ſeven Sacraments;) affirming and denouncing more than Scripture will bear, that

*Confirmation of Children inſtituted.*

the impoſition of the Biſhops hand bringeth the Holy Ghoſt, and that thereby men be made full Chriſtians, *&c.* But of theſe Decretal Epiſtles enough is ſaid before, more may be conſidered of the diſcreet Reader. *Marianus Scotus*, *Sabellicus*, *Nauclerus*, and other late ſtory Writers do hold, as is aforeſaid, that he died a Martyr in the days of *Alexander Severus*, after he had governed that ſeat four years, as *Damaſus* and *Platina* do witneſs, as *Marianus* ſaith, eight years.

*Urbanus martyred.*

The ſame *Damaſus* and *Platina* do teſtifie of him, that he by his preaching and holineſs of life, converted divers Ethniks to the faith. Among whom were *Tiburtius*, and *Valerianus* the Husband of *Cecilia*, which both, being Noblemen of *Rome*, remained conſtant in the faith unto the end and Martyrdom. Of this *Cecilia* thus it is written in the Martyrology by *Ado*, that *Cecilia* the Virgin, after ſhe had brought *Valerian* her Husband eſpouſed, and *Tiburtius* his brother to the knowledge and faith of Chriſt, and with her exhortations had made them conſtant unto Martyrdom; after the ſuffering of them ſhe was alſo apprehended by *Almachius* the Ruler, and brought to the Idols to do ſacrifice: which thing when ſhe abhorred to do, ſhe ſhould be preſented before the Judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the Serjeants and Officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her converſation, began with many perſwaſions of words to ſollicite her mind to favour her ſelf, and that ſo excellent beauty, and not to caſt her ſelf away, *&c.* But ſhe again ſo replied to them with reaſons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that Religion, which before they did perſecute. Which thing ſhe perceiving deſired of the Judge *Almachius* a little reſpite: which being granted, ſhe ſendeth for *Urbanus* the Biſhop home to her houſe, to ſtabliſh and ground them in the faith of Chriſt: and ſo were they with divers others at the ſame time baptiſed, both men and women, to the number (as the ſtory ſaith) of 400 perſons, among whom was one *Gordianus* a Nobleman. This done, this bleſſed Martyr was brought before the Judge, where ſhe was condemned; then after was brought to the houſe of the Judge, where ſhe was incloſed in a hot bath; but ſhe remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commandment given that in the Bath ſhe ſhould be beheaded. The Executer is ſaid to have four ſtrokes at her neck; and yet her head being cut off, ſhe (as the ſtory giveth) lived three days after, and ſo died this holy Virgin Martyr, whoſe body in the night ſeaſon *Urbanus* the Biſhop took and buried among the other Biſhops. *Ado* the compiler of this Martyrology addeth that this was done in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Commodus*. But that cannot be, for ſo much as *Urbanus* by all Hiſtories was long after thoſe Emperors, and lived in the days of this *Alexander*, as is above declared. *Antoninus Bergomenſis*, *Equilinus*, with ſuch other Writers ſet forth this Hiſtory with many ſtrange Miracles wrought by the ſaid *Cecilia*, in converting her Husband *Valerianus* and his brother, in ſhewing them the Angel which was the keeper of her Virginity, and of the Angel putting on Crowns upon their heads. But as touching theſe Miracles, as I do not diſpute whether they be true or fabulous, ſo becauſe they have no ground upon any ancient or grave Authors, but are taken out of certain new Legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

*Tiburtius, Valerianus, Martyrs.*

*Cecilia Martyr. Ex Martyrologio Adonis.*

*The Martyrdom of Cecilia.*

Under the ſame *Alexander* divers other there be, whom *Bergomenſis* mentioned to have ſuffered Martyrdom, as one *Agapetus* of the age of fifteen years, who being apprehended and condemned at *Vreneſte* in *Italy*, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to idols, was aſſailed with ſundry torments: firſt with Whips ſcourged, then hanged up by the feet, after having hot water poured upon him, at the laſt caſt to the wild beaſts: with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally, with ſword was beheaded. The Executer of theſe puniſhments (as by *Henricus Erford* may be gathered) was one *Antiochus*; who in the executing of the foreſaid torments ſuddenly fell down from his Judicial Seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and ſo gave up the breath. *Henr. de Erfordia, lib. 6. cap. 29.*

*Agapetus a bleſſed Martyr. Ex Bergomenſe lib. 8.*

*A notable example of Gods juſt plague upon a perſecutor Ex Henr. Erford. l. 6.*

Alſo

*Calepodius* martyr.

Alſo with the ſame *Agapetus* is numbred *Calepodius* a Miniſter of *Rome*, whoſe body firſt was drawn through the City of *Rome*, and after caſt into *Tiber*. *Bergo. Ibidem.*

*Pammachius* with his wife and Children martyrs. Forty and two martyrs. *Simplicius* martyr.

Then followeth *Pammachius* a Senator of *Rome*, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two.

*Item*, another noble Senator of *Rome* named *Simplicius*, all which together in one day had their heads ſmitten off, and their heads after hanged up in divers gates of the City for a terrour of others, that none ſhould profeſs the name of Chriſt.

*Quiritius*, *Julia* his mother, martyrs.

Beſides theſe ſuffered alſo *Quiritius* a noble man of *Rome*, who, with his mother *Julia* and a great number more, were put likewiſe to death.

*Tiberius*, *Valerianus*, brethren and martyrs.

Alſo *Tiberius* and *Valerianus* Citizens of *Rome*, and brethren, ſuffered (as *Bergomenſis* ſaith) the ſame time, who, firſt being bruiſed and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

*Marina* a virgin and martyr.

Alſo *Vincentius*, *Bergomenſis*, and *Erfordienſis* make mention of *Martina* a Chriſtian Virgin, which, after divers bitter Puniſhments being conſtant in her faith, ſuffered in like manner by the ſword.

Albeit as touching the time of theſe forenamed Martyrs, as I find them not in older writers: So do I ſuppoſe them to ſuffer under *Maximinus* or *Decius*, rather than under *Alexander*.

## *The ſixth Perſecution.*

*Maximinus* Emperor and perſecutor. The ſixth perſecution. { Anno 237 }

After the death of *Alexander* the Emperor, who with his mother *Mammea* (as is ſaid) was murdered in *Germany*, followed *Maximinus*, choſen by the will of the Souldiers, rather than by the authority of the Senate, about the year of our Lord, two hundred thirty and ſeven; who for the hatred he had to the houſe of *Alexander* (as *Euſebius* recordeth) raiſed up the ſixth Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, eſpecially againſt the teachers and leaders of the Church, thinking thereby the ſooner to vanquiſh the reſt, if the Captains of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I ſuppoſe the Martyrdom of *Urbanus* the Biſhop, and of the reſt above ſpecified, to have happened rather under the Tyranny of this *Maximinus* than under *Alexander*.

*Origenes de martyrio.*

In the time of this Perſecution *Origen* wrote his Book. *De Martyrio*: which book if it were extant would give us ſome knowledge, I doubt not, of ſuch as in this Perſecution did ſuffer, which now lie in ſilence unknown, and no doubt but a great number they were, and more ſhould have been, had not the provident mercy of God, ſhortned his days and bridled his Tyranny, for he Reigned but three years. After whom ſucceeded *Gordianus* in the year of our Lord two hundred and forty, a man no leſs ſtudious for the utility of the Common-wealth, than mild and gentle to the Chriſtians. This *Gordianus*, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the Monarchy of *Rome* the ſpace of ſix years, was ſlain of *Philip* Emperor after him.

*Gordianus* Emperor. { Anno 240. }

*Pontianus* Biſhop of *Rome*. Diverſity between *Damaſus* and *Euſebius*.

In the days of theſe Emperors above recited was *Pontianus* Biſhop of *Rome*, who ſucceeded next after *Urbanus* above rehearſed, about the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and ſix, in the twelfth year of *Alexander*, as *Euſeb. lib. 6. cap.* 28. noteth, declaring him to ſit ſix years. Contrary *Damaſus* and *Platina* write, that he was Biſhop nine years and a half, and that in the time of *Alexander* he with *Philippus* his Prieſt was baniſhed into *Sardinia*, and there died. But it ſeemeth more credible that he was baniſhed rather under *Maximinus*, and died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gordianus*. In his Epiſtles decretal (which ſeem likewiſe to be fained) he appeareth very devout, after the common example of other Biſhops, to uphold the dignity of Prieſts, and of Clergy men, ſaying; that God hath them ſo familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, he forgiveth their ſins, and reconcileth them unto him: Alſo, that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others, &c. which doctrine how it ſtandeth with the teſtament of God and glory of Chriſt, let the Reader uſe his own Judgment.

*Pontianus* baniſhed.

This doctrine ſeemeth derogatory to Chriſt and blaſphemous.

Other notable Fathers alſo in the ſame time were raiſed up in the Church, as *Philetus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, which ſucceeded after *Aſclopiades* afore mentioned, in the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty, and after him *Zebenus* Biſhop of the ſame place, in the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and one.

*Ammonius* a Chriſtian writer.

To theſe alſo may be added *Ammonius* the ſchoolmaſter of *Origen*, as *Suidas* ſuppoſeth, alſo the kinſmen of *Porphyrie*, the great Enemy of Chriſt: Notwithſtanding, this *Ammonius* indued with better grace as he left divers Books in defence of Chriſts Religion, ſo did he conſtantly perſevere (as *Euſebius* reporteth) in the doctrine of Chriſt, which he had in the beginning received, who was about the days of *Alexander*.

*Julius Aphricanus* writer.

*Julius Aphricanus* alſo, about the time of *Gordianus* aforeſaid, is numbred among the old and ancient writers, of whom *Nicephorus* writeth that he was the ſcholar of *Origen*, and a great writer of hiſtories of that time.

*Natalius*, confeſſor. *Ex Euſeb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 28.

Unto theſe Doctors and confeſſors may be adjoyned the ſtory of *Natalius* mentioned in the firſt Book of *Euſebius*. This *Natalius*, had ſuffered Perſecution before like a conſtant coſeſſor, and was ſeduced and perſwaded by *Aſclepiodotus* and *Theodorus* (which were the diſciples of *Theodocus*) to take upon him to be Biſhop of their ſect, promiſing to give him every month an hundred and fifty pieces of ſilver: And ſo joyning himſelf to them, was admoniſhed by viſion and revelation from the Lord; for ſuch was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Chriſt Jeſus, that he would not have his Martyr, which had ſuffered ſo much for his name before, now to periſh out of his Church: For the which cauſe (ſaith *Euſebius*) God by certain viſions did admoniſh him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long ſcourged of the Angels, in ſo much that he being made thereby very ſore, and early on the morrow putting on ſack-cloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to *Zephirinus* the Biſhop above mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Chriſtian Congregation, ſhewed them the ſtripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Chriſt, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had ſequeſtred himſelf before, and ſo was admitted according as he deſired.

The Lord will not loſe them which have done or ſuffered any thing for him.

*Anterius* Biſhop of *Rome* martyr.

After the deceaſe of *Pontianus* Biſhop of *Rome* aforementioned, ſucceeded next in that place *Anterius*, of whom *Iſuardus* writeth, that *Pontianus* departing away did ſubſtitute him in his room: But *Euſebius* writeth that he ſucceeded immediately after him. *Damaſus* ſaith, that becauſe he cauſed the acts and deaths of the Martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to Martyrdom himſelf by *Maximinus* the Judge. Concerning the time of this Biſhop our writers do greatly Jarr. *Euſebius* and *Marianus Scotus* affirm that he was Biſhop but one month; *Sabellicus* ſaith that not to be ſo. *Damaſus* aſſigneth to him twelve years and one month. *Volateranus*, *Bergomenſis*, and *Henricus Erford* give to him three years and one month. *Nauclerus* writeth that he ſat one year and one month. All which are ſo far diſcrepant one from another, that which of them moſt agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this Biſhop was *Fabianus*, of whom more is to be ſaid hereafter.

Authors diſagree.

*Hipp. lytus* Biſhop and martyr.

Of *Hippolytus* alſo both *Euſebius* and *Hieronymus* maketh mention that he was a Biſhop; but where, they make no relation. And ſo likewiſe doth *Theodoretus* witneſs him to be a Biſhop, and alſo a Martyr, but naming no place. *Gelatius contra Eutichen* ſaith, he died a Martyr, and that he was Biſhop of an head City in *Arabia*. *Nicephorus* writeth, that he was Biſhop of *Oſtia*, a port town near to *Rome*. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the Church, which *Euſebius* and *Hierome* do recite: By the ſupputation of *Euſebius*, he was about the year of our Lord, two hundred and thirty.

*Prudentius Periſtephanon.*

*Prudentius* in his *Periſtephanon*, making mention of great heaps of Martyrs buried by threeſcore together, ſpeaketh alſo of *Hippolytus*, and ſaith that he was drawn with wild Horſes through fields, dales and buſhes, and deſcribeth thereof a pitiful ſtory.

*Philippus* Emperor. { Anno 245. }

After the Emperor *Gordianus*, the Empire fell to *Philippus*, who with *Philip* his ſon, governed the ſpace of ſeven years, in the year of our Lord, two hundred forty and ſix. This *Philippus* with his ſon and all his family was Chriſtened and converted by *Fabianus* and *Origen*, by whom by letters exhorted him and *Severa* his wife to be Baptiſed, being the firſt of all the Emperors that brought in Chriſtianity into the Imperial ſeat. Howſoever *Pom-*

*Philippus* the firſt Chriſtian Emperor.

*ponius Letus* reporteth him to be a diſſembling Prince, this is certain, that for his Chriſtianity he with his Son was ſlain of *Decius*, one of his Captains, *Sabellicus Bargomenſis*, *lib.* 8. ſheweth this hatred of *Decius* againſt *Philippus* to be conceived, for that the Emperor *Philip* both the father and the Son had committed their Treaſures unto *Fabianus*, then Biſhop of *Rome*.

## *The ſeventh Perſecution.*

*Decius* Emperor. { Anno } 250. { The ſeventh Perſecution. The cauſe and occaſion of this perſecution.

THus *Philippus* being ſlain, after him *Decius* invaded the Crown about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moved a terrible Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which *Oroſius* noteth to be the ſeventh Perſecution. The firſt occaſion of this hatred and Perſecution of this Tyrant, conceived againſt the Chriſtians, was chiefly (as is before touched) becauſe of the treaſures of the Emperor which were committed to *Fabian* the Biſhop.

*Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome*. *Euſeb. lib.6.*

This *Fabian* firſt being a married man (as *Platina* writeth) was made Biſhop of *Rome* after *Anterius* above mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, which *Euſebius* doth thus deſcribe in his ſixth Book. *When the brethren* (ſaith he) *were together in the Congregation about the election of their Biſhop, and had purpoſed among themſelves upon the nomination of ſome noble and worthy perſonage of* Rome, *it chanced that* Fabianus *among others was there preſent, who of late before was newly come out of the Country to inhabite in the City. This* Fabian *(as is ſaid) thinking nothing leſs than of any ſuch matter, there ſuddenly cometh a Dove flying from above, and ſitteth upon his head, whereupon all the Congregation being moved, with one mind and one voice to chooſe him for their Biſhop*, in the which Function he remained the ſpace of thirteen years, as *Euſebius* writeth; *Damaſus*, *Marianus* and *Sabellicus* ſay fourteen years unto the time of *Decius*: who, whether for that *Philippus* had committed to him his treaſures, or whether for the hatred he bare to *Philippus*, in the beginning of his Reign cauſed him to be put to death, ſending out moreover his Proclamation into all quarters, that all which profeſſed the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſlain.

The miraculous election of *Fabianus*.

*Fabianus* Martyr.

The Ordinances of *Fabianus* pretenſed. Oyl and Cream. Accuſing of Biſhops. Appealing to the See Apoſtolical. Marriage not within the fifth degree.

To this *Fabian* be aſcribed certain Ordinances, as of conſecrating new Oyl once every year, and burning the old, of accuſations againſt Biſhops, of appealing to the Sea Apoſtolick, of not marrying within the fifth degree, of communicating thrice a year, of offering every Sunday, with ſuch other things more in his three Epiſtles Decretal; the which Epiſtles, as by divers other evidences may be ſuppoſed to be untruly named upon him, giving no ſignification of any matter agreeing to that time: ſo do I find the moſt part of the third Epiſtle word for word ſtanding in the Epiſtle of *Sixtus* the third, which followed almoſt two hundred years after him, beſide the unſeemly Doctrine alſo in the end of the ſaid Epiſtles contained, where he contrary to the tenor of the Goſpel applieth remiſſion of ſins (only due to the blood of Chriſt) unto the Offerings of Bread and Wine by men and women every Sunday in the Church.

False Doctrine detected.

*Origen.*

To this *Fabianus* wrote *Origen de Orthodoxia ſuæ fidei*, that is, Of the righteouſneſs of his faith: whereby is to be underſtood, that he continued to the time of *Decius*: ſome ſay alſo to the time of *Gallus*. Of this *Origen* partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of *Severus*, in aſſiſting, comforting, exhorting and kiſſing the Martyrs that were impriſoned and ſuffered for the Name of Chriſt, with ſuch danger of his own life, that had not been the ſingular protection of God, he had been ſtoned to death many times of the Heathen multitude. Such great concourſe of men and women was daily at his houſe to be catechiſed and inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by him, that Souldiers were hired of purpoſe to defend the place where he taught them. Again, ſuch ſearch ſometime was ſet for him, that ſcarce any ſhifting of place or Country could cover him. In whoſe laborious travels and affairs of the Church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting and expounding, he continued about the ſpace of fifty two years, unto the time of *Decius* and *Gallus*. Divers and great Perſecutions he ſuſtained, but eſpecially under *Decius*, as teſtifieth *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book, declaring that for the Doctrine of Chriſt, he ſuſtained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, Dungeons, beſides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he ſuffered in the Perſecution of *Decius*, as *Euſebius* recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But *Suidas* and *Nicephorus* following the ſame, ſaith further concerning him, that the ſaid *Origen*, after divers and ſundry other torments which he manfully and conſtantly ſuffered for Chriſt, at length was brought to an Altar, where a foul filthy *Ethiop* was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him, *whether he would ſacrifice to the Idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly* Ethiop. Then *Origen* (ſaith he) who with a Philoſophical mind ever kept his Chaſtity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his body, condeſcended to their requeſt: whereupon the Judge, putting incenſe in his hand, cauſed him to ſet it to the fire upon the Altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the Church. *Epiphanius* writeth, that he being urged to ſacrifice to idols, and taking the Boughs in his hand, wherewith the Heathen were wont to honour their Gods, called upon the Chriſtians to carry them in the honour of Chriſt. The which fact the Church of *Alexandria* miſliking, removed him from their Communion: whereupon *Origen*, driven away with ſhame and ſorrow out of *Alexandria*, went into *Jury*, where being in *Jeruſalem* among the Congregation, and there requeſted of the Prieſts and Miniſters (he being alſo a Prieſt) to make ſome exhortation in the Church, he refuſed a great while to do. At length by importunate petition being conſtrained thereunto, he roſe up, and turning the Book, as though he would have expounded ſome place of the Scripture, he only read the Verſe of the forty ninth Pſalm; *But God ſaid to the ſinner, why doſt thou preach my juſtifications, and why doſt thou take my teſtament in thy mouth? &c.* Which Verſe being read, he ſhut the Book, and ſate down weeping and wailing, the whole Congregation alſo weeping and lamenting with him: *Suid. Niceph.* More what became of *Origen* it is not found in Hiſtory, but only that *Suidas* addeth, he died and was buried at *Tyrus*, *Euſebius* affirmeth, that he departed under the Emperor *Gallus*, about the year of our Lord 255; and the 70th. year of his age, in great miſery (as appeareth) and poverty.

*Ex Suid. & Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 32.*

The fall of *Origen*.

*Origen* excommunicated.

The repentance of *Origen*.

In this *Origen* divers blemiſhes of Doctrine be noted, whereupon *Hierome* ſometimes doth inveigh againſt him; albeit in ſome places again he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apology againſt *Ruff.* And in his Epiſtle to *Pammachius* and *Ocean*, where he praiſeth *Origen*, although not for the perfection of his Faith and Doctrine, nor for an Apoſtle, yet for an excellent Interpreter, for his wit, and for a Philoſopher: and yet in his Prologue upon the Homilies of *Origen* on *Ezekiel*, he calleth him another Maſter of the Churches after the Apoſtles. And in another Preface upon his queſtions upon *Geneſis*, he wiſheth to himſelf the knowledge of the Scriptures, which *Origen* had, alſo with the zeal of his name. *Athanaſius* moreover calleth him ſingular and laborious, and uſeth alſo his teſtimonies againſt the *Arrians*. *Socrates lib.6. cap.13.*

Blemiſhes noted in *Origen*.

*Origen* commended for learning.

*Ex Socrat. lib.6. cap.13.*

After *Origen*, the congrue order of Hiſtory requireth next to ſpeak of *Heraclas* his Uſher; a man ſingularly commended for his knowledge, not only in Philoſophy, but alſo in ſuch faculties as to a chriſtian divine do appertain. This great towardneſs of wit and learning when *Origen* perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his Uſher or Under-teacher, to help in his School or Univerſity of *Alexandria* in the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla* Son of *Severus*. And after in the tenth year of *Alexander*, *Origen* departing unto *Ceſarea*, he ſucceeded in his room to govern the School in *Alexandria*. Further alſo in the time of *Gordianus*, after the deceaſe of *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, this *Heraclas* ſucceeded to be Biſhop of the ſaid City: *Euſebius lib.6.cap.29.* In the which function he miniſtred the term of ſixteen years. *Euſebius lib.6. cap.* 35. Of this *Heraclas* writeth *Origen* himſelf, that he, although being Prieſt, yet ceaſed not to read over and peruſe the Books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their own Books confute their error *&c.*

*Heraclas* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Euſeb. lib.6. cap. 29.*

After *Heraclas* ſucceeded *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* in the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, like as he ſucceeded him in the School before: which *Dionyſius* alſo writeth of the ſame *Heraclas* unto *Philemon* a Prieſt of *Rome*, thus ſaying: *Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla Papa noſtro accepi, &c.* That is, *This Canon and Type I received of bleſſed* Heraclas *our Pope, &c.* This *Heraclas* was no Martyr, which

*Heraclas* called Pope, yet no Biſhop of *Rome*.

{ Anno } 250.

*Ex Euſeb. lib.6. cap.39.* The Perſecutions of *Origen*.

which died three years before *Decius*, about the year of our Lord, two hundred and fifty. After whom ſucceeded next in the ſame ſeat of *Alexandria*, *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, who alſo ſuffered much under the Tyranny of *Decius*, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) when we come to the time of *Valerian*.

Ex Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 39.

*Nicephorus* in his firſt Book, and others which write of this Perſecution under *Decius* declare the horribleneſs thereof to be ſo great, and ſo innumerable Martyrs to ſuffer in the ſame, that he ſaith, it is as eaſie to number the ſands of the Sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this Perſecution did devour. In the which Pereſcution the chiefeſt doers and tormentors under the Emperor appear in the hiſtory of *Vincentius* to be theſe: *Optimus* the under-conſul, *Secundianus*, *Verianus*, and *Marcellianus*, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and ſingular Perſons in order that died in this Perſecution, yet ſuch as remain moſt notable in ſtories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whoſe cauſe they ſuffered.

Perſecutors.

Alexander Biſhop of Hieruſalem, martyr.

In the former tractation of the firſt Perſecution, mention was made before of *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, and of his troubles ſuffered under *Severus*, and how afterward by the miracle of God, he was appointed Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, where he continued a very aged man, above the term of forty years Governor of that Church, till the time of the firſt year of *Decius*, at what time he being brought from *Hieruſalem* to *Ceſarea* into the Judgment place, after a conſtant and evident confeſſion of his faith made before the Judge, was committed unto priſon, and there finiſhed his life, as teſtified *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* in the ſixth Book of *Euſebius*. After whom ſucceeded in that ſeat *Mezabanes* the thirty and ſixth Biſhop of that City, after *James* the Apoſtle.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 41.

Aſclepiades Biſhop of Antioch martyr.

Mention was made alſo before of *Aſclepiades* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who ſucceeded after *Serapion*, and in the Perſecution of *Severus* did likewiſe perſevere a conſtant confeſſor, and, as *Vincentius* teſtifieth in his eleventh Book, ſuffered Martyrdom at laſt under this *Decius*. But this computation of *Vincentius* can in no wiſe agree with the truth of time; for ſo much as by probable writers, as *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, and others, the ſaid *Aſclepiades* after *Serapion* entred the Biſhops ſeat of *Antioch*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred and fourteen, and ſate ſeven years before the time of *Gordianus*, after whom ſucceeded *Philetus*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred twenty and one, governing the function twelve years. And after him *Zebinus* followed in the year of our Lord, two hundred thirty and two, and ſo after him *Babylas*; which *Babylas*, if he died in this Perſecution of *Decius*, then could not *Aſclepiades* alſo ſuffer in the ſame time, who died ſo long before him, as is declared

Ex ſpec. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52.

A place of Vincentius reproved.

Of this *Babylas* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Euſebius* and *Zonaras* record, that under *Decius* he died in priſon, as did *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* above rehearſed.

Babylas Biſhop of Antioch, martyr.

Ex Chryſoſt. lib. contra Gentiles.

The ſtory of Babylas.

We read in a certain treatiſe of *Chryſoſtom*, intituled *Contra Gentiles*, a noble and long Hiſtory of one *Babylas* a Martyr, who about theſe times was put to death for reſiſting a certain Emperor, not ſuffering him to enter into the Temple of the Chriſtians after a cruel murther committed, the ſtory of which murther is this: There was a certain Emperor, who upon concluſion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hoſtage or ſurety of peace the ſon of the King, being of young and tender age, with conditions upon the ſame, that neither he ſhould be moleſted of them, nor that they ſhould ever be vexed of him. Upon this the Kings ſon was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the Emperor, whom the cruel Emperor, contrary to promiſe, cauſed in ſhort time without all juſt cauſe to be ſlain. This fact ſo horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haſt would enter into the Temple of the Chriſtians, where *Babylas* being Biſhop or Miniſter withſtood him that he ſhould not into that place approach. The Emperor therewith not a little incenſed, in great rage bad him forthwith to be laid in priſon with as many Irons as he could bear, and from thence ſhortly after to be brought forth to death and Execution. *Babylas*, going conſtantly and boldly to his Martyrdom, deſired after his death to be buried with his Irons and bands, and ſo he was. The ſtory procedeth moreover, and ſaith; that in the continuance of time in the raign of *Conſtantinus*, *Gallus*, then made the overſeer of the Eaſt parts, cauſed his body to be tranſlated into the Suburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphnes*, where was a Temple of *Apollo*, famous with deviliſh oracles and anſwers given by that Idol, or by the Devil rather in that place. In the which Temple, after the bringing of the body of *Babylas*, the Idol ceaſed to give any more oracles, ſaying, that for the body of *Babylas* he could give no more anſwers, and complaining that that place was wont to be conſecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead mens Bodies. And thus the oracles there ceaſed for that time till the coming of *Julianus*; who inquiring out the cauſe why the oracles ceaſed, cauſed the bones of the holy Martyr to be removed again from thence by the Chriſtians, whom he then called *Galileans*. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens and children, to the tombe of *Babylas*, tranſported his bones according to the commandment of the Emperor, ſinging by the way as they went, the verſe of the Pſalm in words, as followeth: *Confounded be all that worſhip Images, and all that glory in Idols, &c.* Which coming to the Emperors ear, ſet him in great rage againſt the Chriſtians, ſtirring up Perſecution againſt them. Albeit *Zonaras* declareth the cauſe ſomething otherwiſe, ſaying, that ſo ſoon as the body of him and other Martyrs were removed away, incontinent the Temple of the Idol, with the image, in the night was conſumed with fire: For the which cauſe (ſaith *Zonaras*) *Julian* ſtirred up with anger, perſecuted the Chriſtians, as ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) in his order and place hereafter.

The body of Babylas ſtoppeth the oracles of Idols.

Ex Zonara, tom. 3.

And thus much of *Babylas*, which whether it was the ſame *Babylas* Biſhop then of *Antioch*, or another of the ſame name, it appeareth not by *Chryſoſtom*, which neither maketh mention of the Emperors name, nor of the place where this *Babylas* was Biſhop. Again, the ſtopping of the Emperor out of the Church importeth as much, as that Emperor to have been a Chriſtian: For otherwiſe, if he had come in as an heathen, and as a Perſecutor, it was not then the manner of Chriſtian Biſhops violently to withſtand the Emperors, or to ſtop them out. Over and beſide the teſtimony of *Euſebius*, *Zonaras* doth witneſs contrary in his ſixth Book, that this *Babylas*, which was then Biſhop of *Antioch* after *Zebinus*, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in priſon: Wherefore it is not unpoſſible, but this *Babylas*, and this Emperor which *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh of, may be another *Babylas* than that which ſuffered under *Decius*. *Nicephorus* in his fifth Book maketh mention of another *Babylas* beſide this that ſuffered under *Decius*, which was Biſhop of *Nicomedia*.

Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 39.

Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 25. Babylas Biſhop of Nicomedia, martyr.

In the forenamed City of *Antioch*, *Vincentius*, *lib.* 11. ſpeaketh of forty virgins Martyrs, which ſuffered in the Perſecution of *Decius*.

Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52. Forty virgins martyrs.

In the Country of *Phrygia*, and in the Town of *Lampſar*, the ſame *Vincentius* alſo ſpeaketh of one *Peter* which there was apprehended, and ſuffered bitter torments for Chriſts Name under *Optimus* the Proconſul: And in *Troada* likewiſe of other Martyrs that there ſuffered, whoſe names were, *Andrew*, *Paul*, *Nicomachus*, and *Dionyſia* a virgin, *Lib.* 11. *cap.* 46.

Peter of Phrygia martyr. Andreas, Paulus, Nicomachus, Dionyſia virgin martyrs.

Alſo in *Babylon* (ſaith he) divers Chriſtian confeſſors were found of *Decius*, which were led away into *Spain*, there to be executed: *Lib. eodem, cap.* 43.

Martyrs of Babylon, Germanus, Theophilus, Ceſarius, Vitalis, Polychronius, Neſtor.

In the country of *Cappadocia* at the City *Ceſarea*, in like manner of the ſaid author is teſtified, that *Germanus*, *Theophilus*, *Ceſarius*, and *Vitalis* ſuffered Martyrdom for Chriſt. *Eodem cap.* 52. and in the ſame Book mention is alſo made of *Polychronius*, Biſhop of *Babylon*, *cap.* 89. and in *Pamphilia* of *Neſtor* there Biſhop that died Martyr, *cap.* 52.

At *Perſide*, in the town of *Cardala*, *Olympiades* and *Maximus*; in *Tyrus* alſo *Anatolia* virgin, and *Audax* gave their lives likewiſe to death for the teſtimony of Chriſts Name.

Olympiades, Maximus noble men. Anatolia virgin, Audax, martyrs.

*Euſebius* moreover in his ſixth Book reciteth out of the Epiſtles of *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, divers that ſuffered diverſly at *Alexandria*; the which places of *Dionyſius*, as they be cited in *Euſebius*, I thought here good for the antientneſs of the author, to inſert and notifie in his own words, and in our language, as he wrote them to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, as followeth.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

This

The Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* to *Fabius*.

This perſecution (ſaith he) began not with the proclamation ſet forth by the Emperor, but began a whole year before, by the occaſion and means of a wicked perſon, a South-ſayer, and a follower of wicked arts: Who, coming to our City here, ſtirred up the multitude of the heathen againſt us, and incited them to maintain their own old ſuperſtition and gentility of their country; whereby they being ſet agog, and obtaining full power to proſecute their wicked purpoſe, ſo thought, and no leſs declared, all their piety and Religion to conſiſt only in Idolatrous worſhip of Devils, and in our deſtruction. And firſt flying upon a certain Prieſt of ours, named *Metra*, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him ſpeak after their wicked Blaſphemy; which, when he would not do, they laid upon him with ſtaves and clubs, and with ſharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the Suburbs, there they ſtoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called *Quinta*, and brought her to the Temple of their Idols, to compel her to worſhip with them: Which when ſhe refuſed to do, and abhorred their Idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole ſtreet of the City upon the hard ſtones, and ſo daſhing her againſt Milſtones, and ſcourging her with whips, brought her to the ſame place of the Suburbs, as they did the other before, where ſhe likewiſe ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burſt into houſes of the Religious and Godly Chriſtians, ſpoiling, ſacking and carrying away all that they could find of any price. The reſt of things, ſuch as were of leſs value and of wood, they brought into the open Market, and ſet them on fire. In the mean time the brethren voided aſide, and withdrew themſelves, taking patiently and no leſs joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, than did they of whom Saint *Paul* doth teſtifie: Neither do I know any of them all (one excepted) apprehended of them, which revolting from his profeſſion denied the Lord yet to this preſent day.

A commotion of the people of *Alexandria* againſt the Chriſtians.

*Metra*, martyr.

*Quinta* a faithful woman and martyr.

Patience and joy in affliction. The conſtancy of the martyrs of *Alexandria*.

Amongſt the reſt that there were taken, there was a certain virgin well ſtricken in years, named *Apollinia*, whom they brought forth, and daſhing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the City, threatning to caſt her into the ſame, unleſs ſhe would Blaſpheme with them and deny Chriſt: whereat ſhe ſtaying a little with her ſelf, as one that would take a pauſe, ſuddenly leaped into the midſt of the fire, and there was burned.

*Apollonia* a bleſſed virgin and martyr.

*Serapion* martyr.

There was alſo one *Serapion*, whom they took in his own houſe, and after they had aſſayled him with ſundry kinds of Torments, and had broken almoſt all the joynts of his body, they caſt him down from an upper loft, and ſo did he complete his Martyrdom. Thus was there no way neither privy nor publick, nor corner, nor alley left for us, neither by day nor by night to eſcape, all the People making an outcry againſt us, that unleſs we uttered words of Blaſphemy, we ſhould be drawn to the fire and burned. And this outragious tumult indured a certain ſpace, but at length, as the Lord would, the miſerable wretches fell at deſſention among themſelves, which turned the cruelty they exerciſed againſt us, upon their own heads. And ſo had we a little breathing time for a ſeaſon, while the fury of the heathen people by this occaſion aſſwaged.

The juſt puniſhment of God turning the cruelty of adverſaries upon themſelves.

Shortly then after this, word was brought unto us that the ſtate of the Empire, which before was ſomething favourable to us, was altered and changed againſt us, putting us in great fear. And conſequently upon the ſame followed, the edict of the Emperor ſo terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been poſſible) might have been thereby ſubverted. Upon that edict ſuch fear came over us all, that many there were, eſpecially of the richer ſort, of whom ſome for fear came running, ſome were led by the occaſion of time, ſome were drawn by their neighbours being cited by name, to thoſe unpure and Idolatrous ſacrifices. Other-ſome came trembling and ſhaking, as men not which ſhould do ſacrifice, but which ſhould be ſacrificed themſelves, the multitude laughing them to ſcorn. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themſelves never to have been of that profeſſion, of whom it is ſaid, that hardly they ſhall be ſaved. Of the reſidue, ſome followed one part, ſome another, ſome ran away, ſome were taken; of whom certain continued to bands and torments conſtant; others again after long Impriſonments, before they ſhould come before the Judge, renounced their faith. Some alſo, after they ſuffered torments, yet after revolted. But others being as ſtrong as bleſſed, and valiant pillars of the Lords, fortified with conſtancy agreeing to their faith, were made faithful Martyrs of the Kingdom of God.

Of whom the firſt was *Julianus*, a man diſeaſed with the Gout, and not able to go, being carried of two men, of whom the one quickly denied the other, *Cronion*, ſurnamed *Eunus*, with the foreſaid *Julianus* the old man, confeſſing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon Camels, and there ſcourged, at length caſt into the fire, and with great conſtancy were ſo conſumed.

*Julianus* martyr.

As theſe aforeſaid were going to their Martyrdom, there was a certain Souldier, who in their defence, took part againſt them that railed upon them. For the which ceuſe the People crying out againſt him, he alſo was apprehended, and being conſtant in his Profeſſion, was forthwith beheaded.

A certain Souldier c martyr.

Likewiſe one *Macar*, a man born in *Libia*, being admoniſhed and exhorted of the Judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his perſwations, was burned alive.

*Macara* bleſſed martyr.

After theſe ſuffered *Epimachus*, and one *Alexander*, who being long detained in priſon and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with Razors and ſcourges, were alſo caſt into the burning fire with four other women with them, which all there ended their Martyrdom.

*Epimachus*, *Alexander* with four women, martyrs.

Alſo *Ammonarion*, an holy virgin, whom the cruel Judge, had long and bittterly tormented, for that ſhe promiſing the Judge before, that for no puniſhment ſhe would yield to his requeſt, and conſtantly performing the ſame, ſuffered likewiſe Martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged *Matron*, named *Mercuria*; the other was called *Dionyſia*, being a Mother of many fair Children, whom yet notwithſtanding ſhe loved not above the Lord. Theſe, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel Judge, but he rather aſhamed and confounded to be overcome of ſilly women, at length being paſt feeling of all torments, were ſlain with the ſword; firſt *Ammonarion*, like a valiant Captain, ſuffering before them.

*Ammonarion* virgin, martyr.

*Mercuria*, *Dionyſia*, martyrs.

*Heron*, *Ater*, *Iſidorus*, *Dioſcorus*, martyrs.

*Heron*, *Ater* and *Iſidorus*, *Egyptians*, and with them *Dioſcorus* alſo a Child of fifteen years, were Crowned with the ſame Crown of Martyrdom. And firſt the Judge began with the Child, thinking him more eaſie to be won with words to intice him, than with torments to conſtrain him. But he perſiſted immoveable, giving neither place to perſwaſions nor puniſhment. The reſt, after he had grievouſly tormented them, being conſtant in their profeſſion, he committed to the fire. The Judge, greatly marvelling at *Dioſcorus* for his wiſe anſwers and grave conſtancy, diſmiſſed him, ſparing (as he ſaid) his age to a longer reſpite: Which *Dioſcorus* is yet alſo with us at this preſent, waiting for a long Tryal.

*Nemeſion*, martyr. Thieve. in the old time amongſt the *Romans* burned.

*Nemeſion*, being alſo an *Egyptian*, firſt was accuſed for a Companion of Thieves, but being purged thereof before the Centurion, was then accuſed of Chriſtianity, and for that cauſe being in bands, was brought to the Preſident; who moſt Unrighteouſly tormenting and ſcourging him double, to all other Thieves and Felons, at length among the Thieves burned him to Death, making him a bleſſed Martyr.

There were ſtanding before the Tribunal ſeat certain of the Warriors or Knights, whoſe names were *Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, and with them a certain aged man called *Theophilus*; who ſtanding by at what time a certain Chriſtian man was before the Judge examined, and there ſeeing him for fear ready to decline and fall away, did burſt almoſt for ſorrow within themſelves, making ſigns to him with their hands, and all geſtures of their body, to be conſtant. This being noted of all the ſtanders by, they were ready to lay hold upon them; but they preventing this matter, preſſed up of their own accord before to the bench of the Judge, profeſſing themſelves to be Chriſtians. Inſomuch that both the Prelident with the benchers, were all aſtonied, the Chriſtians, which were judged more imboldned to ſuffer, and the Judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place,

*Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, *Theophilus*, confeſſors.

A notable example of a Chriſtian courage in confeſſing Chriſt.

glad

glad and rejoycing for the teſtimony that they had given of their Faith. Many other beſides, were in other Cities and Towns rent and torn aſunder by the Heathen, among whom one I will ſpeak of for cauſe worthy of memory.

*Iſchirion*, Martyr.

*Iſchirion*, one that was in ſervice with a certain Noble man, was commanded of his Maſter to make Sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after perſiſting in the ſame, was grievouſly threatned with ſharp and menacing words. At laſt his Maſter, when he could not prevail againſt him, taking a ſtake or pike in his hands, ran him thorow in the body and ſlew him.

What ſhall I ſpeak of the multitude of them, which wandring in Deſarts and Mountains, were conſumed with Hunger, Thirſt, Cold, Sickneſs, Thieves or wild Beaſts, of whoſe bleſſed Victory they which be alive are yet Witneſſes? In the number of whom, one I will ſpeak of, among divers others, named *Cheremon*, Biſhop of the City called *Nilus*, an aged man: he with his wife, flying to the Mountain of *Arabia*, never returned again, nor ever could be ſeen after. And though they were ſought for diligently by their Brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found: many others there were, which flying to theſe Mountains of *Arabia* were taken of the barbarous *Arabians*: of whom ſome with much money could ſcarce be ranſomed, ſome were never heard of yet to this preſent day. Thus much out of the Epiſtles, of *Dionyſius* in *Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 41, 42, &c.*

*Cheremon*, Martyr. *Cheremon*, a Biſhop had a wife.

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. ca. 40, 41, 42.*

Moreover, the foreſaid *Dionyſius* in another place writing to *Germanus*, of his own dangers and of others, ſuſtained in this Perſecution, and before this perſecution of *Decius*, thus inferreth as followeth, *I* (ſaith he) *behold before the ſight of God, I lye not, and He knoweth, I lye not, how that I having no regard of mine own life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this Perſecution. Yea, and alſo before that this Perſecution of* Decius *did rage againſt us*, Sabinus *the ſame hour ſent a Farmer to ſeek me, at what time I remaining at home waited three days for his coming. But he ſearching narrowly for me by all Ways, Fields, Floods, and Corners, where he thought I might beſt have hid my ſelf, or have paſſed by, was ſtricken with ſuch blindneſs, that he could not find my houſe, thinking with himſelf nothing leſs than that I would abide at home in ſuch and ſo dangerous Perſecution. Thus theſe three days being paſt, upon the fourth day, the Lord God ſo willing and commanding me to fly, and alſo marvellouſly opening to me the way, I with my * Children and many other Brethren went out together. And this not to come of my ſelf, but to be the work of Gods Providence, the ſequel of thoſe things declared, wherein afterward I was not unprofitable peradventure to ſome, &c.*

The Epiſtle of *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* to *Germanus*. This *Germanus* was a Biſhop in that time, which charged *Dionyſius* for his flying perſecution, againſt whom he purgeth himſelf.

God willed *Dionyſius* to fly in Perſecution.

* *Ergo*, Biſhops then had wives and children.

Again, in another place ſhortly after, the foreſaid *Dionyſius* proceeding in the Narration of himſelf, thus inferreth, *Then I coming to* Jeruſalem *with them which were with me, was brought by Souldiers unto* Tapoſixis, *where as* Timotheus *(by the Providence of God) neither was preſent, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his Houſe deſert, and Officers watching about the ſame, and us within taken, &c.* And again ſhortly after it followeth, *And to ſee* (ſaith he) *the admirable diſpoſing of God his Works; as* Timotheus *was thus flying with much haſt and great fear, a certain man, as hapned, a dweller near by met him by the way, and asked whither he went ſo haſtily? to whom* Timotheus *anſwering, declared all the matter ſimply as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on his journey, whither he was purpoſed to go, which was to a Marriage, the manner of which Marriages then was to ſit up all the night long feaſting and drinking. Thus, as he was come, ſitting with them at the Feaſt, he telleth his Companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no ſooner told, but all they forthwith upon a head, as ſtricken with a ſudden fury, ruſhing out together, made toward Us as faſt as they could, with ſuch crying and noiſe as might ſeem very terrible. At the firſt hearing whereof, the Souldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away, by reaſon whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying upon Formes and Benches. I then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my ſelf that they had been Thieves, which came to ſpoil and rob, being in my Couch, lay ſtill in my ſhirt only as I was, the reſt of my Garments lying by me I offered to them: they then willed me in all haſte to riſe and get away; whereby I then, perceiving the cauſe of their coming, cried unto them, deſiring that they would ſuffer us ſo to do: and if they would do any benefit for me, for ſo much as I could not eſcape the hands of them which would purſue me and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, caſting my ſelf grovelling upon the pavement, as my Companions can teſtifie, who were partakers of all theſe things, they burſt forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doors, and led me away. There followed me* Gaius, Paulus, Petrus, Paulus *(who were Witneſſes of all the ſame) which brought me alſo out of the City, and ſo ſetting me upon a bare Aſs, conveyed me away.*

The Providence of God in preſerving his. The ſtory of the deliverance of *Dionyſius* and his fellows.

*Dionyſius*, *Gaius*, Paulus, Petrus, Paulus delivered from the Centurion and the Souldiers.

Thus much writeth *Dionyſius* of himſelf, the example of whoſe Epiſtle is cited in the *Eccleſiaſtical ſtory* of *Euſebius*, *lib. 6. cap.* 40. alſo *lib. 7. cap.* 11.

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. ca. 40. lib. 7. ca. 11.*

*Nicephorus* in his firſt Book, *cap.* 27. maketh mention of one named *Chriſtophorus*, which alſo ſuffered in this Perſecution of *Decius*. Of which *Chriſtophorus*, whether the Fable riſeth of that mighty Giant ſet up in Churches, wading through the Seas with Chriſt on his ſhoulder, and a Tree in his hand for a walking-Staff, &c. it is uncertain. *Georgius Wiceliùs* alledgeth out of *Ruggerus Fuldenſ.* and mentioneth of one *Chriſtophorus*, born of the Nation of *Canaanites*, which ſuffered under *Decius*, being, as he ſaith, of twelve cubits high. But the reſt of the Hiſtory painted in Churches, the ſaid *Wicelius* derideth as Fables of *Centaurs*, or other Poetical Fictions.

*Ex Nicephb. lib. 5. cap. 27. Chriſtophorus Martyr.*

The Fable of great S. *Chriſtopher.*

*Bergomenſis* in his eighth Book maketh relation of divers martyred under *Decius*, as *Meniatus* which ſuffered at *Florence*, of *Agatha* an holy Virgin of *Sicily*, who is ſaid to ſuffer divers and bitter torments under *Quintilianus* the Proconſul, with Priſonment, with Beatings, with Famine, with Racking, rolled alſo upon ſharp ſhells and hot coals, having moreover her Breaſts cut from her Body, as *Bergomenſis* and the Martyrology of *Ado* record. In the which Authors as I deny not but that the reſt of the ſtory may be true, ſo again, concerning the Miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a ſilken Veſture, with an hundred young men after him, and of the Marble Table with the Inſcription, *Mentem ſanctam, &c.* I doubt.

*Meniatus*, *Agatha*, Martyrs. *Ex Bergomenſ. lib. 8. Ex Martyrologio Adonis.*

Hard it is to recite all that ſuffered in this Perſecution, when as whole multitudes went into Wildernеſſes and Mountains, wandring without ſuccour or comfort, ſome ſtarved with Hunger and Cold, ſome with Sickneſs conſumed, ſome devoured of Beaſts, ſome with barbarous Thieves taken and carried away. *Vincentius* in his eleventh Book, ſpeaking of *Aſclepiades*, writeth alſo of forty Virgins and Martyrs, which by ſundry kinds of torments were put to death about the ſame time, in the Perſecution of this Tyrant.

Martyrs wandring in Mountains.

Likewiſe in the ſaid *Vincentius* menton is made of *Triphon*, a man of great holineſs, and conſtant in his ſuffering, who being brought to the City of *Nice*, before the Prelident *Aquilus* for his conſtant Confeſſion of Chriſts Name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the Sword put to death.

Forty Virgins Martyrs. *Triphon* Martyr.

At what time *Decius* had erected a Temple in the midſt of the City of *Epheſus*, compelling all that were in the City there to ſacrifice to the Idols: Seven *Chriſtians* were found, whoſe names were *Maximianus*, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionyſius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion* and *Conſtantinus*, who, refuſing the Idolatrous Worſhip, were accuſed for the ſame unto the Emperor to be *Chriſtians*. Which when they conſtantly profeſſed and did not deny; notwithſtanding, becauſe they were Souldiers, retaining to the Emperors Service, reſpite was given them for a certain ſpace, to deliberate with themſelves, till the return again of the Emperor, which then was going to War. In the mean ſpace, the Emperor being departed, they taking counſel together, went and hid themſelves in ſecret Caves of the Mount *Celius*. The Emperor returning again, after great inquiſition made for them, hearing where they were, cauſed the mouth of the place where they were to be cloſed up with heaps of ſtones, that they, not able to get out, ſhould be famiſhed within. And thus were thoſe good men martyred. The ſtory (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between fear and ſorrow, fell aſleep, in which ſleep they

*Maximianus*, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionyſius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion*, *Conſtantinus*, ſeven Martyrs.

The Fable of the awaking of theſe ſeven Martyrs. *Ex Vincent. Nicepho. Erfordienſ.*

they continued the ſpace of certain Ages after, till the time of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, before they did awake, as reporteth *Vincentius*, *Nicephorus*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 27. and partly alſo *Henricus Erfordienſ.* But of their awaking, that I refer to them that liſt to believe it. Certain it is, that at the laſt day they ſhall awake indeed without any Fable.

A Souldier Martyr. *Ex Hieron. in vita Pauli Eremita.*

*Hieronymus* in the life of *Paulus* the *Heremite* reciteth a ſtory of a certain Souldier, whom when the *Pretor* could not otherwiſe with torments remove from his Chriſtianity; he deviſed another way, which was this; He commanded the Souldier to be laid upon a ſoft bed in a pleaſant Garden among the flouriſhing Lillies and red Roſes; which done, all others being removed away, and himſelf there left alone, a beautiful Harlot came to him, who imbraced him and with all other Incitements of an Harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtineſs. But the godly Souldier fearing God more than obeying fleſh, bit off his own Tongue with his teeth, and ſpit it in the face of the Harlot, as ſhe was kiſſing him, and ſo got he the Victory, by the conſtant Grace of the Lord aſſiſting him.

A notable example of a chaſt ſouldier biting off his tongue, and ſpiting it in the face of an Harlot.

A like example of Chaſtity between two *Chriſtians*. *Ex Ambr. lib.* 2. *de virg in.*

Another like Example of ſingular Chaſtity is written of the Virgin *Theodora*, and another Souldier, by *Ambroſ. lib.* 2. *de Virginibus.* At *Antioch*, this *Theodora* refuſing to do ſacrifice to the Idols was condemned by the Judge to the Stews, and notwithſtanding by the ſingular Providence of God was well delivered. For as there was a great Company of wanton young men ready at the door to preſs into the houſe where ſhe was, one of the Brethren named *Didymus* (as *Ado* ſaith) moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a Souldiers habit, made himſelf one of the firſt that came in, who rounding her in the ear, told her the cauſe and purpoſe of his coming, being a *Chriſtian* as ſhe was: his counſel was that ſhe ſhould put on the Souldiers habit, and ſo ſlip away; and he putting on her Garments would there remain to abide their force, and ſo did, whereby the Virgin eſcaped unknown. *Didymus* left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man in ſtead of a woman, was preſented unto the Preſident, unto whom without delay he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, profeſſing him, ſo as he was, to be a *Chriſtian*, and thereupon was condemned to ſuffer. *Theodora* underſtanding thereof, and thinking to excuſe him by acculing her ſelf, offered her ſelf as the party guilty unto the Judge, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other as innocent to be diſcharged. But the cruel Judge (crueller than *Dionyſius*, which ſpared *Damon* and *Pithias*) neither conſidering the vertue of the perſons, nor the innocency of the cauſe, unjuſtly and inhumanely proceeded in execution againſt them both, who, firſt having their heads cut off, after were caſt into the fire:- *Ambroſ. Ado.* Although what time, or in what Perſecution theſe did ſuffer, in the Authors of this Narration it doth not appear.

*Theodora*, *Didymus*, Martyrs.

*Agathon*, Martyr.

*Agathon*, a man of Arms in the City of *Alexandria*, for rebuking certain lewd perſons ſcornfully deriding the dead bodies of the *Chriſtians*, was cried out of and railed on of the people, and afterward accuſed to the Judge, was condemned to loſe his head. *Erfordienſis.*

*Paulus*, *Andreas*, Martyrs.

The ſaid *Erfordienſis* alſo maketh mention of *Paulus*, *Andreas*, whom the Proconſul of *Troada* gave to the people; who being ſcourged, and after drawn out of the City, were troden to death with the feet of the people. *Henr. de Erford.*

*Juſtinus*, *Nicoſtratus*, *Portius*, Martyrs.

Among others that ſuffered under this wicked *Decius*, *Bergomenſis* alſo maketh mention of one *Juſtinus* a Prieſt of *Rome*, and of another *Nicoſtratus* a Deacon. To theſe *Vencentius* alſo addeth *Portius* a Prieſt of *Rome*, whom he reporteth to be the Converter of *Philip* the Emperor aforementioned.

*Abdon*, *Sennas*, Martyrs.

Of *Abdon* and *Sennas* we read alſo in the foreſaid *Bergomenſis* and *Vincentius*, two Noble men, who becauſe they had buried the *Chriſtians*, whom *Decius* had brought from *Babylon* to *Corduba*, and there put them to death, were therefore accuſed to *Decius*, and brought to *Rome*; where they, being commanded to ſacrifice to dead Idols, would not obey; and for the ſame were given to the wild Beaſts to be devoured: but when the wild Beaſts, more gentle than the Men, would not touch them, they were at length with the Sword beheaded. *Bergom. Vincent. lib.* 11. *cap.* 4. Albeit to me it ſeemeth not impoſſible nor unlike, this *Abdon* and *Sennas* to be the ſame, whom in other ſtories we find, and before have mentioned to be *Ammon* and *Zenon.*

*Secundianus*, *Virianus*, *Marcellianus*, Martyrs.

One *Secundianus* was accuſed to *Valerian* a Captain of *Decius*, to be a *Chriſtian*, which Profeſſion when he ſtoutly did maintain, he was commanded to priſon. By the way as the Souldiers were leading him to the Gaol, *Virianus* and *Marcellianus* ſeeing the matter, cried to the Souldiers, asking them whither they drew the Innocent? At the which word, when they alſo confeſſed themſelves to be *Chriſtians*, they were likewiſe apprehended, and brought to a City named *Centumcellas*: where being willed to ſacrifice, they did ſpit upon the Idols, and ſo after Sentence and Judgment given, firſt they were beaten with Waſters or Trunchions, after that were hanged and tormented upon the Gibbet, having fire ſet to their ſides. *Vincentius* addeth moreover that ſome of the Tormentors falling ſuddenly dead, other ſome being taken with wicked Spirits, the Martyrs with the Sword at length were beheaded. *Vin. lib.* 11. *cap.* 51.

*Ex Vincent. lib.* 11. *c.* 51.

To proſecute in length of Hiſtory the Lives and Sufferings of all them, which in this terrible Perſecution were martyred, it were too long, and almoſt infinite: briefly therefore to rehearſe the Names of ſuch as we find alledged out of a certain brief Treatiſe of *Bede*, intituled, *De Temporibus*, cited by *Henricus de Erford*, it ſhall be at this time ſufficient. Under *Decius* ſuffered *Hippolitus* and *Concordia*, *Hiereneus* and *Abundus*, *Victoria* a Virgin, being noble Perſonages of *Antioch*, *Bellias* Biſhop of the City of *Apollonia*, *Leacus*, *Tirſus*, and *Gallinetis*. *Nazarius*, *Triphon* in the City of *Egypt*, called *Tamas*, *Phileas* Biſhop, *Philocomus*, with many other in *Perſide*, *Philcronius* Biſhop of *Babylon*; *Theſiphon* Biſhop of *Pamphilia*, *Neſſor* Biſhop in *Corduba*, *Parmenius* Prieſt, with divers more. In the Province called *Colonia*, *Circenſis*, *Marianus* and *Jacobus*. In *Africa*, *Nemeſianus*, *Felix*, *Rogatianus* Prieſt, *Feliciſſimus*. At *Rome*, *Jovinus*, *Baſileus*, alſo *Ruffina*, and *Secunda* Virgins, *Tertullianus*, *Valerianus*, *Nemeſius*, *Sempronianus* and *Olympius*. In *Spain*, *Teragon*. At *Verona*, *Zeno* Biſhop. At *Ceſarea*, *Marinus* and *Archemius*. In the Town of *Milaine*, *Privatus* Biſhop, *Theodorus*, ſurnamed *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Pontus*. *Hæc Beda.*

*Ex lib. Bedæ de Temporibus*, citante *Henrico de Erfordia.*

A brief Catalogue of divers which ſuffered under *Decius*, *by Beda.*

Children martyred. *Ex Vincent. lib.* 11. *c.* 52.

*Vincentius* in his eleventh Book maketh mention, citing *Ex Hugone*, of certain Children ſuffering Martyrdom under the ſame Perſecution, in a City of *Tuſcia*, called *Aretium*, whoſe names I find not, except they be *Pergentius* and *Laurentius* mentioned in *Equilinus*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 80.

Such as revolted and fell in this Perſecution.

Now that I have recorded of them ſufficiently, which under this tempeſt of *Decius* conſtantly gave their lives to Martyrdom for the Teſtimony of Chriſt; it remaineth that a few words alſo be ſpoken of ſuch as for fear or frailty in this Perſecution did ſhrink and ſlide from the truth of their Confeſſion. In the number of whom firſt cometh in the remembrance of *Serapion* an aged old man. Of whom writeth *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* unto *Fabius*, declaring that this *Serapion* was an old man, which lived amongſt them a ſincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell. This *Serapion* oft and many times deſired to be received again, but no man liſtened to him, for he had ſacrificed before. After this, not long after, he fell into Sickneſs, where he remained three days dumb, and benummed of all Senſes. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his Sifters Son, and ſaid, *How long, how long (my Son) do ye hold me here? Make haſte, I pray you, that I were abſolved. Call hither ſome of the Miniſters to me:* and ſo, ſaying no more, held his peace as dumb and ſpeechleſs. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the Miniſter, who, at the ſame time being ſick, could not come with the Meſſenger, but ſaid, *For ſo much as he willed heretofore* (as he ſaid) *that ſuch as lay a dying, if they covet to be received and reconciled, and eſpecially if they required it earneſtly, ſhould be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence*; therefore he gave to the boy a little of the * *Euchariſt*, willing him to crumble it into the Cup, and ſo to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the *holy Euchariſt*. As he was now near at hand, before he had entred in, *Serapion* the old man, ſpeaking again,

*Serapion.*

*Ex Euſeb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 44.

* Note here the Sacrament to be called the *Euchariſt*, and not the body of Chriſt.

The holy *Euchariſt* in time of great need and diſtreſs committed to a boy.

again, *Comeſt thou* (ſaid he) *my Son? The Prieſt*, quoth the Meſſenger, *is ſick and cannot come, but do as he willeth you, and let me go.* And the boy immixed the *Euchariſt*, and dropt it in ſoftly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had taſted a little, immediately gave up the ghoſt, &c. *Hæc Dionyſ. ex Euſeb.*

The repentance and reconciliation of *Serapion.*

In the City of *Troad*, as the Proconſul was grievouſly tormenting one *Nicomachus*, he cried out, *That he was no Chriſtian*, and ſo was let down again. And after, when he had ſacrificed, he was taken eftſoons with a wicked Spirit, and ſo thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his Tongue with his teeth, ſo departed. *Henr. de Erford.*

The goodneſs of God ſhewed to *Serapion. Ex Henr. de Erford.*

A terrible example of denying, ſhewed upon *Nicomachus. Dionyſius ad Fabium.*

*Dionyſius* in his Epiſtles alſo writing to *Fabius*, and lamenting the great terror of this Perſecution, declareth, how that many worthy and notable *Chriſtians*, for fear and horror of the great Tyranny thereof, did ſhew themſelves feeble and weak men. Of whom ſome for dread, ſome of their own accord, others after great Torments ſuffered, yet after revolted from the conſtancy of their Profeſſion. Alſo Saint *Cyprian* in his Treatiſe *De Lapſis* reciteth with great ſorrow, and teſtifieth how that a great number at the firſt threatning of the Adverſary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the Enemy, but of their voluntary weakneſs fell down themſelves. Neither (ſaith he) tarrying while the Judge ſhould put Incenſe in their hands, but before any ſtroke ſtricken in the field, turned their backs, and played the Cowards; not only coming to their Sacrifices, but preventing the ſame, and pretending to come without compulſion, bringing moreover their Infants and Children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example.

*Cyprianus Serm. de Lapſis.*

The weakneſs of *Chriſtians* denying their Faith.

Of this weakneſs and falling, the ſaid Author ſheweth two Cauſes, either love of their Goods and Patrimony, or fear of Torments: and addeth moreover examples of the Puniſhments of them which revolted; affirming, that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked Spirits; and that one man among other, after his voluntary denial, was ſuddenly ſtricken dumb. Again, another after his Abjuration, as he ſhould communicate with others, in ſtead of bread received aſhes in his hand. *Item*, a certain Maiden being taken and vexed with a Spirit, did tear her own Tongue with her teeth, and tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts ſo deceaſed.

Examples of God his puniſhment after denial

*S. Cyprian. de lapſis.*

Amongſt others of this ſort, *S. Cyprian. lib. 2. cap. 8.* maketh alſo mention of one *Euariſtus* a Biſhop in *Africa*, who leaving his Charge, and making ſhipwrack of his Faith, went wandring about in other Countries, forſaking his own Flock. In like manner, he maketh alſo mention of *Nicoſtratus* a Deacon, who forſaking his Deaconſhip, and taking the Goods of the Church with him, fled away into other Countries, &c. Albeit *Bergomenſis* affirmeth, that this *Nicoſtratus* the Deacon afterward died a Martyr. Thus then, although ſome did relent, yet a very great number (ſaith he) there was, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cauſe them to betray their Confeſſion, but they ſtood like glorious Martyrs unto the end. *Cyprian.*

*Cyprian. lib. De mortalitate.*

The ſame *Cyprianus* alſo, in another Book *De Mortalitate*, reciteth a notable ſtory of one of his own Collegues and fellow Prieſts, who being oppreſſed with weakneſs, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, deſired leave to depart, and to be diſcharged. As he was thus intreating, and almoſt now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent Majeſty, of a tall ſtature, and comely behaviour, ſo bright and clear to behold, that ſcarce mans carnal eyes were able ſo to do, which was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man ſpeaking with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus ſaid, *Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?* To ſuffer ye dare not, to go out ye will not, what would ye have me to do unto you?

A notable voice of God to a Prieſt of *Carthage.*

The occaſion and riſing up of *Novatus* Hereſie.

Upon the occaſion of theſe and ſuch others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforeſaid, in this Perſecution of *Decius*, roſe up firſt the quarrel and hereſie of *Novatus*, who in theſe days made a great diſturbance in the Church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the Faith, and for fear of torments had offered Incenſe to the Idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Chriſt. This *Novatus* being firſt Prieſt under *Cyprian* at *Carthage*, afterward by ſtirring up Diſcord and Factions began to diſturb the Biſhoprick of *Cyprian*, to appoint there a Deacon called *Feliciſſimus*, againſt the Biſhops mind or knowledge; alſo to allure and ſeparate certain of the Brethren from the Biſhop; all which *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 8.* doth well declare. After this the ſaid *Novatus* going to *Rome*, kept there the like ſtir with *Cornelius* (as the ſame *Cornelius* in *Euſebius, lib. 6. cap. 43.* doth teſtifie) ſetting himſelf up as Biſhop of *Rome* againſt *Cornelius*, which was the lawful Biſhop of *Rome* before. The which to bring to paſs, he uſed this practice. Firſt he had allured to him, to be his Adherents, three or four good men and holy Confeſſors, which had ſuffered before great torments for their Confeſſion, whoſe names were *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Celerinus*. After this he inticed three ſimple Biſhops about the Coaſts of *Italy* to repair to *Rome*, under pretence to make an end of certain Controverſies then in hand. This done, he cauſed the ſame, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counſel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him Biſhop, and ſo they did. Wherefore the one of thoſe three Biſhops hardly was received to the Communion, by the great interceſſion of his people: the other two by Diſcipline of the Church were diſplaced from their Biſhopricks, and others poſſeſſed with their rooms. Thus then were there two Biſhops together in one Church of *Rome*, *Novatus* and *Cornelius*, which was unſeemly, and contrary to the Diſcipline of the Church. And hereupon riſeth the true cauſe and meaning of St. *Cyprian*, writing in his Epiſtles ſo much of one Biſhop, and of the unity to be kept in Eccleſiaſtical Regiment, as appeareth, *Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2. de ſimplicit. prælat. Item, lib. 3. Epiſt. 11. &c.* And in like ſort writeth alſo *Cornelius* himſelf of one Biſhop, ſaying, *Itaque vindex ille Evangelii ignoravit unum eſſe debere Epiſcopum in Catholica Eccleſia, &c.* that is, He knew not that there ought to be one Biſhop in a Catholick Church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I truſt, I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wreſting of the *Papiſts*, which falſly apply theſe places of *Cyprian* and *Cornelius* to maintain the Popes ſupream Maſterſhip alone, over the whole Univerſal Church of Chriſt in all places; when their meaning is otherwiſe, how that every one Catholick Church or Dioceſs ought to have one Biſhop over it, not that the whole World ought to be ſubject to the Dominion of him only that is Biſhop of *Rome*. Now to the ſtory again. *Novatus* being thus Biſhop, took not a little upon him, going about by all means to defeat *Cornelius*, and to allure the people from him. Inſomuch that (as in the foreſaid Book of *Euſebius* appeareth) when *Novatus* came to the diſtributing of the Offerings, and ſhould give every man his part, he compelled the ſimple perſons every man to ſwear, before they ſhould receive of the Benediction, and of the Collects or Oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them ſo long, ſpeaking theſe words unto them (*Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt not leave me and go to* Cornelius) till that they ſweaging unto him, in ſtead of *Amen* (to be ſaid at the receiving of the * Bread) ſhould anſwer, *I will not return to Cornelius, &c.* Where note by the way, that the *Latine* Book of *Chriſtoferſons* tranſlation, in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of Bread. This ſtory being written in *Euſebius*, alſo contained in *Nicephorus*, although not in the ſame order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him, doth declare in plain words in both the Authors (who ſo will mark the ſame) that the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt is termed with the plain name of Bread, after the conſecration.

*Cornelii Epiſt. ad Fabium. Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43.*

The meaning of *Cyprian* opened, writing of one Biſhop only to govern in a Catholick Church falſly wreſted of the *Papiſts* for the Papacy. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43.*

* Note here the Sacrament of the Body to be called bread *Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 43. Nicepho. lib. 6. cap. 3.*

The *Latine* tranſlation of *Euſebius* corrupted by *Chriſtoforſon, lib. 6. cap. 43.*

It followeth more in the ſtory, that *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Celerinus*, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty Diſſimulation and Arrogancy of *Novatus*, left him, and with great Repentance returned again to the Church, and were reconciled to *Cornelius*, as they themſelves writing to *Cyprian*, and *Cyprian* likewiſe writing to them an Epiſtle gratulatory doth declare, *lib. 3. Epiſt. 3.* and *Cornelius* alſo in his Epiſtle to *Fabius* witneſſeth the ſame. In this Epiſtle the ſaid *Cornelius* moreover writeth of one *Moſes* a worthy Martyr, which once being alſo a Follower of *Novatus*, after

*Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus*, Confeſſors.

*Cypri. lib. 3. Epi 3. Moſes Martyr.*

per-

perceiving his wickedneſs, forſook him, and did Excommunicate him. Of whom *Cyprian* alſo maketh mention, and calleth him a bleſſed Confeſſor. *Lib.2. Epiſt. 4. Damaſus* in his Pontifical ſaith, *That he was apprehended with* Marimus *and* Nicoſtratus *above mentioned, and was put with them in priſon, where he ended his life.* And thus much of *Novatus*, againſt whom (as *Euſebius* teſtifieth) a Synod was holden at *Rome* of threeſcore ſundry Biſhops in the time of *Cornelius*, under the Reign of *Decius*, in the year of our Lord, two hundred fifty and five; whereby it may be ſuppoſed that the heat of the Perſecution at that time was ſomewhat calmed.

*A Synod at Rome.* Anno 255.

After *Fabianus* (or as *Zonaras* calleth him *Flavianus*) next ſucceeded into the Biſhoprick of *Rome Cornelius*, whom *Cyprian* noteth to be a worthy Biſhop, and for his great vertue and maidenly continency much commendable, choſen to that room not ſo much by his own conſent, as by the full agreement, both of the Clergy-men, and alſo of the people. *Hierome* addeth alſo, That he was a man of great Eloquence: whereby it may appear thoſe two Epiſtles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeneſs of the barbarous and groſs ſtile, and alſo for the matter therein contained, nothing taſting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the Church. Whereof in the firſt he writeth to all Miniſters and Brethren of the Church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of *Peter* and *Paul*, *De Catbecumbis*, and tranſpoſed to *Vaticanum*, at the inſtance of a certain devout Woman named *Lucina*, having no great argument or cauſe to write thereof unto the Churches, but only that he in that Letter doth deſire them to pray unto the Lord, that through the Interceſſion of thoſe Apoſtolical Saints, their ſins might be forgiven them, &c. In the ſecond Epiſtle written to *Ruffus* a Biſhop of the *Eaſt* Church, he decreeth and ordaineth, that no Oath ought to be required or exacted of any head or chief Biſhop, for any cauſe, or by any power. Alſo that no cauſe of Prieſts or Miniſters ought to be handled in any ſtrange or foreign Court, without his Precinct, except only in the Court of *Rome* by Appellation: whereby who ſeeth not the train of our later Biſhops, going about craftily to advance the Dignity of the Court of *Rome*, under and by the pretenſed Title of *Cornelius*, and of ancient Biſhops? If *Cornelius* did write any Epiſtles to any indeed in thoſe turbulent times of Perſecution, no doubt but ſome ſignification thereof he would have touched in the ſaid his Letters, either in miniſtring Conſolation to his Brethren, or in requiring Conſolation and Prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given ſome touch alſo of the matter of *Novatus*, with whom he had ſo much to do; as indeed he did: for ſo we find it recorded both in *Euſebius*, and *Hierome*, that he wrote unto *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, of the decreements of the Council of *Rome*, and another Letter of the manner of the Council, the third alſo of the cauſe of *Novatus*, and again of the Repentance of ſuch as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in theſe foreſaid Epiſtles decretal.

*Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and Martyr.

Biſhops were choſen then not without the voice of the people.

A cenſure of the decretal Epiſtles of *Cornelius*.

What trouble this *Cornelius* had with *Novatus*, ſufficiently is before ſignified. In this Perſecution of *Decius*, he demeaned himſelf very conſtantly and faithfully, which ſuſtained great Conflicts with the Adverſaries, as Saint *Cyprian* giveth witneſs, *lib. 1. Epiſt. 1. Hierome* teſtifieth that he remained Biſhop after the death of *Decius*, to the time of *Gallus*, and ſo appeareth alſo by Saint *Cyprian*, which hath theſe words, *Et tyrannum armis & bello poſtmodum victum, prior ſacerdotio ſuo vicit.* But *Damaſus* and *Sabellicus*, his Followers, affirm, that he was both exiled and alſo martyred under the tyrannous Reign of *Decius*. Of whom *Sabellicus* writeth this ſtory, taken out (as it ſeemeth) of *Damaſus*, and ſaith, *That* Cornelius *by the Commandment of* Decius, *was baniſhed to a Town called* Centumcellas, *bordering on* Hetruria, *from whence he ſent his Letters to* Cyprian *Biſhop of* Carthage, *and* Cyprian *again to him.* This coming to the ears of *Decius* the Emperor, he ſendeth for *Cornelius*, asking him, *How he durſt be ſo bold to ſhew ſuch ſtubbornneſs, that he neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the diſpleaſure of his Princes, durſt againſt the Common wealth give and receive Letters from others?* To whom *Cornelius* anſwering again, thus purged himſelf, declaring to the Emperor, *That Letters indeed he had written, and received again concerning the Praiſes and honouring of Chriſt, and the Salvation of Souls, but nothing as touching any matter of the Common-wealth.* And it followeth in the ſtory; Then *Decius* moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with *Plumbats* (which, as ſaith *Sabellicus*, is a kind of ſcourging) and ſo to be brought to the Temple of *Mars*: either there to do Sacrifice, or to ſuffer the extremity. But he rather willing to die, than to commit ſuch Iniquity, prepared himſelf to Martyrdom, being ſure that he ſhould die. And ſo commending the Charge of the Church unto *Stephanus* his Archdeacon, was brought to the way of *Appius*, where he ended his life in faithful Martyrdom. *Euſebius* in one place ſaith that he ſat two years, in another place he ſaith that he ſat three years, and ſo doth *Marianus Scotus*, following alſo the diverſity of the ſaid *Euſebius*. *Damaſus* giveth him only two years.

*Cornelius* accuſed for writing Letters to *Cyprian*.

*Plumbatis tundi.*

*Cornelius* martyred.

The conſtancy of *Cornelius* in his trial.

*Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 1.*

In this foreſaid Perſecution of *Decius*, it ſeemeth by ſome Writers alſo that *Cyprian* was baniſhed; but I ſuppoſe rather his Baniſhment to be referred to the Reign of *Gallus* next Emperor after *Decius*, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) in his place hereafter. In the mean time the ſaid *Cyprian* in his ſecond Book, *Epiſt. 5. & 6.* maketh mention of two that ſuffered either in the time of this *Decius*, or much about the ſame time. Of whom one was *Aurelius* a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his Confeſſion; which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withſtood the Adverſary till he was baniſhed, and alſo after: and therefore was commended of *Cyprian* to certain Brethren to have him for their Lecturer, as in the forenamed Epiſtle of *Cyprian* appeareth. The other was named *Mappalicus*, who in the day before he ſuffered, declaring to the Proconſul in the midſt of his torments, and ſaying, *Videbas cras agonem:* that is, To morrow you ſhall ſee the running for a wager, &c. Was brought forth, according as he foreſpoke, to Martyrdom, and there with no leſs conſtancy than patience did ſuffer.

*Aurelius* Martyr.

*Mappalicus* Martyr.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked *Decius* againſt God his Saints. Now to touch alſo the Power of God, his Vengeance and Puniſhment againſt him. Like as we ſee commonly a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannical Tormentor, who reigning but two years, as ſaith *Euſebius*, or three at moſt, as writeth *Oroſius*, among the middle of the *Barbarians*, with whom he did war, was there ſlain with his Son. Like as he had ſlain *Philippus* and his Son his Predeceſſors before, ſo was he with his Son ſlain by the righteous Judgment of God himſelf. *Euſebius, lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius* affirmeth, that he warring againſt the *Gotthians*, and being by them overcome, leſt he ſhould fall into their hands, ran into a Whirle-pit, where he was drowned, and his body never found after.

The death and deſtruction of *Decius*.

*Oroſius, lib. 4. cap. 14.*

The juſt revenge of God againſt Perſecutors.

Neither did the juſt hand of God plague the Emperor only, but alſo revenged as well the Heathen *Gentiles* and Perſecutors of his Word throughout all Provinces and Dominions of the *Roman* Monarchy; amongſt whom the Lord, immediately after the death of *Decius*, ſent ſuch a Plague and Peſtilence, laſting for the ſpace of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almoſt incredible to believe. Of this Plague or Peſtilence teſtifieth *Dionyſius* to *Hierax* a Biſhop in *Egypt*, *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 21, 22.* where he declareth the mortality of this Plague to be ſo great in *Alexandria* where he was Biſhop, that there was no houſe in the whole City free. And although the greatneſs of the Plague touched alſo the *Chriſtians* ſomewhat, yet it ſcourged the Heathen Idolaters much more: beſide that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much divers. For as the foreſaid *Dionyſius* doth record, the *Chriſtians* through brotherly love and piety, did not refuſe one to viſit and comfort another; and to miniſter to him what need required, notwithſtanding it was to them great danger; for divers there were who in cloſing up their eyes, in waſhing their bodies, and interring them in the ground were next themſelves which followed them to their graves. Yet all this ſtayed not them from doing their duty, and ſhewing mercy one to another: whereas the *Gentiles* contrarily, being extreamly viſited by the hand of God, felt the Plague, but conſidered not the ſtriker, neither yet conſidered they their Neighbour, but every man ſhifting for himſelf, neither cared one

The juſt puniſhment of God upon the Heathen multitude for perſecuting of his people.

The plague and hand of God.

The brotherly love and pity among the *Chriſtians* ſhewed in the time of Plague.

for

for another, but ſuch as were infected, ſome they would caſt out of the doors half dead to be devoured of Dogs and wild Beaſts, ſome they let die within their houſes without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffered to lie unburied, for that no man durſt come near them: and yet notwithſtanding for all their voiding and ſhifting, the Peſtilence followed them whitherſoever they went, and miſerably conſumed them. Inſomuch that *Dionyſius* Biſhop the ſame time of *Alexandria*, thus reporteth of his own City, that ſuch a mortality was then among them, that the ſaid City of *Alexandria* had not in number ſo many of all together both old and young, as it was wont to contain before of the old men only from the age of threeſcore to ſeventy, and as were found in time paſt commonly almoſt in that City. *Pomponius Letus* and other *Latine* Writers alſo making mention of the ſaid Peſtilence declare how the beginning thereof firſt came (as they think) out of *Ethiope*, and from the hot Countries and ſo invading and waſting firſt the *South* parts, from thence ſpread into the *Eaſt*, and ſo further running and increaſing into all other quarters of the world, eſpecially wheresoever the Edicts of the Emperor went againſt the *Chriſtians*, it followed after and conſumed the moſt part of the Inhabitants; whereby many places became deſolate and void of all Concourſe, and ſo continued the term of ten years together.

A terrible peſtilence reigning through all the *Roman* Monarchy.

This peſtiferous Mortality (by the occaſion whereof *Cyprian* took the ground to write his Book *De mortalitate*) began as is ſaid, immediately after the death of *Decius* the Perſecutor, in the beginning of the Reign of *Vibias Gallus*, and *Voluſianus* his Son, who ſucceeded through treaſon next unto *Decius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and five, and continued their Reign but two years.

*Cyprianus lib. de mortalitate.* *Gallus* and *Voluſianus* Emperors. Anno 255.

This *Gallus*, although the firſt beginning of his Reign was ſomething quiet, yet ſhortly after following the ſteps of *Decius*, by whom rather he ſhould have taken better heed, ſet forth Edicts in like manner for the perſecution of *Chriſtians*, albeit in this Edict we find no number of Martyrs to have ſuffered, but only all this Perſecution to reſt only in the exilement of Biſhops or Guids of the Flock. Of other Sufferings or Executions we do not read, for the terrible Peſtilence following immediately kept the barbarous Heathen otherwiſe occupied. Unto this time of *Gallus*, rather than to the time of *Decius*, I refer the baniſhment of *Cyprian*, who was then Biſhop of *Carthage*, of the which baniſhment he himſelf teſtifieth in divers of his Epiſtles, declaring the cauſe thereof to riſe upon a Commotion or Sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himſelf, leſt the Sedition ſhould grow greater; notwithſtanding the ſaid *Cyprian*, though being abſent, yet had no leſs care of his Flock, and of the whole Church, than if he had been preſent with them, and therefore never ceaſed in his Epiſtles continually to exhort and call upon them to be conſtant in their Profeſſion, and patient in their Afflictions. Amongſt divers others whom he doth comfort in his baniſhment, although he was in that caſe to be comforted himſelf, writing to certain that were condemned to mining for metals, whoſe Names were *Nemeſianus*, *Felix*, *Lucius*, with other Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, he declareth unto them; *How it is no ſhame but a glory not to be feared, but to be rejoyced at, to ſuffer baniſhment or other pains for Chriſt*; *and confirming them in the ſame, or rather commending them, ſignifieth how worthily they do ſhew themſelves to be as valiant Captains of vertue, provoking both by the confeſſions of their mouth, and by the ſuffering of their bodies, the hearts of the Brethren to Chriſtian Martyrdom, whoſe example was and is a great confirmation to many, both Maids and Children to follow the like: as for Puniſhment and Suffering, it is (ſaith he) a thing not execrable to a Chriſtian: for a Chriſtian mans breaſt, whoſe hope doth wholly conſiſt in the Tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and ſkars of the body be Ornaments to a Chriſtian man, ſuch as bring no ſhame nor diſhoneſty to the party, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the Mines where the metals be digged there be no beds for Chriſtian mens bodies to take their reſt, yet they have their reſt in Chriſt: and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Chriſt. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but happily he is bound of man, whom the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happily doth he lie tied in the ſtocks, whoſe feet thereby are made ſwifter to run to Heaven. Neither can any man tie a Chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runneth ſo much the faſter for his garland of life. They have no garments to ſave them from cold, but he that putteth on Chriſt is ſufficiently coted. Doth bread lack to their hungry bodies?* But man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. *Your deformity (ſaith he) ſhall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleaſure, and felicity infinite. And if this do grieve you that you cannot now imploy your Sacrifices and Oblations after your wonted manner, yet your daily Sacrifice ceaſeth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious Sacrifice unto the Lord, which is the Sacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though your travel be great, yet is the reward greater, which is moſt certain to follow: for God beholding and looking down upon them that confeſs his Name, in their willing mind approveth them, in their ſtriving helpeth them, in their Victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in us perfected. With theſe, and ſuch like comfortable words he doth animate his Brethren, admoniſhing them that they are now in a joyful journey, haſting apace to the manſions of the Martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkneſs a ſtable light and brightneſs greater than all their Paſſions, according to the Apoſtles ſaying,* Theſe ſufferings of this preſent time be nothing like comparable to the brightneſs of the Glory that ſhall be revealed in us, &c.

The Chriſtian mans ſacrifice.

The firſt baniſhment of *Cyprian*.

The Biſhops and Prieſts condemned to metals. *Nemeſianus*, *Felix*, *Lucius*.

Biſhops condemned for the name of Chriſt.

That is, in the paſſion of him that died on the tree.

St. *Cyprian* exhorteth and confirmeth the Chriſtian Martyrs. *Cypr. lib. 3. Epiſt. ult.*

And after the like words of ſweet comfort and conſolation writing to *Seagrius* and *Rogatianus*, which were in priſon and bonds for the teſtimony of truth, *Doth encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run: for that they have the Lord with them their Helper and Defender, who promiſeth to be with us to the Worlds end; and therefore willeth them to ſet before their eyes in their death Immortality, in their pain everlaſting Glory, of the which it is written,* Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. Item, *although before men they ſuffered torments, yet their hope is full of Immortality, and being vexed in ſmall things, they ſhall be well requited in great matters:* For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. *And writeth moreover, admoniſhing that it is appointed from the beginning of the World, that Righteouſneſs here ſhould ſuffer in ſecular Conflicts; for ſo juſt* Abel *was ſlain in the beginning of the World, and after him all juſt and good men, the Prophets alſo and the Apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelf; unto whom all the Lord firſt gave an example in himſelf, teaching that there is no coming to his Kingdom, but by that way which he entred himſelf, ſaying by theſe words,* He that loveth his life in this World ſhall loſe it, &c. *And again,* Fear ye not them that ſlay the body, but have no power to ſlay the ſoul. *And Saint* Paul *likewiſe admoniſhing all them whoſoever covet to be Partakers of the Promiſes of the Lord, to follow the Lord, ſaith,* If we Suffer together with him, we ſhall Reign together, &c.

*Cypr. lib. 4. Epiſt. 1.* *Seagrius, Rogatianus,* Martyrs.

*Sapien. 3.*

*Furthermore, as the ſame* Cyprian *doth encourage here the holy Martyrs which were in Captivity to perſiſt: ſo likewiſe writing to the Prieſts and Deacons which were free, he exhorteth them to be ſerviceable and obſequious with all care and love, to cheriſh and embrace them that were in bonds,* Cyprian, lib. 3. Epiſt. 6. Whereby may appear the fervent zeal and care of this good Biſhop toward the Church of Chriſt, although being now in exile in the time of this Emperor *Gallus*.

*Cypr. lib. 3. Epiſt. 6.*

*Lucius* Biſhop of *Rome* baniſhed. Anno 265.

In the ſame time, and under the ſaid *Gallus* reigning with his Son *Voluſianus*, was alſo *Lucius* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent to baniſhment, who next ſucceeded after *Cornelius* in that Biſhoprick, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and ſix. Albeit in this baniſhment he did not long continue, but returned home to his Church, as by the Epiſtle of Saint *Cyprian*, *lib. 3. Epiſt. 1.* may appear. As to all other Biſhops of *Rome* in thoſe Primitive days certain decretal Epiſtles with ſeveral Ordinances be aſcribed, bearing their Names and Titles, as hath been before declared: So alſo hath *Lucius* one Epiſtle fathered upon him, in the which Epiſtle he writing to the Brethren of *France* and of *Spain*, appointeth ſuch an order and form of the Church as ſeemeth not to agree with the time then preſent: for ſo he declareth in that Epiſtle,

The Epiſtle decretal of *Lucius* Biſhop.

The Ordinances of *Lucius*.

that a Biſhop in all places, whitherſoever he goeth, ſhould have two Prieſts with three Deacons waiting upon him to be witneſſes, of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I ſee not how that time of *Lucius* could ſerve then for a Biſhop to carry ſuch a pomp of Prieſts and Deacons about him, or to ſtudy for any ſuch matter: For ſo much as Biſhops commonly in thoſe days were ſeldom free to go abroad, went they never ſo ſecret, but either were in houſes cloſe and ſecret, or in Priſon, or elſe in baniſhment. Moreover in the ſaid Epiſtle how pompouſly writeth he to the Church of *Rome*? *This holy and apoſtolical Church of Rome (ſaith he) the mother of all Churches of Chriſt, by the Grace of God omnipotent hath never been proved to ſwarve out of the path of Apoſtolical tradition, neither hath ever fallen or been depraved with heretical innovations: But even as in the firſt beginning it received the rule of the Apoſtolical faith by his firſt inſtructors, the Princes of the Apoſtles, ſo it continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end.*

The pompous ſtile of the Church of *Rome.*

Unto this *Lucius* alſo is referred in the decrees of *Gratian* this conſtitution, that no Miniſter whatſoever after his ordination, would at any time reenter into the chamber of his own wife, in pain of loſing his Miniſtery in the Church, &c. *Euſebius* in his ſeventh Book making mention of the death of *Lucius*, and not of his Martyrdom, ſaith that he ſat but eight months: But *Damaſus* in his Martyrologe holdeth that he ſat three years, and was beheaded the ſecond year of *Valerian* and *Galienus* Emperors, and ſo doth alſo *Marianus Scotus* and *Nauclerus*, with other that follow *Damaſus*, affirm the ſame.

*Dift. 81. miniſtri.* Miniſters reſtrained from their own Wives. *Euſebius* and *Damaſus* vary in time. *Lucius* Biſhop of *Rome* martyr.

After him came *Stephanus* next Biſhop of *Rome* following *Lucius*, whom *Damaſus*, *Platina*, and *Sabellicus* affirm to have ſit ſeven years and five months, and to die a martyr. Contrary *Euſebius*, and *Volateranus* holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh moſt near to the truth, I leave to the Readers Judgment. Of his two Epiſtles decretal, and of his Ordinances out of the ſame collected, I need not much to ſay, for two reſpects; either for that concerning theſe decretal Epiſtles ſuſpiciouſly intituled to the names of the Fathers of the primitive Church ſufficiently hath been ſaid before; or elſe becauſe both the phraſe barbarous and incongrue, and alſo the matter it ſelf therein contained is ſuch, that although no teſtimony came againſt it, yet it eaſily reſelleth it ſelf. As where in the ſecond Epiſtle he decreeth. *That no Biſhop being expulſed out of his ſeat, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accuſed of any, or is bound to anſwer for himſelf, before that by the Law regularly he be reſtored again fully to his former ſtate, and that the Primates and the Synod, render unto him again all ſuch poſſeſſions and fruits as were taken from him before his accuſation, as is agreeing both to the Laws canon and alſo ſecular.* Firſt here I would deſire the Reader a little to ſtay, and this to conſider with himſelf, who be theſe here meant which either uſed or might deſpoile theſe Biſhops of their goods, and expulſe them from their ſeats for ſuch wrongful cauſes, but only Kings and Emperors, which at this time were not yet Chriſtned, nor uſed any ſuch proceedings againſt theſe Biſhops, in ſuch ſort as either Primates of Synods could reſtore them again to their places and poſſeſſions: Again, what private goods or poſſeſſions had Biſhops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor poſſeſſions? And if any treaſures were committed to the Church, it pertained not properly to the Biſhop, but went in general to the ſubvention of the poor in the Church, as in the Epiſtle of *Cornelius* to *Fabius* may appear, alledged in *Euſebius*, *lib.6.cap.*43. where he ſpeaking of his Church, and declaring how there ought to be but one Biſhop in the ſame, inferreth mention of forty and ſix Prieſts, ſeven Deacons, with ſeven Subdeacons, forty two Acoluthes, of Widdows and poor afflicted perſons, to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and nouriſhed in the ſame by the merciful benignity and providence of God: *Euſebius*, *lib. 6. cap.* 43. It followeth more in the end of the ſaid Canon, *Which thing is forbidden both by the Laws Eccleſiaſtical, and alſo ſecular, &c.* Now what Laws ſecular were in the time of *Steven*, for Biſhops not to be charged with any accuſation before they were reſtored again to their

*Stephanus* B ſhop of *Rome* martyr.

The cenſure of the decretal Epiſtles and ordinances of *Stephanus.*

No Biſhop ought to be accuſed, after he be expulſed, before he be reſtored again.

The number of the poor found at *Rome* by the Church goods.

ſtate, let any Reader marking well the ſtate of the heathen Laws that then were, Judge; and in judging I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to deſcribe the untruth hereof.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the ſaid ſecond Epiſtle of *Stephanus* it may be eaſily eſpied, this Epiſtle to be fained and miſauthoriſed, eſpecially by the fift canon of the ſaid Epiſtle, where he ſo ſolemnly entreateth of the difference between Primats, Metropolitans, and Arch-Biſhops: Which deſtinction of degrees and titles, ſavouring more of ambition than of perſecution, giveth me verily to ſuppoſe this Epiſtle not to be written by this *Stephan*, but by ſome other man either of that name, or of ſome other time when the Church began to be ſetled in more proſperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and limits of his authority, according as is ſpecified by the ſixth and ſeventh canon of the *Nicene* councel decreeing of the ſame matter.

Primats, Metropolitant, Archbiſhops.

The like eſtimation may be conceived alſo of the ſeventh canon of the ſaid Epiſtle, where he willeth and appointeth all cauſes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper Province, and not to paſs over the bounds thereof, unleſs (ſaith he) the Appeal be made to the apoſtolical See of *Rome*; which favoureth in my noſe rather of a ſmack of *Poſtery*, than of the vain of Chriſtianity, eſpecially in theſe times, during this terrible perſecution among the Biſhops of Chriſt. And thus much of the ſecond decretal Epiſtle of *Stephanus*, although of the firſt Epiſtle alſo written to *Hilarius*, ſomething may be ſaid; as where he ſpeaketh in the ſaid Epiſtle of holy Veſtiments, and holy Veſſels, and other ornaments of the Altar ſerving to divine worſhip, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, ſaving of Prieſts alone. Concerning all which implements my opinion is this; I think the Church of *Rome*, not to have been in ſo good ſtate then, that either *Stephanus* or *Sixtus* before him, being occupied about other more earneſt matters, and ſcarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to ſtudy upon ſuch unneceſſary inventions ſerving in publick Churches: Neither do I ſee how the Heathen in thoſe days would have ſuffered thoſe ornaments to be unconſumed, which would not ſuffer the Biſhops themſelves to live amongſt them, notwithſtanding *Iſidorus* and *Polydorus* judge the contrary. Between this *Stephan* and *Cyprian* Biſhop of *Carthage* was a great contention about rebaptiſing *Hereticks*, whereof more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be ſaid.

Lawful to appeal to *Rome.*

Veſtiments and holy veſſels ſerving for the altar.

Beſides theſe Biſhops above ſpecified, divers other there were alſo ſent into baniſhment under the forenamed Emperors, *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*, as appeareth by *Dionyſius* writing to *Hermannus* on this wiſe: That *Gallus* not ſeeing the evil of *Decius*, nor foreſeeing the occaſion of his ſeduction and ruin, ſtumbled himſelf alſo at the ſame ſtone, lying open before his eyes: For when at the firſt beginning his Empire went proſperouſly forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drave out holy men, which prayed for his peace and ſafegard, and ſo with them rejected alſo the prayers which they made for him, &c. *Euſeb.lib.7.cap.*1. Otherwiſe of any bloodſhed, or any Martyrs that in the time of this Emperor were put to death, we do not read.

Biſhops baniſhed in the time of *Gallus.*

After the Reign of which Emperor *Gallus*, and of his ſon *Voluſianus* being expired (who Reigned but two years) *Emilianus*, which ſlew them both by civil ſedition, ſucceeded in their place, who Reigned but three months, and was alſo ſlain. Next to whom *Valerianus* and his ſon *Galienus* were advanced to the Empire.

*Gallus* and *Voluſianus* Emperors ſlain. *Emilianus* Emperor three months. *Valerianus* and *Galianus* his ſon Emperor

About the changing of theſe Emperors the perſecution which firſt began at *Decius*, and afterward ſlacked in the time of *Gallus*, was now extinguiſhed for a time, partly for the great Plague reigning in all places, partly by the change of the Emperors, although it was not very long. For *Valerianus* in the firſt entrance of the Empire, for the ſpace of three or four years, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the Senate.

Perſecution ceaſed for a time. The good beginning of *Valerian.*

Neither was there any of all the Emperors before him, no not of them which openly profeſſed Chriſt, that ſhewed himſelf ſo loving and familiar toward the Chriſtians as he did: In ſo much that (as *Dionyſius* writing to *Herman* doth teſtifie) all his whole court was replenished with holy Saints and ſervants of Chriſt and Godly perſons, ſo that

*Ex Dionyſio cliamit.*

his

his houſe might ſeem to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counſel, theſe quiet days endured not very long. For in proceſs of time this *Valerian* being charmed or incenſed by a certain *Egyptian*, a chief Ruler of the Heathen Synagogue of the *Egyptians*, a maſter of the Charmers or Inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his Magical feats for the Chriſtians, was ſo far infatuated and bewitched, that through the deteſtable provocations of that deviliſh *Egyptian*, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in ſacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the intrails of children new born; and ſo, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, whom the wicked *Egyptian* could not abide, as being the hinderers and deſtroyers of his Magical Inchantings, about the year of our Lord 259.

*Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 10. & Niceph. lib. 6. cap. 10.*

*Wicked counſel what evil it doth.*

## *The eighth Perſecution.*

*The eighth perſecution.* { Anno 259. }

IN the which Perſecution the chief adminiſters and executers were *Emilianus* Preſident of *Egypt*, *Paternus* and *Galerius Maximus*, Proconſuls in *Africa*. *Bergomenſis* alſo maketh mention of *Paternus* Vicegerent of *Rome*, and of *Perennius*. *Vincentius* ſpeaketh alſo of *Nicerius* and *Claudius* Preſidents, &c.

*The chief executers of this Perſecution.*

What was the chief original cauſe of this Perſecution partly is ſignified before, where mention was made of the wicked *Egyptian*: but as this was the outward and political cauſe, ſo S. *Cyprian* ſheweth other cauſes more ſpecial and Eccleſiaſtical in his fourth book, *Epiſt.* 4. whoſe words be theſe: *But we* (ſaith he) *muſt underſtand and confeſs, that this turbulent oppreſſion and calamity, which hath waſted for the moſt part all our whole company, and doth daily conſume it, riſeth chiefly of our own wickedneſs and ſins, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor obſerve his precepts left unto us for our inſtitution. The Lord obſerved the will of his Father in all points, but we obſerve not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and ſtudy ſet upon lucre and poſſeſſions, given to pride, full of emulation and diſſention, void of ſimplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this World in word only, but nothing in deed, every man pleaſing himſelf, and diſpleaſing all others. And therefore are we thus ſcourged, and worthily: for what ſtripes and ſcourges do we not deſerve, when the Confeſſors themſelves (ſuch as have bid the trial of their confeſſion) and ſuch as ought to be an example to the reſt of well-doing, do keep no diſcipline? And therefore becauſe ſome ſuch there be, proudly puft up with this ſwelling and unmannerly bragging of their confeſſion, theſe torments come, ſuch as do not eaſily ſend us to the Crown, except by the mercy of God, ſome, being taken away by quickneſs of death, do prevent the tedioufneſs of puniſhment. Theſe things do we ſuffer for our ſins and deſerts, as by the Lords cenſure we have been forewarned, ſaying:* If they ſhall forſake my Law, and will not walk in my Judgments; if they ſhall prophane my Inſtitutions, and will not obſerve my precepts, I will viſit their iniquities with the rod, and their tranſgreſſions with ſcourges. *Theſe rods and ſcourges* (ſaith he) *we feel, which neither pleaſe God in our good deeds, nor repent in our evil deeds.* Wherefore the ſaid *Cyprian* adding this exhortation withal, *exhorted them to pray and intreat from the bottom of their heart and whole mind, the mercy of God, which promiſeth, ſaying:* But yet my mercy I will not ſcatter from them, &c. *Let us ask, and we ſhall obtain; and though* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *it be with tariance, yet for ſo much as we have grievouſly offended, let us continue knocking, for* to him that knocketh it ſhall be opened, *if our prayers, ſighings and weepings knock ſtill at the door with continuance, and if our prayers be joyned together with brotherly agreement, &c.* Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the Chriſtians, he further ſpecifieth in the ſaid Epiſtle, which chiefly were diviſion and diſſention among the brethren. For when it was ſpoken to them in a Viſion by theſe words, *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is, *Pray and ye ſhall obtain*; afterward it was required of the Congregation there preſent, to direct their prayers for certain perſons aſſigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condeſcend altogether of the names and perſons of them which they ſhould pray for, but were diſſonant in their conſent and petition: *which thing* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *did greatly diſpleaſe him that ſpake unto them*, Pray, and ye ſhall obtain, *for that there was no uniform equality of voice and heart, nor one ſimple and joynt concord among the brethren, whereof it is written in the ſixty ſeventh* Pſalm, *God which maketh to dwell in the houſe together men of one accord, &c.* And ſo by the occaſion hereof, he writeth unto them in the foreſaid Epiſtle, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement. *For* (ſaith he) *if it be promiſed in the Goſpel to be granted whatſoever any two conſenting together ſhall ask, what ſhall then the whole Church do agreeing together? Or what if this unanimity were among the whole Fraternity? Which unanimity* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *if it had been then amongſt the brethren*, Non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala, ſi in unum fraternitas fuiſſet animata: that is, *Theſe evils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had joyned together in brotherly unanimity, &c.*

*The ſpecial cauſe of this Perſecution. Cypr. lib. 4. Epiſt. 4.*

*The ſins of the Chriſtians, cauſe of perſecution.*

*Diſcord and diviſion among the brethren.*

Pſal. 67.

After the cauſes thus declared of this and other Perſecutions, the ſaid Saint *Cyprian* moreover in the forenamed Epiſtle (worthy to be read of all men) deſcribeth likewiſe a certain Viſion, wherein was ſhewed unto him by the Lord before the Perſecution came, what ſhould happen. The Viſion was this. *There was a certain aged father ſitting, at whoſe right hand ſate a young man very ſad and penſive, as one with an indignation ſorrowful, holding his hand upon his breaſt, his countenance heavy and unchearful. On the left hand ſate another perſon, having in his hand a Net, which he threatned to lay to catch the people that ſtood about. And as he was marvelling that ſaw the ſight thereof, it was ſaid unto him: The young man, whom thou ſeeſt ſit on the right hand, is ſad and ſorry that his precepts be not obſerved. But he on the left hand danceth, and is merry, for that occaſion is given him to have power of the aged father to afflict men. And this Viſion was ſeen long before this tempeſt of Perſecution happened, wherein is declared the ſame that before is ſaid; the ſins of the People to be the cauſe why Satan, in this Perſecution and all others, hath had and hath ſtill ſuch power with his net of deſtruction to rage againſt the blood of Chriſtian men, and all becauſe* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *we foreſlack our praying, or be not ſo vigilant therein as we ſhould: wherefore the Lord, becauſe he loveth us, correcteth us; correcteth us to amend us, amendeth us to ſave us, &c. Cyprian.*

*A Viſion foreſhewing perſecution to come. Cypr. lib. 4. Epiſt. 4.*

*Our ſins give Satan power againſt us.*

Furthermore, the ſame *Cyprian*, and in the ſame Epiſtle, writing of his own revelation or meſſage ſent to him, thus ſaith: *And to his leaſt ſervant both ſinful and unworthy* (meaning himſelf) *God of his tender goodneſs hath vouchſafed to direct this word: Tell him* (ſaith he) *that he be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come, albeit a little ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remain yet to be proved and tryed, &c.* And ſheweth alſo in the ſame place of another revelation of his, wherein he was admoniſhed to be ſpare in his feeding, and ſober in his drink, leſt his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements, or oppreſſed with too much ſurfeit of meats and drinks, ſhould be leſs apt or able to prayer and ſpiritual exerciſe.

*Another revelation ſhewed to S. Cyprian.*

*Spare diet and ſober drink convenient in Chriſtian Biſhops.*

Finally, in the later end of the foreſaid Epiſtle mention alſo followeth of other revelations or ſhewings: *Wherein the Lord* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *doth vouchſafe to many of his ſervants to fore-ſhew to come the reſtoring of his Church, the ſtable quiet of our health and ſafeguard; after rain fair weather, after darkneſs light, after ſtormy tempeſt peaceable calm, the fatherly help of his love, the wont and old glory of his divine Majeſty, whereby both the blaſphemy of the Perſecutor ſhall be repreſſed, and the repentance of ſuch as have fallen be reformed, and the ſtrong and ſtable confidence of them that ſtand ſhall rejoyce and glory.* Thus much hath S. *Cyprian* written of theſe things to the Clergy. *Lib. 4. Epiſt. 4.*

*The peace of the Church to come, foreſhewed by the Lord.*

As touching now the crimes and accuſations in this Perſecution laid to the charge of the Chriſtians, this was the principal: Firſt, becauſe they refuſed to do worſhip to their Idols and to the Emperors; then for that they profeſſed the Name of Chriſt: beſides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the World, as Wars, Famine and Peſtilence, were imputed only to the Chriſtians. Againſt all which quarrelling Accuſations *Cyprian* doth eloquently defend the Chriſtians in his Book *Contra*

*Crimes and cauſes falſly laid to the Chriſtians.*

*The Apology of Cyprian for the Chriſtians.*

*Cypr. Contra Demetrianum. Cypr. de idolorum vanitate.*

*Demetrianum*: like as *Tertullian* had done before, writing *contra Scapulam. And firſt touching the objection, for not worſhipping Idols, he cleareth the Chriſtians both in his Book* Contra Demetrian. *And alſo* De vanitate idol. *proving thoſe Idols to be no true Gods, but images of certain dead Kings, which neither could ſave themſelves from death, nor ſuch as worſhip them. The true God to be but one, and that by the teſtimony of* Softhenes, Plato *and* Triſmegiſtus, *the which God the Chriſtians do truly worſhip. And as concerning that the Chriſtians were thought to be the cauſe of publick calamities, becauſe they worſhipped not the Gentiles Idols, he purgeth the Chriſtians thereof, proving that if there be any defect in increaſe of things, it is not to be aſcribed to them, but rather to the decreaſe of Nature, languiſhing now towards her age and latter end. Again, for that it hath been ſo foreſaid and propheſied, that towards the end of the World ſhould come Wars, Famine and Peſtilence. Moreover, if there be any cauſe thereof more proper than other, it is moſt like to be imputed to their vain Idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Alſo that ſuch evils be increaſed by the wickedneſs of the people, ſo that to ſpeak in his own words,* Famem majorem facit rapacitas quam ſicitas, *that is, Famine cometh more by avarice of men, than by drought of the Air; but eſpecially the cauſe thereof to proceed of the cruel ſhedding of the innocent blood of the Chriſtians, &c.*

Thus with many other more probations doth *Cyprian* defend the Chriſtians againſt the barbarous exclamations of the Heathen Gentiles. Of which *Cyprian*, for ſo much as he ſuffered in the time of this Perſecution, I mind (Chriſt willing) to recapitulate here in ample diſcourſe the full ſum, firſt of his life and bringing up, then of his death and Martyrdom, as the worthineſs of that man deſerveth to be remembred. Of this *Cyprian* therefore, otherwiſe named *Statius*, thus writeth *Nicephorus*, *Nazianzenus*, *Jacobus de Voragine*, *Henricuss de Erfordia*, *Volateranus*, *Hieronymus*, and others; that he being an *African*, and born in *Carthage*, firſt was an Idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the ſtudy and practice of the Magical Arts; of whoſe parentage and education in Letters from his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy Rhetorician in *Africa*: of whoſe Converſion and Baptiſm he himſelf in his firſt Book and ſecond Epiſtle, writeth a flouriſhing and eloquent Hiſtory. Which his converſion unto the Chriſtian Faith, as *Hieronymus* affirmeth in his Commentary upon *Jonas*, was through the grace of God, and the means of *Cecilius* a Prieſt, whoſe name after he bare, and through the occaſion of hearing the Hiſtory of the Prophet *Jonas*. The ſame *Hierome* moreover teſtifieth how he immediately upon his Converſion diſtributed among the poor all his ſubſtance, and after that, being ordained a Prieſt, was not long after conſtituted Biſhop of the Congregation of *Carthage*. But whether he ſucceeded *Agrippinus* of whom he often maketh mention (which alſo was the firſt author of Rebaptiſation) or ſome other Biſhop of *Carthage*, it remaineth uncertain. But this is moſt true, he himſelf ſhined in his office and dignity with ſuch good gifts and vertues, that, as *Nazianzenus* writeth, he had government of the whole *Eaſt Church*, and Church of *Spain*, and was called the Biſhop of the Chriſtian men.

*The Country and education of Cyprian.*

*The Converſion of Cyprian.*

*Cyprian made firſt Prieſt, then Biſhop of Carthage.*

*The vertues of Cyprians life deſcribed.*

And to the further ſetting forth (to the praiſe of God) of his godly Vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works to them that liſt to peruſe the ſame, as alſo deſcribed by other worthy Writers: he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewithal ſharp and ſevere in his office, according as the cauſe required, as appeareth in his firſt Book and third Epiſtle. Furthermore, he was moſt loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the Martyrs, as appeareth by his Letters to the Elders and Deacons of his Biſhoprick, that with all ſtudy and endeavour they ſhould gently entertain and ſhew pleaſure unto the Martyrs in his abſence, as partly is touched before.

*The care of Cyprian toward the afflicted brethren.*

The third Epiſtle of his firſt Book doth declare of what ſtomack and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumſpection, but was adorned with marvellous modeſty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the conſent of his fellow Biſhops and other inferior Miniſters: and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth Epiſtle of his third Book witneſs. He was of a marvelous liberal diſpoſition towards the poor brethren of other Countries: for ſo often as he had cauſe of abſence, he committed the care of thoſe poor men to his fellow officers, and wrote to them, that of their own proper goods they would help their baniſhed brethren to that which was neceſſary for them, as witneſſeth the twenty fourth Epiſtle of his third Book. He recited among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the Viſions and heavenly admonitions of the Perſecutions that ſhould follow, and of other matters touching the government of the Church in his firſt book and third epiſtle, and fourth book and fourth epiſtle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain Viſion which we have before ſufficiently expreſſed.

*The modeſty of Cyprian in conferring with his fellow brethren.*

*Viſions concerning the troubles and peace of the Church, recited and expounded by Cyprian.*

He had moreover great skill in the foreknowledge of things that ſhould chance, as may be gathered in the ſixth Epiſtle of his fourth book. Alſo *Auguſtine* doth attribute unto him many worthy vertues, who writeth much in ſetting forth his gifts of humility in his ſecond book of Baptiſm, the fourth Chapter againſt the *Donatiſts*; and in his ſeventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long ſufferance and patience; alſo of his courteſie and meekneſs: by which vertues he concealed nothing that he underſtood, but uttered the ſame meekly and patiently. Alſo that he kept the eccleſiaſtical peace and concord with thoſe that were of another opinion than he was of. Laſtly, that he neither circumvented nor did prejudice any man, but followed that thing which ſeemed good in his judgment, it is manifeſt in St. *Auguſtine* his firſt book, *De baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas*. Neither is this to be paſſed with ſilence, that *Hierome* writeth, that he was very diligent in reading, eſpecially the works of *Tertullian*: for he ſaith, that he ſaw a certain old man whoſe name was *Paulus*, which told him he ſaw the Notary of bleſſed *Cyprian*, being then an old man, when he himſelf was but a ſpringal in the City of *Rome*, and told him that it was *Cyprians* wont, never to let one day paſs without ſome reading of *Tertullian*, and that he was accuſtomed oftentimes to ſay unto him: *Give me my Maſter*, meaning thereby *Tertullian*.

*Cyprian meek and patient.*

*Cyprian a great reader of Tertullian*

Now a few words touching his Exile and Martyrdom. Of his Epiſtles which he wrote back to his Congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he ſheweth the vertue beſeeming a faithful Paſtor, in that he took no leſs care as well of his own Church, as of other Biſhops being abſent, than he did being preſent. Wherein alſo he himſelf doth ſignifie that voluntarily he abſented himſelf, leſt he ſhould do more hurt than good to the Congregation, by reaſon of his preſence, as is likewiſe declared before. Thus from the deſolate places of his baniſhment, wherein he was oftentimes ſought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epiſtle is manifeſt, which thing ſeemeth to be done in the Reign of *Decius* or *Gallus*. But after that he returned again out of exile in the Reign of this *Valerianus*, he was alſo after that the ſecond time baniſhed of *Paternus* the Proconſul of *Africa* into the City of *Thurbin*, as the Oration of *Auguſtine* touching *Cyprian* ſheweth; or elſe, as *Pontius* the Deacon ſaith, into a City named *Furabilitana*, or *Curabilitana*. But when *Paternus* the Proconſul was dead, *Galienus Marimus* ſucceeded in the room and office of *Paternus*, who finding *Cyprian* in a Garden, cauſed him to be apprehended by his Serjeants, and to be brought before the Idols to offer Sacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the Proconſul breaking forth in theſe words, ſaid, *Long haſt thou lived in a ſacrilegious mind, and haſt gathered together men of a wicked conſpiracy, and haſt ſhewed thy ſelf an enemy to the Gods of the* Romans, *and to their holy laws: neither could the ſacred Emperors* Valerianus *and* Galienus *revoke thee to the Sect of their ceremonies.* At length the wicked Tyrant condemned him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly ſubmitted his neck to the ſtroke of the Sword, as *Hieronymus* affirmeth. And to this bleſſed Martyr ended this preſent life in the Lord; *Xyſtus* then being Biſhop of *Rome*, as *Euſebius* noteth, in the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and nine. *Sabellicus* ſaith that he was martyred in the Reign of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*, *Lucius* being Biſhop of *Rome*: but that ſeemeth not like.

*The ſecond baniſhment of Cyprian.*

*The apprehenſion of Cyprian.*

*The Martyrdom of Cyprian.*

{Anno 259.}

Now

The Books of *Cyprian.*

Now remaineth to ſpeak ſomething likewiſe of his Works and Books left behind him, although all peradventure that he wrote do not remain: whereof ſome are miſſing, ſome again, in the livery of his Name and Title, are not his: but ſuch as be certainly his, by the ſtile and ſenſe may ſoon be diſcerned; ſuch is the eloquence of his phraſe, and gravity of his ſentence, vigor of wit, power in perſwaſion, ſo much differing from many others, as he can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the which his Books with us extant, as the flouriſhing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the School of Rhetoricians, ſo is the authority thereof no leſs of Reputation, not only among us of this age of the Church, but alſo among the ancient Fathers.

The judgement of *Auguſtine* upon the Books of *Cyprian.* *Auguſt. contra Creſcon. lib.1.ca.32.*

Whereof St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking in his commendation, ſaith, *Ego (inquit) literas* Cypriani *non ut canonicas habeo, ſed eas ex canonicis conſidero: & quod in eis divinarum Scripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus reſpuo, &c.* By which words it may appear that *Auguſtine*, although he did not repute the Books and Writings of *Cyprian* to be equivalent with the Holy Scripture, yet notwithſtanding, next after the Holy Scriptures he had the ſame in exceeding great admiration.

Sentences of *Cyprian* collected. *Ex Vincent. lib.24 c.63.*

*Vincentius* and *Lazarus Celeſtinus* reciting the names of divers Books, bearing the Title of *Cyprian* (more perchance than be truly his) do collect out of them a certain extract of his moſt pithy Sentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taſte of the ſpecial, I thought it not impertinent. As where he ſpeaking of the treaſures of a rich man, exhorteth ſaying:

*Ne dormiat in theſauris tuis, quod pauperi prodeſſe poteſt.*
Let it not ſleep in thy treaſures, that may profit the poor.

*Duo nunquam veteraſcunt in homine: cor ſemper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.*
Two things never wax old in man, the heart ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue ever in uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

*Quod aliquando de neceſſitate amittendum eſt, ſponte pro divina remuneratione diſtribuendum eſt.*
That which a man muſt needs forgo of neceſſity, wiſdom it is for a man to diſtribute ſo, that God may everlaſtingly reward him.

*Diſciplina eſt morum præſentium ordinata correctio, & malorum præteritorum regularis obſervatio.*
Diſcipline is an ordinate amendment of manners preſent, and a regular obſervation of evils paſt.

*Integritas ibi nulla eſſe poteſt, ubi, qui improbos damnent, deſunt: & ſoli, qui damnentur, occurrunt.*
There can be no integrity, whereas they which ſhould condemn the wicked, are ever wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are ever preſent.

*Avari ad hoc tantum poſſident quæ habent, ut ne alteri poſſidere liceat,*
A covetous man only poſſeſſeth his goods for this, becauſe another ſhould not poſſeſs them.

*Sericum & purpurum induta Chriſtum induere non poſſunt.*
Women, that advance themſelves in putting on ſilks and purple, cannot lightly put on Chriſt.

*Fœminæ crines ſuos inficiunt malo præſagio: capillos enim ſibi flammeos auſpicari non metuunt.*
They which colour their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to prognoſticate of what colour their hair ſhall be in Hell.

*Qui ſe pingunt in hoc ſeculo, aliter quam creavit deus; metuant, ne cum reſurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam ſuam non recognoſcat.*
They which love to paint themſelves in this world otherwiſe than God hath created them: let them fear, leſt when the day cometh of reſurrection, the Creator will not know them.

*Qui pauperi eleemoſynam dat, Deo ſuavitatis odorem ſacrificat.*
He that giveth in alms to the poor, ſacrificeth to God an odor of ſweet ſmell.

*Contemnenda eſt omnis injuria præſentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.*
All injury of evils preſent, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

*Nihil prodeſt verbis proferre virtutem, & factis deſtruere.*
To ſet out vertue in words, and to deſtroy the ſame in facts, is nothing worth.

*Quo plures domi ſunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, ſed erogandum eſt, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda ſunt, multorum purgandæ conſcientiæ.*
The more children and greater houſhold thou haſt at home, the more cauſe thou haſt not to hoord up, but to diſperſe abroad, for that many ſins are to be redeemed, many Conſciences are to be purged.

The place of Scripture expounded. *Eleemoſyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat.* Tob. 4. *Ex Cypr. lib. Epiſt. 2.*

Moreover leſt the *Papiſts* here ſhould take an occaſion by this Text, grounded upon the Text of *Tob. cap. 4. Alms* (ſaith he) *delivereth from all ſin and death*: to build up the works of ſatisfaction, the ſaid *Cyprian*, *Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.* more plainly expoundeth both himſelf, and that place of Scripture, writing in theſe words: *Quia ſcriptum eſt, Eleemoſyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat*: Tob. 4. *Non utique ab ea morte, quam ſemel Chriſti ſanguis extinxit, & a qua nos ſalutaris baptiſmi & redemptoris noſtri gratia liberavit, ſed ab illa quæ per delicta poſtmodum ſerpit, &c.* that is, *Alms do deliver from all ſin and from death*, Tob. 4. *Not from that* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *which the blood of Chriſt hath once extinguiſhed, and from which the wholeſome grace of our Baptiſm, and of our Redeemer hath delivered us, but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by ſin*, &c. *Cyprian. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.* By which words it is apparent, that *Cyprian* meaneth this deliverance (which cometh by Alms giving) from death and ſin not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlaſting, from which only the blood of Chriſt doth ſave us: but for temporal or tranſitory puniſhment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of ſin. For ſo it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal vertues may have their temporal rewards in this life, and likewiſe ſins committed, may have temporal puniſhments both in us and in our families, our eternal ſalvation ſtanding evermore firm in Chriſt yet notwithſtanding.

Twelve abuſes in the life of man noted out of *Cyprian*

The foreſaid *Vincentius* moreover ſpeaking of another Book of *Cyprian* (although the ſaid Book be not numbred in the Catalogue of his Works) maketh mention of twelve abuſes, or abſurdities in the life of man, which in order be theſe:

1. *Sapiens ſine operibus.* A wiſe man without good works.
2. *Senex ſine Religione.* An old man without Religion.
3. *Adoleſcens ſine obedientia.* A young man without obedience.
4. *Dives ſine eleemoſyna.* A rich man without Alms.
5. *Fœmina ſine pudicitia.* A woman ſhameleſs.
6. *Dominus ſine virtute.* A guid without vertue.
7. *Chriſtianus contentioſus.* A Chriſtian man contentious.
8. *Pauper ſuperbus.* A poor man proud.
9. *Rex iniquus.* A King unrighteous.
10. *Epiſcopus negligens.* A Biſhop negligent.
11. *Plebs ſine Diſciplina.* People without Diſcipline.
12. *Populus ſine lege.* Subjects without Law.

The learning of *Cyprian* enjoyed with his blemiſhes.

As we have hitherto ſet forth the commendation of *Cyprian* this bleſſed Martyr: ſo muſt we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger, which the *Papiſts* are commonly accuſtomed to run into, whoſe fault is always almoſt to be immoderate and exceſſive in their proceedings, making too much almoſt of every thing. So in ſpeaking of the Holy Sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of Sacraments require; not uſing them, but abuſing them, not referring or applying them, but adorning them, not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himſelf, turning Religion into Superſtition, and the creature to the Creator, the things ſignifying to the things themſelves ſignified, *&c.* To the Church likewiſe and ceremonies of the Church, to General Councils, to the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* Mother of Chriſt, to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to all other in like caſe, not contented to attri-

The fault of *Papiſts* to make too much of every thing.

bute that which is ſufficient, they exceed moreover, the bounds of judgment and verity, judging ſo of the Church, and General Councils, as though they could never, or did never err in any jot. That the bleſſed Mother of Chriſt amongſt all women was bleſſed, and a Virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth doth give: but to ſay that ſhe was born without all original ſin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were firſt ordained to ſerve but only for order ſake, unto the which they have attributed ſo much at length, that they have ſet in them a great part of our Religion, yea, and alſo of Salvation. And what thing is there elſe almoſt, wherein the *Papiſts* have not exceeded?

How far the authority of the Doctors ought to extend.

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the *Papiſts*, we muſt beware in commending the Doctors and Writers of the Church, and ſo commend them, that truth and conſideration, go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy *Cyprian*, and other bleſſed Martyrs were holy Men; yet notwithſtanding; they were Men, that is, ſuch as might have, and had their falls and faults; Men, I ſay, and not Angels, nor Gods; ſaved by God, not ſaviours of Men, nor Patrons of Grace. And though they were alſo men of excellent learning, and worthy Doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors alſo annexed. And though their Books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the Scriptures. And albeit they ſaid well in moſt things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they ſaid, it muſt ſtand for a truth. That preeminence of authority only belongeth to the Word of God, and not to the Pen of Man. For of Men and Doctors, be they never ſo famous, there is none that is void of his reprehenſion. In *Origen* (although in his time the admiration of his learning was ſingular) yet how many things be there, which the Church now holdeth not? But examining him by Scriptures, where he ſaid well, they admit him, where otherwiſe, they leave him. In *Polycarpus*, the Church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the *Eaſter* day after the *Jews*. Neither can holy and bleſſed *Ignatius* be defended in all his ſayings; as where he maketh the faſting upon the Sunday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kill Chriſt himſelf: *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philip.* contrary to this ſaying of Saint *Paul*, *Let no man judge you in meat and drink*: alſo where the ſaid *Ignatius* ſpeaketh *De Virginitate*, and of other things more. *Irenæus* did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He ſeemeth alſo to defend free will in man, in thoſe things alſo that be ſpiritual. He ſaith that Chriſt ſuffered after he was fifty years old, abuſing this place of the Goſpel, *Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c.* *Tertullian* (whom Saint *Cyprian* never laid out of his hands almoſt) is noted to be a *Chiliaſt*: alſo to have been of *Montanus* Sect. The ſame did hold alſo with *Juſtine*, *Cyprian*, and others, that the Angels fell firſt for the concupiſence of women: *Lib. de habitu mulierum.* He defendeth free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining alſo to the error of them, which defend the poſſibility of keeping Gods Law. Concerning Marriage; *Unum matrimonium (inquit) novimus, ſicut unum Deum*: that is, *We know* (ſaith he) *one Marriage, as we know one God*; condemning the ſecond Marriage, *Lib. de Monogam.* Divers other things of like abſurdity in him be noted. *Juſtinus* alſo ſeemeth to have inclined unto the error of the *Chiliaſts*, of the fall of certain Angels by Women, of free will of man, of poſſibility of keeping the Law, and ſuch others. Neither was this our *Cyprian*, the great Scholar of *Tertullian*, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, did hold with rebaptiſing of ſuch as were before baptiſed of Hereticks, whereof ſpeaketh Saint *Auguſtine*, miſliking the ſame error of *Cyprian*, in theſe words contained in his ſecond Book *Contra Creſconiam*. *Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego conſequi non valeo, ejus multis literis mea ſcripta non comparo, ejus ingenium diligo, ejus ore delector, ejus charitatem miror, ejus martyrium veneror: non accipio quod de baptiſandis hæreticis & ſchiſmaticis ſenſit, &c.* Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the ſaid *Cyprian* and *Stephan* Biſhop of *Rome*, as partly afore is noted. Of *Auguſtine* himſelf likewiſe, of *Ambroſe*, *Hierome*, *Chryſoſtome*, the ſame may be ſaid, that none of them all ſo clearly paſſed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpoſe at this preſent to intreat. And thus much concerning the ſtory of *Cyprian*, the holy learned Martyr of Chriſt.

The blemiſhes and errors of Doctors noted.

*Origen.*

*Polycarpus.*

*Ignatius.*

*Irenæus.*

*Tertullian.*

*Juſtinus.*

*Cyprian.*

Contention between Cyprian and Stephanus Biſhop of Rome.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and ſtory of *Cyprian*, that this *Cyprian* was not he whom the narration of *Nazianzen* ſpeaketh of (as is above mentioned) who from Art Magick was converted to be a Chriſtian, which *Cyprian* was a Citizen of *Antioch*, and afterward Biſhop of the ſame City, and was martyred under *Diocleſian*: whereas this *Cyprian* was Biſhop of *Carthage*, and died under *Valerianus*, as is ſaid, *&c.* By the decrees of *Gratian. diſt.* 10. *quoniam*, it appeareth moreover that there was alſo a third *Cyprian* in the time of *Julianus* the Emperor *Apoſtata*, long after both theſe aforenamed: for ſo giveth the title prefixed before the ſaid diſtinction, *Cyprianus Juliano Imperatori*: the diſtinction beginning: *Quoniam idem Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Chriſtus Jeſus, ſic actibus propriis, & dignitatibus diſtinctis officia poteſtatis utriuſque diſcernit, &c.* Upon the which diſtinction the gloſs cometh in with theſe words, ſaying, *that the Popedome, and the ſeat Imperial, have both one beginning of one, that is Chriſt: who was both Biſhop, and King of Kings.* And that the ſaid dignities be diſtinct, albeit the Pope notwithſtanding hath both the ſwords in his hand, and may exerciſe them both ſometime. *And therefore although they be diſtinct, yet in exerciſe the one ſtandeth lineally under the other, ſo that the imperial dignity is ſubject under the Papal Dignity, as the inferiour is ſubject under the ſuperiour: that as there is one ruler over the whole World, which is God: ſo in the Church is one Monarch, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion.* Hæc gloſſa.

*Cyprian.* A diſtinct on of *Gratian* diſproved.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, becauſe this diſtinction is fathered upon *Cyprian*, which is falſe: for this *Cyprian* was not in the time of *Julian*, not by two hundred years, and ſo likewiſe the other *Cyprian*, which died Martyr under *Diocleſian*. Of any *Cyprian* beſides theſe two we read not; neither is it credible, that, if there were any ſuch *Cyprian*, he would ever have written of any ſuch matter, of the difference and mutual need of Chriſtian Emperors and Chriſtian Popes; when as that Emperor being an *Apoſtata*, neither regarded Chriſt, nor cared for any Pope.

*Xiſtus* the ſecond Biſhop of *Rome* Martyr.

About this time, and under the ſame Emperor *Valerianus* ſuffered alſo *Xiſtus*, or *Sixtus*, the ſecond of that name, Biſhop of *Rome*, who, being accuſed of his adverſaries to be a Chriſtian, was brought with his ſix Deacons to the place of execution, where he with *Nemeſius* and other his Deacons were beheaded and ſuffered Martyrdom. *Lawrence* in the ſame time, being alſo Deacon, followed after, complaining to *Xiſtus* (as one being grieved) that he might not alſo ſuffer with him, but to be ſecluded as the ſon from the father. To whom the Biſhop anſwering again, declared that within three days he ſhould follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to diſtribute his treaſures, if he had any, unto the poor. The Judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treaſures to be given to the poor, and thinking that *Lawrence* had great ſtore of treaſure in his cuſtody, commanded him to bring the ſame unto him, according as in the diſcourſe of the ſtory here under written more fully may appear. Which Hiſtory, becauſe it is ſet forth more at large in *Prudentius*, *Ambroſe*, and other Writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the Reader; we have therefore with the more diligence here inſerted the more ample deſcription of the ſame, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glory ſhewed in him.

Six Deacons with *Xiſtus* Martyrs.

Now then, as order required, let us enter the ſtory of that moſt conſtant and couragious Martyr of Chriſt S. *Laurence*, whoſe words and works deſerve to be as freſh and green in Chriſtian hearts, as is the flouriſhing Laurel tree. This thirſty heart longing after the water of life, deſirous to paſs unto it through the ſtrait door of bitter death, when on a time he ſaw his vigilant ſhepherd *Xiſtus*, led as an harmeleſs Lamb, of harmeful Tyrants to his Death, cryed out with open mouth and heart invincible, ſaying,

The ſtory of martyrdom of *Laurence*. *Ex Ambroſ. lib. 1. offic. cap. 41. Ex Prudent. in lib. Periſteph.*

The words of *Laurence* to *Xyſtus.*

ſaying: O dear Father, Whither goeſt thou, without the company of thy dear ſon? Whither haſteneſt thou, O reverend Prieſt, without thy Deacon? Never waſt thou wont to offer ſacrifice without thy Miniſter. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Haſt thou proved unnatural? Now try, ſweet Father, whether thou haſt choſen a faithful Miniſter or not? Denieſt thou unto him the fellowſhip of thy blood, to whom thou haſt committed the diſtribution of the Lords blood? See that thy Judgment be not miſtaken, whilſt thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abuſing of the ſcholar is the diſgracing of the Maſter. What? Have we not learned that worthy Maſters have obtained moſt worthy fame by the worthy acts of their Diſciples and ſcholars? Finally, *Abraham* ſacrificed his only begotten *Iſaac*; ſtoned *Stephan*, prepared the way to Preaching *Peter*: Even ſo Father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy ſon. Offer thou him that proffereth himſelf; grant that the body of thy ſcholar may be ſacrificed, whoſe mind with good letters thou haſt beautified. Theſe words with tears Saint *Laurence* uttered, not becauſe his Maſter ſhould ſuffer, but for that he might not be ſuffered to taſte of Deaths cup which he thirſted after.

The anſwer of *Xyſtus* to *Laurence.*

Then *Xyſtus* to his ſon ſhaped this anſwer: I forſake thee not, O my ſon; I give thee to wit, that a ſharper conflict remaineth for thee. O feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and eaſier Death: But luſty and young thou art, and more luſtily, yea more gloriouſly ſhalt thou triumph over this Tyrant: Thy time approacheth, ceaſe to weep and lament, three days after thou ſhalt follow me: Decent it is that this ſpace of time come between the Prieſt and the Levite. It may not beſeem thee, O ſweet pupil, to triumph under thy Maſter, leſt it be ſaid, he wanted an helper. Why craveſt thou to be partaker with me in my paſſion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requireſt thou to enjoy my preſence? Let weak ſcholars go before, and the ſtronger come after, that thoſe without maſter may get the victory, which have no need by maſter to be governed. So *Helias* left behind him his beloved *Heliſeus*. I yield up into thy hands the ſucceſſion of my virtues. Such was their contention, not unmeet for ſo Godly a Prieſt, and ſo zealous a Miniſter; ſtriving with themſelves who ſhould firſt ſuffer for the name of Chriſt Jeſus.

In tragical Hiſtories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration, people clapped their hands, when *Pilades* named himſelf *Oreſtes*; *Oreſtes* (as truth it was) affirmed himſelf to be *Oreſtes*: *Pilades* wiſhing to die for *Oreſtes*, *Oreſtes* not ſuffering *Pilades* to loſe his life for his ſake; but neither of them might eſcape Death; for both theſe lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other conſenting. But this our *Laurence*, the Martyr moſt conſtant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, moving only by his ardent zeal and fervent ſpirit, who thirſting after the Cup of Martyrdom, had it ſhortly after filled to the hard brim.

Some ſay that this Tyrant was *Decius* the rebel Emperor, but that cannot be, except *Galienus* or ſome other judge now was called by the name of *Decius.*

Now let us draw near to the fire of Martyred *Laurence*, that our cold Hearts may be warmed thereby. The mercileſs Tyrant; underſtanding this vertuous Levite, not only to be a Miniſter of the Sacraments; but a diſtributer alſo of the Church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of *Xyſtus*) promiſed to himſelf a double prey, by the apprehenſion of one ſilly Soul. Firſt with the rake of avarice to ſcrape to himſelf the Treaſure of poor Chriſtians; then with the fiery fork of Tyranny, ſo to toſs and turmoil them, that they ſhould wax weary of their Profeſſion: With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolfe demanded where this Deacon *Laurence*, had beſtowed the ſubſtance of the Church? Who craving three days reſpite, promiſed to declare where the Treaſure might be had. In the mean time, he cauſed a good number of poor Chriſtians to be Congregated. So when the day of his anſwer was come, the perſecutor ſtrictly charged him to ſtand to his promiſe. Then valiant *Laurence* ſtretching out his Arms over the poor, ſaid: Theſe

The true Treaſure of Chriſt his Church.

are the precious Treaſure of the Church, theſe are the Treaſure indeed, in whom the faith of Chriſt Reigneth, in whom Jeſus Chriſt hath his manſion place. What more precious jewels can Chriſt have, than thoſe in whom he hath promiſed to dwell? For ſo it is written, I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourleſs, and ye lodged me. And again; Look what ye have done to the leaſt of theſe, the ſame have ye done to me. What greater riches can Chriſt our Maſter poſſeſs, than the poor People, in whom he loved to be ſeen? Oh, what tongue is able to expreſs the fury and madneſs of the tyrants Heart! Now he ſtamped, he ſtared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: His eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a Bore fomed, his teeth like a helhound grinned. Now not a reaſonable man, but a roaring Lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cryed) of wood make no ſpare. Hath this vallain deluded the Emperor? Away with him, away with him: Whip him with ſcourges, jerk him with rods, buffit him with fiſts, brain him with clubs. Jeſteth the traytor with the Emperor? Pinch him with fiery Tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the ſtrongeſt chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of Iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: Roſt him, broil him, toſs him, turn him: on pain of our high diſpleaſure do every man his office, O ye tormentors. The word was no ſooner ſpoken, but all was done.

*Laurence* tormented on the fiery gridiron.

After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid. I will not ſay on his fiery bed of Iron, but on his ſoft bed of Down. So mightily God wrought with his Martyr *Laurence*, ſo miraculouſly God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of conſuming pain, but a pallet of nouriſhing reſt was it unto *Laurence*. Not *Laurence*, but the Emperor might ſeem to be tormented: The one broyling in the fleſh, the other burning in the Heart. When this triumphant Martyr had been preſſed down with fire-picks for a great ſpace, in the mighty Spirit of God he ſpake to the vanquiſhed Tyrant.

The ſtupendar patience of *Laurence* in his pains.

*This ſide is now roſted enough, turn up O Tyrant great:*
*Aſſay whether roſted or raw, thou thinkſt the better meat.*

O rare and unaccuſtomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only not burneſt, but by means unſpeakable doſt recreate, refreſh, ſtabliſh, and ſtrengthen thoſe that are burned, afflicted and troubled. *And why ſo mightily* comforteſt thou the perſecuted? Becauſe through thee they believe in Gods promiſes infallible. By thee this glorious Martyr overcometh his torments, vanquiſheth this Tyrant, confoundeth his Enemies, confirmeth the Chriſtians, ſleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace by the life of *Laurence* to learn in Chriſt to live, and by his death to learn for Chriſt to die, Amen.

The martyr down and end of bleſſed *Laurence.*

Such is the wiſdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear Saints (like good ſeed) never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth ſome increaſe: So it pleaſed the Lord to work at the Martyrdom of this holy *Laurence*, that by the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a certain Souldier of *Rome* being therewith compunCted, and converted to the ſame faith, deſired forthwith to be Baptized of him: For the which he, being called for of the Judge, was ſcourged, and afterward beheaded. *Henr. de Erford.*

A *Roman* ſouldier converted by *Laurence*, and martyred.

Under the ſame *Velerianus*, ſuffered alſo *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, much affliction and baniſhment, with certain other brethren: Of the which he writeth himſelf, and is alledged in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtory of *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap.* 11. the words whereof tend to this effect. *Dionyſius* with three of his Deacons, to wit, *Maximus*, *Fauſtus* and *Cheremon*, alſo with a certain Brother of *Rome*, came to *Emilianus* then preſident, who were declared unto them in circumſtance of words, how he had ſignified unto them the clemency of his Lords and Emperors; who had granted them pardon of life, ſo that they would return to them, and worſhip the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Empery, asking them what anſwer they would give him thereunto: Truſting as he ſaid that they would not ſhew themſelves ingrateful, to the clemency of them which ſo gently did exhort them. To this *Dionyſius* anſwering, ſaid: All men worſhip not all Gods, but divers men, divers Gods; ſo as every one hath in himſelf a mind or Phantaſie to worſhip. But we worſhip not many, nor divers Gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our Lords, *Valerianus* and *Galienus*, the government of their Empery, making to him our prayers inceſſantly

*Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, with his fellowes baniſhed.

*Maximus*, *Fauſtus*, *Cheremon*, a certain *Roman* baniſhed.

The examination of *Dionyſius* before the Preſident.

for their proſperous health and continuance. Then the Preſident ſaid: And what hurt is it, ſith that you may both worſhip your God, what God ſoever he be, and theſe our Gods alſo? For you are commanded to worſhip ſuch Gods, as all men know to be Gods. *Dionyſius* anſwered, We worſhip none other, but as we have ſaid. *Emilianus* the Preſident ſaid; I ſee you are ingrateful men, and conſider not the benignity of the Emperor; wherefore you ſhall remain no longer in this City, but ſhall be ſent out to the parts of *Libya*, unto a Town called *Cephro*: For that place by the commandment of the Emperor I have choſen for you. Neither ſhall it be lawful for you to convent your aſſemblies, or to reſort as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you ſhall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye ſhall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you. And it followeth more in the ſaid *Dionyſius*, ſpeaking of himſelf: And as for me (ſaith he) although I was ſick, yet he urged me ſo ſtrictly to depart, that he would not give me one days reſpite. And how (ſaid he, writing to *Germanus*) could I congregate or not congregate any aſſemblies? And after a few lines it followeth; And yet neither am I altogether abſent from the Corporal ſociety of the Lords flock, but I have collected them together, which were in the City, being abſent, as though I had been preſent; abſent in body, yet preſent in Spirit. And in the ſame *Cephro*, a great Congregation remained with me, as well of thoſe brethren which followed me out of the City, as alſo of them which were remaining there out of *Egypt*. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his Word: Although at the firſt entrance I was perſecuted and ſtoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their Idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And ſo by us the Word was preached to them which before were infidels: Which Miniſtery after that we had accompliſhed there, the Lord removed us to another place. For *Emilianus* tranſlated us from thence to more ſharp and ſtricter places of *Libia*, and commanded us to meet all together at the City *Mareota*: Thinking there to ſeparate us ſeverally into ſundry Villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent us by the way. After we were come thither, it was aſſigned to me (ſaith *Dionyſius*) to go to *Colluthian*, which place I never heard of before: Which was the more grief to me; yet ſome ſolace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was near to a City named *Paretonium*. For as my being at *Cephro* got me the acquaintance of many brethren of *Egypt*, ſo my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I ſhould be) to the City, might procure the familiarity and converſe of certain loving brethren, which would reſort and aſſemble with us, and ſo it came to paſs, &c.

The conſtant confeſſion of *Dionyſius* and his Deacons.

*Dionyſius* baniſhed to *Cephro*.

Infidels converted by *Dionyſius* in his baniſhment. *Ex Dionyſio contra Germanum. Ex Euſeb. lib. 7.*

Moreover, the ſaid *Dionyſius* in his Epiſtle, *Ad Domitium & Dydimum*, making mention of them which were afflicted in this perſecution of *Valerian*, recordeth in theſe words, ſaying: *It were ſuperfluous (ſaith he) here to recite the names, peculiarly of all our brethren ſlain in this perſecution, which both were many, and to me unknown.* But this is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, ſouldiers, ſimple innocents, and of all ſorts and ages of men. Of whom ſome with ſcourgings and fire, ſome with ſword obtain victory, and got the Crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reſerved. In the which number am I reſerved hitherto, to ſome other opportune time known unto the Lord, which ſaith: *In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of ſalvaton I have helped thee, &c.* Now as concerning my ſelf in what ſtate I am, if thou deſire to know firſt how I and *Caius*, and *Fauſtus*, *Petrus* and *Paulus*, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certain of the Town of *Mareota*, I have declared to you before. Now I and *Caius*, and *Petrus* alone are left here included in a Weſt place of *Libia*, diſtant the ſpace of three days journey from *Paretonium*, &c. And in proceſs further he addeth: In the City (ſaith he) were certain which privily viſit the brethren: Of Prieſts, *Maximus*, *Dioſcorus*, *Demetrius* and *Lucius*. For they which were more notable in the world, *Fauſtinus* and *Aquila*, do wander abroad in *Egypt*. Of the Deacons beſides them whom ſickneſs hath conſumed, *Fauſtus*, *Euſebius*, and *Cheremon* are yet alive. *Euſebius* hath God raiſed and ſtirred up to miniſter to the confeſſors lying in bands, and to bury the bodies of the bleſſed Martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the Preſident ceaſe yet to this day, cruelly murthering ſuch as be brought before him, tearing ſome with torments, impriſoning and keeping ſome in cuſtody, commanding that no man ſhould come to them, enquiring alſo who reſorted unto them. Yet notwithſtanding God with cheerfulneſs, and daily reſort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. *Hæc Dionyſius.*

*Ex Dionyſio ad Domitium & Dydimum. Euſeb. ibid.*

Martyrs of all ſorts and ages.

Concerning theſe Deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that *Euſebius* afterward was made Biſhop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. *Maximus* the Prieſt aforeſaid, had the miniſtration of the Church of *Alexandria* after *Dionyſius*. *Fauſtus* long after continued in great age, unto the laſt perſecution, where he being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a Martyr.

*Euſebius* the Deacon made Biſhop of *Laodicea*. *Maximus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Fauſtus* long preſerved, at laſt a martyr.

As touching *Dionyſius* himſelf, thus the ſtories report, that he ſurviving all theſe troubles and perſecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of *Valerian*, unto the twelfth year of the Reign of *Galienus*, which was about the year of our Lord, two hundred threeſcore and eight; and ſo departed in peace in great age, after that he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* the ſpace of ſeventeen years, and before that had taught the School of the ſaid City of *Alexandria*, the term of ſixteen years, after whom ſucceeded *Maximus*, as is above ſpecified. And thus much touching the full ſtory of *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, and of other alſo, Martyrs and confeſſors of *Alexandria*.

The end and death of *Dionyſius*.

*Priſcus*, *Malchus*, *Alexander*, a woman, Martyrs.

In *Ceſarea Paleſtine* ſuffered alſo the ſame time *Priſcus*, *Malchus* and *Alexander*, the which three dwelling in the Country, and good men, ſeeing the valiant courage of the Chriſtians, ſo boldly to venture, and conſtantly to ſtand, and patiently to ſuffer in this perſecution, as men being grieved with themſelves, began to repent and accuſe their ſo great ſluggiſhneſs, and cowardly negligence, to ſee others ſo zealous and valiant, and themſelves ſo cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the Crown of Chriſtian martyrdom: And firſt conſulting and agreeing with themſelves, they came to *Ceſarea*, and there ſtepping to the Judge, declared themſelves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beaſts. After which manner alſo and in the ſame City of *Ceſarea*, a certain woman, whoſe name *Euſebius* expreſſeth not, who had been before of the ſect of *Marcion*, was brought before the Preſident, and likewiſe obtained the ſame Martyrdom, *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 12.*

*Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 12.*

Neither was the City of *Carthage* all this while free from the ſtroke of this perſecution, if credit ſhould be given to the ſpeculative glaſs of *Vincentius*, who citing it out of *Hugo*, recordeth of three hundred Martyrs, of which three hundred Martyrs, the ſtory ſaith thus, that the Preſident ſetting before them coals and incenſe to do ſacrifice by a lime-kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition, either to ſet incenſe to the coals for ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, or elſe to go into the furnace of lime: Whereupon they all together with a general motion, ſuddenly ruſhed into the kiln, and there with the duſty ſmoke of the lime were ſmothered. *Vincent. Erford.*

Three hundred martyres in *Carthage*. *Ex ſpecul. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 83.*

In *Africa* alſo, in the City of *Tuburba*, the ſaid *Vincentius* out of the Martyrology inferreth mention of three conſtant virgins, *Maxima*, *Donatilla*, and *Secunda*; who, in the perſecution of this *Valerian* and *Galienus*, firſt had given for their drink vinegar and gall, then with ſcourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime, then were ſcorched upon the fiery grid-iron, at laſt were caſt to the wild beaſts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the ſword were beheaded, *Vincent. Erford.*

*Maxima*, *Donatilla*, *Secunda*, virgins, Martyrs.

In *Simela*, a City in *Italy*, under the *Alps*, one *Pontius* being there apprehended, by the commandment of *Claudius* the Preſident, was hanged firſt upon the rack, then was caſt to the wild beaſts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally, not touched therewith (if the ſtory of *Vincentius* be true) was beheaded by the rivers ſide, and his body thrown into the flood, where immediately the ſame hour, the foreſaid *Claudius*, with his aſſiſtant *Anabius*, were taken with wicked ſpirits, by whom they were ſo miſerably vexed that they bit off their tongues, and died.

*Pontius* martyr.

*Ex Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77. Ex Bergomen. lib. 8. Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 17.*

Commendation of *Euſebius* the Deacon.

*Zenon*,

*Zenon* Martyr.

*Zenon* Biſhop of *Verona*, is ſaid alſo in the ſame perſecution to ſuſtain Martyrdom.

*Bergomenſis* reproved.

Moreover, in the ſame City of *Alexandria* aforeſaid, *Bergomenſis* in his eighth Book, writing of the ſtory of *Valerianus* Emperor, maketh mention of *Philippus*, Biſhop of the ſaid See of *Alexandria*, who (as he ſaith) was under the ſaid *Valerian* beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved ſtory, nor ſtandeth it with the truth of time that any ſuch *Philip* was then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, or any other, except only *Dionyſius*. After whom next ſucceeded *Maximus*, who remained eighteen years, and after him *Theonas*, *&c.* So that, by the ancient Records of old Writers, it appeareth not that *Philippus*, or any other of that name was Biſhop of *Alexandria*, during this time ſignified by *Bergomenſis*.

Although in ſome other later Writers, as *Equilinus*, *Antoninus*, and *Bergomenſis*, I find a certain Hiſtory of one *Philippus*, Preſident of *Alexandria* about the ſame time of *Valerian* and *Galienus*, elected by the Emperor and Senate of *Rome*, to govern thoſe quarters, where he was at length converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and after made Prieſt or Biſhop (as they ſay) of *Alexandria*: but that not to be ſo, the teſtimony of ancient Writers doth manifeſt. The Hiſtory of this *Philippus*, witneſſed in our later Chronicles, is this, *Philippus* being promoted to the Preſidentſhip of *Alexandria*, came down with his wife *Claudia*, and his two Sons, *Avitus* and *Sergius*, and with his Daughter named *Egenia*, of the which *Eugenia* a long Hiſtory full of ſtrange and prodigious Miracles is written of *Antoninus* and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the ſtory, leaving to the judgment of the Reader the credit of mine Authors, as he ſhall ſee cauſe.

*Ex Antonin. part. 1. cap. 6.*

*The ſtory of Philippus and Eugenia*

This *Eugenia* Daughter of *Philippus*, being of ſingular beauty, and diligently brought up by her Parents in the ſtudy of Science and Learning, was by occaſion of hearing *Chriſtians* reduced and brought up to Chriſtianity, with two other *Eunuchs* her School-Fellows, called *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*: with whom ſhe taking counſel, upon occaſion (whether to avoid the danger of Perſecution, or refuſing to marry with a *Pagan*) unknown to her Parents and Friends did fly away; and becauſe the more boldly ſhe might reſort to hear the Readings of *Helenus* then an aged Biſhop, and of others, ſhe changed her ſelf into mans Apparel, and named her ſelf *Eugenius*, under the which name ſhe was at length admitted unto a certain Monaſtery, or a Society of *Chriſtians* in the Suburbs of *Alexandria* (although I hardly believe that any Monaſtery of *Chriſtians* was then in the Suburbs of *Alexandria* permitted) where alſo at the laſt, for her excellency of Learning and Vertue, ſhe was made Head of the Place.

*Eugenia, Prothus, Hiacinthus*, converted.

*Eugenia* leaving her Parents, changeth her ſelf into mans apparel.

*Helenus* Biſhop of *Hieropolis.*

Here by the way I omit the Miracles of the foreſaid *Helenus*, Biſhop (as the ſtory ſaith) of *Hieropolis*, how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himſelf to go in the burning fire, to refel wicked *Zereas* a *Pagan*, remaining in the ſame unburned. Here alſo I omit the careful ſearch of her Parents for her, and of the anſwer of the *Pithoniſſe* again unto them, that ſhe was taken up to Heaven among the goddeſſes. I omit moreover the Miracles done by the ſaid *Eugenia*, in healing the Diſeaſes and Sickneſſes of ſuch as came to her, &c. The ſtory proceedeth thus, Among others which were by this *Eugenius* cured and reſtored, there was a certain Matron of *Alexandria*, named *Melancia*; who, after ſhe had uſed the help and acquaintance of *Eugenius*, ſuppoſing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, ſeeking by all means how to accompliſh the luſt of her Concupiſcence. Inſomuch that in her daily viſiting of her, at length ſhe began ſecretly to break her mind, and to intice her to her lewdneſs. *Eugenius* contrarily exhorted her to vertue and honeſty, ſhewing her the miſeries of this life, and the peril of that folly. *Melancia* ſeeing that by no means ſhe would be allured, nor by force drawn to her deſire, and fearing moreover, that ſhe in detecting of her, would bring her to ſhame, beginning firſt to make an Out-cry of *Eugenius*, declaring how that ſhe went about corruptly to deflower her; and ſo preſented her Accuſation before *Philippus* the Preſident, as well againſt *Eugenius*, as alſo againſt the reſt of that Company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the Crime began to ſeem ſuſpicious, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was objected againſt the *Chriſtians*. By reaſon whereof *Eugenius* with her fellow *Chriſtians* was now not only in great hatred, but alſo in danger of preſent death and deſtruction. Then *Eugenius* purging her ſelf and her honeſtly, although with ſufficient probation; yet notwithſtanding, perceiving that whatſoever ſhe ſaid could take no place, and ſeeing no time now to diſſemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own ſelf, as ſpecially of her Brethren, which troubled her more: ſhe deſired of the Judge place and time to make manifeſt to him the truth, and ſo ſhewed her ſelf what ſhe was, and how ſhe was his Daughter, the other to be *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*, the two *Eunuchs*, her School-Fellows, uttering moreover to him and to her Brethren, the cauſe of her departing from them. At the Narration whereof, *Philippus* her Father, and her two Brethren coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy, in receiving their *Eugenia* again, whom they thought had been loſt. No leſs gladneſs was among the people, to ſee the evidence of the matter ſo plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falſeneſs of the other. Whereat the malignant Accuſer was with double ſhame confounded, firſt, for her diſhoneſty falſly cloaked; ſecondly, for the untruth of her Accuſation openly detected. *Bergomenſis* addeth moreover, that the ſaid Accuſer was ſtricken preſently with lightning. Thus *Eugenia* trying her honeſty to her Parents and Friends, was not only received of them again, but alſo by the Grace of the Lord working with her, in the ſpace of time did win them to Chriſt. Whereby *Philippus* the Father of her by Nature, now by Grace was begotten of his own Daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been loſt, not only he found again, but alſo with her found his own Soul, and his own life, which before he had loſt indeed. This *Philippus* (ſaith the ſtory) was made afterward Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and there ſuffered Martyrdom. Concerning whoſe Martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that cannot be admitted, as is before ſufficiently proved out of *Euſebius* and other ancient Hiſtorians.

*Eugenia* known of her Parents.

*Falſe accuſation convicted.*

*Philippus* by his daughter converted unto Chriſt.

*Philippus* Martyr.

Likewiſe it is ſaid, that *Eugenia*, after the Martyrdom of her Father, returning to *Rome* with *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*, by occaſion of converting *Baſilla* (who ſhould have been married to a *Pagan* Husband, and was then beheaded) to the Chriſtian Faith, was aſſailed with ſundry kinds of death: firſt, being tied to a great ſtone and caſt into *Tiber*, where ſhe was carried up from drowning, then put in the hot Baths, which were extinguiſhed, and ſhe preſerved: afterward by famiſhment in Priſon, where they ſay ſhe was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary Miracles I leave to the Reader to judge of them as ſhall ſeem good unto him. At laſt the ſtory ſaith, ſhe was with the Sword beheaded. *Antonin. Bergom. Ado.*

*Baſilla, Eugenius* Martyrs.

And becauſe in this preſent Hiſtory mention was made of *Helenus*, whom *Antoninus* with his Fellows noteth to be the Biſhop of *Hieropolis*, here is to be underſtood and obſerved by the way, that as *Philippus* in the foreſaid Hiſtory is falſly ſaid to be Biſhop of *Alexandria*; ſo likewiſe untrue it is, that *Helenus* was Biſhop of *Hieropolis*. For by *Euſebius* it appeareth, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* alledging the words of *Dionyſius*, that he was Biſhop of *Tarſus*, in *Cilicia*, and had there overlight of that Church from the time of our Lord God, two hundred fifty and four, to the year of our Redemption two hundred ſeventy and four.

*Corrections in the ſtory above touched. Ex Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 5.*

*Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus.*

The ſixth year of *Valerianus* and *Galienus* we read in the Hiſtory of *Herfordienſis*, cited out of *Iſuardus*, of *Victor* and *Victorinus*, who lying in Priſon the ſpace of three years with *Claudianus* and *Boſſa* his wife, are ſaid to have ſuſtained great Torments and Martyrdom for the teſtimony and Name of Chriſt, *Ex Iſuardo.* { Anno 262. } *Victor, Victorinus, Claudianus, Boſſa*, Martyrs.

*Aurelius Prudentius*, in his Book, Intituled, *Periſtephanon*, inferreth mention of *Fructuoſus* Biſhop of *Tarraconia* in *Spain*, who, with his two Deacons, *Auguſtus* and *Eulogius*, ſuffered alſo Martydom, being burned after ſix days Impriſonment under the foreſaid Emperors in this Perſecution. The cauſe of their Puniſhment was for the Profeſſion of Chriſts Name; their Judge and Condemner was *Emilianus*; their Impriſonment endured ſix days; the kind of death miniſtred unto them was fire; wherein they being all together caſt with their Arms bound behind

*Fructuoſus* Biſhop of *Tarraconia* in *Spain*, with his two Deacons, *Auguſtus, Eulogius*, Martyrs. *Ex Prudent. Periſtephe.*

hind them; their Bands (as *Prudentius* writeth) were diſſolved, their Hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this Judge unto the Biſhop was this, *That he ſhould worſhip the gods whom the Emperor* Galienus *worſhipped.* To whom *Fructuoſus* the Biſhop anſwering, *Nay* (ſaith he) *I worſhip no dumb god of Stocks and Blocks, whom* Galienus *doth worſhip, but I worſhip the Lord and Maſter of* Galienus, *the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son ſent down to us, of whoſe Flock I am here the Paſtor and Shepheard.* At this word *Emilianus* anſwering again, *Nay* (ſaith he) *ſay not thou art, but ſay thou waſt.* And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is ſaid) their bands and manacles being looſed by the fire, they litted up their hands to Heaven, praiſing the living God, to the great admiration of them that ſtood by, praying alſo that the Element, which ſeemed to fly from them, might work his full force upon them, and ſpeedily diſpatch them; which was after their requeſt obtained. In the mean ſpace, as they were in the fire, there was a certain Souldier in the houſe of *Emilianus*, who did ſee the Heavens above to open, and theſe foreſaid Martyrs to enter into the ſame, which Souldier likewiſe ſhewed the ſight the ſame time unto the Daughter of *Emilianus* the Preſident, who, beholding the ſame ſight with the Souldier, was a preſent witneſs of the bleſſedneſs of them whom her cruel Father had condemned.

*Fructuoſus* and his Deacons ſtrengthned in the fire.

The favour of God toward his Martyrs openly declared.

As this godly Biſhop was preparing to his death (ſaith *Prudentius*) the Brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, deſiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refuſed to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readineſs the Brethren alſo were diligent about him to pluck off his ſhoos and hoſe, as he was addreſſing himſelf to the fire: but neither would he ſuffer any Servants help in that wherein he was no leſs willing than able to help himſelf. And thus this bleſſed and fruitful Biſhop *Fructuoſus*, with his two Deacons *Augurius* and *Eulogius*, being brought to the fire, witneſſed the conſtant Confeſſion of the Name of Chriſt with the ſhedding of their blood. *Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.*

The modeſty of *Fructuoſus.*

And thus far continued wicked *Valerian* in his tyranny againſt the Saints of Chriſt. But as all the Tyrants before, and Oppreſſors of the *Chriſtians* had their deſerved reward at the juſt hand of God, *which rendreth to every man according to his Works:* ſo this cruel *Valerian*, after he had raigned with his Son *Galienus* the term of ſix or ſeven years, and about two years had afflicted the Church of Chriſt, felt the juſt ſtroke of his hand, whoſe Indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witneſs *Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus:* for making his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, whether by the fraud and treaſon of ſome about him, or whether by his own raſhneſs, it is doubtful: but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his Enemies, being about the age of fourſcore years; where he led his wretched age in a more wretched Captivity. Inſomuch that *Sapores* the King of the *Perſians* uſed him (and well worthy) not for his riding-ſool, but for his riding-block: for whenſoever the King ſhould light upon his Horſe openly in the ſight of the people, *Valerian*, Emperor *Quondam*, was brought forth in ſtead of a block for the King to tread upon his back in going to his horſeback. And ſo continued this blockiſh butcherly Emperor with ſhame and ſport enough unto his final end, as witneſſeth *Letus* and *Aurelius Victor.*

The notable plague of God againſt *Valerian* the Perſecutor.

Gods puniſhment to be noted.

Albeit *Euſebius*, in a certain Sermon to the Congregation, declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was ſlain, writing in theſe words, *Sed & tu* Valeriane, *quoniam eandem homicidiorum ſævitiam erga ſubditos Dei exercuiſti, juſtum Dei judicium declaraſti, dum captivus ac vinctus una cum ipſa purpura ac reliquo Imperatorio ornatu abductus ac tandem a Sapore Perſarum Rege excoriari juſſus ſaleque conditus perpetuum infelicitatis tuæ trophæum erexiſti, &c.* that is, And thou *Valerian*, for ſo much as thou haſt exerciſed the ſame cruelty in murthering of the Subjects of God, therefore haſt proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thy ſelf haſt been bound in Chains, and carried away for a Captive Slave with thy gorgeous Purple, and thy imperial Attire, and at length alſo, being commanded of *Sapores*, King of the *Perſians* to be ſlain and powdered with ſalt, haſt ſet up unto all men a perpetual Monument of thine own wretchedneſs, &c. *Euſeb.*

*Ex Euſeb. in ſermone ad conventum Sanctorum.* *Valerian* the perſecuting Emperor excoriat of the *Perſians.*

The like ſeverity of God his terrible judgment is alſo to be noted in *Claudius* his Preſident and Miniſter of his Perſecutions. Of which *Claudius Henricus de Erfordia* thus writeth, that he was poſſeſſed and vexed of the Devil, in ſuch ſort, that he biting off his own Tongue in many ſmall pieces, ſo ended his life. *Erford.*

The Puniſhment of God upon *Claudius*, Preſident to the Emperor

Neither did *Galienus* the Son of *Valerian*, after the Captivity of his Father, utterly eſcape the righteous hand of God: for beſide the miſerable captivity of his Father, whom he could not reſcue, ſuch portents ſtrange and out of the courſe of nature, ſuch Earth-quakes did happen; alſo ſuch Tumults, Commotions and Rebellions did follow, that *Trebellio* doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in ſundry places all at one time took upon them to be Tyrants and Emperors over the Monarchy of *Rome*, by the means whereof he was not able to ſuccour his Father, though he would. Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Galienus*, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his Father, did remove, at leaſt did moderate the Perſecution ſtirred up by the Edicts of *Valerian* his Father, directing forth his Emperial Proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be ſeen in *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 13. Emperor and* Cæſar, *Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus*, unto *Dionyſius*, to *Pinna*, and to *Demetrian*, *and to all other the like Biſhops. The bountiful benignity of my gift I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed through the whole World, to the intent that ſuch, which are detained in baniſhment for diſcipline ſake, may ſafely return home again from whence they came, and for the ſame cauſe I have here ſent to you the example of my reſcript for you to peruſe and to enjoy; ſo that no man be ſo hardy to vex or moleſt you; and this which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long ſince by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the ſame, I have committed the examplar hereof to the cuſtody of* Aurelianus Cirenius *my chief Steward, where you may fetch the Copy to ſee at your pleaſure.*

*Galienus* plagued for his perſecution.

Peace granted to the Church.

*Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 13.*

This Mandate above prefixed did *Galienus* ſend to *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, and other Biſhops, as is premiſed. Another reſcript alſo the ſaid Emperor ſent to other Chriſtian Biſhops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places where they were wont to aſſociate together, called of them *Cæmiteria.*

Another grant of *Galienus* unto the Chriſtian Biſhops. Anno 263.

By this it may appear that ſome peace was granted then under this *Galienus* to the Church of Chriſt: albeit not ſo, but that ſome there were which ſuffered, of whom was one *Marinus* mentioned in *Euſebius, lib. 7.* This *Marinus*, being a Warrior and a Nobleman in *Ceſarea*, ſtood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of courſe was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him, that ſhould follow next after him, ſupplanted him both of office and life; for he accuſed him to be a *Chriſtian*, and therefore ſaid that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was againſt their Religion. Whereupon *Achaius*, then being Judge, examined him of his Faith; who finding him to be a *Chriſtian* indeed, and conſtantly to ſtand to his Profeſſion, gave him three hours to deliberate and adviſe with himſelf. There was the ſame time in *Ceſarea* a Biſhop named *Theotechnus*, otherwiſe called *Theodiſtus*, who perceiving him to ſtand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himſelf, took him by the hand and brought him into the Houſe or Church of the *Chriſtians*, laying before him a Sword (which he had under his Cloke for the ſame purpoſe) and a Book of the *New Teſtament*, and ſo willed him to take his free choice which of them both he would prefer. The Souldier immediately without delay ran to the Book of the Goſpel, taking that before the Sword. And then he being animated by the Biſhop, preſented himſelf boldly before the Judge, by whoſe Sentence he was beheaded, and died a Martyr. *Euſebius ibidem.*

*Marinus* Martyr. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 14.*

*Theotechnus* Biſhop of *Ceſarea.*

*Marinus* animated by the Biſhop to die.

*Euſeb. ibid.*

Whoſe body being dead, one *Aſterius* a noble Senator of *Rome*, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that Order (who in the ſame time was there preſent at his Martyrdom) took up and bare upon his own ſhoulders, wrapping it in a rich and ſumptuous Weed, and ſo honourably committed it to the burial. *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

*Aſterius* a rich Senator and Conſeſſor.

*Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 16.*

Of

Of which *Aſyrius* the ſaid Author writeth moreover this ſtory, How that in the foreſaid City of *Ceſarea*, the *Gentiles* uſed thereof an ancient cuſtom to offer up a certain Sacrifice by a Fountain ſide, the which Sacrifice by the working of the Devil was wont ſuddenly to vaniſh out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the Inhabiters by. *Aſyrius* ſeeing this, and pitying the miſerable error of the ſimple people, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Chriſt, that the people might not be ſeduced of the Devil any longer: by the vertue of whoſe prayer the Sacrifice was ſeen to ſwim in the water of the Fountain; and ſo the ſtrange wonder of that ſight was taken away, and no ſuch matter could be there wrought any more. *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 17.

The work of Satan diſappointed by the prayer of *Aſyrius*. *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 17.

And becauſe mention is made here of *Ceſarea*, there followeth in the next Chapter of the ſame Author a ſtrange Miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the ſame City was the woman which in the Goſpel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody Iſſue, her houſe being in the City of *Ceſarea*. Before the door thereof was ſet up a certain pillar of ſtone, and upon the Pillar an Image was made of braſs, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had ſome ſuit. Againſt the which there was another Image alſo of a man proportioned of the ſame metal, cunningly engraven in a ſhort ſeemly Veſture, and ſtretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which Pillar grew up a certain herb of a ſtrange kind, but of a more ſtrange operation, which growing up to the hem of his Veſture, and once touching the ſame, is ſaid to have ſuch vertue, that it was able to cure all manner of Diſeaſes. This picture of the man (they ſay) repreſented the Image of Chriſt. The Hiſtory is written in *Euſebius*, as is ſaid; the credit whereof I refer to the Reader, whether he will think it true or falſe. If he think it falſe, yet I have ſhewed him mine Author: if he think it true, then muſt he think withall that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the vertue of the Picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumb Pictures, and ingraven no doubt at that time by the hand of Infidels; but to be wrought by ſome ſecret permiſſion of God his wiſdom, either to reduce the Infidels at that time to the belief of the ſtory, or to admoniſh the *Chriſtians* to conſider with themſelves what ſtrength and health was to be looked for only of Chriſt and no other Advocate; ſeeing the dumb Picture, ingraven in braſs, gave his efficacy to a poor herb to cure ſo many Diſeaſes. This Picture (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained alſo to his time, which was under *Conſtantinus* the Great.

A miracle noted in *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 18.

A miraculous operation of an herb, touching the picture to heal diſeaſes

No virtue to be aſcribed to pictures.

As touching the line and order of the *Roman* Biſhops hitherto intermitted; after the Martyrdom of *Xiſtus* above ſpecified, the government of that Church was committed next to one *Dionyſius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred ſixty and ſix: Who continued in the ſame the ſpace of nine years, as *Euſebius* ſaith; as *Damaſus* recordeth, but only ſix years and two months. Of his decretal Epiſtles, becauſe ſufficient hath been ſaid before concerning that matter, I omit to ſpeak. After whom ſucceeded *Felix* in the firſt year of *Probus* the Emperor, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty, who governed that Church five years, and died, as *Platina* ſaith, a martyr. After him followed *Eutychianus*, and then *Gaius*, both Martyrs, as the Hiſtories of ſome do record.

*Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*. { Anno 264. } *Felix* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr. *Eutychianus* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr. *Gaius* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr.

About the time of theſe Biſhops lived *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Neoceſarea*, who is otherwiſe called *Gregorius Magnus*, whom alſo *Nicephorus* for his miracles calleth Θαυματουργον.

Thus *Galienus* the foreſaid Emperor reigned, as is declared, with his Father *Valerian* ſeven years, after whoſe Captivity he ruled the Monarchy alone about nine years, with ſome peace and quietneſs granted to the Church.

The death of *Galienus* Emperor. { Anno 272. }

The days of this *Galienus* being expired, followed *Claudius* a quite Emperor, as moſt ſtories do record. Although *Vincentius* affirmeth that he was a mover of Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, and maketh mention of two hundred ſixty and two Martyrs, which in his time did ſuffer; but becauſe no ſuch Record remaineth to be found in *Euſebius*, who would not have omitted ſome memorial thereof, if it had been true, therefore I refer the ſame to the free judgment of the Reader, to find ſuch credit as it may. This *Claudius* reigned but two years, after whom came *Quintilianus* his Brother, next Emperor, and a quiet Prince, who continued but only ſeventeen days, and had to his Succeſſor *Aurelianus*; under whom *Oroſius* in his ſeventh Book doth number the ninth Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*.

*Quintianus* Emperor.

## *The ninth Perſecution.*

The ninth perſecution. *Aurelianus* Emperor.

Hitherto from the Captivity of *Valerian*, the Church of Chriſt was in ſome quietneſs till the death of *Quintilianus*, as hath been declared; after whom *Aurelianus* the next Succeſſor poſſeſſed the Crown; who in the firſt beginning of his Reign (after the common manner of all Princes) ſhewed himſelf a Prince moderate and diſcreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a conſtant courſe agreeing to the ſame. Of nature he was ſevere, and rigorous in correcting, diſſolute in manners; inſomuch as it was ſaid of him in a vulgar Proverb, *That he was a good Phyſitian, ſaving that he gave too bitter Medicines*. This Emperor being ſick, never ſent for Phyſitian, but cured himſelf with abſtinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitful to the Common-wealth, ſo neither was he any great Diſturber of the *Chriſtians*, whom he did not only tolerate in their Religion, but alſo their Councils; and they being the ſame time aſſembled at *Antioch*, he ſeemed not to be againſt them. Notwithſtanding in continuance of time, through ſiniſter motion and inſtigation of certain about him, (as commonly ſuch are never abſent in all places from the ears of Princes) his nature, ſomewhat inclinable to ſeverity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny firſt he ſhewed, beginning with the death of his own Siſters Son, as witneſſeth *Eutropius*. After that he proceeded either to move, or at leaſt to purpoſe Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*; albeit that wicked purpoſe of the Emperor the merciful working of God his hand did ſoon overthrow. For as the Edict or Proclamation ſhould have been denounced for the perſecuting of the *Chriſtians*, and the Emperor now ready to ſubſcribe the Edict with his hand, the mighty ſtroke of the hand of the Lord ſuddenly from above did ſtop his purpoſe, binding, (as a man might ſay) the Emperors hands behind him, declaring (as *Euſebius* ſaith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence againſt the Servants of God, unleſs his permiſſion do ſuffer them, and give them leave. *Euſeb. lib.* 7. *cap.* 30. *Eutropius* and *Vopiſcus* affirm, that as the ſaid *Aurelianus* was purpoſing to raiſe Perſecution againſt us, he was ſuddenly terrified with Lightning, and ſo ſtopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the fifth or ſixth year of his Reign, he was ſlain between *Biſance* and *Heraclea*, in the year of our Lord two hundred ſeventy and eight. Thus *Aurelianus* rather intended than moved perſecution. Neither is there any more than this found concerning this Perſecution in ancient Hiſtories and Records of the Church: wherefore I marvail the more that *Vincentius*, collecting out of the *Martyrologies*, hath comprehended ſuch a great Catalogue of ſo many Martyrs, which in *France* and in *Italy* (ſaith he) ſuffered death and torments under this Emperor *Aurelianus*; whereunto *Oroſius* alſo ſeemeth to agree in numbring this to be the ninth Perſecution under the ſaid *Aurelian*.

A Proverb; A good Phyſitian, but he giveth too bitter medicines. Abſtinence the beſt phyſick.

The Counſil of *Antioch*.

The good beginning of *Aurelian*. The Emperor altered by wicked counſel.

A notable example of Gods hand ſtopping perſecution.

*Ex Euſeb. lib.* 7. *ca.* 30. No power againſt the people of God, except God give leave.

The death of *Aurelianus*. { Anno 276 }

Next after *Aurelianus* the ſucceſſion of the Empire fell to *Publius Annius Tacitus*, who reigned but ſix months; him ſucceeded his Brother *Florianus*, who reigned but threeſcore days; and after him followed *Marcus Aurelius*, ſirnamed *Probus*. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) ſhall appear.

*Ex Eutropio.* *Tacitus* Emperor. *Florianus* Emperor.

In the mean time, within the compaſs of theſe Emperors falleth in a ſtory recorded of *Euſebius*, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to underſtand the faithful diligence of good Miniſters, what good it may do in a Common-wealth.

Mention is made before of *Euſebius* the Deacon of *Dionyſius*, whom God ſtirred up to viſit and comfort the Saints that were in priſon and bands, and to bury the bodies of the bleſſed Martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made Biſhop (as is ſaid) of *Laodicea*. But before he came to *Laodicea* to be Biſhop there, it chanced, the ſaid *Euſebius* remaining as yet at *Alexandria*, the City to be beſieged of the *Romans*, *Pyruchius* being their Captain. In which ſiege half of the

City

*Euſebius* Deacon of *Alexandria.* *Anatholius* Rector of the Univerſity of *Alexandria.*

City did hold with the *Romans*, the other half withſtood them. In that part which went with the *Roman* Captain was *Euſebius*, being alſo in great favour with the Captain for his worthy fidelity and ſervice ſhewed: with the other half that reſiſted the *Romans* was *Anatholius* Governor or Moderator then of the School of *Alexandria*, who alſo was Biſhop, after the ſaid *Euſebius*, of *Laodicea*. This *Anatholius*, perceiving the Citizens to be in miſerable diſtreſs of Famine and Deſtruction, by reaſon of penury and lack of ſuſtenance, ſendeth to *Euſebius* being then with the *Romans*, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the City, inſtructing him moreover what to do in the matter: *Euſebius*, underſtanding the caſe, repaireth to the Captain, deſiring of him ſo much favour, that ſo many as would fly out of the City from their Enemies, might be licenſed to eſcape and freely to paſs, which was to him eaſily granted. As *Euſebius* was thus labouring with the Captain; on the other ſide *Anatholius* for his part laboured with the Citizens, moving them to aſſemble together, and perſwading them to give themſelves over, in yielding to the force and might of the *Romans*. But when the Citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; Yet (ſaid *Anatholius*) with this I truſt you will be contented, if I ſhall counſel you in this miſerable lack of things to avoid out of your City all ſuch ſuperfluities and unneceſſary Impediments unto you, as old Women, young Children, aged Men, with ſuch other as be feeble and impotent, and not ſuffer them here to periſh with famine, whoſe preſence can do no ſtead to you if they die, and leſs if they live, for ſpending the Victuals which otherwiſe might ſerve them that be more able to defend the City. The Senate hearing this Sentence, and underſtanding moreover the grant of the Captain promiſing them their ſafety, were well conſenting thereunto. Then *Anatholius* having a ſpecial care to them that belonged to the Church of Chriſt, calleth them together with the reſt of the multitude, and perſwading them what they ſhould do, and what had been obtained for them, cauſed them to void the City, and not only them, but alſo a great number of other more; who perſwaded by him under that pretence, changing themſelves in womens Apparel, or faining ſome impotency, ſo eſcaped out of the City. At whoſe coming out, *Euſebius* on the other ſide was ready to receive them, and refreſhed their hungry and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole City of *Alexandria* was preſerved from deſtruction. *Euſeb. lib 7. cap. 32.* *Euſub. lib. 7. cap. 32.*

The piety of *Anatholius* and *Euſebius* to their Country.

The Prelates of *Rome* are clean contrary to theſe good Prelates.

By this little Hiſtory of *Euſebius* and *Anatholius*, deſcribed in the ſeventh Book of *Euſebius*, *cap.* 32. and briefly here ſet forth to thee (gentle Reader) thou mayſt partly underſtand the practiſe of the Prelates, what it was in thoſe days in the Church, which was then only imployed in ſaving of life, and ſuccouring the Common weals wherein they lived, as by theſe two godly perſons *Euſebius* and *Anatholius* may well appear. Unto the which practiſe if we compare the practice of our later Prelates of the Church of *Rome*, I ſuppoſe no little difference will appear.

*Marcus Aurelius Probus* Emperor.

Peace in the Church.

The ſaying of *Marcus Aurelius.*

The next Emperor to *Florianus* (as is ſaid) was *Marcus Aurelius Probus*, a Prince both wiſe and vertuous, and no leſs valiant in martial Affairs, than fortunate in the ſucceſs of the ſame. During his time we read of no Perſecution greatly ſtirring in the Church, but much quietneſs as well in matters of Religion, as alſo in the Commonwealth. Inſomuch that, after his great and many Victories, ſuch peace inſued, that his ſaying was, *There needed no more Souldiers, ſeeing there were no more Enemies to the Common-wealth to fight againſt.* It was his ſaying alſo, *That his Souldiers need not to ſpend Corn and Victual, except they laboured to ſerve the Common-wealth.* And for the ſame cauſe he cauſed his Souldiers to be ſet a work about certain Mountains in *Smyrna* and in *Meſſia* to be planted with Vines, and not ſo much as in Winter ſuffered them to be at reſt; therefore by them at length he was ſlain, after he had reigned the ſpace of ſix years and four months, in the year of our Lord two hundred eighty and four, *Eutrop.*

Souldiers brought up in idleneſs can abide no labour.

*Marcus Aurelius* ſlain.

Anno 284

*Carus* with his two ſons *Carinus* and *Numerianus* Emperor.

*Carus* Emperor ſlain with lightning.

*Carus*, with his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, ſucceeded next after *Probus* in the Empire: the Reign of which Emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which Three firſt *Carus*, warring againſt the *Perſians*, was ſlain with Lightning. Of *Numerianus* his Son, being with his Father in his Wars againſt the *Perſians*, we find much Commendation in *Eutropius*, *Vopiſcus*, and other Writers, which teſtified him to be a valiant Warrior, and an eloquent Orator, as appeared by his Declamations and Writings ſent to the Senate; thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This *Numerianus*, ſorrowing and lamenting for the death of his Father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great ſoreneſs of his eyes; by reaſon whereof he keeping cloſe was ſlain not long after of his Father in law, named *Aper*; who, traytorouſly aſpiring to the Empire, diſſembled his death with a falſe excuſe to the people asking for him, ſaying, *For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather, till at length by the ſtinch of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.*

Correction of a verſal place of Eutropius. *Ex editione Frobeniana.*

In the life this Emperor *Carus* aforeſaid, written by *Eutropius* in the later Edition ſet forth, by *Frobenius*, I find (which in other Editions of *Eutropius* doth not appear) that *Numerianus*, the Son of this *Carus*, was he that ſlew *Babylas* the holy Martyr, whoſe Hiſtory before we have comprehended. But that ſeemeth not to be like, both by the Narration of *Chryſoſtome*, and alſo for that *Urſpergenſis* declaring the ſame Hiſtory, and in the ſame words, as it is in *Eutropius*, ſaith that it was *Cyrillus* whom *Numerianus* killed, the ſtory whereof is this, What time *Carus* the Emperor, in his Journey going toward the *Perſians*, remained at *Antioch*, *Numerianus* his Son would enter into the Church of the *Chriſtians*, to view and behold their Myſteries. But *Cyrillus* their Biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him to enter into the Church, ſaying, *That it was not lawful for him to ſee the Myſteries of God, who was polluted with Sacrifices of Idols.* *Numerianus* full of indignation at the hearing of theſe words, not ſuffering that repulſe at the hands of *Cyrillus*, in his fury did ſlay the godly Martyr. And therefore juſtly (as it ſeemed) was he himſelf ſlain afterward by the hands of *Aper*.

*Cyrillus* refuſeth the Emperor.

*Cyrillus* Biſhop of *Antiochia* Martyr.

*Ex Chron. Urſpergen.*

Thus *Carus* with his Son *Numerianus* being ſlain in the *Eaſt* parts, as is declared, *Carinus* the other Son reigned alone in *Italy*; where he overcame *Sabinus* driving for the Empire, and reigned there with much wickedneſs, till the returning home of the Army again from the *Perſians*, who then ſet up *Diocleſian* to be Emperor; by whom the foreſaid *Carinus* for the wickedneſs of his life, being forſaken of his Hoſt, was overcome, and at length ſlain with the hand of the Tribune, whoſe wife before he had defloured. Thus *Carus* with his two Sons, *Numerinus* and *Carionus*, ended their lives, whoſe Reign continued not above three years.

*Carinus* Emperor ſlain. Adultery punished.

All this mean ſpace we read of no great Perſecution ſtirring in the Church of Chriſt, but it was in mean quiet ſtate and tranquility, unto the nineteenth year of the Reign of *Diocleſian*; ſo that in counting the time from the later end of *Valerian* unto this aforeſaid year of *Diocleſian*, the peace of the Church, which God gave to his people, ſeemeth to continue above four and forty years. During the which time of peace and tranquility, the Church of the Lord did mightily increaſe and flouriſh, ſo that the more bodies it loſt by Perſecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the *Gentiles* in all quarters, both *Greeks* and barbarous; inſomuch that (as *Euſebius* in his ſeventh Book deſcribeth) amongſt the Emperors themſelves, divers there were which not only bare ſingular good will and favour to them of our Profeſſion, but alſo did commit unto them Offices and Regiments over Countries and Nations, ſo well were they affected to our Doctrine, that they priviledged the ſame with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to ſpeak of them which not only lived under the Emperors in liberty; but alſo were familiar in the Court with the Princes themſelves, intertained with great honour and ſpecial favour beyond the other Servitors of the Court? As was *Dorotheus*, with his Wife, Children, and whole Family, highly accepted and advanced in the Palace of the Emperor; alſo *Gorgonius* in like manner with divers others more, who, for their Doctrine and Learning which they profeſſed, were with their Princes in great eſtimation. In like reverence alſo were the Biſhops of Cities and Dioceſſes with the Preſidents and Rulers where they lived: who not only ſuffered them to live in peace, but alſo had them in great price and regard, ſo long as they kept themſelves upright, and continued in God his favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and Congregations aſſembling toge-

Anno 289.

The peace of the Church from *Valerian* to the tenth perſecution laſted four and forty years.

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.* *Dorotheus* *Gorgonius*, Chriſtians of great reputation in the Emperors Court.

The peaceable ſtate of the Church deſcribed.

together in every City, and the notable concourſes of ſuch as daily flocked to the common Oratories to pray? For the which cauſe they, being not able to be contained in their old houſes, had large and great Churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In ſuch increaſement (ſaith *Euſebius*) by proceſs of time did the Church of Chriſt grow and ſhoot up daily more and more, profiting and ſpreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could inchant, neither the crafty policy of mans wit could ſupplant, ſo long as the protection of God his heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Chriſtian life.

*Corruption through much peace and proſperity crept into the Church.*

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of it ſelf unruly and untoward, always ſeeketh and deſireth proſperity, and yet can never well uſe proſperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace always abuſeth the ſame: ſo here likewiſe it hapned with theſe men, which through this ſo great liberty and proſperity of life began to degenerate and languiſh unto idleneſs and delicacy, and one to work Spite, and contumely againſt another, ſtriving and contending amongſt themſelves, for every occaſion, with railing words after moſt deſpiteful manner; Biſhops againſt Biſhops, and people againſt people, moving hatred and ſedition one againſt another, beſides alſo curſed hypocriſie and ſimulation with all extremity increaſing more and more. By reaſon whereof the judgment of God after his wonted manner (whilſt yet the congregation began to multiply) began by a little and a little to viſit our men with Perſecution, falling firſt upon our Brethren, which were abroad in warfare; but when that touche the other nothing or very little, neither did they ſeek to appeaſe Gods wrath and call for his mercy; but wickedly thinking with our ſelves, that God neither regarded nor would viſit our tranſgreſſions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they which ſeemed to be our Paſtors, refuſing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one againſt another. And thus whilſt they were given only to the ſtudy of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutual hatred and diſcord, every man ſeeking his own ambition, and perſecuting one another after the manner of tyranny: then, then, I ſay, the Lord according to the voice of *Jeremy*, took away the beauty of the Daughter of *Sion*, and the glory of *Iſrael* fell down from Heaven neither did he remember the footſtool of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord overturned all the comely ornaments of *Iſrael*, and deſtroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and according to the ſaying of the Pſalm, ſubverted and extinguiſhed the Teſtament of his ſervant, and prophaned his Sanctuary in deſtruction of his Churches and in laying waſt the buildings thereof, ſo that all paſſengers ſpoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the dwellers about. For he exalted the ſtrength of his enemies, and turned away the help of his ſword from her, nor aided her in the battel, but ceaſed from the purging of her and her ſeat. He ſtroke down to the ground, and diminiſhed her days, and over all this poured upon her contuſion. All theſe things were fulfilled upon us, when we ſaw the Temples raced from the top to the ground and the Sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market-place, and the Paſtors of the Church to hide themſelves, ſome here, ſome there; ſome other, taken priſoners with great ſhame, were mocked of their enemies, when alſo according to the ſaying of the Prophet in another place, Contempt was poured out upon the Princes, and they cauſed to go out of the way, and not to keep the ſtraight path.

*Hatred and diſdain among the Churchmen.*

*Chriſtians perſecuting one another*

*The wrath of God toward his people.*

## *The Tenth Perſecution.*

*The Tenth Perſecution.*

BY reaſon whereof (the wrath of God being kindled againſt his Church) enſued the Tenth and laſt Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, ſo horrible and grievous, that *The* it maketh the Pen almoſt to tremble to write upon it; ſo tedious that never was any Perſecution before or ſince comparable to it for the time it continued, laſting the ſpace of ten years together. This Perſecution although it paſſed through the hands of divers Tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of *Diocleſian*, who was Emperour, as is above noted, next after *Carus* and *Numerianus*. This *Diocleſian*, ever having an ambitious mind, aſpired greatly to be Emperour. To whom *Druas* his Concubine ſaid, That firſt he ſhould kill a wild Boar before he ſhould be Emperour. He, taking effect at theſe words, uſed much with hands to kill wild Boars: but ſeeing no ſucceſs to come thereof, he uſed this Proverb, *Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur*, that is, *I kill the Boars, but others do eat the fleſh*. At length the ſaid *Diocleſian* being nominated to be Emperour, and ſeeing *Aper* (who had killed *Numerianus* the Emperour) ſtanding thereby, ſware to the Souldiers that *Numerianus* was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running upon *Aper* with his ſword ſlew him: *Vopiſc.* After this, he being ſtabliſhed in the Empire, and ſeeing on every ſide divers and ſundry commotions riſing up againſt him, which he was not well able himſelf to ſuſtain, in the firſt beginning of his raign he choſeth for his Colleague *Maximianus*. Sirnamed *Herculius*, Father of *Maxentius*. Which two Emperours, becauſe of divers Wars that roſe in many Provinces, choſe to them two other Noblemen, *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, whom they called *Ceſars*. Of whom *Galerius* was ſent into the Eaſt parts againſt the *Perſians*. *Conſtantius* was ſent over to *Britain*, to this our Country of *England*, to recover the tribute, where he took to Wife *Helena* the Daughter of King *Coill*, which was a Maiden excelling in beauty, and no leſs vertuouſly brought up in the ſtudy of learning, of whom was born *Conſtantinus* the Great.

*Aper* ſlain which ſlew *Numerianus* { Anno 290. }

*Maximianus Herculius*, fellow Emperor with *Diocleſian*.

*Galerius, Conſtantius, Ceſars*, under *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*.

*Helena* Daughter of *Coill* married to *Conſtantinus*

All this while hitherto no Perſecution was yet ſtirred of theſe four Princes againſt the Church of Chriſt, but quietly and moderately they governed the Commonwealths wherefore accordingly God proſpered their doings and affairs, and gave them great Victories: *Diocleſian* in *Egypt*, *Maximian* in *Africk*, and in *France*, *Galerius* in *Perſia*, *Conſtantius* in *England*, and in *France* alſo. By reaſon of which Victories, *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* puft up in pride, ordained a ſolemn Triumph at *Rome*, after which Triumph *Diocleſian* gave commandment that he ſhould be worſhipped as God, ſaying, that he was brother to the Sun and Moon, and adorning his ſhoos with gold and precious ſtones, commanded the people to kiſs his feet.

*Pride in Diocleſian.*

And not long after by the judgment of God, for certain enormities uſed in the Church, above touched, began the great and grievous Perſecution of the Chriſtians, moved by the outragious cruelty of *Diocleſian*, which was about the Nineteenth year of his reign, who in the Month of *March*, when the Feaſt of *Eaſter* was nigh at hand, commanded all the Churches of the Chriſtians to be ſpoiled and caſt to the earth, and the Books of holy Scripture to be burned.

*Cruelty followeth pride.*

{ Anno 308. }

*Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians.*

Thus moſt violent Edicts and Proclamations were ſet forth, for the overthrowing, as is ſaid, of the Chriſtians Temples throughout all the *Roman* Empire. Neither did there want in the Officers any cruel execution of the ſame Proclamations. For their Temples were defaced even when they celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, *Euſeb. Lib.* 8. *Cap.* 2. And this was the firſt Edict given out by *Diocleſian*. The next Proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the Books of the Holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open Market-place as before: then next unto that were Edicts given forth for the diſplacing of ſuch as were Magiſtrates, and that with great ignominy, and all other whoſoever bear any office, impriſoning ſuch as were of the common ſort, if they would not abjure Chriſtianity, and ſubſcribe to the Heathen Religion: *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 3. & *Nicephorus lib.*7. *cap.*4. *Zonaras* alſo in his ſecond Tome. And theſe were the beginning of the Chriſtians evils.

*Chriſtian Temples deſtroyed. Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 2.

*Books of the Scriptures burned.*

*Chriſtian Magiſtrates diſplaced. Chriſtian ſubjects impriſoned. Euſeb. lib.* 8. *c.* 2. *Nicepho lib.* 7. *cap.*4. *Zonaras Tom.* 2.

It was not long after but that new Edicts were ſent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferior to the firſt: for the caſting of the Elders and Biſhops into priſon, and then conſtraining them with ſundry kinds of puniſhments to offer unto their Idols. By reaſon whereof enſued a great perſecution amongſt the Governours of the Church, amongſt whom many ſtood manfully, paſſing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diverſly, ſome ſcourged all their bodies over with whips and ſcourges, ſome with racks and raiſings of the fleſh intolerable were cruciated, ſome one way, ſome another way put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the unpure ſacrifice, and as though they had ſacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Other ſome neither coming at all to their Altars, nor touching any piece of their ſacrifices, yet were born in hand of them that ſtood by, that they had

*Biſhops and Elders conſtrained with torments to ſacrifice.*

*Diocleſian Emperor. Eut. Vopiſ.*

ſacrificed, and ſo ſuffering that falſe infamation of their enemies quietly went away. Other, as dead men, were carried and caſt away being but half dead. Some they caſt down upon the Pavement, and trailing them a great ſpace by the legs, made the people believe that they had ſacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which ſtoutly withſtood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no ſuch ſacrifice. Of whom ſome ſaid they were Chriſtians, and gloried in the profeſſion of that name: ſome cried, ſaying, that neither they had nor would ever be partakers of that Idolatry: and thoſe, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the Souldiers, were made to hold their peace, and ſo thruſt out with violence. And if the Saints did ſeem never ſo little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpoſe of the adverſary did nothing prevail againſt the holy and conſtant ſervants of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding, of the weak ſort innumerable there were, which for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the firſt brunt.

The noble courage and conſtancy of a Chriſtian Martyr.

At the firſt coming down of theſe Edicts into *Nicomedia*, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Chriſtian, being a noble man born; which moved by the zeal of God, after the Proclamation made at *Nicomedia* was ſet up, by and by ran and took down the ſame, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the preſence of the two Emperors, then being in the City. For which act he was put to a moſt bitter death, which death he with great faith and conſtancy endured even to the laſt gaſp. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 3. & 5.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 3. 4.

Perſecution firſt beginning in the Emperors Camp.

After this the furious rage of the malignant Emperors, being let looſe againſt the Saints of Chriſt, proceeded more and more, making havock of Gods people throughout all quarters of the world. Firſt, *Diocleſian* (which had purpoſed with himſelf to ſubvert the whole Chriſtian Religion) executed his Tyranny in the Eaſt, and *Maximianus* in the Weſt. But wily *Diocleſian* began very ſubtilly; for he put the matter firſt in practiſe in his own Camp, among whom the Marſhal of the field (as *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 4. affirmeth) put the Chriſtian Souldiers to this choiſe, whether they would obey the Emperors commandment in that manner of ſacrifice he commanded, and ſo both to keep their offices, and lead their bands, or elſe to lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the Chriſtian men couragiouſly anſwered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but alſo to ſuffer death, if it ſhould with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the Emperor.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 4.

A notable Religion and faith in Soldiers.

There might a man have ſeen very many which were deſirous to live a ſimple and poor life, and which regarded no eſtimation and honour in compariſon of true piety and godlineſs. And this was no more but a ſubtil and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profeſſion or not; as alſo this was another, that in the beginning of the Perſecution, there were but a few tormented with puniſhment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifeſtly to burſt out into perſecution. It can hardly be expreſſed with words what number of Martyrs, and what blood was ſhed throughout all Cities and Regions for the name of Chriſt. *Euſebius* in his Eighth Book, and ſeventh Chapter ſaith, that he himſelf knew the worthy Martyrs that were in *Paleſtina*. But in *Tyre* of *Phenicia* he declareth, in the ſame, a marvellous Martyrdom made, where certain Chriſtians being given to moſt cruel wild Beaſts, were preſerved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and thoſe Lions, Bears, and Leopards (kept hungry for that purpoſe) had no deſire to devour them: which notwithſtanding moſt vehemently raged againſt thoſe by whom they were brought into the Stage, who ſtanding as they thought without danger of them, were firſt devoured. But the Chriſtian Martyrs, becauſe they could not be hurt of the Beaſts, being ſlain with the ſword, were afterward thrown into the Sea. At that time was martyred the Biſhop of *Sidon*. But *Sylvanus* the Biſhop of *Gazenſis*, with nine and thirty others were ſlain in the Metal-mines of *Phenicia*. *Pamphilus* the Elder of *Ceſarea*, being the glory of that Congregation, died a moſt worthy Martyr; whoſe both life and moſt commendable Martyrdom, *Euſebius* oftentimes declareth in his Eighth Book, and thirteenth Chapter, inſomuch that he hath written the ſame in a Book by it ſelf. In *Syria* all the chief Teachers of the Congregation were firſt committed to priſon, as a moſt heavy and cruel ſpectacle to behold; as alſo the Biſhops, Elders, and Deacons, which all were eſteemed as men-killers, and perpetrators of moſt wicked facts. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6. After that we read of another whoſe name was *Tirannion*, which was made meat for the Fiſhes of the Sea, and of *Zenobius* which was a very good Phyſician, which alſo was ſlain with Brickbats in the ſame place. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 13.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 7.

Martyrs of Tyre in Phenicia.

Pamphilus Biſhop of Ceſarea Martyr. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 12.

Martyrs of *Syria*.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8 *cap.* 6. *Tyrannion* Martyr. *Zenobius* a Phyſician, Martyr.

Furthermore, he maketh mention in the ſame place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and feared without ceaſing: of ſome others that were brought to the ſacrifice, and commanded to do ſacrifice, which would rather thruſt their right hand into the fire, than touch the prophane or wicked ſacrifice; alſo of ſome others, that before they were apprehended, would caſt down themſelves from ſteep places, leſt that being taken they ſhould commit any thing againſt their profeſſion. Alſo of two Virgins very fair and proper, with their Mother alſo, which had ſtudiouſly brought them up, even from their infancy in all godlineſs, being long ſought for, and at the laſt found, and ſtrictly kept by their Keepers; who, whilſt they made their excuſe to do that which nature required, threw themſelves down headlong into a River: alſo of other two young Maidens being Siſters, and of a worſhipful ſtock, indued with many goodly vertues, which were caſt of Perſecutors into the Sea; and theſe things were done at *Antioch*, as *Euſebius* in his eighth Book, and thirteenth Chapter affirmeth. But *Sylvanus* the Biſhop of *Emiſſa*, the notable Martyr together with certain others was thrown to the Wild Beaſts, *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 13.

Two Virgins with their Mother, Martyrs.

Two other maidens, Siſters, Martyrs.

*Sylvanus* Biſhop of *Emiſſa*, Martyr.

Divers and ſundry torments were the Chriſtians in *Meſopotamia* moleſted with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the ſmoke of a ſmall fire ſtrangled; and alſo in *Cappadocia*, where the Martyrs had their legs broken: *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 12.

Martyrs of *Meſopotamia* *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 12.

Martyrs of *Cappadocia*.

*Henricus de Erfordia* maketh mention of the Martyrs of *Tharſus* in *Cilicia*, as *Tharatus*, *Probus* and *Andronicus*: but yet the Martyrs in the Region of *Pontus* ſuffered far more paſſing and ſharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention, *Euſebius ibid.* So outragious was the beginning of the Perſecution which the Emperor made in *Nicomedia* in *Bithinia*, as before is ſaid, that he refrained not from the ſlaughter of the Children of Emperors, neither yet from the ſlaughter of the moſt chief Princes of his Court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own Children. Such another was *Peter*, which among divers and ſundry torments (among whom he being naked, was lifted up, his whole body being ſo beaten with Whips and torn, that a man might ſee the bare bones; and after they had mingled Vinegar and Salt together, they poured it upon the moſt tender parts of his body, and laſtly, roaſted him at a ſoft fire, as a man would roaſt fleſh to eat) as a victorious Martyr ended his life. *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, being in a great Authority and Office under the Emperor, after divers torments were ſtrangled with a Halter: both which being of the Privy Chamber to him, when they ſaw and beheld the grievous puniſhment of *Peter* their houſhold companion, Wherefore (ſay they) O Emperor, do you puniſh in *Peter* that opinion which is in all us? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confeſs? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almoſt with like pains to be tormented as *Peter* was, and afterwards hanged. *Euſeb. Ruffin. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6. After whom *Anthimus* the Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, after he had made a notable Confeſſion, bringing with him a great company of Martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men being thus diſpatched, the Emperor vainly thought that he might cauſe the reſt to do whatever him lifted. To this end came *Lucianus* the Elder of the Congregation of *Antioch*, and was martyred, after he had made his Apology before the Emperor. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 13.

Martyrs of *Tharſus*, *Tharatus*, *Probus*, *Andronicus*, Martyrs.

Martyrs of *Pontus*.

Martyrs of *Nicomedia*.

Perſecution in *Nicomedia* exceeding.

*Peter* a moſt valiant and conſtant Martyr.

*Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, Martyrs.

*Anthimus* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* with a great multitude of Martyrs beheaded.

*Lucianus* the Elder of *Antioch*, Martyr.

*Hermanus* alſo, that monſter, cauſed *Serena* the Wife of *Diocleſian* the Emperor to be martyred for the Chriſtian

*Serena* wife of *Diocleſian* Emperor, Martyr.

Religion:

*Niceph. li. 7. cap. 14. Eulampius, Eulampia, Agape, Irene Chionia, Anaſtaſia,* Martyrs.

Religion: ſo much did the rage of Perſecution utterly forget all natural affects. Other Martyrs of *Nicomedia* doth *Nicephorus* in his Seventh Book, and fourteenth Chapter recite, as *Eulampius* and *Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia,* and *Anaſtaſia,* who under *Illyricus,* chief Officer, were bound hand and foot to a poſt and burnt. *Vincent. lib.* 12. *cap.* 66. and alſo *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6. mentioneth ſuch another like matter full of horror and grief. There aſſembled together in their Temple many Chriſtian men to celebrate the memory of the Nativity of Chriſt, of every age and ſort ſome. There *Maximianus* thinking to have been given a very fit occaſion to execute his tyranny upon the poor Chriſtians, ſent thither ſuch as ſhould burn the Temple; the doors being ſhut and cloſed round about, thither come they with fire, but firſt they commanded the Cryer with a loud voice to cry, That whoſoever would have life ſhould come out of the Temple, and do ſacrifice upon the next altar of *Jupiter* they came to; and unleſs they would do this, they ſhould all be burnt with the Temple. Then one ſtepping up in the Temple, anſwered in the name of all the reſt with great courage and boldneſs of mind, that they were all Chriſtians, and believed that Chriſt was their only God and King, and that they would do ſacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghoſt; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With theſe words the fire was kindled and compaſſed about the Temple, and there were burnt of men, women and children, certain thouſands. There were alſo in *Arabia* very many Martyrs ſlain with axes, as *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 12. There was in *Phrygia* a City, unto which the Emperor ſent his Edicts, that they ſhould do ſacrifice to the Gods, and worſhip Idols; all which Citizens, the Mayor himſelf, the Queſtor, and chief Captain, confeſſed that they were all Chriſtians. The City upon this was beſieged and ſet on fire, and all the people. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 11. In *Melitina* a Region of *Armenia*, the Biſhops and Elders were caſt in priſon. *Euſeb. eodem cap.* 6. In *Arabrace* a Region near adjoyning to *Armenia, Euſtratius* was martyred, as *Nicephorus* declareth, *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 14. This *Euſtratius* was that Countryman born, and very skilful in the *Greek* Tongue, executing by the Emperors commandment the Sheriffs Office at *Licia* in the Eaſt, which alſo did execution there upon the Chriſtians, and was a Tribe of great eſtimation, called *Ordinis Ducalis.* This man beholding the marvellous conſtancy of the Martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of Martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the Chriſtian Religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accuſers, detected himſelf, and worthily profeſſed that he was a Chriſtian, openly execrating the madneſs and vanity of the wicked Ethnicks. He therefore being carried away, was tyed up, being firſt moſt bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire being put unto his bowels, and then baſted with ſalt and vinegar, and laſtly ſo ſcorched and bemangled with the ſhards of ſharp and cutting ſhels, that his whole body ſeemed to be all one continual wound; howbeit, by Gods great goodneſs, afterward it was reſtored to the firſt integrity. After this he was carried away to *Sebaſtia*, where with his companion *Oreſtes* he was burnt. At that time alſo ſuffered *Eugenius, Aurentius, Mardarius. Niceph. lib.* 7. *cap.* 14. And in no leſs wiſe raged this perſecution throughout all *Egypt*, where *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 13. maketh mention of *Peleus* and *Nilus* Martyrs and Biſhops in *Egypt.* But at *Alexandria* eſpecially were declared moſt notable conflicts of Chriſtian and true conſtant Martyrs that ſuffered; which *Phileas* the Biſhop of *Thumitan* deſcribeth, as after (God willing) ſhall be declared. In this Perſecution of *Alexandria*, the principal that then ſuffered was *Peter* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, with the Elders of the ſame, moſt worthy Martyrs: as *Fauſtus, Didius,* and *Ammonius,* alſo *Phileas, Heſichius, Pachiminus,* and *Theodorus*; which all were Biſhops of the Congregations within *Egypt*, and beſides them many other both famous and ſingular men. The whole Legion of Chriſtian Souldiers, which lay at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, under the Chriſtian Captain *Mauritius*, when they would not obey the Emperors commandment touching the worſhipping of Images, were tyched to death once, and then again: and at laſt, through the exhortation of *Maurtitius*, died all together like conſtant Martyrs. *Vincentius in Speculo, lib.* 13. *cap.* 2. Likewiſe at *Antino* divers Chriſtian Souldiers, notwithſtanding they were ſeriouſly diſſwaded, ſuffered death together, among whom were *Aſcla, Philemon,* and *Apollonius, Ibidem cap.* 50. And alſo in the other parts of *Africa*, and *Mauritania*, was great Perſecution, as *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6. Alſo in *Sammium*, of which place *Chronicon* maketh mention, and *Sicilia*, where were ſeventy nine Martyrs ſlain for the profeſſion of Chriſt. *Henr. de Erfordia.*

*Niceph. li.* 7 *cap.* 14. *Oreſtes, Martyr, Eugenius, Aurentius, Mardarius, Peleus, Nilus,* Biſhops, and Martyrs in *Egypt.*

*Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria. Fauſtus, Didius, Ammonius, Phileas, Heſichius, Pachiminus, Theodorus,* Biſhops and Martyrs.

The Chriſtian Souldiers and Martyrs of *Thebes.*

The Chriſtian Souldiers and Biſhops in *Antino. Aſcla, Philemon, Apollonius,* Martyrs.

Seventy nine Martyrs.

Now let us come unto *Europe*: *Nicephorus* in his Seventh Book, and fourteenth Chapter ſaith, that at *Nicopolis* in *Thracia*, the Martyrs were in moſt miſerable and pitiful wiſe handled, where *Liſias* had the execution thereof. In *Chalcedon* ſuffered *Euphemia* under *Priſcus* the Proconſul. *Vincent. lib.* 12. *cap.* 77.

The Perſecution in *Europe. Euphemia.*

*Henricus de Erfordia* ſaith, that at *Rome, Joannes* and *Criſpus* being Prieſts, had the execution of Martyrs. And at *Bohemia, Agricola* and *Vitalis. Vincent lib.* 12. *cap.* 49. And at *Aquileia* the Emperor commanded every man to kill the Chriſtians. *Vincent. lib. eodem cap.* 58. And among thoſe Martyrs he maketh mention of *Felices* and *Fortunatus. Reginus* alſo writeth that in other places of *Italy* the Perſecution became great, as at *Florentia, Pergamus, Naples, Campania, Beneventus*, at *Vemuſa* in *Apulia*, and in *Thuſcia. Henricus de Erfordia* ſaith, alſo at *Verona*. In *France* doubtleſs *Rectionarus* appointed to that office, played the cruel Helhound, of whoſe great cruelty againſt the Chriſtians many Hiſtories are full. At *Mediolanus* ſuffered *Victor*. And at *Maſſilia, Maximianus* ſet forth his Decree, that either they ſhould all do ſacrifice unto the Gods of the Gentiles, or elſe be all ſlain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many Martyrs there died for the glory of Chriſt. *Antoninus & Vincent. lib.* 12. *cap.* 2. In *Beluacus* ſuffered *Lucian.*

Perſecution in *France.*

*Victor*, Martyr.

*Lucianus*, Martyr.

*Vincentius* and *Reginus* write of many places in *Spain*, where was great Perſecution, as at *Emerita*, where ſuffered *Eulalia*, of whom more followeth hereafter; and *Adula*, where alſo ſuffered *Vincentius, Sabina*, and *Chriſtina*. At *Toletum* ſuffered *Leucadia* the Virgin at *Ceſarea Auguſta*, where were put to death eighteen, beſides a great number of other Martyrs which ſuffered under *Decianus* the Governour, which afflicted with Perſecution all the Coaſts of *Spain*, as ſaith *Vincent. lib.* 13. *cap.* 123, 124, 128, 130, 134. The foreſaid *Rectionarus* made ſuch Perſecution at *Trevers* near the river of *Moſella*, that the blood of the Chriſtian men that were ſlain ran like ſmall Brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this ſuffice him, but from thence he ſent certain Horſemen with his Letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all ſuch as had taken and apprehended any Chriſtians, that they ſhould immediately put them to death. *Vincentius lib.* 13. *cap.* 136.

The Perſecution in *Spain.*

*Eulalia, Adula, Vincentius, Sabina, Chriſtina, Leucadia*, Martyrs.

Eighteen Martyrs in *Spain.*

*Rectionarus* a notable Tyrant.

The blood of the Chriſtians made rivers.

Alſo *Henricus de Erfordia* and *Reginus*, make mention of great perſecution to be at *Colonia*, where *Agrippina* and *Auguſta* were martyred, as alſo in the Province of *Rhetia*.

*Agrippina, Auguſta*, Martyrs.

*Beda* alſo ſaith, that this Perſecution reached even unto the *Britans*, in his Book, *De ratione temporum*. And the Chronicle of *Martinus*, and the *Noſegay of Time* do declare, that all the Chriſtians in *Britany* were utterly deſtroyed. Furthermore, that the kinds of death and puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, as no mans tongue is able to expreſs. In the beginning, when the Emperor by his ſubtilty and wilineſs rather dallied than ſhewed his rigor, he but threatned them with bands and impriſonment; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earneſt, he deviſed innumerable ſorts of torments and puniſhments, as whippings, and ſcourgings, rackings, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire and ſhipboats, wherein a great number being put were ſunk and drowned in the bottom of the Sea. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *c.* 6. & 7. Alſo hanging them upon Croſſes, binding them to the bodies of dead Trees, with their heads downward, hanging them by the middles upon Gallows, till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to ſuch kind of wild Beaſts as would devour them; as Lions, Bears, Leopards, and wild Bulls. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *c.* 8. Pricking and thruſting them in with bodkins and talents of Beaſts till they were almoſt dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in *Thebaide* they did unto the women, being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tyed and lifted on high, and ſo hanging down with their bodies, which thing to ſee was very pitiful; with other deviſed ſorts of puniſhments moſt tragical or rather tyrannical and pitiful to deſcribe: As firſt, the binding of them to Trees, and to the boughs thereof; the pulling and tearing aſunder of their

*Britanny*, or *England. Beda de ratione temporum.*

*Dioteſianus* did but dally in the beginning of the Perſecution.

Sundry ſorts of torments deviſed againſt the Chriſtians. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 6, 7, 8.

The Women of *Thebaide*, Martyrs.



Twenty thouſand Martyrs burnt together in one Church. Martyrs of *Arabia. Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 12.

Martyrs of a certain City of *Phrygia*, burnt with the whole City. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 11, 6. Martyrs of *Melitina* in *Armenia. Euſtratius* of a Perſecutor made a Martyr. *Ex Niceph. lib* 7. *cap.* 14.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 9. The Perſecution in *Antioch.*

members and joints, being tyed to the boughs and arms of trees. *Euſ. l.* 8. *c.* 9. The mangling of them with axes, the choaking of them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires, the diſmembring of their hands, ears and feet, with other joints; as the holy Martyrs of *Alexandria* ſuffered the ſcorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed. With ſuch kind of torments the Martyrs at *Antioch* were afflicted. But in *Pontus*, other horrible puniſhments, and fearful to be heard, did the Martyrs of Chriſt ſuffer; of which ſome had their fingers ends under the nails thruſt in with ſharp bodkins; ſome all to beſprinkled with boiling lead, having their moſt neceſſary members cut from them; ſome other ſuffering moſt filthy, intolerable, and undurable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members. *Euſeb. eodem cap.* 12.

Perſecution in *Pontus.*

Perſecution in *Alexandria.*

To conclude, how great the outrage of the Perſecution which reigned in *Alexandria* was, and with how many and ſundry kinds of new deviſed puniſhments the Martyrs were afflicted, *Phileas* the Biſhop of the *Thumitans*, a man ſingularly well learned, hath deſcribed in his Epiſtle to the *Thumitans*, the Copy whereof, *Euſeb.* hath, *l.* 8. *c.* 10. out of the which we mean here briefly to recite ſomewhat. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *every man might torment the holy Martyrs as they liſted themſelves, ſome beat them with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whips, ſome with thongs, and ſome with cords; and this example of beating was in ſundriwiſe executed, and with much cruelty. For ſome of them having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up upon timber logs, and with certain inſtruments their members and joints were ſtretched forth whereupon their whole bodies hanging were ſubject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their ſides only (like as homicides were) but upon their bellies, thighs and legs, they ſcratched them with the talens and claws of wild beaſts. Some others were ſeen to hang by one hand upon the Engin, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the reſt of their joints and members. Some others were in ſuch ſort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no ſtay under their feet, and were violently weighed down with the poiſe of their bodies, that by reaſon of their ſtrict binding, they being drawn out might be more grievouſly tormented. And this ſuffered they, not only during the time of their examination, and while the Sheriff had to do with them, but alſo the whole day long. And whilſt the Judge went thus from one to another, he by his authority appointed certain Officers to attend upon thoſe he left, that they might not be let down, until either through the intolerableneſs of the pain, or by the extremity of cold, they being near the point of death ſhould be let down; and ſo were they haled upon the ground. And further they were commanded that they ſhould ſhew not ſo much as one ſpark of mercy or compaſſion upon us, but ſo extremely and furiouſly did they deal with us, as though our ſouls and bodies ſhould have died together. And therefore yet another torment our adverſaries deviſed, to augment our former plagues. After that they had moſt lamentably beaten them, they deviſed moreover a new kind of rack, wherein they lying upright were ſtretched by both the feet above the fourth ſtop or hole with ſharp ſhels or ſhares ſtrewed under them, after a ſtrange kind of Engin to us here unknown. Otherſome were caſt down upon the pavement, where they were oppreſſed ſo thick, and ſo grievouſly with torments, that it is not almoſt to be thought what afflictions they ſuffered.*

The Contents of the Epiſtle of *Phileas* ſent to his Congregation.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 10.

Strange kinds of torments.

*Thus they lying in pains and torments, ſome died therewith not a little ſhaming and confounding their enemies by their ſingular patience. Some half dead and half alive, were thruſt into priſon, where ſhortly after by pains and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again being cured of their wounds by their endurance in priſon, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their curſed ſacrifice, and enjoy their wicked liberty, or elſe ſuſtain the ſentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity, remembring with themſelves what is written in the Scriptures: He that ſacrificeth* (ſaith he) *to ſtrange gods, ſhall be exterminated,* &c. Item, *Thou ſhalt have no ſtrange gods beſides me,* &c. Thus much wrote *Phileas* to the Congregation where he was Biſhop before he received the ſentence of death being yet in bands; and in the ſame he exhorteth his brethren conſtantly to perſiſt after his death, in the truth of Chriſt profeſſed. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 10.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 10. *Ex Sabellico, lib.* 7. *cap.* 9.

*Sabellicus* in his Seventh *Enead*, and Eighth Book, ſaith that that Chriſtened man which tore and pulled down the wicked Edict of the Emperor in *Nicomedia*, being ſtript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after waſhed in ſalt and vinegar, was then ſlain with this cruel kind of torment. But *Platina* writeth that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* exhorted him to die ſo conſtantly.

An holy Martyr of *Nicomedia* tormented.

But as all their torments were for their horribleneſs marvellous and notable, and therewithal ſo ſtudiouſly deviſed, and no leſs grievous and ſharp; ſo notwithſtanding, therewith were theſe Martyrs neither diſmaid nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and ſtrengthened; ſo merrily and joyfully ſuſtained they whatſoever was put unto them. *Euſebius* ſaith, that he himſelf beheld and ſaw the huge and great Perſecution that was done in *Thebaide*; inſomuch that the very ſwords of the Hangmen and Perſecutors being blunt with the great and often ſlaughter, they themſelves for wearineſs ſat down to reſt them, and others were ſain to take their places. And yet all this notwithſtanding the murthered Chriſtians ſhewed their marvellous readineſs, willingneſs and divine fortitude, which they were endued with; with ſtout courage, joy, and ſmiling, receiving the ſentence of death pronounced upon them, and ſung even unto the laſt gaſp, Hymns and Pſalms to God. So did alſo the Martyrs of *Alexandria*, as witneſſeth *Phileas* above mentioned. The holy Martyrs (ſaith he) keeping Chriſt in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, ſuſtained not only at one time whatſoever labour and deviſed puniſhments they had to lay upon them; but now alſo the ſecond time have done the ſame, and have born all the menaces of the cruel Souldiers, not only in words wherewith they threatned them, but alſo whatſoever in deed and work they could deviſe to their deſtruction, and that with moſt manly ſtomacks, excluding all fear, with the perfection of their unſpeakable love towards Chriſt, whoſe great ſtrength and fortitude cannot by words be expreſſed. And *Sulpitius* ſaith in the Second Book of his Sacred Hiſtory, that then the Chriſtians with more greedy deſire, preſſed and fought for Martyrdom, than now they do deſire Biſhopricks.

*Euſebius* a beholder and a witneſs of their ſuffering.

The ſwords blunt, and the Hangmen wearied with ſlaughter.

The marvelous conſtancy of the Martyrs of God in perſecution, and at the time of death.

Martyrdom more deſired in the old time than Biſhopricks be now.

Although ſome there were alſo, as I have ſaid, that with fear and threatnings, and by their own infirmities were overcome and went back, *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 4. among whom *Socrates* nameth *Miletius*, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. and *Athanaſius* in his ſecond Apology, nameth the Biſhop of *Licus*, a City in little *Egypt*, whom *Peter* the Biſhop of *Alexandria* Excommunicated, for that in this Perſecution he ſacrificed unto the Gentiles gods. Of the fall of *Marcellinus*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, I will ſpeak afterwards; for he being perſwaded by others, and eſpecially of the Emperor *Dioclefian* himſelf, did ſacrifice, whereupon he was Excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the ſame, was again received into the Congregation, and made Martyr, as *Platina*, and the compiler of the Book of the General Councils affirm. The number of the Martyrs increaſed daily, ſometimes ten, ſometimes twenty were ſlain at once; ſome whiles thirty, and oftentimes threeſcore, and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death. *Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 9. Alſo *Damaſus*, *Beda*, *Oroſius*, *Honorius*, and others do witneſs, that there were ſlain in this Perſecution by the names of Martyrs, within the ſpace of thirty days, ſeventeen thouſand perſons, beſides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the Metal-mines and Quarries with like cruelty.

Chriſtians that denied in this Perſecution.

*Miletius* revolteth from the Faith, and is Excommunicated.

*Marcellinus* the Biſhop revolteth, and cometh again to the Faith, and is Martyred.

An hundred Martyrs in one day.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 9.

17000 Martyrs in one month.

At *Alexandria* with *Peter* the Biſhop, of whom I have made mention before, were ſlain with axes three hundred and above, as *Sabellicus* declareth, *Gereon* was beheaded at *Colonia Agrippina*, with three hundred of his fellows, as ſaith *Henricus de Erfordia*, *Mauritius* the Captain of Chriſtian Religion, with his fellows, ſix thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and ſix. *Victor* in the City of *Troy*, now called *Xanthus*, with his fellows three hundred and threeſcore were ſlain, as ſaith *Otto Phriſingenſis*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 45. *Reginus* reciteth the names of many other Martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

300 ſlain at one time in *Alexandria*. *Gereon* Martyr.

*Mauritius* with 6666 Martyrs.

*Victor* with [illegible] ſlain.

And for ſo much as mention here hath been made of *Mauritius* and *Victor*, the particular deſcription of the ſame Hiſtory I thought here to inſert, taken out of *Ado*, and other Story-writers, as enſueth.

*Mauritius*

The Hiſtory of *Mauritius* Captain of the *Thebai* Souldiers.

*Mauritius* came out of *Syria* into *France* and *Italy*, being Captain of the band of the *Theban* Souldiers, to the number of Six thouſand ſix hundred and threeſcore, being ſent for of *Maximianus*, to go againſt the rebellious *Bangandes*; but rather, as it ſhould ſeem, by the reaſon of the Tyrant, which thought he might better in theſe quarters uſe his tyranny upon the Chriſtians, than in the Eaſt part. Theſe *Thebans*, with *Mauritius* the Captain, after that they had entred into *Rome*, were there of *Marcellus* the bleſſed Biſhop, confirmed in the faith, promiſing by Oath, that they would rather be ſlain of their enemies, than forſake that faith which they had received; who followed the Emperors Hoſt through the *Alps* even into *France*. At that time the *Ceſareans* were encamped not far from the Town called *Ottodor*, where *Maximianus* offered ſacrifice to his Devils, and called all the Souldiers both of the Eaſt and Weſt to the ſame, ſtrictly charging them by the Altars of his gods, that they would fight againſt thoſe rebels the *Bangandes*, and perſecute the Chriſtian enemies of the Emperors gods: which his commandment was ſhewed to the *Thebans* hoſt, which were alſo encamped about the river of *Rode*, and in a place that was named *Agaune*; but to *Ottodor* they would in no wiſe come, for that every man did certainly appoint and perſwade with themſelves, rather in that place to die, than either to ſacrifice to the gods, or bear armour againſt the Chriſtians. Which thing indeed, very ſtoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their Oath before taken to *Maximianus*, when he ſent for them. Wherewith the Tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the ſword, whereto ſtrivingly and with great rejoycing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, *Mauritius* himſelf was a great encourager, who by and by with a moſt grave Oration, exhorted and animated his Souldiers both to fortitude and conſtancy. Which, being again called of the Emperor, anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, *We are, O Emperor,*

Every tenth man in the Legion ſlain.

The Oration of the Souldiers to the Emperor.

*your Souldiers, but yet alſo, to ſpeak freely, the ſervants of God. We owe to thee ſervice of war, to him innocency: of thee we receive for our travel, wages: of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wiſe obey thee, O Emperor, to deny God our Author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewiſe, will ye, nill ye. If we be not ſo extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtleſs, as we have hitherto before, we will yet obey you: but otherwiſe we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands againſt any other enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. Theſe right hands of ours have skill to fight againſt the wicked and true enemies: but to ſpoil and murther the Godly and Citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance how we took armour in hand, for the defence of the Citizens, and not againſt them. We fought always for juſtice ſake, piety, and for the health of innocents. Theſe have been always the rewards of our perils and travel. We have fought in the quarrel of faith which in no wiſe we can keep to you, if we do not ſhew the ſame to our God. We firſt ſware upon the Sacraments of our God, then afterward to the King: and do you think the ſecond will avail us, if we break the firſt? By us you would plague the Chriſtians, to do which feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confeſs God the Author of all things, and believe in his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. We ſee before our eyes our fellows, and partakers of our labours and travels, to be put to the ſword, and we ſprinkled with their blood: of which our moſt bleſſed companions and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have been glad, and have rejoyced thereat, for that they have been counted worthy to ſuffer for the Lord their God. The extreme neceſſity of death cannot move us againſt your Majeſty, neither yet any deſperation, O Emperor, which is wont in wretched affairs to do much, ſhall arm us againſt you. Behold here we caſt down our weapons, and reſiſt not, for that we had rather to be killed, than kill, and guiltleſs to die, than guilty to live. Whatſoever more ye will command, appoint and enjoyn us, we are here ready to ſuffer, yea, both fire and ſword, and whatſoever other torments. We confeſs our ſelves to be Chriſtians, we cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor will do ſacrifice to your Deviliſh Idols.*

With which their anſwer, the King being altogether incenſed and moved, commanded the ſecond time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like caſe murthered. That cruelty alſo being accompliſhed, at length, when the Chriſtian Souldiers would in no wiſe condeſcend unto his mind, he ſet upon them with his whole hoſt, both footmen and alſo horſemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force ſet upon them; they making no reſiſtance, but throwing down their armour, yielded their lives to the perſecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

*Mauritius* and his Company martyred.

*Victor* at the ſame time was not of that band, nor yet then any Souldier; but being an old Souldier, was diſmiſſed for his age. At which time he coming ſuddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the ſpoils of the holy Martyrs, was bidden to ſit down with them: who firſt asking the cauſe of that their ſo great rejoycing, and underſtanding the truth thereof, deteſted the gueſts, and refuſed to eat with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a Chriſtian or no? openly confeſſed and denied not but that he was a Chriſtian, and ever would be. And thereupon they ruſhing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

The conſtant boldneſs of *Victor* in refuſing to eat with the cruel perſecutors, for the which he was alſo ſlain. *Victor* Martyr.

*Beda* in his Hiſtory writeth, that this perſecution, being under *Diocleſian*, endured unto the ſeventh year of *Conſtantinus*. And *Euſeb. lib. cap. 6.* ſaith, that it laſted until the tenth year of *Conſtantinus*. It was not yet one year from the day in which *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*, joyning themſelves together, began their perſecution, when that they ſaw the number of the Chriſtians rather to increaſe than to diminiſh, notwithſtanding all the cruelty that ever they could ſhew, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cauſe of their firſt enterpriſe; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the ſhedding thereof, they ceaſed at the laſt of their own accord to put any more Chriſtians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thruſt out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a ſearing Iron, condemning them to the mines of metals, not ſo much for the uſe of their labour, as for the deſire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and releaſe of the cruelty of thoſe Princes, which ſaid that it was not meet that the Cities ſhould be defiled with the blood of Citizens, and to make the Emperors Highneſs to be diſtained with the name of cruelty, but to ſhew his Princely beneficence and liberality to all men, *Euſebius, lib. 8. cap. 10.*

The number of the Chriſtians encreaſed for all this perſecution.

*Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* were tired with perſecution, and gave up their Kingdom.

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 10.*

When *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* had reigned together Emperors one and twenty years (*Nicephorus* ſaith, two and twenty years) at length *Diocleſian* put himſelf from his Imperial dignity at *Nicomedia*, and lived at *Salona*; *Maximinian* at *Mediolanum*; and led both of them a private life in the three hundred and ninth year after Chriſt. This ſtrange and marvellous alteration gave occaſion (and ſo it came to paſs) that within ſhort ſpace after, there were in the *Roman* Commonwealth many Emperors at one time.

{Ann. 309.}

In the beginning of this perſecution, you heard how *Diocleſian* being made Emperor took to him *Maximinian*. Alſo how theſe two, governing as Emperors together, choſe out other two *Ceſars* under them, to wit, *Galerius Maximinus*, and *Conſtantius* the father of *Conſtantine* the Great. Thus then *Diocleſian* reigning with *Maximinian*, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, whoſe reign after the ſame continued not long. For ſo it pleaſed God to put ſuch a ſnaffle in the Tyrants mouth, that within two years after, he cauſed both him and *Maximinian* (for what cauſe he knoweth) to give over their Imperial function, and ſo to remain not as Emperors any more, but as private perſons. So that they being now diſplaced and diſpoſſeſſed, the Imperial Dominion remained with *Conſtantius* and *Galerius Maximinus*, which two divided the whole Monarchy between them: ſo that *Maximinus* ſhould govern the Eaſt Countries, and *Conſtantius* the Weſt parts. But *Conſtantius* as a modeſt Prince, only contented with the Imperial title, refuſed *Italy* and *Africk*, contenting himſelf only with *France*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. Wherefore *Galerius Maximinus* choſe to him his two Sons, *Maximinus* and *Severus*. Likewiſe *Conſtantius* took *Conſtantinus* his Son *Ceſar* under him. In the mean

The names of the Tyrants. *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* Emperors depoſed. *Galerius, Maximinus, Conſtantius,* Emperors.

*Maximinus, Severus, Conſtantinus,* Ceſars.

time while *Maximinus* with his two *Ceſars* were in *Aſia*, the *Roman* Souliders ſet up for their Emperor *Maxentius* the ſon of *Maximinian*, who had before depoſed himſelf. Againſt whom *Maximinus* the Emperor of the *Eaſt* ſent his ſon *Severus*, which *Severus* was ſlain in the ſame Voyage of *Maxentius*, in whoſe place then *Maximinus* took *Licinius*. And theſe were the Emperors and *Ceſars*, which ſucceeding after *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*, proſecuted the reſt of that perſecution, which *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* before begun, during near the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen; ſave only that *Conſtantius* with his ſon *Conſtantinus* was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a ſupporter of the Chriſtians. Which *Conſtantius*, ſurnamed *Clorus* for his paleneſs, was the ſon of *Eutropius*, a man of great nobility of the *Roman* nation, as *Letus* affirmeth. He came of the line of *Eneas* and *Claudia* the daughter of *Claudius Auguſtus*. This man had not the deſire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the Empire with *Galerius*, and would rule but in *France*, *Britain* and *Spain*, refuſing the other Kingdoms for the troubleſome and difficult government of the ſame. Otherwiſe he was a Prince, as *Eutropius* maketh deſcription of him, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and deſirous to do good unto thoſe that had any private authority under him. And as *Cyrus* once ſaid, that he got treaſure enough, when he made his friends rich: Even ſo it is ſaid that *Conſtantius* would oftentimes ſay, that it were better that his ſubjects had treaſure, than he to have it in his treaſure Houſe. Alſo he was by nature ſufficed with a little, in ſo much that he uſed to eat and drink in earthen veſſels (which thing was counted in *Agathocles* the *Sicilian* a great commendation) and if at any time cauſe required to garniſh his table, he would ſend for plate and other furniture to his friends. To theſe vertues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the Word of God, as *Euſebius* in his eighth Book and thirteenth Chapter affirmeth: After which vertues enſued great peace and tranquility in all his Provinces. By which word he being guided, neither levied any wars contrary to piety and Chriſtian Religion, neither aided he any other that did the ſame, neither deſtroyed he the Churches, but commanded that the Chriſtians ſhould be preſerved and defended, and kept them ſafe from all contumelious injuries. And when that in the other juriſdictions of the Empire the Congregations were moleſted with perſecution, as *Sozomenus* declareth in his firſt Book and ſixth Chapter, he only gave licence unto the Chriſtians to live after their accuſtomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, beſides others, do ſhew that he was a ſincere Worſhipper, and of the Chriſtian Religion.

Thoſe which bare the chief offices amongſt the Ethnikes drave out of the Emperors Court all the Godly Chriſtians: Whereupon this enſued, that the Emperors themſelves, at the laſt, were diſtitute of help, when ſuch were driven away, which dwelling in their courts, and living a Godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the proſperous eſtate and health both of the Empire and Emperor, *Conſtantius* therefore, minding at a certain time to try what ſincere and good Chriſtians he had yet in his Court, called together all his officers and ſervants in the ſame, fayning himſelf to chuſe out ſuch as would do ſacrifice to Devils, and that thoſe only ſhould dwell there and keep their offices, and that thoſe which would refuſe to do the ſame, ſhould be thruſt out and baniſhed the Court. At this appointment, all the Courtiers divided themſelves into companies: The Emperor marked which were the conſtanteſt and godlieſt from the reſt. And when ſome ſaid they would willingly do ſacrifice, other ſome openly and boldly denied to do the ſame; then the Emperor ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to do ſacrifice, and judged them as falſe Traytors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his Court, which were ſuch Traytors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only ſhould be baniſhed the ſame. But greatly he commended them which refuſed to do ſacrifice, and confeſſed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a Prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they ſhould be the truſty Counſellors and defenders both of his Perſon and Kingdom; ſaying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his aſſured friends, and that he meant to have them in more eſtimation, than the ſubſtance he had in his treaſury. *Euſebius* maketh mention hereof in his firſt Book of the like of *Conſtantinus*, and alſo *Sozomenus* in his firſt Book and ſixth Chapter.

With this *Conſtantius* was joyned (as hath been aforeſaid) *Galerius Maximinus*, a man, as *Eutropius* affirmeth, very civil and a paſſing good ſouldier: Furthermore, a favourer of wiſe and learned men, of quiet diſpoſition, not rigorous, but in his Drunkenneſs, whereof he would ſoon after repent him, as *Victor* writeth; whether he meaneth *Maximinus* the Father or *Maximinus* his Son, it is uncertain. But *Euſebius* far otherwiſe deſcribeth the conditions of him in his eighth Book and firſt Chapter. For he ſaith he was of a Tyrannical diſpoſition; the fearfulleſt man that might be, and curious in all magical ſuperſtition; in ſo much that without the Diviſations and anſwers of Divels, he durſt do nothing at all, and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner of the Citizens, liberal to thoſe that were flatterers, given to turſeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious Drunkenneſs moſt like a mad-man, a ribaud, and idulterer, which came to no City, but he ravithed virgins, and defiled mens Wives. To conclude, he was ſo great an Idolater, that he built up Temples in every City, and repaired theſe that were fallen in great decay: And he choſe out the moſt worthy of his political Magiſtrates to be the Idols Prieſts, and deviſed that they ſhould execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and alſo with warlike pomp. But unto Chriſtian piety and Religion, he was moſt intenſive, and in the Eaſt Churches exerciſed cruel perſecution, and uſed as executioners of the ſame, *Pencetius*, *Quintianus*, and *Theotechnus*, beſides others.

Notwithſtanding he was at length revoked from his cruelty by the juſt Judgment and Puniſhment of God. For he was ſuddenly vexed with a fatal diſeaſe moſt filthy and deſperate, which diſeaſe to deſcribe was very ſtrange, taking the firſt beginning in his fleſh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For in the privy members of his body, there happened unto him a ſudden putrefaction, and after in the bottom of the ſame a botchy corrupt bile, with a Fiſtula conſuming and eating up his intrails, out of the which came ſwarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtink, that no man could abide him; and ſo much more, for that all the groſſneſs of his body by abundance of meat before he fell ſick, was turned alſo into fat; which fat now putrified and ſtinking, was ſo ugſome and horrible, that none that come to him could abide the ſight thereof. By reaſon whereof, the Phyſitians which had him in cure, not able to abid the intolerable ſtink, ſome of them were commanded to be ſlain. Other ſome, becauſe they could not heal him, being ſo ſwoln and paſt hope of cure, were alſo cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that this diſeaſe was ſent of God, he began to forethink the wickedneſs that he had done againſt the Saints of God, and ſo coming again to himſelf, firſt confeſſeth to God all his offences, then calling them unto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to ceaſe from the perſecutions of the Chriſtians: Requiring moreover that they ſhould ſet up his Emperial proclamations, for the retoring and reedifying of their Temples, and that they would obtain of the Chriſtians in their aſſemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the Emperor. Then forthwith was the perſecution ſtayed, and the Emperial Proclamations in every City were ſet up, containing the retractation or countermand of thoſe things which againſt the Chriſtians were before decreed, the copy whereof enſueth.

Amongſt other things, which for the benefit and commodity of the commonweal we eſtabliſhed, we commanded to reform all things according to the ancient Laws and publick Diſcipline of the *Romans*, and alſo to uſe this policy, that the Chriſtians, which had forſaken the Religion of their forefathers, ſhould be brought again to the right

*Maxentius* Emperor. *Licinius Ceſar.*

Anno 318. The commendation of *Conſtantius.*

O happy *Conſtantius.*

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 31. Conſtantius* gracious to the Chriſtians.

*Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 6.*

*Conſtantius* proveth who were true Chriſtians in his Court, and who were not. *Ex Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. 1. Ex Sozomeno. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

Falſe Chriſtians diſcerned from true.

*Euſeb. lib. de vita Conſtant.*

*Maximinus* an Enemy to the Chriſtians.

The wickedneſs of *Maximinus* deſcribed.

A terrible plague ſent by God to *Maximinus.*

*Maximinus* killeth his Phyſitians.

*Maximinus* his countermand in the behalf of the Chriſtians.

right way. *For ſuch phantaſtical ſingularity was amongſt them, that thoſe things which their Elders had received and allowed, they rejected and diſallowed, deviſing every man ſuch Laws as they thought good, and obſerved the ſame, aſſembling in divers places great multitudes of People.*

*Therefore, when our foreſaid decree was proclaimed, many there were that felt the penalty thereof, and many being troubled therefore, ſuffered many kinds of death. And becauſe we ſee yet that there be many which perſevere in the ſame, which neither give due worſhip unto the celeſtial Gods, neither receive the God of the Chriſtians, we have reſpect to our accuſtomed benignity, wherewith we are wont to ſhew favour unto all men, think good in this cauſe alſo to extend our clemency, that the Chriſtians may be again tolerated, and appoint them places where again they may meet together, ſo that they do nothing contrary to the publick order diſciplin. By another Epiſtle we mean to preſcribe unto the Judges, what ſhall be convenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our benignity clemency deſerveth, let them make interceſſion to God for our health, commonweal, and for themſelves; that in all places the ſtate of the commonweal may be preſerved, and that they themſelves may be able ſafely to live within their bounds.* Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

But one of his inferior officers, whoſe name was alſo *Maximinus*, was not well pleaſed, when this countermand was publiſhed throughout all *Aſia*, and the Provinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not convenient for him to repugne the pleaſure of thoſe Princes which had the chief authority, as *Conſtantinus* and *Maximinus*, ſet forth of himſelf no edict touching the ſame; but commanded his officers in the preſence of others, that they ſhould ſomewhat ſtay from the perſecution of the Chriſtians: Of which commandment of the inferior *Maximinus*, each of them gave intelligence unto their fellowes by their letters. But *Sabinus*, which then amongſt them all had the chiefeſt office and dignity, to the ſubſtitutes of every Country wrote by his letter, the Emeprors pleaſure in this wiſe.

*Sabinus* in the favour of the Chriſtians publiſheth the decree.

*The Majeſty of our moſt gracious and ſoveraign Lords the Emperors, hath lately decreed with ſpecial diligence and devotion, to induce all men to an uniform life, ſo that they; which ſeemed to diſſent from the* Roman *cuſtom by a ſtrang manner of living, ſhould exhibit to the immortal Gods their due and proper worſhip; but the wilful and obſtinate mind of divers ſo much and ſo continually reſiſted the ſame, that by no lawful means they might be revoked from their purpoſe, neither made afraid by any terror or puniſhment. Becauſe therefore it ſo came to paſs, that by this means many put themſelves in peril and jeopardy: The Majeſty of our ſoveraign Lords the Emperors, according to their Noble piety, conſidering that it was far from the meaning of their Princely Majeſties that ſuch things ſhould be, whereby ſo many men and much people ſhould be deſtroyed, gave me in charge, that with diligence I ſhould write into you, that, if any of the Chriſtians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exerciſe of their Religion, in no wiſe ye moleſt the ſame, neither for that cauſe you do judge any man worthy of Puniſhment; for that in all this time it hath evidently appeared, that by no means they might be allured from ſuch wilfulneſs. It is therefore requiſite that your wiſdom write unto the Queſtors, Captains, and Conſtables of every City and village, that they may know it not to be lawful for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the preſcript of this commandment, neither that they preſume to attempt the ſame.* Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Perſecution ceaſeth for a time.

The Governors therefore of every Province, ſuppoſing this is to be the determinate pleaſure (and not fained) of the Emperor, did firſt adverti ſe thereof the ruſtical and pagan multitude: After that they releaſed and ſet at liberty, all ſuch priſoners as were condemned to the metal mines, and to perpetual impriſonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would pleaſe the Emperor. This therefore ſeemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to Travellers in a dark night. They gather themſelves together in every City, they call their Synods and Councels, and much marvel at the ſudden change and alteration. The infidels themſelves extol the only and true God of the Chriſtians. The Chriſtians receive again all their former liberties; and ſuch as fell away before in the time of perſecution repent themſelves, and after penance done, they returned again to the Congregation. Now the Chriſtians rejoyced in every City, praiſing God with Hymns and Pſalms: *Euſebius ibidem.* This was a marvellous ſudden alteration of the Church, from a moſt unhappy ſtate into a better: But ſcarce ſuffered *Maximinus* the Tyrant the ſame ſix months unviolated to continue. For whatſoever ſeemed to make for the ſubverſion of the ſame peace (yet ſcarcely hatched) that did he only mediate. And firſt of all he took from the Chriſtians all liberty and leave for them to aſſemble and Congregate in Churchyards under a certain colour. After that he ſent certain miſcreants unto the *Athenians*, to ſollicit them againſt the Chriſtians, and to provoke them to ask of him, as a recompence and great reward, that he would not ſuffer any Chriſtian to inhabit in their country: And amongſt them was one *Theotechnus*, a moſt wicked miſcreant, and inchanter, and a moſt deadly Enemy againſt the Chriſtians. He firſt made the way whereby the Chriſtians were put out of credit and accuſed to the Emperor; to which fraud alſo he erected a certain Idol of *Jupiter* to be worſhipped of the inchanters and conjurers, and mingled the ſame worſhip with ceremonies, full of deceiveable witchcraft. Laſtly, he cauſed the ſame Idol to give this ſound out of his mouth, that is: *Jupiter* commandeth the Chriſtians to be baniſhed out of the City and ſuburbs of the ſame, as Enemies unto him. And the ſame ſentence did the reſt of the Governors of the Provinces publiſh againſt the Chriſtians, and thus at length perſecution began to kindle againſt them. *Maximinus* appointed and inſtituted high Prieſts and Biſhops in every City to offer ſacrifice unto Idols, and inveigled all thoſe that were in great offices under him, that they ſhould not only ceaſe to pleaſure them and to do for them, but alſo that they ſhould with new deviſed accuſations againſt them, at their pleaſure, put as many to death as by any means they might. They alſo did counterfeit certain practiſes of *Pilate* againſt our Saviour Chriſt full of blaſphemy, and ſent the ſame into all the Empire of *Maximinus* by their letters, commanding that the ſame ſhould be publiſhed and ſet up in every City and ſuburbs of the ſame, and that they ſhould be delivered to the School-maſters, to cauſe their Scholars to learn by rote the ſame.

One alteration upon another.

The diviliſh practiſe of Theotechnus.

The vain practiſes of the heathen againſt Chriſt and his Religion.

After that, one named *Præfectus caſtrorum*, whom the *Romans* do call Captain, allured certain light women, partly by fear, and partly by puniſhment, dwelling at *Damaſcus* and *Phenicia*, and taken out of the Court wherein they were accuſed, that they ſhould openly ſay in writing, that they were once Chriſtians, and that they knew what wicked and laſcivious acts the Chriſtians were wont to execute amongſt themſelves upon the ſundays, and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the ſlander of the Chriſtians. The Captain ſheweth unto the Emperor their words, as though it had been ſo indeed: And the Emperor by and by commanded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout every City. Furthermore, they did hang in the middeſt of every City (which was never done before) the Emperors edicts againſt the Chriſtians, graven in tables of Braſs. And the Children in the Schools with great noiſe and clapping of hands, did every day reſound the contumelious Blaſphemies of *Pilate* unto Jeſus, and what other things ſoever were deviſed of the Magiſtrates, after a moſt deſpiteful manner. *Euſeb lib.* 8. *cap.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And this is the copy of the Edict, which *Maximinus* cauſed to be faſtened to the Pillers, fraught with all arrogant and inſolent hate againſt God and Chriſt.

A deviſed accuſation againſt the Chriſtians by harlots.

*Maximinus* recounter-mand made in braſs.

*Euſeb. lib.* 8. *cap.* 3.

*The weak and imbecil rebellion of mans mind (all obſcurity and blindneſs of ignorance ſet apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the minds of impious and miſerable men, in the pernicious darkneſs of Ignorance) is now at the length able to diſcern, that the ſame is governed, as alſo corroborated by the providence of the immortal Gods, the lovers of vertue: Which thing, how acceptable it is to us, how pleaſant and grateful, and how much proof the ſame hath declared of your well diſpoſed willing minds, is incredible to be told: Although this was not unknown before, with what diligence and devotion ye ſerved the immortal Gods, whoſe wonderful and conſtant faith is not known by bare and naked words, but by your worthy and notable deeds. Wherefore worthily is your City called the*

The copy of the recountermand made againſt the Chriſtians.

The infidels acknowledge the God of the Chriſtians.

Habita-

*Habitation and Seat of the immortal gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the ſame flouriſheth, and proſpereth by the preſence of the celeſtial gods. For behold, your City not regarding your private buſineſſes, nor eſteeming that which ſhould have been for the ſpecial Commodity thereof, when it perceived that curſed vanity to begin again to creep, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brands thereof began to kindle, and make a great flame: by and by without* Wicked blaſphemy. *delay yet having recourſe unto our Piety, as unto the Metropolitan of all Divine Worſhip and Religion, craved remedy and help; which wholſome mind, for your Pieties ſake, it is moſt manifeſt that the gods have indued you with. Therefore he, even that moſt mighty* Jupiter, *I ſay, which preſerveth your moſt famous City, to that intent he might deliver and make free your Country-gods, your Wives and Children, your Houſhold gods and houſes, from all deteſtable Corruption, hath inſpired you with this wholſome and willing mind, ſhewing and declaring how worthy, notable, and healthful a thing it is, to Worſhip and to Sacrifice to the immortal gods. For who is ſo void of reaſon and underſtanding* The works of the living God falſly imputed to dead ſtocks and idols. *that knoweth not that this thing happeneth unto us by the careful ſtudy of the goodneſs of our gods, that the ground denieth not to give her timely increaſe, nor maketh fruſtrate the Husbandmans hope, nor that wicked War dare ſhew her face upon the Earth, nor that the Corruption of the Air is now cauſe of Peſtilence; neither that the Sea ſwelleth with immoderate Winds, neither that ſudden Storms are cauſe of hurtful Tempeſt: to conclude, that the Ground, which is as the Nurſe and Mother of all things, is not ſwallowed up of her deep chaps and gapings, by terrible Earthquakes; neither that the Hills, made level with the Earth, are not with gaping clifts devoured; all which Evils, and greater than theſe, before this time to have happened, every man knoweth. And all theſe miſchiefs came upon us for the pernitious Errors ſake of the extream folly of thoſe wicked men the* Chriſtians, *when* Horrible blaſphemy. *filthineſs it ſelf (as I may call it) ſo occupied their minds and over-ran the World. Let them behold the Fields now all about full of Corn, and overflown, as it were, with Ears of Corn. Let them view the pleaſant Meadows clothed with Flowers, and moyſtened with Showers from Heaven, and alſo the pleaſant and* The like argument of weather and corn, and plenty, made the unfaithful Jews, and alſo make now our faithleſs Papiſts. *temperate Weather. Therefore let all men rejoyce, that by your Piety, Sacrifices and Worſhipping, the majeſty of the moſt ſtern god of Battel,* Mars, *is appeaſed, and that therefore we enjoy pleaſant and firm peace. And how many ſoever have left that blind Error and ſtraying of the* Chriſtians *unfainedly, and be of a better mind, let them ſpecially rejoyce, as men delivered out of a ſudden great Tempeſt, and from a grievous Diſeaſe, and have afterward obtained a delectable and pleaſant life. For doubtleſs if they had remained in that execrable vanity, far off had they been chaſed from your City and Suburbs of the ſame (according to your deſire) that your City by that means, according to your commendable diligence, cleanſed from all Impurity and Impiety, may offer Sacrifices according to the meaning of the ſame, with due reverence of the immortal gods. And that you may perceive in how good part your Supplication was unto us (yea unasked and undeſired) we are moſt willing and ready to further your honeſt Endeavours, and grant unto you for your Devotion, whatſoever ye ask of our Magnificence. And that this thing may be accompliſhed, forthwith ask and have. And this thing with all ſpeed endeavour you to obtain, which ſhall be a perpetual Teſtimony of Piety exhibited of your City to the immortal gods, and ſhall be a Preſident to your Children and Poſterity, and withall you ſhall obtain of us, for this your willing deſire of Reformation, condigne and worthy Rewards,* Euſebius lib. 9. cap. 7. *Euſeb. lib 9. cap. 7.*

Perſecution renued afreſh.

Thus came it to paſs that at the length Perſecution was as great as ever it was, and the Magiſtrates of every Province were very diſdainful againſt the *Chriſtians*, which condemned ſome to death, and ſome to exile. Among whom they condemned three *Chriſtians* at *Emiſa* in *Phenicia*, with whom *Sylvanus* the Biſhop, a very old man, being forty years in the Eccleſiaſtical Function, was condemned to death. At *Nicomedia Lucianus* the elder of *Antioch*, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the Emperor his Apology concerning the Doctrine of the *Chriſtians*, was caſt in Priſon, and after put to death. In *Amaſea* a City of *Cappadocia*, *Bringes*, the Lieutenant of *Maximinus*, had at that time the executing of that Perſecution. At *Alexandria*, *Petrus* a moſt worthy Biſhop, was beheaded, with whom many other *Egyptian* Biſhops alſo died, *Euſebius lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44. Quirinus* the Biſhop of *Sceſcanus*, having a Hand-Mill tied about his Neck, was thrown headlong from the Bridge into the Flood, and there a long while floted above the water, and when he opened his mouth to ſpeak to the Lookers on, that they ſhould not be diſmaid with that his puniſhment, was with much ado drowned, *Chron. Euſeb.* At *Rome* died *Marcellus* the Biſhop, as ſaith *Platina*, alſo *Timotheus* the elder, with many other Biſhops and Prieſts were martyred. To conclude, many in ſundry places every where were martyred, whoſe names the Book, Intituled, *Faſciculus temporum* declareth, as *Victorianus*, *Symphorianus*, *Caſtorius* with his wife, *Caſtulus*, *Ceſarius*, *Mennas*, *Nobilis*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, *Petrus*, and other innumerable Martyrs, *Eraſmus*, *Bonifacius*, *Juliana*, *Coſmas*, *Damianus*, *Baſilinus*, with ſeven others. *Dorothea*, *Theophilus*, *Theodoſia*, *Vitalis*, *Agricola*, *Acha*, *Philemon*, *Hireneus*, *Januarius*, *Feſtus*, *Deſiderius*, *Gregorius*, *Spoletanus*, *Agapes*, *Chionia*, *Hirenea*, *Theodora*, and two hundred threeſcore and ten other Martyrs. *Florianus*, *Primus* and *Felicianus*, *Vitus* and *Modeſtus*, *Creſcentia*, *Albinius*, *Rogatianus*, *Donatianus*, *Pancratius*, *Catharina*, *Margaret*, *Lucia* the Virgin, and *Antheus* the King, with many thouſand Martyrs more. *Simplicius*, *Fauſtinus*, *Beatrix*, *Panthaleon*, *Georgius*, *Juſtus*, *Leocandia*, *Anthonia*, and other more (to an infinite number) ſuffered Martyrdom in this Perſecution, whoſe names God hath written in the Book of Life. Alſo *Felix*, *Victor* with his Parents, *Lucia* the widow, *Gemenianus*, with threeſcore and nineteen others. *Sabinus*, *Anaſtaſia*, *Chryſogonus*, *Felix* and *Audactus*, *Adrianus*, *Natholia*, *Eugenia*. *Agnes* alſo, when ſhe was but thirteen years old, was martyred. *Euſebius* in his eighth Book and fifteenth Chapter, rehearſeth theſe kinds of Torments and Puniſhments; that is to ſay, Fire, wild Beaſts, the Sword, Crucifyings, the bottom of the Sea, the cutting and burning of Members, the thruſting out of Eyes, diſmembring of the whole Body, Hunger, Impriſonment, and whatſoever other cruelty the Magiſtrates could deviſe. All which notwithſtanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do Sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they, being enticed to the filthy uſe of their Bodies, rather ſuffered baniſhment, or willingly killed themſelves. Neither yet could the *Chriſtians* live ſafely in the Wilderneſs, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, inſomuch that this was a more grievous Perſecution under *Maximinus* the Tyrant, than was the former cruel Perſecution under *Maximianus* the Prince, *Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 6.*

*Sylvanus* Biſhop, *Lucianus* Elder, *Petrus* Biſhop, *Quirinus* Biſhop, *Marcellus* Biſhop, *Timotheus* Elder, Martyrs.

The perſecution of *Maximinus* the yonger. *Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7 cap. 44.*

*Et faſciculo temporum.*

*Coſmas*, *Damianus*, *Rogatianus*, with other Martyrs.

Two hundred threeſcore and ten Martyrs.

*Gemenianus* with threeſcore and nineteen Martyrs.

Several kinds of torments. *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

*Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 6. 10.*

And for ſo much as ye have heard the cruel Edict of *Maximinus* proclaimed againſt the *Chriſtians*, graven in braſs, which he thought perpetually ſhould indure to the aboliſhing of Chriſt and his Religion: now mark again the great handy work of God, which immediately fell upon the ſame, checking the proud preſumption of the Tyrant, proving all to be falſe and contrary that in the braven Proclamation was contained. For where the foreſaid Edict boaſted ſo much of the Proſperity and Plenty of all things in the ſame time of this Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, ſuddenly befel ſuch unſeaſonable Drought, with Famine and Peſtilence among the people, beſides alſo the Wars with the *Armenians*, that all was found untrue that he had bragged ſo much of before. By reaſon of which Famine and Peſtilence the people were greatly conſumed, inſomuch that one meaſure of Wheat was ſold for two thouſand and five hundred pieces of money of *Athens* Coin, by reaſon whereof innumerable died in the Cities, but many more in the Country and Villages, ſo that moſt part of the Husbandmen and Countrymen died up with the famine and Peſtilence

The work of God againſt the foreſaid Edict.

The proud and blaſphemous boaſting of the Emperor proved falſe and contrary.

*Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 8.*

Peſtilence. Divers there were which bringing out their beſt Treaſure, were glad to give it for any kind of ſuſtenance, were it never ſo little. Others ſelling away their Poſſeſſions, fell by reaſon thereof to extream poverty and beggery. Certain eating Graſs, and feeding on other unwholſome Herbs, were fain to relieve themſelves with ſuch food as did hurt and poyſon their bodies. Alſo a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extream miſery and penury, were conſtrained to depart the City, and fall to begging thorow the Country. Some others were weak and faint (as Images without breath) wandring up and down, and not able to ſtand for feebleneſs, fell down in the middle of the ſtreets, and holding up their hands moſt pitiful, cried for ſome ſcraps or fragments of bread to be given them, and being at the laſt gaſpe, ready to give up the ghoſt, and not able to utter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungry. Of the richer ſort divers there were, who being weary with the number of beggers and askers, after they had beſtowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing leſt they ſhould fall into the ſame miſery themſelves, as they which begged. By reaſon whereof, the Market-place, Streets, Lanes, and Alleys lay full of dead and naked bodies, being caſt out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that ſaw them, wherefore many were eaten of Dogs, for which cauſe they that lived fell to the killing of Dogs, leſt they running mad, ſhould fall upon them, and kill them.

*A terrible hunger among the Heathen perſecutors deſcribed.*

In like manner the Peſtilence ſcattering through all houſes and ages of men, did no leſs conſume them, eſpecially thoſe which through plenty of Victuals eſcaped Famine. Wherefore the rich Princes and Preſidents, and other innumerable of the Magiſtrates, being the more apt to receive the Infection, by reaſon of their plenty, were quickly diſpatched, and turned up their heels. Thus the miſerable multitude being conſumed with Famine and with Peſtilence, all places were full of Mourning, neither was there any thing elſe ſeen, but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for Famine and Peſtilence, in ſhort time brake up and conſumed whole Houſholds, two or three dead bodies being born out together from one houſe to one funeral.

*Peſtilence among the perſecutors.*

Theſe were the rewards of the vain braggs of *Maximinus* and his Edicts, which he did publiſh in all Towns and Cities againſt us, when it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the *Chriſtians* were to them all in this their miſerable extremity. For they only in all this time of diſtreſs, ſhewing compaſſion upon them, travelled every day, ſome in curing the ſick, and ſome in burying the dead, which otherwiſe of their own ſort were forſaken. Otherſome of the *Chriſtians* calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of Famine, diſtributed Bread unto them, whereby they miniſtred occaſion to all men to glorifie the God of the *Chriſtians*, and to confeſs them to be the true Worſhippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reaſon hereof, the great God and Defender of the *Chriſtians*, who before had ſhewed his anger and indignation againſt all men, for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his Providence, ſo that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that ſit in darkneſs, to the great admiration of all men, which eaſily perceive God himſelf to be a perpetual Directer of our doings, who many times chaſtneth his people with Calamities for a time to exerciſe them, but after ſufficient correction again ſheweth himſelf merciful and favourable to them which with truſt call upon him.

*The charity of the Chriſtians to the Enemies.*

*Let your light ſo ſhine among men, that they may ſee your good works, and glorifie your Father which is in Heaven.*

By the Narration of theſe things heretofore premiſed, taken out of the ſtory of *Euſebius*, like as it is manifeſt to ſee, ſo it is wonderful to mark and note, how thoſe counſels and rages of the *Gentiles* atchieved againſt Chriſt and his *Chriſtians*, when they ſeemed moſt ſure againſt them, were moſt againſt themſelves. And whereby they thought moſt to confound the Church and Religion of Chriſt, the ſame turned moſt to their own confuſion, and to the profit and praiſe of the *Chriſtians* (God of his marvelous Wiſdom ſo ordering and diſpoſing the end of things.) For where the brazen Edict of the Emperor promiſed temperate weather, God ſent drought: where it promiſed plenty, God immediately ſent upon them Famine and penury: where it promiſed health, God ſtrook them even upon the ſame, with grievous Peſtilence, and with other more Calamities, in ſuch ſort that the moſt relief they had, was chiefly by the *Chriſtians*, to the great praiſe both of them, and to the honour of our God.

*The wiſdom and policy of man overthrown in his own turn.*

*Qui cõprehendit ſapientes in aſtutia.*

Thus moſt plainly and evidently was then verified the true Promiſe of Chriſt to his Church, affirming and aſſuring us, That the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt his Church builded upon his Faith: as ſufficiently may appear by theſe ten Perſecutions above ſpecified and deſcribed. Wherein as no man can deny, but that Satan and his malignant World have aſſayed the uttermoſt of their power and might to overthrow the Church of Jeſus: ſo muſt all men needs grant, that read theſe ſtories, that when Satan and the gates of Hell have done their worſt, yet have they not prevailed againſt this Mount of *Sion*, nor ever ſhall. For elſe what was here to be thought, where ſo many Emperors and Tyrants together, *Diocleſian*, *Maximinian*, *Galerius*, *Maximinus*, *Severus*, *Maxentius*, *Licinius*, with their Captains and Officers, were let looſe, like ſo many Lions, upon a ſcattered and unarmed flock of ſheep, intending nothing elſe but the utter ſubverſion of all Chriſtianity, and eſpecially alſo when Laws were ſet up in braſs againſt the *Chriſtians*, as a thing perpetually to ſtand: what was here to be looked for, but a final deſolation of the Name and Religion of *Chriſtians*? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the ſtory followeth.

*The promiſe of Chriſt verified.*

*Math. 6.*

*The gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church builded upon the Faith of Chriſt.*

I ſhewed before how *Maxentius*, and the Son of *Maximinian*, was ſet up at *Rome* by the Pretorian Souldiers to be Emperor. Whereunto the Senate, although they were not conſenting, yet for fear they were not reſiſting. *Maximinian* his Father, who had before deprived himſelf with *Diocleſian*, hearing of this, took heart again to him, to reſume his dignity, and ſo laboured to perſwade *Diocleſian* alſo to do the ſame: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repaireth to *Rome*, thinking to wreſt the Empire out of his Sons hands. But when the Souldiers would not ſuffer that, of a crafty purpoſe he flieth to *Conſtantinus* in *France*, under pretence to complain of *Maxentius* his Son, but in very deed to kill *Conſtantinus*. Notwithſtanding that Conſpiracy being detected by *Fauſta* the Daughter of *Maximinian*, whom *Conſtantinus* had married, ſo was *Conſtantinus* through the grace of God preſerved, and *Maximinian* retired back. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and ſo put to death. And this is the end of *Maximinian*.

*The death and end of Maximinian*

Now let us return to *Maxentius* again, who all this while reigned at *Rome* with tyranny and wickedneſs intolerable, much like to another *Pharaoh* or *Nero*. For he ſlew the moſt part of his Noble men, and took from them their goods. And ſometime in his rage he would deſtroy great multitudes of the people of *Rome* by his Souldiers, as *Euſebius* declareth, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 14. Alſo he left no miſchievous nor laſcivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womenly chaſtity, which uſed to ſend the honeſt wives, whom he had adulterated, with ſhame and diſhoneſty unto their Husbands (being worthy Senators) after that he had raviſhed them. He abſtained from no Adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable luſt of deflowring of women. *Letus* declareth that he being that time far in love with a noble and chaſte Gentlewoman of *Rome*, ſent unto her ſuch Courtiers of his, as were meet for that purpoſe, whom alſo he had in greater eſtimation than any others, and with ſuch was wont to conſult about matters for the Common weal. Theſe firſt fell upon her Husband and murthered him within his own houſe; then when they could by no means neither with fear of the Tyrant, or with threatning of death pull her away from him: at length ſhe being a *Chriſtian* deſired leave of them to go into her Chamber, and after her prayers ſhe would accompliſh that which they requeſted. And when ſhe had gotten into her Chamber, under this pretence, ſhe killed her ſelf. But the Courtiers when they ſaw that the woman tarried ſo long, they being diſpleaſed therewith, brake open the doors, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the Emperor, who was ſo far paſt ſhame, that inſtead of Repentance he was the more ſet on fire in attempting the like.

*The wickedneſs of Maxentius deſcribed.*

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 14.*

*A ſhameful act of incontinency.*

*A Chriſtian Matron ſlayeth her ſelf to avoid the luſt of Maxentius.*

He

A Monſter in the likelihood of an Emperor.

He was alſo much addict to the Art Magical, which to execute, he was more fit than for the Imperial Dignity. Alſo ſometime he would rip women when they were in labour, and would ſearch the place where the infant lay, being born a little before. Often he would invocate Devils in a ſecret manner, and by the anſwers of them he ſought to break the Wars, which he knew *Conſtantinus* and *Licinius* prepared againſt him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his miſchievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpoſe, in the beginning of his Reign he feigned himſelf to be a favourer of the Chriſtians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the People of *Rome* his friends, he commanded that they ſhould ceaſe from perſecuting the Chriſtians. And he himſelf in the mean ſeaſon abſtained from [illegible] contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the laſt to ſhew himſelf an open perſecuter of them: at which time as *Zonaras* writeth, he moſt cruelly raged againſt the Chriſtians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries. Which thing he in no leſs wiſe did, than *Maximinus*, as *Euſebius* in his eighth Book and fifteenth Chapter ſeemeth to affirm. And *Platina* declareth in the life of *Marcellus* the Biſhop, that he baniſhed a certain Noble Woman of *Rome*, becauſe ſhe gave her goods to the Church.

A lively pattern of an Hypocrite.

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unſpeakable wickedneſs of this *Maxentius*, the Citizens and Senators of *Rome*, being much grieved and oppreſſed, ſent their complaints with Letters unto *Conſtantinus*, with much ſute and moſt hearty petitions, deſiring him to help and releaſe their Country and City of *Rome*: who hearing and underſtanding their miſerable and pitiful ſtate, and grieved therewith not a little, firſt ſendeth by Letters to *Maxentius*, deſiring and exhorting him to reſtrain his corrupt doings, and great cruelty. But when no Letters nor exhortations would prevail, at the length pitying the woful caſe of the *Romans*, gathered together his power and Army in *Britain* and *France*, therewith to repreſs the violent rage of that Tyrant: thus *Conſtantinus* ſufficiently appointed with ſtrength of Men, but eſpecially with ſtrength of God, entred his journey coming towards *Italy*, which was about the laſt year of the Perſecution, three hundred and eighteen. *Maxentius* underſtanding of the coming of *Conſtantinus*, and truſting more to his deviliſh Art of Magick, than to the good will of his Subjects, which he little deſerved, durſt not ſhew himſelf out of the City, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy Garriſons laid in wait for him by the way, in ſundry ſtraits as he ſhould come. With whom *Conſtantinus* had divers skirmiſhes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquiſh them and put them to flight. Notwithſtanding *Conſtantinus* yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto *Rome*) for the Magical Charms and Sorceries of *Maxentius*, wherewith he had vanquiſhed before *Severus* ſent by *Galerius* againſt him, as hath been declared, which made alſo *Conſtantinus* the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himſelf, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have againſt the operations of his charming, which uſed to cut Women great with Child, to take his deviliſh Charms by the intrails of the Infants, with ſuch other like feats of deviliſhneſs which he practiſed: theſe things (I ſay) *Conſtantinus* doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the City, and caſting up his eyes many times to Heaven, in the South part, about the going down of the Sun, ſaw a great brightneſs in Heaven, appearing in the ſimilitude of a Croſs, with certain Stars of equal bigneſs, giving this Inſcription like *Latine* Letters, *IN HOC VINCE*, that is, *In this overcome*. *Euſebius de vita Conſtant. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Urſpergenſis, Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11.* This miraculous Viſion to be true, for the more credit, *Euſebius Pamphilus* in his firſt Book *De vita Conſtantini*, doth witneſs moreover, that he had heard the ſaid *Conſtantinus* himſelf oftentimes report, and alſo to ſwear this to be true and certain, which he did ſee with his own eyes in Heaven, and alſo his Souldiers about him. At the ſight whereof when he was greatly aſtonied, and conſulting with his Men upon the meaning thereof, behold in the Night ſeaſon in his ſleep, Chriſt appeared to him with the ſign of the ſame Croſs which he had ſeen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his Wars before him, and ſo ſhould he have the Victory.

{Anno 318.}

*Maxentius* feared for his Magick and Sorcery

A Miracle of a Croſs appearing to *Conſtantinus* in Heaven.

*In hoc vince. Euſeb. lib. 2. Nicep. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. l. 11. Sozom. l. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Vſpergenſis Chronic. Paul. Diac. l. 11.*

This Viſion reported and teſtified by *Conſtantine* himſelf to be true.

¶ Wherein is to be noted (good Reader) that this ſign of the Croſs, and theſe Letters added withal, *In hoc vince*, was given to him of God, not to induce any ſuperſtitious worſhip or opinion of the Croſs, as though the Croſs it ſelf had any ſuch power or ſtrength in it, to obtain Victory: but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is to be an admonition to him, to ſeek and aſpire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified upon the Croſs for the ſalvation of him, and of all the World, and ſo to ſet forth the glory of his Name, as afterward it came to paſs. This by the way. Now to the matter.

An admonition concerning the material croſs not to be worſhipped, but to be a means to bring *Conſtantine* to the faith of him which was crucified.

The next day following after this Nights Viſion, "*Conſtantinus* cauſed a Croſs after the ſame figuration to be made of Gold and precious ſtone, and to be borne before him inſtead of his Standard, and ſo with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from Heaven, ſpeedeth himſelf toward his enemy. Againſt whom *Maxentius* being conſtrained perforce to iſſue out of the City, ſendeth all his power to joyn with him in the field beyond the River of *Tybur*, where *Maxentius* craftily breaking down the Bridge called *Pons Milvius*, cauſed another deceitful Bridge to be made of Boats and Whirries, being joyned together, and covered over with Boards and Planks, in manner of a Bridge, thinking therewith to take *Conſtantine* as in a trap. But here it came to paſs which in the ſeventh *Pſalm* is written, *He digged a pit, and fell therein himſelf; let his working return upon his own head, and his unrighteouſneſs upon his own pate.* Which here in this *Maxentius* was rightly verified. For after the two Hoſts did meet, he being not able to ſuſtain the force of *Conſtantine* fighting under the Croſs of Chriſt againſt him, was put to ſuch a flight, and driven to ſuch an exigent, that in retiring back, for haſte thinking to get the City, upon the ſame Bridge which he did lay for *Conſtantine*, was overturned by the fall of his Horſe into the bottom of the flood, and there with the weight of his Armour, he with a great part of his beaten men, were drowned. Repreſenting unto us the like example of *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly ſeemeth to bear a Prophetical figuration of this *Maxentius*. For as the Children of *Iſrael* were in long thraldome and Perſecution in *Egypt* under Tyrants there, till the drowning of this *Pharaoh* their laſt Perſecuter: ſo was this *Maxentius* and *Maximinus* and *Licinius* the laſt Perſecuter in the *Roman* Monarchy of the Chriſtians, whom this *Conſtantinus*, fighting under the Croſs of Chriſt did vanquiſh and ſet the Chriſtians at liberty, who before had bin perſecuted now three hundred years in *Rome*, as hath been hitherto in this Hiſtory declared.

*Conſtantinus* with his Army approacheth to the walls of *Rome*.

Pſalm. 7. *Maxentius* taken in his own trap.

*Maxentius* beaten in the field.

*Maxentius* drowned by his own Bridge.

*Pharaoh* a figure of *Maxentius* the laſt perſecuter in *Rome*.

*Pharaoh* and *Maxentius* compared.

Wherefore as the *Iſraelites* with their *Moſes* at the drowning of their *Pharaoh*, ſung gloriouſly unto the Lord, who miraculouſly had caſt down the Horſe and Horſemen into the Sea, ſo no leſs rejoycing and exceeding gladneſs was here, to ſee the glorious hand of the Lord Chriſt fighting with his People, and vanquiſhing his Enemies and Perſecuters.

Exo. 15.

The figure of the Old Teſtament viſited in the new.

In Hiſtories we read of many Victories and great Conqueſts gotten: yet we never read, nor ever ſhall, of any Victory ſo wholſome, ſo commodious, ſo opportune to Mankind as this was, which made an end of ſo much bloodſhed, and obtained ſo much liberty and life to the Poſterity of ſo many generations. For albeit that ſome Perſecution was yet ſtirring in the *Eaſt* Countrys by *Maximinus* and *Licinius*, as ſhall be declared; yet in *Rome*, and in all the *Weſt* parts, no Martyr died after this heavenly Victory gotten. And alſo in the *Eaſt* parts the ſaid *Conſtantinus* with the ſaid Croſs borne before him, conſequently upon the ſame, ſo vanquiſhed the Tyrants, and ſo eſtabliſhed the peace of the Church, that for the ſpace of a juſt thouſand years after that, we read of no ſet Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, unto the time of *John Wickliffe*, when the Biſhops of *Rome* began with fire to perſecute the true Members of Chriſt, as in further proceſs of this Hiſtory (Chriſt granting) ſhall appear. So happy, ſo glorious (as I ſaid) was this Victory of *Conſtantine*, ſirnamed

The glorious and victorious hoſt of Chriſt.

Perſecution ceaſeth in the Weſt a thouſand years till the time of *Wickliffe*.

named the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the Citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the City of *Rome*, where he with the Cross was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together, having moreover in the Market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the Cross, with this Inscription: *Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi:* that is, *With this Wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our City from the yoke of the Tyrant.* Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.*

By this heavenly Victory of *Constantinus*, and by the death of *Maxentius* no little tranquility came unto the Church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the *East* Churches the storm of this Tenth Persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some tail thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three years. But of this we mind to speak (Christ willing) hereafter. In the mean season to return again to the West parts here in *Europe*, where *Constantinus* then had most to do, great tranquility followed, and long continued in the Church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together (to the time of *John Wickliff* and *Waldenses*, as is before touched) by the means of the godly beginning of good *Constantinus*, who with his fellow *Licinius*, being now established in their dominion, eftsoons set forth their general Proclamation or Edict, not constraining therein any man to any Religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoyn with them, whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly allowed of the *Romans*, and all wise men. The Copy of the Edict or Constitution here ensueth.

Note well these thousand years, and then read the 20 chap. of the Apocalyp. Satanas was bound up for a thousand years. &c.

## The Copy of the Emperial Constitution of *Constantinus* and *Licinius*, for the establishing of the free worshipping of God after the Christian Religion.

The Copy of the Emperial Constitution of *Constantinus* and *Licin. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

NOt long agone We weighing with Our Selves, that the liberty and freedom of Religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to do therein according to his will and mind, We have given Commandment to all men to qualifie matters of Religion as they themselves thought good, and that also the Christians should keep the Opinions and Faith of their Religion: but because that many and sundry Opinions by the same our first licence, spring and increase through such liberty granted, We thought good manifestly to add thereunto, and make plain such things whereby perchance some of them in time to come, may from such their observance be let or hindred. When therefore by prosperous success, I Constantinus Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus came to Mediolanum, and there sate in Council upon such things as served for the utility and profit of the Commonweal, these things amongst others We thought would be beneficial to all men, yea and before all other things We purposed to establish those things wherein the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended; that is, to give unto the Christians free choice to follow what Religion they think good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestial grace, which is in every place received, may also be imbraced and accepted of all Our loving Subjects. According therefore unto this our pleasure upon good advisement and sound judgment We have decreed, that no man so hardly be denied to choose and follow the Christian Observance or Religion: but that this liberty be given to every man, that he may apply his mind to what Religion he thinketh meet himself, whereby God may perform upon us all his accustomed care and goodness. To the intent therefore you might know that this is Our pleasure, We thought it necessary this to write unto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in Our former Letters (being sent unto you in the behalf of the Christians) are contained, and which seem very undiscreet and contrary to our clemency, may be made frustrate and annihilate. Now therefore firmly and freely We will and command, that every man have a free liberty to observe the Christian Religion, and that without any grief or molestation he may be suffered to do the same. These things have we thought good to signifie unto you by as plain words as we may, that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keep and use their Religion. And for so much as this liberty is absolutely given of us unto them, to use and exercise their former observance, if any be disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establish the publick tranquility of our time, every man to have licence and liberty to use and choose what kind of worshipping he list himself. And this is done of us only for the intent, that We would have no man to be enforced to one Religion more than another. And this thing also amongst others We have provided for the Christians, that they may have again the possession of such places, in which heretofore they have been accustomed to make their Assemblies: so that if any have bought or purchased the same either of us, or of any other; the same places without either money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay We will to be restored again unto the said Christians. And if any man have obtained the same by gift from Us, and shall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalf, then let the Christians repair to the President (being the Judge appointed for that place) that consideration may be had of those men by Our benignity: All which things We will and command that you see to be given and restored freely, and with diligence, unto the society of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certain other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to the right of their Congregation and Sonety: you shall see also all those to be restored unto the Christians, that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them, according to the Decree, whereof We have made mention, all delay set apart, Provided that the Order We have taken in the mean time be observed, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same Lands and Possessions, they shall not mistrust, but be sure to be saved harmless by Us. In all these things it shall be your part to imploy your diligence in the behalf of the foresaid company of the Christians, whereby this our Commandment may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by Our Clemency the common and publick peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this means, as before We have said, the good will and favour of God towards Us (whereof in many cases We have had good experience) shall always continue with us. And to the intent that this Our Constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the Copy of these Our Letters be set up in all places, that Men may read and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof.

By these Histories I doubt not (good Reader) but thou dost right well consider and behold with thy self the marvellous working of Gods mighty power; to see so many Emperors at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose Names before we have recited, as *Diocletian*, *Maximinian*, *Galerius*, *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, *Severus*, *Licinius*, who having the subjection of the whole World under their Dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices, to extirpate the Name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of Man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented, which was not attempted? If Laws, Edicts, Proclamations, written not only in Tables, but ingraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord, note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his Church doth stand. First, of the taking away of *Maximinian* you have heard, also of the death of *Severus*, of the drowning moreover of *Maxentius*, enough hath been said. What a terrible Plague was upon *Galerius*, consuming his Privy Members with Lice, hath been also described. How *Diocletian* the

The consideration of Gods work in defending his Christians.

The Kings of the earth have risen, and Princes together against the Lord, and against his Christ. Psalm. 2. No counsel standeth against God.

The destruction of the cruel Emperors.

the *Quondam* being at *Salona*, hearing of the proceedings of *Conſtantinus*, and this Edict, either for ſorrow died, or as ſome ſay, did poyſon himſelf. Only *Maximinus* now in the Eaſt parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred againſt the Chriſtians, and no leſs expreſſed the ſame with mortal Perſecution, to whom *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* cauſed this Conſtitution of theirs to be delivered. At the ſight whereof although he was ſomewhat appaled, and defeated of his purpoſe: yet for ſo much as he ſaw himſelf too weak to reſiſt the authority of *Conſtantinus* and *Licinius* the ſuperiour Princes, he diſſembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himſelf had tendered the quiet of the Chriſtians, directing down a certain Decree in the behalf of the Chriſtians, wherein he pretendeth to write to *Sabinus* aforementioned, firſt repeating unto him the former Decree of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* in few words, with the commandment therein contained touching the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. After that, he reciteth the Decree which he himſelf made againſt them, when he came firſt to the Emperial Dignity in the Eaſt part joyned with *Conſtantinus*. Then the countermand of another Decree of his again, for the reſcuing of the Chriſtians, with ſuch feigned and pretenſed cauſes, as is in the ſame to be ſeen. After that, he declareth how he coming to *Nicomedia*, at the ſuit and ſupplication of the Citizens (which he alſo feigned, as may appear before) he applying to their ſuit, revoked that his former Edict, and granted them that no Chriſtian ſhould dwell within their City or Territories. Upon which *Sabinus* alſo had given forth his Letters, rehearſing withal the general countermand ſent forth by him, for the Perſecution again of the Chriſtians. Laſt of all now he ſendeth down again another ſurrecountermand, with the cauſes therein contained, touching the ſafety of the Chriſtians, and tranquility of them: commanding *Sabinus* to publiſh the ſame. Which Edict of his is at large ſet forth of *Euſebius lib. 9. cap. 9.* But this ſurrecountermand he then diſſembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit ſhortly after, he making Wars, and fighting a Battel with *Licinius*, wherein he loſt the Victory, coming home again, took great indignation againſt the Prieſts and Prophets of his Gods, whom before that time he had great regard unto, and honoured: upon whoſe anſwers he truſting, and depending upon their inchantments, began his War againſt *Licinius*. But after that he perceived himſelf to be deceived by them, as by wicked inchanters and deceivers, and ſuch as had betrayed his ſafety and perſon, he killed and put them to death. And he ſhortly after, oppreſſed with a certain diſeaſe, glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a moſt abſolute law for the ſafety and preſervation of them, with franchiſe and liberty: the Copy whereof enſueth:

*The effect of the Decree which Maximinus made againſt his will, or ſurrecountermand for fear of Conſtantinus and Licinius in the behalf of the Chriſtians.*

*Ex Euſeb. lib. 9. cap 9. The ſurrecountermand of Maximinus diſſembled.*

*The unfeigned repentance and final Decree of Maximinus for the Chriſtians.*

IMperator Cæſar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus, *It is neceſſary that We always carefully provide and ſee unto the benefit and commodity of ſuch as be Our Subjects, and to exhibite ſuch things unto them, whereby they may beſt obtain the ſame. But we ſuppoſe that there are none of you ſo ignorant, but know and underſtand what things make beſt for the profit and commodity of the Commonweal, and beſt pleaſe every mans diſpoſition. But it is meet and convenient that every man have recourſe to that which they have ſeen done before their eyes, and that all ſorts of men conſider the ſame, and bear it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, upon the occaſion that* Dioceſianus, *and* Maximinianus, *our progenitors of famous memory, commanded the Aſſemblies and Meetings of the Chriſtians to be cut off, there were many of them ſpoiled and robbed of our Officials; which thing we alſo perceive is now put in practice againſt our Subjects, that they in like caſe may be ſpoyled of their Goods and Subſtance, which thing chiefly to prevent is our only endeavour. By our Letters ſent to the Governors of our Province the year paſt, we ordained, that if any man were diſpoſed to lean unto the Chriſtian Religion, he might without any injury done unto him, accompliſh his deſire, neither to be of any man either let or moleſted, and that he might without any fear or ſuſpicion, do whatſoever he therein thought good. But now alſo we underſtand that there be certain Judges which have neglected our commandment, and have put Our Subjects in doubt, whether that hath been Our pleaſure or not; which thing they did, that ſuch men might be the better adviſed, how they entred into ſuch Religion: wherein they followed their own phantaſie. To the intent therefore, that after this, all ſuſpicion, doubt and fear may be taken away: We have thought good to publiſh this our Edict, whereby it may be made manifeſt to every man, that it ſhall be lawful for all ſuch as will follow that Religion, by the benefit of this Our Grant and Letters Patents, to uſe what Religion they like beſt: And alſo hereby we grant to them licence to build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that this Our Grant may more amply extend unto them, We vouchſafe to Appoint and Ordain, That whatſoever Lands and Subſtance before belonging and appertaining to the Chriſtians, and by the commandment of our Predeceſſor were tranſpoſed to our Revenue and Exchequer, or elſe be in the poſſeſſion of any City by means of the franchiſes of the ſame, or elſe otherwiſe ſold or given to any man: All and every parcel thereof We command ſhall be reſtored unto the proper uſe of the Chriſtians again, whereby they may all have in this matter more experience of our godly devotion and providence.* Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

*A large Grant of Maximinus to the Chriſtians.*

*Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 10.*

*Maximinus* then being conquered of *Licinius*, and alſo plagued with an incurable Diſeaſe in the Guts, ſent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adverſity to confeſs the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this Edict in the favour of thoſe Chriſtians whom before he did perſecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never ſo ſtern and ſtout, at length to ſtoop, and mauger their hearts to confeſs him, as this *Maximinus* here did, who not long after, by the vehemency of his Diſeaſe ended his life. Whereby no more Tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the Church, but only *Licinius*. Of which *Licinius* and of his Perſecutions ſtirred up in the Eaſt parts againſt the Saints of God, now remaineth in order of ſtory to proſecute.

Anno 319. God maketh his enemies to confeſs him.

*The end and death of Maximinus.*

This *Licinius* being a *Dane* born, and made firſt *Ceſar* by *Galerius*, as is above ſpecified, was afterwards joyned with *Conſtantinus* in government of the Empire, and in ſetting forth the Edicts, which before we have deſcribed: although it ſeemeth all this to be done of him with a diſſembling mind. For ſo is he in all Hiſtorys deſcribed, to be a man paſſing all others in deſire of inſatiable riches, given to lechery, haſty, ſtubborn and furious. To Learning he was ſuch an enemy, that he named the ſame a poyſon and a common peſtilence, and eſpecially the knowledge of the Laws. He thought no Vice worſe became a Prince than Learning, becauſe he himſelf was unlearned. *Eutropius, Lætus, Ignatius, Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

*The Perſecution of the Church under Licinius.*

*An enemy to learning.*

*Euſeb. lib 8. cap. 13.*

There was between him and *Conſtantinus* in the beginning great familiarity, and ſuch agreement, that *Conſtantinus* gave unto him his Siſter *Conſtantia* in Matrimony, as *Aurelius Victor* writeth. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other Religion than *Conſtantinus* was of, he ſeemed in all things ſo well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a Decree with *Conſtantinus*, in the behalf of the Chriſtians, as we have ſhewed: *Euſebius lib. 9. cap. 9.* And ſuch was *Licinius* in the beginning; but after arming himſelf with Tyranny, began to conſpire againſt the perſon of *Conſtantinus*, of whom he had received ſo great benefits; neither favourable to the law of Nature, nor mindful of his Oaths, his Blood, nor promiſes. But when he conſidered that in his Conſpiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he ſaw *Conſtantinus* was preſerved and ſafely defended of God: and partly being puffed up with the Victory againſt *Maximinus*, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the Chriſtian Religion, but alſo deadly to hate the ſame. He ſaid he would become an enemy to the Chriſtians, for that in their Aſſemblies and Meetings they prayed not for him, but for *Conſtantinus*. Therefore firſt by little and little, and that ſecretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Chriſtians, and baniſhed them his Court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his Kingdom. Then he commanded that all thoſe ſhould be deprived which were Knights of the honourable Order, unleſs they would do

*Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 9. Licinius an Apoſtate.*

*The fountain of Apoſtacy.*

*Knights of the order deprived for not doing ſacrifice.*

Euſeb. l. 10.

do ſacrifice to Devils: *Euſeb. lib.* 10. *cap.* 8. The ſame Perſecution afterward ſtretched he from his Court, into all his Provinces, which with moſt wicked and deviſed laws he ſet forth. Firſt, that for no cauſe the Biſhops ſhould in any matter communicate together: neither that any man ſhould come at the Churches next unto them, or to call any aſſemblies, and conſult for the neceſſary matters and utility of the Church.

After, that the Men and Women together ſhould not come in companies to pray, nor that the Women ſhould come in thoſe places where they uſed to preach and read the Word of God, neither that they ſhould be after that inſtructed any more of the Biſhop, but ſhould chooſe out ſuch Women amongſt them as ſhould inſtruct them. The third moſt cruel and wickedeſt of all was, that none ſhould help and ſuccour thoſe that were caſt in priſon, nor ſhould beſtow any Alms or Charity upon them, though they ſhould die for hunger; and they which ſhewed any compaſſion upon thoſe that were condemned to death, ſhould be as greatly puniſhed, as they to whom they ſhewed the ſame ſhould be. *Euſebius libro primo de vita Conſtantini.* Theſe were the moſt horrible Conſtitutions of *Licinius*, which went beyond and paſſed the bounds of nature.

A ſtrict charge againſt the relieving of the impriſoned Chriſtians. *Euſeb. lib.* 1. *de vita Conſt.*

Secret perſecution for fear of *Conſtantine.*

After this he uſed violence againſt the Biſhops, but yet not openly, for fear of *Conſtantinus*, but privily and by conſpiracy, by which means he ſlew thoſe that were the worthieſt men amongſt the Doctors and Prelates. And about *Amaſea* and other Cities of *Pontus*, he raced the Churches even with the ground. Otherſome he ſhut up, that no man ſhould come after their accuſtomed manner to pray and worſhip God; and therefore, as we ſaid before, his Conſcience accuſing him, all this he did, for that he ſuſpected they prayed for *Conſtantinus*, and not at all for him. And from this place in the Eaſt parts to the *Lybians*, which bordered upon the *Egyptians*, the Chriſtians durſt not aſſemble and come together for the diſpleaſure of *Licinius*: which he had conceived againſt them. *Sozomenus lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

*Sozomenus, lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

Furthermore, the flattering Officers that were under him, thinking by this means to pleaſe him, ſlew and made out of the way many Biſhops, and without any cauſe put them to death, as though they had been homicides and heinous offenders; and ſuch rigorouſneſs uſed they towards ſome of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and ſmall pieces in manner of a Butcher, and after that threw them into the Sea to feed the Fiſhes, *Euſebius lib.* 10. *cap.* 8. What ſhall we ſpeak of the exiles and confiſcations of good and vertuous Men? For he took by violence every mans ſubſtance, and cared not by what means he came by the ſame; but threatned them with death, unleſs they would forgo the ſame. He baniſhed thoſe which had committed none evil at all. He commanded that both Gentlemen and Men of Honour ſhould be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gave their daughters that were unmarried to Varlets and wicked ones to be defloured. And *Licinius* himſelf (although that by reaſon of his years his body was ſpent) yet ſhamefully did he vitiate many Women, Mens Wives and Maids. *Euſeb. lib.* 1. *de vita Conſtantini.* Which cruel outrage of him cauſed many godly men of their own accord to forſake their houſes; and it was alſo ſeen, that the Woods, Fields, deſert places and Mountains were faign to be the habitations and reſting-places of the poor and miſerable Chriſtians. *Euſeb. lib.* 10. *cap.* 4. Of thoſe worthy men and famous Martyrs which in this Perſecution found the way to Heaven, *Nicephorus lib.* 7. *cap.* 10. firſt ſpeaketh of *Theodorus*, who firſt being hanged upon the Croſs, had Nails thruſt into his Arm-pits, and after that, his head ſtricken off. Alſo of another *Theodorus* being the Biſhop of *Tyre*; the third was a man of *Perga*; *Baſilius* alſo the Biſhop of *Amaſemus*, *Nicholaus* the Biſhop of *Mirorus*, *Gregorius* of *Armenia* the great; after that *Paul* of *Neoceſarea*, which by the impious commandment of *Licinius*, had both his hands cut off with a fearing iron. Beſides theſe were in the City of *Sebaſtia* forty worthy men, and Chriſtian Souldiers in the vehement cold time of Winter ſowſed and drowned in a Horſe-Pond, whom *Locias* as yet, of whom we ſpoke before, and *Agricolaus* executing the Sheriffs office under *Licinius* in the Eaſt parts, were alive, and were in great eſtimation, for inventing of new and ſtrange torments againſt the Chriſtians. The Wives of thoſe forty good men were carried to *Heraclea* a City in *Thracia*, and there, with a certain Deacon whoſe name was *Amones*, were (after innumerable torments by them moſt conſtantly indured) ſlain with the ſword. Theſe things writeth *Nicephorus*. Alſo *Sozomenus* in his ninth Book and ſecond Chapter maketh mention of the ſame Martyrs. And *Baſilius* in a certain Oration ſeemeth to intreat of their Hiſtory, ſaving that in the circumſtances he ſomewhat varieth. And ſurely *Licinius* was determined, for that the firſt face of this Perſecution fell out according to his deſire, to have overrun all the Chriſtians, to which thing neither counſel, nor good will, nor yet opportunity perchance wanted, unleſs God had brought *Conſtantinus* into thoſe parts where he governed, where, in the Wars which he himſelf began (knowing right well that *Conſtantinus* had intelligence of his Conſpiracy and Treaſon) joyning Battel with him he was overcome.

*Euſeb. lib.* 10. *cap.* 8.

The violent wrongs of *Licinius.*

*Euſeb. l.* 1. *de vita Conſt.*

The Chriſtians flee into the Wilderneſs.

Hot peſecution renewed.

*Theodorus.*

Another *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Cyrus.*

A man of *Perga.*

*Nicholaus* Biſhop of *Mirorus.*

*Gregorius* Biſhop of *Armenia.*

*Paulus* Biſhop of *Neoceſarea* with forty other Martyrs.

Forty good men and their wives Martyrs.

*Agon* with forty wives of forty men Martyrs.

The wicked purpoſe of *Licinius*, had he not been prevented by God, and ſlain by *Conſtantine.*

Divers Battels between them were fought, the firſt fought in *Hungary*, where *Licinius* was overthrown; then he fled into *Macedonia*, and repairing his Army was again diſcomfited. Finally, being vanquiſhed both by Sea and Land, he laſtly, at *Nicomedia* yielded himſelf to *Conſtantine*, and was commanded to live a private life in *Theſſalia*, where at length he was ſlain by the Souldiers.

*Licinius* overcome in Battel by *Conſtantine.*

Thus have ye heard the end and concluſion of all the ſeven Tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and laſt Perſecution againſt the true People of God. The chief Captain and incentor of which Perſecution was firſt *Diocleſian*, who died at *Salena*, as ſome ſay, by his own poyſon in the year of our Lord three hundred and nineteen. The next was *Maximinian*, who (as is ſaid) was hanged of *Conſtantine* at *Maſilia*, about the year of our Lord three hundred and ten. Then died *Galerius*, plagued with an horrible Diſeaſe ſent of God. *Severus* was ſlain by *Maximinian*, father of *Maxentius* the wicked Tyrant, who was overcome and vanquiſhed of *Conſtantine*, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen. *Maximinus* the ſixth Tyrant not long after, who being overcome by *Licinius*, died about the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty. Laſtly, how this *Licinius* was overcome by *Conſtantine* and ſlain, in the year of our Lord, Three hundred twenty and four, is before declared. Only *Conſtantius* the Father of *Conſtantine* being a good and a godly Emperor, died in the third year of the Perſecution, in the year of our Lord Three hundred and ten, and was buried at *York*. After whom ſucceeded after his godly Father *Conſtantinus*, as a ſecond *Moſes* ſent and ſet up of God to deliver his people out of this ſo miſerable captivity, into liberty moſt joyful.

The end & death of the Tyrants which were the authors of this Tenth perſecution.

Now remaineth after the end of theſe Perſecutors thus deſcribed, to gather up the names and ſtories of certain particular Martyrs, which now are to be ſet forth worthy of ſpecial memory, for their ſingular conſtancy and fortitude, ſhewed in their ſufferings and cruel torments. The names of all which that ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth Perſecution, being in number infinite, in vertue moſt excellent, it is impoſſible here to comprehend; but the moſt notable, and in moſt approved Authors expreſſed, we thought here to inſert, for the more edification of other Chriſtians, which may and ought to look upon their examples, firſt beginning with *Albanus*, the firſt Martyr that ever in *England* ſuffered death for the name of Chriſt.

A brief ſtory of the moſt notable Martyrs that ſuffered in this Tenth Perſecution.

At what time *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* the Pagan Emperors had directed out their Letters with all ſeverity for the perſecuting of the Chriſtians; *Alban* being then an Infidel, received into his houſe a certain Clerk, flying from the Perſecutors hands, whom when *Alban* beheld, continually both day and night to perſevere in, watching and prayer, ſuddenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life; whereupon by little and little he being inſtructed by his wholeſome exhortation, and leaving the blindneſs of his Idolatry, became at length a perfect Chriſtian. And when the forenamed Clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked Prince, that this good man and Confeſſor of Chriſt (not yet condemned to death) was harbour'd in *Albans* houſe, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the Souldiers to make more diligent inquiſition of the matter. Who as ſoon as they came to the houſe of *Alban* the Martyr, he by and by putting on the apparel wherewith his gueſt and maſter was appa-

*Albanus* Martyr.

Fruit of Hoſpitality to be noted.

*Albanus* firſt converted, and by what occaſion.

reled

relled (that is, a garment at that time uſed, named *Caracalla*) offered himſelf in the ſtead of the other to the ſouldiers; who binding him, brought him forthwith to the Judge. It fortuned that at that inſtant when bleſſed *Alban* was brought unto the Judge, they found the ſame Judge at the Altars offering ſacrifice unto Devils, who as ſoon as he ſaw *Alban*, was ſtraight ways in a great rage, for that he would preſume of his own voluntary will, to offer himſelf to peril, and give himſelf a Priſoner to the Soldiers, for ſafeguard of his gueſt whom he harboured, and commanded him to be brought before the images of the Devils whom he worſhipped ſaying, *For that thou hadſt rather hide and convey away a Rebel, than to deliver him to the Officers, and that (as a contemner of our Gods) he ſhould not ſuffer puniſhment and merit of his blaſphemy; look what puniſhment he ſhould have had, thou for him ſhalt ſuffer the ſame, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worſhipping.* But bleſſed *Alban*, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the Perſecutors that he was a Chriſtian, feared not at all the menaces of the Prince, but being armed with the ſpiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then ſaid the Judge, *Of what ſtock or kindred art thou come? Alban* anſwered, *What is that to you? of what ſtock ſoever I came of, if you deſire to hear the verity of my Religion, I do ye to wit, that I am a Chriſtian, and apply my ſelf altogether to that calling.* Then ſaid the Judge, *I would know thy name, and ſee thou tell me the ſame without delay.* Then ſaid he, *My Parents named me* Alban, *and I worſhip the true and living God, which hath created all the World.* Then ſaid the Judge, fraught with fury, *If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of this preſent life, do ſacrifice (and that out of hand) to theſe mighty Gods: Alban* replieth, *Theſe Sacrifices which ye offer unto Devils, can neither help them that offer the ſame, neither yet can they accompliſh the deſires and prayers of their ſuppliants; but rather ſhall they, whatſoever they be, that offer Sacrifice to theſe Idols, receive for their meed everlaſting pains of Hell fire.* The Judge when he heard theſe words, was paſſing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy Confeſſor of God, endeavouring to overcome the conſtancy of his heart with ſtripes, which had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet ſuffered he the ſame patiently, nay, rather joyfully for the Lords ſake. Then when the Judge ſaw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be reduced from the worſhip of Chriſtian Religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

*Alban* offereth himſelf to death for another.

The words of the Judge to *Alban*.

The conſtancy and zeal of *Alban*.

The confeſſion of *Alban*.

The ſuffering and Martyrdom of *Alban*.

The reſt that followeth of this ſtory in the narration of *Beda*, as of drying up the River, as *Alban* went to the place of his execution; then of making a Well-ſpring in the top of the Hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with ſuch other prodigious Miracles mentioned in his ſtory) becauſe they ſeem more Legend-like than Truth-like; again, becauſe I ſee no great profit nor neceſſity in the relation thereof, I leave them to the free judgment of the Reader, to think of them as cauſe ſhall move him.

Superfluous Miracles in his ſtory written by *Beda* omitted.

The like eſtimation I have of the long ſtory, wherein is written at large, a fabulous diſcourſe of all the doings and Miracles of St. *Alban*, taken out of the Library of St. *Albans*, compiled (as there is ſaid) by a certain Pagan, who (as he ſaith) afterward went to *Rome*, there to be baptiſed. But becauſe in the beginning or Prologue of the Book, the ſaid Writer maketh mention of the ruinous Walls of the Town of *Verolamium*, containing the ſtory of *Albanus*, and of his bitter puniſhments; which Walls were then falling down for age, at the writing of the ſaid Book, as he ſaith; thereby it ſeemeth this ſtory to be written a great while after the Martyrdom of *Alban*, either by a *Britain*, or by an *Engliſh* man. If he were a *Britain*, how then did the *Latine* Tranſlation take it out of the *Engliſh* Tongue, as in the Prologue he himſelf doth teſtifie: If he were an *Engliſh* man, how then did he go up to *Rome* for Baptiſm, being a *Pagan*, when he might have been baptiſed among the Chriſtian *Britains* more near at home.

The legend of St. *Alban* diſproved.

But among all other evidences and declarations ſufficient to diſprove this Legendary Story of Saint *Alban*, nothing maketh more againſt it, than the very ſtory it ſelf: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy Martyr to ſpeak unto the people after it was ſmitten off from the body. Alſo where he bringeth in the Angels going up, and coming down in a Pillar of Fire, and ſinging all the night long. *Item*, in the River which he ſaith St. *Alban* made dry, ſuch as were drowned in the ſame before in the bottom were found alive. With other ſuch like Monkiſh-Miracles and groſs fables, wherewith theſe Abby-Moniks were wont in times paſt to deceive the Church of God, and to beguile the whole World for their own advantage. Notwithſtanding this I write not to any derogation of the bleſſed and faithful Martyr of God, who was the firſt that I did ever find in this Realm, to ſuffer Martyrdom for the teſtimony of Chriſt. And worthy no doubt of condign condemnation, eſpecially of us here in this Land; whoſe Chriſtian Faith in the Lord, and Charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As alſo I wiſh moreover, that the ſtories both of him, and of all other Chriſtian Martyrs might have been delivered to us ſimple as they were, without the admixture of all theſe Abbey-like additions of Monkiſh-Miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of ſuch Saints to the end by whoſe offerings they were accuſtomed to receive moſt advantage.

St. *Alban* the firſt Martyr in this Realm of *England*.

The ſtories of the Saints corrupted with lies.

As touching the name of the Clerk mentioned in this ſtory, whom *Alban* received into his houſe, I find in the *Engliſh* ſtories to be *Amphibalus*, although the *Latine* Authors name him not, who the ſame time flying into *Wales*, was alſo fetcht from thence again to the ſame Town of *Verolamium*, otherwiſe called *Verlancaſter*, where he was Martyred, having his belly opened, and made to run about a ſtake, while all his bowels were drawn out, then thruſt in with ſwords and daggers; and at laſt was ſtoned to death, as the foreſaid Legend declareth.

*Amphibalus* Martyred. Fleta. Bed.

The Martyrdom of *Amphibalus*

Moreover the ſame time with *Alban* ſuffered alſo two Citizens of the aforeſaid City of *Verlancaſter*, whoſe names were *Aaron* and *Julius*; beſide others, whereof a great number the ſame time no doubt, did ſuffer, although our Chronicles of their names do make no rehearſal.

*Aaron*, *Julius* Martyrs.

The time of Martyrdom of this bleſſed *Alban* and the other, ſeemeth to be about the ſecond or third year of this Tenth Perſecution, under the Tyranny of *Diocleſian*, and *Maximinianus Herculius*, bearing then the rule in *England*, about the year of our Lord three hundred and one, before the coming of *Conſtantius* to his Government. Where, by the way is to be noted, that this Realm of *Britain* being ſo chriſtened before, yet never was touched with any other of the Nine Perſecutions, before this Tenth Perſecution of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*. In which Perſecution our ſtories and Polychronicon do record, that all Chriſtianity almoſt in the whole Iſland was deſtroyed, the Churches ſubverted, all Books of the Scripture burned, many of the faithful, both Men and Women were ſlain; among whom the firſt and chief Ring-leader (as hath been ſaid) was *Albanus*. And thus much touching the Martyrs of *Britain*. Now from *England* to return again unto other Countries, where this Perſecution did more vehemently rage; we will add hereunto (the Lord willing) the ſtories of others, although not of all that ſuffered in this Perſecution, (which were impoſſible) but of certain moſt principal, whoſe ſingular conſtancy in their ſtrong torments are chiefly renowned in later Hiſtories; beginning firſt with *Romanus* the notable and admirable Souldier and true Servant of Chriſt, whoſe Hiſtory ſet forth in *Prudentius*, doth thus proceed; ſo lamentably by him deſcribed, that it will be hard for any man almoſt with dry Cheeks to hear it.

Perſecution in this Realm of *Britain*.

Pitileſs *Galerius* with his grand Captain *Aſclepiades* violently invaded the City of *Antioch*, intending by force of Arms to drive all Chriſtians to renounce utterly their pure Religion. The Chriſtians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom *Romanus* haſtily ran, declaring that the Wolves were at hand which would devour the Chriſtian Flock; *But fear not*, ſaid he, *neither let this imminent peril diſturb you my brethren.* Brought was it to paſs, by the great grace of God working in *Romanus*, that old Men and Matrons, Fathers and Mothers, young Men and Maidens were all of one will and mind, moſt ready to ſhed ther blood in defence of their Chriſtian profeſſion. Word was brought unto the Captain, that the band of armed ſouldiers was not able to wreſt the ſtaff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by

The lamentable ſtory of *Romanus* Martyr.

The exhortation of *Romanus* to the Chriſtians.

reaſon

reaſon that one *Romanus* ſo mightily did incourage them, that they ſtick not to offer their naked throats, wiſhing gloriouſly to die for the name of their Chriſt. *Seek out that Rebel* (quoth the Captain) *and bring him to me that he may anſwer for the whole Sect.* Apprehended he was, and bound as a Sheep appointed to the Slaughter-houſe, was preſented to the Emperor, who with wrathful countenance beholding him, ſaid, *What? Art thou the Author of this Sedition? Art thou the cauſe why ſo many ſhall loſe their lives? By the Gods I ſweat thou ſhalt ſmart for it, and firſt in thy fleſh ſhalt thou ſuffer the pains, wherunto thou haſt incouraged the hearts of thy fellows.* The Chriſtian boldneſs of *Romanus*. *Romanus* anſwered, *Thy ſentence, O Emperor, I joyfully embrace, I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren and that by as cruel means as thou mayſt invent: and whereas thy Souldiers were repelled from the Chriſtian Congregation, that ſo hapned, becauſe it lay not in Idolaters and worſhippers of Devils, to enter into the holy houſe of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer.* Then *Aſclepiades*, wholly inflamed with this ſtout anſwer, commanded him to be truſſed up, and his bowels drawn out. The Executioners themſelves more pitiful in heart than the Captain, ſaid, *Not ſo, Sir, this man is of Noble Parentage, unlawful it is to put a Nobleman to ſo unnoble a death. Scourge him then with Whips* (quoth the Captain) *with knaps of lead at the ends.* Inſtead of tears, ſighs and groans, *Romanus* ſung Pſalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for Nobility ſake; *Not the blood of my Progenitors* (ſaid he) *but Chriſtian Profeſſion maketh me Noble.* Then with great power of Spirit he inveighed againſt the Captain, laughing to ſcorn the falſe Gods of the Heathen, with the idolatrous worſhipping of them, affirming the God of the Chriſtians to be the true God that created Heaven and Earth, before whoſe Judicial Seat all Nations ſhall appear. But the wholeſome words of the Martyr were as oyl to the fire of the Captains fury. The more the Martyr ſpake, the madder was he, inſomuch that he commanded the Martyrs ſides to be lanced with Knives, until the bones appeared white again. *Sorry am I, O Captain,* (quoth the Martyr) *not for that my fleſh ſhall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cauſe am I ſorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, ſeduceſt others.* The ſecond time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt his welbeloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expreſſing therewith the abomination of Idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worſhip and adore the living God. At theſe words *Aſclepiades* commanded the tormentors to ſtrike *Romanus* on the mouth, that his teeth being ſtricken out, his pronunciation at leaſt wiſe might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his Eye-lids torn with their Nails, his Cheeks ſcotched with Knives, the Skin of his Beard was plucked by little and little from the fleſh; finally, his ſeemly Face was wholly defaced. The meek Martyr ſaid, *I thank thee O Captain, that thou haſt opened unto me many mouths, wherein I may preach my Lord and Saviour Chriſt. Look how many Wounds I have, ſo many Mouths I have lauding and praiſing God.* The Captain aſtoniſhed with this ſingular conſtancy, commanded them to ceaſe from the tortures. He threatneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble Martyr, he blaſphemeth God, ſaying, *Thy crucified Chriſt is but a yeſterdays God, the Gods of the Gentiles are of moſt antiquity.*

The noble patience of *Romanus* in his ſuffering

The preaching of *Romanus* to the Captain.

Antiquity alledged of the Pagans.

Here again *Romanus* taking good occaſion, made a long Oration of the Eternity of Chriſt, of his Humane Nature, of the Death and Satisfaction of Chriſt for all Mankind. Which done, he ſaid, *Give me a Child, O Captain, but ſeven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou ſhalt hear what he will ſay.* His requeſt was granted. A pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and ſet before him. *Tell me my babe* (quoth the Martyr) *whether thou think it reaſon that we worſhip one Chriſt, and in Chriſt one Father, or elſe that we worſhip infinite Gods?* Unto whom the Babe anſwered, *That certainly, whatſoever it be that Men affirm to be God, muſt needs be one; which with one, is one and the ſame; and in as much as this one is Chriſt, of neceſſity Chriſt muſt be the true God; for that there be many Gods, we children cannot believe.* The Captain hereat clean amazed, ſaid, *Thou young Villain and Traitor, where, and of whom learnedſt thou this leſſon? Of my mother* (quoth the child) *with whoſe milk I ſucked in this Leſſon, that I muſt believe in Chriſt.* The mother was called, and ſhe gladly appeared. The Captain commanded the Child to be horſed up and ſcourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitileſs act, could not temper themſelves from tears; the joyful and glad mother alone ſtood by with dry cheeks: yea ſhe rebuked her ſweet Babe for craving a draught of cold water, ſhe charged him to thirſt after the Cup that the infants of *Bethlehem* once drank of, forgetting their Mothers Milk and Paps; ſhe willed him to remember little *Iſaac*, who beholding the Sword wherewith, and the Altar whereon he ſhould be ſacrificed, willingly proffered his tender Neck to the dint of his Fathers Sword. Whilſt this counſel was in giving, the butcherly tormentor pluckt the ſkin from the Crown of his head hair and all. The Mother cried, *Suffer my child, anon thou ſhalt paſs to him that will adorn thy naked head with a Crown of eternal glory.* The mother counſelleth, the child is counſelled; the mother incourageth, the babe is incouraged, and received the ſtripes with ſmiling countenance. The Captain perceiving the Child invincible, and himſelf vanquiſhed, committeth the ſilly ſoul, the bleſſed babe, the child uncheriſhed, to the ſtinking Priſon, commanding the torments of *Romanus* to be renewed and increaſed, as chief author of this evil.

A Child martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſt.

An example of vertuous education.

A godly mother of a godly child.

Thus was *Romanus* brought forth again to new ſtripes, the puniſhments to be renewed and received upon his old ſores, in ſo much as the bare bones appeared, the fleſh all torn away; wherein no pity was ſhewed, but the raging Tyrant puffing out of his blaſphemous mouth, like a mad-man theſe words, cried out to the tormentors, ſaying:

*Where is (quoth the Captain) Where is your might?*
*What? are ye not able one body to ſpill?*
*Scant may it, ſo weak is it, ſtand upright:*
*And yet in ſpite of us, ſhall it live ſtill?*

The cruel words of the Tyrant.

*The Griph with Talen, the Dog with his Tooth,*
*Could ſoon, ye daſtards, this corps rent and tear:*
*He ſcorneth our Gods in all that he doth,*
*Cut, prick and pounce him, no longer forbear.*

Yea, no longer could the Tyrant forbear, but needs he muſt draw nearer to the ſentence of death. *Is it painful to thee* (ſaith he) *to tarry ſo long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, ſhall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of Rebellion ſhall be conſumed into aſhes.* *Romanus* and the Babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on *Romanus*, he looked back, ſaying, *I appeal from this thy Tyranny, O Judge unjuſt, unto the righteous Throne of Chriſt that upright Judge; not becauſe I fear thy cruel torments and mercileſs handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody.* Now when they were come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for ſhe had taken it up in her Arms; and ſhe only kiſſing it, delivered the Babe; *Farewel*, ſhe ſaid, *my ſweet child.* And as the Hangman applied his Sword to the babes neck, ſhe ſang on this manner:

The Chriſtian Child beheaded for confeſſing of Chriſt.

*All laud and praiſe with heart and voice,*
*O Lord we yield to thee:*
*To whom the death of all thy Saints,*
*We know moſt dear to be.*

Nature overcome of Religion.

The innocents head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breaſt. On the other ſide a mighty fire was made, whereinto *Romanus* was caſt, who ſaid that he ſhould not burn: wherewith a great ſtorm aroſe (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The Captain gave in commandment that his Tongue ſhould be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots and cut off: nevertheleſs he ſpake, ſaying, *He that ſpeaketh Chriſt, ſhall never want a tongue; think not that the voice that uttereth Chriſt, hath need of the tongue to be the Miniſter.* The Captain at this, half out of his Wit, bare in hand that the Hang-man deceived the ſight of the People by ſome ſubtil ſleight and craſty convey-

The fire quenched with rain that ſhould burn *Romanus*.

*Romanus* ſpeaketh after his tongue was pluckedout.

The confeſſion of a child againſt Idolatry.

*Romanus after long torments strangled in prison. Prudent. in hymnis de coronis martyrum.*

ance. *Not so* (quoth the Hangman) *if you suspect my deed, open his mouth and diligently search the roots of his tongue.* The Captain at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled. Where his sorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be restored again, with his soul, into a better life, where no Tyrant shall have any power: *Prudentius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.*

The story of *Gordius* a Centurion Martyr.

*Gordius* was a Citizen of *Cesarea*, a worthy Souldier, and Captain of an hundred men. He in the time of extream Persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert many years a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn Feast of *Mars* was celebrated in the City of *Cesarea*, and much People were assembled in the Theater to behold the Games, he left the desert and got him up into the chief place of the Theater, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the Apostle, *Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me have I openly appeared.* By which words he let it to be understood, that of his own accord he came unto those Games. At this noise, the multitude little regarding the sights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be *Gordius*, and that the Crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the Sheriff, who at that instant was present, and ordained the Games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was; *I am come*, saith he, *to publish, that I set nothing by your Decrees against the Christian Religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and safety; and when I understood with what cruelty he handled other men. I took this as a fit time to accomplish my desire.* The Sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revengeth all his displeasure upon poor *Gordius*, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while Gibbet, and whatsoever torments else might be devised. Whereunto *Gordius* answered, saying, *that it should be to him an hinderance and damage, if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Christ his cause.* The Sheriff being more offended with his boldness commanded him to feel as many kind of torments as there were. With all which, *Gordius*, notwithstanding could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto Heaven, singeth this saying out of the *Psalms*, *The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me:* and also this saying, *I will fear none evil, because thou Lord art with me.*

*Gordius* of his own accord uttered himself to be a Christian.

*Gordius* brought to examination. The confession of *Gordius.*

The bold courtancy, and courageous spirit of *Gordius.*

*Gordius* attempted with fair promises and good gifts.

After this, he against himself provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the Sheriff saw that hereby he could win but little he goeth about by gentleness and inticing words, to turn the stout and valiant mind of *Gordius.* He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will deny Christ; as to make him a Captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he desireth. But in vain (as the Proverb is) pipeth the Minstrel to him that hath no ears to hear, for he deriding the foolish madness of the Magistrate saith, *that it lieth not in him to place any in authority, which be worthy to have a place in Heaven.* The Magistrate with these words throughly angred and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the City to be burnt. There run out of the City great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution, some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, persuading him to take a better way, and save himself, and that with weeping tears. To whom *Gordius* answered, *Weep not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which always make War against the Christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for us a fire, purchasing Hell fire for themselves in the day of vengeance; and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my settled mind. Truly* (saith he) *I am ready for the name of Christ, to suffer and endure a thousand deaths if need were.* Some other came unto him, which persuaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his Conscience to himself.

*Gordius* condemned to be burnt.

The answer of *Gordius* to his friends.

A subtil kind of disswaders.

*My tongue* (saith he) *which by the goodness of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation.* Many more such like words he spake; but especially uttering to them such matter, whereby he might perswade the beholders to death, and to the desire of Martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave himself to be burnt. *Basilius in sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.*

None ought to deny Christ with his mouth and confess him with his heart.

The Martyrdom of *Gordius. Ex Basil. in sermon. in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.*

Not much unlike to the story of *Gordius* is the story also of *Menas* an *Egyptian*, who being likewise a Souldier by his profession, in this Persecution of *Diocletian* forsook all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching and meditation of the Scriptures. At length returning again to the City *Cotis*, there in the open Theater, as the people were occupied upon their Spectacles or Pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian, and upon the same was brought to *Pyrrhus* the President; of whom he being demanded of his faith, made this answer, *Convenient it is that I should* (saith he) *confess God, in whom is light and no darkness, forsomuch as* Paul *doth teach that with heart we believe to righteousness, with Mouth confession is given to salvation.* After this the innocent Martyr was most painfully pinched and cruciat with sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible, having these words in his mouth being in the midst of his torments: *There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven; neither is all the World, if it were weighed in ballance, able to be conferred with the price of one soul;* and said, *who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish? And moreover,* (said he) *I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body and have no power to kill the soul, but to fear him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soul in Hell fire.* To make the story short, after manifold torments born of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded; *Menas* being then had to the place of Execution, said, *I give thee thanks my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devour'd of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remain constant in thy pure faith unto this my later end.* And so this blessed Souldier fighting valiantly under the Banner of Christ, lost his head, and won his soul. *Simeon Metaphrast. tom.* 5. In the which Author there followeth a long narration of the Miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I do omit.

The confession of *Menas.*

The words of *Menas* in his torments.

All the world is not to be weighed with one soul saved.

The prayer of *Menas* at his death.

*Menas* martyred.

*Simon Metaphrast. tom.* 5.

*Basilius* in a certain Sermon of forty Martyrs rehearseth this Story, not unworthy to be noted. *There came* (saith he) *into a certain plain* (of which place he maketh no mention) *the Emperors Marshal or Officer, with the Edict which the Emperor had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death.* And first they did privily suborn certain which should detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the Sword, the Gibbet, the Wheel, and the Whips were brought forth; at the terrible sight whereof, the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for fear did flie, some did stand in doubt what to do; certain were so terrified at the beholding of these Engines, and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the Game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of Martyrdom but vanquished at length, by the intolerable pain of their torments, made shipwrack of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, forty there were at that time, young Gentlemen, all Souldiers, which after the Marshal had shewed the Emperors Edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely and boldly of their own accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared to him their names. The Marshal somewhat amazed at this their boldness of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life, for a cruel and untimely death: after

The story of 40 Martyrs.

Torments brought out to terrifie the Christians.

The courageous boldness, and Christian confession of these 40 Martyrs.

Martyrdom and death for Christ, preferred before life and riches of this World.

after that he promiseth them Money and honourable Offices in the Emperors name. But they little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold Oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignity, nor money, but only the Celestial Kingdom of Christ, saying further, that they are ready for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the Wheel, the Cross and the Fire. The rude Marshal being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment. He spied out in the middle of the City a certain great Pond, which lay full upon the cold Northern Wind, for it was in the Winter-time, wherein he caused them to be put all that Night; but they being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their Cloaths: *We put off* (said they) *now not our Cloaths, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of Concupiscence; We give thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparel we may also put off by thy grace the sinful man; for by means of the Serpent we once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ we now put him off.* When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they left most vehement cold, insomuch that all the parts of their bodies were stark and stiff therewith. Assoon as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so near dead as the rest, of whom the Executioners taking pity, said unto his Mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her own hands taking up her Son, brought him to the Pile of Wood, where the residue of his fellows (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey he had taken in hand with his companions. *Basil.*

The Martyrs in a cold Pond all a Winters night.

The martyrs taken out of the Pond were cast into the fire.

A good mother caring more for the soul, than for the body of her son. *Ex Basil. in serm. de 40 martyribus.*

A like story of forty Martyrs, which were married men, we read of in *Nicephorus & Sozom. l. 9. c. 2.* which were killed likewise in a Lake or Pond at *Sebastia*, a Town of *Armenia*, under *Licinius*, if the story be not the same with this. *Niceph. Sozom.*

Another story of 40 martyred in a cold Pond at *Sebastia.*

In this fellowship and company of Martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of *Cyrus*. This *Cyrus* was a Physician born in *Alexandria*, which flying into *Egypt*, in the Persecution of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, led a solitary life in *Arabia*, being much spoken of for his Learning and Miracles, unto whose company after a certain time did *Joannes* born in the City of *Edessa*, beyond the River *Euphrates*, joyn himself, leaving the souldiers life which before that time he had exercised. But whilst as yet the same Persecution raged in a City in *Egypt* called *Canope*, there was cast into Prison for the confession of their faith, a certain godly Christian woman, called *Athanasia*, and her three daughters, *Theoctiste*, *Theodota* and *Eudoxia*; with whom *Cyrus* was well acquainted: at whose infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother *John*, came and visited them for their better confirmation; at which time *Lirianus* was chief Captain and Lieutenant of *Egypt*, of whose wickedness and cruelty, especially against Women and Maidens, *Athanasius* maketh mention in his Apologies, and in his Epistle to those that lead a solitary life. This *Cyrus* therefore and *Joannes*, being accused and apprehended of the Heathen Men, as by whose perswasions the Maidens and Daughters of *Athanasia* contumeliously despised the Gods and the Emperors Religion, and could by no means be brought to do sacrifice, were after the publication of their constant confession put to death by the sword: *Athanasia* also and her three daughters being condemned to death. This History writeth *Simeon Metaphrastes.*

*Cyrus*, *Joannes.*

*Athanasia* with her 3 daughters. *Theoctiste*, *Theodota*, *Eudoxia*, Martyrs.

The loving care of one Christian toward another.

*Cyrus* to do others good lost his life.

*Sebastian* being born in the part of *France* called *Gallia Narbonensis*, was a Christian, and was Lieutenant General of the Vaward of *Diocletian* the Emperor, who also encouraged many Martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the Emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his own souldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable Arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a Jake or Sink. *Ambrosius* maketh mention of this *Sebastian* the Martyr in his Commentary upon the hundred and eighteenth *Psalm*; and *Simeon Metaphrastes* amongst other Martyrs that suffered with *Sebastian* numbreth also these following: *Nicostratus* with *Zoe* his Wife, *Tranquillinus* with *Martia* his Wife, *Traglinus*, *Claudius*, *Castor*, *Tibertius*, *Castellus*, *Marcus* and *Marcellinus*, with others more.

The story of *Sebastian* Martyr. A worthy example of a Captain to be followed.

*Marcus Marcellinus*, *Nicostratus* with *Zoe* his Wife. *Tranquillinus* with *Martia* his Wife. *Traglinus*, *Claudius*, *Castor*, *Tiburtius*, *Castellus*, Martyrs.

*Basilius* in another Sermon also maketh mention of one *Barlaam*, being a noble and famous Martyr, which abode all the torments of the Executioners even to the point of death; which thing when the Tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him upon the Altar, where they did use to offer sacrifices to their Idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand wherein he had yet some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning Incense upon the Altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope, the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same endured as though it had been covered with hot Embers, when as *Barlaam* recited out of the *Psalms* this saying: *Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.*

*Barlaam.* What desired the Heathen had by some means to allure the Christians to offer sacrifice.

To this Narration of *Basilius*, touching the Martyrdom of *Barlaam*, we will annex consequently another story of *Ambrose*. He making a certain exhortation to certain Virgins, in the same Oration commendeth the Martyrdoms of *Agricola* and *Vitalis*, who suffered also in the same Persecution under *Diocletian* and *Maximinian* (as they affirm) at *Bononny*. This *Vitalis* was servant to *Agricola*, who both together between themselves had made a compact to give their lives with other Martyrs for the Name of Christ. Whereupon *Vitalis* being sent before of his Master, to offer himself to Martyrdom, fell first into the hands of Persecuters who laboured about him by all means to cause him to deny Christ. Which when he would in no case do, but stoutly persisted in the Confession of his Faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So *Vitalis*, in the midst of the agony and painful torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himself to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon *Agricola* his Master whose vertuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his suffering therefore was the longer deferred. But *Agricola* not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking moreover the adversaries to quicker speed at length was fattened unto the Cross, and so finished his Martyrdom which he so long desired. *Ambros. in exhortatione ad Virgines.*

*Agricola* with his servant *Vitalis* martyred. *Ex Ambros. in sermone Virginum.*

*Vitalis* first Martyred.

*Agricola* desirous of martyrdom. *Agricola* died Martyr upon the Cross.

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdom of *Vincentius*, whose History here followeth: This *Vincentius* was a *Spaniard*, and a *Levite* most godly and vertuous, who at this time suffered Martyrdom at *Valence* under *Dacianus* the President, as we may gather by *Prudentius* in his Hymn. *Bergomensis* in his supplement reciteth these words concerning his Martyrdom, out of a certain Sermon of St. *Augustine*. Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitless sight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but certainly a great sight and marvellous, and there with singular pleasure received it, when the painful passion of victorious *Vincentius* was read unto us. Is there any so heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immoveable Martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtilty of that Serpent, against the Tyranny of *Dacianus*, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, *Dacianus* caused the Martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joynts of his body to be distended and racked out, until they crackt again. This being done in most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly, (that his dolours and griefs might be augmented) they miserably vexed his flesh with iron Combs sharply filed. And to the end the Tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild Martyrs flesh, the tormentors themselves also were vilely scourged at the Presidents commandment. And lest his passion through want of pains might seem imperfect or else too easie, they laid his body, being all out of joynt, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery Plates, with hot burn-

The cruel Martyrdom of *Vincentius*. *Ex Augustin. in sermone.*

The torments exercised upon *Vincentius.*



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burning Salt, sprinkling the same. Last of all, into a vile Dungeon was this mighty Martyr drawn, the floor whereof first was thick spread with the sharpest shells that might be gotten, his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with joy and gladness. Hast thou prepared a terrible Rack (O cruel tyrant, O devouring Lion) for the Martyrs bed? the Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joynts all asunder? His bones, his joynts, his hairs are all numbred. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal wounds? the Lord shall pour abundantly into all his sores of his oyl of gladness. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp fleshhooks, thine hot searing irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shells, thy pinching stocks shall turn to this patient Martyr to the best. All together shall work contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of joy shall he reap into the Barn of his soul, out of this mighty harvest of pains that thou hast brought him into. Yea, thou shalt prove him *Vincentius* indeed; that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madness by his meekness, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully inriched.

The comfort of the Lord upon his Saints.

In this catalogue or company of such holy Martyrs, as suffered in this foresaid tenth Persecution, many more, and almost innumerable, there be expressed in Authors, beside them whom we have hitherto comprehended, as *Philoromus*, a man of noble birth, and great possessions in *Alexandria*, who being perswaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his Wife, to consider his Children and Family, did not only reject the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and torments of the Judge, to keep the confession of Christ inviolate unto the death, and losing of his head: *Euseb.lib.*8. *cap.* 9. *Niceph.lib.*7.*cap.*9. of whom *Eusebius* beareth witness that he was there present himself.

*Philoromus* Martyr. *Euseb.lib.*8. *cap.* 9. the confession and martyrdom of *Philoromus.*

Of like estate and dignity was also *Procopius* in *Palestina*, who after his conversion brake his images of Silver and Gold, and distributed the same to the poor, and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of goring and stabbing in, of firing, at length had his head also smitten off, as witnesseth *Niceph.lib.*8.*cap.*15.

The torments and constancy of *Procopius* to death. *Niceph.lib.*8 *cap.* 15.

To this may be joyned also *Georgius* a young man of *Cappadocia*, who stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the Emperors, was apprehended and cast into Prison, then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords, after that his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at last with a sword had his head cut off. *Niceph.ibid.*

*Georgius* martyr, the sundry torments of *Georgius.*

With these aforenamed, add also *Sergius* and *Bacchius*, *Panthaleon* a Physician in *Nicomedia*, mentioned in *supplem. lib.*8. *Theodorus* of the City of *Amasia* in *Hellespont*, mentioned of *Vincentius lib.*3. *Faustus* a Martyr of *Egypt*, mentioned of *Niceph. lib.*8. *cap.*5. *Gereon*, with three hundred and eighteen fellow Martyrs, which suffered about *Colour*, *Petr. de nat. lib.* 9. *cap.*49. *Hermogenes* the President of *Athens*, who being converted by the constancy of one *Menas*, and *Eugraphus* in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. *Item*, *Samonas Gurias* and *Abibus*, mentioned in *Simeon Metaphrast.* *Hieron* also, with certain of his Confessors, under *Maximinus*, mentioned in *Metaphrastes*, *Judes* and *Domuas*, who suffered with many other Martyrs above mentioned at *Nicomedia*, as recordeth *Metaphrastes*. *Evelasius*, *Maximinus*, the Emperors officers, whom *Fausta* the Virgin in her torments converted. Also *Thirsus*, *Lucius*, *Callinicius*, *Apollonius*, *Philemon*, *Asilas*, *Leonides*, with *Arrianus*, President of *Thebaide*. *Cyprianus* likewise, a Citizen of *Antioch*, who after he had continued a long time a filthy Magician or Sorcerer, at length was converted and made a Deacon, then a Priest, and at last the Bishop of *Antioch*, *Vincent. lib.*12. *cap.*120. of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This *Cyprian* with *Justina* a Virgin suffered among the Martyrs. *Item Glicerios* at *Nicomedia*, *Felix* a Minister, *Fortunatus*, *Achilleus*, Deacons in the City of *Valent*. *Arthemius* of *Rome*, *Ciriacus* Deacon to *Marcellus* the Bishop, *Carpophorus* Priest at *Thuscia*, with *Abundus* his Deacon. *Item*, *Claudius* *Sirinus Antoninus* which suffered with *Marcellinus* the Bishop, *Sabel. Enead. lib.* 8. *Cucusatus* in the City of *Barcinona*. *Felix* Bishop of *Apulia*, with *Adauctus* and *Januarius* his Priest, *Fortunatus* and *Septimus* his Readers: who suffered in the City *Venusina* under *Dioclesian*, *Bergom.lib.*8.

*Sergius*, *Bacchius*, *Panthaleon*, *Theodorus*, *Faustus*, *Gereon* with 318 fellows. *Hermogenes*, *Menas* a man of *Athens*. *Eugraphus*, *Samonas*, *Gurias*, *Abibus*, *Hieron* with his fellows *Judes*, *Domuas*. *Evalasius*, *Maximinus*, *Thirsus*, *Lucius*, &c. as in the text.

It were too long a travel or trouble to recite all and singular names of them particularly, whom this Persecution of *Dioclesian* did consume. The number of whom being almost infinite, is not to be collected or expressed. One story yet remaineth not to be forgotten of *Cassianus*, whose pitiful story being described of *Prudentius* we have here inserted, rendring Meter for Meter, as followeth.

The lamentable history of *Cassianus* Martyr. *Ex Aurel. Pruden. lib. Peristeph.*

*THrough* Forum, *as in* Italy, *I passed once to* Rome,
*Into a Church by chance came I, and stood fast by a Tomb*;
*Which Church sometime a place had been, where causes great in law*
*Were scand and tried, and judgment given, to keep bruit men in awe.*
*This place* Sylla Cornelius, *first built, he rais'd the frame,*
*And call'd the same* Forum, *and thus that City took the name.*
*In prayer fervent as I stood, casting mine eye aside,*
*A picture in full piteous mood (imbrude) by chance I spi'd;*
*A thousand wounded marks full bad, all mangled rent and torn;*
*The skin appear'd as though it had been jagg'd and prickt with thorn;*
*A scull of pictured boys did band about that loathsome sight,*
*That with their sharpened gads in hand, his members thus had dight.*
*These gads were but their pens, wherewith their Tables written were,*
*And such as Scholars often sith, unto the Schools do bear.*
*Whom thou seest here thus pictur'd sit, and firmly dost behold,*
*No fable is, I do thee wit, unaskt a Prelate told*
*That walkt there by; but doth declare, the History of one,*
*Which written, would good record bear, what faith was long agone,*
*A skilful Schoolmaster this was, that here sometime did teach;*
*The Bishop once of* Brixia *was, and Christ full plain did preach.*
*He knew well how to comprehend, long talk in a few lines,*
*And it at length how to amend, by order and by times.*
*His sharp precepts and his stern looks, his beardless boys did fear,*
*When hate in heart (yet for their books) full deadly they did bear.*
*The child that learns, I do ye weet, terms aye his Tutor cru'l;*
*No discipline in youth seems sweet, count this a common rule.*
*Behold the raging time now here, oppressing so the faith,*
*Doth persecute Gods children dear, and all that Christ bewraith.*
*This trusty teacher of the swarm, profest the living God;*
*The chief good thing they count their harm, perhaps he shakes his rod.*
*What Rebel (askt the President) is he I hear so loud?*
*Unto our youth an instrument, they say, and loe they bowd.*
*Go, bring the Caitiff forth, he bids, and make no long delay;*
*Let him be set the boys amids; they do as he doth say.*
*Let him be given unto them all, and let them have their will,*
*To do to him what spight they shall, so that they will him kill.*
*Even as they list let them him fray, and him deride so long,*
*Till weariness provokes their play, no longer to prolong.*
*Let them, I say, then uncontrould, both prick and scorch his skin;*
*To bathe their hands let them be hold, in the hot blood of him.*
*The Scholars hereat make great game, it pleaseth them full well;*
*That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a hell.*
*They bind his hands behind his back, and naked they him strip;*
*In Bodkin wise at him they nack, they laugh to see him skip.*
*The private hate that each one hath in heart, it now appears,*
*They pour it forth in gawdy wrath, they wreak them of their tears.*
*Some cast great stones, some other break their tables on his face;*
*Lo, here thy* Latin *and thy* Greek *(oh barren boys of grace)*
*The blood runs down his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leaves,*
*Where notes by them were made (though loth) and well proponed theams.*
*Some whet, some sharp their pensels points serving to write withal;*
*Some other gage his flesh and joynts, as with a pointed nail.*
*Sometime they prick, sometime they rent, this worthy Martyrs flesh,*
*And thus by turns they do torment this confessor afresh.*
*Now all with one consent on him their bloody hands they lay,*
*To see the blood from limb to limb drop down they make a play.*
*More painful was the pricking pang, of children oft and thick,*
*Than of the bigger boys that stang, and near the heart did stick.*
*For by the feeble strokes of th'one, death was denied his will,*
*Of smart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill.*
*The deeper strokes the great ones gave, and nearer toucht the quick,*
*The welcomer he thought the same, whom longing death made sick.*
*God make you strong, he saith, I pray, God give you might at will,*
*And what you want in years, I say, let cruelty fulfil.*
*But whilst the Hangman breatheth still, and me with you doth match,*
*That weakly work, yet want no will, my life for to dispatch;*

*My*

*My griefs wax great: what gron'ſt thou now? ſaid ſome of them again,*
*In ſchool, adviſed well art thou, whom there thou putſt to pain?*
*Behold we pray, and now make good, as many thouſands ſtripes:*
*As when with weeping eyes we ſtood, in danger of thy gripes.*
*Art thou now angry at thy hand, that always criedſt write, write,*
*And never wouldſt that our right hand ſhould reſt in quiet plite?*
*We had forgot our playing times, thou churle denieſt us of:*
*We now but prick and point our lines, and thus they grin and ſcoffe,*
*Correct good Sir, your viewed verſe, if ought amiſs there be:*
*Now uſe thy power and then rehearſe, that have not marked thee.*
*Chriſt pitying this groaning man, with torments torn and tired,*
*Commands his heart to break even then, and life that was then hired,*
*He yields again to him that gave, and thus he makes exchange:*
*Immortal for mortal to have, that in ſuch pain did range.*
*This is, ſaith he, that this picture, thou ſo beholdſt, oh gueſt,*
*Of* Caſſianus *martyr pure, doth Preach I do Proteſt.* Caſſianus martyr.
*If thou prudence have ought in ſtore, in piety to deal,*
*In hope of juſt reward therefore, now ſhew thy loving zeal.*
*I could not but conſent, I weep, his tomb I do imbrace:*
*Home I return, and after ſleep, this pitiful Preface.*
*I write it a memorial, for ever to endure,*
*Of* Caſſianus *School-maſter, all others to allure,*
*To conſtancy under the croſs, of their profeſſion:*
*Accounting gain what ever loſs for Chriſt they take upon.*

No leſs admirable than wonderful was the conſtancy alſo of Women and Maidens, who in the ſame perſecution gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the Teſtimony of Chriſt, with no leſs boldnes of ſpirit, than did the men themſelves above ſpecified, to whom how much more inferior they were of bodily ſtrength, ſo much more worthy of praiſe they be, for their conſtant ſtanding. Of whom ſome examples here we mind (Chriſt willing) to infer, ſuch as in our Stories and Chronicles ſeem moſt notable, firſt beginning with *Eulalia*, whoſe ſtory we have taken out of the foreſaid *Prudentius*, as followeth.

Eulalia martyr.

In the Weſt part of *Spain*, called *Portugal*, is a City great and Populous, named *Emerita*, wherein dwelt, and was brought up a Virgin, born of Noble Parentage, whoſe name was *Eulalia*, which *Emerita* although for the ſituation thereof, was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof, by the Martyrdom, Blood, and Sepulchre of this bleſſed Virgin *Eulalia*. Twelve years of age was ſhe, and not much above, when ſhe refuſed great and Honorable offers in Marriage, as one not skilful, nor yet delighting in Courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleaſure in Purple and gorgeous Apparel, or elſe in Pretious Balms, or Coſtly Ornaments and Jewels: But forſaking and deſpiſing all theſe and ſuch like Pompous allurements, then ſhewed ſhe her ſelf moſt buſie in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance, and heavenly Patronage. Which *Eulalia*, as ſhe was modeſt and diſcreet in behaviour, ſage and ſober in conditions, ſo was ſhe alſo witty and ſharp in anſwering her Enemies. But when the furious rage of perſecution inforced her to joyn her ſelf amongſt Gods Children in the houſhold of faith, and when the Chriſtians were commanded to offer incenſe and ſacrifice to Devils or dead Gods: Then began the bleſſed ſpirit of *Eulalia* to kindle, and being of a prompt and ready wit, though forthwith (as a couragious Captain) to give a charge upon this ſo great and diſordered a battel: And ſo ſhe ſilly woman, pouring out the Bowels of her innocent heart before God, more provoketh thereby the force and rage of her Enemies againſt her. But the godly care of her Parents, fearing leſt the willing mind of this Damoſel, ſo ready to die for Chriſts cauſe, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her and kept her cloſe at their houſe in the Country, being a great way out of the City. She yet miſliking that quiet life, and alſo deteſting to make ſuch delay, ſoftly ſtealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haſt leaving the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) paſſed through the thorny and briary places, accompanied yet with ſpiritual guard: And although dark and dreadful was the ſilent night, yet had ſhe with her, the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Iſrael coming out of *Egypt*, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guid in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; ſo had this Godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when ſhe flying and forſaking the place where all filthy Idolatry abounded, and haſtened her Heavenly journey, was not oppreſſed with the dreadful darkneſs of the night: But yet ſhe before the day appeared in this her ſpeedy journey, with her ſelf conſidered and muſed on a thouſand matters and more.

*Ex Aurel. Prudentio, lib. periſteph.*

The chaſt and continent behaviour of *Eulalia*.

*Eulalia* giveth the onſet, denying to ſacrifice to Devils.

*Eulalia* kept ſecret by her parents.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage ſhe goeth unto the tribunal or Judgment-ſeat, and in the midſt of them all with a loud voice crying out, ſaid: I pray you what a ſhame is it for you thus raſhly and without adviſement to deſtroy and kill mens Souls, and to throw their bodies alive againſt the rocks, and cauſe them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you unfortunate) what I am? Behold, I am one of the Chriſtians, an Enemy to your deviliſh ſacrifices, I ſpurn your Idols under my feet, I confeſs God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. *Iſis*, *Apollo*, and *Venus*, what are they? *Maximinus* himſelf, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of mens hands; the other but a caſtawy, becauſe he worſhippeth the ſame work. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be ſet by: *Maximinus* is a Lord of ſubſtance, and yet he himſelf falleth down before a ſtone, and voweth the honour of his dignity unto thoſe that are much inferior to his Vaſſals. Why then doth he oppreſs ſo tyrannically, more worthy ſtomachs and courages than himſelf? He muſt needs be a good guid and an upright Judge, which feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing in the bodies of Godly men, doth rent and tear their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in deſtroying and ſubverting the faith.

*Eulalia* diſproveth the heathen Judge.

The godly confeſſion of *Eulalia*.

Go to therefore thou Hang-man, burn, cut and mangle thou theſe earthly members. It is an eaſie matter to break a brittle ſubſtance, but the inward mind ſhalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canſt do. The Pretor then or Judge, with theſe words of hers, ſet in a great rage, ſaith, *Hang-man take her and pull her out by the hair of her Head, and torment her to the uttermoſt, let her feel the power of our country Gods, and let her know what the imperial Government of a Prince is. But yet, O thou ſturdy girle, fain would I have thee (if it were poſſible) before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedneſs. Behold what pleaſures thou maieſt enjoy by the honourable houſe thou cameſt of, thy fallen houſe and progeny followeth thee to death with lamentable tears, and the heavy nobility of thy kindred maketh doleful lamentation for thee. What meaneſt thou? Wilt thou kill thy ſelf ſo young a flower, and ſo near theſe Honourable marriages and great Doweries thou maiſt injoy? Doth not the gliſtering and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine anceſtors prick thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy raſhneſs and weakneſs grieveth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: Either ſhalt thou be beheaded with this ſword, or elſe with theſe wild beaſts ſhalt thou be pulled in pieces, or elſe thou being caſt into the fiery flames, ſhalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy Friends and kinſfolks) conſumed to aſhes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to eſcape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little ſalt and incenſers into the Cenſers, thou ſhalt be delivered from all theſe puniſhments.* To this *Eulalia* made no anſwer, but being in a great fury, ſhe ſpitteth in the Tyrants face, ſhe throweth down the Idols, and ſpurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incenſe prepared to the Cenſers. Then without further delay the Hang-men with both their ſtrengths took her, and puld one joynt from another, and with the talons of wild beaſts ſcotched her ſides to the hard bones: She all this while ſinging and praiſing God in this wiſe; Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee: What a pleaſure is it for them, O Chriſt, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain unto theſe high dignities? and ſtill calleth upon that holy name, all ſtained and imbrued with her own blood. This ſang ſhe with a bold ſtomach, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merry abandoning from her mind all heavineſs and grief, when as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with freſh blood bathed her white and fair skin. Then proceed they to the laſt and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the Iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her fleſh, but burned on every ſide with flaming Torches, her tormented breaſts and ſides: Her hair hanging about her ſhoulders in two parts divided (wherewith her ſhame-fac'd chaſtity and virginity was covered) reaching down to the

*Eulalia* allured with fair perſwaſions.

*Eulalia* fighteth and prayſeth God in her torments.

*Eulalia* put in the fire. The end and martyrdom of *Eulalia*

the ground. But when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head: then ſhe deſiring ſwift death, opened her mouth and ſwallowed the flame, and ſo reſted ſhe in Peace.

*Ex Prudent.* Then ſaid *Prudentius* and *Ado*, alſo *Aquilinus* add moreover, writing of a white Dove iſſuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body, alſo of her body covered miraculouſly with ſnow, with other things more, whereof let every reader uſe his own Judgment.

As ye have heard now the Chriſtian life, and conſtant death of *Eulalia*, much worthy of praiſe and commendation: So no leſs commendation is worthy to be given to bleſſed *Agnes*, that conſtant damſel and martyr of God, who as ſhe was in *Rome* of honorable Parents begotten, ſo lieth ſhe there as honorably intombed and buried. Which *Agnes* for her unſpotted and undefiled virginity, deſerved no leſs praiſe, and commendation than for her willing death and Martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long diſcourſe, more in my judgment than neceſſary, reciting divers and ſundry ſtrange miracles by her done in the proceſs of her Hiſtory; which partly for tediouſneſs, partly for the doubtfulneſs of the author (whom ſome father upon *Ambroſe*) and partly for the ſtrangneſs and incredibility thereof, I omit, being ſatisfied with that which *Prudentius* briefly writeth of her, as followeth: She was (ſaith he) young and not marriageable, when firſt ſhe being dedicated to Chriſt, boldly reſiſted the wicked Edicts of the Emperor; leſt that through Idolatry ſhe might have denied and forſaken the holy faith; but yet firſt proved by divers and ſundry policies to induce her to the ſame (as now with the flattering and inticing words of the Judge, now with the threatnings of the ſtorming Executioner) ſhe ſtood notwithſtanding ſtedfaſt in all couragious ſtrength: And willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refuſing (as ſhe ſaid) to ſuffer whatſoever it ſhould be, yea though it were death it ſelf. Then ſaid the cruel tyrant, *If to ſuffer pain and torment be ſo eaſie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accounteſt thy life nothing worthy, yet the ſhame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and eſteemed of thee.* Wherefore this is determined, that unleſs thou wilt make obeyſance to the Altar of *Minerva*, and ask forgiveneſs of her for thy arrogancy, thou ſhalt be ſent or abandoned to the common ſtews or brothel-houſe. *Agnes* the virgin with more ſpirit than vehemency inveigheth againſt both *Minerva* and her virginity: The youth in skuls flock and run together, and crave that they may have *Agnes* their ludibrious prey. Then, ſaith *Agnes*, Chriſt is not forgetful of thoſe that be his, that he will ſuffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chaſtity, neither will he leave them ſo deſtitute of help: He is always at hand and ready to fight for ſuch as are ſhamefac'd and chaſt Virgins, neither ſuffereth he his gifts of holy integrity or chaſtity to be polluted. Thou ſhalt, ſaith ſhe, willingly bath thy ſword in my blood if thou wilt, but thou ſhalt not defile my body with filthy luſt for any thing thou canſt do. She had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but he commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of ſome ſtreet (which place at that time, ſuch as were ſtrumpets commonly uſed) the greater part of the multitude both ſorrowing and ſhaming to ſee ſo ſhameleſs a ſight, went their ways, ſome turning their heads, ſome hiding their faces. But one amongſt the reſt, with uncircumciſed eyes beholding the damſel, and that in ſuch opprobrious wiſe; behold a flame of fire like unto a flaſh of lightning falleth upon him, and ſtriketh his eyes out of his head: whereupon he for dead falling unto the ground, ſprawleth in the kennel-durt; whoſe companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewayled him as a dead man: But the Virgin for this her miraculous delivery from the danger and ſhame of that place, ſingeth praiſes to God and Chriſt.

There be (ſaith *Prudentius*) that report, how that ſhe being deſired to pray unto Chriſt for the party, that a little before with fire from Heaven for his incontinency was was ſtricken, was reſtored by her prayer both unto his perfect health and ſight. But bleſſed *Agnes* after that ſhe had climbed this her firſt greeſe and ſtep unto the heavenly pallace, forthwith began to climb another: For fury ingendring now the mortal wrath of her bloody Enemy, *wringing his hands he crieth out ſaying*: I am undone, O thou the Executioner draw out thy ſword, and do thine office that the Emperor hath appointed thee. And when *Agnes* ſaw a ſturdy and cruel fellow (to behold) ſtand behind her, or approaching near to her with a naked ſword in his hand: I am now gladder, ſaith ſhe, and rejoyce, that ſuch a one as thou, being a ſtout, fierce, ſtrong, and ſturdy ſoldier art come, than one more feeble, weak, and faint ſhould come, or elſe any other young man ſweetly imbalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might deſtroy me with funeral ſhame. This, even this, is he, I now confeſs, that I do love. I will make haſt to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing deſire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his ſword, and into my breſt will draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus I being married unto Chriſt my ſpouſe, may ſurmount and eſcape all the darkneſs of this world, that reacheth even unto the ſkies. O eternal Governour, vouchſafe to open the gates of Heaven, once ſhut up againſt all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive (oh Chriſt) my ſoul that ſeeketh thee. Thus ſpeaking and kneeling upon her knees ſhe prayeth unto Chriſt above in Heaven, that her neck might be the readier for the ſword, now hanging over the ſame. The executioner then with his bloody hand finiſhed her hope, and at one ſtroke cutteth off her head, and by ſuch ſhort and ſwift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.

*Agnes* deſirous of Martyrdom.

The pray of *Agnes*.

*Agnes* beheaded.

I have oftentimes before complained, that the ſtories of Saints have been powdered and ſauced with divers untrue additions, and fabulous inventions of men, who either of a ſuperſtitious devotion, or of a ſubtil practiſe have ſo mangled-mangled their ſtories and lives, that almoſt nothing remaineth in them ſimple and uncorrupt, as in the uſual portues wont to be read for dayly ſervice, is manifeſt and evident to be ſeen; wherein few Legends there be able to abide the touch of Hiſtory, if they were truly tryed. This I write upon the occaſion ſpecially of good *Katharine*, whom now I have in hand: In whom although I nothing doubt, but in her life was great holineſs, in her knowledge excellency, in her death conſtancy: Yet that all things be true that be ſtoried of her, neither do I affirm, neither am I bound ſo to think: So many ſtrange fictions of her be fained diverſly of divers writers, whereof ſome ſeem incredible, ſome alſo impudent. As where *Petrus de natalibus* writing of her converſion declareth, how that *Katharine* ſleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix, Chriſt with his Mother *Mary* appeared unto her: And when *Mary* had offered her unto Chriſt to be his wife, he firſt refuſed her for her blackneſs. The next time ſhe being baptiſed, *Mary* appearing again, offered her to marry with Chriſt, who then being liked, was eſpouſed to him and married, having a Golden ring the ſame time put on her finger in her ſleep, &c. *Bergomenſis* writeth thus, that becauſe ſhe in the ſight of the people openly reſiſted the Emperor *Maxentius* to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore ſhe was commanded and committed upon the ſame to priſon, which ſeemeth hitherto not much to digreſs from truth. It followeth moreover, that the ſame night an Angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be ſtrong and conſtant unto the Martyrdom, for that ſhe was a Maid accepted in the ſight of God, and that the Lord would be with her for whoſe honour ſhe did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wiſdom which her Enemies ſhould not withſtand: With many other things more which I here omit. As this alſo I omit concerning the fifty Philoſophers, whom ſhe in diſputation convicted, and converted unto our Religion, and dyed Martyrs for the ſame. *Item*, of the converting of *Porphyrius*, kinſman to *Maxentius*, and *Fauſtina* the Emperors wife. At length (ſaith the ſtory) after ſhe proved the rack, and the four ſharp cutting wheels, having at laſt her head cut off with the ſword, ſo ſhe finiſhed her Martyrdom, about the year of our Lord (as *Antoninus* affirmeth) three hundred and ten. *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, writing of her, diſcourſeth the ſame more at large, to whom they may reſort which covet more therein to be ſatisfied.

*Katharine* reſiſteth the Emperor openly to his face.

*Katharine* committed to priſon and comforted by an Angel.

Among the works of *Baſil* a certain oration is extant concerning *Julitta* the Martyr, who came to her Martyrdom (as he witneſſeth) by this occaſion. A certain avaricious and greedy perſon of great authority, and (as it may appear)

*Agnes* Martyr.

Strange and unneceſſary miracles omitted.

*Ex Prudent. lib. de coronis.*

*Agnes* conſtant in the confeſſion of her faith.

*Agnes* threatned to the brothel-houſe.

*Agnes* hold upon the help of Chriſt.

The Incontinent eyes of a young man, beholding *Agnes*, ſtricken out.

The young man reſtored again to his health by the prayer of *Agnes*.

The Hiſtory of *Katharine* Martyr. All things be not true and probable that are written of Saints lives.

The torments and end of *Katharine*.

The Hiſtory of *Julitta* Martyr. *Ex Baſil. in ſer.*

appear) the Emperor his Deputy, or other like Officer (who abuſed the Decrees and Laws of the Emperor againſt the Chriſtians, to his own lucre and gain) violently took from this *Julitta* all her Goods, Lands, Chattels, and Servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the Judges: a day was appointed when the Cauſe ſhould be heard. The ſpoiled woman, and the ſpoiling Extortioner ſtood forth together; the woman lamentably declareth her cauſe, the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When ſhe had proved that of good right the Goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her: the wicked and blood-thirſty Wretch preferring vile worldly ſubſtance, before the precious ſubſtance of a Chriſtian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that ſhe was an Outlaw in not obſerving the Emperors gods, ſince her Chriſtian Faith hath been firſt abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reaſonable. Whereupon Incenſe and Fire were prepared for her to worſhip the gods, which unleſs ſhe would do, neither the Emperors Protection, nor Laws, nor Judgment, nor Life ſhould ſhe enjoy in that Common weal. When this Hand-Maid of the Lord heard theſe words, ſhe ſaid, *Farewel Life, welcome Death; farewel Riches, welcome Poverty. All that I have, if it were a thouſand times more, would I rather loſe, than to ſpeak one wicked and blaſphemous word againſt God my Creator. I yield thee thanks moſt hearty, O my God, for this gift of Grace, that I can contemn and deſpiſe this frail and tranſitory World, eſteeming Chriſtian Profeſſion above all Treaſures.* Henceforth when any queſtion was demanded, her anſwer was, *I am the Servant of Jeſus Chriſt.* Her Kindred and Acquaintance flocking to her, advertiſed her to change her mind. But that vehemently ſhe refuted, with deteſtation of their Idolatry. Forthwith the Judge with the ſharp Sword of Sentence, not only cutteth off all her Goods and Poſſeſſions, but judgeth her alſo to the fire moſt cruelly. The joyful Martyr imbraceth the Sentence as a thing moſt ſweet and delectable. She addreſſeth her ſelf to the flames, in countenance, geſture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with ſingular conſtancy. To the women beholding her, ſententiouſly ſhe ſpake, *Stick not, O ſiſters, to labour and travel after true Piety and Godlineſs. Ceaſe to accuſe the fragility of Feminine nature. What? are not we created of the ſame matter that men are? Yea, after Gods Image and Similitude are we made, as lively as they. Not fleſh only God uſed in the creation of the Woman, in ſign and token of her infirmity and weakneſs, but bone of bones is ſhe, in token that ſhe muſt be ſtrong in the true and living God, all falſe gods forſaken; conſtant in Faith, all Infidelity renounced; patient in Adverſity, all worldly eaſe refuſed. Wax weary (my dear Siſters) of your lives led in darkneſs, and be in love with my Chriſt, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, which is the true Light of the World. Perſwade your ſelves, or rather the Spirit of the living God perſwade you, that there is a World to come, wherein the Worſhippers of Idols and Devils ſhall be tormented perpetually, the Servants of the High God ſhall be crowned eternally.* With theſe words ſhe imbraced the fire, and ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

There have been moreover beſide theſe above recited, divers godly women and faithful Martyrs, as *Barbara* a Noble woman in *Thuſcia*, who after miſerable Priſonment, ſharp Cords, and burning Flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded. Alſo *Fauſta* the Virgin which ſuffered under *Maximinus*, by whom *Euelaſius* a Ruler of the Emperors Palace, and *Maximinus* the Preſident were both converted, and alſo ſuffered Martyrdom, as witneſſeth *Metaphraſtes*. *Item*, *Juliana* a Virgin of ſingular beauty in *Nicomedia*, who after divers Agonies ſuffered likewiſe under *Maximinus*. *Item*, *Anaſia* a Maid of *Theſſalonica*, who under the ſaid *Maximinus* ſuffered, *Metaph. ibid.* *Juſtina* which ſuffered with *Cyprianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, not to omit alſo *Tecla*; although moſt Writers do record that ſhe ſuffered under *Nero*. *Platina in vita Caii* maketh alſo mention of *Lucia* and *Agatha*. All which holy Maids and Virgins glorified the Lord Chriſt with their conſtant Martyrdom, in this tenth and laſt Perſecution of *Diocleſian*.

During the time of which Perſecution, theſe Biſhops of *Rome* ſucceeded one after another, *Caius* who ſucceeded next after *Xiſtus* before mentioned, *Marcellinus*, *Marcellus* (of whom *Euſebius* in his ſtory maketh no mention) *Euſebius*, and then *Miltiades*: all which died Martyrs in the tempeſt of this Perſecution. Firſt, *Marcellinus* after the Martyrdom of *Caius*, was ordained Biſhop; he being brought by *Diocleſian* to the Idols, firſt yielded to their Idolatry, and was ſeen to Sacrifice: wherefore being Excommunicated by the Chriſtians, he fell into ſuch Repentance, that he returned again to *Diocleſian*, where he ſtanding to his former Confeſſion, and publickly condemning the Idolatry of the Heathen, recovered the Crown of Martyrdom, ſuffering with *Claudius*, *Cyrinus*, and *Antoninus*.

*Marcellus* likewiſe was urged of *Maxentius* to renounce his Biſhoprick and Religion, and to Sacrifice with them to Idols; which when he conſtantly refuſed, was beaten with Cudgels, and ſo expelled the City. Then he entring into the houſe of *Lucina* a widow, aſſembled there the Congregation; which when it came to the ears of *Maxentius* the Tyrant, he turned the houſe of *Lucina* into a ſtable, and made *Marcellus* the Keeper of the Beaſts; who with the ſtink thereof and miſerable handling, was put to death. *Euſebius* fate Biſhop of *Rome*, as *Enſeb. in Chro.* ſaith, ſeven months, *Marianus Scotus* ſaith eight months, *Damaſus* affirmeth ſix years. *Sabellicus* alledgeth certain Authors that ſay, that he was ſlain by *Maximianus*, but correcteth that himſelf, affirming that *Maximianus* died before him.

*Miltiades* by the teſtimony of *Platina*, and others that follow him, ſat three years and ſeven months, and ſuffered under *Maximianus*. But that ſeemeth not to be true, as both *Sabellicus* doth rightly note, affirming that the ſame cannot ſtand by the ſupputation of time: for ſo much as the ſaid *Galerius Maximianus* reigned but two years, and died before *Miltiades*. Alſo *Euſebius* manifeſtly expreſſeth the example of a Letter of *Conſtantine* written to this *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*, plainly convicting that to be falſe which *Platina* affirmeth.

In the Book collected of general Councils, among the decretal Epiſtles, there is a long tractation about the judgment and condemnation of *Marcellinus*: whereof the Maſters and Patrons of Popery in theſe our days take great hold to prove the Supremacy of the Pope to be above all general Councils, and that he ought not to be ſubject to the condemnation of any perſon or perſons, for that there is written, *Nemo unquam judicavit pontificem, nec præſul ſacerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes non judicabitur a quequam, &c.* Although this ſentence of *Miltiades* ſeemeth apparently to be patched in rather by ſome *Hildibrandus* than by *Miltiades*, both for that it hangeth with little order of ſenſe upon that which goeth before; and again, becauſe that *Prima ſedes* here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the See of *Rome* before the Council of *Nice*, where the order and placing of Biſhops was firſt eſtabliſhed. But to let this ſentence paſs, yet notwithſtanding the circumſtance and proceeding of this judgment, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpoſe of theſe men. Neither is it true that the Biſhops of this Council of *Sinueſſe*, did not condem *Marcellinus*, for the words of the Council be plain, *Subſcripſerunt igitur in ejus damnationem & damnaverunt eum extra civitatem*; that is, They ſubſcribed therefore to his Condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the City. Moreover by the ſaid Council were brought in the forty two Witneſſes againſt *Marcellinus*. In the ſaid Council, the Verdict of the ſame witneſſes was demanded, and alſo received. Furthermore, *Quirinus* one of the Biſhops there openly proteſted, that he would not depart the Council, before the malice of the Biſhops was revealed: What doth all this declare, but that the Biſhop of *Rome* was called there, and did appear before the Judgment Seat of the Council, and there ſtood ſubject to their Sentence and Authority, by the which he was expelled out of the City? As for the words of the Council, whereupon our Papiſts ſtand ſo much, *Non enim noſtro, ſed tuo ipſius judicio condemnaberis, &c. Item, Tuo ore judica cauſam tuam, &c.* Theſe words import not here the Authority of the *Roman* Biſhop to be above the Council, neither do they declare what the Council could not do, but what they would and wiſhed rather to be done; that is, that he ſhould rather acknowledge his Crime before God and them,

*Julitta violently ſpoyled of her Goods.*

*Julitta once abjured.*

*Julitta ſtands to the confeſſion of her Faith.*

*A Chriſtian voice of a true Martyr.*

*The anſwer of Julitta.*

*Julitta condemned to the fire.*

*The words and exhortations of Julitta to women about her.*

*Barbara, Fauſta, Euelaſius, Maximinus, Juliana, Anaſia, Juſtina, Tecla, Martyrs.*

*Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Euſebius, Miltiades, Biſhops of Rome and Martyrs.*

*Marcellinus denieth and repenteth.*

*Ex lib. Concilior. & Platina.*

*Euſeb. in Chron.*

*Authors diſtent.*

*Ex Sabel. Enead. 7. lib. 8.*

*Sabel. ibid.*

*A place of Platina confuted.*

*The order and proceeding deſcribed in judgment againſt the Biſhop of Rome.*

*An objection of the Papiſts anſwered unto*

*The Biſhop of Rome cited up and appeareth before the Council.*

them, with a voluntary yielding of his heart, then that the Confeſſion of ſuch an hainous Fact ſhould be extorted from him through their condemnation, for that they ſaw to be expedient for his Souls health; otherwiſe their condemnation ſhould ſerve him to ſmall purpoſe; and ſo it came to paſs. For he being urged of them to condemn himſelf, ſo did: proſtrating himſelf and weeping before them. Whereupon immediately they proceeded to the ſentence againſt him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the City. Now whether by this may be gathered that the Biſhops of *Rome* ought not to be cited, accuſed and condemned by any perſon or perſons, let the indifferent Reader judge ſimply.

The Biſhop of *Rome* condemned by the Council.

As touching the decretal Epiſtles, which be intituled under the names of theſe foreſaid Biſhops, who ſo well adviſeth them, and with judgment will examine the ſtile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the Conſtitutions in them contained (little ſerving to any purpoſe, and nothing ſerving for thoſe troubleſome days then preſent) may eaſily diſcern them, either in no part to be theirs, or much of the ſame to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times; eſpecially ſeeing all the conſtitutions in them for the moſt part tend to the ſetting up, and to exalt the See of *Rome* above all other Biſhops and Churches, and to reduce all Cauſes and Appeals to the ſaid See of *Rome*. So the Epiſtle of *Caius* beginning with the Commendation of the Authority of his See endeth after the ſame tenor, willing and commanding all difficult queſtions in all Provinces whatſoever emerging, to be referred to the See Apoſtolical. Moreover the greateſt part of the ſaid Epiſtle from this place (*Quicunque illi ſunt, ita obcæcati, &c.* to the end of this period, *Quoniam ſicut ait B. Apoſtolus, magnum eſt Pietatis, &c.*) is contained in the Epiſtle of *Leo*, unto *Leo* the Emperor: and ſo rightly agreeth in all points with the ſtile of *Leo*, that evident it is the ſame to be borrowed out of *Leo*, and to be patched into the Epiſtle of *Caius* out of *Leo*.

The decretal Epiſtles and conſtitutions of theſe Biſhops of *Rome* examined

The chief ſcope of the conſtitutions decretal, to magnifie the Church of *Rome*.

The Epiſtle of *Caius*.

A great part of the Epiſtle of *Caius* taken out of the Epiſtle of *Leo*, to *Leo* the Emperor.

Likewiſe the Epiſtle of *Marcellinus*, to get more Authority with the Reader, is admired with a great part of *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, word for word. And how it is like that *Marcellinus*, which died in the twentieth year of *Diocleſian*, could write of conſubſtantiality of the Divine Perſons, when that controverſie and term of conſubſtantiality was not heard of in the Church before the *Nicen* Council, which was twenty three years after him? But eſpecially the two Epiſtles of *Marcellus* bewray themſelves, ſo that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more than only the reading of the ſame. Such a glorious ſtile of ambition therein doth appear, as it is eaſie to be underſtood, not to proceed either from ſuch an humble Martyr, or to ſavour any thing of the miſery of ſuch a time. His words of his firſt Epiſtle written unto the Brethren of *Antioch*, and alledged in the Popes Decrees by *Gratianus* are theſe:

The Epiſtle of *Marcellinus*.

The Epiſtles decretal of *Marcellus*.

24. q. 1. *Rogamus vos fratres.*

*We deſire you Brethren, that you do not teach nor conceive any other thing but as ye have received of the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint* Peter, *and of other Apoſtles and Fathers. For of him ye were firſt of all inſtructed, wherefore you muſt not forſake your own Father and follow others. For he is the Head of the whole Church, to whom the Lord ſaid,* Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. *Whoſe Seat was firſt with you in* Antioch, *which afterward by the Commandment of the Lord, was tranſlated from thence to* Rome, *of the which Church of* Rome *I am this day placed (by the Grace of God) to be the Governor. From the which Church of* Rome, *neither ought you to ſeparate your ſelves, ſeeing to the ſame Church all manner of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, being of any importance (Gods Grace ſo diſpoſing) are commanded to be referred: by the ſame to be ordered regularly, from whence they took their firſt beginning, &c.* And followeth conſequently upon the ſame, *And if your Church of* Antioch, *which was once the firſt, will not yield her ſelf unto the See of* Rome, *there is no other Church elſe that will not ſubject it ſelf to our Dominion: to whom all other Biſhops whoſoever, as they muſt needs do (according to the Decrees of the Apoſtles and of their Succeſſors) ought to fly, as to have their Head, and muſt Appeal to the ſame, and there to have their Redreſs and their Protection; from whence they took their firſt Inſtruction and Conſecration, &c.*

In what chapter or leaf of all the Bible doth the Lord command the See of *Peter* to be tranſlated from *Antioch* to *Rome?*

The Church of *Rome* ſueth to the Church of *Antioch* to yield unto her.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the ſpirit of *Marcellus* that bleſſed Martyr in thoſe ſo dreadful days, I ſay no more, but only deſire the (gentle Reader) to judge.

The ſecond Epiſtle of *Marcellus* written to *Maxentius*.

In his ſecond Epiſtle moreover, the ſaid *Marcellus* writing to *Maxentius* the bloody Tyrant, firſt reprehendeth him for his cruelty, ſharply admoniſhing him how and what to do: to learn and ſeek the true Religion of God, to maintain his Church, to honour and reverence the Prieſts of God, and eſpecially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would ceaſe from Perſecution, &c. All this is poſſible and like to be true. But now mark (good Reader) what blanched ſtuff here followed withall: as where he alledging the Statutes and Sanctions of his Predeceſſors, declareth and diſcuſſeth that no Biſhop nor Miniſter ought to be perſecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their poſſeſſions and places again reſtored by the Law, before they were bound by the Law to anſwer to their Accuſations laid in againſt them: and ſo after that, in convenient time, to be called to a Council; the which Council notwithſtanding without the Authority of the holy See, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it remain in his power to aſſemble certain Biſhops together. Neither can he regularly condemn any Biſhop, appealing to this his Apoſtolical See, before the Sentence definitive do proceed from the foreſaid See, &c. And it followeth after, *And therefore* (ſaith he) *let no Biſhop of what Crime ſoever he be attached, come to his Acceuſation, or be heard, but in his own ordinary Synod at his convenient time: the Regular and Apoſtolical Authority being joyned withall.* Moreover in the ſaid Epiſtle writing unto *Maxentius*, he decreeth that no Lay-men, or any ſuſpected Biſhop ought to accuſe Prelates of the Church: *So that if they be either Lay-men, or men of evil Converſation, or proved manifeſt Enemies, or incenſed with any hatred, their Accuſations againſt any Biſhops ought not to ſtand.* With other ſuch matters more, concerning the diſpoſition of judicial Court. Which matter, if Pope *Gregory* the ſeventh had written unto *Henry* the third Emperor, or if Pope *Alexander* the third had written to the Emperor *Frederick* the firſt, it might have ſtood with ſome reaſon and opportunity of time. But now for *Marcellus* to write theſe Decrees in ſuch Perſecution of the Church, to *Maxentius* the Heathen and moſt cruel Emperor, how unlike it is to be true, and how it ſerved then to purpoſe, the Reader may ſoon diſcern. And yet theſe be the Epiſtles and Conſtitutions decretal, whereby (under the pretenſed Title of the Fathers) all Churches of late time, and all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes have been, and yet are in this Realm of *England* to this day governed, directed, and diſpoſed.

The Epiſtle of *Maximus* to *Maximus* blanched.

The Church of *England* governed by the Popes Canon Law without ſufficient ground of antiquity.

The like diſcuſſion and examination I might alſo make of the other Epiſtles that follow of *Euſebius* and *Miltiades*, which all tend to the ſame ſcope, that no Prelate or Biſhop ought to come to his anſwer (or *Ad litem conteſtatam*, as the words of their writing do term it) before they be orderly and fully reſtored again to their poſſeſſions. Who moreover in the ſaid their Epiſtles ſtill harp upon this Key of the Scripture, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam.* Declaring moreover that this priviledge of judging all men, and to be judged of no man, but only to be left to the judgment of the Lord, was given to this foreſaid holy See of *Rome*, from time of the Apoſtles, and chiefly left with *Peter* the holy Key-keeper? ſo that although the election of the Apoſtles was equal, yet this was chiefly granted to S. *Peter*, to have Prehemineence above the reſt. Concluding in the end hereby, *Quod ſemper majores cauſæ, ſicut ſunt Epiſcoporum, & potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad unam beati Principis Apoſtolorum* Petri *ſedem confluerent*; that is, That always all greater Cauſes, as be the matters of Biſhops, and ſuch other cares of weighty Importance, ſhould be brought to the See of Saint *Peter*, the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, &c. Theſe be the words of *Miltiades* and *Euſebius*, whereby it may partly be ſmelled of him that hath any Noſe, what was the meaning of them which forged theſe Writings and Letters upon theſe ancient holy Martyrs.

The Epiſtles decretal of *Euſebius* and *Miltiades*.

*Ex Epiſt. decretal. Miltiadis.*

This I cannot but marvel at, in the third Epiſtle of *Euſebius* the Biſhop of *Rome*, that whereas *Marcellinus* his

A place of the third Epiſtle decretal of *Euſebius* found untrue.

his late Predeceſſor before, in his own time and remembrance did fall ſo horribly, and was condemned for the ſame juſtly to be expulſed the City by the Council of three hundred Biſhops: yet notwithſtanding the foreſaid *Euſebius* in his third Epiſtle alledging that place of *Tu es Petrus*, bringeth in for a proof of the ſame, and ſaith, *Quia in ſede Apoſtolica extra maculam ſemper eſt Catholica ſervata Religio, &c.* that is, For in the Apoſtolical See always the Catholick Religion hath been preſerved without any ſpot or blemiſh.

*Miltiades* the laſt Biſhop of *Rome* in danger of Perſecution.

But howſoever the Forgers of theſe decretal Epiſtles have forgotten themſelves, moſt certain it is, that theſe holy Biſhops, unto whom they were and are aſcribed, lived perfect good men, and died bleſſed Martyrs. Of whom this *Miltiades* was the laſt among all the Biſhops of *Rome* here in the *Weſt* Church of *Europe*, that ever was in danger of Perſecution to be martyred, yet to this preſent day.

The end of theſe Perſecutions in all the *Weſt* Churches.

And thus have ye heard the ſtories and names of ſuch bleſſed Saints, which ſuffered in the time of Perſecution, from the nineteenth year of *Dioclefian* to the ſeventh and laſt year of *Maxentius*, deſcribed with the deaths alſo and plagues upon theſe Tormentors and cruel Tyrants, which were the Captains of the ſame Perſecution. And here cometh in (bleſſed be Chriſt) the end of theſe Perſecutions here in theſe *Weſt* Churches of *Europe*, ſo far as the Dominion of bleſſed *Conſtantinus* did chiefly extend.

The Perſecution under *Licinius*, *Hermilus*, *Stratonicus*, Martyrs. *Theodorus* Captain, Martyr.

Yet notwithſtanding in *Aſia* all Perſecution as yet ceaſed not for the ſpace of four years, as above is mentioned by the means of wicked *Licinius*, under whom divers there were holy and conſtant Martyrs, that ſuffered grievous Torments; as *Hermilus* a Deacon, and *Stratonicus* a Keeper of the Priſon, both which after their puniſhments ſuſtained, were ſtrangled in the Flood *Iſter*, *Metaſt.* Alſo *Theodorus* the Captain, who being ſent for of *Licinius*, becauſe he would not come, and becauſe he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poor, therefore was faſtened to the Croſs, and after being pierced with ſharp Pricks or Bodkins in the ſecret parts of his body, was at laſt beheaded. Add to theſe alſo *Miles*, who being firſt a Souldier, was afterward made Biſhop of a certain City in *Perſia*; where he ſeeing himſelf could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, curſed the City and departed. Which City ſhortly after by *Sapores* King of *Perſia* was deſtroyed.

*Miles* Martyr. The Kings of *Perſia* were commonly called by the name of *Sapores*.

Perſecution in *Perſia*. *Acindinus*, *Pegaſius*, *Anempodiſtus*, *Epidephorus*, *Simeon* Archbiſhop, *Cteſiphon* Biſhop Martyrs. 128 Martyrs in *Perſia*. The ſtory of *Simeon* Archbiſhop of *Seleucia*. Ex *Sozom. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8, 9, 10.

In the ſame Country of *Perſia*, about this time ſuffered under *Sapores* the King (as recordeth *Simeon Metaſthenes*) divers valiant and conſtant Martyrs, as *Acindimus*, *Pegaſius*, *Anempodiſtus*, *Epidephorus*, alſo *Simeon* Archbiſhop of *Seleucia*, with *Cteſiphon* another Biſhop of *Perſia*, with other Miniſters and religious men of that Region, to the number of one hundred twenty eight. Of this *Simeon* and *Cteſiphon* thus writeth *Sozomen*, *lib.* 2. That the Idolatrous Magicians in *Perſia*, taking counſel together againſt the *Chriſtians*, accuſed *Simeon* and *Cteſiphon* to *Sapores* the King, for that they were grateful and accepted unto the *Roman* Emperor, and bewraid to him ſuch things as were done in the Land of *Perſia*. Whereupon *Sapores*, being moved, took great diſpleaſure againſt the *Chriſtians*, oppreſſing them with Taxes and Tributes unto their utter impoveriſhing, killing all their Prieſts with the Sword: after that calleth for *Simeon* the Archbiſhop, who there before the King declared himſelf a worthy and a valiant Captain of Chriſts Church. For when *Sapores* had commaded him to be led to ſuffer Torments, he neither ſhrunk for any fear, nor ſhewed any great humble ſuit of ſubmiſſion for any pardon: whereat the King partly mavelling, partly offended, asked *Why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do?* *Simeon* to this anſwered, *For that*, ſaith he, *before this time I was not brought unto you in Bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and ſo long I refuſed not to accompliſh that which the Order and Cuſtom of the Realm of me required; but now it is not lawful for me ſo to do, for now I come to ſtand in defence of our Religion and true Doctrine.* When *Simeon* thus had anſwered, the King perſiſting in his purpoſe, offereth to him the choice either to worſhip with him after his manner (promiſing to him many great Gifts, if he would ſo do) or if he would not, threatneth to him and to all the other *Chriſtians* within his Land, deſtruction. But *Simeon*, neither allured with his Promiſes, nor terrified with his Threatnings, continued conſtant in his Doctrine profeſſed, ſo as neither he could be induced to Idolatrous Worſhip, nor yet to betray the truth of his Religion. For the which cauſe he was committed into Bonds, and there commanded to be kept, to the Kings pleaſure further known.

The worthy anſwer of *Simeon* unto the King.

The conſtancy of *Simeon*.

The fall of *Uſthazares*.

It befel in the way as he was going to the Priſon, there was ſitting at the Kings Gate a certain *Eunuch*, an old Tutor or School-Maſter of the Kings, named *Uſthazares*, who had been once a *Chriſtian*, and afterward falling from his Profeſſion, fell with the Heatheniſh multitude to their Idolatry. This *Uſthazares* ſitting at the door of the Kings Palace, and ſeeing *Simeon* paſſing by led to the priſon, roſe up and reverenced the Biſhop. *Simeon* again with ſharp words (as the time would ſuffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out againſt him, which being once a *Chriſtian*, would ſo cowardly revolt from his Profeſſion, and to return again to the Heatheniſh Idolatry. At the hearing of theſe words the *Eunuch* forthwith burſting out into tears, laying away his Courtly Apparel, which was ſumptuous and coſtly, and putting upon him a black and mourning Weed, ſitteth before the Court Gates weeping and bewailing, thus ſaying with himſelf, *Woe is me, with what hope, with what face ſhall I look hereafter for my God, which have denied my God, when as this* Simeon *my familiar Acquaintance, thus paſſing by me, ſo much diſdaineth me, that he refuſeth with one gentle word to ſalute me?*

The fruit of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Chaſtiſement.

The repentance of *Uſthazares*.

Theſe words being brought to the ears of the King (as ſuch Tale-carriers never lack in Princes Courts) procured againſt him no little Indignation. Whereupon *Sapores* the King ſending for him, firſt with gentle words and courtly Promiſes began to ſpeak him fair, asking him, *What cauſe he had ſo to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his houſe, which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking?* Whereunto *Uſthazares* anſwering again, ſaid, *That there was nothing in that earthly houſe, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his deſire ſtood. Yea would God* (ſaid he) *O King, any other grief or calamity in all the World, whatſoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do moſt juſtly mourn and ſorrow! For this ſorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who ſhould rather have died long ſince, and that I ſee this Sun, which againſt my heart and mind, for your pleaſure diſſemblingly I appeared to Worſhip; for which cauſe double-wiſe I am worthy of death: Firſt, for that I have denied Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe I did diſſemble with you.* And incontinent upon theſe words, ſwearing by Him that made both Heaven and Earth, affirmed moſt certainly, that although he had played the Fool before, he would never be ſo mad again, as inſtead of the Creator and Maker of all things, to Worſhip the Creatures which he had made and cheated. *Sapores* the King being aſtonied at the ſo ſudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himſelf whether to be angry with thoſe Inchanters or with him; whether to intreat him with gentleneſs or with rigor: at length in this mood commanded the ſaid *Uſthazares* his old ancient Servant, and firſt Tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of Execution, he deſired of the Executioners a little to ſtay, while he might ſend a meſſage unto the King, which was this (ſent in by certain of the Kings moſt truſty *Eunuchs*) deſiring him, that for all the old and faithful Service he had done to his Father, and to him, he would now requite him with this one office again, to cauſe to be cried openly by a publick Crier in theſe words following, *That* Uſthazares *was beheaded, not for any Treachery or Crime committed againſt the King or the Realm, but only for that he was a Chriſtian, and would not at the Kings pleaſure deny his God.* And ſo according unto his requeſt, it was performed and granted. For this cauſe did *Uſthazares* ſo much deſire the cauſe of his death to be publiſhed: becauſe that as his ſhrinking back from Chriſt, was a great occaſion to many *Chriſtians* to do the like; ſo now the ſame, hearing that *Uſthazares* died for no other cauſe but only for the Religion of Chriſt, ſhould learn likewiſe by his example to be fervent and conſtant in that which they profeſs. And thus the bleſſed *Eunuch* did conſummate

The anſwer of *Uſthazares* to the King.

*Uſthazares* the Kings Tutor condemned to be beheaded.

The meſſage of *Uſthazares* to the King.

The cauſe openly cried, why *Uſthazares* was beheaded.

The end and martyrdom of *Uſthazares*.

The Martyrdom of *Simeon* Archbiſhop.

conſummate his Martyrdom. Of the which his ſaid Martyrdom, *Simeon* being in priſon hearing, was very joyful and gave God thanks; who in the next day following, being brought forth before the King, and conſtantly refuſing to condeſcend unto the Kings requeſt, to worſhip viſible creatures, was likewiſe by the commandment of the King beheaded, with a great number more, which the ſame day alſo did ſuffer, to the number (as is ſaid) of an hundred and more; all which were put to death before *Simeon*. he ſtanding by and exhorting them with comfortable words: Admoniſhing them to ſtand firm and ſtedfaſt in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, Reſurrection, and true piety; and proved by the Scriptures that to be true which he had ſaid, declaring moreover that to be true life indeed, ſo to die, and that to be death indeed, to deny or betray God for fear of puniſhment: And added further, that there was no man alive, but needs once muſt die: *For ſo much as to all men is appointed neceſſarily here to have an end. But thoſe things, which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternal, which neither ſhall come to all men after one ſort. But as the condition and trade of life in divers men doth differ, and is not in all men like: So the time ſhall come, when all men in a moment ſhall render and receive according to their doings in this preſent life immortal rewards: Such as have here done well, of life and glory; ſuch as have done contrary of perpetual puniſhment. As touching thereof our well doing, here is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, than if a man here loſe his life for his Lord God.* With theſe words of comfortable exhortation the holy Martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at laſt followed *Simeon*, with two other Prieſts or Miniſters of his Church: *Abedecalaas* and *Ananias*, which alſo with him were partakers of the ſame Martyrdom.

The exhortation of *Simeon* the Archbiſhop to the Martyrs at their death, when he alſo himſelf ſhould ſuffer.

*Abdecalaas Ananias*, Martyrs.

The ſtory of *Puſices*, Martyr.

At the ſuffering of thoſe above mentioned, it happened that *Puſices* one of the Kings officers and overſeers of his artificers, was there preſent who ſeeing *Ananias* being an aged old Father, ſomewhat to ſhake and tremble at the ſight of them that ſuffered: O father (ſaid he) *a little moment ſhut thine eyes, and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſee the ſight of God.* Upon theſe words thus ſpoken, *Puſices* immediately was apprehended and brought unto the King, who there confeſſing himſelf conſtantly to be a Chriſtian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the King in this cauſe of Chriſts faith was extreamly and moſt cruelly handled in the execution of his Martyrdom. For in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thruſt in their hand, and pluckt out his tongue out of his mouth, and ſo he was put to death. At the which time alſo the daughter of *Puſices*, a Godly virgin, by the malicious accuſation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The free ſpeech and boldneſs of *Puſices*.

The cruel Martyrdom of *Puſices*.

The Daughter of *Puſices* Martyr.

The next year following, upon the ſame day, when the Chriſtians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lords paſſion, which we call good friday before *Eaſter* (as witneſſeth the ſaid *Sozomenus*) *Sapores* the King directed out a cruel and ſharp Edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them, whoſoever confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof an innumerable multitude of Chriſtians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant Magicians, ſuffered the ſame time by the ſword, both in City and in Town: Some being ſought for, ſome offering themſelves willingly, leſt they ſhould ſeem by their ſilence to deny Chriſt. Thus all the Chriſtians, that could be found, without pity were ſlain, and divers alſo of the Kings own Court and houſhold. Amongſt whom was alſo *Azades* an Eunuch, one whom the King did intirely love and favour; which *Azades* after that the King underſtood to be put death, being greatly moved with the ſorrow thereof, commanded after that no Chriſtians ſhould be ſlain, but them only which were the Doctors and Teachers of Chriſtian Religion.

A cruel Edict of *Sapores* againſt the Chriſtians.

Innumerable Martyrs in *Perſia*.

*Azades* a noble Courtier, Martyr.

The proviſion of God to ſave the Chriſtians.

In the ſame time it happened that the Queen fell into a certain diſeaſe; upon the occaſion whereof, the cruel *Jews*, with the wicked Magicians, falſly and maliciouſly accuſed *Trabula*, the ſiſter of *Simeon* the Martyr, a Godly Virgin, with another ſiſter alſo of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the Queen, for the revenging of the death of *Simeon*. This accuſation being received and believed, innocent *Trabula*, with the others were condemned, and with a ſaw cut in ſunder by the middle; whoſe quarters were then hanged upon ſtakes, the Queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her ſickneſs. This *Trabula* was a Maid of a right comely beauty and very amiable, to whom one of the Magicians caſt great love, much deſiring and labouring by gifts and rewards, ſent into the priſon to win her to his pleaſure; promiſing that if ſhe would apply to his requeſt, ſhe ſhould be delivered and ſet at liberty. But ſhe utterly refuſing to conſent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did chooſe rather to die, than to betray either the Religion of her mind, or the Virginity of her body. *Sozom.*

*Trabula* with her ſiſter Martyrs.

*Trabula* the ſiſter of *Simeon*.

Falſe accuſation raſhly believed.

*Trabula* and her ſiſter ſawn in ſunder.

The blind charm of the wicked queen.

Example of maidenly chaſtity in *Trabula*.

*Ex Exceſſu H. ſt. Sec. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

Now for ſo much as the King had commanded that no Chriſtians ſhould be put to death, but only ſuch as were the teachers and leaders of the flock; The Magicians and Archmagicians left no diligence untried to ſet forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and perſecution was among the Biſhops and teachers of the Church which in all places went to ſlaughter, eſpecially in the country of *Diabenor*; for that part of *Perſia* above all other was moſt Chriſtian. Where *Acepſimas* the Biſhop with a great number of his flock and Clergy were apprehended and taken: Upon the apprehenſion of whom, the Magicians, to ſatisfie the Kings commandment, diſmiſſed all the reſt, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only *Acepſimas* the Biſhop they retained, with whom one *Jacobus* a Miniſter, or Prieſt of his Church was alſo joyned; not of any compulſion, but only as himſelf ſo deſired and obtained of thoſe Magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the ſame bonds to ſerve the aged Biſhop, and to relieve (ſo much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been ſore ſcourged before of the Magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worſhip the Sun: Which thing, becauſe he would not do, they caſt him into priſon again, where this *Jacobus* was waiting upon him. At the ſame time likewiſe *Athalas* a Prieſt or Miniſter, alſo *Azadanes* and *Abdieſus* Deacons, were impriſoned, and miſerably ſcourged for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus. After this the *Archimagus*, eſpying his time, complaineth unto the King of them, having authority and commiſſion given him (unleſs they would worſhip the Sun) to puniſh them as he pleaſed. This commandment received of the King the Maſter *Magus* doth declare to them in priſon. But they anſwered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Chriſt, or worſhippers of the Sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; where *Acepſimas* ſtrongly perſiſting in the confeſſion of Chriſt, indured to death. The other being no leſs rent and wounded with ſcourges yet continued marvelouſly alive; and becauſe they would in no caſe turn from their conſtant ſentence, were turned again into priſon. Of whom *Athalas* in the time of his whipping, was ſo drawn and rackt with pulling, that both his arms being looſed out of the joynts, hanged down from his body: Which he ſo carried about without uſe of any hand to feed himſelf, but as he was fed of others.

Perſecution againſt the Biſhops and teachers of the Church in *Perſia*.

*Acepſimas* Biſhop Martyr.

*Jacobus* Prieſt Martyr.

Example of true Chriſtian charity, and ſingular piety in *Jacobus*.

*Athalas* Deacon, *Azadanes* Deacon, *Abdieſus* Deacon, Martyrs.

*This Archimagus* and *Magi* (as *Xenophon* ſaith) was an order of Religion amongſt the Perſians which had the greateſt ſtroke in the land next to the King.

The end and Martyrdom of *Acepſimas* Biſhop.

*Athalas* loſt the ut. of both his arms being pluckt from the joynts of his body.

*Ex Sozo. lib. 2. cap. 13. Ex Nicepho. lib. 8. cap. 33.*

Miſerable, and almoſt innumerable were the ſlaughters under the reign of this *Sapores*, of Biſhops, Miniſters, Deacons, Religious men, holy Virgins, and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſuch as did then cleave to the Doctrine of Chriſt, and ſuffered for the ſame, the names of the Biſhops beſides the other multitude taken in the perſecution, are recited in *Sozom. lib. 2.* and in *Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37.* in this order following: *Barbaſimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormiſdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abieſus, Joannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Iſaac, Dauſas, Bicor* alſo with *Maureanda* his fellow Biſhop, and the reſt of his Churches under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty perſons, which were the ſame time apprehended of the Perſians, &c. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that ſuffered in that perſecution, the manner of their apprehenſion, the cruelneſs of their torments, how, and where they ſuffered, and in what places, it is not poſſible for any Hiſtory to diſcharge. Neither are the Perſians themſelves (as *Zozemenus* recordeth) able to recite them. In ſum, the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name, cometh to the ſum of ſixteen thouſand men and women.

*Barbaſimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormiſdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abieſus, Joannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Iſaac, Dauſas, Bicor, Maureanda*, with her 2000. other Martyrs.

The

The number of Martyrs that suffered in *Persia* were 16. thousand.

The rumor and noise of this so miserable affliction of the Christians in the Kingdom of *Persia*, coming to the ears of *Constantinus* the Emperor, put him in great heaviness, studying and revolving with himself, how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It so befel the same time, that certain Ambassadors were then at *Rome* from *Sapores* King of *Persia*; to whom *Constantinus* did easily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands: thinking thereby to obtain the more friendship at the Kings hands, that at his request he would be good to the Christians; to whom he writeth his Epistle in their behalf, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus:

*Constantinus* the Emperor writeth to the King of *Persia* in the behalf of the afflicted Christians.

The copy and effect of the Epistle of *Constantine* to *Sapores*.

*Divinam fidem servans veritatis lucem sortior. Veritatis luce doctus divinam fidem cognosco, Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agendas confirmat, sanctissimam religionem cognitam reddo & hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis Sancti Dei habere confiteor, &c. Eusebius, De vitâ Constantini. lib. 4. The contents whereof, briefly do tend to this effect. Declaring unto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request he would shew some quiet and rest to the Christians, in whose Religion there was nothing which he could justly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they use to kill nothing, nor to shed blood, but only to offer up unbloody Sacrifices, to make their prayers unto God; who delighteth not in bloodshedding; but only in the Soul that loveth Virtue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing unto true piety. And therefore such men as do lead him, and learn so to believe and to worship God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he assureth him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would imbrace the Godly piety and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the stories of* Galienus *and* Valerianus, *who so long as they were favourers of the Christians, did prosper and flourish. But as soon as they moved any persecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other Emperors before them, that all went backward with them: As specially might appear by* Valerianus, *who after he had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was eftsoons overcome of the Persians; the revenging hand of God falling upon him, Where he led ever a miserable life, in wretched Captivity. Further also for the more evidence of the same, he referreth the examples of those Emperors and Tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battels, and triumph over great Tyrants; whereby he hath so enlarged the Dominion of the* Roman *Monarchy, from the West ocean unto the uttermost parts well-near of all the East. To the doing and working whereof, he neither called to him the help of any charmer, or divination of southsayer, nor used the killing of any sacrifice; but only the following of the cross, and prayer made to Almighty God, without any other bloody sacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame, &c. And in the end of the Epistle addeth these words.* What joy (saith he) what gladness would it be to my heart, to hear the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by imbracing this sort of men, the Christians, I mean? So that both you with them, and they with you in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together as your hearts would desire, and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you have God, which is the Author and Creator of all this universal world, to be merciful and gracious to you. *These men therefore I commend unto you upon your Kingly honour; and upon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are indued, I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace and receive them according to your humanity and benignity; agreeing and convenient to your estate: Who in so doing shall now both procure to your self grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthy of thanks.*

The general care of godly *Constantine* over all Christians in all Places.

This example wrote *Constantinus* to King *Sapores*; such care had this godly Prince for them that believed in Christ, not only in his own Monarchy, but also in all places of the world: Neither is it to be doubted, but this intercession of the Emperor, did something mitigate the heat of the Persians persecution, although thereof we read no certain thing in our Histories.

Other forrein Persecutions in *Persia*.

Of other troubles and persecutions we read, which hapned afterward in the said Country of *Persia*, under *Isdigerdes* the King, but these followed long after about the time of the Emperor *Theodosius*. At which time suffered *Andas* their Bishop, and *Hormisda*, a great noble mans son, and of great reputation among the Persians; whom when the King understood to be a Christian, and to deny to turn from his Religion, condemned him to keep his Elephants naked. In process of time, the King looking out, and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the Sun, commanded him to have a shirt put on, and to be brought before him; whom then the King asked, if he would deny Christ. *Hormisda* hearing this, tore off his shirt from his body and cast it from him, saying *If ye think that I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift again, &c.* And so was upon that expelled the Country: *Theodor. lib.* 5.

*Andas* Bishop, Martyr.

The story of *Hormisda*, Martyr. *Ex Theodor. lib.* 5. *cap.* 39.

The faithful constancy of *Hormisda*.

*Hormisda* banished the country of *Persia*.

Another there was that same time, named *Suenes*, which had under him an hundred servants. The King taking displeasure with him for that he would not alter from his Religion and Godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his servants, and him the King made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him with his Masters wife, brought also *Suenes* under his subjection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of *Suenes*: But it was builded upon a sure foundation.

*Suenes* Martyr.

The constancy of *Suenes*.

Of *Benjamin* the Deacon, thus writeth the said *Theodorer* in his first Book, that after two years of his imprisonment, at the request of the *Roman* Legate he was delivered; who afterward contrary to the Kings commandment preached and taught the Gospel of Christ, and was most miserably excarnificate, having twenty sharp pricks of reeds thrust under his nails; but when he did laugh at that, then in his privy yard he had a sharp reed thrust in with horrible pain; after that a certain long stalk ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him; with the horribleness of the pain whereof, the valiant and invincible souldier of the Lord gave over his life. *Theod. ibid.* And thus much concerning the Martyrs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, which came (as it is said) long after the days of *Constantinus*, about the year of our Lord, 425.

The story of *Benjamin*. Deacon and Martyr.

*Benjamin* tormented.

The Martyrdom of *Benjamin*.

Likewise under *Julian* the wicked *Apostata*, certain there were which constantly suffered Martyrdom by the heathen Idolaters: as *Emilianus* who was burned in *Thracia* and *Domitius* which was slain in his cave. *Theodorus* also for singing of a Psalm at the removing of the body of *Babilas* (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciate from morning almost to noon, that hardly he escaped with life. Who being asked afterward of his friends, how he could abide so sharp torments, said, *That at the first beginning he felt some pain, but afterward there stood by him a young man, who as he was sweating, wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oft-times: Wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the engin, it grieved him more than before:* Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The Martyrs under *Julianus Apostata*. *Emilianus*, *Domitius*, Martyrs.

The story of *Theodorus* Martyr. *Ruff. lib.* 5. *cap.* 36. *Theod. lib.* 3. *cap.* 11. *Sozo. lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

A miracle to be noted.

*Artemius* also, the Captain of the *Egyptian* souldiers, the same time lost his head for his Religion indeed: Although other causes were pretended against him: *Theodor. Niceph. lib.* 10. *cap.* 11.

*Artemius* Martyr.

Add unto these moreover *Eusebius* and *Nestabus*, two brethren, with *Nestor* also, who for their Christianity were dragged through the streets and murthered of the Idolatrous people of *Gaza*: *Sozom. lib. eod. cap.* 11.

*Eusebius*, *Nestabus*, brethren *Nestor*. Martyrs.

But especially the cruelty of the *Arethusians*, a people of *Syria*, exceeded against the Christian Virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned; after that being shaven, they covered them with swill and draffe wont to be given to their Hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be devoured of the hungry swine. This rage and fury of the wicked *Arethusians*, *Sozomenus* supposeth to come of this, because that *Constantius* before had broken them from their Country manner of setting forth and exposing their Virgins filthily to whomsoever lusted, and destroyed the Temple of *Venus* in *Heliopolis*, restraining the people there from their filthiness and vile whordom. *Sozom. lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

*Eusebius*, *Nestabus*, with other men of *Cesarea*, Martyrs.

Miserable cruelty against the Christian Virgins of *Arethusia*.

The people mad to be pluckt from their old customs though it be never so wicked.

Of the lamentable ſtory, or rather tragedy of *Marcus Arethuſius* their Biſhop, thus writeth the ſaid *Sozomenus*, and alſo *Theodoretus* in his third Book in theſe words as follow.

The ſtory of *Marcus Arethuſius.*

This tragedy (ſaith he) of *Marcus Arethuſius*, doth require the eloquence and worthineſs of *Eſchilus* and *Sophocles*, which may, as the matter deſerveth, ſet forth and beautifie his great afflictions. This man, at the commandment of *Conſtantinus*, pulled down a certain Temple dedicated to Idols, and in ſtead thereof built up a Church where the Chriſtians might congregate. The *Arethuſians* remembring the little good will that *Julianus* bare unto him, accuſed him as a Traytor and Enemy to him. At the firſt, according as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared himſelf to flie: But when he perceived that there were certain of his kinſmen or friends apprehended in his ſtead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himſelf to thoſe that thirſted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abaſhed at his vertuous converſation, being a man ſo adorned both with Doctrine and manners, firſt ſtript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a while after, they caſt him into a foul filthy ſink, and from thence being brought, they cauſed boys to thruſt him in with ſharpned ſticks made for the nonce to provoke his pain the more. Laſtly, they put him in a basket, and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the Sun, as meat for waſps and flies to feed upon. And all this extremity they ſhewed unto him, for that they would inforce him to do one of theſe things; that is, either to build up again the Temple which he had deſtroyed, or elſe to give ſo much money as ſhould pay for the building of the ſame: But even as he purpoſed with himſelf to ſuffer and abide their grievous torments, ſo refuſed he to do that they demanded of him. At length they taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay ſuch a ſum of money, promiſed to forgive him the one half, ſo that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he hanging in the basket wounded pitifully with the ſharpned ſticks of boys and children, and all to be bitten with waſps and flies, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but alſo derided thoſe wicked ones, and called them baſe, low, and terrene people, and he himſelf to be exalted and ſet on high. At length they demanding of him but a ſmall ſum of money, he anſwered thus; It is as great wickedneſs to confer one half penny in caſe of impiety, as if a man ſhould beſtow the whole. Thus they being not able to prevail againſt him, let him down, and leaving him, went their way, ſo that every man might learn at his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulneſs.

The true conſcience of *Marcus Arethuſius.*

Great cruelty ſhewed.

Covetouſneſs the cauſe of cruelty.

A notable ſaying.

Although the tractation of theſe aforeſaid ſtories and perſecutions of *Perſia*, above premiſed, do ſtray ſomewhat out of the order and courſe of time and place, as which came neither in the time of *Conſtantine*, nor be pertinent to the Monarchy of *Rome*: Yet becauſe in this preſent Hiſtory we are in hand with the holy Martyrs and Saints of Chriſt; for ſo much as theſe alſo gave ſuch a faithful teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus with their blood, I thought therefore not to paſs them over without ſome teſtimony in this our Catalogue of holy Martyrs. And here an end of theſe perſecutions of the Primitive Church.

It may peradventure be marvelled of ſome, reading the Hiſtory of theſe ſo terrible perſecutions above ſpecified, why God Almighty director of all things, would ſuffer his own people and faithful ſervants, believing in his own and only begotten ſon Jeſus, ſo cruelly to be handled, ſo wrongfully to be vexed, ſo extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the ſpace of ſo many years together, as in theſe foreſaid perſecutions may appear. To the which admiration I have nothing to anſwer, but to ſay with the words of *Hierome*, *Non debemus ſuper hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c.* We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to ſee the wicked to prevail againſt the body: For ſo much as in the beginning of the World, we ſee *Abel* the juſt to be killed of wicked *Cain*, and afterward *Jacob* being thruſt out, *Eſau* to Reign in his fathers houſe: In like caſe the *Egyptians* with brick and tile afflicted the ſons of *Iſrael*; yea, and the Lord himſelf, was he not crucified of the *Jews*, *Barabas* the thief being let go? Time would not ſuffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to wrack, the wicked flouriſhing and prevailing: *Hieor.* Briefly, howſoever the cauſe hereof proceedeth, whether for our ſins here in this life, or how elſe ſoever; yet this is to us, and may be to all men a ſufficient ſtay, that we are ſure theſe afflictions and perſecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For ſo in the old Law, by the affliction of the children of *Iſrael*, he hath prefigured theſe perſecutions of the Chriſtians. So by the words of Chriſts own mouth in the Goſpel he did forewarn his Church of theſe troubles to come. Again, neither did he ſuffer theſe ſo great afflictions to fall upon his ſervants, before that he had premoniſhed them ſufficiently by ſpecial revelation in the *Apocalyps* of *John* his ſervant; in the which *Apocalyps* he declared unto his Church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them; where and by whom they ſhould come, but alſo in plain number, if the words of the prophetie be well underſtood, aſſigneth the true time, how long the ſaid perſecutions ſhould continue, and when they ſhould ceaſe. For as there is no doubt, but by the beaſt with ſeven heads, bearing the Whore of *Babylon*, drunken with the blood of Saints, is ſignified the City of *Rome*: So in my Judgment the power of making of forty two months (in the thirteenth of the *Apocalyps*) is to be expounded, taking every month for a Sabbath of years, that is, reckoning a month for ſeven years, ſo that forty and two ſuch Sabbaths of years being gathered together, make up the years juſt, between the time of Chriſts death to the laſt year of the perſecution of *Maxentius*, when *Conſtantinus* fighting under the banner of Chriſt, overcame him, and made an end of all perſecution within the Monarchy of *Rome*. The number of which years by plain computation, come to two hundred ninety and four; to the which two hundred ninety and four years, if ye add the other ſix years, under the perſecution of *Licinius* in *Aſia*, then it filleth up full the three hundred years. And ſo long continued the perſecution of Chriſts people, under the heathen Tyrants and Emperors, of the Monarchy of *Rome*, according to the number of the forty and two months which the beaſt had power to make, ſpecified in the thriteenth of the *Apocalyps*. For the better explication whereof, becauſe the matter being of no ſmall importance, greatly appertaineth to the publick utility of the Church; and leſt any ſhould miſdoubt me herein, to follow any private interpretation of mine own: I thought good to communicate to the Reader, that which hath been imparted unto me, in the opening of theſe myſtical numbers in the foreſaid Book of Revelation contained, by occation as followeth.

Perſecution cometh by no chance.

Perſecution of Gods people prefigured and forewarned of God.

The Church forewarned of Chriſt by ſpecial revelation in the *Apocalyps.*

The beaſt in the *Apocalyps* expounded.

Two and forty months in the *Apoc.* 13. expounded.

The beaſt had power to make 42. months.

The perſecuting time of the Primitive Church under the beaſt, laſted 300. years.

The Iſraelites 300. years.

As I was in hand with theſe Hiſtories, and therein conſidered the exceeding rage of theſe perſecutions, the intolerable torments of the bleſſed Saints, ſo cruelly rackt, rent, torn, and pluckt in pieces with all kind of tortures, pains and puniſhments that could be deviſed, more bitter than any death it ſelf: I could not without great ſorrow and paſſion of mind, behold their ſorrowful afflictions, or write of their bloody paſſions. Wherein much like it hapned to me as did to *Titus Livius*; who writing of the wars of *Carthage*, was ſo moved in the writing thereof, *Ac ſi in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipſe pariter fuiſſet.* Further, I proceed in the ſtory; and the hotter the perſecutions grew, the more my grief with them and for them increaſed: Not only pitying their woful caſe, but almoſt reaſoning with God, thus thinking like a fool with my ſelf, why God of his goodneſs would ſuffer his children and ſervants ſo vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly providence (as muſt needs be granted) why did the wicked ſo rage and flouriſh, and the godly go ſo to wrack? If ſins deſerved puniſhment, yet neither were they ſinners alone, and why was their death above all other ſo ſharp and bitter? At leaſt why would the Lord ſuffer the vehemency of theſe ſo horrible perſecutions to indure ſo long time againſt his poor Church, ſhewing unto them no certain determined end of their tribulations, whereby they knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more conſolation might indure out the ſame? As the Iſraelites in the captivity of *Babylon* had ſeventy years limited unto them: And under *Pharoah* they were promiſed a deliverance out: Alſo under the *Syrian* Tyrants threeſcore and two weeks were abridged unto them. Only in theſe perſecutions I could find

*Hieron. in Aba. cap. 1.*

The wicked in this world do moſt flouriſh and prevail.

find no end determined, nor limitation ſet for their deliverance. Whereupon much marveling with my ſelf, I ſearched the Book of *Revelation*, to ſee whether any thing there, might be found; where although I well perceived the Beaſt there deſcribed to ſignifie the Empire of *Rome*, which had Power to overcome the Saints; yet concerning the time and continuance of theſe Perſecutions under the Beaſt, I found nothing to ſatisfie my doubt. For albeit I read there of forty two months, of a time, times, and half a time, of one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days; yet all this by computation coming but to three years and a half, came nothing near the long continuance of theſe Perſecutions, which laſted three hundred years. Thus being vexed and turmoiled in ſpirit, about the reckoning of theſe numbers and years: it ſo hapned upon a *Sunday* in the morning, I lying in my bed, and muſing about theſe numbers, ſuddenly it was anſwered to my mind, as with a Majeſty, thus inwardly ſaying within me, *Thou Fool, count theſe months by Sabbaths, as the weeks of* Daniel *are counted by Sabbaths.* The Lord I take to witneſs, thus it was. Whereupon thus being admoniſhed, I began to reckon the forty two months by Sabbaths: firſt of months, that would not ſerve: then by Sabbaths of years, wherein I began to feel ſome probable underſtanding. Yet not ſatisfied herewith, to have the matter more ſure, eſtſoons I repaired to certain Merchants of mine acquaintance: of whom one is departed a true faithful Servant of the Lord, the other two be yet alive, and witneſſes hereof. To whom the number of theſe foreſaid forty two months being propounded and examined by Sabbaths of years, the whole ſum was found to ſurmount unto two hundred ninety and four years, containing the full and juſt time of theſe foreſaid Perſecutions, neither more nor leſs.

Now this one Claſpe being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifeſt to the Intelligent Reader to be underſtood. For where mention is made of three years and a half, of one time, two times and half a time, alſo of one thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days, all theſe come to one reckoning and ſignifie forty and two months, by which months, as is ſaid, is ſignified the whole time of theſe Primitive Perſecutions, as here in order may appear.

## The myſtical Numbers in the *Apocalyps* opened.

1. One thouſand two hundred and ſixty. *Rev.* 11. 12.

*Firſt, where mention is made,* Apocalyps, *Chapter eleven, that the two Prophets ſhall Propheſie* 1260 *days; and alſo that the woman flying into the Deſert, ſhall there be fed* 1260 *days: who knoweth not that* 1260 *days make three years and a half? that is, months* ——— 42

2. Three days and a half. *Rev.* 11.

*Secondly, where we read, Chap.* 11. *the bodies of the two foreſaid Prophets ſhall lie in the ſtreets of the great City unburied the ſpace of three days and a half, and after the ſaid three days and a half they ſhall revive again, &c. let the hours of theſe three days and a half, (which be* 42) *be reckoned every day for a Sabbath of years, or elſe every day for a month, and they come to months* ——— 42

3. A time, times, and half a time. *Rev.* 12.

*Thirdly, whereas in the ſame Book is expreſſed that the Woman had two wings given her to fly unto the Deſert for a time, times and half a time: give for one time one year, or one day: for two times, two years or two days; for half a time, half a year, or half a day; and ſo it is manifeſt, that theſe three years and a half, mount to months* ——— 42

4. Forty two months or three years and a half. *Rev.* 11.

*Fourthly, account theſe forty two months aforeſaid (which the Beaſt had Power to make,* Apoc. 11.) *by Sabbath of years; that is, ſeven years for a month, or every month for ſeven years, and it amounteth to the ſum of years* ——— 294

And ſo have ye the juſt years, days, times, and months of theſe foreſaid Perſecutions under the Beaſt, neither ſhorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of *John Baptiſt* under *Herod* the *Roman* King, to the end of *Maxentius*, and of *Licinius*, the two laſt great Perſecutors, the one in the *Weſt*, the other in the *Eaſt*: who were both vanquiſhed by godly *Conſtantinus*. And ſo peace was given to the Church, albeit not in ſuch ample wiſe, but that divers Tumults and Troubles afterward inſued, yet they laſted not long: and the chief brunt, to ſpeak of theſe *Roman* Perſecutions which the Holy Ghoſt eſpecially conſidered above all other in this his *Revelation* thus ended in the time of *Conſtantinus*. Then was the great Dragon the Devil, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious perſecuting, tied ſhort for a thouſand years after this, ſo that he could not prevail in any ſuch ſort; but that the Power and Glory of the Goſpel by little and little increaſing and ſpreading with great joy and liberty, ſo prevailed that at length it got the upper hand and repleniſhed the whole Earth, rightly verifying therein the water of *Ezechiel*, which iſſuing out of the right ſide of the Altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it repleniſhed the whole Ocean Sea, and healed all the Fiſhes therein. No otherwiſe the courſe of the Goſpel proceeding of ſmall and hard beginnings, kept ſtill his ſtream: the more it was ſtopped, the ſwifter it ran: by blood it ſeeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it ſprung: till at laſt out of Thraldom and Oppreſſion ſo braſt forth into perfect liberty, and flouriſhed in all Proſperity: had it ſo been that the *Chriſtians* wiſely and moderately could have uſed this liberty, and not abuſed the ſame, forgetting their former Eſtate to their own pride, pomp, and worldly eaſe, as it came afterward to paſs: whereof more is to be ſeen and ſaid (the Lord willing) in place and time convenient. *Ezech.* 47.

And thus much touching the prophetical numbers in the *Apocalyps*. Wherein is to be noted, and magnified, the eternal Wiſdom and high Providence of Almighty God, ſo diſpoſing and governing his Church, that no adverſity or perturbation happeneth at any time to it, which his provident wiſdom doth not fore-ſee before, and preordain; neither doth he preordain or determine any thing, which he doth not moſt truly perform, both fore-ſeeing the beginning of ſuch perſecutions, and limiting the end thereof, how long to continue, and when to ceaſe. In much like ſort we read in the Books of *Geneſis*, how the ſtock of *Iſrael* was four hundred years in the Land of *Egypt*. During the ſpace of which four hundred years, after the death of *Joſeph* (who beareth a plain figure of Chriſt) they were hardly intreated, and cruelly afflicted of the *Egyptians*, about the ſpace of three hundred years, reckoning from after the death of *Joſeph*, to their deliverance out of the bondage of *Egypt*: ſemblably as theſe *Chriſtians*, after Chriſts time ſuffered the like bondage under the *Roman* Tyrants. The perſecuted *Iſraelites* bearing a figure of the perſecuted Church of Chriſt.

Thus much by the way I thought to inſinuate, leſt any ſhould muſe or take any offence in himſelf to ſee or read of the Church ſo long and ſo many years, to be under ſo miſerable and extream Afflictions: wherein neither chance nor fortune, nor diſpoſition of man, hath had any place, but only the fore-counſel and determination of the Lord ſo governed and diſpoſed the ſame: who not only did ſuffer them to fall, and foreſaw thoſe Perſecutions before they fell, but alſo appointed the times and years how long they ſhould laſt, and when they ſhould have an end, as by the foreſaid forty two months in the thirteenth and eleventh Chapters of St. *Johns Apocalyps* hath been declared. Which months, containing two hundred ninety and four years, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time between the firſt year of the Perſecution of Chriſt under the *Jews* and *Herod*, till the laſt year of Perſecution under *Licinius*; which was from the Nativity of Chriſt, in the year of our Lord three hundred twenty and four: from the firſt Perſecution of Chriſt, in the year of our Lord, two hundred ninety and four, as is aforeſaid. After the which year according to the preordinate Council of God, when his ſeverity had been ſufficiently declared upon his own houſe, it pleaſed him to ſhew mercy again, and to bind up Satan the old Serpent, according to the twentieth Chapter of the *Revelation*, for the ſpace of a thouſand years; that is, from this time of *Licinius*, to the time of *John Wickliffe* and *John Huſſe*. During all which time, albeit certain Conflicts and Tumults have been among *Chriſtian* Biſhops themſelves in the Church: yet no univerſal murthering Perſecution was ſtirring before the Preaching of *John Wickliffe*, of *Huſſe*, and ſuch others, as in the further proceſs of this Hiſtory (Chriſt willing and aiding us) ſhall more appear hereafter. From the firſt Perſecution of the Primitive Church to the laſt Perſecution two hundred ninety and four years. Univerſal Perſecution ceaſeth for one thouſand years in the Church. *Apoc.* 10. From the time of *Licinius* to *Wickliffe* one thouſand years. Satan bound up for a thouſand years. The time of Satans binding opened.

Thus having at large diſcourſed theſe horrible Perſecutions paſt, and heavy Afflictions of Chriſtian Martyrs

now by the Grace of God, coming out of this Red-Sea of bloody Perſecution, leaving *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt behind: let us ſing glorioufly to the worthy Name of our God, who through the blood of the Lamb after long and tedious Afflictions, at length hath viſited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan ſhort, hath ſent his meek *Moſes* (gentle *Conſtantine* I mean) by whom it hath ſo pleaſed the Lord to work Deliverance to his Captive people, to ſet his Servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnifie the Church of his Son, to deſtroy the Idols of all the World, to grant life and liberty (and would God alſo not ſo much riches) unto them which before were the the abjects of all the World, and all by the means of godly *Conſtantinus*, the meek and moſt *Chriſtian* Emperor, of whoſe divine Victories, againſt ſo many Tyrants and Emperors, Perſecutors of Chriſts people, and laſtly, againſt *Licinius*, in the year of our Lord, three hundred twenty and four, of whoſe other noble Acts and Proweſſes, of whoſe bleſſed Vertues and his happy Birth and Progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaining (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

*Doulogia.* This *Conſtantine* was the Son of *Conſtantius* the Emperor, a good and vertuous Child of a good and vertuous Father; born in *Britany* (as ſaith *Eutropius*) whoſe Mother was named *Helena*, Daughter indeed of King *Coilus*: although *Ambroſius* in his Funeral Oration of the death of *Theodoſius* ſaith, ſhe was an Inholders Daughter. The good qualities of *Conſtantinus* He was a moſt bountiful and gracious Prince, having a deſire to nouriſh Learning and good Arts, and did oftentimes uſe to read, write, and ſtudy himſelf: He had marvelous good ſucceſs and proſperous atchieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) ſuppoſed to proceed of this, for that he was ſo great a Favourer of the Chriſtian Faith. The cauſe of all his proſperous Succeſs. Which Faith when he had once embraced, he did ever after moſt devoutly and religiouſly reverence, and command by ſpecial Commiſſion and Proclamation, that every man ſhould profeſs the ſame Religion throughout all the *Roman* Monarchy. *Conſtantine* ſometimes by means of his wife was an Idolator. The worſhipping of Idols, (whereunto he was addict by the allurement of *Fauſta* his wife, inſomuch that he did ſacrifice to them) after the diſcomfiture of *Maxentius* in battel, he utterly abjured: but his Baptiſm he deferred even unto his old age, becauſe he had determined a journey into *Perſia*, and thought in *Jordan* to have been baptized, *Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.* *Euſeb. lib. 4. De vita Conſtantini.*

As touching his natural diſpoſition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good Philoſopher, and in diſputation ſharp and ingenious. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that an Emperor ought to refuſe no labour for the utility of the Common-weal; yea, and to adventure the mangling of his body for the remedy thereof; but if otherwiſe it may be holden, to cheriſh the ſame. This do *Aurelius*, *Victor*, *Pomponius Letus*, and *Ignatius* write of him. And *Aelius Lampridius* ſaith, writing upon the life of *Heliogabalus*; that *Conſtantinus* was wont to ſay, *That an Empire was given by the determinate purpoſe of God, that he to whom it was given, ſhould ſo imploy his diligence, as he might be thought worthy of the ſame at the hands of the Giver*; which ſame ſaying alſo *Auguſtine* noteth in his third Book againſt *Creſconius*, *Epiſt.* 49. & 50. *Auguſt. contra Creſcon. Epiſt. 49. 50.*

The common ſaying of *Conſtantinus.*

He firſt entred into the Empire by the mercifulneſs of God, minding after long waves of doleful Perſecution to reſtore unto his Church peace and tranquility, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eleven, as *Euſebius* accounteth in his Chronicle. His Reign continued, as *Eutropius* affirmeth, thirty years, *Letus* ſaith thirty and two years, lacking two months. Great peace and tranquility injoyed the Church under the Reign of this good Emperor, which took great pain and travel for the Preſervation thereof. The effect of ſome of his Conſtitutions. Firſt, yea, and that before he had ſubdued *Licinius*, he ſet forth many Edicts for the reſtitution of the goods of the Church, for the revoking of the *Chriſtians* out of exile, for taking away the diſſention of the Doctors out of the Church, for the ſetting of them free from publick Charges, and ſuch like, even as the Copy of his Conſtitutions here under declareth, which *Euſebius* in his tenth Book and fifth Chapter repeateth in this wiſe.

The Reign of *Conſtantinus.*

## The Copy of an Epiſtle of *Conſtantinus*, ſent to his Subjects inhabiting in the *Eaſt*.

*Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

VIctor Conſtantinus Maximus Auguſtus, *to our loving Subjects inhabiting throughout the* Eaſt *parts, ſendeth greeting. The thing it ſelf, which in the ſure and moſt firm law of Nature is contained, doth give unto all men (even as God hath ordained the ſame) ſufficient perceivance and underſtanding, both of ſuch things as man ought to fore-ſee, as alſo what things preſently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted of ſuch as have their minds directed to the ſcope or mark of perfect underſtanding: ſo that the perfect comprehending of ſound reaſon, and the perceivance thereof be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherefore let no wiſe man be troubled, although he ſees divers men of divers diſpoſitions: for Wiſdom which ſpringeth of vertue, cannot abide or acquaint her ſelf with fond Idiots, unleſs that (on the other ſide) the malice of perverſe filthineſs prolong her days, and cauſe the ſame Idioty to ſurvive. Wherefore ſurely the crown and price of vertue lieth open unto all men, and the moſt mighty God ordereth the judgment of the ſame. I undoubtedly (as manifeſtly as poſſible is) will indeavour my ſelf to teſtifie and confeſs unto you all the hope which is in me. I think verily that the Emperors which before this time have lately been, even for their tyranny had the Empire taken from them: and my Father only exerciſing and uſing all meekneſs and lenity in his affairs, calling upon God the Father with great devotion and humility, hath been exalted to the ſame: and all the reſt, as men wanting their wits, and in compariſon as ſavage Beaſts, gather did give themſelves to like cruelty, than to any lenity and gentleneſs towards their Subjects: in which tyranny every one for his time being nuzzelled, utterly ſubverted the true and unfallible Doctrine; and ſo great malice was there kindled in their breaſts, that when all things were in peaceable tranquility, they made and raiſed moſt cruel and bloody inteſtine or civil Wars. It is credibly informed us, that in thoſe days* Apollo *gave Anſwers, but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certain Cave and dark place (ſaying)* That he was much diſquieted by thoſe that were the juſt men and livers upon the earth; ſo that he could or would not for them declare the truth of ſuch things as others demanded. *And hereby it came to paſs, that ſuch falſe Divinations were given from the Golden Tables in* Apollos *Temple. And this thing did his Prophetical Prieſt complain of, when he took up again the hair of his head, that other had contemptuouſly caſt down; and ſaid,* That the neglecting of his divination was the cauſe of ſo many evils amongſt men. *But let us ſee what was the end hereof. We now boldly, and without fear, invocate and worſhip the Omnipotent God. When I was a Child, I heard, that he which then was chief Emperor of* Rome, *unhappy, yea, moſt unhappy man, being ſeduced and brought into error by his Souldiers, curiouſly inquired who were thoſe juſt men upon the earth that* Apollo *meant? And one of his Prieſts which was near about him, made anſwer,* That they were the Chriſtians. *This anſwer unto him being as delectable as honey unto the mouth, drew the Sword (given unto him to be a Revenger of evil Doers and Malefactors) againſt the Profeſſors of the irreprehenſible Sanctimony and Religion; and ſtraightway he gave forth a Commiſſion (to bloody Homicides, as I may well call them) and gave Commandment to all the Judges that they ſhould indeavour themſelves with all the cunning they had, to the deviſing of more grievous and ſharper Puniſhments againſt the poor Chriſtians. Then, then I ſay, a man might have ſeen how greatly the honeſt Profeſſors of that Religion were moleſted with cruelty, and daily ſuffered no ſmall Injuries and Contumelies, and that alſo they ſuffered and ſuſtained the ſame with ſuch temperance, as though they had had no Injuries at all done unto them. Which temperance and patience of theirs was the cauſe why the furious Citizens were the more mad and raging againſt them. What Fires, what Tortures, what kind of Torments were there, but they without reſpect either of Age or Sex were inforced to feel them?*

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Lithe the nurſe of Ignorance, and Ignorance the enemy to Wiſdom.

Tyranny deſerveth Emperors.

Bloody Tyrants make civil Wars.

*Apollo* gave anſwer out of a Cave in the ground, that he was diſquieted by the *Chriſtians.*

The Sword given to be avenged upon Malefactors.

A great commendation of the *Chriſtians.*

*Then did the Earth, without doubt, her ſelf bewail her Children, and the round World which containeth all things, being ſprinkled and imbrued with their blood, made doleful lamen-*

The Earth bewailed the Martyrs death.

*lamentation for them, and the day it ſelf provoked to mourn, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpoſe? Now the very barbarous Nations rejoyce for their ſakes which received and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from us, keeping them, as it were, in moſt loving and amiable Captivity: and they ſaved not only their lives, but alſo were a defence for their Religion. And now alſo the* Roman *Nation remembreth and hath before their eyes this blame and ſpot, which the* Chriſtians *that were of that time worthily gave unto them, when they by them were baniſhed (as unfit members of that Common-wealth) amongſt the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearſal of the mourning lamentation, which the Heathen people themſelves throughout all the world made for the pitiful murther and ſlaughter of them? After this it came to paſs, that they which were Authors of all theſe miſchiefs died alſo, and were committed for their reward to the moſt filthy and horrible dungeon of Hell. They being ſo intangled with inteſtine and civil Wars, left alive neither Name nor Kinſmen for their own, which thing undoubtedly had not chanced unleſs the wicked Divinations of* Apollo's *Oracles had deceived and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I pray: Oh moſt mighty God, that thou wilt vouchſafe to be merciful, and pardon all the* Eaſt *Parts and Inhabitants of the ſame, being oppreſſed with Calamity: and that by me thy Servant thou wilt of thy goodneſs help and relieve the ſame. And theſe things rashly crave I not at thy hands, O Lord, moſt mighty and holieſt God of all. For I being perſwaded by the only Oracles, have both begun and alſo finiſhed wholſome and profitable things: and further, by the bearing and ſhewing of thine Enſign, have overcome a mighty and ſtrong Hoſt; and when any neceſſity of the Common-weal (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto (following thoſe ſigns and tokens of thy Vertues) I boldly go forth and fight againſt mine Enemies: and for this cauſe have I ſacrificed my Soul unto thee, purified and cleanſed both with thy love and fear. Yea truly, thy Name do I ſincerely love, and thy Power do I reverence, which by many Tokens and Wonders haſt ſhewed and confirmed thereby my Belief and Faith. Therefore will I do my endeavour, and bend my ſelf thereunto, that I may re-edifie thy moſt holy Houſe, which thoſe wicked and ungodly Emperors have with ſo great ruine laid waſte; thy people do I deſire to bring and eſtabliſh in firm peace and tranquility, and that for the publick utility of all the Inhabitants of the Earth. Thoſe which yet err, and are out of the way, enjoy the benefit of peace and quietneſs, with and amongſt the number of the faithful ſort: for I truſt the reſtitution of the like ſociety and participation may be a means to bring them alſo that err into the perfect way of verity. Let no man therefore be grievous one unto another, but what every man thinketh beſt, that let him do: for ſuch as are wiſe, ought throughly to be perſwaded, that they only mean to live holily, and as they ſhould do, whom the Spirit of God moveth to take their delight and recreation in reading his holy Will: and if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleaving to the Synagogues of falſe Doctrine, they may at their own peril. As for us, we have the moſt worthy Houſe or Congregation of Gods verity, which he according to his own goodneſs and nature hath given us. And this alſo we wiſh unto them, that with like participation and common conſent, they may feel with us the ſame delectation of mind. For this our Religion is neither new, nor newly invented, but it is as old as we believe the Creation of the World to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with ſuch Worſhip as both ſeemed and pleaſed him: but all living men are lyars, and are deceived with divers and ſundry Illuſions. Thou, O God, for Chriſt thy Sons ſake, ſuffer not this wickedneſs again to root: thou haſt ſet up a clear burning light, that thereby as many as thou haſt choſen may come unto thee, theſe thy Miracles approve the ſame. It is thy Power that keepeth us in innocency and fidelity. The Sun and the Moon run their appointed courſe. Neither yet in ranging-wiſe wander the Stars to what place of the World they liſt themſelves. The days, years, months, and times keep their appointed turns. The Earth abideth firm and unmoveable at thy Word: and the Wind at the time (by thee directed) ſtormeth and bloweth. The ſtreaming watry Floods ebb in time according as they flow. The raging Sea abideth within her bounded limits: and for that the Ocean Sea ſtretcheth out her ſelf in equal length and breadth with the whole Earth, this muſt be wrought with ſome marvelous Workmanſhip of thine own hand. Which thing, unleſs it were at thy Will made and diſpoſed: without all doubt ſo great difference and partition between, would ere this time have brought utter ruine and deſtruction both to the life of man, and to all that belongeth to man beſide. Which for that they have ſuch great and huge Conflicts amongſt themſelves, as alſo the inviſible Spirits have; we give thee thanks, O Lord moſt mighty, God of all gods, that all Mankind hath not been deſtroyed thereby. Surely even as greatly as thy benignity and gentleneſs is manifeſted by divers and ſundry Benefits beſtowed upon us, ſo much alſo is the ſame ſet forth and declared in the Diſcipline of thy eternal Word, to thoſe that be heavenly wiſe, and apply themſelves to the attainment of ſincere and true Vertue. But if any ſuch there be that little regard, or have but ſmall reſpect unto the conſideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the ſame: for that Phyſick whereby Health is obtained, is manifeſtly offered unto all men. Now therefore let no man go about to ſubvert that, which experience it ſelf doth ſhew (of neceſſity) to be pure and good. Let us therefore altogether uſe the participation of this Benefit beſtowed upon us; that is to ſay, the Benefit of Peace and Tranquility, ſetting apart all Controverſie. And let no man hurt, or be prejudicial to his Fellow for that thing wherein he thinketh himſelf to have done well. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, he thinketh he may profit his Neighbour, let him do the ſame; if not, let him give over and remit it till another time: for there is a great diverſity betwixt the willing and voluntary imbracing of Religion, and that when a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of theſe things have I made a more large Diſcourſe, than indeed the ſcope of mediocrity requireth; eſpecially becauſe I would not have my Faith (touching the verity) to be hid; for that I hear there be ſome which complain that the old accuſtomed haunting of their Temples, and that the power of ſuch Darkneſs is cut off and taken away. Which thing ſurely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent Rebellion of flagitious Error were ſo fixed in many mens hearts, whereby they thirſt after the utter ſubverſion of the Common-weal and Empire.*

The authors of all miſchief puniſhed.

Apollo's lying Oracles the cauſe of ſo many Martyrs death.

Conſtantinus Prayer.

Conſtantinus Faith confirmed by the miracles of the croſs.

The clemency of a good Emperor.

A good judgment.

One Religion from the beginning of the world.

The Prayers of Conſtantine was fulfilled.

Each thing in their creation preach the very and true God.

The earth ſtaled up by the power of God.

Who they be that Conſtantine accounteth wiſe indeed.

Experience a trial of the truth.

Conſtantinus neither for fear diſſembleth his Faith, neither through policy defaceth Gods glory.

Such was the goodneſs of this Emperor *Conſtantinus*, or rather ſuch was the providence of Almighty God toward his Church in ſtirring him up, that all his care and ſtudy of mind was ſet upon nothing elſe, but only how to benefit and inlarge the commodities of the ſame. Neither was it to him enough to deliver the Church and people of God from outward vexation of forreign Tyrants and perſecutors. No leſs beneficial was his godly care alſo in quieting the inward diſſentions and diſturbance within the Church, among the *Chriſtian* Biſhops themſelves; according as we read of *Moſes* the deliverer of the *Iſraelites*, in agreeing the brethren together when he ſaw them at variance: *Exod.* 2. No leſs alſo did his vigilant ſtudy extend in erecting, reſtoring, and inriching the Churches of God in all Cities, and in providing for the Miniſters of the ſame. And therefore writing to *Anilinus* his cheif Captain, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertain to the Chuches of the *Chriſtians*, that he ſhould procure vigilantly for the ſame: that all ſuch goods, houſes, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, ſhould again be reſtored in all ſpeedy wiſe, and that he therein might be certified with ſpeed, &c.

Conſtantine compared to *Moſes* in delivering the people, and agreeing them together.

The letter of *Conſtantinus* to *Anilinus* his Captain.

Moreover, he writing to the ſaid *Anilinus* in another letter, ſignifieth unto him in this effect: that for ſo much as the contempt of God his reverend Religion, is and hath been ever the greateſt decay to the name and people of *Rome*, as contrarily the maintaining and reverencing the ſame hath ever brought proſperity to all Common weals: therefore he in conſideration thereof hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that Province where he hath to do, which was in *Africa* where *Cecilianus* was Biſhop, he ſhould there

Another letter of *Conſtantine* to *Anilinus*.

The contempt of Gods Religion chiefeſt decay of common weals.

ſee and provide that all ſuch Miniſters and Clerks, whoſe Vocation was to ſerve in the Church, ſhould be freed and exempted from all publick duties and burdens, whereby they being ſo priviledged, and all Impediments removed which ſhould hinder their divine miniſtration, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flouriſh, &c.

Another letter of *Conſtatine* to *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome.*

Furthermore the ſaid *Conſtantinus* in an other Letter writing to *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*, and to *Marcus*, declareth in his Letters to them how *Cecilianus* Biſhop of *Carthage* hath been accuſed unto him by divers of his Colleagues and fellow Biſhops. Wherefore his will is, that the ſaid *Cecilianus* with ten Biſhops his Accuſers, with ten other his Defendants ſhould repair up to him at *Rome*; where in the preſent aſſiſtance of the foreſaid *Miltiades*, *Rheticus*, *Maternus*, *Marinus*, and of other their fellow Colleagues, the cauſe of *Cecilianus* might be heard and rightly examined, ſo that all Schiſm and Diviſion might be cut off from among them, wherein the fervent deſire of *Conſtantinus* to peace and unity may well appear.

The fervent deſire of *Conſtantinus* to peace and unity.

The letter of *Conſtantine* to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſa.*

Upon the like cauſe and argument alſo, he writeth to *Chreſtus* Biſhop of *Syracuſa*; being ſo deſirous to nouriſh peace and concord in the Church, that he offereth to him, with his under Miniſters and three Servants, his free carriage to come up to him unto the Council of other Biſhops, for the agreeing of certain matters belonging to the Church.

He writeth alſo another Letter to the forenamed *Cecilianus* Biſhop of *Carthage.*

The edict of *Conſtantinus* to the rulers of the Province of *Paleſtine.*

To the Provinces likewiſe of *Paleſtina* and thoſe parts about, he directeth his Edict in the behalf of the *Chriſtians*, for the releaſing of ſuch as were in Captivity, and for the reſtoring again of them which had ſuſtained any loſs in the former Perſecution before, and for the refreſhing of ſuch as heretofore had been oppreſſed with any ignominy or moleſtation for their confeſſion ſake; declaring in the ſaid Edict how that this whole body, life and ſoul, and whatſoever is in him, he oweth to God and to the ſervice of him, &c.

The letter of *Conſtantine* to *Euſebius.* The Council of *Nice.* The effect of the letter of *Conſtantine* to *Alexander* and *Arrius.* *Ex Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib.* 2.

Moreover an other Letter he writeth to *Euſebius* for the edifying of new *Chriſtian* Churches, and reſtoring of them which had been waſted before by foreign Enemies. And after he had collected the Synod of *Nice* for the ſtudy of peace and unity of the Church, he writeth upon the ſame to *Alexander* and *Arrius.* In which his Letters he moſt lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to ſee and hear of their contention and diviſion, whereby the peace and common harmony of the Church was broken, the Synod provoked and reſiſted, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumſpect men, whoſe duty were rather to nouriſh concord, and to ſeek tranquility. And though in ſome ſmall points and light trifles they did diſagree from others; yet the example of Philoſophers might teach them, who although in ſome part of a ſentence or piece of a queſtion, ſome might diſſent from others, yet in the unity of their Profeſſion they did all joyn as fellows together. In like caſe were it their duty in ſuch fruitleſs queſtions (or rather pieces of queſtions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in ſilence unto themſelves, and not to bring them forth into publick Synods, to break therefore from the communion of the reverend Council: declaring moreover in the ſaid Epiſtle, the firſt origin and occaſion of this their contentious diſſention to riſe upon vain and trifling terms, vile cauſes and light queſtions, and pieces rather of queſtions; about ſuch matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be anſwered unto, being moved; more curious to be ſearched, and perilous to be expreſſed, than neceſſary to be enquired. *Magiſque puerilibus ineptiis, quam ſacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ convenientia*; as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all manner of means he doth labour them, doth intreat them, and perſwade them, not only with reaſons, but alſo with tears and ſighing ſobs, that they would reſtore peace again unto the Church, and quietneſs to the reſt of his life (which otherwiſe would not be ſweet unto him) and they would return again to the communion of the reverend Council; who in ſo doing ſhould open his way and purpoſed journey into the *Eaſt* parts: which otherwiſe hearing of their diſcord and diſſenſion, would be ſorry to ſee with his eyes that which grieveth him now to hear with his ears: with much more in the ſame Epiſtle contained, but *this is the effect of the whole, Euſebius, de vita Conſtant. lib.* 2. Thus much I thought ſummarily to comprehend, whereby the divine diſpoſition and ſingular gentle nature of this meek and religious *Conſtantine* might more notoriouſly appear to all Princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal and care they ought to bear toward the Church of Chriſt, and how gently to govern, and how to be beneficial to the ſame.

*Conſtantine* ſet forth a ſpectacle to all Princes to follow.

Many other Edicts and Epiſtles written to other places and parties, be expreſſed at large in the ſecond Book of *Euſebius*, *De vita Conſtantini*; wherein the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperor toward the Church of Chriſt may appear: whereof in a brief recapitulation ſuch Specialties we have collected as here followeth, and is to be ſeen in *Sozo. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8, 9.

A brief recapitulation of ſuch benefits as wrought by *Conſtantine* upon Chriſts Church.

Firſt, he commanded all them to be ſet free, whoſoever for the confeſſion of Chriſt had been condemned to baniſhment, or to the Mines of metal, or to any publick or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or ſhame among the multitude, he willed them to be diſcharged from all ſuch blemiſh of ignominy. Souldiers which before were deprived either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty either to ſerve again in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatſoever honour, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man, ſhould be reſtored to them again. The Goods and Poſſeſſions of them that had ſuffered death for Chriſt, howſoever they were alienated, ſhould return to their Heirs or next of Kin, or for lack of them ſhould be given to the Church. He commanded moreover that only *Chriſtians* ſhould bear Office; the other he charged and reſtrained, that neither they ſhould Sacrifice nor exerciſe any more Divinations and Ceremonies of the *Gentiles*, nor ſet up any Images, nor keep any Feaſts of the Heathen Idolators. He corrected moreover and aboliſhed all ſuch unlawful manners and unhoneſt uſages in the Cities as might be hurtful any ways to the Church; as the cuſtom that the *Egyptians* had in the flowing of *Nilus*, at what time the people uſed to run together like bruit Beaſts, both Men and Women, and with all kind of Filthineſs and Sodomitry to pollute their Cities in celebrating the increaſe of that River. This abomination *Conſtantine* extinguiſhed, cauſing that wicked Order called *Androgyne*, to be killed: by reaſon whereof the River afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increaſe in his flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, than it did before.

Where wickedneſs is punished, there goodneſs followeth.

Among the *Romans* was an old Law, that ſuch as were barren, having no fruit of Children, ſhould be amerced of half their Goods. Alſo, that ſuch as being above the years of twenty and five unmarried, ſhould not be numbred in the ſame Priviledges with them that were married, neither ſhould be Heirs to them, to whom notwithſtanding they were next in kin. Theſe Laws, becauſe they ſeemed unreaſonable (to puniſh the defect of Nature, or gift of Virginity by mans Law) he abrogated and took away. An other Order was among the *Romans*, that they which made their Wills being ſick, had certain preſcribed and conceived words appointed to them to uſe, which unleſs they followed, their Wills ſtood in no effect. This Law alſo *Conſtantine* repealed, permitting to every man in making his Teſtament to uſe what words or what Witneſſes he would. Likewiſe among the *Romans* he reſtrained and took away the cruel and bloody ſpectacles and fights, where men were wont with Swords one to kill another. Of the barbarous and filthy faſhion of the *Arethuſians* in *Phenicia*, I have mentioned before, where they uſed to expoſe and ſet forth their Virgins to open Fornication before they ſhould be married: which cuſtom alſo *Conſtantine* removed away. Where no Churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too little, he cauſed them to be enlarged, giving to the ſame, great Gifts and Revenues, not only of ſuch Tributes and Taxes coming to him from certain ſundry Cities, which he transferred unto the Churches, but alſo out of his own Treaſures. When any Biſhops required any Council to be had, he ſatisfied their Petitions; and what in their Councils and Synods they eſtabliſhed, being godly and honeſt, he was ready to confirm the ſame.

The liberality of *Conſtantine* in giving to Churches.

The

The armour of his Souldiers, which were newly come from gentility, he garniſhed with the arms of the Croſs, whereby they might learn the ſooner to forget their old ſuperſtitious Idolatry. Moreover, like a worthy Emperor he preſcribed a certain form of prayer, in ſtead of a *Catechiſm* for every man to have, and to learn how to pray and to invocate God. The which form of prayer is recited in the fourth Book of *Euſebius De vita Conſtantini*, in words as followeth:

*Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.* The form of prayer appointed of *Conſtantine* for his Souldiers.

*Te ſolum novimus Deum, te regem cognoſcimus, te adjutorem invocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum conſtituimus, tibi præſentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque ſperamus, tibi ſupplices ſumus omnes: imperatorem noſtrum* Conſtantinum, *ac pientiſſimos ejus filios, in longiſſima vita incolumes nobis ac victores cuſtodire ſupplices oramus, per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum: Amen.* In Engliſh.

The Souldiers Prayer.

We acknowledge thee only to be our God, we confeſs thee to be our King, we invocate and call upon thee our only Helper, by thee we obtain our Victories, by thee we vanquiſh and ſubdue our Enemies, to thee we attribute whatſoever preſent Commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we direct all our Suits and Petitions, moſt humbly beſeeching thee to conſerve *Conſtantine* our Emperor and his noble Children in long life to continue, and to give them Victory over all their Enemies, through Chriſt our Lord: Amen.

The Sunday appointed to be kept holy.

In his own Palace he ſet up an houſe peculiar for Prayer and Doctrine, uſing alſo to pray and ſing with his people. Alſo in his Wars he went not without his Tabernacle appointed for the ſame. The *Sunday* he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary Cauſes, from Markets, Marts, Fairs, and all other manual Labours, only Husbandry excepted: eſpecially charging that no Images or Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be ſet up.

Liberties and privileges granted to the Clergy.

Men of the Clergy and of the Miniſtery in all places he indued with ſpecial Priviledges and Immunities, ſo that if any were brought before the civil Magiſtrate, and liſted to appeal to the Sentence of his Biſhop, it ſhould be lawful for him ſo to do, and that the Sentence of the Biſhop ſhould ſtand in as great force as if the Magiſtrate or the Emperor himſelf had pronounced it.

¶ But here is to be obſerved and noted by the way, that the Clerks and Miniſters then newly creeping out of Perſecution, were in thoſe days neither in number ſo great, nor in order of life of the like diſpoſition to theſe in our days now living.

The proviſion and liberality of *Conſtantine* in maintaining Schools.

No leſs care and proviſion the ſaid *Conſtantinus* alſo had for the maintenance of Schools pertaining to the Church, and to the nouriſhing of good Arts and liberal Sciences, eſpecially of Divinity: not only with Stipends and Subſidies furniſhing them, but alſo with large Priviledges and Exemptions defending the ſame, as by the words of his own Law is to be ſeen and read as followeth, *Medicos, Grammaticos, & alios Profeſſores literarum, & Doctores legum, cum uxoribus & liberis, &c.* In Engliſh; Phyſicians, Grammarians, and other Profeſſors of liberal Arts, and Doctors of the Law, with their Wives and Children, and all other their Poſſeſſions which they have in Cities, we command to be freed from all civil Charges and Functions, neither to receive foreign ſtrangers in Provinces, nor to be burthened with any publick Adminiſtration, nor to be cited up to civil Judgment, nor to be drawn out or oppreſſed with any Injury. And if any man ſhall vex them, he ſhall incur ſuch puniſhment as the Judge at his diſcretion ſhall award him. Their Stipends moreover and Salaries we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely inſtruct others in Arts and Sciences, &c.

The priviledge granted by *Conſtantine* to Univerſities and Schools.

The provident care of *Conſtantine* to have the Scripture in Churches.

Over and beſides this, ſo far did his godly Zeal and Princely Care and Proviſion extend to the Church of Chriſt, that he commanded and provided Books and Volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remain in publick Churches to the uſe of Poſterity. Whereupon writing to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* in a ſpecial Letter (recorded in the fourth Book of *Euſeb. De vita Conſtant.*) he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty Volumes of Parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he ſhould cauſe to be written out of the Scripture in a fair legible hand, ſuch things as he thought neceſſary and profitable for the Inſtruction of the Church, and alloweth him for that buſineſs two publick Miniſters: he alſo writeth concerning the ſame to the General of his Army, to ſupport and further him with ſuch Neceſſaries, as thereunto ſhould appertain, &c.

*Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.*

¶ In viewing, peruſing, and writing this ſtory, and in conſidering the Chriſtian Zeal of this Emperor, I wiſh that either this our printing and plenty of Books had been in his days, or that this ſo heroical heart toward Chriſtian Religion, as was in this ſo excellent Monarch, might ſomething appear in inferior Princes reigning in theſe our printing-days, &c.

A wiſh of the author admonitory to Princes.

The liberality of *Conſtantine* towards the poor and needy.

The liberal hand of this Emperor born to do all men good, was no leſs alſo open and ready toward the needy Poverty of ſuch, which either by loſs of Parents or other occaſions were not able to help themſelves: to whom he commanded and provided due ſubvention both of Corn and Rayment to be miniſtred out of his own Coffers to the neceſſary relief of the poor Men, Women, Children, Orphans, and Widows, *Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib.* 4.

*Conſtantine* remitteth the fourth part of his rents and revenues.

Finally, among all the other Monuments of his ſingular Clemency and Munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the Empire of *Rome* and Provinces belonging to the ſame, not only he diminiſhed ſuch Taxes, Revenues and Impoſt, as publickly were coming to him, but alſo clearly remitted and releaſed to the Contributors the fourth part of the ſame.

Donation of *Conſtantine.*

This preſent place would require ſomething to be ſaid of the Donation of *Conſtantine*, whereupon as upon their chiefeſt Anchor-hold, the Biſhops of *Rome* do ground their ſupream Dominion and Right over all the political Government of the *Weſt* parts, and the Spiritual Government of all the other Sees and Parts of the World. Which donation to be falſely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from *Conſtantine*, many Arguments might here be inferred, if leiſure from other matters would ſuffer me.

Reaſons and arguments proving the donation of *Conſtantine* to be falſified.

1. Firſt, for that no ancient Hiſtory, nor yet Doctor, maketh any mention thereof.

2. *Nauclerus* reporteth it to be affirmed in the Hiſtory of *Iſidorus*. But in the old Copies of *Iſidorus* no ſuch thing is to be found.

3. *Gratianus* the Compiler of the Decrees, reciteth that Decree, not upon any ancient Authority, but only under the Title of *Palea*.

4. *Gelaſius* is ſaid to give ſome teſtimony thereof, in *Diſt.* 15. *Sancta Romana.* But that Clauſe of the ſaid diſtinction touching that matter in the old ancient Books is not extant.

5. *Otho Phryſingenſis*, who was about the time of *Gratian*, after he hath declared the Opinion of the Favourers of the Papacy, affirming this donation to be given of *Conſtantine* to *Silveſter* the Pope, inducеth conſequently the Opinion of them that favour the Empire, affirming the contrary.

6. How doth this agree, that *Conſtantine* did yield up to *Silveſter* all the Political Dominion over the *Weſt*, when as the ſaid *Conſtantine* at his death, dividing the Empire to his three Sons, gave the *Weſt* part of the Empire to one, the *Eaſt* part to the ſecond, the middle part to the third?

7. How is it like that *Theodoſius* after them, being a juſt and a religious Prince, would or could have occupied the City of *Rome*, if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the Pope, and ſo did many other Emperors after him?

8. The phraſe of this Decree, being conferred with the phraſe and ſtile of *Conſtantine* in his other Edicts and Letters above ſpecified, doth nothing agree.

9. Seeing the Papiſts themſelves confeſs that the Decree of this Donation was written in *Greek*, how agreeth that with truth, when as both it was written not to the *Grecians*, but to the *Romans*, and alſo *Conſtantine* himſelf for lack of the *Greek*-Tongue, was fain to uſe the *Latine*-Tongue in the Council of *Nice*?

10. The contents of this Donation (whoſoever was the Forger thereof) doth bewray it ſelf: for if it be true which there is confeſſed, that he was baptized at *Rome* of *Silveſter*, and the fourth day after his Baptiſm this Patrimony was given (which was before his battel againſt *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, in the year of our Lord three hundred and ſeventeen, as *Nicephorus* recordeth) how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the Donation, for him to have Juriſdiction given over the other four Principal Sees

*Euſ. Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.*

Sees of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Hieruſalem*? when as the City of *Conſtantinople* was not yet begun before the death of *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, and was not finiſhed before the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of *Conſtantine*, in the year of our Lord three hundred thirty and nine; or if it be true, as *Hierome* counteth, it was finiſhed the three and twentieth year of his Reign, which was the year our of Lord three hundred thirty and four, long after this donation by their own account.

11. Furthermore, where in the ſaid Conſtitution it is ſaid that *Conſtantine* was baptized at *Rome* of *Silveſter*; and thereby was purged of *Leproſie*; the Fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of Hiſtory, for ſo much as *Euſebius*, *lib.* 4. *de vita Conſtantini*, *Hieronymus in Chron.* *Ruffin. lib.* 2. *cap.*11. *Socrates*, *lib.* 1. *cap.*39. *Theod.lib.*1. *cap.* 31. *Sozomenus*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 34. do all together conſent that he was baptized not at *Rome*, but at *Nicomedia*; and that moreover, as by their teſtimony doth appear, not of *Silveſter*, but of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, not before his battel againſt *Maximinus* or *Licinius*, but in the thirty firſt year of his Reign, a little before his death.

12. Again, whereas *Conſtantine* in this donation appointed him to have the Principality over the other four Patriarchal Sees, that maketh *Conſtantine* contrary to himſelf; who in the Council of *Nice* afterward agreed with other Biſhops, that all the four Patriarchal Sees ſhould have equal Juriſdiction, every one over his own Territory and Precinct.

13. In ſum, briefly to conclude: who ſo deſireth more abundantly to be ſatisfied touching this matter, let him read the Books of *Marſilius Patavinus*, intituled, *Defenſor pacis*, in the year of our Lord, 1324. of *Laurentius Valla*, *Anno* 1440. of *Antoninus* Archbiſhop of *Florence*, who in his Hiſtory plainly denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old Books of the Decrees. Of *Cuſanus Cardinalis*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. writing to the Council of *Baſil*, *Anno* 1460. of *Aeneas Silvius In dialogo:* of *Hier. Paulus Cattalanus*, *Anno* 1496. of *Raphael Wolateranus*, *Anno* 1500. of *Lutherus*, *Anno* 1537. *&c.* All which, by many and evident probations, diſpute and prove this donation taken out of a Book, *De geſtis Silveſtri*, and tranſlated (as they fain) by one *Bartholomeus Picernus* out of *Greek* into *Latine*; not to proceed from *Conſtantinus*, but to be a thing untruely pretenſed, or rather a Fable imagined, or elſe to be the deed of *Pipinus* or *Charles*, or ſome ſuch other, if it were ever the deed of any.

Commendation of *Conſtantine* the Emperour.

And thus haſt thou, (beloved Reader) briefly collected the Narration of the noble Acts and heavenly Vertues of this moſt famus Emperor *Conſtantine* the great; a ſingular Spectacle for all *Chriſtian* Princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual Memory in all Congregations of *Chriſtian* Saints: whoſe fervent Zeal and Piety in general, to all Congregations and to all the Servants of Chriſt, was notable; but eſpecially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had ſuffered any thing for the Confeſſion of Chriſt in the Perſecutions before; them had he principally in price and veneration, inſomuch that he imbraced and kiſſed their Wounds and Stripes, and their Eyes, being put out. And if any ſuch Biſhops or any other Miniſters brought to him any Complaints one againſt another (as many times they did) he would take their Bills of Complaint and burn them before their faces; ſo ſtudious and zealous was his Mind to have them agree, whoſe diſcord was to him more grief than it was to themſelves. All the vertuous Acts and memorable Doings of this divine and renowned Emperor to comprehend or commit to Hiſtory, it were the matter alone of a great Volume: wherefore contented with theſe above premiſed, becauſe nothing of him can be ſaid enough, I ceaſe to diſcourſe of him any further.

*Conſtantine* kiſſed the wounds of them that ſuffered for Chriſt.

*Conſtantine* burneth the Bills of complaints, and breaketh ſtrife among the Biſhops.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the way of a note) I thought good to admoniſh the learned Reader, ſuch as love to be converſant in reading of ancient Authors; that in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, where in the lower end of the Book is added a certain Oration, *Ad conventum Sanctorum*, under the name of *Euſebius Pamphilius*, here is to be underſtood, that the ſaid Oration is wrongfully intituled upon the name of *Euſebius*, which in very truth is the Oration of *Conſtantinus* himſelf. For the probation whereof, (beſide the ſtile and matter therein contained, and tractation heroical lively declaring the religious vein of *Conſtantine*) I alledge the very teſtimony of *Euſebius* himſelf in his fourth Book *De vita Conſtantini*, where he in expreſs words not only declareth that *Conſtantine* wrote ſuch an Oration, intituled, *Ad conventum Sanctorum*, but alſo promiſeth in the end of his Book, to annex the ſame: declaring moreover what difficulty the Interpreters had to tranſlate the ſame from the *Roman* Speech, to their *Grecian* Tongue, *Euſeb. de vita Conſtantini*, *lib.*4. *pag.*211.

Note, that the oration *Ad conventum* is wrongly aſcribed to *Euſebius*, which indeed is the oration of *Conſtantine*.

And here an end of theſe lamentable and doleful Perſecutions of the Primitive Church, during the ſpace of three hundred years from the Paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt, till the coming of this *Conſtantinus*; by whom as by the elect Inſtrument of God, it hath ſo pleaſed his Almighty Majeſty, by his determinate purpoſe, to give reſt after long trouble to his Church, according to that Saint *Cyprian* declareth before to be revealed of God unto his Church: that after darkneſs and ſtormy tempeſt, ſhould come peaceable, calm, and ſtable quietneſs to his Church, meaning this time of *Conſtantine* now preſent. At which time it ſo pleaſed the Almighty, that the murthering malice of Satan ſhould at length be reſtrained, and himſelf tied up for a thouſand years, through his great mercy in Chriſt, to whom therefore be Thanks and Praiſe now and for ever. *Amen.*

Satan bound up for a thouſand years.

## The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

# THE SECOND BOOK,

## CONTAINING

The next Three hundred Years following, with ſuch things ſpecially touched as have happened in *England*, from the time of King *Lucius*, to *Gregorius*, and ſo after to the time of King *Egbert*.

BY theſe Perſecutions hitherto in the Book before precedent thou mayeſt underſtand (Chriſtian Reader) how the fury of Satan and rage of men have done what they could to extinguiſh the Name and Religion of Chriſt: for what thing did lack that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of Hell could deviſe, all was to the uttermoſt attempted. And yet all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wiſdom of the world and ſtrength of men, doing, deviſing, practiſing what they could; notwithſtanding the Religion of Chriſt (as thou ſeeſt) hath had the upper hand: which thing I wiſh thee greatly (gentle Reader) wiſely to note and diligently to ponder in conſidering theſe former Hiſtories. And becauſe thou canſt not conſider them, nor profit by them, unleſs thou do firſt read and peruſe them; let me crave therefore thus much at thine hands, to turn and read over the ſaid Hiſtories of thoſe Perſecutions above deſcribed, eſpecially above all the other Hiſtories of this preſent Volum, for thy eſpecial edification, which I truſt thou ſhalt find not unworthy the reading.

A Petition to the Reader diligently to read over the former Book of the Ten Perſecutions.

Now becauſe the tying up of Satan giveth to the Church ſome reſt, and to me ſome leiſure to addreſs my ſelf to the handling of other Stories, I mind therefore (Chriſt willing) in this preſent Book, leaving a while the tractation of theſe general affairs pertaining to the univerſal Church, to proſecute ſuch Domeſtical Hiſtories as more nearly concern this our Country of *England* and *Scotland* done here at home, beginning firſt with King *Lucius*, with whom the Faith firſt began here in this Realm, as the ſentence of ſome writers doth hold. And for ſo much as here may riſe, yea and doth riſe a great controverſie in theſe our Popiſh days, concerning the firſt origine and planting of the Faith in this our Realm, it ſhall not be greatly out of our purpoſe ſomewhat to ſtay and ſay of this queſtion, Whether the Church of *England* firſt received the Faith from *Rome* or not? The which although I grant ſo to be, yet being ſo granted, it little availeth the purpoſe of them which would ſo have it. For be it that *England* firſt received the Chriſtian Faith and Religion from *Rome*, both in the time of *Eleutherius* their Biſhop 180 years after Chriſt, and alſo in the time of *Auguſtine* whom *Gregory* ſent hither, 600 years after Chriſt, yet their purpoſe followeth not thereby, that we muſt therefore fetch our Religion from thence ſtill as from the chief well-head and fountain of all godlineſs. And yet as they are not able to prove the ſecond, ſo neither have I any cauſe to grant the firſt: that is, That our Chriſtian Faith was firſt derived from *Rome*, which I may prove by ſix or ſeven good conjectural reaſons. Whereof the firſt I take of the teſtimony of *Gildas* our Countryman, who in his Hiſtory affirmeth plainly, that *Britain* received the Goſpel in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, under whom Chriſt ſuffered. *Lib. de victoria Aurelii Ambroſii.* And ſaith moreover, that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, after diſperſion of the *Jews*, was ſent of *Philip* the Apoſtle from *France* to *Britain*, about the year of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time; and ſo with his fellows laid the firſt foundation of Chriſtian Faith among the *Britain* people, whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward, confirmed the ſame and increaſed it.

The firſt planting of Chriſtian Faith in *England*.

Queſtion.

Whether Chriſtian Religion in this Realm came firſt from *Rome*.

Anſwer.

1. *Gildas.*

The ſecond reaſon is out of *Tertullian*, who living near about, or rather ſomewhat before the time of this *Eleutherius*, in his Book *Contra Judæos*, manifeſtly importeth the ſame; where the ſaid *Tertullian* teſtifying how the Goſpel was diſperſed abroad by the ſound of the Apoſtles; and there reckoning up the *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Parthians*, and dwellers in *Meſopotamia*, *Jewry*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Aſia*, *Phrygia*, *Egypt*, *Pamphilia*, with many more, at length cometh to the Coaſt of the *Moorians*, and all the borders of *Spain*, with divers Nations of *France*; and there amongſt all other reciteth alſo the parts of *Britain*, which the *Romans* could never attain to, and reporteth the ſame now to be ſubject to Chriſt; as alſo reckoneth up the places of *Sarmatia*, of the *Danes*, the *Germans*, the *Scythians*, with many other *Provinces* and Iſles to him unknown; in all which places (ſaith he) reigneth the name of Chriſt, which now begunneth to be common. This hath *Tertullian*. Note here how among other divers believing Nations, he mentioneth alſo the wildeſt places of *Britain* to be of the ſame number, and theſe in his time were Chriſtened, who was in the ſame *Eleutherius* time, as is above ſaid. Then was not Pope *Eleutherius* the firſt which ſent the Chriſtian Faith into this Realm, but the Goſpel was here received before his time either by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, as ſome Chronicles record, or by ſome of the Apoſtles, or of their Scholars, which had been here preaching Chriſt before *Eleutherius* wrote to *Lucius*.

2. Ex Tertul. contra Judæos.

My third Probation I deduct out of *Origen*, *Hom.* 4. *in Ezechielem*, whoſe words be theſe, *Britanniam in Chriſtianam conſentire religionem*. Whereby it appeareth that the Faith of Chriſt was ſparſed here in *England* before the days of *Eleutherius*.

3. Ex Origene hom. 4. in Ezech.

For my fourth Probation I take the teſtimony of *Beda*, where he affirmeth, that in his time, and almoſt a thouſand years after Chriſt here in *Britain*, *Eaſter* was kept after the manner of the Eaſt Church, in the full of the Moon, what day in the week ſo ever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the firſt Preachers in this land have come out from the Eaſt part of the world, where it was ſo uſed, rather than from *Rome*.

4. Ex Bedâ.

Fifthly, I may alledg the words of *Nicephorus*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 40. where he ſaith that *Simon Zelotes* did ſpread the Goſpel of Chriſt to the Weſt Ocean, and brought the ſame unto the Iſles of *Britain*.

5. Ex Nicephi. lib. 2. c. 40.

Sixthly, may be here added alſo the words of *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, who writing to *Bernard*, affirmeth that the *Scots* in his time did celebrate their *Eaſter*, not after the *Roman* manner, but after the *Greeks*, &c. And as the ſaid *Britains* were not under the *Roman* order in the time of this Abbot of *Cluniack*; ſo neither were they nor would be under the *Roman* Legat, in the time of *Gregory*, nor would admit any primacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be above them.

6. Ex Pet. Cluniacenſi ad Bernardum.

For the ſeventh argument moreover I may make my Probation by the plain words of *Eleutherius*, by whoſe Epiſtle written to King *Lucius* we may underſtand that *Lucius* had received the Faith of Chriſt in this land, before the King ſent to *Eleutherius* for the *Romen* Laws; for ſo the expreſs words of the Letter do manifeſtly purport, as hereafter followeth to be ſeen. By all which conjectures it may ſtand probably to be thought that the *Britains* were taught firſt by the *Grecians* of the Eaſt Church, rather than by the *Romans*.

7. Ex Epiſt. Eleutherii ad Lucium.

Peradventure *Eleutherius* might help ſomething either to

to convert the King, or elſe to increaſe the faith then newly ſprung among the People, but that he preciſely was the firſt, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the moſt part of our *Engliſh* ſtories confeſs, neither will I greatly ſtick with them therein; yet what have they got thereby when they have caſt all their gain? in few words to conclude this matter, if ſo be that the Chriſtian Faith and Religion was firſt derived from *Rome* to this our Nation by *Eleutherius*, then let them but grant to us the ſame Faith and Religion which then was taught at *Rome*, and from thence derived hither by the ſaid *Eleutherius*, and we will deſire no more; for then neither was any Univerſal Pope above all Churches and Councils, which came not in before *Bonifacius* time, which was 400 years after; neither any name or uſe of the Maſs, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this Book following appeareth to be ſeen. Neither any ſacrifice Propitiatory for the ſowring of Purgatory was then offered upon hallowed Altars, but only the Communion frequented at Chriſtian Tables, where Oblations and Gifts were offered as well of the People as of the Prieſts to God, becauſe they ſhould appear neither empty nor unkind before the Lord, as we may underſtand by the time of *Cyprian*. Neither was then any Tranſubſtantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thouſand years after. Neither were then any Images of Saints departed ſet up in Churches; yea, a great number of the Saints worſhipped in this our time were not as yet born, nor the Churches wherein they were worſhipped were yet ſet up, but came in long after, eſpecially in the time of *Irene* and *Conſtans* the Emperor. Likewiſe neither Relicks nor Peregrinations were then in uſe. Prieſts Marriage was then as lawful (and no leſs received) as now; neither was it condemned before the days of *Hildebrand*, almoſt a thouſand years after that. Their ſervice was then in the vulgar tongue, as witneſſeth *Hierome*; the Sacraments miniſtred in both kinds as well to Lay-men as to Prieſts, the witneſs whereof is *Cyprian*. Yea and temporal men which would not then communicate at *Eaſter*, *Whitſontide*, and *Chriſtmaſs*, were not then counted for Catholicks, the Popes own diſtinction can teſtifie. In Funerals, Prieſts then flocked not together, ſelling Trentals and Diriges for ſweeping of Purgatory; but only a Funeral Concion was uſed, with Pſalms of praiſes and ſongs of their worthy deeds, and Hallelujah ſounding on high, which did ſhake the guilded Ceelings of the Temple, as witneſſeth *Nazianzen*, *Ambroſe*, with *Hierome*, *&c.*

What difference between the late Church of *Rome* and the old Church of *Rome*, and in what matters.

*De conſecr. diſt. 2.*

In the Supper of the Lord, and at Baptiſm, no ſuch Ceremonies were uſed, as now of late have been intruded: inſomuch that as in this Story is ſhewed hereafter; both *Auguſtine* and *Paulinus* baptiſed then in Rivers, not in hallowed Fonts, as witneſſeth *Fabianus*. The Portues of *Sarum*, of *York*, of *Bangor*, with Mattens and Evenſong of the day; again, neither the Orders and Religions of Monks and Friers were not yet dreamed of, to the ſpace almoſt of a thouſand years after, *&c.* So that, as I ſaid, if the *Papiſts* would needs derive the Faith and Religion of this Realm from *Rome*, then let them ſet us and leave us there where they had us; that is, let them ſuffer us to ſtand content with that Faith and Religion, which then was taught and brought from *Rome* by *Eleutherius* (as now we differ nothing from the ſame) and we will deſire no better. And if they will not, then let the wiſe Reader judge where the fault is, in us, or them, which neither themſelves will perſiſt in the Antiquity of the *Romiſh* Religion which they ſo much brag of, neither will they permit us ſo to do.

*Fabian. cap. 119 & 120.*

And thus much by the way to ſatisfie the foreſaid objection, whereby we may have now a more ready paſſage into the order and courſe of the Hiſtory. Being therefore granted unto them which they ſo earneſtly ſtick upon, that the Chriſtian Faith and Religion of this Realm was brought from *Rome*, firſt by *Eleutherius*, then afterward by *Auguſtine*; thus write the Chronicles of that matter.

*Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome.*

*Auguſtine* a The faith of Chriſt brought into this Realm.

About the time and year of the Lord 180. King *Lucius* ſon of *Coilus*, which builded *Colcheſter*, King of the *Britains*, who then were the Inhabiters and Poſſeſſors of this Land (which now we *Engliſh* men call *England*) hearing of the Miracles and Wonders done by the Chriſtians at that time in divers places (as *Monumetenſis* writeth) directed his Letters to *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, to receive of him the Chriſtian Faith; although about the computation of the year and time, great difference there is in Authors when this ſhould be. *Nauclerus* ſaith it was *Anno* 156. but that cannot be, for ſo much as *Eleutherius* was not yet Biſhop by the ſpace of twenty years after that. *Henricus de Erfordia* ſaith, it was *Anno* 169. in the nineteenth year of *Verus* Emperor; but that agreeth not with approved Hiſtories, which all conſent that *Verus* reigned not nineteen years; and if he had, yet that year cometh not to the year of our Lord 169. but to the year 181. Some others ſay, that *Eleutherius* was made Biſhop in the ſixth year of *Commodus*, which was the year of our Lord 180. but that ſeemeth to go too far, but let the Authors agree as they can. Let us return to *Eleutherius* the good Biſhop, who hearing the requeſt of this King, and glad to ſee the godly towardneſs of his well diſpoſed mind, ſendeth him certain Teachers and Preachers called *Fugatius*, or by ſome *Faganus*, and *Damianus*, or *Dimianus*, which converted firſt the King and People of *Britain*, and baptiſed them with the Baptiſm and Sacrament of Chriſts Faith. The Temples of Idolatry and all other Monuments of Gentility they ſubverted, converting the People from their divers and many Gods, to ſerve one living God. Thus true Religion with ſincere faith increaſing, Superſtition decayed, with all other Rites of Idolatry. There were then in *Britain* 28 Head Prieſts which they called *Flamines*, and three Archprieſts among them, which were called Arch-*Flamines*, having the overlight of their manners, and as Judges over the reſt. Theſe 28 *Flamines* they turned to 28 Biſhops, and the three Arch-*Flamines* to three Archbiſhops, having then their ſeats in three principal Cities of the Realm; that is, in *London*, in *York*, and in *Glamorgantia*, *Videlicet in urbe legionum*, by *Wales*. Thus the Countries of the whole Realm being divided every one under his own Biſhop, and all things ſetled in a good order; the foreſaid King *Lucius* ſent again to the ſaid *Eleutherius* for the *Roman* Laws, thereby likewiſe to be governed, as in Religion now they were framed accordingly; unto whom *Eleutherius* again writeth after the tenor of theſe words enſuing:

*Faganus. Damianus.*

Eight and twenty Biſhops within this Realm. Three archBiſhops.

## The Epiſtle of *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent to King *Lucius*.

*Ex veteſto codice regum antiquorum*

*Anno* 169. *a paſſione Chriſti ſcripſit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ, ad correctionem Regis & procerum Regni Britanniæ*, and ſo forth as followeth in *Engliſh*.

The Epiſtle of *Eleutherius* to King Lucius.

*Ye require of us the* Roman *Laws, and the Emperors to be ſent over to you, which you may practiſe and put in ure within your Realm. The* Roman *Laws and the Emperors we may ever reprove, but the Laws of God we may not. Ye have received of late through Gods mercy in the Realm of* Britanny, *the Law and Faith of Chriſt; ye have with you within the Realm, both the parts of the Scripture. Out of them by Gods grace, with the Council of your Realm take ye a Law, and by that Law (through Gods ſufferance) rule your Kingdom of* Britain. *For you be Gods Vicar in your Kingdom, according to the ſaying of the Pſalm,* Deus judicium tuum Regi da, &c. *that is,* O God give thy judgment to the King, and thy righteouſneſs to the Kings ſon, &c. *He ſaid not, the judgment and righteouſneſs of the Emperor, but thy judgment and juſtice; that is to ſay, of God. The Kings ſons be the Chriſtian people and folk of the Realm, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your Kingdom, as the Goſpel ſaith,* Like as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings, ſo doth the King his People. *The people and folk of the Realm of* Britain *be yours: whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the Faith and Law of Chriſt, and to the holy Church, to cheriſh and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from ſuch as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A King hath his name of ruling, and not of having a Realm. You ſhall be a King while you rule well; but if you do otherwiſe, the name of a King ſhall not remain with you, and you ſhall loſe it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you ſo to rule the Realm of* Britain, *that you may Reign with him for ever, whoſe Vicar you be in the Realm,*

The King Gods Vicar within his own Kingdom.

After

*Lucius firſt chriſtned of the Britains. Ex Monumetenſi & alib.*

After this manner (as you have heard) was the Chriſtian Faith either firſt brought in, or elſe confirmed in this Realm of *Britain* by the ſending of *Eleutherius*, not with any Croſs or Proceſſion, but only at the ſimple Preaching of *Fagan* and *Damian*, through whoſe Miniſtry this Realm and *Iſland* of *Britain* was eftſoons reduced to the Faith and Law of the Lord, according as was propheſied by *Iſaiah*, as well of that as other Iſlands more, where he ſaith, *Chap.* 42. *He ſhall not faint nor give over, till he hath ſet judgment in earth, and Iſlands ſhall wait for his Law*, &c. The Faith thus received of the *Britains* continued among them and flouriſhed the ſpace of 216 years, till the coming of the *Saxons*, who then were Pagans; wherefore more followeth hereafter to be ſaid, the Lord Chriſt aſſiſting thereunto. In the mean time ſomething to ſpeak of this ſpace before, which was betwixt the time of *Lucius*, and the firſt coming in of the *Saxons*: Firſt, it is to be underſtood that all this while as yet, the Emperors of *Rome* had not received the Faith, what time the Kings of *Britain* and the ſubjects thereof were converted now, as is ſaid, to Chriſt; for the which cauſe much trouble and perturbation was ſought againſt them, not only here in *Britain*, but through all parts of Chriſtendom by the Heathen Infidels. Inſomuch that in the Perſecution only of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*, reigning both together within one month, 17000 Martyrs are numbred to have ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, as hath been hitherto in the Book before ſufficiently diſcourſed.

Thus therefore, although the foreſaid *Lucius* the *Britain* King, through the merciful Providence of God was then Chriſtened, and the Goſpel received generally almoſt in all the land, yet the ſtate thereof, as well of the Religion as of the Commonwealth, could not be quiet, for that the Emperors and Nobles of *Rome* were Infidels, and enemies to the ſame; but eſpecially for this cauſe, it ſo happening that *Lucius* the Chriſtian King died without iſſue. For thereby ſuch trouble and variance fell among the *Britains* (as it happeneth in all other Realms, and namely in this Realm of *England*, whenſoever Succeſſion lacketh) that not only they brought upon them the Idolatrous *Romans*, and at length the *Saxons*, but alſo inwrapped themſelves in ſuch miſery and deſolation, as yet to this day amongſt them remaineth. Such a thing it is where a Prince or a King is in a Kingdom, there to lack Succeſſion, as eſpecially in this caſe may appear. For after the death of *Lucius*, when the Barons and Nobles of the land could not accord within themſelves upon Succeſſion of the Crown, the *Romans* ſtept in and got the Crown into their own hands, whereupon followed great miſery and ruin to the Realm. For ſometimes the Idolatrous *Romans*, ſometimes the *Britains* reigned and ruled as violence and victory would ſerve; one King murthering another, till at length the *Saxons* came and deprived them both, as in proceſs hereafter followeth to be ſeen.

*Henr. Hunting. lib. 1.* What incommodity cometh by lack of Succeſſion.

In the mean ſeaſon touching the ſtory of King *Lucius*, here is to be reproved the fable of ſome Writers falſly feigning of him that he ſhould after his Baptiſm received, put off all his Kingly honour, forſake the land, and be made a Preacher, who after long travel in Preaching and teaching in *France*, in *Germany*, in *Auguſta*, and in *Suevia*, at length was made Doctor and Rector of the Church of *Cureac*, where (as this Fable ſaith) he ſuffered Martyrdom. But this fancy of whomſoever it firſt did ſpring, diſagreeth from all our *Engliſh* Stories, who with a full conſent do for the moſt part concord in this, that the ſaid *Lucius* after he had founded many Churches, and given great riches and liberties to the ſame, deceaſed with great tranquillity in his own land, and was buried at *Glouceſter* the fourteenth year after his Baptiſm, as the Book of *Flores Hiſtoriarum* doth count, which was the year of our Lord, as he ſaith 101, and reckoneth his converſion to be in the year 87. In ſome I find his deceaſe to be the fourth, and in ſome the tenth year after his Baptiſm, and ſome hold that he reigned all the ſpace of 77 years. And thus much concerning King *Lucius*.

The deceaſe of King *Lucius*. *Ex Florilegio.*

Now to proceed in order of the ſtory, briefly to touch the ſtate of the foreſaid land of *Britain*, between the time of King *Lucius*, and the entring of the *Saxons*, who were the Kings thereof, and in what order they ſucceeded, or rather invaded one after another, this Catalogue here under written will ſpecifie.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kings of *Britain* from the time of *Lucius*, till the coming of the *Saxons*. | *Lucius*, | *Britain.* | *Ex Bede. Polychron. Monumetens. &c.* |
| | *Severus*, | *Roman.* | |
| | *Baſſianus*, | *Roman* by the Father. | |
| | *Ceraufius*, | *Britain.* | |
| | *Aletus*, | *Roman.* | |
| | *Aſclepiodotus*, | *Britain.* | |
| | *Coilus*, | *Britain.* | |
| | *Conſtantius*, | *Roman.* | |
| | *Conſtantinus*, | *Britain* by the Mother, named *Helena*, who being the daughter of *Coel*, and married to *Conſtantius*, father of *Conſtantinus*, is ſaid to make the walls firſt of *London*, alſo of *Colcheſter*, much about the year of our Lord 305, and born in *Britain*. | A |
| | *Octavius*, | *Gewiſſian.* | |
| | *Maximianus*, | *Roman* born, but his Mother a *Britain.* | |
| | *Gratianus*, | *Roman.* | *Anno Dom. 390. ſecund. Fab. Ked. Ann. 423. Fab. An. 448 Anno 448. Anno 464.* |
| | *Conſtantius*, | *Britain* by the Mother. | |
| | *Conſtans*, | *Roman* by the Father. | |
| | *Vortigernus*, | *Gewiſſian* or *Britain.* | |
| | *Vortimerus*, | *Britain.* | |
| | *Vortigernus*, | Again. | |

By this Table may appear a lamentable face of a Commonwealth ſo miſerably rent and divided into two ſorts of people, differing not ſo much in Country as in Religion; for when the *Romans* reigned, they were governed by the Infidels; when the *Britains* ruled, they were governed by Chriſtians. Thus what quietneſs was or could be in the Church in ſo unquiet and doubtful days, may eaſily be conſidered.

Albeit notwithſtanding all theſe foreſaid Heathen Rulers of the *Romans* which here governed, yet (God be praiſed) we read of no Perſecution during all theſe Ten Perſecutions above mentioned, that touched the Chriſtian *Britains*, before the laſt Perſecution only of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinus Herculeus*, which here then exerciſed much cruelty. This Perſecution, as it was the laſt among the *Roman* Chriſtians, ſo it was the firſt of many and divers that followed after in this Church and Realm of *England*; whereof we will hereafter Entreat (Chriſt willing) as order of the matter ſhall lead us. In the mean time this rage of *Diocleſian* as it was univerſally through all the Churches in the world, fierce and vehement, ſo in this Realm of *Britain* alſo it was ſo ſore, that as all our *Engliſh* Chronicles do teſtifie and record, all Chriſtianity almoſt in the whole land was deſtroyed, Churches were ſubverted, all Books of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithful, both men and women were ſlain. Among whom the firſt and chiefeſt was *Albanus*, then *Julius*, *Aaron*, and *Amphibalus*, of whom ſufficiently hath been ſaid before. What were the others, or how many they were that ſuffered beſides, Stories make no rehearſal. And thus much thereof.

The *Britains* never touched with any Perſecution before the time of *Diocleſian*.

Now as concerning the Government of theſe above-named Kings of *Britain*, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, yet this is not to be paſt over. Firſt, how in the order of theſe Kings cometh *Conſtantinus* the Great and worthy Emperor, who was not only a *Britain* born by his Mother *Helena*, being King *Coilus* daughter, but alſo by the help of the *Britains* Army (under the power of God) which the ſaid *Conſtantine* took with him out of *Britain* to *Rome*, obtained with great victory peace and tranquillity to the whole univerſal Church of Chriſt, having three Legions with him out of this Realm of choſen and able Souldiers, whereby the ſtrength of the land was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this Story followeth.

*Conſtantine the Great born and bred in Britain.*

The cauſe how this Realm of *Britain* was firſt weakned.

After him likewiſe *Maximian* following his ſteps, took with him alſo (as Stories record) all the power and

ſtrength

ſtrength which was left, and whatſoever he could make of able and fighting men to ſubdue *France*; beſides the Garriſons which he had out with him before, ſending for more to the number of an hundred thouſand Souldiers at once to be ſent to him out of *Britain* into *France*. At which time alſo *Conanus* his partner, being then in *France*, ſent over for Virgins from *Britain*, to the number of 11000, who with *Urſula*, the Prince *Dionets* daughter being ſhipped over, many periſhed in the Sea, ſome were taken of the Infidels marching upon the borders; with whom becauſe they would not be polluted, all were deſtroyed, being miſerably diſperſed (ſome one way, ſome another) ſo that none eſcaped.

*Britain ſpoiled of Souldiers, Urſula with 11000 Virgins.*

Thus poor *Britain* being left naked and deſtitute on every ſide, as a maimed body without might or ſtrength, was left open to his enemies, not able to ſuccour it ſelf without help of foreign friends; to whom they were then conſtrained to fly, eſpecially to the *Romans*, to whom the *Britains* ſent this word or meſſage, *Ætio ter conſuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut ſubmergimur.* But the *Romans* then began to forſake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppreſſed by *Gwanus* and *Melga*, had not *Gwetelinus* the Archbiſhop of *London* made over to leſſer *Britain*, and obtaining their help, had brought *Conſtantinus* the Kings brother to reſcue his Country againſt the Infidels. This *Conſtantinus* was brother to *Aldroenus*, King of little *Britain*, and father to *Conſtance*, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and *Uter*, who after reigned Kings in *Britain*.

*Gwetelinus* Archbiſhop of *London*. *Ex Chronico Monumetenſi.* Conſtantinus, Conſtans, Aurelius Ambroſius, Uter Pendragon. The *Saxons* ſent for to *Britain*.

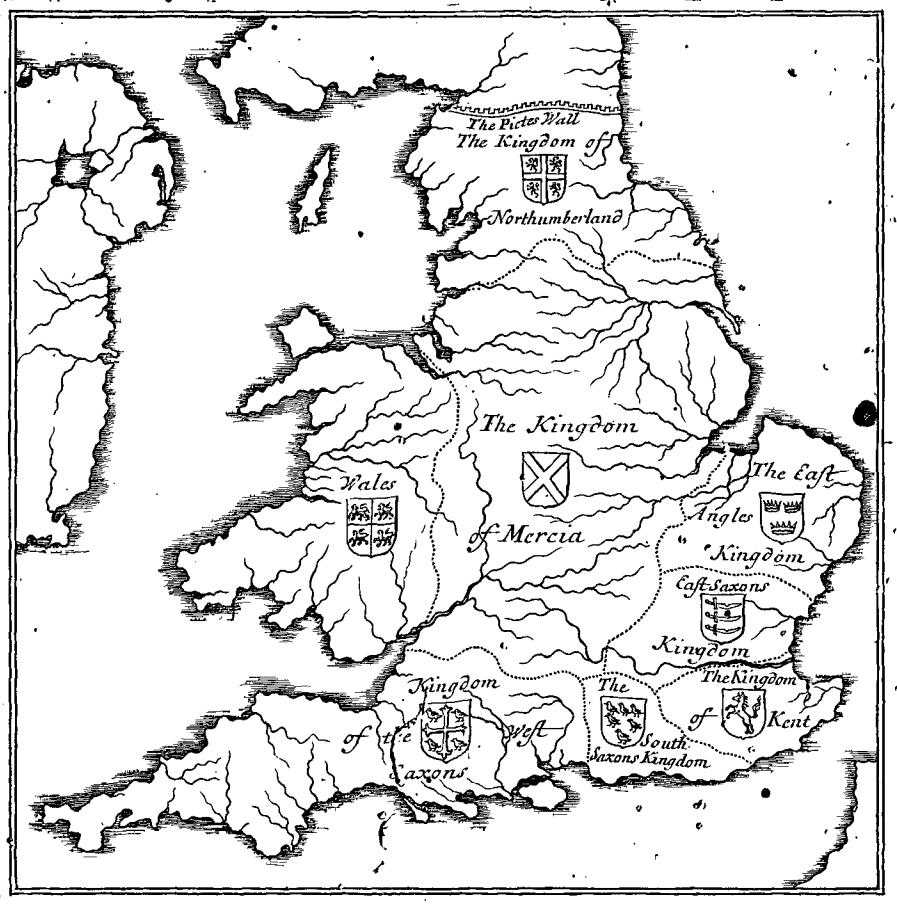
Thus by the means of the good Archbiſhop and *Conſtantinus*, the ſtate of the Religion and Realm of *Britain* was in ſome mean quiet and ſafety, during the time of the ſaid *Conſtantine*, and of the good Archbiſhop. But as the Realm of *Britain* almoſt from the beginning was never without Civil war, at length came wicked *Vortigerne*, who cruelly cauſing *Conſtance* his Prince to be murthered, ambitiouſly invaded the Crown; who then fearing the other two Brethren of *Conſtance*, which were *Aurelius* and *Uter*, being then in little *Britain*, did ſend over for the aid of the *Saxons*, being then Infidels; and not only that, but alſo married with an Infidel, the daughter of *Hengiſt*, called *Rowen*. Whereupon the ſaid *Vortigerne* not long after by the ſaid *Hengiſt* and the *Saxons* was with like treachery diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdom, and the people of *Britain* driven out of their Country, after that the *Saxons* had ſlain of their chief Nobles and Barons at one meeting (joyning together ſubtilty with cruelty) to the number of 271; ſome ſtories ſay 460. This wicked act of the *Saxons* was done at *Almesbury*, or at a place called *Stonehenge*. By the monument of which ſtones there hanging, it ſeemeth that the noble *Britains* there were buried.

*King Conſtans ſlain by Vortigerne. Hengeſt and Horſus captains of the Saxons.*

*A wicked murther of the Saxons.*

This fabulous ſtory of the *Welchmen*, of bringing theſe ſtones from *Ireland* by *Merlin*, I paſs over. Some Stories record that they were ſlain being laid to a Banquet. Others ſay that it was done at a talk or aſſembly, where the *Saxons* came with privy Knives contrary to promiſe made; with the which Knives they giving a privy watch-word in their *Saxon* ſpeech, *Neme your ſexes*, ſlew the *Britains* unarmed. And thus far concerning the Hiſtory of the *Britains*. As this great Plague could not come to the *Britains* without Gods permiſſion, ſo *Gildas* ſheweth in his Chronicle the cauſe thereof, writing thus, *Quod Britones propter avaritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem & injuſtitiam judicum, propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidiſſe*, &c.

## *Heptarchia Angliæ Saxonica:* Or, a Deſcription of *England*, as it was divided in the *Saxons* time into Seven Kingdoms.




The

## *The Entring and Reigning of the* Saxons *in the Realm of* England,

*Aurelius and Uter, ſons to Conſtantinus.*

THIS was the coming in firſt of the *Angles* or *Saxons* into this Realm, being yet Unchriſtened and Infidels, which was about the year of our Lord, as *William Malmsbury* teſtifieth, 469; the Captains of whom were *Hengiſtus* and *Horſus*. Although the ſaid *Hengiſt* and *Saxons* at their firſt coming, for all their ſubtil working, and cruel attempt, had no quiet ſetling in *Britain*, but were driven out divers times by the valiantneſs of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and his Brother *Uter* above mentioned, who reigned after that among the *Britains*; yet notwithſtanding they were not ſo driven out, but that they returned again, and at length poſſeſſed all, driving the *Britains* (ſuch as remained) into *Cambria*, which we call now *Wales*. *Hengiſtus* (as ſome Chronicles record) reigned three and forty years, and died in *Kent*. *Galfridus in ſuo Britannico* ſaith, that he was taken in War by *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and beheaded at *Coningsburgh*, after he had reigned nine and thirty years.

*Ex Galfrido Monumetenſi Britannico.*

After the death of *Hengiſt*, his Son *Oſca* reigned four and twenty years, leaving his Son *Octa*, to whoſe reign with his Son *Imenricus*, Hiſtories do attribute three and fifty years, who alſo were ſlain by *Uter Pendragon*. *Ex Polychr. lib. 5. cap. 4.* *Polychronicon. lib. 5. cap. 4.*

The *Saxons* after they were ſetled in the poſſeſſion of *England*, diſtributed the Realm among themſelves firſt in ſeven parts, every part to have his King; that is, the firſt to be the King of *Kent*; the ſecond to be King of *Suſſex* and *Southery*, holding his Palace at *Ciceſter*; the third King was of *Weſtſex*; the fourth King of *Eſſex*; the fifth King was of the *Eaſtangles*, that is, of *Cambridgeſhire*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; the ſixth King of *Merceland*, or *Mercia*, and in his Kingdom were contained the Countries of *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Derby*, *Warwick*, *&c.* the ſeventh King had all the Countries beyond *Humber*, and was called King of *Northumberland*. *Seven Kings ruling in England.*

Of the Seven Kingdoms, although they continued not long, but at length joyned all in one, coming all into the poſſeſſion and ſubjection of the *Weſtſaxons*; yet for the ſpace they continued (which was with continual trouble and wars among themſelves) this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be ſeen.

## A TABLE deſcribing the Seven Kingdoms of the *Saxons* reigning here in *ENGLAND*.

*IN the time of* Vortiger *above mentioned, began the Reign of the* Saxons *in this Land, the which coming out of three ſorts of the* German *people (to wit) the* Saxons, *the* Jutes *and* Angles, *repleniſhed the Land, of them called now* Anglia. *Of whom firſt* Hengiſtus *reigned in* Kent, *which Country of* Kent *he had obtained by* Rowen *his daughter, of King* Vortiger, *which was about the year of our Lord (as ſome do count)* 476, *or (as I find) in the computation of our* Engliſh *Tables* 456, *in ſome* 463. *After* Hengiſt *came in* Octha, *with* Eoſa, *or* Iſſe *his Kinſman; who afterward ſucceeded the ſaid* Hengiſt *in* Kent. *Not long after came in another company of the* Saxons, *with* Elle *their Captain, which planted themſelves in* Southſax. *And after them again another Garriſon of the* Saxons, *with* Cerdice *their Captain, which did occupy the Weſt part of the Land, called by them* Weſtſaxon. *And ſo likewiſe the other multitude of the* Saxons *after them, which as yet being Unchriſtened and Infidels, divided the whole Land among themſelves into Seven Kingdoms, as in this Table followeth.*

(456) *KENT.*

*The Kings of* Kent, *with the years how long they reigned.*

*The Kings of* Kent.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Hengiſtus* ſlain. | 31 |
| *Eoſa*, or *Iſſe*. | 24 |
| *Octha*, or *Octha*. | |
| *Emenricus*, or *Emericus*. | 26 |
| *Ethelbert*. the 1*ſt* of the *Saxon* Kings that received the Faith by *Auguſtin*, A. reg. 35. | 56 |
| *Edbaldus*. | 24 |
| *Ercombertus*. | 24 |
| *Egebertus*, or *Edbrieth*, ſlain. | 9 |
| *Lotharius*, ſlain. | 12 |
| *Eadrichus*. | 6 |
| *Nidredus*. *Wilhardus*. | 7 |
| *Withredus*. | 33 |
| *Egfert*, or *Egbert*. | 23 |
| *Ethelbert*. | 11 |
| *Alricus*. | 34 |
| *Eadbertus*, Sirnamed *Pren*. | 2 |
| *Cuthredus*. | 18 |
| *Baldredus*, expulſed. | 18 |

This *Ethelbert* firſt of all the *Saxons* received the Faith, and ſubdued all the other ſix Kings, except only the King of *Northumberland*.

*Ercombert* commanded *Lent* firſt to be faſted in his Dominion.

*Egebert* killed two Sons of his Uncle.

Unto the time of *Edrick* all the Biſhops of *Canterbu.* were *Italians*.

Some Chronicles do place theſe two, *Nidredus* and *Wilhardus* after *Edrick*, and give to them ſeven years, ſome again do omit them.

Between the reign of *Alrick* & *Cuthred*, ſome ſtories do inſert the reign of *Eadbert*, which reigned two years.

In the reign of this *Baldred*, the Kingdom of *Kent* was tranſlated to *Egbertus*, otherwiſe called *Egbrict*, King of the *Weſtſaxons*; who ſubduing the foreſaid *Baldred*, in the year 832, gave the ſaid Kingdom to *Athelſtan* his younger Son. After whoſe deceaſe it came to *Ethelwolf* the Elder Son of *Egbrict*, and ſo was united to the *Weſtſaxons*; who then began to be the Monarch of the whole land. This Kingdom began near about the year of our Lord 456, and continued 342 years, and had fifteen Kings.

(478) Southſax, *now called* Suſſex.

*The Kings of Suſſex.*

*The Kings of* Southſax, *with the years of their Reign.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Elle*, or *Alle*. | 31 |
| *Ciſſa*. | |
| *Nanceanleus*, or *Nancanleodus*. | |
| *Porth*. | |
| *Ethelwolfus*. | |
| *Redwallus*. | |
| *Condebertus*. | |
| *Ethelredus*, or *Ethereus*. | |

Of this *Ciſſa* came *Ciceſter*, which he builded, and where he reigned.

This *Nathanleod* ſeemeth by ſome old ſtories to be a *Britain*, and the chief Marſhal of King *Uter*, whom *Porth* the *Saxon* ſlew.

This *Porth* a *Saxon* came in at the Haven, which now is called of him *Porthmouth*.

Becauſe I find but little mention of theſe two, I think it rather like to be the ſame *Ethelwold*, or *Ethelwaldus*, which after followeth.

Of *Condebertus* & *Ethelred* I find no mention but in one table only, ſuppoſing therefore that the true names of theſe

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | were *Ercombertus*, and *Egebertus*, which were Kings of *Kent* the ſame time, and peradventure might then rule in *Suſſex*. |
| | *Adelwold*, or *Ethelwaldus* ſlain. | This *Adelwold* was the firſt King of *Suſſex* Chriſtened, and as *Fabian* ſaith, the fourth Kin. of the *Southſaxons*; as others ſay the ſeventh, ſo uncertain be the Hiſtories of this Kingdom. |
| | *Adelbrich*, or *Berethunus* ſlain. 5 | |
| | *Adhumus*. 15 | |

This Kingdom endured the ſhorteſt ſeaſon of all others, and ſoonеſt paſſed into other Kingdoms, in the days (as ſome write) of *Ine* King of *Weſtſax*, and ſo endured not above an 112 years under ſeven, or at moſt eleven Kings, beginning firſt in the year of the Lord 478, and about the thirtieth year of the firſt coming of the *Saxons*.

(522) *Weſtſax.* — *The Principal Kingdom of the* Weſtſaxons, *and of their Reigns.*

The Kings of *Weſtſax.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Cerdicus*, or *Credicus*. 17 | This Kingdom contained *Sommerſetſhire*, *Barkſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Cornwall*, &c. |
| *Kenricus*. 26 | |
| *Chelingus*. 30, 33 lib. cycl. | |
| *Celricus*, or *Ceolfricus*. 5 | |
| *Celwulfus*, or *Ceolulfus*. 14 | |
| *Kinigilſus*, and *Quicelinus*. 32 | This *Kinigilſus* was firſt King Chriſtened in that Province, converted by *Birinus*, after made Monk. |
| *Kinewalkins*. 31 | |
| *Sexburga*. 1 | |
| *Eſcwinus*, *Aſcwinus*, or *Elkwinus*. 2 | |
| *Centwinus* died at *Rome*. 7 | |
| *Cedwallus*. 3 | *Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there was Chriſtened, and died. |
| *Ina*, or *Iue*. 35 | *Ina* alſo went to *Rome*, and was made Monk. |
| *Edelardus*, or *Athelardus*. 14 | |
| *Cuthredus*, or *Cuthbert*. 16 | |
| *Sigebertus*, or *Sigherus*, ſlain. 1 | *Sigebert* for his pride and cruelty was depoſed of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faithful Counſel, giving him wholſome counſel; ſo after was he ſlain of the ſame Counſellers Swineherd, as he hid himſelf in a Wood. |
| *Kinulfus*, or *Kinewulfus*, ſlain. 31 | |
| *Brithricus*. 13 | |
| *Egbertus*, or *Egbrichtus*, otherwiſe *Athelbertus*, or *Athelbrich*, &c. 37 | This *Egbert* was firſt expelled by *Brithricus*, who after returned again and reigning, was much derided and ſcorned with mocking rimes (for a Coward) of *Bernulfus* K. of *Mercia*. At length the ſaid *Egbert* ſubdued him firſt, then all the reſt to his Kingdom: cauſing the whole land to be called no more *Britain*, but *Anglia*. Concerning the other Kings after him in that Lordſhip, hereafter followeth. |

This *Egbert* ſubdued all the other ſeven Kingdoms, and firſt began the Monarchy of all the *Saxons*, which after by *Alured* was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This Kingdom of the *Weſtſaxons* began the year of Grace 522; and as it ſubdued all the others, ſo it did the longeſt continue, till about the coming of *William* the Conqueror, which is about the time of 554 years.

(547) *Northumberland.* — *The Kings of* Northumberland, *with the years of their Reign.*

The Kings of *Northumberland.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ida*. 12 | This *Ida* of his Wife had ſix Children, *Adda*, *Elricus*, *Oſmerus*, *Theodledus*; of Concubines other ſix. |
| | After *Ida* the Kingdom of *Northumberland* was divided into two Provinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*. |
| *Alle* or *Elle*, Deirorum. 30 | This *Alle* was the Son of *Iſſe*, and reigned in *Deira*. |
| *Adda*, Bernicorum. 7 | Some Chronicles ſet under *Adda*, to reign in *Bernicia*, theſe Kings, *Glappa* or *Claſſa*, *Theonulfus*, or *Huſſa*, or *Theodwalnus*, *Frithulfus*, *Theodricus*. |
| *Alricus*, or *Alfricus* Deirorum. 5 | This *Alfricus* was the Son of *Ida*, and reigned five years. |
| *Ethelfridus* Bernicorum. | This *Ethelfridus* was he that ſlew the Monks of *Bangor*, to the number of 2200, which came to pray for the good ſucceſs of the *Britains*; and by his Wife *Accan*, the daughter of *Elle*, he had ſeven Sons, *Eaufridus*, *Oſualdus*, *Oſwius*, *Oſlacus*, *Oſmundus*, *Oſa*, *Offa*. Flor. Hiſtor. |
| *Edwinus Northumberland* ſlain. 17 | This *Edwinus* was the firſt of the *Northumberland* Kings, which was converted and Chriſtened by *Paulinus* Biſhop of *London*. |
| *Oſricus* Deirorum ſlain. | Theſe two are put out of the race of Kings, becauſe they revolted from the Chriſtian faith, and were both ſlain miſerably by *Cedwalla* a *Britain*, which then reigned in *Northumberland*, and in *Mercia*. |
| *Eaufridus Bernicia*, ſlain. | |
| *Oſwaldus*, of *Northumberland*, ſlain. | This *Oſwaldus*, called *S. Oſwald*, fought with *Cedwalla* and *Penda* with a ſmall army, and by ſtrength of prayer vanquiſhed them in the field. He ſent for *Aedanus* into *Scotland* to preach in his Country, and as he preached in *Scotiſh*, the King expounded in *Engliſh*. He was a great giver of alms to the poor. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter. |
| *Oſwius*, *Northumberland*. 28 | This *Oſwius* fighting againſt *Penda*, vowed to make his Daughter *Elfred* a Nun, giving with her twelve Lordſhips to build twelve Monaſteries, ſix in *Bernicia*, ſix in *Deira*. |
| *Oſwinus* reigned together with *Oſwius* in *Deira*, ſlain. 7 | The ſame *Oſwius* in the beginning of his reign took one *Oſwinus* the Son of *Edwin* to be his partner over the Country of *Deira*. Afterward cauſing him to be killed, took to him another called *Edelwald*, the Son of *Oſwald*. Of this *Oſwinus* more followeth hereafter to be declared. |
| *Egfridus Northumberland*, ſlain. 15 | This *Egfrid* married *Aetheldrida*, who being twelve years married to him, could after by no means be allured to lie with him, but obtaining of him licenſe, was made Nun, and then Abbeſs of *Ely*. She made but one meal a day, and never wore linnen. At laſt the ſame *Egfrid*, fighting againſt the *Scots*, |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Alfridus*, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 20 | | *Scots*, was ſlain in the field by a train of the *Scots*, fayning themſelves to fly. Of this *Alfride*, *Beda* in his Hiſtory teſtifieth, that he was exactly and perfectly ſeen in the holy Scriptures, and recovered much that his Predeceſſors had loſt before. *Bed. lib.* 4. *c.* 24. Some ſay he reigned not 18 years. |
| *Oſredus*, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 11 | | *Oſred* began his reign being but eight years old, and reigned the ſpace of ten years. |
| *Kenredus*, *North.* 2 | | |
| *Oſricus*, *North.* 20 | | Some affirm that *Oſricus* reigned but 11 years. |
| *Celulfus*, *Northumberl.* made a Monk. 9 | | This *Celulfe* after he had reigned eight years, was made a Monk. To him *Beda* wrote his Story. |
| *Egbertus*, or *Eadbertus*, *Northumberla.* Monk. 21 | | |
| *Oſulfus*, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 1 | | |
| *Mollo*, or *Ethelwold*, *Northumb.* 11 | | *Mollo* by the ſubtil train of *Alfredus* was made away, which *Alfredus* alſo himſelf after he had reigned ten years, was expulſed by his own people. |
| In ſome Chronicles ſix years. | | In ſome Chronicles this *Alfredus* reigned but eight years. |
| *Altredus*, *Nowhumber.* expulſed. 10 | | |
| *Ethelbertus*, or *Edelredus*, *Northumberland*, expulſed. 5 | | |
| *Alfwoldus*, *Northumberland*, ſlain. 17 | | |
| *Oſredus.* | | |
| *Ethelbertus*, or *Adelwaldus*, *North.* ſlain. 16 | | |

After this *Ethelbert*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* ceaſed the ſpace of 25 years, till *Egbertus* King of the *Weſtſaxons* ſubdued alſo them, as he did the other *Saxons* to his Dominion. After the which *Egbert* K. of the *Weſtſaxons* ſucceeded in *Northumberland* his Son.

*Ethelwolfus. Ethelbaldus.* } Kings of *Weſtſaxons*, reigning in
*Ethelbertus. Ethelredus.* } *Northumberland.*

In the time of this *Ethelredus*, there were two under-Kings in *Northumberland*, *Ella* and *Osbright*, whom the *Danes* overcame, and reigned in their place, whoſe names were theſe:

*Erbertus. Gurthed.*
*Richſt. Gurthrid.* } *Danes.*
*Egebert.*

After the reign of theſe foreſaid *Danes*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* came into the hands of the *Weſtſaxons*, in the time of *Athelſtane*, and his Brother *Edmund*. It began firſt in the year 547, and ſo endured 409 years. It contained *Yorkſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Copeland*, and others.

(561) *Mercia.* The Kings of Mercia, Merceland, *with the years of their Reign.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Grida*, or *Creodda.* 35 | | |
| *Wibba.* 30 | | |
| *Ceorlus.* 10 | | |
| *Penda*, ſlain. 30 | | *Penda* ſlew in battel, *Edwin* and *Oſwald* Kings of *Northumberland*. Alſo *Sigebert*, *Edrike* and *Anna*, Kings of the *Eaſtangles*. Alſo he droye out *Kenwalkins*, King of the *Weſtſaxons*. |
| *Peda*, or *Weda*, ſlain by his Wife. | | Under *Peda* and *Wiferus* Chriſts Faith was received in thoſe parts, they being converted by *Finianus*, Biſhop. The ſame *Peda* reigned in a part of *Mercia*, with his Brother *Wiferus*, who were both the Sons of *Penda*. |
| *Wlferus.* 29 | | This *Wlferus* by his Wife *Ermeburg*, had three Daughters, *Milburg*, *Mildrith*, and *Mildgith*, holy Virgins. |
| *Adelredus*, or *Ethelred*, made a Monk. 30, or 19 | | This *Adelredus*, or *Ethelredus*, was Monk of *Bardneie*, whoſe Siſters were *Kinedrid*, and *Kinſwith*, holy Virgins. |
| *Kenredus* made alſo Monk at *Rome.* 5 | | |
| *Ceolredus*, or *Kelredus.* | | In the time of this *Ceolred* was *Guthlake*, otherwiſe called St. *Guthlake*, the Popiſh Hermit of *Crowland*. |
| *Ethelbaldus*, ſlain. 41 | | Under *Ethelbaldus* died *Beda*. *Ethelbald* gave that all Churches ſhould be free from all exactions and publick charges. |
| *Bernredus.* 1 | | This *Bernred* for his pride and ſtoutneſs toward his people, was by them depoſed, and the ſame year by the juſt judgment of God burned. *Hiſtor. Carienſ.* |
| *Offa.* 39 | | *Offa* cauſing or conſenting to the death of good *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſtangles*, peaceably coming to marry his Daughter, for repentance cauſed the *Peter*-pence firſt to be given to *Rome*, and there did his penance. |
| *Egfredus.* 1 | | |
| *Kenulphus*, ſlain. 20 or 16 | | This *Kenelm* being of ſeven years of age, was wickedly ſlain, after he had reigned ſix months. |
| *Kenelm* murthred. | | |
| *Ceolwolfus* expelled. 1, or 3. | | This *Ludecane* after the ſecond year of his reign, was ſlain of *Egbert*, King of the *Weſtſaxons*, by whom the reſt of the *Saxons* were alſo ſubdued. |
| *Bernulfus* ſlain. 3 | | |
| *Ludecanus* ſlain. 2 | | |
| Some Chronicles here inſert *Milefred*, *Wilafius*, or *Withlacus* beheaded. 12 | | |

The Kings of *Mercia.*

This *Withlacus* in the beginning of his reign was vanquiſhed by *Egfrid* King of *Weſtſax*, to whom he became Tributary with his Succeſſors here following.

*Berthulfe* 12. *Celuſtus* 1. } Some Writers ſay that theſe Kings
*Buthredus* 20. *Elfredus* 1. } were ſubdued by the *Danes*.

After this *Elfride* the Kingdom of the *Mercians* was tranſlated unto the *Weſtſaxons*, in the later time of King *Alfred*, or in the beginning of *Edwardus Senior*, and ſo was adjoyned to the *Weſt-Saxons*, beginning in the year 561. It endured for the ſpace of 250 years, till about the later end of *Aluredus*, by whom it was joined to the Kingdom of *Weſtſaxons*. This Kingdom ſtretched out to *Huntingdonſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſter*, *Warwick*, *Lichfield*, *Coventry*, *Cheſter*, *Darbiſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shrewſbury*, *Oxford*, *Buckingham*, *Dorceter*, *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, &c.

(561) *Eaſtſaxons.* The Kings of the Eaſtſaxons, *with the years of their Reign.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Erchwinus.* 35 | | |
| *Sledda.* 17 | | |
| *Sebertus*, or *Sigebertus.* 14 | | This *Sebertus*, Nephew to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, among theſe Kings was firſt Chriſtened by *Melitus*, which made the Church of *Pauls*. |
| *Sexredus* and *Sewardus*, Brethren, ſlain. | | *Sexred* and *Seward*, and *Sigebert* expelled *Melitus*, the Biſhop, becauſe he would not miniſter to them the Sacramental Bread, they being not Baptized. |
| *Sigebertus Parvus.* 23 | | This *Sigebertus Parvus* with his Brother *Sebertus* were ſlain of *Kinegilſus*, and *Swithelinus* his Brother, |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Kings of *Eaſtſaxons.* | *Segebertus Bonus*, or *Sibertus*, ſlain. | | by the juſt judgment of God, for they revolted again from their faith, and expelled *Melitus* Biſhop of *London.* This *Segebertus Bonus*, or *Sibertus*, much reſorting to *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, by his perſwaſion was brought to Chriſtian Baptiſm, Baptiſed of *Finianus* Biſhop, to whom alſo was ſent *Cedde* with other Miniſters to Preach and to Baptiſe in his Country. At laſt he was ſlain of his men about him, uſing too much to ſpare his enemies, and to forgive their injuries that repented. *Flor.* |
| | *Swithelinus.* | 14 | |
| | *Sigherius*, Son of *Sigebertus Parvus.* | | This *Sigherius* and *Sebbi* firſt fell to Idolatry, then through the means of *Wolferus* King of *Mercia* were reduced, and at laſt *Sebbi* became a Monk. |
| | *Sebbi* Son of *Sewardus*, which was made a Monk. | | |
| | *Sigehardus*, and *Suefridus*, Brethren. | 8 | |
| | *Offa.* | 5 | *Offa* after he had reigned a while became a Monk at *Rome.* |
| | *Selredus*, or *Colredus*, ſlain. | 38 | |
| | *Swithredus.* | | |

This *Swithredus* was ſubdued unto *Egbert* King of *Weſtſaxons*, albeit *London* remained under the *Mercians* to the time that they alſo were ſubdued to the *Weſtſaxons.* This Kingdom began in the year 561, and ſo continued till the time of *Egbertus.* Some Stories ſay it continued to the time of *Edward* Son of *Aluredus*, about the coming of the *Danes*, and contained under it the Lordſhip of *Middleſex* and *London.* The Metropolitan See of this Province of *Eſſex* was *London*, where the famous Church of St. *Paul* was builded by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and *Sigebert* King of *Eſſex*, whom *Ethelbert* had lately before turned to Chriſts faith; whereof the firſt Biſhop was *Melitus*, the ſecond Biſhop was *Ceddus*, the third came in by Simony, whoſe name was *Wine. Malmesb. de vitis Pont.* After him was *Erkenwaldus*, of whom writeth *Beda*, that he being diſeaſed in his legs that he could not go nor ride, yet would be carried about in a Litter to preach in his Dioceſs, *&c.* Although *William Malmesbury* writing of the Biſhops of *London* in his Book *De vitis Pont.* ſaith that *Mauritius*, firſt the Kings Chancellor, then Biſhop there, did firſt begin this ſo large and famous building of the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*; which work after him *Richard* his Succeſſor did proſecute, beſtowing all the rents of his Biſhoprick upon the ſame, and yet was ſcarcely ſeen. Yet herein may be anſwered peradventure, that the Church builded before by King *Ethelbert* and King *Sigebert*, might be overthrown by the *Danes*, and afterward was re-edified by theſe Biſhops above mentioned.

| (561) *Eaſtangles.* | *The Kings of* Eaſtangles, *with the years of their Reign.* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Uffa*, or *Ulfa.* | 30 | Of this *Uffa* the people of *Northfolk* were then called *Uskins.* |
| | *Titulus*, or *Titila.* | 13 | |
| | *Redwaldus.* | 12 | *Redwaldus* firſt was converted in *Kent*; afterward through the wicked perſwaſions of his Wife and others, he joined Idolatry with Chriſtianity. |
| The Kings of the *Eaſtangles.* | *Erpwaldus*, or *Corpwalous*, ſlain. | 38 | Notwithſtanding his Son *Erpwaldus* through the means of *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, was brought to the perfect faith of Chriſt, and therein faithfully did continue. |
| | *Sigebertus* or *Sibrect*, firſt a Monk, ſlain. | 3 | This *Sigebert* made himſelf a Monk, and afterward brought out to fight againſt *Penda* with a white ſtick in his hand, was ſlain in the field. |
| | *Egricus*, or *Egricus*, ſlain. | 3 | |
| | *Anna*, ſlain. | 3 | The Daughters of *Anna* were *Sexburga*, *Ethelberta*, and St. *Etheldreda.* This *Ethelredus* for his holineſs and godly vertue is counted for a Saint; he innocently coming to *Offa* King of *Mercia*, to [illegible] with *Althrid* his Daughter, by the ſiniſter ſuſpition of *Offa*, and wicked counſel of *Kineſwina* his Wife, was cruelly put to death in the houſe of *Offa*. For the which cauſe *Offa* afterward repenting went to *Rome*, where he made himſelf a Monk. |
| | *Adelbere*, or *Adelredus*, ſlain. | 2 | |
| | *Adelwoldus*, or *Ethelbaldus.* | 9 | |
| | *Adulphus.* | 25 | |
| | *Elkwoldus.* | 12 | |
| | *Beorna.* | 26 | |
| | *Ethelredus*, ſlain. | 52 | |
| | *Ethelbritus*, ſlain. | 5 | |

After this ſinful murther of *Ethelbert*, the Kingdom of *Eaſtangles*, during the time of certain years, was in great trouble and deſolation, under divers Kings and Tyrants; ſometimes the King of *Weſtſax*, ſometimes of *Kent*, or of *Mercia*, having dominion over them; till the coming of St. *Edmund*, which was the laſt King there ruling under the *Weſtſaxons.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| St. *Edmund*, Martyred. | 165 | |

After the death of St. *Edmund*, being ſlain of the Infidel *Danes*, the Kingdom remained with the *Danes* fifty years, till at length *Edward* King of the *Weſtſaxons* expulſed the *Danes*, and joined it to his Kingdom. It began about the year of our Lord 561, and continued near about 377 years, *Fabian* numbreth but twelve Kings, but in others I find more.

The Metropolitan See of this Province of *Eaſtangles* was firſt at a Town called *Dunmoke*, or *Dunwich*, which in times paſt hath been a famous and populous Town, with a Mayor and four Bailiffs, and alſo divers Pariſh-Churches and Hoſpitals, whereunto great Priviledges by divers Kings have been granted: which Town is now fallen into ruin and decay, and more than half conſumed by the eating in of the Sea, as alſo greatly impoveriſhed by loſs of the Haven, which heretofore hath flouriſhed with divers tall Ships belonging to the ſame, (the inhabitants thereof being not able of themſelves to repair it without the help of other good people); where the firſt Biſhop was *Felix*, a *Burgundian*, who ſat there fourteen years. After this, unto the time of *Egebert* King of *Weſtſax*, this Province was ever ruled by two Biſhops, whereof the one had his See at *Dunmoke*, now called *Dunwich*; the other at *Hemaham*, where twelve ſat one after another. From thence it was tranſlated to *Thetford*, where ſat three Biſhops. At laſt by Biſhop *Herbert* it was removed to *Norwich*, where he erected a Monaſtery of Monks.

This *Dunwich* lieth upon the Sea-ſide in *Suffolk.*

§ And thus ſtandeth the order and race of the *Saxon* Kings, reigning together with the *Britains* in this Realm. Now followeth the deſcription of the *Britain* Kings, reigning with the *Saxons* in like manner.

Although the miſerable *Britains* thus were bereaved of their land, by the cruel ſubtilty of the *Saxons*, yet were they not ſo driven out or expelled, but that a certain Kingdom remained among them in one part of the land, namely about *Cornwall*, and the parts of *Cambria*, which is divided in two parts, *Southwales* called *Demetia*, and *Northwales* called *Venedocia.* The ſaid *Britains* moreover through the valiant acts of their Kings, ſometimes reigned alſo in other Countries, diſplacing the *Saxons*, and recovering again their own, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, till the time of *Carecius*, when as the *Britains* being depoſed by *Gormundus* (whoſe help they themſelves ſent for out of *Ireland* againſt *Carecius* their wicked King) utterly loſt their Land and Kingdom; being thence driven utterly into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, in the year of our Lord 570. What the order of theſe Kings was, what were their acts, their names and times when they reigned, in this brief Table under written is expreſſed. Wherein firſt is to be premoniſhed that *Conſtantinus ſecundus* had three Children, to wit, *Conſtans*, which was made a Monk in *Winchester*, and after made a King; the ſecond was *Aurelius Ambroſius*;

*ſius*; the third was *Uter Pendragon*. This being premiſed, we will now enter the deſcription of our Table, beginning with *Vortiger*.

*A Table declaring the Kings of* Britain *which reigned together with the* Saxons, *after their coming into their land.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kings of Britain which here reigned in the time of the Saxons. | *Vortiger.* | *Conſtantinus* 3. |
| | *Vortimer.* | *Aurelius.* |
| | *Vortiger* again. | *Conanus.* |
| | *Aurelius Ambroſius.* | *Vortiperius.* |
| | *Uter Pendragon.* | *Malgo.* |
| | *Arthur.* | *Carecius.* |

Here is to be underſtood that theſe *Britain* Kings above mentioned did not ſo reign here in this land, from the time of *Vortiger*, that they had the full Government over all the whole Realm, but only over parcels or parts, ſuch as by force of Arms they could either hold or win from the *Saxons*; which coming in daily, and growing upon them, did ſo repleniſh the land with multitudes of them, that the *Britains* at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recover that which they loſt; leaving example to all Ages and Countries, what it is firſt to let in foreign Nations into their Dominion, but eſpecially what it is for Princes to joyn in Marriage with Infidels, as this *Vortiger* did with *Hengiſts* daughter, which was the mother of all this miſchief; giving to the *Saxons* not only ſtrength, but alſo occaſion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this unconſidered before of the *Britain* Lords and Nobility, who worthily being therewith offended, juſtly depoſed their King, and Enthroned *Vortimer* his Son in his room. By the which *Vortimer* being a puiſſant Prince, the *Saxons* were then repulſed, and driven again into *Germany*, where they ſtayed a while till the death of *Vortimer*, whom *Rowen* daughter of *Hengiſt* cauſed traiterouſly to be poyſoned. Then *Vortiger* being reſtored again to his Kingdom, through the entreaty of *Rowen* his wife, ſent into *Germany* again for *Hengiſt*, who eſtſoons making his return, came in with a Navy of 300 Ships well appointed. The Nobles of *Britain* hearing this, prepared themſelves on the contrary ſide in all forceable wiſe to put them off. But *Hengiſt* through *Rowen* his daughter ſo laboured the King, excuſing himſelf, and ſaying that he brought not the multitude to work any violence either againſt him or againſt his Country, but only thinking that *Vortimer* had yet been alive, whom he minded to impugn for the Kings ſake, and to take his part. And now forſomuch as he heareth of the death of *Vortimer* his enemy, he therefore committeth both himſelf and his people to his diſpoſition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remain within his land; the reſt ſhould return. And if it ſo pleaſed the King to appoint day and place where they might meet and talk together of the matter, both he and his would ſtand to ſuch order as the King with his Council ſhould appoint. With theſe fair words the King and his Nobles well contented, did aſſign to them both day and place, which was in the Town of *Ambry*, where he meant to talk with them; adding this condition withal, that each part ſhould come without any manner of weapon. *Hengiſt* ſhewing himſelf well agreed thereto, gave privy intelligence of his ſide, that each man ſhould carry with him ſecretly in his Hoſe a long Knife, with their watch-word alſo given unto them when they ſhould draw their Knives, wherewith every *Saxon* ſhould (and ſo did) kill the *Britain* with whom he talked, as is above declared. The *Britain* Lords being ſlain, the *Saxons* took *Vortiger* the King and bound him; for whoſe ranſome they required to be delivered to them the Cities of *London*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Wincheſter*, with other the moſt ſtrongeſt holds within the land; which being to them granted, they begin to make ſpoil and havock of the *Britain* Nation, deſtroying the Citizens, plucking down Churches, killing up the Prieſts, burning the Books of the holy Scripture, leaving nothing undone that tyranny could work, which was about the year of our Lord 462. The King ſeeing this miſerable ſlaughter of the people fled into *Wales*.

Example what it is to let in ſtrange Nations.

Marriage with Infidels what deſtruction it worketh.

The ſecond return of *Hengiſt* into *Britain*.

The diſſembling words of the *Saxons* to deceive the *Britains*.

*Neme your feres*, the watchword. All the Nobility of the *Britains* deſtroyed in one day.

The King raiſomed.

The *Saxons* enter poſſeſſion of the land.

The Chriſtian *Britains* perſecuted the Infidel *Saxons*.

Anno 462.

This while *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and *Uter Pendragon*, Brethren to King *Conſtans* above mentioned, whom *Vortiger* wickedly cauſed to be killed, were in little *Britain*. To whom the *Britains* ſent word deſiring their aid in helping their Country. *Aurelius* underſtanding the woful ſtate of the Realm, ſpeedeth him over to ſatisfie their deſire, and to reſcue (what in him was) their neceſſity. Who at his firſt coming eſtſoons being Crowned for their King, ſeeketh out wicked *Vortiger*, the cauſe of all this trouble and murther of King *Conſtans* his Brother. And finding him in *Wales* in a ſtrong Tower, wherein he had immured himſelf, ſetteth him and his Caſtle on fire. That done he moved his power againſt the *Saxons*, with whom and with *Elle* Captain of the *Southſaxons* (who then was newly come over) he had divers Conflicts.

*Aurelius Ambroſius* returneth into *Britain*. *Aurelius* Crowned King of *Britain*.

*Vortiger* burned in his Tower.

Our *Engliſh* old Chronicles make record that *Horſus* the Brother of *Hengiſt* was ſlain before in the time of *Vortimer*. The ſame alſo do record that this *Hengiſt* was taken priſoner in the field, fighting againſt *Aurelius Ambroſius*; who then conſulting with his Nobles and Barons what was to be done with him, the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, called *Eldadus*, ſtanding up, gave this counſel, ſaying, That if all men would deliver him, yet he with his own hands would cut him in pieces; alledging the example of *Samuel* againſt *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, taken by King *Saul* in the field, whom the ſaid *Samuel* cauſed to be cut in pieces. Even ſo (ſaith he) do you to this *Agag* here; that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, ſo his mother may be made this day of him likewiſe. And ſo was *Hengiſt* taken out of their City by *Eldo* Conſul or Mayor of *Glouceſter*, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be given to theſe our old *Britain* Stories, whereof I have nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may ſuſpect the truth thereof, which was about the year of our Lord 480. *Henr. Hunting. Galfr. cum aliis.*

*Horſus* ſlain. *Hengiſt* taken in the field.

The counſel of *Eldadus* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*.

*Hengiſt* beheaded. Anno 490. *Ex Henr. Huntingtonenſi, Galfrido, & Chronico quodam Cantenſi.*

A certain ancient written Hiſtory I have in *Latin*, compiled in the fourteenth year of King *Richard* the Second, and by him cauſed to be written as the Title declareth; which becauſe it beareth no name of the Author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this Book, with many other likewiſe without name, *Hiſtoria Cariana*. This Hiſtory recordeth that *Hengiſt* died in *Kent* the two and thirtieth year of his reign; which if it be true, then is it falſe that he was taken at *Cuninburgh*, and ſlain in the North. This *Aurelius Ambroſius* before mentioned, is thought of *Polydorus Virgilius*, citing the authority of *Beda*, to deſcend of the ſtock of the *Romans*; which as it is not unpoſſible to be true, ſo this is certain by the full accord of all our old written Stories, that both the ſaid *Aurelius* and his Brother *Uter Pendragon*, being the Sons of *Conſtantinus*, Brother to *Ambonius* King of little *Britain*, were nurſed and brought up in *England* in their tender age, and inſtructed by *Guitelinus* Archbiſhop of *London*, and after the murther of *Conſtans* their Elder Brother were conveyed from hence to little *Britain*; whereby it is manifeſt that they were born in this land; and though their Father were a *Roman*, as *Polidorus* pretendeth, yet like it is that they were *Britains* born, and had a *Britain* to their Mother.

The uncertainty of our old *Britain* ſtories.

*Ex Hiſtoria Cariana.*

*Aurelius Ambroſius* King.

After the death of *Aurelius*, who (as the Story ſaith) was poyſoned by the crafty means of *Paſcentius* Son of *Vortiger* (ſuborning one under the weed of a Monk to play the Phyſician, and ſo to poyſon him); next ſucceeded his Brother *Uter*, Sirnamed *Pendragon*, about the year of our Lord 497, who fighting againſt *Octa* and *Coſa*, took them and brought them to *London* there to be kept; but they breaking out of priſon returned into *Germany* for more aid. In this mean time daily recourſe was of *Saxons*, with great Companies coming out of *Saxony*, with whom the *Britains* had divers and ſundry conflicts, ſometimes winning, ſometimes loſing. Not long after *Octa* and *Coſa* renewing their power in *Germany*, in all moſt ſpeedy haſt did return again and joyn with the other *Saxons* againſt the *Britains*. Here began the ſtate of miſerable *Britain* more and more to decay, while the Idolatrous *Saxons* prevailed in number and ſtrength againſt the Chriſtian *Britains*; oppreſſing the people, throwing down Churches and Monaſteries, murthering the Prelates, ſparing neither age nor perſon, but waſting Chriſtianity almoſt through the whole Realm. To theſe miſeries it fell moreover, that *Uter* their King was ſick and could not come out; notwithſtanding being grieved with the lamentable deſtruction of his people, he cauſed his Bed to

Anno 490.

*Uter Pendragon Britain* King.

Remember the words of *Gildas*, 633. *Hiſt. Cant.*

The Chriſtian *Britains* perſecuted by the Heathen *Saxons*.

be brought into the Camp, where God gave him Victory, *Octa* and *Cosa* there being ſlain. After this Victory in ſhort ſpace *Uter* died of poyſon (as is ſaid) put into a fountain, whereof the King was wont to drink, about the year of our Lord 516. *Flor.Hiſt.*

{Ann. 516.}

About which time and year came in *Stuph* and *Wigarius* two Nephews of *Certhice* King of *Weſtſaxons*, with their companies, ſo violently upon the *Britains*, that they of the Weſt part of the Realm were not able to reſiſt them.

King *Arthur*

Then the merciful providence of Almighty God raiſed up for them King *Arthur*, the ſon of *Uter*, who was then Crowned after him, and victorioully reigned. To this *Arthur* the old *Britain* Hiſtories do aſcribe twelve great Victories againſt the Heathen *Saxons*; whoſe notorious and famous Conqueſts mentioned in the *Britain* Stories, I leave as I find them, referring them to the credit of their Authors in whom they are found. Notwithſtanding, as I do not think contrary, but God by the foreſaid *Arthur* gave to the *Britains* ſome ſtay and quietneſs during his life, and certain of his ſucceſſors; ſo touching certain of his great Victories and Conqueſts, not only over this Land, but alſo over all *Europe*, I judge them more fabulous, than that any credit ſhould be given unto them; and more worthy to be joyned with the *Iliads* of *Homer*, than to have place in any Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. After *Arthur* next King of the *Britains* was *Conſtantinus* the third. After him *Aurelius Conanus*. Then *Vortiporius*; after whom followed *Malgo*, noted in ſtories to be a *Sodomite*. And after him the laſt King of the *Britains* was *Carecius*, all given to Civil War, execrable to God and Man. Who being chaſed out by the *Britains* themſelves, the Land fell to poſſeſſion of the *Saxons*, about the year of our Lord 568, by whom all the Clergy and the Chriſtian Miniſters of the *Britains* were then utterly driven out: inſomuch that *Theonus* Archbiſhop of *London*, and *Thadeoſeus* Archbiſhop of *York*, ſeeing their Churches all waſted, and Pariſhes diſperſed with their carriages and monuments, left their Sees in *Britain*, and fled into *Cambria*, which we now call *Wales*. Touching which matter, and touching alſo the cauſe of this deſolation and ruine of the *Britains* Kingdom, the firſt fountain and origine thereof partly before is declared; where was ſhewed in the time of *Conſtantinus Magnus* and *Maximian*, how theſe Noble Princes with other more, atchieving their venturous affairs in other Countries, took with them great Multitudes and Armies out of *Britain*; through the occaſion whereof the Land was greatly impaired and deprived of the moſt chief and principal Nobles, being carried away to ſerve in Foreign Wars (which was no ſmall cauſe, why the Realm of *Britain* being ſo waſted) was the leſs able to help it ſelf againſt their enemies. Although this was not the chief occaſion, but other cauſes there were greater, wherefore God by his juſt judgment ſuffered this plague and overthrow to fall upon that people; as here out of an old Author, and partly out of *Gildas* I have found it, ſo I thought to annex it in his own words, firſt in *Latine*, then afterward *Engliſhing* the ſame for the more credit of that which ſhall be alledged, in tenor as followeth:

*Conſtaminus the third, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, Malgo, Carecius* Kings of *Britain.*

The Archbiſhop of *London* and the Archbiſhop of *York*, fly into *Wales.*

*Ex Hiſtoria quadam Cantienſi.*

*Nobiliores totius Regni prædictos Duces ſequuti fuerunt, & ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cœpiſſent, extulerunt ſe ultra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam divitiarum ſuperbi cœperunt tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita eſt. Et, ut Gildas hiſtoricus teſtatur, non ſolum hoc vitium, ſed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere ſolent, & præcipue quod totius boni evertit ſtatum, odium veritatis, amor mendacii, ſuſceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate, exceptatio Sathanæ pro Angelo lucis: ungebantur reges, non propter dominium, ſed qui cæteris crudeliores eſſent. Si quis vero eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus proprior videretur, in hunc quaſi Britanniæ ſubverſorem omnia odia telaque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant & diſplicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non ſolum hoc ſeculares viri, ſed & ipſe grex Dominii, ejuſque paſtores ſine diſcretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum eſt degeneres tales patriam illam amittere, quam prædicto modo maculabant.*

The cauſes of the deſtruction of the *Britains* declared.

In *Engliſh* thus:

In *Engliſh* thus.

*The Nobles of this Realm, following the Princes and Captains above named; by reaſon thereof the vulgar and raſcal ſort remained behind at home. Who, when they had gotten the rooms and places of the Nobles, they advanced themſelves above that their dignity required. And through their abundance of riches, they ſurpriſed with pride, began to fall into ſuch and ſo great fornication, as was never heard of even among the Gentiles. And as* Gildas *the Hiſtoriographer witneſſeth, not into vice only, but alſo into all manner of wickedneſs, whereto mans nature is inclined: and eſpecially into that which is the overthrow of all good eſtates: the hatred of the truth, love of lies, imbracing of evil inſtead of goodneſs, regarding of miſchief inſtead of vertue, receiving of the Devil inſtead of an Angel of light. They anointed Kings, not ſuch as could well rule a Commonwealth, but thoſe which exceeded all other in cruelty. And if any might be perceived to be ſomewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to favour the truth than the reſidue, him did every one hate and backbite as the overthrower and deſtroyer of* Britain. *All things whether they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God, they regarded alike. And not ſecular men only did thus, but alſo the Congregation of the Lord and their Biſhops and Teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marvelled that ſuch people ſo degenerating and going out of kind ſhould loſe that Country, which they had after this manner defiled.*

And thus much hitherto concerning the Hiſtory of the *Britains*, till (by the grace of Chriſt) the order of time ſhall bring us hereafter to the Treatiſe of *Cedwalla* and *Calwalladrus*. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the *Saxons*, to diſcourſe particularly, that which before in the Table above we have ſummarily comprehended.

In this order and race of the *Saxon* Kings above ſpecified, which had thus thruſt out the *Britains*, and now divided their Land in ſeven Kingdoms; as there were many naughty and wicked Kings (whoſe pernicious examples, being all ſet on War and bloodſhed, are greatly to be deteſted and eſchewed of all true godly Princes) ſo ſome there were again (although but few) very ſincere and good. But none almoſt from the firſt to the laſt, which was not either ſlain in war, or murthered in peace, or elſe conſtrained to make himſelf a Monk. Such was the rage then, and the tyranny of that time. Whether we ſhould impute it to the corruption of Mans Nature, or to the juſt judgment of Gods hand, ſo diſpoſing the matter, that as they had violently and falſly diſpoſſeſſed the *Britains* of their right; ſo they moſt miſerably were not only vexed of the *Danes*, and conquered at laſt by the *Normans*; but alſo more cruelly devoured themſelves, one warring ſtill againſt another, till they were never able to help themſelves, nor yet to reſiſt others. Of them which are noted for good among theſe *Saxon* Kings, the firſt and principal is *Ethelbertus*, or *Ethelbrict* the firſt King in *Kent* above ſpecified: who by the means of *Auſtin*, and partly through his Wife named *Berda*, firſt received and preferred the Chriſtian Faith in all this Land of the *Engliſh Saxons*, whereof more followeth hereafter to be ſaid (the Lord ſo permitting) as place and opportunity ſhall require. The next place I give to *Oſwaldus* of *Northumberland*, who not only did his endeavour in furthering the faith of Chriſt amongſt his People; but alſo being King, diſdained not himſelf to ſtand up, and interpret to his Nobles and Subjects the preaching of *Aidanus*, preaching Chriſt to them in his *Scotiſh* language. In the ſame commendation alſo like as in the ſame line, cometh his Uncle *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, a good Prince, and the firſt receiver of Chriſts faith in that Land, by the means of his Wife, and *Paulinus* Biſhop. Add to theſe alſo *Sigebert*, firſt chriſtened of the King of the *Eaſtangles*, and *Sebert*, firſt chriſtened King of *Eſſex*: of whom the one was a great furtherer of Religion, and ſetter up of Schools; the other, which is *Sebert* or *Serbricht*, was Nephew to *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, under whom he ruled in *Eſſex*. By the which *Ethelbert*, in the time of the ſaid *Sebert*, the Church of *Pauls* was builded at *London*, and Chriſtian Faith much enlarged, &c. Of the ſame name there was alſo another *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſtangles*, a good Prince; who by the advice of his Council perſwaded to marriage (though againſt his will)

This *Ethelbert* being a Chriſtian was married unto *Ethelbert* upon the condition that ſhe ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy her religion.

*Ethelbert* King of *Kent.*

*Oſwaldus* King of *Northumberland.*

*Edwinus* King of *Northumberland.*

*Sigebertus* King of the *Eaſtangles.*

*Sebert* or *Sebricht* King of *Eſſex.*

The firſt building the Church of *Pauls London.*

*Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſtangles.*

went

went peaceably to King *Offa* for diſpouſage of *Athilrid* his Daughter; where the good King meaning innocently, through the ſiniſter and deviliſh counſel of King *Offa*'s Wife, was ſecretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon *Offa*, through repentance thereof, made the firſt *Peter-pence* to be given to S. *Peters* Church in *Rome*.

*Peter-pence*, how they firſt came to be paid to *Rome*.

In the Catalogue of theſe good Kings is alſo to be numbred *Kenelmus* King of the *Mercians*, and *Edmundus* King of the *Eaſtangles*; of the which two, the firſt was falſly and abominably circumvented and beheaded, by the means of his cruel Siſter and his Tutor, as he was in his hunting at *Corfecaſtle*. The other which is called King *Edmund* the Martyr, was ſlain at *Bury*, or (as ſome write) at the Caſtle of *Haleſdon* by the *Danes*: upon what occaſion, Hiſtories do vary. The Author of *Flores Hiſtoriarum* ſaith, it was by reaſon of one *Lothbroke* a *Dane*, who being of the Kings blood, and being with his Hawk on the Sea ſide in a little Boat, was driven by the force of the Weather into the Coaſt of *Northfolk*, where he being preſented to King *Edmund*, was retained in the Court with great favour; till at length one *Berick* the Kings Falconer, envying and deſpighting him for his great dexterity in that faculty, privily did murther him in a Wood. This being at laſt ſpied, as Murther lightly will come out, *Berick* was ſet in *Lothbroke*'s Boat alone, without all tackling, to be committed into the Sea; and, as it chanced, was driven into *Denmark*, who there being ſeen in *Lothbroke*'s Boat, was ſtrictly examined of the party. He then to excuſe himſelf, falſly ſaid he was ſlain by the commandment of the King. Upon the occaſion whereof, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, ſons to the ſaid *Lothbroke*, gathering an Army of *Danes*, invaded firſt *Northumberland*, after that burſting into *Northfolk* on every ſide, ſent this Meſſage to King *Edmund* after this tenor: *Signifying that King* Inguar *the victorious Prince (dread both by Sea and Land) as he had ſubjected divers other Lands under him, ſo arriving now to the Coaſts of* Northfolk, *where he intendeth to Winter, chargeth and commandeth him to divide with him his old treaſures, and his fathers riches, and ſo to rule under him; which if he would not do, but would contemn his power ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with ſuch an Army, he ſhould be judged as unworthy both of Kingdom and Life, &c.* The King hearing this Meſſage, not a little aſtoniſhed hereat, calling his Council about him, conſulted with them, eſpecially with one of his Biſhops being then his Secretary, what was beſt to be done; who fearing the Kings life, exhorteth him by words and divers examples to agree to the Meſſage. At this the King a while holding his peace, at length thereto made anſwer again in theſe words, ſaying, *Go* (ſaith he) *tell your Lord, and let him know that* Edmundus *the Chriſtened King, for the love of this temporal life, will not ſubject himſelf to a Pagan Duke, unleſs before he become a Chriſtian, &c.* The Meſſenger taking his Anſwer was not ſo ſoon out of the Gates, as *Inguar* meeting him and bidding him to be ſhort in declaring his anſwer, cauſed all the Kings Garriſon to be ſet round about. Some ſay, that the King flying to *Thetford* there pitcht a Field with the *Danes*; but the *Danes* prevailing, the good King from thence did fly to the Caſtle of *Haleſdon* above mentioned; where he being purſued of the *Danes*, was there taken, and at length being bound to a ſtake, there, of the raging *Danes* was ſhot to death. And thus much for the good Kings.

*Kenelmus* King of the *Mercians*. St. *Edmund* King of the Eaſt-angles.

The meſſage of *Inguar* to King *Edmund*.

The Martyrdom of King *Edmund* in *Northfolk*.

Now as concerning thoſe Kings which made themſelves Monks, which in number be ſeven or eight, although the example be rare and ſtrange, and much commended of the Chroniclers of that time; yet I cannot raſhly aſſent to their commendation, albeit the caſe thereof is no matter of our Hiſtory. Firſt, in altering their eſtate from Kings to Monks, if they did it to find more eaſe, and leſs trouble thereby, I ſee not how that excuſe ſtandeth with the office of a good man, to change his publick vocation for reſpect of private commodity. If fear of jeopardy and danger did drive them thereunto, what praiſe or commendation deſerve they in ſo doing? let the Monkiſh Hiſtories judge what they liſt. Me ſeemeth ſo much praiſe as they deſerve in providing their own ſafety, ſo much they deſerve again to be diſcommended in forſaking the Commonwealth. If they did it (as moſt like it is) for holineſs ſake, thinking in that kind of life to ſerve and pleaſe God better, or to merit more toward their ſalvation than in the eſtate of a King, therein they were far deceived; not knowing that the ſalvation which cometh of God, is to be meaſured and eſteemed, not by Mans merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation, more of one than another, but only by the free grace of the Goſpel, which freely juſtifieth all them that faithfully believe in Chriſt Jeſus. But here will be ſaid again; peradventure, in the ſolitary life of Monkery be fewer occaſions of evils than in Kings Courts, wherefore that life ſerveth more to holineſs, and is more to be preferred than the other. To this Anſwer, To avoid the occaſions of evil is good where ſtrength lacketh to reſiſt; but otherwiſe, where duty and charge bindeth to tarry; there to avoid the occaſions of evil, where rather they are to be reſiſted, rather declareth a weakneſs of the Man than deſerveth any praiſe. As is it truly ſaid of *Tully*, *Out of* Aſia (ſaith he) *to live a good life is no Godamercy; but in* Aſia, *where ſo great occaſions of evils abound, there to live a good man, that is praiſe worthy.* With the like reaſon I may infer, if a Man be called to be a King, there not to change the vocation for avoiding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to keep his vocation, declareth a good and perfect Man. But of theſe by-matters hitherto ſufficient.

A queſtion. Whether Kings which made themſelves Monks did well in ſo doing or not?

Anſwer. Where vocation binds to tarry, but to reſiſt the occaſions of evil it is a good mans part.

Theſe things now thus premiſed, concerning the order and reign of Kings, as is above prefixed; conſequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of ſuch things, as in the time and reign of the aforeſaid Kings happened in the Church; firſt putting the Reader again in mind of the former Perſecutions within the Realm, partly before touched in the time of the *Britain* Kings, which eſpecially were three or four before the coming of *Auſtin* into *England*.

Four Perſecutions in *Britain* before the coming of *Auſtin* into *England*.

1. The firſt was under *Dioclefian*, and that not only in *England*, but generally throughout all the *Roman* Monarchy, as is above ſpecified. In this Perſecution *Albanus*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, with a great number more of other good Chriſtian *Britains* were Martyred for Chriſts Name.

The Perſecution of *Dioclefian* about the year of our Lord 210.

2. The ſecond Perſecution or deſtruction of Chriſtian Faith, was by the invading of *Gnavius* and *Melga*, whereof the firſt was Captain of the *Huns*, the other of the *Picta*. Theſe two Tyrants, after the cruel ſlaughter of *Urſula*, and other 11000 noble Virgins made their Rode into *Britain*, hearing the ſame to be deſtitute of the ſtrength of Men. At what time they made miſerable murther of Chriſts Saints, ſpoiling and waſting Churches, without mercy either of Women or Children, ſparing none.

The Perſecution of *Gnavius* and *Melga*.

3. The third Perſecution came by *Hengiſt* and the *Saxons*; who likewiſe deſtroyed and waſted the Chriſtian Congregations within the Land, like raging Wolves flying upon the Sheep, and ſpilling the blood of Chriſtians, till *Aurelius Ambroſius* came, and reſtored again the Churches deſtroyed.

The Perſecution of *Hengiſt* in *Britain*.

4. The fourth deſtruction of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion was by *Gurmundus* a Pagan King of the *Africans*; who joyning in League with the *Saxons*, wrought much grievance to the Chriſtians of the Land. Inſomuch that *Theonus* Biſhop of *London*, and *Thadiocens* Biſhop of *York*, with the reſt of the People, ſo many as were left, having no place wherein to remain with ſafety, did fly ſome to *Cornwall*, and ſome to the Mountains of *Wales* about the year of our Lord 550. and this Perſecution remained to the time of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, in the year five hundred eighty nine.

The fourth deſtruction of Chriſtian faith in *Britain* by *Gurmundus* in the year 595. This *Gurmundus*, as ſome ſtories record, leaving his Kingdom at home to his brother, ſaid he would poſſeſs no Kingdom but which he ſhould win with his Sword.

In the Reign of this *Ethelbert*, which was then the fifth King of *Kent*, the Faith of Chriſt was firſt received of the *Saxons* or *Engliſh* Men, by the means of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome*, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old Hiſtories collected and recorded.

First then to joyn the order of our Hiſtory together; the Chriſtian Faith firſt received of King *Lucius*, indured in *Britain* till this time, near upon the ſeaſon of 400 years and odd, when by *Gurmundus Africanus*, (as is ſaid) fighting with the *Saxons* againſt the *Britains*, it was near extinct in all the Land, during the ſpace of about forty years. So that the firſt ſpringing of Chriſts Goſpel in this Land, was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the *Saxons* was in the year of 449. or 469. The coming of *Auſtin* was in the year 596. From the firſt entring in of the *Saxons* to their compleat Conqueſt, and the driving out of the *Britains* (which was about

King *Lucius* died 418 years before the coming of *Auſtin*.

The computation of times concerning the continuance and decay of Chriſts Goſpel between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*.

about the later time of *Cadwalader*) were two hundred and forty years. In ſum, from Chriſt to *Lucius* were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the Goſpel from *Lucius* to the entring of the *Saxons*, was three hundred and two years. The decay of the ſame to the entring of *Auſtin*, was one hundred forty three years, which being added together make from *Lucius* to *Auſtin* four hundred forty five years; from Chriſt to *Auſtin* they make five hundred ninety eight years. In this year then five hundred ninety eight, *Auſtin* being ſent from *Gregory*, came into *England*; the occaſion whereupon *Gregory* ſent him hither was this:

{Anno 598.}

*Beda. Polychron. lib. 1. ca. 8. Malmesburienſ. de regib. Henr. Hunt. lib. 5. Fabian. p. 5. cap. 119. Liber bibliothecæ Torn.*

In the days of *Pelagius* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Gregory* chancing to ſee certain Children in the Market-place of *Rome* (brought thither to be ſold out of *England*) being fair and beautiful of viſage, demanded out of what Country they were? And underſtanding they were heatheniſh out of *England*, lamented the caſe of the Land, being ſo beautiful and Angelical, ſo to be ſubject under the Prince of darkneſs. And asking moreover out of what Province they were? It was anſwered out of *Deira*, a part of *Northſaxons*; whereof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call *Deirham* taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of *Deira*, *Theſe people* (ſaith he) *are to be delivered* De Dei ira, which is, *From Gods Wrath*. Moreover underſtanding the Kings name of that Province to be *Alle* (above mentioned) alluding likewiſe to his name, *There* (ſaith he) *ought* Alleluja *to be ſung to the living God*. Whereupon he being moved, and deſirous to go and help the Converſion of that Country, was not permitted of *Pelagius* and the *Romans* for that time to accompliſh his deſire. But afterward, being Biſhop himſelf next after *Pelagius*, he ſent thither the foreſaid *Auſtin* with other Preachers near about to the number of forty. But by the way, how it happened I cannot ſay, as *Auſtin* with his company were paſſing in their journey, ſuch a ſudden fear entred into their hearts that (as *Antoninus* ſaith) they returned all. Others write that *Auſtin* was ſent back to *Gregory* again, to releaſe them of that Voyage ſo dangerous and uncertain, amongſt ſuch a barbarous people, whoſe language they neither knew, nor were able to reſiſt their rudeneſs. Then *Gregory*, with pithy perſwaſions confirming and comforting him, ſent him again with Letters both to the Biſhop of *Arelatenſis*, willing him to help and aid the ſaid *Auſtin* and his company, in all whatſoever his need required. Alſo other Letters he directed to the foreſaid *Auſtin*, and to his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lords work, as by the tenor of the ſaid Epiſtle here following may appear.

*Dirham in Northumberland.*

*Epiſcopus Arelatenſis.*

*Ex Henr. Huntin. l. 3.*

GRegorius Servus Servorum Dei, ſervis Domini noſtri. *Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab iis quæ cæpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, &c.*

In *Engliſh*:

The Epiſtle of Gregory to them which went to preach in *England.*

GRegory *the ſervant of Gods ſervants, to the ſervants of the Lord. Forſomuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun to think to revolt back from the ſame again, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dear Children) but with all fervent ſtudy and labour muſt needs go forward in that good buſineſs, which through the help of God you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey, nor the ſlanderous tongues of men appall you, but that with all inſtance and fervency ye proceed and accompliſh the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand; knowing that your great travel ſhall be recompenced with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we ſend here* Auſtin *to you again, whom alſo we have ordained to be your Governour, ſo do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it ſhall be profitable ſo for your ſouls, whatſoever at his admonition ye ſhall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to ſee in the eternal Country the fruit of your labour; ſo that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the ſame fellowſhip with you together. The Lord God keep you ſafe, moſt dear and welbeloved Children. Dated the Tenth before the Kalends of Auguſt, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* Mauricius *moſt vertuous Emperor, the fourteenth of his Empire.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* calleth the Emperor his Lord.

Thus they emboldned and comforted through the good words of *Gregory*, ſped forth their journey till they came at length to the Iſle of *Thenet*, lying upon the Eaſt ſide of *Kent*. Near to the which landing place was then the Manory or Palace of the King, not far from *Sandwich* (Eaſtward from *Canterbury*) which the Inhabitants of the Iſle then called *Richbourgh*, whereof ſome part of the ruinous Walls is yet to be ſeen. The King then Reigning in *Kent*, was *Ethelbert*, as above appeareth, the fifth King of that Province, who at that time had married a Wife a *French* Woman, being chriſtened, named *Berda*, whom he had received of her Parents upon this condition, that he ſhould permit her with her Biſhop committed unto her, called *Lebardus*, to enjoy the freedom of her Faith and Religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and ſooner induced to embrace the preaching and Doctrine of Chriſt. Thus *Auſtin* being arrived, ſent forth certain meſſengers and interpreters to the King, ſignifying that ſuch a one was come from *Rome*, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and ſalvation eternally to Reign in Heaven, with the only true and living God for ever, if he would ſo willingly hearken to the ſame, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

*Auſtin* and his company come to *England.*

*Ethelbert* King of *Kent.*

What goodneſs cometh to have a good and godly Wife.

The King who had heard of this Religion before by means of his Wife, within a few days after cometh to the place where *Auſtin* was, to ſpeak with him; but that ſhould be without the Houſe, after the manner of his Law. *Auſtin* againſt his coming, as ſtories affirm, erected up a Banner of the Crucifix (ſuch was then the groſneſs of that time) and preached to him the Word of God. The King anſwering again, ſaith in effect as followeth, *The words be very fair that you preach and promiſe; nevertheleſs, becauſe it is to me uncouth and new, I cannot ſoon ſtart away from my Country Law wherewith I have been ſo long inured, and aſſent to you. Albeit, yet notwithſtanding for that ye are come (as ye ſay) ſo far for my ſake, ye ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhall be right well intreated, having all things to you miniſtred neceſſary for your ſupportation. Beſides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our People and Subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your Religion.*

The King's anſwer to *Auſtin.*

The King ſtaieth upon old cuſtom.

When they had received this comfort of the King, they went with Proceſſion to the City of *Dorobernia*, or *Canterbury*, ſinging *Allelujah* with the Letany, which then by *Gregory* had been uſed at *Rome* in the time of the great Plague reigning then at *Rome* mentioned in old ſtories. The words of the Letany were theſe, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a civitate iſta, & de domo ſancta tua quoniam peccavimus, Allelujah*; that is, *We beſeech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercies, that thy fury and anger may ceaſe from this City, and from thy holy Houſe, for we have ſinned, Allelujah.* Thus they entring into the City of *Dorobernia*, the head City of all that Dominion at that time, where the King had given them a Manſion for their abode: there they continued preaching and baptiſing ſuch as they had converted in the Eaſt ſide of the City in the old Church of Saint *Martin* (where the Queen was wont to reſort) unto the time that the King was converted himſelf to Chriſt. At length, when the King had well conſidered the honeſt converſation of their life, and moved with the Miracles wrought through Gods hand by them, he heard them more gladly; and laſtly, by their wholeſome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and chriſtened in the year above ſpecified five hundred eighty ſix, and the thirty ſixth year of his Reign. After the King was thus converted, innumerable other daily came in and were adjoyned to the Church of Chriſt; whom the King did ſpecially embrace, but compelled none; for ſo he had learned, that the faith and ſervice of Chriſt ought to be voluntary, and not coacted. Then he gave to *Auſtin* a place for the Biſhops See at Chriſts Church in *Dorobernia*, and builded the Abby of S. Peter and *Paul* in the Eaſt ſide of the ſaid City, where after *Auſtin* and all the Kings of *Kent* were buried, and that place is now called St. *Auſtin*.

The Letany of *Auſtin.*

Miracles wrought by God for the converſion of the Land.

*Auſtin* made Archbiſhop.

In this while *Auſtin* ſailed into *France* unto the Biſhop *Arelatenſis*, called *Ethereus*, by him to be conſecrated Archbiſhop by the commandment of *Gregory*, and ſo was. Alſo the ſaid *Auſtin* ſent to *Rome Laurentius* one of his company, to declare to *Gregory* how they had ſped, and what they had done in *England*; ſending withal to have the counſel and advice of *Gregory* concerning nine or ten queſtions, whereof ſome are partly touched before.

The tenor of his Queſtions or Interrogations, with the Anſwers of *Gregory* to the ſame, here follow in *Engliſh* briefly tranſlated.

*Ex decreto Gregorii primi. lib. 11. concil. tom. 3.*

## The Queſtions of *Auſtin* an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent to *Gregory*, with the Anſwer again of *Gregory* to the ſame.

The firſt Interrogation.

The firſt interrogation.

*MY firſt Queſtion (reverend Father) is concerning Biſhops, how they ought to behave themſelves toward their Clerks; or of ſuch Oblations, as the faithful offer upon the Altar, what portions or dividents ought to be made thereof?*

The Anſwer

*The Anſwer.*

How a Biſhop ought to behave himſelf in the Congregation, the holy Scripture teſtifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well, eſpecially in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, wherein he laboureth to inform the ſaid *Timothy* how to behave his converſation in the houſe of the Lord. The manner is of the See Apoſtolick to warn and charge all ſuch as be ordained Biſhops, of all their ſtipend, or that which is given to make four partitions. One to the Biſhop for Hoſpitality and receiving comers in; another to the Clergy; the third to the Poor; the fourth to the repairing of Churches. But becauſe your brotherhood inſtructed with rules of Monaſtical Diſcipline, cannot live ſeparated from your Clerks about you, therefore in the *Engliſh* Church (which now through the Providence of God is brought to the faith of Chriſt) you muſt obſerve this Inſtitution concerning your Converſation, which was in the firſt Fathers in the beginning of the Primitive Church; among whom there was not one, which counted any thing to be his own proper of all that he did poſſeſs: but all was common among them.

Diſtribution of the Church Goods.

The ſecond Interrogation.

The 2d. interrogation.

*I deſire to know and to be inſtructed, whether Clerks, that cannot contain, may marry: and if they do marry, whether then they ought to return to the Secular State again or no?*

The Anſwer

*The Anſwer.*

If there be any Clerks out of Holy Orders, which cannot contain, let them have their Wives, and take their ſtipends or wages without. For we read it ſo written of the foreſaid Fathers, that they divided to every perſon according as their work was. Therefore as concerning the ſtipend of ſuch, it muſt be provided and thought upon. And they muſt be alſo holden under Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, to live a godly Converſation, to imploy themſelves in ſinging Pſalms, and to refrain their tongue, heart and body (by the grace of God) from all things unſeemly and unlawful. As for the vulgar and common ſort which live after the common condition of men, to deſcribe what partitions to make, what Hoſpitality to keep, or what works of Mercy to exhibite, to ſuch I have nothing to ſay, but to give (as our Maſter teacheth) in all our deeds of mercy of that which aboundeth: *Of that* (ſaith he) *which aboundeth or is overplus, give Alms, and behold all things be clean unto you.*

The gloſs upon the 12 q. 1. Parag. *Si qui.* ſaith that this now holdeth not and alledgeth the *Extra de Cler. coniug. cap. Fab.* &c. Whereby ſee, how the Popes Decrees be repugnant to themſelves.

Luke 11.

The third Interrogation.

The 3d. interrogation

*Seeing there is but one Faith, how happeneth it then the Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of Churches to be ſo divers: as in the Church of* Rome *there is one cuſtom and manner of Maſs, and the* French *Church hath another?*

*The Anſwer.*

The anſwer

The Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, what it is you know, wherein you remember that you have been brought up from your youth; but rather it pleaſeth me better, that whether it be in the Church of *Rome*, or any *French* Church, where ye find any thing that ſeemeth better to the ſervice and pleaſing of God, that ye chooſe the ſame, and ſo infer and bring into the *Engliſh* Church (which is yet new in the faith) the beſt and pickedſt things choſen out of many Churches; for things are not to be beloved for the place ſake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good; wherefore ſuch things as be good, godly, and religious, thoſe chooſe out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of *Engliſh* men.

Note a worthy ſaying of *Gregory.*

The fourth Interrogation.

The 4th. interrogation

*I pray you, what puniſhment judge you for him that ſhall ſteal or pilfer any thing out of the Church?*

*The Anſwer.*

The Anſwer

This your brotherhood may ſoon diſcern by the perſon of a Thief, how it ought to be corrected. For ſome there be, that having ſufficient to live upon, yet do ſteal. Others there be which ſteal of meer neceſſity. Wherefore conſidering the quality and difference of the crime, neceſſary it is, that ſome be corrected by loſs of goods, ſome by ſtripes, ſome others more ſharply, and ſome more eaſie; yea, and when ſharper correction is to be executed, yet that muſt be done with Charity, and with no fury; for in puniſhing offenders, this is the cauſe and end wherefore they are puniſhed, becauſe they ſhould be ſaved, and not periſh in Hell fire. And ſo ought Diſcipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good Fathers in puniſhing their Children, whom both they chaſten for their evil, and yet being chaſtened, they look to have them their Heirs, and think to leave them all they have, notwithſtanding they correct them ſometimes in anger. Therefore this Charity muſt be kept in mind; and in the correction there is a meaſure to be had, ſo that the mind never do any thing without the rule of reaſon. Ye add moreover, with what recompence of meaſure things ought to be required again, which be ſtollen out of Churches? But God forbid that the Church ſhould ever require again, with increaſe, that which is loſt in outward things, and to ſeek her gain by endamaging others.

The fifth Interrogation.

The 5th. interrogation

Item, *Whether two brethren may marry two ſiſters, being far off from any part of kindred?*

*The Anſwer.*

The anſwer

This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

The ſixth Interrogation.

The 6th. interrogation

Item, *To what degree of kindred may the marrimony of the faithful extend with their kindred, or whether it is lawful to marry with the Stepmother and her kinsfolks?*

*The Anſwer.*

The anſwer

A certain terrene law amongſt the old *Romans* doth permit, that either brother or ſiſter, or the ſon and daughter of two brethren may marry together. But by the experience we learn, that the iſſue of ſuch Marriage doth never thrive, nor come forward. Alſo the holy Law of God forbiddeth to reveal the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore neceſſary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithful may lawfully marry; for in the ſecond (being an unlawful) they muſt needs refrain. To be coupled with the ſtepmother is utterly abominable, for it is written in the

In what degree of kindred a man may marry.

the law: *Thou ſhalt not reveal the turpitude of thy father.* For ſo much then as it is ſo written in the law: *And they ſhall be two in one fleſh*; the ſon then that preſumeth to reveal the turpitude of his Step-mother, which is one fleſh with his father, what doth he then but reveal the turpitude of his own father? Likewiſe it was forbidden and unlawful to marry with thy kinſwoman, which by her firſt Marriage was made one fleſh with thy brother; for the which cauſe *John* the Baptiſt alſo loſt his head, and was crowned a Martyr. Who, though he died not for the confeſſion of Chriſt, yet for ſo much, as Chriſt ſaith, *I am the truth*: therefore in that *John* Baptiſt was ſlain for the truth, it may be ſaid his blood was ſhed for Chriſt.

By this rule the Marriage of King *Henry* with Queen *Katharine* Dowager was unlawful.

### The ſeventh Interrogation.

The 7th. Interrogation. Item, *Whether ſuch as ſo be coupled together in filthy and unlawful Matrimony ought to be ſeparated, and denied the partaking of the holy Communion?*

*The Anſwer.*

The Anſwer Becauſe there be many of the Nation of *Engliſhmen*, which being yet in their infidelity, were ſo joyned and coupled in ſuch execrable Marriage; the ſame coming now to faith, are to be admoniſhed hereafter to abſtain from the like, and that they know the ſame to be a grievous ſin: that they dread the dreadful judgment of God, leſt for their carnal delectation they incur the torments of eternal puniſhment. And yet notwithſtanding they are not to be ſecluded therefore from the participation of Chriſts body and blood: leſt we ſhould ſeem to revenge thoſe things in them, which they before their Baptiſm through ignorance did commit. For in this time the Holy Church doth correct ſome faults more fervently, ſome faults ſhe ſuffereth again through manſuetude and meekneſs; ſome wittingly and willingly ſhe doth wink at and diſſemble; that many times the evil, which ſhe doth deteſt, through bearing and diſſembling ſhe may ſtop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, muſt be admoniſhed that they commit no ſuch offence. Which thing if they do, they are to be deprived of the Communion of the Lords Body and Blood. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this caſe is tolerable: ſo in them again it is ſtrongly to be inſued, which knowing they do nought, yet fear not to commit.

A diſcreet ſaying of *Gregory* to be noted.

### The eighth Interrogation.

The 8th. Interrogation. Item, *In this I deſire to be ſatisfied, after what manner I ſhould deal or do with the Biſhops of* France, *and of* Britain?

*The Anſwer.*

The Anſwer As touching the Biſhops in *France*, I give you no authority or power over them. For the Biſhops of *Aralas*, or *Orleance* hath by the old time of our Predeceſſors received the Pall, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Therefore when your brotherhood ſhall go unto the Province of *France*, whatſoever ye ſhall have there to do with the Biſhop of *Orleance*, ſo do, that he loſe nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our fore-elders. But as concerning the Biſhops of *Britain*, we commit them all to your brotherhood, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirm by perſwaſion may be confirmed, the wilful by authority may be corrected.

*Queſt. 25. cap. 2. in Gallicanum.*

### The ninth Interrogation.

The 9th. Interrogation. *Whether a woman being great with child, ought to be baptiſed; or after ſhe hath children, after how long time ſhe ought to enter into the Church? Or elſe, that which ſhe hath brought forth, leſt it ſhould be prevented with death, after how many days it ought to receive Baptiſm? Or after how long time after her Child-birth is it lawful for her Husband to reſort to her? Or elſe, if ſhe be in her monthly courſe, after the diſeaſe of women, whether then ſhe may enter into the Church, and receive the Sacrament of the holy Communion? Or elſe her Husband after the lying with his Wife, before he be waſhed with water, whether is it lawful for him to enter the Church, and to draw nigh to the myſtery of the holy Communion? All which things muſt be declared and opened to the rude multitude of* Engliſhmen.

*The Anſwer.*

The Anſwer The childing or bearing Woman, why may ſhe not be baptiſed, ſeeing that the fruitfulneſs of the fleſh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our firſt Parents in Paradiſe, after they had tranſgreſſed, loſt their immortality by the juſt judgment of God, which they had taken before. Then becauſe Almighty God would not mankind utterly to periſh, becauſe of his fall (although he loſt now his immortality for his treſpaſs) yet of his benign pity, left notwithſtanding to him the fruit and generation of iſſue. Wherefore the iſſue and generation of mans nature, which is conſerved by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptiſm?

The Anſwer

As concerning the Churching of Women, after they have travelled, where ye demand after how many days they ought to go to the Church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a Man child thirty three days, after a Woman child ſixty and three days be appointed her to keep in: albeit this you muſt take to be underſtood in a Myſtery. For if ſhe ſhould the hour after her travel enter into the Church to give thanks, ſhe committed therein no ſin: for why? the luſt and pleaſure of the fleſh, and not the travel and pain of the fleſh is ſin. In the conjunction of the fleſh is pleaſure, but in the travel and bringing forth of the child is pain and groaning: as unto the Mother of all it is ſaid, *In ſorrow thou ſhalt travel.* Therefore if we forbid the Woman after her labour to enter into the Church, then what do we elſe but count the ſame puniſhment given unto her for ſin? Therefore for the Woman after her labour to be baptiſed, either that which ſhe hath travelled forth (if preſent neceſſity of death doth ſo require) yea, in the ſelf ſame hour, either ſhe that hath brought forth, either that which is born in the ſame hour when it is born, to be baptiſed we do not forbid.

The churching of Women.

He ſpeaketh here after the cuſtom of that time.

Moreover, for the Man to company with his Wife, that he muſt not, before the Child that is born be wained. But now there is a lewd and naughty Cuſtom, riſen in the condition of married folks, that Mothers do contemn to nurſe their own children which they have born, but ſet them to other Women out to nurſe, which ſeemeth only to come of the cauſe of incontinency: for while they will not contain themſelves, therefore they put from them their Children to nurſe, &c.

Mothers that nurſe not their children reprehended.

As concerning the Women in their menſtruous courſe, whether ſhe ought to enter the Church? To this I anſwer: She ought not to be forbid. For the ſuperfluity of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it juſt that ſhe ſhould be deprived of her acceſs to the Church, for that which ſhe ſuffered againſt her will. And if the woman did well, preſuming in touching the Lords Coat in the time of her bloody Iſſue; why then may not that be granted unto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one perſon done in her infirmity? Therefore to receive the Myſtery of the Holy Communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if ſhe dare not ſo far preſume in her great infirmity, ſhe is to be praiſed, but if ſhe do receive, ſhe is not to be judged: for it is a point of a good mind in ſome manner to acknowledge her ſins there, where is no ſin: becauſe many times that is done without fault, which cometh of fault. As when we be hungry, we eat without fault, notwithſtanding it cometh by the fault of our firſt father to us that we are hungry. &c.

Where ye aſk, if a man after the company with his Wife may reſort to the Church, or to the holy Communion, before he be purged with water? The law given to the old people, commanded that a man (after the company with his Wife) both ſhould be purified with water, and alſo ſhould tarry the Sun-ſet before he came to the Congregation. Which ſeemeth to be underſtood ſpiritually: for then moſt true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is joyned to unlawful Concupiſcence in his heart and cogitation. At that time, before the ſaid fire of Concupiſcence ſhall be removed, let the perſon think himſelf unworthy the entrance to the Congregation, through the vicioufneſs of his filthy will. But of this matter ſundry Nations have every one their ſundry cuſtoms: ſome one way, and ſome another. The ancient manner of the *Romans* from our forefathers, hath been, that in ſuch caſe, firſt they purge themſelves

ſelves with water, then for a little they abſtain reverently, and ſo reſort to the Church, &c.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he ferreth. *But if any perſon not for voluptuouſneſs of the fleſh, but for procreation of children do company with his Wife, that man concerning either the coming to the Church, or the receiving the Myſteries of the Lords Body and Blood, is to be left to his own judgment; for he ought not to be forbid of us to come, which when he lieth in the fire, will not burn, &c.*

There is another queſtion alſo to theſe adjoyned, with his anſwer likewiſe to the ſame, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought theſe at this preſent to our *Engliſh* ears ſufficient.

To return now to the ſtory again; *Gregory* after he had ſent theſe reſolutions to the queſtions of *Auſtin*, ſendeth moreover to the Church of *England* more coadjutors and helpers, as *Melitus*, *Juſtus*, *Paulinus* and *Ruffianus*, with Books and ſuch other implements as he thought neceſſary for the *Engliſh* Church. He ſendeth moreover to the foreſaid *Auſtin* a Pall with Letters, wherein he ſetteth an order between the two Metropolitan Sees, the one to be at *London*, the other to be at *York*. Notwithſtanding, he granteth to the ſaid *Auſtin* during his life, to be the only chief Archbiſhop of all the Land: and after his time, then to return to the two foreſaid Sees of *London* and *York*, as is in the ſame Letter contained, the Tenor whereof here followeth in his own words, as enſueth.

## The Copy of the Epiſtle of *Gregory*, ſent to *Auſtin* into *England*.

*REverendiſſimo & ſanctiſſimo fratri Auguſtino coepiſcopo, Gregorius ſervus ſervorum Dei. Cum certum ſit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni Regis præmia reſervari, nobis tamen eis neceſſe eſt bonorum beneficia tribuere, ut in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius inſudare, &c.*

As followeth here in *Engliſh*:

TO *the reverend and vertuous brother* Auguſtine, *his fellow Biſhop*, Gregorius *the ſervant of the ſervants of God. Although it be moſt certain, that unſpeakable rewards of the heavenly King be laid up for all ſuch as labour in the Word of the Almighty God: yet it ſhall be requiſite for us to reward the ſame alſo with our benefits, to the end they may be more encouraged to go forward in the ſtudy of their ſpiritual work. And for ſo much now, as the new Church of* Engliſhmen *is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty help, and your travel, therefore we have granted to you the uſe of the Pall, only to be uſed at the ſolemnity of your Maſs: ſo that it ſhall be lawful for you to ordain twelve Biſhops, ſuch as ſhall be ſubject to your Province or Dition. So that hereafter always the Biſhop of the City of* London *ſhall be ordained and conſecrated by his own proper Synod; and ſo to receive the Pall of honour from the holy and Apoſtolick See, wherein I here (by the permiſſion of God) do ſerve. And as touching the City of* York, *we will ſend alſo a Biſhop thither, whom you may think meet to ordain. So that if that City with other places bordering thereby, ſhall receive the Word of God, he ſhall have power likewiſe to ordain twelve Biſhops, and have the honour of a Metropolitan; to whom alſo, if God ſpare me life, I intend by the favour of God, to ſend a Pall: this provided, that notwithſtanding he ſhall be ſubject to your brotherly appointment. But after your deceaſe, the ſame Metropolitan, ſo to be over the Biſhops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wiſe ſubject to the Metropolitan of* London *after you. And hereafter, betwixt theſe two Metropolitans of* London *and* York, *let there be had ſuch diſtinction of Honour, that he ſhall have the priority, which ſhall in time firſt be ordained. With common counſel, and affection of heart, let them go both together, diſpoſing with one accord ſuch things as be to be done for the zeal of Chriſt. Let them foretbink and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wiſely, let them accompliſh concordly, nor jarring, nor ſwarving one from the other. But as for your part, you ſhall be endued with authority, not only over thoſe Biſhops that you conſtitute, and over the other conſtituted by the Biſhop of* York; *but alſo you ſhall have all other Prieſts of whole* Britain, *ſubject unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: to the end that through your preaching and holineſs of life, they may learn both to believe rightly, and to live purely, and ſo in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and vertuous manners, they may attain, when God ſhall call them, the fruition and kingdom of Heaven. God preſerve you in health, reverend brother. The tenth before the Kalends of July, in the Reign of our ſovereign Lord* Mauricius *moſt vertuous Emperor.*

Gregory calleth the Emperor his Lord.

Beſides this, the ſaid *Gregory* ſendeth alſo another Letter to *Mellitus* concerning his judgment, what is to be done with the idolatrous Temples and Phanes of the *Engliſh* men newly converted, which Phanes he thinketh not beſt to pluck down, but to convert the uſe thereof, and ſo let them ſtand. And likewiſe of their Sacrifices, and killing of Oxen, how the ſame ought to be ordered, and how to be altered, diſputing by the occaſions thereof, of the ſacrifices of the old *Egyptians*, permitted of God unto the *Iſraelites*, the end and uſe thereof being altered, &c.

A Letter of *Gregory* to *Mellitus*.

He ſendeth alſo another Letter to the foreſaid *Auſtin*, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puft up for the Miracles wrought of God by him, in converting the People of *England*, but rather to fear and tremble, leſt ſo much as he were puft up by the outward work of Miracles, ſo much he ſhould fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart: and therefore wiſely exhorteth him to repreſs the ſwelling glory of his heart, with the remembrance of his ſins, rather againſt God, whereby he rather hath cauſe to lament, than to rejoice for the other. *Not all the elect of God* (ſaith he) *work Miracles, and yet have they their names written in the Book of Life.* And therefore he ſhould not count ſo much of thoſe Miracles done, but rather rejoyce with the Diſciples of Chriſt, and labour to have his name written in the Book of Life, where all the Elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that rejoycing. And whatſoever Miracles it hath pleaſed God by him to have been done, he ſhould remember they were not done for him, but for their converſion, whoſe ſalvation God ſought thereby, &c.

A Letter of *Gregory* to *Auſtin*.

*Item*, he directed another Epiſtle to King *Ethelbert*, as is expreſſed at large in the Chronicle of *Henry Huntington. lib.* 3. in the which Epiſtle, firſt he praiſeth God, then commendeth the goodneſs of the King, by whom it pleaſed God ſo to work ſuch goodneſs of the People. Secondly, exhorteth him to perſiſt and continue in the godly profeſſion of Chriſts faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the ſame; in converting the multitude; in deſtroying the Temples and works of idolatry, in ruling and governing the people in all holineſs and godly converſation, after the godly example of the Emperor *Conſtantine* the great. Laſtly, comforting him with the promiſes of life and reward to come, with the Lord that reigneth and liveth for ever; premoniſhing him beſides, of the terrors and diſtreſſes that ſhall happen (though not in his days) yet before the terrible day of Gods judgment. Wherefore he willeth him always to be ſolicitous for his ſoul, and ſuſpectful of the hour of his death, and watchful of the judgment, that he may be always prepared for the ſame, when that judgment ſhall come. In the end he deſireth him to accept ſuch preſents and gifts which he thought good to ſend unto him from *Rome*, *&c.*

A Letter of *Gregory* to King *Ethelbert*.

*Auſtin* thus receiving his Pall from *Gregory*, as is aboveſaid, and now of a Monk being made an Archbiſhop, after he had baptiſed a great part of *Kent*; he afterward made two Archbiſhops or Metropolitans, by the commandment of *Gregory*, as witneſſeth *Polychron*, one at *London*, another at *York*.

§ Anno § 600. *Polychron. li* 5. *cap.* 9. *Fabian. part.* 5. *cap.* 119.

*Mellitus*, of whom mention is made before, was ſent ſpecially to the *Eaſtſaxons* in the Province of *Eſſex*, where after he was made Biſhop of *London*, under *Sigebert*, King of *Eſſex*; which *Sigebert*, together with his Uncle *Ethelbert* firſt builded the Church and Minſter of St. *Paul* in *London*, and appointed it to *Mellitus* for the Biſhops See. *Auſtin* (aſſociate with this *Mellitus* and *Juſtus* through the help of *Ethelbert*) aſſembled and gathered together the Biſhops and Doctors of *Britain*

Archbiſhops of *London* and of *York* made by *Auſtin*. *Mellitus* Biſhop of *London*.

in a place, which taking the name of the ſaid *Auſtin*, was called *Auſtins Oke*. In this Aſſembly he charged the ſaid Biſhops, that they ſhould preach with him the Word of God to the *Engliſh* men, and alſo that they ſhould among themſelves reform certain Rites and Uſages in their Church, ſpecially for keeping of their *Eaſtertide*, baptiſing after the manner of *Rome*, and ſuch other like. To this the *Scots* and *Britains* would not agree, refuſing to leave the Cuſtom which they ſo long time had continued, without the aſſent of them all which uſed the ſame. Here the ſtories both of *Beda*, *Ceſtrenſis in Polychron.* *Huntingtonenſis*, *Fornalenſis*, *Fabianus*, and others more, write of a certain Miracle wrote upon a blind *Engliſhman*; whom when the *Britains* could not help, *Auſtin* kneeling down, and praying, reſtored the blind man to ſight before them all, for a confirmation (as theſe Authors ſay) of his opinion in keeping of *Eaſter*. But concerning the credit of this Miracle, that I leave to the Authors of whom I had it.

The *Britains* and *Scots* uſed not the Rites of *Rome*.

Then *Auſtin* gathered another Synod, to the which came ſeven Biſhops of *Britain*, with the wiſeſt men of that famous Abbey of *Bangor*. But firſt they took counſel of a certain wiſe and holy man amongſt them what to do; and whether they ſhould be obedient to *Auſtin* or not. And he ſaid, *If he be the ſervant of God, agree unto him. But how ſhall we know that*, ſaid they? To whom he anſwered again, *If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is the ſervant of God.* To this they ſaid again, *And how ſhall we know him to be humble and meek of heart? By this* (quoth he) *ſeeing you are the greater number, if he at your coming into your Synod riſe up, and courteouſly receive you, perceive him to be an humble and a meek man; but if he ſhall contemn and deſpiſe you (being as ye are) the greater part, deſpiſe you him again.* Thus the *Britain* Biſhops entring into the Council, *Auſtin* after the *Romiſh* manner keeping his Chair would not remove. Whereat they being not a little offended, after ſome heat of words, in diſdain and great diſpleaſure departed thence. To whom then *Auſtin* ſpake, and ſaid, *That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they ſhould receive War with their enemies; and if they diſdained to preach with them the way of life to the* Engliſh *Nation, they ſhould ſuffer by their hands the revenge of death.* Which not long after ſo came to paſs by the means of *Ethelfride*, King of *Northumberland*, who being yet a Pagan, and ſtirred with a fierce fury againſt the *Britains*, came with a great Army againſt the City of *Cheſter*, where *Brocmaile* the Conſul of that City, a friend and helper of the *Britains* ſide, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the ſame time at *Bangor* in *Wales* an exceeding great Monaſtery, wherein was ſuch a number of Monks, as *Galfridus* with other Authors, do teſtifie, that if the whole company were divided into ſeven parts, in every of the ſeven parts were contained not ſo few as three hundred Monks; which all did live by the ſweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their Ruler, named *Dino*. Out of this Monaſtery came the Monks of *Cheſter*, to pray for the good ſucceſs of *Brocmaile*, fighting for them againſt the *Saxons*. Three days they continued in faſting and prayer. When *Ethelfride* the foreſaid King, ſeeing them ſo intentive to their prayers, demanded the cauſe of their coming thither in ſuch a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their Conſul; *Then* (ſaith he) *although they bear no weapon, yet they fight againſt us, and with their prayers and preachings they perſecute us.* Whereupon after that *Brocmaile* being overcome, did flie away, the King commanded his men to turn their weapons againſt the ſilly unarmed Monks, of whom he ſlew the ſame time, or rather martyred, eleven hundred, only fifty perſons of that number did fly and eſcape away with *Brocmaile*, the reſt were all ſlain. The Authors that write of this lamentable Murther, declare and ſay how the foreſpeaking of *Auſtin* was here verified upon the *Britains*, which becauſe they would not joyn peace with their friends, he ſaid ſhould be deſtroyed of their enemies. Of both theſe parties the Reader may judge what he pleaſeth; I cannot ſee but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuſe the one, ſo I cannot defend the other. Firſt *Auſtin* in this matter can in no wiſe be excuſed; who being a Monk before, and therefore a Scholar and profeſſor of humility, ſhewed ſo little humility in this Aſſembly, to ſeven Biſhops and an Archbiſhop, coming at his commandment to the Council, that he thought ſcorn once to ſtir at their coming in. Much leſs would his Phariſaical Solemnity have girded himſelf, and waſhed his brethrens feet after their travel, as Chriſt our great Maſter did to his Diſciples; ſeeing his Lordſhip was ſo high, or rather ſo heavy, or rather ſo proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and an humble heart. Again, the *Britains* were as much or more to blame, who ſo much neglected their ſpiritual duty, in revenging their temporal injury, that they denied to joyn their helping labour, to turn the idolatrous *Saxons* to the way of life and ſalvation, in which reſpect all private caſes ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cauſe, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the ſtroke of Gods puniſhment did light upon them, according to the words of *Auſtin*, as is before declared. But eſpecially the cruel King in this fact was moſt of all to blame ſo furiouſly to fly upon them which had neither weapon to reſiſt him, nor yet any will to harm him. And ſo likewiſe the ſame or like happened to himſelf afterward. For ſo was he alſo ſlain in the field by Chriſtian *Edwin*, who ſucceeded him, as he had ſlain the Chriſtians before, which was about the year of our Lord ſix hundred and ten. But to return to *Auſtin* again, who by report of Authors was departed before this cruelty was done; after he had baptiſed and chriſtened ten thouſand *Saxons* or *Angles* in the Weſt River, that is called *Swale*, beſide *York* on a *Chriſtmas* day, perceiving his end to draw near, he ordained a Succeſſor named *Laurentius* to rule after him the Archbiſhops See of *Dorobornia*. Where note by the way, (Chriſtian Reader) that whereas *Auſtin* baptiſed then in Rivers, it followeth, there was then no uſe of Fonts. Again, if it be true that *Fabian* ſaith, he baptiſed ten thouſand in one day; the Rite then of baptiſing at *Rome* was not ſo ceremonial, neither had ſo many Trinkets at that time, as it hath had ſince: or elſe it could not be that he could baptiſe ſo many in one day.

Abbey of *Bangor*. *Ex libro Fornalenſi, Fabiano, & aliis.*

Ethelfride King of *Northumberland*.

Brocmaile Conſul of *Cheſter*.

The Monaſtery of *Bangor*. *Galfridus Monumeten. Polychron. lib. 5. ca. 10. Liber bibliotheca Fornalenſis. Guil. Malmesburienſ. lib. 5. de reg. Fabian. p. 5. ca. 119, 120.*

A pitiful ſlaughter of unarmed Monks of *Bangor*.

Whether *Auſtin* or the *Britains* in this caſe were more to blame.

*Laurentius* Archbiſhop after *Auſtin*.

Baptiſing in Rivers, not in Fonts.

Baptiſing among the old *Romans* was not ſo [illegible] many ceremonies as ſince.

In the mean ſeaſon, about this time departed *Gregory*, Biſhop of *Rome*, of whom it is ſaid, that of the number of all the firſt Biſhops before him in the Primitive time, he was the baſeſt; of all them that came after him, he was the beſt. About which time alſo died in *Wales*, *David*, Archbiſhop firſt of *Kaerleon*, who then tranſlated the See from thence to *Menevia*, and therefore is called *David of Wales*. Not long after this alſo deceaſed the foreſaid *Auſtin* in *England*, after he had ſit there fifteen or ſixeeen years; by the which count we may note it, not to be true that *Henry Huntington* and others do witneſs, that *Auſtin* was dead before that Battel of *Ethelfride* againſt the Monks of *Bangor*. For if it be true that *Polychronicon* teſtifieth of this murther, to be done about the year of our Lord ſix hundred and nine, and the coming of *Auſtin* firſt into the Realm to be *Anno* five hundred ninety ſix, then *Auſtin* enduring ſixteen years, could not be dead at this Battel. Moreover *Galfridus Monumetenſis* declareth concerning the ſame Battel, that *Ethelbert* the King of *Kent*, being (as is ſaid) converted by *Auſtin* to Chriſts faith: after he ſaw the *Britains* to diſdain and deny their ſubjection unto *Auſtin*, neither would aſſiſt him with preaching to the *Engliſh* Nation; therefore ſtirred up he the foreſaid *Ethelfride* to war againſt the *Britains*; but that ſeemeth rather ſuſpicious than true, that he being a Chriſtian King, either could ſo much prevail with a *Pagan* Idolater, or elſe would attempt ſo far to commit ſuch a cruel deed; but of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to ſay, much leſs to judge.

Anno 604.

S. *David* in *Wales*, otherwiſe called *Dewie*.

Computation of time examined.

*Galfrid. Monumetenſis.*

About this preſent time above preſixed, which is *Anno* ſix hundred and ten. I read in the ſtory of *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*, the Writer of *Polychronicon*, of *John* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whom for his rare example of hoſpitality and bountifulneſs to the poor, I thought no leſs worthy to have place amongſt good men, than I ſee the ſame now to be followed of few. This *John* (being before belike a hard and ſparing man)

Anno 610.

*Polybron. lib. 5. c. 10.* A ſtory of *John* Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

as

Mercy may live a maiden, for no man will marry her. This *John* was ſo bountiful in giving, that he afraid to live in a manner with the Lord, whether the Lord ſhould give more, or he ſhould diſtribute more of that which was given.

as he was at his prayer, upon a time, (it is ſaid) there appeared to him a comely Vigin, having on her head a garland of Olive leaves, which named her ſelf *Mercy*, ſaying to him, and promiſing, that if he would take her to wife, he ſhould proſper well. This, whether it were true or not, or elſe invented for a morality; I would wiſh this flouriſhing damſel to be married to more than to this *John*, that ſhe ſhould not live ſo long a Virgin as now ſhe doth, becauſe no man will marry her. But to return to this Patriarch, who after that day (as the ſtory recordeth) was ſo merciful and ſo beneficial, eſpecially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his Maſters, and himſelf as a ſervant and ſteward unto them: This Patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to ſit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to ſet unity where was any variance. One day it hapned, as he was ſitting all the day before his gate, and ſaw no man come, he lamented, that all that day he had done no good: To whom his Deacon ſtanding by, anſwered again, that he had more cauſe to rejoyce, ſeeing he had brought the City in that order and in ſuch peace, that there needed no reconcilement amongſt them. Another time as the ſaid *John* the Patriarch was at ſervice, and reading the Goſpel in the Church, the people (as their uſed manner is) went out of the Church to talke and jangle: He perceiving that, went out likewiſe, and ſat amongſt them; whereat they marvelled to ſee him do ſo. My children (ſaid he) *where the flock is, there ought the Shepheard to be: Wherefore either come you in, that I may alſo come in with you; or elſe if you tarry out, I will liſewiſe tarry out together with you*, &c.

The acts of Gregory the firſt.

As touching the acts and deeds of *Gregory*, above mentioned, how he withſtood the ambitious pride of *John* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which would be the univerſal Prieſt, and only chief Biſhop of all others, declaring him to be no leſs than the forerunner of Antichriſt, that would take that name upon him: How, and with what reaſons he anſwered again the letters of the Emperor *Mauricius* in that behalf, ſufficient relation is made thereof in the firſt entry and beginning of this Book. This *Gregory* among many other things induced into the Church (the ſpecialties whereof hereafter ſhall follow, Chriſt willing, more at large) firſt began and brought in this title among the *Roman* Biſhops, to be called, *Servus Servorum Dei:* Putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleneſs, and alſo of their duty in the Church of Chriſt. Moreover, as concerning his act for the ſole life of Prieſts firſt begun, and then broken again: Alſo concerning the order of *Gregories* maſs Book to be received in all Churches: Hereof who ſo luſteth to read more, ſhall find the ſame in other places hereafter, namely, when we come to the time of Pope *Adrian* the firſt.

Whereupon the Roman Biſhops uſe in their ſtile *Servus Servorum Dei.*

Sabinianus Biſhop of Rome.

Boniface the third Biſhop of Rome.

After the death of *Gregory* above mentioned, firſt came *Sabinianus*, who, as he was a malicious detractor of *Gregory*, and of his Works, ſo he continued not long, ſcarce the ſpace of two years. After whom ſucceeded next *Bonifacius* the third, which albeit he Reigned but one year, yet in that one year he did more hurt than *Gregory* with ſo much labors, and in ſo many years, could do good before. For that, which *Gregory* kept out, he brought in, obtaining of *Phocas* the wicked Emperor, for him and his ſucceſſors after him, that the See of *Rome* above all other Churches ſhould have the preeminence, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould be the univerſal head of all Churches of Chriſt in Chriſtendom: Alledging for him this frivolous reaſon, that Saint *Peter* had and left to his ſucceſſors in *Rome*, the keys of binding and looſing, &c. And thus began firſt *Rome* to take an head above all other Churches, by the means of *Boniface* the third, who, as he lacked no boldneſs nor ambition to ſeek it, ſo neither lacked he an Emperor fit and meet to give ſuch a gift. This Emperors name was *Phocas*, a man of ſuch wickedneſs and ambition (moſt like to his own Biſhop *Boniface*) that to aſpire to the Empire, he murthered his own Maſter, the Emperor *Mauricius* and his Children. Thus *Phocas* coming up to be Emperor, after his deteſtable villany done, thinking, to ſtabliſh his Empire with friendſhip and favour of his people, and eſpecially with the Biſhop of *Rome*, quickly condeſcended to all his petitions, and ſo granted him (as it is ſaid) to be that he would, the univerſal and head Biſhop over all Chriſtian Churches. But as blood commonly requireth blood again, ſo it came to paſs on the ſaid *Phocas*. For as he had cruelly ſlain the Lord and Emperor *Mauricius* before, ſo he in like manner (of *Heraclius* the Emperor ſucceeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and ſo was caſt into the Sea. And thus wicked *Phocas*, which gave the firſt Supremacy to *Rome*, loſt his own. But *Rome* would not ſo ſoon loſe his Supremacy once given, as the giver loſt his life: For ever ſince, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the ſame ſtill, and yet doth to this preſent day, by all force and policy poſſible. And thus much concerning *Boniface*, whom by the words of *Gregory*, we may well call the runner before Antichriſt. For as *Gregory* brought in their ſtile, *Servus Servorum Dei*; This *Boniface* brought in their heads firſt, *Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus ac præcipimus.* That is: *We will and command, We enjoyn and charge you*, &c.

Phocas traytor and murtherer of his Emperor.

Blood revenged with blood.

*Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus.* brought in by *Boniface* the third.

Mention was made a little before of *Ethelbert* King of Kent, and alſo of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northſaxon* or *Northumbria*. This *Ethelbert* having under his ſubjection all the [illegible] *Saxon* Kings unto *Humber*, after he had firſt received himſelf, and cauſed to be received of others, the Chriſtian faith by the Preaching of *Auſtin*, confirmed afterward in the ſame faith, amongſt other coſtly deeds, with the help of *Sigebert* King of *Eſſex* his nephew then Reigning under him, began the foundation of *Pauls* Church within the City of *London*, and ordained it for the Biſhops See of *London*. For the Archbiſhops See which before time had been at *London*, was by *Auſtin* and this *Ethelbert* at the prayer of the Citizens of *Dorobernia* tranſlated to the ſaid City: *Malmesburienſis lib. de Pontific.* Wherefore ſuch authors as ſay, that *Pauls* was builded by *Sigebert*, ſay not amiſs, which *Sigebert* was the King of *Eſſex*, in which Province ſtandeth the City of *London*. This *Ethelbert* alſo founded the Church of Saint *Andrew* in the City of *Dorubres* in *Kent*, now called *Rocheſter*, of one *Roſ*, diſtant from *Dorobernia* four and twenty miles. Of this City *Juſtus* was Biſhop, ordained before by *Auſtin*. Moreover the forenamed *Ethelbert* ſtirred up a dweller or Citizen of *London*, to make a Chapel or Church of Saint *Peter* in the Weſt end of *London*, then called *Thorny*, now the Town of *Weſtminſter*, which Church or Chapel was after by *Edward* the Confeſſor inlarged or new builded: Laſtly, of *Henry* the third it was newly again reedified and made as it is now, a large Monaſtery, &c. After theſe Chriſtian and worthy acts, this *Ethelbert*, when he had Reigned the courſe of fifty and ſix years, changed this mortal life about the year of our Lord, *616*. whom ſome ſtories ſay to be ſlain in a fight between him and *Ethelfrid* King of *Northſaxons*.

*Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus.* brought in by *Boniface* the third.

*Fabian. cap.* 220.

*Ethelbert* and *Sigebert* builders of *Pauls* Church.

The Archbiſhops See tranſlated from *London* to *Dorobernia*. *Malmesburienſis, lib. de pontif. H. Huntingd. lib.* 3.

This *Edward* was the third of that name before the conqueſt. The monaſtary of *Weſtminſter.* { Anno 616 }

In the mean time the foreſaid *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, after the cruel murther of the Monks of *Bangor*, eſcaped not long unto his hire: For after he had Reigned four and twenty years he was ſlain in the field of *Edwin*, who ſucceeded in *Northumberland* after him.

Blood revenged with blood.

This *Edwin* being the ſon, not of *Ethelfrid* (as *Galfridus Monumetenſis* ſaith) but rather *Alla* (as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* ſeemeth to witneſs more truly) was firſt a Panim or Idolater; afterward by *Paulinus* was Chriſtened, and the firſt Chriſtened King in *Northumberland*. The occaſion of which his calling or converſion, as is in ſundry ſtories contained, was this.

*Edwin* firſt Chriſtened King in *Northumberland*. *Giraldus Cambrenſis.*

*Edwin* being yet a Pagan, married the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, called *Edelburge* a Chriſtian woman, otherwiſe called *Tace*. But before this marriage, *Edwin* being yet young, *Ethelfrid* the King conceiving envy againſt him, perſecuted him ſo ſore, that he was forced to flie to *Redwaldus*, King of *Eaſtangles*, as in the table of the Kings is expreſſed; The which *Redwaldus* what for fear, what with bribes being corrupted of *Ethelfrid*, at length privily had intended to have betrayed *Edwin*. But as Gods Will was, *Edwin* having warning thereof by a ſecret friend of his, was moved to flie, and ſo ſave himſelf, being promiſed alſo of his friends to be ſafely conveyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom *Edwin* ſaid, Whether ſhall I flie, that have ſo long fleen the hands of mine Enemies, through all Provinces of the Realm? And if I muſt needs be ſlain, I had rather he ſhould do it, than another unworthy perſon. Thus

The order and manner of the converſion of *Edwin* to the faith of Chriſt.

The trouble of *Edwin.*

he remaining by himſelf alone and ſolitary, ſitting in a great ſtudy, there appeared unto him ſuddenly a certain ſtranger to him unknown, and ſaid; I know well the cauſe of thy thought and heavineſs. What wouldſt thou give him that ſhould deliver thee out of this fear, and ſhould reconcile King *Redwald* to thee again? I would give him (ſaid *Edwin*) all that I ever could make. And he ſaid again: And what if I make thee a mightier King than was any of thy Progenitors? He anſwered again as before. Moreover (ſaith he) And what if he ſhew thee a better kind and way of life, than ever was ſhewed to any of thine Anceſtors before thee; wilt thou obey him and do after his counſel? Yea, (ſaid *Edwin*) promiſing moſt firmly with all his heart ſo to do. Then he laying his hand upon his head: When (ſaid he) this token hapneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promiſe which thou haſt made, and the word which now I ſay unto thee. And with that he vaniſhed out of his ſight ſuddenly. After this ſo done, as *Edwin* was ſitting alone by himſelf penſive and ſad, his foreſaid freind, which moved him before to flie, cometh to him, bidding him be of good cheer; For the heart (ſaid he) of King *Redwaldus*, which had before intended thy deſtruction, is now altered through the counſel of the Queen, and is fully bent to keep his promiſe with you, whatſoever ſhall fall thereupon. To make the ſtory ſhort, *Redwaldus* the King (although *Fabian* following *Henry Huntington*, ſaith it was *Edwin*) with all convenient ſpeed aſſembled an hoſt; wherewith he ſuddenly coming upon *Ethelfrid*, gave battel unto him about the borders of *Mercia*, where *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, with *Reiner*, *Redwaldus* ſon, was ſlain in the field. By reaſon whereof *Edwin* (his Enemies now being deſtroyed) was quietly placed in the poſſeſſion of *Northumberland*. All this while yet *Edwin* remained in his old *Paganiſm*, albeit his Queen (as is above declared) King *Ethelberts* daughter, a Chriſtian woman, with *Paulinus* the Biſhop, ceaſed not to ſtir and perſwade the King to Chriſtian faith. But he taking counſel with his Nobles and Counſellers upon the matter, was hard to be won. Then the Lord, who diſpoſeth all things after his purpoſe to bring all good things to paſs, ſent another trouble upon him, by means thereof to call him: For by affliction God uſeth commonly to call them whom he will ſave, or by whom he will work ſalvation unto others. So his divine wiſdom thinketh good to make them firſt to know themſelves before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with *Paul* (who was ſtricken down before he was lifted up) with *Conſtantinus*, *Edwinus*, and many more. How long was *Joſeph* in priſon before he bare rule? How hardly eſcaped this our Queen now being (Queen *Elizabeth*) by whom notwithſtanding it hath pleaſed God to reſtore this his Goſpel now Preached amongſt us? In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his ſpirit was *M. Luther*, befor he came to preach the juſtification of Chriſt openly? And ſo be all they moſt commonly, which come to any lively feeling or ſenſible working of Chriſt the Lord.

The marvellous calling of *Edwin*.

*Edwin* miraculouſly delivered.

*W. Malmesburienſis, lib. de reg.*

This Queen was *Ethelburge*, daughter to King *Ethelbert* the chriſtened King of *Kent*.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

But to return to *Edwin* again. The occaſion of his trouble was this. *Quicelinus* with *Kinegilſus* his brother, Kings of *Weſtſaxons* (as above is mentioned in the table of the *Saxon* Kings) conſpiring the death of *Edwin*, now King of *Northumberland*, upon envy and malice ſent upon an Eaſter day, a ſword-man, named *Emner*, privily to ſlay the ſaid *Edwin*. This ſword-man or cut-throat, came to a City beſide the water of *Darwent* in *Derbiſhire*, there to wait his time: And laſtly, found the King ſmally accompanied, and intended to have run the King thorow with a ſword invenomed. But one *Lilla*, the Kings truſty ſervant, diſgarniſhed of a ſhield or other weapon to defend his Maſter, ſtart between the King and the ſword, and was ſtricken thorow the body and died, and the King was wounded with the ſame ſtroke. And after he wounded alſo the third, which was a Knight, and ſo was taken, and confeſſed by whom he was ſent to work that treaſon. The other Knight that was ſecondly wounded, died, and the King lay after long ſick ere he were healed.

Another danger of *Edwin*.

{Anno 627} *Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.*

*Fabianus part. 5.* A part of a truſty ſervant.

After this, about *Whitſontide*, the King being ſtantly whole of his wound, aſſembled his hoſt, intending to make war againſt the King of *Weſtſaxons*, promiſing to Chriſt to be Chriſtened if he would give him victory over his Enemies: and in token thereof cauſed his daughter, born of *Edelburge* the ſame *Eaſter* day when he was wounded, named *Euſted*, to be Baptiſed, with twelve others of his family, of *Paulinus*. Thus *Edwin* proceeded to the battel againſt *Quiceline* and *Kinegilſus* with *Kenwolcus* and other Enemies, who in the ſame battel being all vanquiſhed and put to flight, *Edwin* through the power of Chriſt returneth home victor. But for all this victory and other things given to him of God, as he was in wealth with the world, he forgat his promiſe made, and had little mind thereof, ſave only that he by the Preaching of *Paulinus*, forſook his Maumetry; and for his excuſe ſaid, that he might not clearly deny his old Law, which his Forefathers had kept ſo long, and ſuddenly be Chriſtened without authority and good advice of his counſel.

*Edwin* forgetteth his promiſe to Chriſt. Proſperity forgetful. Old cuſtoms in matters of Religion not to be followed, but only truth. Old cuſtom letteth *Edwin* to be Chriſtened.

About the ſame ſeaſon Pope *Boniface* the fifth ſent alſo to the ſaid *Edwin* letters exhortatory, with ſundry preſents from *Rome* to him, and to *Edelburge* the Queen: But neither would that prevail. Then *Paulinus* ſeeing the King ſo hard to be converted, poured out his Prayers unto God for his converſion; who the ſame time had revealed to him by the holy Ghoſt, the oracle above mentioned, which was ſhewed to the King, when he was with *Redwaldus*, King of the *Eaſtangles*. Whereupon *Paulinus* coming after to the King on a certain day, and laying his hand upon the Kings head, asked him if he knew that token. The King hearing this, and remembring well the token, was ready to fall down at his feet. But *Paulinus* not ſuffering that, did lift him up again, ſaying unto him: *Behold, O King, you have vanquiſhed your Enemies, you have obtained your Kingdom; now perform the third thing which you promiſed, that is, to receive the faith of Chriſt, and to be obedient to him.* Whereupon the King conferring with his Counſel and his Nobles, was Baptiſed of *Paulinus* at *York*, with many of his other Subjects with him. In ſo much that *Coifie*, the chief of the Prelates of his old Maumetry, armed himſelf with his Idolatrous Biſhops, and beſtrod good Horſes, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but only a Mare: and ſo deſtroyed all the Altars of the Maumetry, and their Temple of Idols, which was at *Godmundham*, not far from *York*. And this was in the eleventh year of his Reign.

A miracle of God in the converſion of King *Edwin*.

The part of a godly Biſhop exemplified in *Paulinus*.

*Edwin* baptiſed. He was baptiſed in S. *Peters* Church at *York*, which he firſt cauſed to be made of wood, which after by S. [illegible] was builded of ſtone.

From that time forth, during the life of *Edwin*, which was the term of ſix years more, *Paulinus* Chriſtened continually in the rivers of *Gwenie* and *Swala*, in both provinces of *Deira*, and in *Bernicia*, uſing the ſaid Rivers for his Fonts, and Preached in the ſhire of *Linceſeie*, where he builded alſo a Church of ſtone at *Lincoln*.

{Anno 628.}

Note *Paulinus* chriſtened in Rivers.

In this time was ſo great peace in the Kingdom of *Edwin* after his converſion, that a woman laden with Gold, might have gone from the one ſide of the Sea to the other, and no man moleſt her. Moreover by the high way ſides, through all his Kingdom he cauſed by every Well or ſpring to be chained a diſh or boll of braſs, to take up water for the refreſhing of ſuch as went by the way, which bolls of braſs there remained ſafe, that no man touched them during all the life of the ſaid *Edwin*. Such was then the tender care and ſtudy of Chriſtian Princes, for the refreſhing of their Subjects. But that was then the braſen world, which now is grown to Iron and Lead, called *Ætas ferrea*, or rather *Plumbea*.

What true juſtice of a good Prince may do in a realm. Great peace and truth among the people in the days of *Edwin*.

This *Edwin* who firſt brought in the faith, in the *North* parts continuing after his baptiſm ſix years, at length was ſlain in battel by *Cedwalla*, King of the *Britains*, and by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, with his ſon *Offricus* alſo, in the field called *Hatfield*.

{Anno 634.}

This *Paulinus* was the firſt Archbiſhop of *York*, and as he was of *Juſtus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ordained Archbiſhop of the See of *York*; ſo he again after the deceaſe of *Juſtus*, ordained *Honorius* to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*, the one ordaineth the other.

*Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

*Paulinus* after the death of godly *Edwin*, ſeeing unmerciful *Cedwalla* or *Cedwallon*, with his *Britains*, and wicked *Penda* with the Idolatrous *Mercians*, to ſpoyl the land in ſuch ſort, as they made no ſpare neither of age, nor Sex, nor Religion, was compelled to fly with *Edelburge* the Queen and *Euſted* her daughter by water into *Kent*, where the ſaid Archbiſhop *Paulinus*, remained Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the ſaid ſpace of nineteen years. And ſo the Church of *Northumberland*, lacked a Biſhop for the ſpace of

thirty

thirty years after. Notwithſtanding he left there one *James* his Deacon, a good man, who continued there Baptiſing and Preaching in the *North* parts, till that peace being recovered, and the number of the faithful increaſing, the Church came again to his ſtay. *Hunting. lib.2.*

*James* a godly Deacon. A Deacon then might baptiſe.

By means of this *Edwin*, *Erpwaldus* King of the *Eaſtangles*, ſon to *Redwaldus* above mentioned, was reduced to Chriſts faith.

*Erpwaldus* otherwiſe named *Corpwaldus* King of *Eaſtangles* converted to the faith of Chriſt.

After the deceaſe of *Edwin* and his ſon *Offrick*, both ſlain in battel, Reigned *Oſricus* and *Eaufridus*, the one in *Deira*, the other in *Bernicia*. *Oſricus* was the ſon of *Elfricus* which was brother to *Ethelfrid*. *Eaufridus* was the Eldeſt ſon of *Ethelfrid*; for *Ethelfrid* had three ſons, to wit, *Eaufridus*, *Oſwaldus*, and *Oſricus*. Theſe two Kings of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, *Oſricus*, and *Eufrid*, being firſt chriſtened in *Scotland*, after being Kings, returned to their Idolatry; and ſo in the year following were ſlain one after the other by the foreſaid *Cedwalla* and wicked *Penda*, as is in the table above expreſſed.

S. *Oſwald* King of *Northumberland.*

After whom ſucceeded in *Northumberland*, the ſecond ſon of *Ethelfrid*, named *Oſwaldus*, having rule on both the provinces, as well *Deira*, as *Bernicia*. Whereof when the foreſaid *Cedwalla* (or *Cadwallo*) the *Britain* King had underſtanding, who before had made havoke of the *Saxons*, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of *England*; he kept King *Penda* with a mighty hoſt of the *Britains*, thinking to ſlay alſo *Oſwald* as he had before ſlain his brother *Eufrid*, and King *Edwin* before them. But *Oſwald*, when he was warned of the great ſtrength of this *Cedwal* and *Penda*, made his Prayers to God, and beſought him meekly of help to withſtand his Enemy, for the ſalvation of his people. Thus after *Oſwald* had prayed for the ſaving of his people, the two hoſts met in a field named *Deneſbury*, ſome ſay *Hevenfield*, where was fought a ſtrong battel. But finally, the army and power of *Penda* and *Cedwal*, which were far exceeding the number of *Oſwalds* hoſt, was chaſed, and moſt part ſlain of *Oſwaldus*: After he reigned over the *Britains* two and twenty years, leaving after him a ſon, whom *Gaufridus* called *Cadwaladrus*, the laſt King of the *Britains*.

{Anno 634.}

*Galfridus. Malmesburienſis. Polycron. Hiſtoria Iornalenſis. Fabian.*

Strength of prayer overcometh armies.

*Penda* beaten in the field.

Of this *Oſwald* much praiſe and commendation is written in Authors, for his fervent zeal in Chriſts Religion, and merciful pity towards the poor, with other great vertues more. As touching the miracles of S. *Oſwald*, what it pleaſed the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirm. This I find in ſtories certain, that he being well and vertuouſly diſpoſed, to the ſetting forth of Chriſt's faith and Doctrine, ſent into *Scotland* for a certain Biſhop there called *Aidanus*, which was a famous Preacher. The King at what time he was in *Scotland* baniſhed, had learned the *Scotiſh* Tongue perfectly: Wherefore as this *Aidanus* Preached in his *Scotiſh* Tongue to the *Saxons*, the King himſelf interpreting that which he had ſaid, diſdained not to preach and expound the ſame unto his Nobles and Subjects in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

The commendation of King *Oſwald.*

King *Oſwald* diſdained not to expound and preach the Goſpel to his People.

Moreover, towards the poor and needy his pity and tenderneſs was ſuch, being notwithſtanding of ſo high and princely calling, that upon a time being then *Eaſter* day, he ſitting with the ſaid *Aidanus* at meat, and ſerved after the manner of Kings, in ſilver: There cometh to him one of the Servitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poor People ſitting in the ſtreet, which deſired ſome Alms of the King. He hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his table to be carried unto them, but alſo taking a ſilver platter which ſtood before him, brake it in pieces and ſent it amongſt them, and ſo relieved his poor Subjects, not only with the meat of his table, but with diſhes alſo. *Aidanus* the Biſhop, ſeeing this and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wiſhing and praying in this wiſe: *This hand* (ſaith he) *I pray God may continue and never putrifie.* What the ſtories ſay more concerning this hand of *Oſwald*, I intend not to meddle further than ſimple, true, and due probability will bear me out. In thoſe days, and partly by the means of the ſaid *Oſwald*, *Kinigilſus* King of the *Weſtſaxons* was converted to Chriſts faith; eſpecially through the godly labour of *Berinus*, which was ſent by Pope *Honorius* to Preach in *England*, and was then made Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*. To whom *Quicelinus*, brother of *Kinigilſus*, after he had alſo received Baptiſm of the ſaid *Berinus*, gave to him the ſaid City to make there his See. And as *Guido* witneſſeth, the ſaid *Quicilinus* gave after to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſeven miles compaſs of land, to build there the Biſhops See, the which was accompliſhed and finiſhed by *Kenwalkus* his ſon.

The good-neſs and charity of *Oſwald* towards the Poor.

*Hiſtoria Iornalenſis. Polycronicon. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

*Kinigilſus* ing of the *Weſtſaxons* converted Chriſts faith.

*Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 13. Fabian part. 5.*

Lands given to Wincheſter.

Of this *Berinus*, *Malmesbury*, *Polychronicon*, with divers other writers do report a thing ſtrange and miraculous; which if it be a Fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvel that ſo many authors ſo conſtantly agree in reporting and affirming the ſame: The matter is this, This *Berinus* beeng ſent as is ſaid, by *Honorius* to Preach in *England*, promiſeth him to travel to the uttermoſt borders thereof, and there to Preach the Goſpel, where the name of Chriſt was never heard: Thus he ſetting forward in his journey, paſſeth through *France*, and ſo to the Sea ſide; where he found a paſſage ready, and the wind ſerved ſo fair, that he was called upon in ſuch haſte, that he had no leaſure to remember himſelf to take all things with him which he had to carry: At length he was on the ſea ſayling and almoſt in the middle courſe of his paſſage, he remembred himſelf of a certain relick left behind him for haſte, which *Honorius* had given him at his coming out. *Malmesburienſis* calleth it *Corporalia*, *Hiſtoria Iornalenſis* calleth it *Pallulam ſuper quam corpus Chriſti conſecrarat*; which we call a Corporas or ſuch a like thing, and what elſe incloſed within it I cannot tell. Here *Berinus* in great ſorrow could not tell what to do: If he ſhould have ſpoken to the heathen Mariners to turn their courſe back again, they would have mocked him, and it had been in vain. Wherefore as the ſtories write, he boldly ſteppeth into the Sea, and walking on foot back again, taketh with him that which was left behind, and ſo returneth to his company again, having not one thred of his garments wet. Of his miracle, or whether I ſhould call it a fable rather, let the Reader judge as he thinketh; becauſe it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holineſs in the Man or in the Corporas, but a ſpecial gift for the converſion of the Heathen, for whoſe ſalvation God ſuffereth oft many wonders to be done. This *Berinus*, being received in the ſhip again with a great admiration of the Mariners, who were therewith converted and baptiſed, was driven at laſt by the weather to the coaſt of the *Weſtſaxons*, where *Kinigilſus* and his brother *Quicilinus* above mentioned did reign. Which two Kings the ſame time by the Preaching of *Berinus* were converted and made Chriſtian men, with the people of the Country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the ſame time when the foreſaid Kings ſhould be Chriſtened, that *Oſwaldus* (mentioned a little before) King of *Northumberland*, was then preſent, and the ſame day married *Kinigilſus* his daughter, and alſo was Godfather to the King.

*Malmesburienſis. lib. de pontif. Angl. Ceſtrenſis lib. 5. Hiſt. Iornalenſis.*

*Hunting. lib. 3. Berinus* walking on the Sea, with life and all.

*Oſwaldus* Godfather and ſon in law to *Kinigilſus*, and all in one day.

Thus *Oſwald* after he had Reigned nine years in ſuch holineſs and perfectneſs of life, as is above ſpecified, was ſlain at length in the field called *Marſfield* by wicked *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*: Which *Penda* at length after all his Tyranny was overcome and ſlain by *Oſwy* brother to *Oſwald* next King after *Oſwald* of *Northumberland*, notwithſtanding he had thrice the people which *Oſwy* had. This *Penda* being a Panim, had three ſons. *Wolferus*, *Weda*, and *Egfridus*. To the ſecond ſon *Weda*, *Oſwy* had before time married his daughter, by conſent of *Penda* his Father: The which *Weda* by help of *Oſwy* was made King of *Southmercia*, the which Lordſhip is ſevered form *Northmercia* by the River of *Trent*. The ſame *Weda* moreover, at what time he married the daughter of *Oſwy*, promiſed to him that he would become a Chriſtian man: Which thing he performed after the death of *Penda* his father; but afterward within three years of his Reign, he was by reaſon of his wife ſlain. And after him the Kingdom fell to *Wolferus* the other brother; who being wedded to *Ermenilda* daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was ſhortly after chriſtened; ſo that he is counted the firſt chriſtened King of *Mercia*. This *Wolferus* conquered *Kenwalchus* King of *Kent*, and got the *Iſle of Wight*, which after he gave to *Sigbert* King of the *Eaſtangles*, upon condition he would be chriſtened. And thus the *Eaſtangles* which before had expulſed *Melitus* their Biſhop, as is declared, recovered again the Chriſtian faith under *Sigbert* their

King *Oſwald* ſlain in the field. {Anno 643.}

*Penda* King of Mercians ſlain.

*Oſwy* King of Northumberland.

The converting of the Mercians to the faith of Chriſt.

*Wolferus* firſt chriſtened King of *Mercia.*

The *Eaſtangles* reduced to the Chriſtian faith.

King, who by the means of the foreſaid *Wolferus* was reduced and baptiſed by *Finianus* the Biſhop.

*Oſwy* and *Oſwine* fellow Kings in *Northumberland.*

But to return again to *Oſwy*, from whom we have a little digreſſed, of whom we ſhewed before how he ſucceeded after *Oſwald* in the Province of *Bernicia*, to whom alſo was joyned *Oſwine* his Coſin over the Province of *Deira*, and there, with his fellow *Oſwy* Reigned the ſpace of ſeven years. This *Oſwine* was gentle and liberal to his people, and no leſs devout toward God: Who upon a time had given to *Aidanus* the Biſhop above mentioned, a princely Horſe with the Trappers, and all that appertained thereto, becauſe he ſhould not ſo much travel on foot, but ſometimes eaſe himſelf withal. Thus *Aidanus* the *Scotiſh* Biſhop as he was riding upon his kingly Horſe, by the way meeteth him a certain poor man, asking and craving his charity. *Aidanus* having nothing elſe to give him, lighted down and giveth to him his Horſe trapped and garniſhed as he was. The King underſtanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entring to dinner with the ſaid *Aidanus*: *What meant you Father Biſhop* (ſaid he) *to give away my Horſe I gave you, unto the begger? Had not I other Horſes in my ſtable that might have ſerved him well enough, but you muſt give away that which of purpoſe was picked out for you amongſt the chiefeſt?* To whom the Biſhop made anſwer again, ſaying, or rather rebuking the King: *What be theſe words* (O King ſaith he) *that you ſpeak? Why ſet you more price by an Horſe, which is but the ſole of an Horſe, than you do by him which is the ſon of* Mary, *yea, which is the ſon of God?* He ſaid but this, when the King forthwith ungirding his ſword from about him (as he was then newly come in from Hunting) falleth down at the feet of the Biſhop, deſiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after ſpeak word to him for any treaſure he ſhould afterward give away of his. The Biſhop ſeeing the King ſo meekly affected, he then taking him up, and chearing him again with words, began ſhortly after to weep and to be very heavy. His Miniſter asking the cauſe thereof, *Aidanus* anſwered in his *Scotiſh* Language, ſaying to him: *I weep* (ſaith he) *For that this King cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have ſuch a Prince, as he is to Reign amongſt them.* And ſo as *Aidanus* ſaid, it came to paſs. For not long after *Oſwy* the King of *Bernicia* diſdaining at him, when *Oſwine* either was not able, or not willing to joyn with him in battel, cauſed him Traytorouſly to be ſlain. And ſo *Oſwy* with his Son *Egfrid*, reigned in *Northumberland* alone.

*H. Hunting. de Hiſtoria Anglorum, lib 9.*

Example of true Alms.

A perfect example of humility in a Prince.

*Oſwine* trayterouſly murthered

{Anno 651.}

In the time, and alſo in the houſe of this *Oſwy* King of *Northumberland*, was a certain man named *Benedict*, who was the bringer up of *Bede* from his youth, and took him to his inſtitution when he was but ſeven years old, and ſo taught him during his life. This *Benedict* or *Benet*, deſcending of a noble ſtock and rich kin, and in good favour with *Oſwy*, forſook ſervice, houſe, and all his kindred to ſerve Chriſt, and went to *Rome* (where he had been in his life time five times) and brought from thence Books into Monaſteries, with other things which he thought then to ſerve for devotion. This *Benedict*, ſurnamed Biſhop, was the firſt that brought in the Art and uſe of glaſing into this Land; for before that, Glaſs-windows were not known either in Churches or in Houſes.

*Benedict* of *Benet*, the bringer up of *Bede.*

The uſe of glaſing firſt brought into this Realm.

In the Reign of the foreſad *Oſwy* and *Egfrid* his ſon, was *Botulphus Abbat*, which builded in the *Eaſt* part of *Lincoln* an *Abbey*. Alſo *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, and *Colmannus*, with three *Scotiſh* Biſhops of *Northumberland* holy Men, held with the *Britains* againſt the Romiſh order for the keeping of *Eaſter* day. Moreover *Cuthbertus*, *Jarumannus*, *Cedda*, and *Wilfridus* lived the ſame time: Whom as I judge to be Biſhops of holy converſation, ſo I thought it ſufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made Saints in the Popes Kalender, ſeeing they are not written in the Goſpel, nor in my Creed, but in certain old Chronicles of that age, ſo they are no matter of my Faith: Notwithſtanding as touching their converſation, this I read, and alſo do credit, that the Clergy both of *Britain* and *England*, at that time p'ied nothing that was worldly, but gave themſelves to Preaching and Teaching the Word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they Preached by giving of good example. And over that, as our Hiſtories accord, they were ſo voyd of covetouſneſs, that they

*Botulphus, Aidanus, Finianus, Colmannus, Cuthbertus, Jarumannus, Cedda, Wilfridus.*

*O quanta mutatio! Beda lib. 4. cap. 5. Hunting. Polychron. Farnalenſis, Fabian.*

received no poſſeſſions or territories which were forced upon them.

{Anno 664.}

About this ſeaſon or not much before, under the Reign of *Oſwy* and *Oſwine* Kings of *Northumberland*, another Synod or Council was holden againſt the *Britains* and the *Scotiſh* Biſhops, for the right obſerving of *Saſter* at *Sternhalt*. At what time *Agilbertus* Biſhop *Weſt-Saxons* came to *Northumberland*, to inſtitute *Wilfrid Abbat* of *Ripon*, where this queſtion for *Eaſter* day began to be moved: For *Colman*, then Biſhop of *Northumberland*, followed not the coſtom of *Rome*, nor of the *Saxons*, but followed the *Britains* and the *Scotiſh* Biſhops, his Predeceſſors in the ſame See before. Thus on the one ſide was *Colman* the Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Hilda* the Abbeſs of *Sternhalt*, which alledged for them the doings and examples of their Predeceſſors, both godly and reverend Biſhops, as *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, Archbiſhops of that See of *York* before them, and divers more, who had uſed always to celebrate the *Eaſter* from the fourteenth day of the firſt month, till the eight and twentieth of the ſame. And ſpecially, for that S. *John* the Evangeliſt at *Epheſus* kept and obſerved that day, &c. On the other ſide was *Agilbert* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *James* the Deacon of *Paulinus* above mentioned, *Wilfrid Abbat* of *Ripon*, and King *Alfrid*, *Oſwies* ſon, with his Queen, holding on the ſame ſide. The full contents of which diſputation here followeth, according as in the ſtory of *Beda* at large is deſcribed, with their reaſons and arguments on both ſides, as enſueth, &c.

Controverſie about *Eaſter* day.

*Ex Beda. lib. 2. cap. 23.*

The queſtion of *Eaſter* and of ſhaving, and other eccleſiaſtical matters being moved, it was determined, that in the Abbey which is called *Sternhalt*, of the which *Hilda* a devout woman was Abbeſs, a Convocation ſhould be had, and this queſtion there determined. To the which place came both the Kings, the Father and the Son, Biſhop *Colman* with his Clergy of *Scotland*, *Agilbert*, with *Agathon* and *Wilfrid* Prieſts. *James* and *Roman* were on their ſides; *Hilda* the Abbeſs with her company was on the *Scotiſh* part, and the reverend Biſhop *Cedda* was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. King *Oſwy* began firſt with an Oration, declaring that it was neceſſary for ſuch as ſerved one God, to live in one uniform order, and that ſuch as looked for one Kingdom in Heaven, ſhould not ſuffer in celebration of the heavenly Sacraments, but ſhould rather ſeek for the true Tradition, and follow the ſame. This ſaid, he commanded his Biſhop *Colman* to declare what the rite and cuſtom was in this behalf that he uſed, and from whence it had the original. Then *Colman*, obeying his Princes commandment, ſaid: *The* Eaſter *which I obſerve, I received of my Anceſtors that ſent me hither a Biſhop, the which all our Forefathers, being men of God, did celebrate in like manner: And leſt it ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed of any man, it is manifeſtly apparent to be the very ſame which the holy Evangeliſt S.* John *(a Diſciple eſpecially beloved of the Lord) did accuſtomably uſe in all Churches and Congregations where he had authority.* When *Colman* had ſpoken many things to this effect, the King commanded *Agilbert* to declare his opinion in this behalf, and to ſhew the order that he then uſed, from whence it came, and by what authority he obſerved the ſame. *Agilbert* requeſted the King that his Scholar *Wilfrid* a Prieſt might ſpeak for him, in as much as they both with the reſt of his Clergy were of one opinion herein, and that the ſaid *Wilfrid* could utter his mind better, and more plainly in the *Engliſh* Tongue, than he himſelf could. Then *Wilfrid* at the Kings commandment began on this ſort, and ſaid: *The* Eaſter *which we keep, we have ſeen at* Rome, *whereas the holy Apoſtles*, Peter *and* Paul, *did live and teach, did ſuffer and were buried.* The ſame alſo is uſed in *Italy* and in *France*; The which Countries we have travelled for Learning, and have noted it to be celebrated of them all. In *Aſia* alſo and in *Africk*, in *Egypt* and in *Greece*, and finally in all the world, the ſame manner of *Eaſter* is obſerved that we uſe, ſave only by theſe here preſent with their accomplices, the *Picts* and the *Britains*: With the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they condeſcend and ſtrive fooliſhly in this order againſt the univerſal world. To whom *Colman* replied, ſaying: *I marvel you will call this order fooliſh, that ſo great an Apoſtle as was worthy to lie in the Lords lap, did*

A diſputation between the *Roman* Biſhops, and the *Scotiſh* Biſhops, for the day *Eaſter* and other ceremonies.

The King beginning.

*Colman* ſpeaketh.

*Wilfrid* anſwereth.

Univerſality alledged.

*Colman* again ſpeaketh.

*did uſe, whom all the World doth well know, to have lived moſt wiſely.* And *Wilfrid* anſwered, *God forbid that I ſhould reprove S.* John *of his Folly, who kept the rites of* Moſes *Law, according to the letter (the Church being yet* Jewiſh *in many points) and the Apoſtles not as yet able to abdicate all the obſervations of the law before ordained. As for example, they could not reject Images invented of the Devil, the which all men that believe on Chriſt, ought of neceſſity to forſake and deteſt, leſt they ſhould be an offence to thoſe* Jews *that were amongſt the* Gentiles. *For this cauſe did S.* Paul *circumciſe* Timothy, *for this cauſe did he ſacrifice in the Temple, and did ſhave his head with* Aquila *and* Priſcilla, *at* Corinth: *All which things were done to none other purpoſe, than to eſchew the offence of the* Jews. *Hercupon alſo ſaid* James *to* Paul, *Thou ſeeſt Brother, how many thouſand* Jews *do believe, and all theſe be Zealous (notwithſtanding) of the law. Yet ſeeing the Goſpel is ſo manifeſtly Preached in the World, it is not lawful for the faithful to be Circumciſed, neither to offer ſacrifice of carnal things to God. Therefore* John *according to the cuſtom of the Law, the fourteenth day of the firſt month at evening, did begin the Celebration of the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *nothing reſpecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabbath, or in any other Ferial day. But* Peter *when he Preached at* Rome, *remembring that the Lord did ariſe from death on the firſt day after the Sabbath, giving thereby an hope to the world of the Reſurrection, thought good to inſtitute* Eaſter *on that day, and not after the uſe and precepts of the law (that was) the fourteenth day of the firſt month: Even ſo* John *looking for the Moon at night, if it did ariſe, and the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the Sabbath, then did he celebrate the* Eaſter *of the Lord in the evening, like as we uſe to do even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the ſixteenth day, or ſeventeenth, or on any other day unto the one and twentieth, he tarried always for it, and did begin the holy Solemnity of* Eaſter *on the evening next before the Sabbath. And ſo it came to paſs, that* Eaſter *was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day unto the one and twentieth: Neither doth this tradition of the Apoſtle break the Law, but fulfil the ſame.* In the which it is to be noted, that *Eaſter* was inſtituted from the fourteenth day of the firſt month at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the ſame month at evening; the which manner all S. *Johns* ſucceſſors in *Aſia* after his death did follow, and the Catholick Church throughout the whole World. And that this is the true *Eaſter*, and only of all Chriſtians to be obſerved, it was not newly decreed, but confirmed by the Council of *Nice*, as appeareth by the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Whereupon it is manifeſt that you *(Colman)* do neither follow the example of S. *John*, as ye think, nor of S. *Peter*, whoſe tradition you do willingly reſiſt, nor of the Church, nor yet of the Goſpel, in the celebration of *Eaſter*. For S. *John*, obſerving *Eaſter* according to the Precepts of the Law, kept it not on the firſt day after the Sabbath; but you preciſely keep it only on the firſt day after the Sabbath. *Peter* did celebrate *Eaſter* from the fifteenth day of the Moon to the one and twentieth day, but you keep *Eaſter* from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day; ſo that you begin *Eaſter* oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which manner neither the Law nor the Goſpel maketh any mention. But the Lord in the fourteenth day, either did eat the old Paſſover at night, or elſe did celebrate the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, in the remembrance of his death and paſſion. You do alſo utterly reject from the celebration of *Eaſter*, the one and twentieth day, the which the Law hath chiefly willed to be obſerved: And therefore as I ſaid, in the Keeping of *Eaſter*, you neither agree with S. *John*, nor with *Peter*, nor with the Law, nor yet with the Goſpel. Then *Colman* again anſwered to theſe things, ſaying: *Did then* Anatholius *a godly man, and one much commended in the foreſaid eccleſiaſtical ſtory, againſt the Law and the Goſpel, who writeth that the* Eaſter *was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or ſhall we think that* Columba, *our reverend Father and his ſucceſſors, being men of God, who obſerved the* Eaſter *after this manner, did againſt the holy Scripture? Whereas ſome of them were men of ſuch godlineſs and vertue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles. (And I hereby nothing doubting of their holineſs) do endevour to follow their life, order and diſcipline.* Then ſaid *Wilfrid*: *It is certain that* Anatholius *was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation; but what have you to do with him ſeeing you obſerve not his Order? For he following the true rule in keeping his* Eaſter, *obſerveth the circle of nineteen years; the which either you know not, or if you do, you comdemn the common order obſerved in the univerſal Church of Chriſt. And moreover, the ſaid* Anatholius *doth ſo count the fourteenth day, in the obſervation of* Eaſter, *as he confeſſeth the ſame to be the fifteenth day at night, after the manner of the* Egyptians, *and likewiſe noteth the twentieth day, to be in the feaſt of* Eaſter, *the one and twentieth in the evening: The which diſtinction that you know not, by this may appear, for that you keep the* Eaſter, *on the thirteenth day before the full Moon. Or otherwiſe I can anſwer you touching your Father* Columba *and his ſucceſſors, whoſe Order you ſay you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wiſe,* that the Lord will anſwer to many that ſhall ſay in the day of Judgment, that in his name they have prophelied and caſt out Divels, and have done many Miracles, &c. That he never knew them. *But God forbid that I ſhould ſay ſo of your Fathers, becauſe it is much better to believe well of thoſe we know not, than ill. Whereupon I deny not but they were the ſervants of God, and holy Men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude ſimplicity: And I think that the Order which they uſed in the* Eaſter, *did not much hurt them, ſo long as they had none amongſt them that could ſhew them the right obſervation of the ſame for them to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your Fellows, if you refuſe the Order of the Apoſtolical See, or rather, of the univerſal Church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture; without all doubt you do ſin. And though your Forefathers were holy Men, what is their fewneſs, being but a corner of an Iſland, to be preferred before the univerſal Church, of Jeſus Chriſt, diſperſed throughout the whole World? And if* Columba *your Father (and ours alſo, being of Chriſt Jeſus) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the Prince of the holy Apoſtles? To whom the Lord ſaid,* Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it, and I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

*Wilfrid* having thus ended his argument, the King ſaid to *Colman*: *Is it true that the Lord ſpake theſe things to S.* Peter? And *Colman* anſwered, *Yea.* Then ſaid the King, *Can you declare any thing that the Lord gave to* Colman? *Colman* anſwered, *No.* Then quoth the King, *Do both of you agree and conſent in this matter without any controverſie, that theſe words were principally ſpoken to* Peter, *and that the Lord gave him the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven?* And they both anſwered, *Yea.* Then concluded the King on this wiſe, *For ſo much as S.* Peter *is the Door-keeper of Heaven, I will not gainſay him; But in that I am able, I will obey his Orders in every point, leſt when I come to the gates of Heaven, he ſhut them againſt Me.*

Upon this ſimple and rude reaſon of the King, the multitude eſtſoons conſented, and with them alſo *Cedda* was contented to give over, only *Colman* the *Scot*, being then Archbiſhop of *York*, in diſpleaſure left the Realm, and departed into *Scotland*, carrying with him the bones of *Aidanus*. *Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25.* And thus much concerning this matter of *Eaſter*.

After the deceaſe of *Oſwy*, *Egfrid* his Son was King after him in *Northumberland* fifteen years. By this *Egfrid* *Cuthbert* was promoted to the Biſhoprick of the *Iſle of Farne*: And *Wilfrid* which before had been Archbiſhop of *York*, was diſplaced through the means of *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Cedda* poſſeſſed that See. *Wilfrid*, when he was put out, went to *Rome*, and complained of him to *Agathon* the Biſhop, and was well allowed in ſome things. But the King and *Theodorus* had their ſuch Proctors and Friends, that he returned without ſpeeding of his cauſe. Wherefore he returned into the *South-Saxons*, and builded an Abbey in *Siſeſie*, and Preached unto the *South-Saxons*, fifteen years. The King of

*Wilfrid* repleth.

Why *Paul* circumciſed *Timothy*.

Example of *Peter* alledged, but no proof thereof.

*Peter* and *John* did not agree in the celebrating of Eaſter.

In the council of *Nice* no ſuch matter appeareth.

*Colman* again anſwereth.

*Wilfrid* repleth.

The authority of men is not to be ſticked unto for their doing of miracles.

The example of them that followe not for lack of teaching exerciſeth not them which being taught will not follow.

Yea Sir, *Suffragia eccleſiæ non numeranda ſunt, ſed ponderanda.* Aug.

The King concludeth.

*Nobile vulgatur ſemper cum principe vulgus.*

*Egfrid* or *Aldfrid* of *Northumberland.*

*Malmeſbu-rien. Hunting. Fab. cap. 135.*

*Wilfrid* Archbiſhop of *York.*

the *South-Saxons* at that time was *Ethelwold*, to whom we declared a little before that *Wolferus* King of the *Mercians* gave the Isle of *Wight* upon condition that he would be Christened, and so was baptized by *Berinus*: the said *Wolferus* being his Godfather, and Son in Law, both in one day. Wherefore *Wolferus* now being licensed by *Ethelwold* the King, preached unto his Nobles and people of *South-Sax*, and converted them to Christ. In the mean time of whose baptising, the rain which before they lacked three years together, was given them plentifully, whereby their great Famine slacked, and the Country was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrenness: insomuch that (as in some stories it is said) the people pestured with Famine, would go forty together upon the Rocks by the Sea-side, and taking hands together would throw themselves down to the Sea. Moreover, where they lacked before the Art of Fishing, the foresaid *Wilfride* taught them how with Nets to fish.

*South-saxons converted to Christian Faith.*

*H. Hunting. lib. 3.*

¶ And thus by process have we discoursed from time to time how and by what means the Idolatrous people were induced to the true Faith of Christ: of whom the *South-Saxons* with the *Isle of Wight* were the last.

*The Isle of Wight last converted to Christ.*

After *Egfride*, who was slain in the straits of *Scotland*, next succeeded *Alfride* his Brother, and Bastard Son to *Oswy*, and reigned eighteen or nineteen years in *Northumberland*. This *Alfride* restored again the foresaid *Wilfride* to the See of *York*, whom his Brother had before expelled, and put in *Cedda*. Notwithstanding the same King within five years after, expulsed the said *Wilfride* again, and so went he to *Rome*. But at length by *Ofrick* his Successor was placed again the Archbishop of *York*, and *Cedda* was ordained by *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mercia*. The which Province of *Mercia*, the said *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Authority of the Synod holden at *Hatfield*, did after divide into five Bishopricks: that is, one to *Chester*, the second to *Worcester*, the third to *Lichfield*, the fourth to *Cederna* in *Lindsey*, the fifth to *Dorchester*, which was after translated to *Lincoln*.

*Alfrid* King of Northumberland.

*Wilfride* restored again to the See of *York*.

*Mercia* divided into five Bishopricks.

Near about this time in the year of our Lord, *666*. the detestable Sect of *Mahumet* began to take strength and place. Although *Polychronicon* differing a little in years, accounteth the beginning of this Sect somewhat before, but the most diligent Searchers of them which write now, refer it to this year, which well agreeth with the number of that Beast, signified in the *Apocalypse*, χξ΄, that is, *666*. Of this *Mahumet* came the Kingdom of *Agarens* (whom he after named *Sarazens*) to whom he gave sundry Laws, patched of many Sects and Religions together: he taught them to pray ever to the *South*; and as we keep the *Sunday*, so they keep the *Friday*, which they call the day of *Venus*. He permitted them to have as many Wives as they were able to maintain; to have as many Concubines as they list; to abstain from the use of Wine, except on certain solemn days in the year; to have and worship only one God Omnipotent, saying that *Moses* and the Prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the Prophets, as being born of the Virgin *Mary* by the Power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to Heaven, but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him, with many other wicked Blasphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the *Saracens* began to be conquered of the *Turks*, and in process of time wholely subdued to them.

The wicked Sect of *Mahumet*.

*Apoc.* 13.

{Anno 666.}

*Ex Polycron. Ex Giraldo Cambrensi. Ex Stephano Cantuariensi.*

But now to return again to the time of our *English Saxons*: In this mean season *Theodorus* was sent from *Italy* into *England*, by *Vitellianus* the Pope, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with him divers other Monks of *Italy*, to set up here in *England Latine* Service, Masses, Ceremonies, Letanies, with such other *Romish* ware, &c. This *Theodorus* being made Archbishop and Metropolitan of *Canterbury*, began to play the *Rex*, placing and displacing the Bishops at his pleasure. As for *Cedda* and *Wilfride* Archbishops of *York*, he thrust them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed against their wills. Wherefore *Wilfride*, as is before touched, went up to *Rome*, but could have no redress of his Cause. Yet to shew what modesty this *Wilfride* used against his Enemy being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed in *William Malmesbury*, I thought here to express the same both for the commendation of the party, and also for the good Example of others, in case any such be, whom good Examples will move to well-doing. This *Wilfride* therefore, having such injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of *Theodore*, although he had just cause to do his uttermost; yet in prosecuting his Complaint how he tempered himself, what words of modesty he used, rather to defend his Innocency, than to impugne his Adversary, by this his suggestion offered up to the Bishop of *Rome*, may appear, whose words in effect were these, *Quid autem acciderit, ut* Theodorus *sanctiss. Archiepiscopus (me superstite in fide, quam licet indignus dispensabam) absque consensu cujuslibet Episcopi ex sua authoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinaverit tres Episcopos: omittere magis quam urgere, pro ejusdem viri reverentia, condecet. Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac Apostolicæ sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo, &c.* In *English*: How it chanceth that *Theodorus* the most holy and reverend Archbishop (my self being alive in the See, which I thought unworthy did rule and dispose) hath of his own Authority without the consent of any Bishop (neither having any simple voice agreeing to the same) ordained three Bishops, I had rather pass over in silence, than to stir any further therein, because of the reverence of that man, and no less thought I it my duty so to do. The which man for that he hath been directed by the See Apostolical, I will not, nor dare not here accuse, &c. Thus the cause of the said *Wilfride* albeit it was sufficiently known in the Court of *Rome*, to be well allowed for just and innocent; yet it was not then redressed. In such estimation was this *Theodorus* then among the *Romans*. Upon this Controversie of these two Bishops I may well here infer the words of *William Malmesbury*, not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be these in his *Latine* story, *Ubi videri & doleri potest humana miseria, quod videlicet quantumlibet quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum pervicaces mores exuat, &c.* That is, In the which *Theodore* (saith he) the weak and miserable infirmity of man be seen and also lamented; considering, that although a man be never so holy, yet in the same man is found something, whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his stubborn conditions, &c.

*Guli. Malmesbur. lib. 2. de gestis pontif. Anglorum.*

*Beda lib. 4. c. 22.*

*Guli. Malmes. de gestis pontif. Anglorum lib. 2. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 19.*

{Anno 680.}

*Beda lib. 4. cap. 22.*

In the time of this *Theodorus*, and by the means of him, a Provincial Synod was holden at *Thetford*, mentioned in the story of *Beda*: the Principal Contents whereof were these:

First, That *Easter-day* should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole Realm, upon one certain day, *videlicet prima*, 14. *Luna mensis primi*.

Secondly, That no Bishop should intermeddle within the Dioceses of another. 2

Thirdly, That Monasteries consecrated unto God should be exempt and free from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops. 3

Fourthly, That the Monks should not stray from one place (that is) from one Monastery to another, without the licence of their Abbot: also to keep the same Obedience which they promised at their first entring. 4

Fifthly, That no Clergy-man should forsake his own Bishop, and be received in any other place, without Letters Commendatory of his own Bishop. 5

Sixthly, That foreign Bishops and Clergy-men coming into the Realm, should be content only with the benefit of such Hospitality, as should be offered them: neither should intermeddle any further within the Precinct of any Bishop, without his special permission. 6

Seventhly, That Synods Provincial should be kept within the Realm at least once a year. 7

Eighthly, That no Bishop should prefer himself before another, but must observe the time and order of his Consecration. 8

Ninethly, That the number of Bishops should be augmented, as the number of the people increaseth, 9

Tenthly, That no Marriage should be admitted, but that which was lawful; no Incest to be suffered; neither any man to put away his Wife for any cause, except only for Fornication, after the rule of the Gospel. And these be the principal Chapters of that Synod, &c. 10

*Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

In

In the next year following was the ſixth general Council kept at *Conſtance*, whereat this *Theodore* was alſo preſent under Pope *Agatho*: where marriage was permitted to *Greek* Prieſts, and forbidden to the *Latine*. In this Council the *Latine* Maſs was firſt openly ſaid by *John Portuenſis* the Popes Legat, before the Patriarch and Princes at *Conſtantinople*, in the Temple of Saint *Sophie*.

{ Anno 705. }

After the deceaſe of *Alfride* King of *Northumberland* (from whom it was digreſſed) ſucceeded his Son *Oſredus*, reigning eleven years, after whom reigned *Kenredus* two years, and next *Oſricus* after him eleven years.

*Oſredus, Kenredus, Oſricus* Kings of *Northumberland.* The Kingdom of *Britain* ceaſeth *Iva* or *Ive*, or *Ina* King of *Weſt-Saxons. Polychron. lib. 5. cap 21.*

In the time and reign of theſe four Kings of *Northumberland*, King *Iva* or *Ina* reigned in *Weſt-Sax*, who ſucceeding after *Cadwallader*, the laſt King of *Britains*, began his Reign about the year of our Lord, 689. and reigned with great valiantneſs over the *Weſt-Saxons* the term of 37 years. Concerning whoſe Acts and Wars maintained againſt the *Kentiſh-Saxons* and other Kings, becauſe I have not to intermeddle withall, I refer the Reader to other Chroniclers.

S. *Cuthlake* a Popiſh Saint.

About the ſixth year of the Reign of this *Iva*, or *Ive*, *Polychronicon* and others make mention of one *Cuthlacus*, whom they call S. *Cuthlake* a Confeſſor, who about the four and twentieth year of his age, renouncing the Pomp of the World, profeſſed himſelf a Monk in the Abbey of *Repingdon*, and the third year after went to *Crowland*, where he led the life of an *Hipchorite*. In the which Iſle and place of his burying was builded a fair Abbey, called afterward for the great reſort and gentle entertainment of Strangers, *Crowland the courteous*. But why this *Cuthlake* ſhould be ſainted for his doings, I ſee no great cauſe; as neither do I think the fabulous Miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to believe, that he incloſed the Devil in a boyling-Pot, and cauſed wicked Spirits to erect up houſes, with ſuch other Fables and lying Miracles. Among which lying Miracles alſo may be reckoned that which the ſtories mention in the eleventh year of the Reign of *Iva*, to be done of one *Brithwald* or *Drithelme*, who, being dead a long ſeaſon, was reſtored to life again, and told many wonders of ſtrange things that he had ſeen, cauſing thereby great Alms and deeds of Charity to be done of the people: and ſo he, diſpoſing of his goods given in three parts, went to the Abbey of *Mailroos*, where he continued the reſt of his life.

*Crowland the courteous.*

Lying Miracles.

What ſtrange fights this *Brithwald* or *Drithelme* did ſee after his death, read the ninth Book of *Henry Huntington.*

Moreover, about the ſixteenth year of the ſaid *Iva*, *Ethelbred* King of *Mercia*, after he had there reigned thirty years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of *Bardney*.

King *Ethelbred* made Abbot of *Bardney.*

And about the eighteenth year of the Reign of *Ive*, died the worthy and learned Biſhop *Adelmus*, firſt Abbot of *Malmesbury*, afterwards Biſhop of *Schirborne*, of whom *William Malmesbury* writeth plenteouſly with great commendation, and that not unworthily, as I ſuppoſe: eſpecially for the noble praiſe of Learning and Vertue in him above the reſt of that time (next after *Beda*) as the great number of Books and Epiſtles, with Poems by him ſet forth, will declare. Although concerning the Miracles which the ſaid Author aſcribeth to him; as firſt in cauſing an Infant of nine days old to ſpeak at *Rome*, to declare Pope *Sergius*, which was then ſuſpected the Father of the ſaid Child; alſo in hanging his Caſule upon the Sunbeams: *Item*, in making whole the Altar-ſtone of marble brought from *Rome*: *Item*, in drawing a length one of the Timber pieces, which went to the building of the Temple in *Malmesbury*: *Item*, in ſaving the Mariners at *Dover*, *&c.* As concerning theſe and ſuch other Miracles, which *William Malmesbury* to him attributeth, I cannot conſent to him therein: but think rather the ſame to be Monkiſh devices, forged upon their Patrons to maintain the dignity of their houſes. And as the Author was deceived (no doubt) in believing ſuch Fables himſelf, ſo may he likewiſe deceive us through the dexterity of his ſtile and fine handling of the matter; but that further experience hath taught the World now adays more wiſdom, in not believing ſuch practiſes. This *Adelmus* was Biſhop of *Schirborne*, which See after was united to the See of *Winton*. In which Church of *Wincheſter* the like Miracles alſo are to be read of Biſhop *Adelwold* and S. *Swithine*, whom they have canonized likewiſe for a Saint.

*Adelmus.*

*Gail. Malmesb. lib. 5. de pontif.*

Lying Miracles.

*Malmesbury* commended for his ſtile.

Lying Miracles reproved.

*Adelme* Biſhop, *Swithine* Biſhop *Beda lib. 5. cap. 23. Ex hiſtoria Fernalenſis de regibus Northumb.*

Moreover, near about the five and twentieth of *Ive*, by the Report of *Beda*, Saint *John* of *Berverly*, which was then Biſhop of *York*, died, and was buried at the Porch of the Minſter of *Deirwood* or *Beverley*. In the which Porch it is recorded in ſome Chronicles, that as the ſaid *John* upon a time was praying, being in the Porch of Saint *Michael* in *York*, the Holy Ghoſt in the ſimilitude of a Dove ſate before him upon the Altar in brightneſs ſhining above the Sun. This brightneſs being ſeen of others, firſt cometh one of his Deacons running unto the Porch, who beholding the Biſhop there ſtanding in his Prayers, and all the place repleniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt, was ſtricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithſtanding the Biſhop by and by cured the face of his Deacon again, charging them (as the ſtory ſaith) not to publiſh what he had ſeen during his life time, &c. Which tale ſeemeth as true as that we read about the ſame time done of S. *Egwine*, in *Polychron*, Abbot of *Euſham* and Biſhop of *Worceſter* (then called *Wicts*) who upon a time when he had fettered both his feet in Irons faſt locked for certain ſins done in his youth, and had caſt the Key thereof into the Sea, afterward a Fiſh brought the Key again into the Ship, as he was ſailing homeward from *Rome*.

S. *John* of *Beverley.* { Anno 717. }

Another lying fable of S. *Egwine.*

*Ranulphus in Polychron. lib. 5 cap. 23.*

But to leave theſe Monkiſh Phantaſies, and return to the right courſe again of the ſtory: In the time of this foreſaid *Ive*, began firſt the right Obſerving of *Eaſter-day* to be kept of the *Picts* and of the *Britains*. In the obſervation of which day (as is largely ſet forth in *Beda* and *Polychronicon*, *lib. 5. cap. 17. & 22.*) three things are neceſſary to be obſerved: Firſt, the *full Moon* of the firſt month, that is, of the month of *March*. Secondly, the *Dominical letter*. Thirdly, the *Equinoctial day*, which *Equinoctial* was wont to be counted in the *Eaſt* Church, and eſpecially among the *Egyptians*, to be about the ſeventeenth day of *March*. So that the *full Moon* on the *Equinoctial day*, or after the *Equinoctial day* being obſerved, the next *Dominical day* following that *full Moon*, is to be taken for *Eaſter-day*. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: Firſt, the fulneſs of the *Moon* muſt be perfectly full, ſo that it be the beginning of the third week of the *Moon*, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the *Moon*. Secondly, it is to be noted, that the ſaid perfect fulneſs of the *Moon*, beginning the third week, muſt happen either in the very evening of the *Equinoctial day*, or after the *Equinoctial day*: for elſe if it happen either on the *Equinoctial day* before the evening, or before the *Equinoctial day*, then it belongeth to the laſt month of the laſt year, and not to the firſt month of the firſt year, and ſo ſerveth not to be obſerved.

*Beda lib. 5. de geſtis Angl. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 22.*

*A general rule ſerving for the obſervation of Eaſter-day.*

This rule of *Eaſter* ſeemeth to be taken out of the Book of *Numbers*. And they going out of *Ramiſſe* the fifteenth day of the firſt month, the next day after held their *Eaſter, &c.*

This rite and uſage in keeping *Eaſter-day* being received in the *Latine* Church, began now to take place among the *Picts* and *Britains*, through the buſie travel of *Theodorus Cuthlacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy Monk, as they term him, and of *Colfrid* Abbot of *Sirwin* in *Northumberland*, which wrote to *Narcanus*, or *Naitonus* the King of *Picts*, concerning the ſame: who alſo among other things writeth of the ſhaven Crowns of Prieſts, ſaying, that it was as neceſſary for the vow of a Monk, or the degree of a Prieſt, to have a ſhaven Crown for reſtraint of their luſt; as for any Chriſtian man to bleſs him againſt Spirits, when they come upon him, *Beda lib. 5.* The Copy of which Letter as it is in *Beda* I have here annexed, not for any great reaſon therein contained, but only to delight the Reader with ſome paſtime, in ſeeing the fond ignorance of that Monkiſh age: the Copy of the Letter thus proceeded.

Why Prieſts Crowns were ſhaven

*Beda de geſt. lib. 5.*

## Of the ſhaving of Prieſts, out of the fifth Book of *Beda*, the 21. Chapter.

The Copy of a Monkiſh Letter of *Elfride* to King of *Naito* for the ſhaving of Prieſts crowns.

*CConcerning the ſhaving of Prieſts (whereof you writ alſo unto me) I exhort you that it be decently obſerved according to the Chriſtian Faith. We are not ignorant that the Apoſtles were not all ſhaven after one manner, neither doth the Catholick Church at this day agree in one uniform manner of ſhaving, as they do in Faith, Hope and Charity. Let us conſider the former time of the Patriarchs, and we ſhall find that* Job *(an example of Patience) even in the very point of his Afflictions, did ſhave his head: and he proveth alſo, that in the time of his Proſperity, he uſed to let his hair grow. And* Joſeph *an excellent*

How proveth he that the Apoſtles, *Job* and *Joſeph* were ſhaven. Much faid, nothing proved.

*excellent Doctor and Executor of Chaſtity, Humility, Piety, and other Vertues, when he was delivered out of priſon and ſervitude, was ſhaven: whereby it appeareth, that whilſt he abode in priſon he was unſhaven. Behold both theſe, being men of God, did uſe an order in the habit of body one contrary to the other, whoſe Conſciences notwithſtanding within did well agree in the like Grace of Vertues. But to ſpeak truly and freely, the difference of ſhaving hurteth not ſuch as have a pure Faith in the Lord, and ſincere Charity towards their Neighbour: eſpecially for that there was never any Controverſie amongſt the Catholick Fathers about the diverſity thereof, as there hath been of the difference of the Celebration of* Eaſter *and of Faith. But of all theſe ſhavings that we find, either in the Church or elſe-where, there is none in mine opinion ſo much to be followed and imbraced, as that which he uſed on his head, to whom the Lord ſaid,* Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it, and I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. *And contrariwiſe there is no ſhaving ſo much to be abhorred and deteſted, as that which he uſed, to whom the ſame S.* Peter *ſaid,* Thy money be with thee to thy deſtruction, becauſe thou thinkeſt to poſſeſs the Gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word. *Neither ought we to be ſhaven on the crown only, becauſe S.* Peter *was ſo ſhaven, but becauſe* Peter *was ſo ſhaven in remembrance of the Lords Paſſion: therefore we that deſire by the ſame Paſſion to be ſaved, muſt wear the ſign of the ſame Paſſion with him upon the top of our head, which is the higheſt part of our body. For as every Church, that is made a Church by the death of the Saviour, doth uſe to bear the ſign of the holy Croſs in the front, that it may the better by the defect of that Banner, be kept from the invaſions of evil Spirits; and by the often admonition thereof is taught to crucifie the fleſh with the concupiſence of the ſame: in like manner it behoveth ſuch as have the vows of Monks, and degrees of the Clergy, to bind themſelves with a ſtricter bit of continency for the Lords ſake. And as the Lord bare a Crown of Thornes on his head in his Paſſion, whereby he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our ſins: ſo muſt every one of us, by ſhaving our heads, patiently bear, and willingly ſuffer the mocks and ſcorns of the world for his ſake, that we may receive the Crown of eternal Life,* which God hath promiſed to all that love him, *and ſhall by ſhaving their corporal crowns, bear the Adverſity, and contemn the Proſperity of this World. But the ſhaving which* Simon Magus *uſed, what faithful man doth not deteſt, together with his Magical Art? The which at the firſt appearance hath a ſhew of a ſhaven crown, but if you mark his neck, you ſhall find it curtailed in ſuch wiſe, as you will ſay, it is rather meet to be uſed of the* Simoniſts, *than of the* Chriſtians. *And ſuch (of fooliſh men) be thought worthy of the Glory of the eternal Crown; whereas indeed for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the ſame, but alſo of eternal Salvation. I ſpeak not this againſt them that uſe this kind of ſhaving, and live Catholickly in Faith and good Works, but ſurely I believe there be diverſe of them be very holy and godly men; amongſt the which is* Adamnan, *the Abbot and worthy Prieſt of the* Columbians: *who when he came Ambaſſador from his Country unto King* Alfrid, *deſired greatly to ſee our Monaſtery: where he declared a wonderful Wiſdom, Humility, and Religion both in his manners and words. Amongſt other talk, I asked him,* Why he that did believe to come to the Crown of Life that ſhould never have end, did uſe contrary to his belief a definite Image of a Crown on his head? And if you ſeek *(quoth I)* the Fellowſhip of S. *Peter*, why do you uſe the faſhion of his Crown whom S. *Peter* did accurſe, and not of his rather with whom you deſire to live eternally? Adamnan *anſwered, ſaying,* You know right well Brother, though I uſe *Simons* manner of ſhaving, after the cuſtom of my Country, yet do I deteſt, and with all my heart abhor his Infidelity. I deſire notwithſtanding to imitate the Footſteps of the holy Apoſtle as far forth as my power will extend. *Then ſaid* I, I believe it is ſo: but then it is apparent you imitate thoſe things which the Apoſtle *Peter* did from the bottom of your heart, if you uſe the ſame upon your face that you know he did; for I ſuppoſe your Wiſdom underſtandeth that it is right deſcent to differ in the trimming your face or ſhaving, from his, whom in your heart you abhor. And contrariwiſe, as you deſire to imitate the doings of him whom you deſire to have a * Mediator between God and you, ſo it is meet you imitate the manner of his apparel and ſhaving. *Thus much ſaid I to* Adamnan, *who ſeemed then well to like our Churches: inſomuch that he returning into* Scotland, *reformed many of his Churches there after our Celebration, albeit he could not do ſo amongſt the Monks, with whom he had ſpecial Authority. He endeavoured alſo to have reformed their manner of ſhaving if he had been able. And now (O King) I exhort your Majeſty to labour together with your people, over whom the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords hath made you Governor, to imitate likewiſe in all theſe points the Catholick and Apoſtolical Churches. So ſhall it come to paſs, that in the end of this your Temporal Kingdom, the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles ſhall open you the Gates of the heavenly Kingdom, together with the other Elect of God. The Grace of the eternal King preſerve you moſt dearly beloved Son in Chriſt, long time to Reign over us, to the great tranquility of us all.*

When this Letter was read before King *Naiton* with other of his learned men, and diligently tranſlated into his proper Language, he ſeemed to rejoyce very much at the Exhortation thereof, inſomuch as riſing up from among his Noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deſerved to receive ſo worthy a Preſent out of *England*, and ſo cauſed it forthwith by publick Proclamation to be written out, learned, and obſerved throughout all the Provinces of the *Picts*, defacing the Errors that had been uſed there by the ſpace of 704 years. For all the Miniſters of the Altar and all Monks were ſhaven on the Crown, and all the people rejoyced for the new Diſcipline of the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtle S. *Peter*, which they had received.

¶ By this Monkiſh Letter above prefixed, void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of Hiſtory, thou maiſt note, gentle Reader, how this vain tradition of ſhaven Crowns hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occaſion: which in very deed was none other but the dreaming phantaſies of Monks of that time, falſly grounded upon the example of *Peter*, when by no old Monument of any ancient Record they can ever prove, either *Peter* or *Simon Magus* to have been ſhaven. Moreover, in the ſaid Letter alſo is to be noted, how the *Scottiſh* Clergy at that ſeaſon, did wear no ſuch Prieſtly crowns as our *Engliſh* Church-men then did.

But to cut off this matter of ſhaving, more worthy to be laughed at, than to be ſtoried; let us now again return where as we left at King *Ive*, of whom *William Malmeſbury* and *Fabian* in his Chronicle do record, that when the foreſaid *Ive* had ruled the *Weſt-Saxons* by the term of thirty ſeven years, by the importunate perſwaſion and ſubtil policy of his wife *Ethelburga*, he was allured to go to *Rome*, there to be made a Monk. Which *Ethelburga* after ſhe had a long time laboured him to leave the World, and could not bring about her purpoſe, upon a ſeaſon, when the King and ſhe had reſted them in a fair Palace richly hanged, and were upon the morrow thence departed; ſhe by her commandment, cauſed the Palace to be repleniſhed with all kind of filth and dung, and Hogs and vile Beaſts therein to be laid, as well in the Chambers, as other Houſes of Office; and in their own Chamber where they did lie, there was a Sow laid with her young Pigs. And when ſhe knew that this Palace was thus deformed, being a certain ſpace out of the Town, ſhe beſought the King to viſit the ſaid Palace. And when ſhe had brought him thereunto, ſhe ſaid to him, *I pray you my Lord, behold now this houſe, where are now the rich Tapets and Clothes of Gold and Silk, and other rich Apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the Delicacies and pleaſant Servitors and coſtly Diſhes that you and I lately were ſerved with? Be not all theſe paſſed and gone? My Lord* (ſaid ſhe) *in like manner ſhall we vaniſh away, as ſuddenly as you ſee theſe worldly things be paſſed. And our bodies, which now be delicately kept, ſhall fall and turn into the filth of the earth. Wherefore have in mind my words that before time to you I have often ſhewed and*

Diverſity of Rites hurteth not the Church.

See how theſe ſhavelings would father their ſhaving upon *Peter*, which is neither found in Scripture, nor any approved ſtory, but only in painted clothes.

Why Prieſts and Monks be ſhaven in the crown.

The ſhaving of the crown what it repreſenteth.

How doth the ſight of the croſs defend Churches from evil ſpirits, when it cannot keep them from evil Prieſts?

If ſhaving of the crown doth teach men patience in ſuffering, how cometh it that we ſee none more waſpiſh and ireful than theſe ſhorn generations of Monkiſh vipers?

*Simon Magus* ſhaven, as he ſaith.

The difference between the ſhaving of *Peter* and *Simon Magus*.

In outward habit *Chriſtians* ought not to reſemble wicked doers.

* There is but one Mediator between God and man, Chriſt Jeſus.

The *Scottiſh* Monks and the *Engliſh* Monks differed in their ſhaving.

If *Peter* ſhall let in the elect of God into Heaven, Chriſt then ſerveth in little ſtead.

A note to admoniſh the Reader.

*Fabian. cap.* 141. *Guil. Malmeſb. de Reg.*

{Anno 724.} *Ethelburga* the Queen perſwadeth her husband to be a Monk.

The crafty head of a woman.

*and*

*and told, and buſie you to purchaſe that Palace that ever ſhall indure in joy without tranſmutation.*

King Ive reſigning his kingdom, went to Rome and became a Monk.

By means of theſe words and other, the Queen turned ſo the Kings mind, that ſhortly after he reſigned the Governance of his Kingdom unto *Ethelardus* his Nephew; and for the love of Chriſt, took on him the habit of a poor man, and ſetting apart all the Pomp and Pride of this wicked World, aſſociated himſelf in the fellowſhip of poor men, and travelled to *Rome* with great devotion, when he had been King of *Weſt-Saxons* (as before is ſaid) thirty ſeven years. After whoſe departing, the ſaid *Erhelburga* his wife, went unto *Barking*, ſeven miles from *London*, wherein the Nunnery of *Barking*, before-of *Erkenwald* founded, ſhe continued and ended the reſt of her life, when ſhe had been Abbeſs of the place a certain time. The ſaid *Malmesbury* in his ſtory alſo teſtifieth, that this *Ive* was the first King that granted a peny of every fire-houſe through his Dominion, to be paid unto the Court of *Rome*, which afterward was called *Romeſcot*, or *Peterpence*, and long after was paid in many places of *England*.

Ethelburga the Queen made Nun of Barking.

Peterpence firſt granted and paid to Rome.

The Laws made by King Ive to his people.

This *Ive*, like as for his time he was worthy and valiant in his Acts; ſo was he the firſt of the *Saxon* Kings (that I read of) which ſet forth any Laws to his Country: the rehearſal of which Laws, to the number of fourſcore and odd, were not unprofitable here to be inſerted, together with other Laws of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings after him, before the time of *William the Conqueror*; in caſe it were not for the length and prolixity of this preſent Volume. And thus much concerning the Reign of King *Ive*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* by the way. Now to repair again to the courſe of *Northumberland* Kings ſomething intermitted.

Next unto the foreſaid *Oſricus*, followed *Celulfus*, whom he had adopted, Brother to *Kenred* above ſpecified. This *Celulfus*, as he was himſelf learned, ſo were in his time divers learned men then flouriſhing in *England*, among whom was *Beda*, who unto the ſame King *Celulfus* offered his ſtory, intituled, *Anglorum Hiſtoria*, not only to be ratified by his Authority, but alſo to be amended, as *Malmesburienſis* writeth, by his knowledge and learning.

Celulfus King of Northumberland.

Beda.

Anno 729. The life of Beda briefly deſcribed.

And for ſo much as I have here entred into the mention of *Beda*, a man of worthy and venerable memory, becauſe of the certifying of the truth of that man: and for that I ſee all Writers, (as touching his life) do not agree, ſome ſaying that he was no *Engliſh* man born: I thought ſo much to report of him, as I find by his own words teſtified of himſelf in the later end of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *England*, offered to the ſaid *Celulfus* above mentioned, the words of whom be theſe.

*Thus much* (by the help of God) *I* Beda, *the Servant of Chriſt, and Prieſt of the Monaſtery of* Peter *and* Paul *at* Wire, *have compiled and digeſted concerning the* Britain *Hiſtory*. And ſo the ſame *Beda* proceeding further in his Narration, declareth that he being born in the Territory of the ſaid Monaſtery, being of the age of ſeven years, was committed of his Parents and Friends, to the Tuition and Education of *Benedict* (of whom above relation is made) and of *Celfrid*, Abbots of the foreſaid Monaſtery. In the which place or Monaſtery he continuing from that time forth, all his life long, gave himſelf and all his whole ſtudy to the meditating of holy Scripture. Whatſoever time or leiſure he had from his daily Service in the Church, that he ſpent either in learning or teaching, or writing ſomething. About the nineteenth year of his age, he was made Deacon, the thirtieth year of his age he was made Prieſt. From the which time, to the age of nine and fifty years, he occupied himſelf in interpreting the Works of the ancient Fathers for his own uſe, and the neceſſity of others: and in writing of Treatiſes: which came in all to the number of ſeven and thirty Volumes, which he digeſted into threeſcore and eighteen Books.

This Benedict Maſter to Beda was the firſt that brought in the uſe of Glaſs-windows into England. Alſo the ſaid Benedict brought from Rome with him, John the Archcanter, who firſt taught in England to ſing in the quire after the manner of Rome.

The number of the works and books written by Beda.

Some ſay, that he went to *Rome*, either there to defend his Books to be conſonant to Catholick Doctrine: or elſe if they ſhould be found faulty, to amend and correct the ſame, as he ſhould thereto be commanded. Albeit the Reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirm that ever he was at *Rome*; but that he was invited and called thither to come, both it is manifeſt in ſtories, and alſo this Epiſtle of Pope *Sergius* doth ſufficiently prove; declaring moreover in what price and eſtimation *Beda* was accepted, as well in the Court of *Rome*, as in other places beſides. The Epiſtle of *Sergius* ſent to *Celfride* thus proceedeth, in tenor and form as followeth in *Latine*.

## The Epiſtle of Pope *Sergius* ſent to *Celfride*, Abbot of *Wire* Abbey, requiring *Beda* to be ſent up to him to *Rome*, for the Fame of his worthy Learning.

An Epiſtle of Pope Sergius.

SErgius *Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei*, Celfrido *religioſo Abbati*, Sal. *Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei noſtri, atque inenarrabilem providentiam poſſumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immenſis ejus circa nos beneficiis perſolvere, qui in tenebris & in umbra mortis poſitos ad lumem ſcientiæ perducit? Et infra benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per præſentem portatorem tua devota miſit religio, libenti & hilari animo ſicuti ab ea directa eſt, nos ſuſcepiſſe, cognoſce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ ſolicitudinis petitionibus arctiſſima devotione ſatisfacientes, hortamur Deo dilectam religioſitatis tuæ bonitatem, ut quis exortis quibuſdam Eccleſiaſticarum cauſarum capitulis, non ſine examinatione longius innoteſcendis, opus nobis ſunt ad conferendum artes literaturæ, ſicut decet Deo devotum auxiliatorem ſanctæ matris univerſalis Eccleſiæ obedientem devotionem huic noſtræ exhortationi non deſiſtas accommodare: ſed abſque ulla immoratione religioſum Dei famulum* Bedam, *venerabilem Monaſterii tui Presbyterum, ad limina Apoſtolorum principum Dominorum meorum* Petri & Pauli *amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad noſtræ mediocritatis conſpectum non moreris dirigere. Quem, ſatisfaciente Domino ſanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas proſpere ad te redire (peracta præmiſſorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei deſiderata ſolemnitate.) Erit enim ut confidimus, etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Eccleſiæ generali clarueriit per ejus præſtantiam impartitum, &c.*

The famous learning of Beda.

So notable and famous was the Learning of this foreſaid *Beda*, that the Church of *Rome* (as by this Letter appeareth) both ſtood in need of his help, and alſo required the ſame, about the diſcuſſing of certain Cauſes and Controverſies appertaining to Learning. Moreover, the whole *Latine* Church at that time gave him the maſtery in Judgment and Knowledge of the holy Scriptures. In all his Explanations, his chieteſt ſcope and purpoſe did ever drive to inſtruct and inform his Reader, ſimply, and without all curiouſneſs of ſtile, in the ſincere love of God and of his Neighbour. As touching the holineſs and integrity of his life, it is not to be doubted. For how could it be, that he ſhould attend to any vicious Idleneſs, or had any leiſure to the ſame, who in reading and digeſting ſo many Volumes, conſumed all his whole Cogitations in writing upon the Scriptures? for ſo he teſtifieth of himſelf in the third Book of *Samuel*, ſaying in theſe words, *If my* Treatiſes *and* Expoſitions, ſaith he, *bring with them no other utility to the Readers thereof; yet to my ſelf they conduce not a little thus, that while all my ſtudy and cogitation was ſet upon them, in the mean while of ſlippery inticements and vain cogitations of this world I had little mind.* Thus in this travel of ſtudy he continued till the age of ſixty two years: at length, drawing to his later end, being ſick ſeven weeks together, beſides other occupyings of his mind, and other ſtudies which he did not intermit; he tranſlated alſo the Goſpel of S. *John* into *Engliſh*. At length, with great comfort of ſpirit, he departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable ſayings to them that ſtood about him, upon *Aſcention-day*, the ſame year when *Nothelmus* was inſtituted Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And thus much concerning the ſtory of *Beda*.

Beda commended for integrity of life.

Anno 735.

Saint Johns Goſpel tranſlated into Engliſh by Beda.

This *Celulfus*, King of *Northumberland*, afore mentioned, after he had reigned eight years was made a Monk in the Abbey of *Farne*, otherwiſe called *Lindefar*, or *Holy Iland*: where by his means licence was given to the Monks of that Houſe to drink Wine or Ale, which before, by the Inſtitution of *Aidanus* above mentioned, drunk nothing but Milk and Water. After whom ſucceeded *Egbert* his Couſin, Brother to *Egbert* (the ſame time being Biſhop of *York*) which brought again thither the Pall, that his Predeceſſors had forgone, ſince the time that *Paulinus* had left the See, and fled to *Rocheſter*

Celulfus of a King made a Monk.

Egbert King of Northumberland.

as

as is before declared. The ſaid *Egbert* alſo erected a noble Library in *York*, whoſe Example I wiſh other Biſhops now would follow.

{Anno 747.} About the beginning of the Reign of this *Egbert*, was *Cuthbert*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who collected a great Synod of Biſhops and Prelates, in the year of our Lord, 747. in the month of *September*, near to the place called *Clocneſho*. In the which Synod aſſembled theſe Decrees were Enacted.

*Ex Malmesb. lib. de geſtis pontif. Anglo.*

*Cuthbert Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

1. Firſt, That Biſhops ſhould be more diligent in ſeeing to their Office, and in admoniſhing the people of their faults.

2. That they ſhould live in a peaceable mind together, notwithſtanding they were in place diſſevered aſunder.

3. That every Biſhop once a year ſhould go about all the Pariſhes of his Dioceſs.

4. That the ſaid Biſhops every one in his Dioceſs ſhould moniſh their Abbots and Monks to live regularly: and that Prelates ſhould not oppreſs their Inferiors, but love them.

5. That they ſhould teach the Monaſteries which the ſecular men had invaded, and could not then be taken from them, to live regularly.

6. That none ſhould be admitted to Orders, before his life ſhould be examined.

7. That in Monaſteries the reading of holy Scripture ſhould be more frequented.

8. That Prieſts ſhould be no Diſpoſers of Secular buſineſs.

9. That they ſhould take no money for baptiſing Infants.

10. That they ſhould both learn and teach the Lords Prayer and Creed in the *Engliſh*-Tongue.

11. That all ſhould joyn together in their Miniſtery after one uniform Rite and Manner.

12. That in a modeſt Voice they ſhould ſing in the Church.

13. That all Holy and Feſtival days ſhould be celebrated at one time together.

14. That the Sabbath-day be reverendly obſerved and kept.

15. That the ſeven Hours Canonical every day be obſerved.

*The Rogation days had not then that ſuperſtition in them which they had afterward.*

16. That the Rogation-days, both the greater and leſſer ſhould not be omitted.

17. That the Feaſt of S. *Gregory* and S. *Auſtin* our Patron ſhould not be omitted.

18. That the Faſt of the four times ſhould be kept and obſerved.

19. That Monks and Nuns ſhould go regularly apparelled.

20. That Biſhops ſhould ſee theſe Decrees not to be neglected.

21. That the Church-men ſhould not give themſelves unto drunkenneſs.

22. That the Communion ſhould not be neglected of the Church-men.

23. *Item*, that the ſame alſo ſhould be obſerved of Lay-men, as time required.

24. That Lay-men firſt ſhould be well tried before they entred into Monkery.

25. That Alms be not neglected.

26. That Biſhops ſhould ſee theſe Decrees to be notified to the people.

27. They diſputed of the profit of Alms.

28. They diſputed of the profit of ſinging Pſalms.

29. That the Congregation ſhould be conſtitute, after the ability of their Goods.

30. That Monks ſhould not dwell among Lay-men.

31. That publick Prayer ſhould be made for Kings and Princes.

*Boniface an Engliſh man Archbiſhop of Mentz.*

Theſe Decrees and Ordinances being thus among the Biſhops concluded, *Cuthbert* the Archbiſhop ſendeth the Copy thereof to *Boniface*, which *Boniface*, otherwiſe named *Winfride*, an *Engliſh* man born, was then Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and after made a Martyr, as the Popiſh ſtories term him.

*Ethelbald King of Mercesland.*

This *Boniface* being, as is ſaid, Archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the time of this foreſaid Synod, wrote a Letter to *Ethelbald* King of *Merceland*: which *Ethelbald* was alſo preſent in the ſame Synod, of whom *Beda* maketh mention in his Hiſtory, calling him proud *Ethelbald*, and the greateſt of the *Saxon* Kings in his time. Firſt this *Ethelbald*, after the departing of *Celulfe* into his Monkery, invaded and ſpoiled the Country of *Northumberland*. Moreover, he exerciſed mortal and horrible War a long ſpace with *Cudred*, otherwiſe of ſome named *Cuthbert*, King of *Weſt-Saxons*: Furthermore, he with other *Saxon* Kings ſo impugned the *Britains*, that from that time they never durſt provoke the *Saxons* any more. At length the ſaid *Cudred*, refuſing the intolerable Exactions of proud *Ethelbald*, doth incounter with him in battel: where notwithſtanding the great Power that *Ethelbald* had to him adjoyned, of the *Mercians*, of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and of the *Cantuarites*; yet the ſaid *Cudred* through Gods Power, and the means of a certain valiant Warrior, called *Edelhim*, a Conſul, overthrew the pride of *Ethelbald*, after a ſore and terrible conflict. Which *Ethelbald* nowithſtanding repairing his Power again the next year after, renewed battel with the foreſaid *Cudred*; in the which battel *Ethelbald* (after he had reigned one and forty years in *Mercia*) was ſlain by one *Beornered*, who after reigned in that *Dition* but a ſmall time. For *Offa*, Nephew to the ſaid *Ethelbald*, expelled the ſaid *Beornered*, and ſucceeded King in that Province of *Mercia*, where he reigned nine and thirty years, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jeſus ſpeeding therein our purpoſe) to be declared, as place and time ſhall require. In the mean ſeaſon, not to forget the Letter before mentioned of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, ſent unto this *Ethelbald*; I thought the ſame not unworthy here to be inſerted (at the leaſt the effect thereof) not ſo much for the Authors ſake, as for that ſome good matter, peradventure, may be picked thereout for other Princes to behold and conſider.

*Edelhim a ſtrong and valliant warriour.*

*Pride over thrown.*

## The Copy and Tenor of the Letter of *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and Martyr of God (an *Engliſh* man) ſent to *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, freely and yet charitably admoniſhing him of his Adulterous life, and Oppreſſion of Churches.

*REgi & filio chariſſimo, & in Chriſti amore cæteris regibus* Anglorum *præferendo* Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius *Archiepiſcopus legatus* Germanicus Romanæ *Eccleſiæ perpetuam in Chriſto charitatis ſalutem. Conſtitemus coram Deo, qui novit an vere atque ex animo dicam: quando proſperitatem veſtram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, lætamur: quando autem aliquid adverſum vel in eventu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum, de vobis cognoſcimus, triſtamur. Audivimus enim quod Eleemoſynis intentus furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defenſor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quod vero legitimum matrimonium ſpernis, ſi pro caſtitate faceres, eſſet laudabile: ſed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum ſanctimonialibus volutaris, eſt vituperabile & damnabile. Nam & famam gloriæ veſtræ coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter Idolatras conſtituit, quia Templum Dei violaſti. Quapropter fili chariſſime pœnitere, & memorare oportet, quam turpe ſit, ut tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus ſis libidinis ſervus. Audivimus præterea quod opimates pene omnis gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas uxores deſerant, & adulteras & Sanctimoniales conſtuprent. Quod quam ſit peregrinum ab honeſtate, doceat vos alienæ gentis inſtitutio. Nam in antiqua* Saxonia *ubi nulla eſt Chriſti cognitio, ſi virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, ſub conjuge fuerit adultera, manu propria ſtrangulatam cremant, & ſupra foſſam ſepultæ corruptorem ſuſpendunt, aut cingulo tenus (veſtibus abſciſſis) flagellant eam caſtæ matronæ & cultellis pungunt; & de villa in villam miſſæ occurrunt novæ flagellatrices, donec interimant. Inſuper & Vinuli, quod eſt fœdiſſimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, ut mulier viro mortuo ſe in rogo crematis pariter arſura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum caſtitatis habent, quid tibi convenit fili chariſſime, qui Chriſtianus & Rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quia ſi gens* Anglorum *(ſicut in* Francia, *&* Italia, *& ab ipſis* Paganis *nobis improperatur) ſpretis legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria deficit, naſcituraque ſit ex ea commixtione gens ignava & Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam peſſundet: ſicut*

Nihil actum quod non factum prius.

*ſicut Burgundionibus & Provincialibus, & Hiſpanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infeſtarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum eſt nobis, quod multa privilegia Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo provoces. Sed recogita quæſo quam terribilem vindictam Deus in Anteriores Reges exercuit, ejuſdem culpæ conſcios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum præceſſorum tuum ſtuprato rem Sanctimonialium, & Eccleſiaſticorum privilegiorum fractorem ſplendide cum ſuis comitibus epulantem ſpiritus malignus arripuit: & ſine confeſſione & viatico, cum diabolo ſermocinanti, & legem Dei deteſtanti animam extorſit. Oſredum quoque regem Deiorum & Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænatum regem egit, ut regnum & juvenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoque princeps Francorum, Monaſteriorum multorum everſor, & Eccleſiaſticarum pecuniarum in uſus proprios commutator, longa torſione, & verenda morte conſumptus eſt. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili chariſſime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut non deſpicias conſilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celſitudinem tuam appellare ſatagunt. Nihil enim boni regi ſalubrius, quam ſi talia commiſſa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit diſciplinam, diligit ſapientiam. Ideo, fili chariſſime, oſtendentes conſilium, juſſum, conteſtamur & obſecramus per viventem Deum, & per filium ejus Jeſum Chriſtum, & per ſpiritum ſanctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva ſit vita præſens, & quam brevis & momentanea delectatio ſpurcæ carnis: & quam ignominioſum ſit ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum poſteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus vitam componere, & præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas & in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celſitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.*

The corrupt life of Nuns noted.

In this Epiſtle here is to be ſeen and noted, firſt the corruption and great diſorder of life which alway from time to time hath been found in theſe Religious Houſes of Nuns, whoſe profeſſed Vow of co-acted Chaſtity hath yet never been good to the Church, nor profitable to the Common-wealth, and leaſt of all to themſelves. Of ſuch young and wanton Widows S. *Paul* in his time complaineth, 1 *Tim.* 5. which would take upon them the wilful Profeſſion of ſingle life, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxury, deſerved worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it been for theſe laſcivious Nuns not to have refuſed the ſafe yoke of *Chriſtian* Matrimony, than to intangle themſelves in this their ſuperſtitious Vow of perpetual Maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keep?

Secondly, No leſs are they alſo to be reprehended, which maintained theſe ſuperſtitious Orders of unprofitable Nuns and of other Religions. In the number of whom was this foreſaid *Boniface*, otherwiſe called *Winfride*, who, although in this Epiſtle he doth juſtly reprehend the vicious Enormities both of ſecular and of religious Perſons; yet he himſelf is not without the ſame or rather greater reprehenſion, for that he gave the occaſion thereof in maintaining ſuch ſuperſtitious Orders of ſuch laſcivious Nuns and other Religions, and reſtraining the ſame from lawful Marriage. For ſo we find of him in ſtories that he was a great ſetter up and upholder of ſuch blind Superſtition, and of all Popery. Who being admitted by Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, Archbiſhop of *Magunce*, and indued with full Authority legantine over the *Germans*, brought divers Countries there under the Popes Obedience, held many great Councils, ordained Biſhops, builded Monaſteries, canonized Saints, commanded Relicks to be worſhipped, permitted religious Fathers to carry about Nuns with them a preaching. Amongſt all other he founded the great Monaſtery of *Fluda* in *Germany* of *Engliſh* Monks, into the which no women might enter but only *Lieba* and *Tecla*, two *Engliſh* Nuns. *Item*, by the Authority of the ſaid Archbiſhop *Boniface*, which he received from Pope *Zachary*, *Childericus*, King of *France*, was depoſed from the Right of his Crown, and *Pipinus*, betrayer of his Maſter, was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this *Boniface* proceeded that deteſtable Doctrine which now ſtandeth regiſtred in the Popes Decrees, *Diſt.* 40. *cap. Si Papa.* Which in a certain Epiſtle of his is this, that in caſe the Pope were of moſt filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himſelf, and of the whole Chriſtianity, in ſuch ſort, that he led innumerable Souls with him to Hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in ſo doing, for he hath (ſaith he) power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again.

The Popiſh acts and doings of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Magunce*.

The Monaſtery of *Fluda* in *Germany*, builded by *Boniface*.

*Childericus* the *French* King depoſed, and *Pipinus* inſtituted.

*Diſt.* 40. *cap. Si Papa.*

In the time of this Archbiſhop, Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, alſo *Gregory* the third, and Pope *Zachary*, and before theſe alſo Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, wrought great Maſteries againſt the *Greek* Emperors *Philippicus* and *Leo*, and others for the maintaining of Images to be ſet up in Churches. Of whom *Philippicus* loſt both his Empire, and alſo his eyes: *Leo* for the ſame cauſe likewiſe was Excommunicate of *Gregory* the third. This *Gregory* the third (ſo far as I can conjecture) was he that firſt wrote the four Books of *Dialogues* in *Greek*, falſly bearing the name of *Gregory* the firſt, which Books afterward, *Zachary* his Succeſſor tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latine*. *Item*, the ſaid *Gregory* the third, firſt brought into the Maſs-Canon the Clauſe for Relicks, beginning *Quorum ſolennitates hodie in conſpectu, &c. Item*, brought into the ſaid Canon the Memorial, the Offering and Sacrifice for the Dead: like as *Zachary* brought in the Prieſts Veſture and Ornaments, and as the foreſaid *Conſtantinus* alſo was the firſt that gave his feet to be kiſſed of the Emperors. But to turn again into the courſe of our *Engliſh* ſtory.

Images in Churches ſubverted by Emperors, maintained by Popes.

*Philippicus* for holding againſt images loſt his Empire and his eyes.

The Author of the Book called the Dialogues of *Gregory*.

Memorial of relicks, offering and ſacrifice for the dead, brought into the Maſs-Canon.

The Popes feet firſt kiſſed of the Emperors.

In the time of this *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, *Sigebert* or *Sigbert* reigned in *Weſt-Saxony*, a man of ſo cruel tyranny to his Subjects (turning the Laws and Cuſtoms of his fore-Fathers after his own Will and Pleaſure) that when he was ſomewhat ſharply advertiſed by one of his Nobles, an Earl called *Combranus*, to change his manners, and to behave himſelf more prudently toward his people; he therefore maliciouſly cauſed him to be put to cruel death. Wherupon the ſaid King *Sigebert* continuing his cruel Conditions, by his Subjects conſpiring againſt him, was put from his kingly Dignity, and brought into ſuch deſolation, that wandering alone in a Wood without comfort, was there ſlain, even by the *Swineherd* of the ſaid Earl, whom before he had ſo wrongfully murthered, as partly is above touched. Whereby is to be ſeen the cruel tyranny of Princes never to proſper well, without the juſt revenge both of God and man.

*Sigbert* King of *Weſtſaxons*.

*Sigbert* ſlain

Cruel tyranny with like cruelty revenged.

*Kenulphus* King of *Weſtſaxons*.

This *Sigebert* being ſlain, in his place ſucceeded *Kenulphus*, in the year of our Lord, 748. who with the agreement of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was one of the chief doers againſt *Sigebert* his Maſter. This *Kenulphus* kept ſtrongly his Lordſhip againſt *Offa*, and againſt the power of all his Enemies, till at length after that he had reigned, as *Fabian* ſaith, one and thirty years, he reſorting to a Paramour which he kept at *Merton*, was there beſet, and likewiſe ſlain by the train and means of a certain kinſman of the foreſaid *Sigebert*, named *Clito* or *Cliton*, in revengement of King *Sigebert*'s death.

{ Anno } { 748. }

Murther revenged with murther.

Moreover, in the Reign of the foreſaid *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, and in the eighth year of *Kenulphus*, King of *Weſt-Saxons*; *Offa*, after he had ſlain the Tyrant *Beonuredus*, which before had ſlain *Ethelbald*, King of *Mercia*, and Uncle to this foreſaid *Offa*, reigned King of that Province.

*Offa* King of *Mercia*.

Of this *Offa* are told many notable Deeds; which becauſe they concern rather Political Affairs, and do not greatly appertain to the purpoſe of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I omit here to recite; As his Wars and Victories againſt *Egbert*, King of the *Northumbers*, as alſo againſt *Ethelred* King of *Eaſt-Angles*. *Item*, againſt *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, otherwiſe called *Wren*, whom (as *Fabian* ſaith) he took Priſoner, and led bound with him to *Mercia*. *Malmesbury* witneſſeth otherwiſe this to be done not by *Offa*, but by *Kenulphus*, as Chriſt willing, hereafter ſhall appear. After theſe Victories, *Offa* had ſuch diſpleaſure unto the Citizens of *Canterbury*, that he removed the Archbiſhops See, and Lands of *Lambrith* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (by the agreement of Pope *Adrian*) unto *Litchfield*. He alſo chaſed the *Britain*- or *Welſhmen* into *Wales*, and made a famous Ditch between *Wale* and the utter bounds of *Mercia*, or middle *England*, which was called *Ofditch*, and builded there a Church, which long time after was called *Offkirke*. This

An untruth noted in the ſtory of *Fabianus*.

The primacy of *Canterbury* removed to *Litchfield*.

*Lambrith* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Offa*

*Offa* alſo married one of his Daughters to *Brightricus* that was a King of *Weſt-Saxons*. And for that in his time was variance between him and the *French*-men, inſomuch that the paſſage of Merchants was forbidden; therefore he ſent *Alcuinus* a learned man unto *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, to commune the means of peace: which *Charles* had after that the ſaid *Alcuinus* in great favour and eſtimation, and afterwards made him Abbot of *Turonia* in *France*.

*This Alcuinus is commended for his learning next to Adelmus and Beda above all Saxons.*

About the later time of the Reign of *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, *Ethelbert* being then King of *Eaſt-Angles* (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the Court of *Offa*, provoked by the counſel of his Nobles to ſue for the marriage of his Daughter, well accompanied like a Prince with his men about him. Whereupon the Queen conceiving a falſe ſuſpition, and fearing that which was never minded, that *Ethelbert* with his Company, under the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to work ſome violence againſt her Husband, and the Kingdom of *Mercia*; ſo ſhe perſwaded with King *Offa* and certain of her Council that night, that the next day following, *Offa* cauſed him to be trained into his Palace alone from his Company, by one called *Guimbertus*: who took him and bound him, and there ſtruck off his head, which forthwith he then preſented to the King and Queen. And thus the Innocent King *Etheldred* was wrongfully murthered, about the year of our Lord, 793. but not without a juſt Revenge at Gods hands. For, as the ſtory recordeth, the foreſaid Queen, worker of this Villany, lived not three months after, and in her death was ſo tormented, that ſhe was fain to bite and rent her Tongue in pieces with her own teeth. *Offa* underſtanding at length the Innocency of this King, and the hainous cruelty of his Fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy Church; and to the Church of *Hereford*, in the remembrance of this *Ethelbert*, he beſtowed great Lands. Moreover, he builded the Abbey of S. *Albans*, with certain other Monaſteries beſides. And ſo afterward he went up to *Rome* for his Penance, where he gave to the Church of S. *Peter* a peny through every houſe in his Dominion, which was called commonly *Romeſhot*, or *Peter-pence*, paid to the Church of S. *Peter*: and there at length was transformed from a King to a Monk, about the year of our Lord, 749. with *Kenredus* King of *Northumberland* above-mentioned, although ſome ſtories deny that he was a Monk.

*Ethelbert King of Eaſtangles wrongfully murthered by Offa. The vain ſuſpition and wicked counſel of a woman.*

*Ex hiſt. Jornalenſi & Malmeſburienſi. Cruel murther revenged.*

*Offa and Kenredus of Kings made Monks at Rome.*

After *Offa* King of *Mercia*, when he had reigned nine and thirty years, ſucceeded his Son *Egfretus*, who reigned but four months, of whom thus writeth the foreſaid *Alcuinus*, *Non arbitror quod nobiliſſimus juvenis* Egfretus *propter peccata ſua mortuus ſit: ſed quia pater ſuus, pro confirmatione Regni ejus multum ſanguinem effudit, &c.* that is, This Noble young man died not ſo much for offences of his own, as for that his Father had ſpilled much blood to confirm him in his Kingdom.

*Egfretus King of Mercia. Alcuinus Oberto patricio. The Fathers fault puniſhed in the Child.*

Next to which *Egfretus* ſucceeded *Kenulphus* in the ſaid Kingdom of *Mercia*, which *Kenulphus* keeping and retaining the hatred of *Offa* his Predeceſſor againſt the *Cantuarits*, made War upon them, where he took *Egbert* their King, otherwiſe called *Wren*, whom he bound and led Priſoner to *Mercia*. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after being mollified with Princely Clemency in the Town of *Winchcombe*, where he had builded the ſame time a Church, upon the day when he ſhould dedicate the ſame in the preſence of thirteen Biſhops, and of *Cutbert*, whom he had placed in the ſame Kingdom of *Canterbury* before, and ten Dukes, and many other great Eſtates, King *Kenulphus* brought the ſaid *Egbert* King of *Kent*, out of Priſon into the Church, where he inlarged him out of Impriſonment, and reſtored him to his place againſt At the ſight whereof, not only *Cutbert* the foreſaid King rejoyced, but alſo all the Eſtates and people being there preſent, made ſuch an Exclamation of joy and gladneſs, that the Church (and not only the Church, but alſo the Streets) rang withall. At which time ſuch bountifulneſs of Gifts and Jewels was then beſtowed, that from the higheſt eſtate to the loweſt, none departed without ſomething given, according as to every degree was thought meet. Although *Fabian* referreth this ſtory to King *Offa*, yet cauſes there be why I aſſent rather unto *Malmesbury* and to *Polychronicon*, which attribute the ſame to *Kenulphus* the Second King of *Mercia* after *Offa*.

*Egbert King of Kent taken priſoner. A Princely example of clemency in a noble King. The church of Winchcombe builded by King Kenulphus. Egbert King of Kent releaſed out of priſon.*

*A place of Fabian doubted.*

A little before in ſpeaking of certain Biſhops of *Rome*, mention was made of Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, Pope *Gregory* the ſecond, Pope *Gregory* the third, and of Pope *Zachary*, which depoſed *Childerick*, and ſet up *Pipinus* the *French* King, &c. Next after this *Zachary* in order, followed Pope *Stephan* the ſecond, to whom the foreſaid *Pipinus*, to gratifie again the See of *Rome* for this their benefit ſhewed to him, gave and contributed to the ſaid See of *Rome*, the *Exarchat* or Princedome of *Ravenna*, the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and many other great Poſſeſſions of *Italy*, with all the Cities thereto adjoyning unto the borders of *Venice*. And this donation of *Pipin*, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, ſhould be found to be the ſame, which hitherto falſly hath been thought to be the donation of *Conſtantine*. For elſe how could it be that the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna* could belong all this while to the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, if *Conſtantine* before had given it and all *Italy* from the Empire of the See of *Rome*?

*Pope Stephan the ſecond.*

*The donation of Pipinus falſly taken to be the donation of Conſtantine*

To this *Pipinus*, as witneſſeth *Polychronicon*, was ſent firſt into *France*, the invention of the *Organs* out of *Grecia*, by *Conſtantine*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in the year of our Lord, 757.

*Ex Polyc. lib. 5. cap. 24.*

Next to this *Stephan* the ſecond, ſucceeded *Paul* the firſt, who following his Predeceſſors, thundered out great Excommunication againſt *Conſtantinus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, for abrogating and plucking down Images ſet up in Temples. Notwithſtanding this *Conſtantine* neglecting the Popes vain Curſes, perſevered in his bleſſed purpoſe, in deſtroying Idolatry till the end of his life. Then came to be Pope *Conſtantinus* the ſecond, a Lay-man, and Brother to *Deſiderius* the King of *Lombardy*; for the which cauſe he was ſhortly depoſed, and thruſt into a Monaſtery, having his eyes put out.

*Pope Paul the firſt. Images again maintained by the Pope againſt the Emperor.*

*A Lay-man Pope, who was depoſed and had his eyes put out.*

In whoſe ſtead ſucceeded *Stephan* the third, who Ordained after, That no Lay-man ſhould be Pope: condemning moreover the Council of *Conſtantinople* the ſeventh for Heretical, becauſe in that Council the worſhipping of Images was reproved and condemned. Contrary to the which Council, this Pope not only maintained the filthy Idolatry of Images in *Chriſtian* Temples, but alſo advanced their Veneration, commanding them moſt ſtrictly to be incenſed, &c. At this time *Carolus Magnus*, called *Charles the Great*, a little before mentioned, began to Reign, by whom this Pope cauſed *Deſiderius* the *Lombard* King to be deprived.

*Pope Stephan the third. The Council of Conſtantine pig the ſeventh condemned of the Pope, for condemning Images.*

*The Pope alſo ordained, Gloria in excelſis, to be ſung in the Maſs at S. Peters Altar by the Cardinals.*

Then in this Race of Popes, after this *Stephan* the third, cometh *Adrianus* the firſt, who likewiſe following the ſteps of his Fathers the Popes, added and attributed to the Veneration of Images more than all the other had done before, writing a Book for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for Laymens *Kalendars*, holding moreover a Synod at *Rome* againſt *Felix*, and all others that ſpake againſt the ſetting up of ſuch Stocks and Images. And as *Paul* the firſt before him made much of the body of *Petronilia* S. *Peters* Daughter: ſo this *Adrian* clothed the body of S. *Peter* all in ſilver, and covered the Altar of S. *Paul* with a Pall of gold. This Pope *Adrian* was he whom we declared in the former part of this Treatiſe, to ratifie and confirm by Revelation the Order of S. *Gegories* Maſs, above the Order of S. *Ambroſe* Maſs: for unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord, 780. the Lyturgy of S, *Ambroſe* was more uſed in the *Italian* Churches. The ſtory whereof, becauſe it is regiſtred in *Durandus*, *Nauclerus*, and *Jacobus de Voragine*. I thought here to inſert the ſame to this eſpecial purpoſe, for the Reader to underſtand the time when this uſual Maſs of the Papiſts began firſt to be Univerſal and Uniform, and generally in Churches to be received. Thus it followed in the ſtory by the foreſaid Authors ſet forth. *Jacobus de Voragine*, in the life of Pope *Gregory* the firſt, telleth a Tale concerning this matter.

*Pope Adrian the firſt. Images again maintained by the Pope for be Lay-mens Kalendars.*

*The body of St. Peter clothed in ſilver.*

*The order of the Romiſh Maſs-Book whence it came in.*

*Ex Durando, Nauclero, Jacob. de Voragine, in vita Greg.*

In times paſt (ſaith he) when the Service which *Ambroſe* made, was more frequented and uſed in Churches, than was the Service which *Gregory* had appointed, the Biſhop of *Rome*, then called *Adrian*, gathered a Council together: in the which it was Ordained, That *Gregories* Service ſhould be obſerved and kept univerſally. Which determination of the Council, *Charles* the Emperor did diligently put in Execution, while he ran about by divers Provinces,

Provinces, and informed all the Clergy, partly with threatnings, and partly with puniſhments to receive that Order. And as touching the Books of *Ambroſe* Service, he burnt them to aſhes in all places, and threw into priſon many Prieſts that would not conſent and agree unto the matter. Bleſſed *Eugenius* the Biſhop coming unto the Council, found that it was diſſolved three days before his coming. Notwithſtanding through his Wiſdom, he ſo perſwaded the Lord Pope, that he called again all the Prelates that had been preſent at the Council, and were now departed by the ſpace of three days. Therefore when the Council was gathered again together, in this all the Fathers did conſent and agree, that both the *Maſs-Books* of *Ambroſe* and *Gregory* ſhould be laid upon the Altar of bleſſed Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle, and the Church-doors diligently ſhut, and moſt warily ſealed up with the Signets of many and divers Biſhops. Again, that they ſhould all the whole night give themſelves to prayer, that the Lord might reveal, open, and ſhew unto them by ſome evident ſign or token, which of theſe two Services he would have uſed in the Temples. Thus they doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the Church-doors, and found both the *Miſſals* or *Maſs-Books* open upon the Altar: or rather (as ſome ſay) they found *Gregories Maſs-Book* utterly plucked aſunder, one piece from another, and ſcattered over all the Church. As touching *Ambroſe* Book, they only found it open upon the Altar in the very ſame place where they before laid it. This Miracle Pope *Adrian*, like a wiſe Expounder of dreams, interpreted thus, That as the leaves were torn and blown abroad all the Church over, ſo ſhould *Gregories* Book be uſed throughout the World. Whereupon they thought themſelves ſufficiently inſtructed and taught of God, that the Service which *Gregory* had made, ought to be ſet abroad and uſed throughout the World, and that *Ambroſe* his Service ſhould only be obſerved and kept in his own Church of *Mediolanum*, where he ſometime was Biſhop.

*Et tamen ipſi commentum placet. Terent.*

*The ſubtilty of Prelates in planting their Popiſh Maſs.*

Thus haſt thou heard (Brother Reader) the full and whole Narration of this myſtical Miracle, with the Popes Expoſition upon the ſame, which ſeemeth to be as true as that which *Daniel* ſpeaketh of, how the Idol Bell did eat up all the meat that was ſet before him all the night, *Daniel* 14. Concerning the which Miracle, I need not admoniſh thee to ſmell out the blind practiſes of theſe night-Crows, to blind the World with forged inventions in ſtead of true ſtories. Albeit to grant the Miracle to be moſt true and unfallible, yet as touching the Expoſition thereof, another man beſide the Pope percaſe might Interpret this great Miracle otherwiſe, as thus, That God was angry with *Gregories* Book, and therefore rent it in pieces, and ſcattered it abroad; and the other as good, lay ſound, untouched, and at the leaſt ſo to be preferred. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever is to be thought of this Miracle with the Expoſition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that *Gregories* Service had only the place, and yet hath to this day in the greateſt part of *Europe*, the Service of *Ambroſe* being excluded. And thus much touching the great Act of Pope *Adrian* for the ſetting up of the Maſs. By the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at leaſt to underſtand how that commonly in Chriſtian Nations abroad, as yet no uniform Order of any *Miſſal* or *Maſs-Book* was received, as hath been hitherto diſcourſed.

*Gregories Maſs taketh place in Europe.*

Now from the Popes to return again to the Emperors, from whence we digreſſed: like as *Pipinus* the Father of *Charles* (as hath been before ſufficiently told) had given to the See-Papal all the Princedom of *Ravenna*, with other Donations and Revenues and Lands in *Italy*; ſo this *Carolus* following his Fathers devotion did confirm the ſame, adding moreover thereunto, the City and Dominion of *Venice*, *Hiſtria*, the Dukedom *Forojulienſe*, the Dukedom *Spoletanum*, and *Beneventanum*, and other Poſſeſſions more, to the Patrimony of S. *Peter*, making him the Prince of *Rome* and *Italy*. The Pope again to recompence his ſo gentle kindneſs, made him to be intituled *Moſt Chriſtian King*, and made him *Patricium Romanum*, moreover, ordained him only to be taken for Emperor of *Rome*. For theſe and other cauſes more, *Carolus* bare no little affection to the ſaid *Adrian* above all other Popes: as may well appear by this Letter of *Carolus Magnus* ſent to King *Offa*, what time the ſaid *Offa* (as is above prefixed) ſent to him *Alcuinus* for Intreaty of Peace: whereto the foreſaid *Carolus* anſwereth again to the Meſſage of *Offa* in a Letter, the Contents whereof be theſe.

*Carolus Magnus* beneficial to the See of *Rome.*

*Rex Chriſtianiſſimus*, intituled to *France.*

## The tenor of a Letter ſent by *Carolus Magnus* to King *Offa*, anſwering to his requeſt concerning the treatiſe of peace between them.

A Letter of *Charles the Great* ſent to King *Offa.*

CArolus *Rex* Francorum & Longobardorum, *patricius* Romanorum, *viro venerando, & fratri chariſſimo* Offæ *Regi* Merciorum *ſalutem. Primo gratias agimus Omnipotenti Deo, de Catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarum ſuarum, beatorum Apoſtolorum limina deſiderant adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui religioni non ſervientes, ſed lucra ſectantes inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſolvant telonia. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato noſtro patrocinium habeant in regno noſtro legitime, Et ſi in aliquo loco injuſta affligantur oppreſſione, reclament ſe ad nos, vel noſtros judices, & plenam juſtitiam jubemus fieri. Cognoſcat quoque dilectio veſtra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis noſtris vel palliis ad ſingulas ſedes Epiſcopales* Regni *veſtri vel* Ethelredi *direximus, in Eleemoſynam Domini Apoſtolici* Adriani, *deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie eſſe, ſed ut fidem & dilectionem oſtendamus in amicum nobis chariſſimum. Sed & de theſauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Jeſus gratuita pietate conceſſit aliquid per Metropolitanas civitates; direximus veſtræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum, & unum gladium, & duo Pallia ſerica, &c.*

How the Pope hearkeneth the cry of poor widows and Orphans.

The cauſe why this *Carolus* writeth ſo favourably of *Adrian*, partly is touched before; partly alſo was, for that *Caroloman* his elder Brother being dead, his Wife called *Bertha* with her two Children came to *Adrian*, to have them confirmed in their Fathers Kingdom whereunto the Pope to ſhew a pleaſure to *Carolus* would not agree: but gave the Mother with her two Children, and *Deſiderius* the *Lombard* King with his whole Kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the ſaid *Carolus*, who led them with him Captive into *France*, and there kept them in ſervitude during their life.

The Empire tranſlated from *Greece* to *France.*

Thus *Carolus Magnus* being proclaimed Emperor of *Rome*, through the preferment of *Adrian* and Pope *Leo* the third, which ſucceeded next after him, the Empire was tranſlated from the *Grecians* about the year of our Lord, 801. unto the *Frenchmen*, where it continued about one hundred and two years, till the coming of *Conradus* and his Nephew *Otho*, which were *Germans*: and ſo hath continued after them among the *Almans* unto this preſent time. This *Charles* builded ſo many Monaſteries as there be letters in the row of *A B C*, he was beneficial chiefly to the Church-men, alſo merciful to the Poor, in his Acts valiant and triumphant, ſkil'd in all Languages; he held a Council at *Frankford* (where was condemned the Council of *Nice* and *Irene*) for ſetting up and worſhipping Images, &c.

Images written againſt, as contrary to the true Faith.

Concerning which Council of *Nice*, and things there concluded and enacted (becauſe no man ſhall think the deteſting of Images to be any new thing now begun) thus I find it recorded in an ancient written Hiſtory of *Roger Hoveden*, called *Continuationes Bedæ*: his words in *Latine* be theſe, *Anno* 792. Carolus *Rex* Francorum *miſit Synodalem librum ad* Britanniam, *ſibi a* Conſtantinopoli *directum. In quo lib. Heu proh dolor, multa inconvenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium Doctorum non minus quam* 300 *vel eo amplius Epiſcoporum unanimi aſſertione confirmatum ſit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur. Contra quod ſcripſit* Albinus *Epiſtolam ex authoritate divinarum ſcripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro ex perſona Epiſcoporum ac Principum noſtrorum, Regi* Francorum *attulit. Hæc ille:* That is, In the year of our Lord, 792. *Charles* the *French* King ſent a Book containing the Acts of a certain Synod, unto *Britain*, directed unto him from *Conſtantinople*. In the which Book (lamentable to be told) many things inconvenient, and clean contrary unto the true Faith are there to be found: eſpecially for that by the common

This *Albinus* was *Alcuinus* above mentioned.

The Biſhops and Prince of *England* againſt Images.

conſent of almoſt all the learned Biſhops of the *Eaſt* Church, not ſo few as three Hundred, it was there agreed, that Images ſhould be Worſhipped; which thing the Church of God hath always abhorred. Againſt which Book *Albinus* wrote an Epiſtle, ſubſtantially grounded out of the Authority of holy Scripture, which Epiſtle with the Book, the ſaid *Albinus*, in the name and Perſon of one Biſhops and Princes, did preſent to the *French* King

King *Egbert* made a Monk.

And thus much by the way of *Romiſh* matters: Now to return again to the *Northumberland* Kings, where we left at *Egbert*, which *Egbert* (as is before declared) ſucceeded after *Celulphus*, after he was made Monk. And likewiſe the ſaid *Egbert* alſo following the devotion of his Uncle *Celulphus*, and *Kenredus* before him, was likewiſe ſhorn Monk, after he had Reigned twenty years in *Northumberland*; leaving his Son *Oſulphus*, after him to ſucceed. About which time, and in the ſame year, when *Celulphus* deceaſed in his Monaſtery, which was the year of our Lord, 764. divers Cities were burnt with ſudden fire, as the City of *Wenta*, the City of *London*, the City of *York*, *Doncaſter*, with divers other Towns beſides: *Roger Hoveden, lib. contin. poſt Bedam.* Who the firſt year of his Reign, which was the year of our Lord 757. being innocently ſlain, next to him followed *Mollo*, otherwiſe called *Adelwald*, who likewiſe being ſlain of *Alcredus*, after he had Reigned eleven years, departed. After, *Alcredus* when he had Reigned ten years, was expulſed out of his Kingdom by his people; Then was *Ethelbert*, otherwiſe named *Adelred*, the Son of the foreſaid *Mollo*, received King of *Northumberland*: Which *Ethelbert* or *Adelred* in like ſort, after he had Reigned five years, was expulſed. After whom ſucceeded *Alfwold*, who likewiſe, when he had Reigned eleven years, was unjuſtly ſlain. So likewiſe after him his Nephew, and the Son of *Alcredus*, named *Oſredus*, Reigned one year, and was ſlain. Then the foreſaid *Ethelbert*, the Son of *Mollo*, after twelve years Baniſhment, Reigned again in *Northumberland* the ſpace of four years, and was ſlain. The cauſe whereof (as I find in an Old written ſtory) was, that forſaking his Old Wife, he married a new. Concerning the reſtoring of whom, *Alcuinus* writeth in this manner. *Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia ſolus. Nuper Edelredus, filius Edelwaldi de carcere proceſſit in ſolium, & de miſeria in majeſtatem, cujus regni novitate detenti ſumus ne venerimus ad vos, &c.* And afterward the ſame *Alcuinus* again ſpeaking of his death, writeth unto King *Offa* in theſe Words, *Sciat veneranda dilectio veſtra quod dominus Carolus amabiliter & fideliter ſæpe mecum locutus eſt de vobis, & in eo habetis fidelisſimum amicum. Ideo & veſtræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per epiſcopales ſedes regni veſtri, ſimiliter & Edelredo regi, & ad ſuas epiſcoporum ſedes direxit dona. Sed heu pro dolor, donis datis, & epiſtolis in manus miſſorum, ſupervenit triſtis legatio per miſſos qui de Scotia per nos reverſi ſunt, de infidelitate gentis, & nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus eſt contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam & perverſam, & homicidam dominorum ſuorum, pejorem eam paganis æſtimans, ut niſi ego interceſſor eſſem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abſtrahere potuiſſet, & mali machinari, jam feciſſet, &c.*

Anno 757. *Oſulphus, Mollo, otherwiſe called Adelwald. Alcredus or Alcredus. Ethelbert otherwiſe called Adelred or Eadulph. Alfwold, Oſredus, Adelred again Kings of Northumberland.* Anno 764.

## *The Kingdom of* Northumberland *ceaſeth.*

*Northumberland* Kingdom ceaſeth.

Thus as you have heard, after the Reign of King *Egbert* before mentioned, ſuch trouble and perturbation was in the Dominion of *Northumberland*, with ſlaying, expulſing and depoſing their Kings one after another, that after the murthering of this *Edelred* above ſpecified, none durſt take the Government upon him, ſeeing the great danger thereupon inſuing. Inſomuch that the foreſaid Kingdom did lie void and waſte, the ſpace of three and thirty years together; after the term of which years, this Kingdom of *Northumberland*, with the Kingdoms alſo of the other *Saxons* beſides, came altogether into the hands of *Egbert*, King of *Weſt-Saxons*, and his Progeny; which Monarchy began in the year of our Lord 827. and in the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of the ſaid *Egbert*; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Of this troubleſome and outragious time of *Northumberland* peopleſpeaketh alſo the ſaid learned man *Alcuinus*, otherwiſe called *Albinus*, in the ſame Country born, writing out of *France* into *England*, and complaining of the ſame in divers his letters, as firſt to *Offa*, where he thus writeth: *Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reverti. Sed melius viſum eſt propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, neſciens quid feciſſem inter eos, ubi nullus ſecurus eſſe, vel in ſalubre conſilio proficere poteſt. Eccleſia ſancta a paganis vaſtata, Altaria perjuriis fœdata, Monaſteria adulteriis violata, terra ſanguine Dominorum & Principum fœdata, &c.* Moreover, the ſaid *Alcuinus* writing to the foreſaid *Edelred* a little above mentioned, after the ſame Tenor reporteth: *Ecce Eccleſia ſancti Cutberti ſacerdotum Dei ſanguine aſperſa (omnibus ſpoliata ornamentis) locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et ubi primum, poſt deceſſum S. Cutberti ab Eboraco, Chriſtiana religio in noſtra gente ſumpſit exordium, ibi miſeriæ & calamitatis cœpit initium. &c.*

The troubles of the Kingdom of Northumberland deſcribed by Alcuin.

*Item*, writing to *Osbert* a Noble Peer of the *Mercians*, complaining on the ſame matter, ſaith: *Regnum Noſtrum Northumbrorum pene periit, propter inteſtinas diſſenſiones, & fallaces conjurationes, &c.*

*Item*, in another place the ſaid *Alcuinus* writing to *Adelard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, complaineth moreover: *Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus inſulæ noſtræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata eſt noſtris. Legitur in libro Gildæ ſapientiſſimi Britonum, quod iidem Britones, propter avaritiam & rapinam Principum, propter iniquitatem & injuſtitiam Judicum, propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caveamus hæc eadem vitia noſtris temporibus inoleſcere, quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conſervet in proſperitate bona quam nobis miſericordiſſima pietate perdonare dignatus eſt, &c.*

Over and beſides, the ſame Author *Alcuinus*, writing unto the foreſaid *Edelred* King of *Northumberland*, maketh record of ſtrange ſight which he himſelf did ſee the ſame time in the City of *York*, it rained Blood: Whereof his words which he wrote, concerning the ſame unto the ſaid King *Edelred* be theſe: *Quid ſignificat pluvia ſanguinis, quam quadrageſimali tempore in Eboraco civitate, quæ caput eſt totius regni, in eccleſia beati principis Apoſtolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus domus (ſereno aere) de ſummitate minanter cadere? Nonne poteſt putari, a borealibus partibus venire ſanguinem ſuper terram?* That is, What ſignifieth the rain Blood which in time of *Lent*, in the City of *York*, the chief City of that Dominion, and in the Church of S. *Peter* the chief of the Apoſtles, we our ſelves did ſee to fall from the Church top (the Element being cleer) out of the North parts of the Temple, &c. This wondrous ſight teſtified by *Malmeſburienſis*, is thought of *Fabian* to happen in the ſecond year of the Reign of *Brightricus* (as with the time doth well agree) which was the year of our Lord, ſeven hundred and eighty, and is thought of ſome Expoſitors to be token the coming of the *Danes* into this Land, which entred ſhortly after about ſeven years, in the ninth year, of the Reign of *Brightricus* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. Which *Brightricus* in defence thereof ſent forth his Steward of his houſhold with a ſmall company, which ſhortly was ſlain: But by the ſtrength of the ſaid *Brightricus* and the other *Saxon* Kings, they were compelled to void the Land for that time, which was in the year 790. To this *Brightricus*, King *Offa*, as is aforeſaid, gave his Daughter *Edelburga* to Wife, by whom he at length was impoyſoned, beſides certain other of his Nobles, upon whom the ſaid Queen before him had Practiſed the ſame wickedneſs. Who then after that fled over to *Charles* the Great, into *France*: Where ſhe being offered for her beauty to marry either to him or his Son, becauſe ſhe choſe rather his Son, married neither the one, nor yet the other; but was thruſt into a Monaſtery, where ſhe, then playing the Harlot with a Monk, was expulſed from thence, and ended her life in Penury and miſery.

Ex Hiſtoria Malmeburienſi.

How it rained Blood in York.

Anno 780.

*Brightricus* King of *Weſt-Saxons.*

*Edelburg* Daughter to *Offa* poyſoned her Husband.

Wickedneſs revenged.

In the mean time, while this *Edelburga* was thus working her Feats in *England*, *Irene* Empreſs of the *Greeks*, was as buſie alſo for her part at *Conſtantinople*: Who firſt through the means of Pope *Adrian* took up the body of *Conſtantine*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, her own Husbands Father. And when ſhe had burned the ſame

*Irene.* Anno 784.

*Alcuinus* otherwiſe called *Albinus.*

ſame, ſhe cauſed the Aſhes to be caſt into the Sea, becauſe he diſanulled Images. Afterwards reigning with her Son *Conſtantine* the ſixth, Son to *Leo* the fourth (whom alſo we declared before to be excommunicated for taking away Images) being at diſſention with him, cauſed him to be taken and laid in Priſon; who afterward through power of Friends being reſtored to his Empire again, at laſt ſhe cauſed the ſame her own Son to be caſt into Priſon, and his eyes to be put out ſo cruelly, that within ſhort ſpace he dyed. After this the ſaid *Irene* Empreſs, with the Council of *Therafius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, held a Council at *Nicea*, where it was decreed, that Images ſhould again be reſtored unto the Church; which Council after was repealed by another Council holden at *Francford* by *Charles the Great*. At length ſhe was depoſed by *Nicephorus* (who Reigned after) and was expulſed the Empire: Who after the example of *Edelburga*, above mentioned (condignly puniſhed for her wickedneſs) ended likewiſe her life in much Penury and Miſery.

Images reſtored again by *Irene* at *Conſtantinople*.

The ſecond Council at *Nicea*.

The wickedneſs of *Irene* condignly rewarded.

About the time when the foreſaid *Brightricus* was impoiſoned by *Edelburga* his Wife, died alſo King *Offa*, which was about the year of our Lord 795. or (as ſome ſay) 802. After which *Offa* (as is aforeſaid) ſucceeded *Egfert*, then *Kenulphus*, after whom ſucceeded *Kenelmus* his Son, who in his younger age was wickedly murdered by his Siſter *Quinreda*, and *Askebertus*, about the year of our Lord 819. and in the Church of *Winchcombe* was counted for an holy Martyr. After him ſucceeded his Uncle *Ceolulphus*, whom *Bernulphus* in the firſt year of his reign expulſed, and reigned in his place. Who likewiſe in the third year of his Reign was overcome, and expulſed by *Egbert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and afterward ſlain by the *Eaſtangles*. And the Kingdom of *Mercia* alſo ceaſed, and came into the hands of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

*Kenulmus* King of *Mercia* innocently ſlain.

*Ceolulphus*, *Bernulphus*, King of *Mercia*.

The Kingdom of *Mercia* ceaſeth.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou ſeeſt good Reader) the confuſed and turbulent reigns of theſe ſeven *Saxon* Kings, who after the expulſion of the *Britains*, ruled and reigned aſunder in ſundry quarters of this Land together, unto this preſent time of *Egbert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by whom it ſo pleaſed God to begin to reduce and unite all theſe ſcattered Kingdoms, into one Monarchical form of Dominion. Wherefore, as in the aforeſaid *Egbert*, beginneth a new alteration of the Commonwealth, here in this Land among the *Saxons*: So my purpoſe is (the Lord willing) with the ſame *Egbert*, to enter a new beginning of my third Book, after a brief recapitulation firſt made of ſuch things as in this ſecond Book before are to be collected and noted, eſpecially touching the Monaſteries builded, the Kings who have entred the life and profeſſion Monaſtick; alſo Queens and Queens Daughters, which the ſame time profeſſed ſolitary life in Monaſteries, which they or their Anceſtors had Erected.

*The concluſion of the ſtory Precedent, concerning the ſeven Kingdoms of the* Saxon *Kings, above mentioned.*

And thus haſt thou (Gentle Reader) concerning the ſeven Kingdom of theſe *Saxons*, ruling all together in *England*, the courſe and Order of their doings briefly deſcribed, and diſcourſed unto thee, in ſuch Order, as the matter being ſo intricate, in ſuch confuſion and diverſity of things incident together, would permit: Following eſpecially in this ſtory hitherto the line of the *Northumberland* Kings, as the other ſtories moſt follow the line of *Weſt-Saxon* Kings. The which ſeven Kingdoms of theſe ſaid *Saxons*, after they had untruly expulſed and chaſed out the *Britains* from their Land, like as they never were in quietneſs among themſelves, Reigning thus together, till the time of this *Egbert*, ſo alſo after the Reign of *Egbert*, the whole Realm being reduced into one Regiment, no leſs were they impugned and afflicted by the *Danes* continually from time to time, till the laſt Conqueſt of *William* the *Norman*. Thus it pleaſed God (ever lightly) to revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unjuſt dealings of men with juſt and like retribution. But of this let the Chriſtian Reader conſider, as Gods Grace ſhall work in him. In the mean time we, as much as in us did lie, ſatiſfying the part of an Hiſtorian, have thus hitherto ſet forth and declared concerning theſe ſeven foreſaid Kingdoms: Firſt, the names and lineal deſcent of the Kings ſeverally by themſelves, as by the Table Precedent may appear: Then what were the doings and acts of the ſame, how firſt being Pagans, they were converted to the Chriſtian faith; what things in their time hapned in the Church, how many of them, of Kings were made Monks; how devout they were then to holy Church and to the Churchmen, and eſpecially to the Church of *Rome*. But the Church-men then were much otherwiſe, in life than afterward they declared themſelves to be. Through which devotion of the ſaid Kings, firſt came in the Peter-pence or Rome-ſchots in this Realm, as by *Ive* firſt in his Dominion, then by *Offa* in his Lordſhip, and afterwards by *Adelwulph* brought in and ratified through the whole Realm: Where alſo is to be noted, that by the foreſaid Kings and Queens of the ſaid *Saxons*, the moſt part of the greateſt Abbeys and Nunneries, in this Realm, were firſt begun and builded, as partly by the names of ſome here follow to be ſeen.

Unjuſt dealings of men juſtly rewarded.

*Paules* Church.

First the Church or Miniſter of S. *Paul* in *London*, was founded by *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and *Sigebert* King of *Eſſex*, about the year of our Lord, 604.

The firſt Altar and Croſs ſet up in *England*.

The firſt Croſs and Altar within this Realm, was firſt ſet up in the North-parts in *Hevenfield*, upon the occaſion of *Oſwald* King of *Northumberland*, fighting againſt *Cadwalla*, where he in the ſame place ſet up the ſign of the Croſs, kneeling and praying there for victory: *Polychron. lib.5.cap.12. An.635.*

The Church of *Wincheſter* was firſt begun, and founded by *Kinegilſus* King of *Mercians*, having nine miles about it: After finiſhed by his Son *Kenwalcus*, where *Wine*, of *Engliſhmen* was firſt Biſhop. *An.636. Guliel. Malmſ.lib.de geſtis.pont.Ang.*

The Church of *Wincheſter*.

The Church of *Lincoln* firſt founded by *Paulinus* Biſhop. *An.629.*

The Church of *Lincoln*.

The Church of *Weſtminſter* began firſt by a certain Citizen of *London*, through the Inſtigation of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, which before was an Iſle of Thornes, *Bed. An.614.*

The Church of *Weſtminſter*.

The common Schools firſt Erected at *Cambridge*, by *Sigebert* King of *Eaſtangles*, *An.636.*

The Schools at *Cambridge*.

The Abbey of *Knoviſburgh* builded by *Furceus* the *Heremit*, *An.637.*

Abbey of *Knoviſburgh*.

The Monaſtery of *Mamlesbury* by one *Meldulphus* a *Scot*, about the year of our Lord 640. afterward inlarged by *Agilbert* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

*Malmesbury*

The Monaſtery in *Gloceſter*, firſt builded by *Ofricus* King of *Mercia*, as *Ceſtrenſis* ſaith; but as *William Malmesbury* writeth by *Ulferus* and *Etheldred*, Brethren to *Kineburga* Abbeſs of the ſame Houſe, *An. 679.*

Abbey of *Gloceſter*.

The Monaſtery of *Mailroſe*, by the Floud of *Twide*, by *Aidanus* a *Scotiſh* Biſhop.

*Mailroſe*.

The Nunnery of *Heorenton* by *Hevi*, who was the firſt Nun in *Northumberland*, *Beda.lib.4.cap.1.*

*Heorenton*.

The Monaſtery of *Heteſey* by *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, who alſo with his Daughter *Elfrid* gave poſſeſſions for twelve Monaſteries in the parts of *Northumberland*, *An.656.*

*Heteſey*.

The Monaſtery of S. *Martin* in *Dover*, builded by *Whitred* King of *Kent*.

The Monaſtery of S. *Martin* at *Dover*.

The Abbey of *Leſtingy* by *Ceadda* (whom we cal S. *Ced*) through the Grant of *Oſwald*, Son to S. *Oſwald*, King of *Northumberland*, *An.651.*

*Leſtingy*.

The Monaſtery of *Whitby*, called otherwiſe *Stenhalt* by *Hilda*, Daughter to the nephew of *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, *An.657.*

*Whitby*.

This *Hilda* was firſt converted to the faith by *Paulinus* a godly and learned woman: out of her Monaſtery came five Biſhops. *Doſa*, *Eatbe*, *Oſſord*, *Joanne*, *Wilfrid*.

*Item*, another Monaſtery called *Hacanos*, not far from the ſame place, builded by the ſaid *Hilda* the ſame year.

*Hacanos*.

The Abbey of *Abbington*, builded by *Siſſa* King of *South-Sex*, *An.666.*

*Abbington*.

*Item*, an Abbey in the Eaſt-ſide of *Lincoln*, called *Joanno*, by S. *Botulph*, *Polych.lib.5.cap.16. An.654.*

*Joanno*

The Monaſtery in *Ely*, founded by *Etheldred* or *Ethelidrida* Daughter of *Anna* King of *Eaſtangles*, and the Wife of *Elfride*, King of *Northumberland*, *An.674.*

at *Lincoln*.

*Ely* Abbey.

The Monaſtery of *Chertſey* in *Southery*, founded by *Erkenwald*, Biſhop of *London*, *An.674.* thrown down by the *Danes*, after reedified by King *Edgar*.

*Chertſey*.

Berking. *Item*, The Nunery of *Berking* edified by the said *Erkenwaldus* Bishop of *London* about the same time.

Peterborough The Abbey of *Peterborough*, called otherwise *Modehamsted*, founded by King *Ethelwald*, King of the *Mercians*, *Anno* 675.

Bardney. *Bardney* Abbey by *Ethelredus* King of the *Mercians*, *An.* 709.

Glastenbury. *Glastenbury* by *Iva* King of the *West-Saxons*, and after repaired and inriched by King *Edgar*, *Anno* 701.

Ramsey. *Ramsey* in the time of King *Edgar*, by one *Ailwinus* a Nobleman, *An.* 973. King *Edgar* builded in his time forty Monasteries, who reigned, *An.* 901.

Winburne. The Nunery of *Winburne* builded by *Cuthberga* Sister to *Ingilsus*, King *Iva* his Brother, *An.* 717.

Sealesey. The Monastery of *Sealesey* by the Isle of *Wight*, by *Wilfridus* Bishop of *York*, *An.* 678.

Wincombe. The Monastery of *Wincombe* by *Kenulphus* King of the *Mercians*, *An.* 737.

S. Albans. Saint *Albans* builded by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, *An.* 755.

Eusham. The Abbey of *Eusham* by *Edwinus* Bishop, *An.* 691.

Ripon. *Ripon* in the North by *Wilfridus* Bishop, *An.* 709.

Ecklinghey. The Abbey of *Ecklinghey*, by King *Alured*, *An.* 891.

Shaftsbury. The Nunery of *Shaftsbury* by the same *Aluredus*, the same year.

Thus ye see what Monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the *Saxon* Kings, newly converted to the Christian Faith, within the space of two hundred years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these foresaid Kings: first, that they which began to erect these Monasteries and Cels of Monks and Nuns, to live solely and singly by themselves out of the holy state of Matrimony, had foreseen what danger, and what absurd Enormities might and also did thereof ensue, both publickly to the Church of Christ, and privately to their own Souls: secondly, that unto this their zeal and devotion had been joyned like Knowledge and Doctrine in Christs Gospel, especially in the Article of our free Justification by the Faith of Jesus Christ; because of the lack whereof, as well the Builders and Founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. For albeit in them there was a devotion and zeal of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christs Gospel; for so much as they did these things seeking thereby Merits with God, and for remedy of their Souls, and remission of their sins, as may appear testified in their own Records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this Chart (if it please thee gentle Reader) of King *Ethelbald* his donation, given to Churches and religious persons; which *Ethelbald* was the builder (as is said) of *Peterborough*. The words of his Record and Instrument be these.

Two things to be wished in them that first builded monkish Monasteries.

The Article of free justification not known.

## The Donations and Priviledges granted and given by King *Ethelbald* to religious men of the Church.

Ex chronicle Guliel. Malmesb. lib. 1.

*PLerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multiarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerint, fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, & machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur, nisi authoritate literarum (testamento chirographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego* Ethelbaldus *Rex Merciorum pro amore cœlestis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse prævidi, ut eam pro bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptra regiminis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem, me vivente, concedo, ut omnia Monasteria & Ecclesiæ Regni mei, a publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absolvantur; nisi institutionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli unquam prosunt. Præterea, habeant familiæ Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum & agrorum, & in captura piscium, ne munuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo serviant, &c.*

By the Contents hereof may well be understood (as where he saith, *Pro amore cœlestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & absolutione delictorum. &c.*) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was; who, lacking no zeal, only lacking knowledge to rule it withall: seeking their salvation not by Christ only, but by their own deservings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehension of them; but rather to put us in mind and memory, how much we et this present are bound to God for the true sincerity of his truth, hidden so long before to our fore-Ancestors, and opened now unto us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to have such Works, and to lack our Faith, and us to have the right Faith, and to lack their Works. And this blind ignorance of that Age, thus above pre-noted, was the cause not only why these Kings builded so many Monasteries upon zealous Superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of Princely Regiment, gave themselves over to Monastical profession, or rather wilful Superstition. Concerning the names and number of which Kings that were professed Monks, is sufficiently in the &c. before declared: the names of whom we shewed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred years. Such was then the superstitious devotion of Kings and Princes in that age; and no less also to be noted in Queens and Kings Daughters, with other Noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite. As *Hilda* Daughter to the Nephew of *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, Abbess of *Ely*. *Erchengoda* with her Sister *Ermenilda*, Daughters of *Ercombertus* King of *Kent*, which *Erchengada* was professed in Saint *Brigets* Order in *France*. *Item*, *Edelberga* Wife and Queen to King *Edwin* of *Northumberland*, and Daughter of King *Anna*, which was also in the same house of Saint *Briget* made a Nun. *Item*, *Etheldreda*, whom we term Saint *Eldred*, Wife to King *Ecfride* of *Northumberland*, who being married to two Husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but would needs live a Virgin, and was professed Nun at *Helings*. *Werburga* was the Daughter of *Ulferus* King of *Mercians*, and made Nun at *Ely*. *Kenreda* Sister of King *Ulferus* and *Kineswida* her Sister, were both Nuns professed. *Sexburga* Daughter of King *Anna* King of *Mercians*, and Wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, was Abebss at *Ely*. *Elfrida* Daughter of *Oswy* King of *Northumberland* was Abbess of *Whitney*: *Mildreda*, *Milburga*, and *Milguida*, all three Daughters of *Merwaldus* King of *West-Mercians*, entred the Profession and Vow of Nunish Virginity. *Kineburga* Wife of *Alfride* King of *Northumberland*, and Sister to *Osricus* King of *Mercians*, and Daughter of King *Penda*, was professed Abbess of the Monastery in *Glocester*. *Elfleda* Daughter of *Oswy* King, and Wife of *Peda*, Son of King *Penda*, likewise inclosed her self in the same Profession and Vow of *Romish* Chastity. Likewise *Alfritha* Wife to King *Edgar*, and *Editha* Daughter to the said *Edgar*, with *Wolfride* her Mother, &c. All which holy Nuns with divers more, the *Romish Catholicks* have canonized for Saints, and put the most part of them in their *Kalendar*, only because of the Vow of their Chastity solemnly professed. Concerning which Chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and less to swear for them. But whether they so kept it or not; if this Gift of Chastity which they professed, were given them of God, small praise worthy was it in them to keep it. And if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said of some other, which sufficiently have painted out to the World the Demeanor of these holy Votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh Saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and true Faith in him.

A brief Catalogue of Queens and Kings Daughters which leaving their estate were made Nuns.

Hilda. Erchengoda. Ermenilda. Edelberga. Etheldreda. Werburga. Kinreda. Kineswida. Sexburga. Elfrida. Mildreda. Milburga. Milguida. Kineburga. Elfleda. Alfrida. Wulfrida. Editha.

Likewise remaineth, that as we have declared the devotion of these Noble women, which professing Monastick life, have cast off all worldly Dignity and Delights: so we should also intreat of such Noblemen, who among the *Saxon* Kings in like zeal of devotion, have given over themselves from the World (as they thought) unto the contemplative life of Monkish Profession. The Names of whom as in the Catalogue of the *Saxon* Kings before is described, be these, to the number of Nine.

### *A Table of ſuch* Saxon *Kings as were after made Monks.*

Kings made Monks.

1. *Kinigilſus*, King of *Weſt-Saxons.*
2. *Iwe*, King of *Weſt-Saxons.*
3. *Ceolulfus*, King of *Northumberland.*
4. *Edbertus*, King of *Northumberland.*
5. *Ethelredus*, King of *Mercia.*
6. *Kenredus*, King of *Mercia.*
7. *Offa*, King of *Eaſt-Saxons.*
8. *Sebbi*, King of *Eaſt-Saxons.*
9. *Sigebertus*, King of *Eaſt-Angles.*

Of which Kings and their doings, what is to be judged, look (gentle Reader) before.

By theſe Hiſtories it is apparent, what Mutations, what Perturbations, and what Alterations of State hath been in this Realm of *Britain*, firſt from *Britains* Kings, to *Romans*; then to *Britains* again; afterward to the *Saxons*. Firſt, to ſeven altogether reigning, then to one, &c. And this alteration not only happened in the Civil Government, but alſo followed in the State Eccleſiaſtical. For as in the *Britains* time the Metropolitan See was in *London*, ſo in the *Saxons* time, after the coming of *Auſtin*, it was removed to *Canterbury*: the Catalogue and Order of which Metropolitans, from the time of *Auſtin* to *Egbertus*, is thus, as in the Hiſtory of *Malmesburienſis* is deſcribed.

### The Names and Order of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* from *Auguſtine*, to the time of King *Egbert*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Auguſtinus.* | 16 |
| 2. | *Laurentius.* | 5 |
| 3. | *Mellitus.* | 5 |
| 4. | *Juſtus.* | 3 |
| 5. | *Honorius.* | 25 |
| 6. | *Deuſdedit.* | 19 |
| 7. | *Theodorus.* | 22 |

### *Hitherto from* Auguſtine *all the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *were* Italians *and Foreigners.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | *Berctualdus Engliſh* | 37 |
| 9. | *Tacuinus.* | 3 |
| 10. | *Nothelmus.* | 5 |
| 11. | *Cutbertus.* | 17 |
| 12. | *Berguinus.* | 3 |
| 13. | *Lambrightus* or *Lambertus.* | 27 |
| 14. | *Ethelardus.* | 13 |
| 15. | *Ulfredus.* | 28 |
| 16. | *Feolegeldus.* | 3 |
| | | *m* |
| 17. | *Celnothus.* | 41 |

In his time the Monaſtery of S. *Martin* was builded in *Dorobernia*, by *Witredus*, and his Brother Kings of *Kent.*

This *Cutbert* after his death forbad all Funeral Exequies or Lamentation for him to be made. *William Malm. De vitis, lib.* 1.

In his time King *Offa* tranſlated the Metropolitan See from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield* by the Grant of Pope *Adrian*, being overcome with Apoſtolical Argument, as ſaith *Flor. Hiſt.* that is, with money.

This *Ethelardus* by his Epiſtles to Pope *Leo*, obtained the Metropolitan See again to *Canterbury.*

During the courſe of theſe ſeventeen Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, in *Rome* paſſed in the mean time four and thirty Popes, of whom partly heretofore we have declared.

And thus much touching the time of the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, ruling together in *England*, from the Reign of *Hengiſt* unto *Egbert*, the firſt King and Monarch of the whole Land, after the Expulſion of the *Britains.*

NOw remaineth (by the Grace of Chriſt) in the next Book following, to proſecute the Order of ſuch Kings as principally reigning alone had this Realm in their poſſeſſion, from the time of *Egbert* King of *Weſt-Saxons*, to the coming of *William Conqueror the Norman*; comprehending therein the reſt of the next 300 years, with the acts and ſtate of Religion, as in that ſpace was in the Church: wherein may appear the declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, preparing the way to *Antichriſt*, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this mean time, Satan (as is ſaid) was bound up from his raging and furious violence; counting from the time of *Conſtantinus*, to the next looſing out of Satan, which was foretold by the Revelation of S. *John* above mentioned, to be a thouſand years; whereof by the order of the Hiſtory (Chriſt granting) more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

## The End of the Second Book.

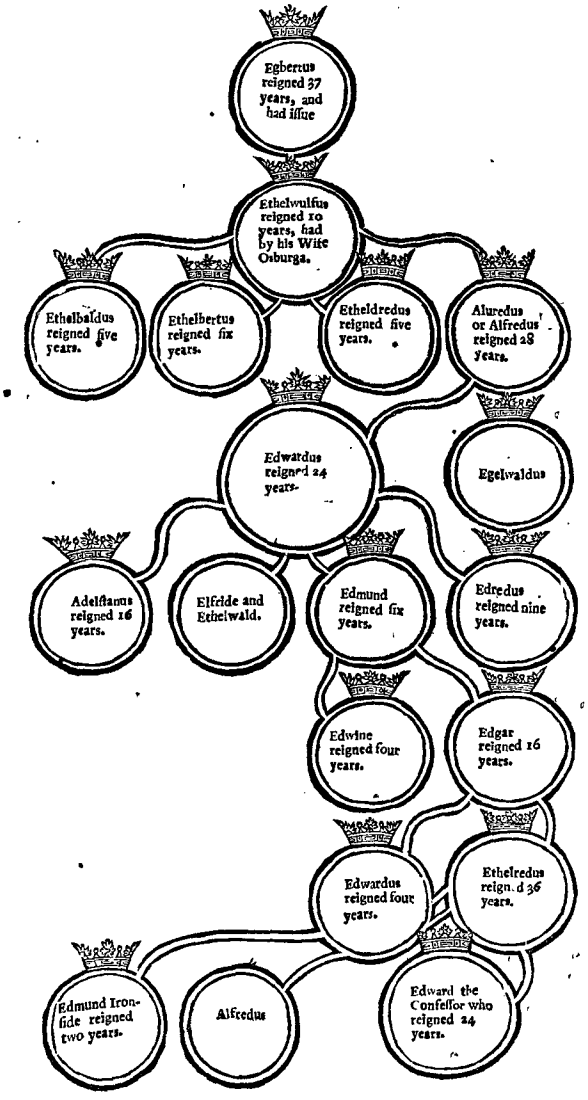
# THE THIRD BOOK,

## CONTAINING

## The Text three hundred years, from the Reign of King *Egbertus* unto the time of *William Conqueror.*

NOw remaineth likewiſe, as before I did in deſcribing the deſent and diverſity of the ſeven Kings, all together reigning and ruling in this Land: ſo to proſecute in like order the lineal Succeſſion of them, which after *Egbertus* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, governed and ruled ſolely, until the Conqueſt of *William* the *Norman*; firſt expreſſing their Names, and afterwards importing ſuch Acts, as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the Acts and Doings of theſe Kings, becauſe they are ſufficiently and at large deſcribed, and taken out of *Latine* Writers into the *Engliſh*-Tongue by divers and ſundry Authors, and namely in the Hiſtory or Chronicle of *Fabian*; I ſhall not ſpend much travel thereupon, but rather refer the Reader unto him or to ſome other, where the troubleſome tumults between the *Engliſh*-men and the *Danes* at that time may be ſeen, who ſo liſteth to read them. Only the Table of their Names and Reign, and Acts done under their Reign, I have compendiouſly abridged, uſing ſuch brevity as the matter would ſuffer.

### A TABLE of the *Saxon* Kings, which ruled alone from King *Egbert* unto *William Conqueror.*




Here

Here is to be noted, that before the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, the *Danes* obtained the Crown under their Captain *Canutus* who reigned years 19
*Haraldus Harefoot* Son of *Canutus* 4
*Hardeknutus*, Son of *Canutus* 2
*Edward the Confeſſor*, an *Engliſh* man, Son of *Ethelred* 24
*Haraldus*, Son of *Earl Goodwin* an Uſurper 1
*William* Conqueror a *Norman.*

## King *Egbertus.*

*Egbert*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, afterward Monarch and King of the whole Realm.

IN the Reign of *Brightricus* a little before mentioned, about the year of Grace, 795. there was in his Dominion a Noble Perſonage, of ſome called *Egbert*, of ſome *Ethelbert*, of ſome *Ethelbright*: who being feared of the ſame *Brightricus*, becauſe he was of Kingly blood, and near unto the Crown, was by the force and conſpiracy of the forenamed *Brightricus*, chaſed and purſued out of the Land of *Britain* into *France*, where he indured till the death of the ſaid *Brightricus*. After the hearing whereof, *Egbert* ſped him eftſoons out of *France*, unto his Country of *Weſt-Sax*, where he in ſuch wiſe behaved himſelf, that he obtained the Regiment and Governance of the above-ſaid Kingdom.

In this time came in the *Danes* into the North parts and were driven out again.

Anno 807.

*Bernulphus*, King of *Mercia* above mentioned, with other Kings, had this *Egbert* in ſuch deriſion, that they made of him divers ſcoffing Jeſts, and ſcorning Rimes, all which he ſuſtained, for a time. But when he was more eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and had proved the minds of his Subjects, and eſpecially God working withall, he afterward aſſembled his Knights, and gave to the ſaid *Bernulphus* a battel in a place called *Elinden* in the Province of *Hampton*; and notwithſtanding in that fight was great odds of number, as ſix or eight againſt one, yet *Egbert* (through the might of the Lord which giveth Victory as pleaſeth him) had the better, and won the field; which done, he ſeized that Lordſhip into his hand; and that alſo done, he made War upon the *Kentiſh-Saxons*, and at length in likewiſe obtained the Victory. And as it is in *Polychronicon* teſtified, he alſo ſubdued *Northumberland*, and cauſed the Kings of theſe three Kingdoms to live under him as Tributaries, or joyned them to his Kingdom: *Ex Flor. hiſt.* This *Egbert* alſo won from the *Britains* or *Welſhmen* the Town of *Cheſter*, which they had kept poſſeſſion of till this day. After theſe and other Victories, he peaceably injoying the Land, called a Council of his Lords at *Wincheſter*, where by their advices he was crowned King, and chief Lord over this Land, which before that day was called *Britain*: but then he ſent out into all coaſts of the Land his Commandments and Commiſſions, charging ſtraightly, that from that day forward, the *Saxons* ſhould be called *Angles*, and the Land *Anglia.*

Example what it is to deſpiſe others.

Example of patience.

Anno 826.

Of this victory went a proverb. *Rivus cruore rubet, ruina reſtitit, ſtatere tabulæ.*

This Land firſt called *Anglia.*

About the thirtieth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the Heathenish people of the *Danes*, which a little before had made horrible deſtruction in *Northumberland*, and eſpecially in the Iſle of *Lindefarne*, where they ſpoiled the Churches, and murthered the Miniſters, with Men, Women and Children, after a cruel manner, entred now the ſecond time with a great Hoſt into this Land, and ſpoiled the Iſle of *Shepy* in *Kent*, or near to *Kent*: where *Egbert* hearing thereof, aſſembled his people, and met with them at *Carrum.* But in that Conflict he ſped not ſo well as he was wont in times before, but with his Knights was compelled to forſake the field. Notwithſtanding in the next battel, the ſaid *Egbert*, with a ſmall Power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and ſo drave them back. The next year following, the ſaid *Danes* preſuming upon their Victory before, made their return again into the Land Weſtward, where joyning with the *Britains*, by the help and power of them, they aſſailed the Lands of *Egbert*, and did much harm in many places of his Dominion, and elſewhere; ſo that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realm of *England* or other, till the time of *Hardeknutus* laſt King of the *Danes* blood, ſo that many of them were married to *Engliſh* women, and many that now be, or in times paſt were called *Engliſh*-men, are deſcended of them. And albeit that they were many and ſundry times driven out of the Land, and chaſed from one Country to another, yet that notwithſtanding, they ever gathered new ſtrengths and powers, that they abode ſtill within the Land.

Anno 833. *Danes* now the ſecond time entred in this land.

Anno 834. *Fabian. cap.* 158. *Rog. Hoved. lib.* 5. *cap.* 1.

*England* five times plagued by other nations.

And thus, as by the ſtories appears, this troubleſome Land of *Britain*, now called *England*, hath been hitherto by five ſundry outward Nations plagued. Firſt, by the *Romans*; then by the *Scots* and *Picts*; thirdly, by the *Saxons*; fourthly, by the *Danes*, of whoſe outragious cruelty and hoſtility, our *Engliſh* Hiſtories do moſt exclaim and complain; fifthly, by the *Normans*, which I pray God be the laſt. *Ex Reg. Hoved. lib.* 5.

Then it followeth in the ſtory, that the time of this Perſecution of the foreſaid *Pagans* and *Danes* continuing, King *Egbert*, when he had ruled the *Weſt-Saxons*, and over the more part of *England*, by the term of ſeven and thirty years, died, and was buried at *Wincheſter*, leaving to his Son *Ethelwolfe* his Kingdom, which firſt was Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (as *Hoveden* recordeth) and after upon neceſſity made King, leaving withall, and pronouncing this ſaying to his Son, *Felicem fore ſi regnum, quod multa rexerat induſtria, ille conſueta genti illi non interrumperet ignavia.*

## King *Ethelwulfus.*

ETHelwulfus, the Son of *Egbert*, in his former age had entred into the Order of Sub-Deacon, as ſome others ſay, was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but afterwards, being the only Son of *Egbert*, was made King through the Diſpenſation (as *Fabian* ſaith) of Pope *Paſchalis*: but that cannot be, for *Paſchalis* then was not Biſhop: ſo that by the computation of time, it ſhould rather ſeem to be *Gregory* the fourth. This *Ethelwulfe* (as being himſelf once nuzled in that Order) was always good and devout to holy Church and religious Orders, inſomuch that he gave to them the Tythe of all his goods and lands in *Weſt-Saxony*, with liberty and freedom from all ſervage and civil Charges. Whereof his chart Inſtrument beareth teſtimony after this tenor proceeding, much like to the donation of *Ethelbaldus*, King of *Mercians* above mentioned.

Anno 837.

A place in *Fabian* to be amended.

*Guliel. lib. de geſt. Anglor. faith*, this Pope was Leo the fourth.

## The Priviledges and Donations given by King *Ethelwulfus* to the Clergy.

REgnante Domino noſtro in perpetuum. Dum in noſtris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum noſtrarum, necnon & vaſtantium crudeleſſimas depræda tiones hoſtium barbarorum, paganarumque gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum uſque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculoſa. Quamobrem ego Ethelwulfus Rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum conſilio Epiſcoporum & principum meorum, conſilium ſalubre, & uniforme remedium affirmavi: ut aliquam portionem terrarum hereditariam, Deo & ſanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus ſanctis jure perpetuo poſſidendam concedam. ſcilicet partem terræ meæ, ut ſit tuta & immunis ab omnibus ſeculariſus ſervitiis, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus & minoribus ſive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witterden: ſitq; libera omnium rerum, pro remiſſione animarum & peccatorum noſtrorum, ad Deo ſoli deſerviendum, ſine expeditione, & pontis conſtructione, & arcis munitione: ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces ſine ceſſatione fundant, quo eorum ſervitutem in aliqua parte levigamus, &c.

Anno 844. Priveledges and temporalties granted to the Church by King *Ethelwolfe.*

*Ex Flor. hiſtor.*

*Pet. remiſſ.*

Hereby may it appear, how and when the Churches of *England* began firſt to be indued with Temporalties and Lands; alſo with Priviledges and Exemptions inlarged: moreover (and that which ſpecially is to be conſidered and lamented) what pernitious Doctrine this was, wherewith they were led, thus to ſet remiſſion of their ſins, and remedy of their ſouls, in this donation, and ſuch other deeds of their donation, contrary to the information of Gods Word, and with no ſmall derogation from the Croſs of Chriſt?

Note the blind ignorance and erroneous teaching in thoſe days.

Theſe things thus done within the Realm, then the ſaid *Ethelwolfe* the King, taking his Journey to *Rome* with *Alfred* his youngeſt Son, committed him to the bringing up of Pope *Leo* the fourth, where he alſo re-edifieth the *Engliſh* School at *Rome*: which being founded by King *Offa*, or rather by *Ive*, King of *Mercians* (as in the *Flowers of Hiſtories* is affirmed) was lately in the time of King *Egbert* his Father, conſumed with fire. Further and beſides, this King gave and granted there unto *Rome*, of every fire-houſe a penny to be paid through his

*Peter-pence* through the Realm granted to *Rome.*

Money beſtowed to burn day-light.

his whole Land, as King *Ive* in his Dominion had done before. Alſo he gave and granted yearly to be paid to *Rome* 300 Marks; that is, to the maintaining of the light of Saint *Peter*, 100 Marks, to the light of Saint *Paul*, 100 Marks, to the uſe of the Pope alſo another hundred. This done, he returning home through *France*, married there *Judith*, the Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*, the *French* King: whom he reſtored afterward (contrary to the Laws of *Weſt-Saxons*) to the Title and Throne of a Queen. For before it was decreed among the *Weſt-Saxons* (by the occaſion of wicked *Ethelburga*, who poiſoned *Brigthricus* her own Husband) that after that no Kings wife ſhould have the name or place of a Queen.

And for ſo much as I have here entred into the mention of *Judith*, Daughter of *Carolus Calvus*; the occaſion thereof putteth me in memory here to inſert by the way, a matter done, although not in this Realm, yet not impertinent to this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. And firſt to deduct the Narration hereof from the firſt Original; the Father of this *Carolus Calvus*, whoſe name was *Ludovicus*, firſt of that name called *Pius*, King of *France*, had two wives: whereof by the firſt he had three Sons, *Lothary*, *Pipin*, and *Lewis*: Which three Sons unnaturally and unkindly conſpiring againſt their Father and his ſecond wife, with her Son their youngeſt Brother, perſecuted him ſo, that through a certain Council of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, they depoſed the ſame their natural and right godly Father, diſpoſſeſſing and diſcharging him of all Rule and Dominion. Moreover, cauſed him to renounce his Temporal habit, incloſing him in the Monaſtery of S. *Mark*, for a Monk, or rather a Priſoner. All which done, they divided his Empire and Kingdom among themſelves.

Note here the holy and wholeſome councils and doings of the ſpiritual Lords.

Thus was *Ludovicus Pius*, of impious Sons left deſolate. But the power of God which worketh, when as all earthly power ceaſeth, of his divine mercy ſo aided and recovered him out of all his tribulation to this Imperial dignity again; that it was to all his enemies confuſion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his ſecond wife, whoſe name was *Judith*, he had this *Charles the Bald* here mentioned. Which *Judith* was thought, and ſo accuſed to the Pope, to be within ſuch degree of alliance, that by the Popes Law, ſhe might not continue his wife without the Popes diſpenſation. It ſo fell out in the mean time, that this *Ludovicus* the Emperor had promoted a young man named *Frederick*, to be Biſhop of *Utricht*; and to him had given ſad and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the conſtancy of his predeceſſors, would maintain right and truth without all exception of any perſon, and puniſh miſdoers, with excommunication, as well the rich as the poor with ſuch like words of godly counſel. *Frederick* hearing the King thus ſay, ſitting at dinner with him as the manner was, being newly inveſted, in theſe words anſwered the Emperor again: *I thank your Majeſty*, (ſaith he) *which with your ſo wholeſome exhortation put me in mind of my profeſſion. But I beſeech you of your benign favour and patience, that I may freely diſcloſe that which hath long incumbred and pierced my conſcience.* To whom leave being given, thus he began, *I pray you (Lord Emperor) to ſhew me herein your mind* (pointing to the fiſh before him) *whether it is more according to attain this fiſh here preſent, beginning firſt at the head or at the tail? What a tale is this* (quoth the Emperor) *of the taile and of the head? At the head* (quoth he.) Then *Frederick* taking thereof his occaſion, proceedeth, *Even ſo let it be Lord Emperor* (ſaith he) *as you have ſaid.* Let Chriſtian Faith and Charity firſt begin with your ſelf, as with the head, admoniſhing you to ceaſe from your Fact and Error, that your Subjects by that example be not boldned to follow your miſdoing. Wherefore firſt forſake you your unlawful Wedlock, which you have made with *Judith* your near Kinſwoman. Theſe words of the new Biſhop, although they moved *Ludovicus* the Emperor not a little, yet he with a gentle modeſty, and modeſt ſilence was contented, ſuffering the Biſhop to go home in peace. But the word being uttered in ſuch an audience, could not be ſo concealed, but ſpread and burſt out in much talk in the whole Court, and eſpecially among the Biſhops, conſulting earneſtly with themſelves about the matter. Through whoſe counſel and labour ſo at length it fell, that the Emperor was conſtrained to leave the company of his Wife, till he had purchaſed a Licence of the Biſhop of *Rome* to retain her again, who then forgave the ſaid Biſhop all that was paſt. But the woman hired two Knights that ſlew him in his Veſtments, when he had ended his Maſs. *Ranulphus* and *Gul. lib. de Pontificib.* gave forth this ſtory in his great Commendation, that he died a Martyr. Whereof I have not to judge, nor here to pronounce, but that rather I think him to be commended in his dying, than the woman for her killing.

*Ludovicus Pius* Emperor, King of *France*.

*Fredrick* Biſhop of *Utricht*.

Biſhop *Fredrick* openly admoniſheth the Emperor at the table.

Note, there were two *Judiths*, one the mother of *Carolus Calvus*, the other, his daughter whom King *Ethelwolfe* did marry.

*Fredrick* Biſhop of *Utricht* judged of ſome a Martyr.

Example of a woman more ready in reſtitution than [illegible].

And for ſo much as mention hath been made of *Ludovicus Pius*, here is to be noted, that in *France* then was uſed of Prieſts and Church-men, precious and ſhining Veſtures and golden and rich ſtaring Girdles, with Rings and other Ornaments of gold. Wherefore the ſaid *Lewis* purchaſed of the Biſhop of *Rome* a Correction for all ſuch as uſed ſuch diſordinate Apparel, cauſing them to wear brown and ſad colours, according to their ſadneſs. *Fab.*

Of this *Lewis* the Papiſts do feign, that becauſe he converted certain of their Church-goods and Patrimony to the wages of his Souldiers, his body (ſay they) was carried out of his Tomb by Devils, and was no more ſeen.

And thus a little having digreſſed out of our courſe, now let us return out of *France* into *England* again. King *Ethelwolfus*, coming now from *Rome* by the Country of *France*, was now returned again into his own Dominion, where he continued not long after.

This *Ethelwolfus* had eſpecially about him two Biſhops, whoſe counſel he was moſt ruled by, *Swithinus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Adelſtanus* Biſhop of *Shireborne*. Of the which two, the one was more ſkilful in temporal and civil Affairs touching the Kings Wars, and filling of his Coffers, and other furniture for the King. The other (which was *Swithinus*) was of a contrary ſort, wholely diſpoſed and inclined to Spiritual meditation, and to miniſter Spiritual counſel to the King: who had been School-Maſter to the King before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this Kings nature, among his other Vertues, not only in following the Precepts and Advertiſements of his old School-Maſter, but alſo in that he like a kind and thankful Pupil did ſo reverence his Bringer up, and old School-Maſter (as he called him) that he ceaſed not, till he made him Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by the conſecration of *Celnoch* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But as concerning the Miracles which are read in the Church of *Wincheſter*, of this *Swithinus*, them I leave to be read together with the *Iliads* of *Homer*, or *Tales* of *Robinhood*.

*Swithinus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Example of a kind Scholar to his School-Maſter.

Monkiſh miracles fained of *Swithinus*.

This *Gregory* the Fourth, here in this preſent Chapter above mentioned, was the third Pope which ſucceeded after *Paſchalis* the firſt, being but four years betwixt them: which *Paſchalis* ſucceeded after *Stephan* the Fourth, who followed after *Leo* the Third, next Pope unto *Adrian* above in our Hiſtory mentioned, whereas we intreated of *Charles the Great*. From the time of that *Adrian* the firſt, unto Pope *Adrian* the third, the Emperors had ſome ſtroke in the Election (at leaſt in the Confirmation) of the *Roman* Pope. Notwithſtanding, divers of thoſe foreſaid Popes in the mean time began to work their Practiſes to bring their Purpoſe about. But yet all their devices could take no full effect, before the ſaid *Adrain* the third, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared. So that the Emperors all this while bare ſome Rule in chooſing the Popes, and in aſſembling general Councils. Wherefore by the Commandment of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, in the time of this *Gregory* the fourth, a general Synod was commenced at *Aquiſgrane*, where it was decreed by the ſaid *Gregory* and his Aſſiſtants: Firſt that every Church ſhould have ſufficient of his own proper Lands and Revenues to find the Prieſts thereof, that none ſhould need to lack or go about a begging. *Item*, that none of the Clergy, of what Order or Degree ſoever he be, ſhould uſe any Veſture of any precious or ſcarlet colour. Neither ſhall wear Rings on their Fingers, unleſs it be when Prelates be at Maſs, or give their Conſecrations. *Item*, that Prelates ſhould not keep too great Ports or Families, nor keep great Horſes, uſe Dice or Harlots: and the Monks ſhould not exceed meaſure in Gluttony or Riot. *Item*, that none of the Clergy being either anointed or ſhaven, ſhould uſe either gold or ſilver in their Shooes, Slippers, or Girdles, like to *Heliogabalus*. By this it may be conjectured, what Pomp and Pride in thoſe

Pope *Leo* the third. *Stephen* the fourth. *Paſchalis* the firſt. *Eugenius* the ſecond. *Valentius* the firſt. *Gregory* the fourth.

A general Synod at *Aquiſgrane*.

Every Church to have ſufficient to find his own Prieſts.

Precious garments of ſcarlet & other rich colour forbidden men of the Clergy.

Great Families not lawful for men of the Clergy.

Rings and Gold in their ſhooes forbidden.

The Feast of *All Saints* firſt ordained.

thoſe days was crept into the Clergy. Moreover, by the ſaid Pope *Gregory* the fourth, at the Commandment of *Ludovicus* Emperor, the Feaſt of *All Saints* was firſt brought into the Church.

Pope *Sergius* the ſecond.

After this Pope, came *Sergius* the ſecond, which firſt brought in the altering of the Popes names, becauſe he was named before *Os porci*, that is *Swines-ſnout*: which alſo ordained the *Agnus* thrice to be ſung at the Maſs, and the Hoſt to be divided into three parts.

When the Popes names began firſt to be altered.

*Agnus* thrice ſung in the Maſs.

The Hoſt divided in three parts.

After him was Pope *Leo* the fourth, to whom this King *Ethelwolfe* (as in this preſent Chapter is above ſpecified) did commit the tuition of his Son *Alured*. By this Pope *Leo* it came in, and was firſt enacted in a Council of his, that no Biſhop ſhould be condemned under threeſcore and twelve witneſſes, according as ye ſee, in the witneſſes at the condemnation of *Stephen Gardiner*, orderly practiſed.

Pope *Leo* the fourth.

No Biſhop by the Popes Law to be condemned under ſeventy and two witneſſes.

The golden Croſs firſt born before the Pope.

*Item*, contrary to the Law of *Gregory* the fourth his Predeceſſor, this Pope ordained the Croſs (all ſet with gold and precious ſtones) to be carried before him, like a Pope.

And here next now followeth and cometh in the Whore of *Babylon* rightly in her true colours, by the permiſſion of God, and manifeſtly without all tergiverſation) to appear to the whole World: and that not only after the ſpiritual ſenſe, but after the very letter, and the right form of an Whore indeed. For after this *Leo* above mentioned, the Cardinals proceeding to their ordinary Election (after a ſolemn maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, to the perpetual ſhame of them and of that See) in ſtead of a man Pope, elected an Whore indeed to miniſter Sacraments, to ſay Maſſes, to give Orders, to conſtitute Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops; to promote Prelates, to make Abbots, to conſecrate Churches and Altars, to have the Reign and Rule of Emperors and Kings: and ſo ſhe did indeed, called by name *Joan* the eighth. This womans proper name was *Gilberta* (a *Dutch* woman of *Magunce*) who went with an *Engliſh* Monk out of the Abbey of *Fulda* in mans Apparel unto *Athens*, and after through her dexterity of wit and learning was promoted unto the Popedom, where ſhe ſate two years and ſix months. At laſt openly in the face of a general Proceſſion, ſhe fell in labour and travel of child, and ſo died, by reaſon whereof, the Cardinals yet to this day do avoid to come near by that ſtreet where this ſhame was taken. By *Benedictus* the third, who ſucceeded next in the whoriſh See, was firſt ordained (as moſt Writers do record) the Dirge to be ſaid for the Dead. Albeit before him, *Gregory* the third had done in that matter worthily for his part already.

A Woman Pope called *Joan* the eighth.

The Church of *Rome* after their Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt may err.

Pope *Benedictus* the third.

Dirge for the dead.

Pope *Nicholas* the firſt.

After him ſate Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, who inlarged the Popes Decrees with many Conſtitutions, equalling the authority of them with the writings of the Apoſtles. He ordained that no ſecular Prince, nor the Emperor himſelf, ſhould be preſent at their Councils, unleſs in matters concerning the Faith; to the end that ſuch as they judged to be Hereticks, they ſhould execute and murther. Alſo, that no Lay-men ſhould ſit in Judgment upon the Clergy-men, or reaſon upon the Popes Power. *Item*, that no Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſhould have any Power upon any Prelate, alledging that a Prelate is called God. *Item*, that all Church-Service ſhould be in *Latine*, yet notwithſtanding, diſpenſing with the *Sclavonians* and *Polonians* to retain ſtill their vulgar Language. Sequences in the Maſs were by him firſt allowed. By this Pope Prieſts began to be reſtrained and debarred from marrying: whereof *Huldericke* Biſhop of *Ausbrough* (a learned and an holy man) ſending a Letter unto the Pope, gravely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth againſt his undiſcreet proceedings touching that matter. The Copy of which Letter, as I thought it unworthy to be ſuppreſſed, ſo I judged it here worthy and meet for the better inſtruction of the Reader to be inſerted. The words thereof here follow out of *Latine* into *Engliſh* tranſlated.

The marriages of Prieſts begun to be forbidden.

## A learned Epiſtle of *Huldrike* Biſhop of *Auſburgh*, ſent to Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, proving by Probations ſubſtantial, that Prieſts ought not to be reſtrained from Marriage.

NIcholas *Domino & Patri, pervigili Sanctæ* Romanæ *Eccleſiæ proviſori*, Huldericus *ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut ſervus. Cum tua (O Pater & Domine) decreta ſuper Clericorum continentiam, &c.* {Anno 867.}

The ſame in Engliſh.

A Letter written to Pope Nicholas concerning Prieſts not to refrain from marriage.

Hulderike *Biſhop only by name, unto the reverend Father* Nicholas *the vigilant Proviſor of the holy Church of* Rome, *with due commendation ſendeth love as a Son, and fear as a Servant. Underſtanding (reverend Father) your Decrees which you ſent to me concerning the ſingle life of the Clergy, to be far diſcrepant from all diſcretion, I was troubled partly with fear, and partly with heavineſs. With fear for that (as it is ſaid) the Sentence of the Paſtor, whether it be juſt or unjuſt, is to be feared. For I was afraid leſt the weak hearers of the Scripture (which ſcarcely obey the juſt Sentence of their Paſtor, much more deſpiſing this unjuſt decreement) through the onerous and importable tranſgreſſion of their Paſtor, ſhould ſhew themſelves diſobedient. With heavineſs I was troubled, and with compaſſion, for that I doubted how the members of the body ſhould do, their Head being ſo greatly out of frame. For what can be more grievous or more to be lamented, touching the ſtate of the Church, than for you, being the Biſhop of the Principal See, to whom appertaineth the Regiment of the whole Church, to ſwerve never ſo little out of the right way? Certes in this you have not a little erred, in that you have gone about to conſtrain your Clergy to ſingleneſs of life, through your imperious Tyranny: whom rather you ought to ſtir up to the continency of marriage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny to the judgment of all wiſe men, when a man is compelled by your Decrees to do that which is againſt the Inſtitution of the Goſpel and the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt? Seeing then there be ſo many holy Examples both of the* Old *and* New Teſtament, *teaching us (as you know) due Information: I deſire your patience not to think it grievous for me to bring a few here out of many.*

Prieſts marriage in the old Law permitted, in the new Law not forbidden.

*Firſt, in the* old Law, *the Lord permitteth marriage unto the Prieſts, which afterward in the* new Law *we do not read to be reſtrained, but in the Goſpel thus he ſaith,* There be ſome Eunuchs which have gelded themſelves for the Kingdom of Heaven, but all men do not take this Word; he that can take it, let him take it. *Wherefore, the Apoſtle ſaith,* Concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment of the Lord, but only I give counſel. *Which counſel alſo all men do not take, as in the Commandment of the Lord before, but many there be falſe Diſſemblers and Flatterers, going about to pleaſe men, and not God, whom we ſee under a falſe pretence of continency to fall into horrible wickedneſs: ſome to lie with their Fathers wives ſome to be* Sodomites, *and not to abhor to play the beaſts with bruit Beaſts. And therefore leſt through the infection of this wicked Peſtilence, the ſtate of the Church ſhould too much go to ruine: therefore he ſaid,* Becauſe of Fornication, let every man have his own wife, *Touching which ſaying, our falſe Hypocrites falſly do lye and feign: as though only it pertained to the Laity, and not to them. And yet they themſelves, ſeeming to be ſet in the moſt holy Order, are not afraid to abuſe other mens wives, and as we ſee (with weeping eyes) all they do outrage in the foreſaid wickedneſs.*

The inconvenience of ſingle life.

*Theſe men have not rightly underſtood the Scripture, whoſe Breaſts while they ſuck ſo hard, inſtead of milk they ſuck out blood. For the ſaying of the Apoſtle,* Let every man have his own wife, *doth except none in very deed, but him only which hath the gift of Continency, prefixing with himſelf to keep and continue his Virgin in the Lord. Wherefore (O reverend Father) it ſhall be your part to cauſe and overſee, that whoſoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a Vow of Continency, and afterward would forſake, either ſhould be compelled to keep his Vow, or elſe by lawful Authority ſhould be depoſed from his Order.*

The ſaying of the Apoſtle, *Let every one have his own wife.*

*And*

*And to bring this to paſs, you ſhall not only have me, but alſo all other of my Order, to be helpers unto you. But that you may underſtand, that ſuch which know not what a Vow doth mean, are not to be violently compelled thereunto, hear what the Apoſtle ſaith to* Timothy, A Biſhop *(ſaith he)* muſt be irreprehenſible, the Husband of one Wife. *Which ſentence leſt you ſhould turn and apply only to the Church; mark what he inferreth after,* He that knoweth not *(ſaith he)* to rule his own Houſhold and Family, how ſhould he rule the Church of God? And likewiſe the Deacons *(ſaith he)* let them be the Husband of one Wife, which have knowledge to govern their own Houſe and Children. *And this Wife, how ſhe is wont to be bleſt of the Prieſt, you underſtand ſufficiently, I ſuppoſe, by the decrees of holy* Sylveſter *the Pope.*

This Decree is contrary to the Biſhops and Prelates in Queen *Maries* time.

*To theſe and ſuch other holy ſentences of the Scripture agreeth alſo he that is the Writer of the rule of the Clergy, writing after this manner,* A Clerk muſt be chaſt and continent, or elſe let him be coupled in the Bands of Matrimony, having one Wife. *Whereby it is to be gathered, that the Biſhop and Deacon are noted infamous and reprehenſible, if they be divided in more women than one: otherwiſe, if they do forſake one under the pretence of Religion, both they together, as well the Biſhop as the Deacon be here condemned by the Canonical Sentence, which ſaith,* Let no Biſhop or Prieſt forſake his own Wife, under the colour and pretence of Religion. If he do forſake her, let him be Excommunicate. And if he ſo continue, let him be dragged. *Saint* Auguſtine *alſo (a man of diſcreet holineſs) ſaith in theſe words,* There is no offence ſo great or grievous, but it is to avoid a greater evil.

*Furthermore, we read in the ſecond Book of the* Tripartite Hiſtory, *that when the Council of* Nice, *going about to eſtabliſh the ſame Decree, would Enact, that Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, after their Conſecration, either ſhould abſtain utterly from their own Wives, or elſe ſhould be depoſed; then* Paphnutius *(one of thoſe holy Martyrs, whom the Emperor* Maximus *had put out the right eye, and hockt their left legs) riſing up amongſt them, withſtood their purpoſed decreement: confeſſing Marriage to be honourable, and calling the Bed of Matrimony to be Chaſtity, and ſo perſwaded the Council from making that Law, declaring thereby what occaſion might come to themſelves and their wives of Fornication. And thus much did* Paphnutius *(being unmarried himſelf) declare unto them. And the whole Council commending his Sentence, gave place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulſion, to the will of every man, to do therein as he thought.*

*Notwithſtanding there be ſome, which take Saint* Gregory *for their defence in this matter, whoſe temerity I laugh at, and ignorance I lament: for they know not, being ignorantly deceived, how dangerous the decree of this Hereſie was (being made of S.* Gregory*) who afterwards well revoked the ſame, with condigne fruit of Repentance.*

More than ſix thouſand heads of Infants found in the Popes Mote through the wicked Decree of the ſingle life of Prieſts. Let Prieſts note well the ſaying of *Gregory.*

*For upon a certain day, as he ſent unto his Fiſh-pond to have fiſh, and did ſee more than ſix thouſand Infants heads brought to him, which were taken out of the ſame Pond or Mote, he did greatly repent in himſelf the Decree made before touching the ſingle life of Prieſts, which he confeſſed to be the cauſe of that ſo lamentable a murther. And ſo purging the ſame with condigne fruit of Repentance, altered again the things which he had decreed before, commending that counſel of the Apoſtle, which ſaith,* It is better to marry than to burn; *adding moreover of himſelf thereunto, and ſaying,* It is better to marry than to give occaſion of death.

*Peradventure if theſe men had read with me this which ſo hapned, I think they would not be ſo raſh in their doing and judging; fearing at leaſt the Lords Commandment,* Do not judge, that you be not judged. *And Saint* Paul *ſaith,* Who art thou that judgeſt another mans Servant? Either he ſtandeth or falleth to his own Maſter; but he ſhall ſtand; for the Lord is mighty and able to make him ſtand. *Therefore let your Holineſs ceaſe to compel and inforce thoſe, whom only you ought to admoniſh, leſt through your own private commandment (which God forbid) you be found contrary as well to the* Old Teſtament, *as to the* New. *For as Saint* Auguſtine *ſaith to* Donatus, This is only that we do fear in your Juſtice, leſt (not for the conſideration of Chriſtian lenity, but for the grievouſneſs and greatneſs of tranſgreſſions committed) you be thought to uſe violence in executing puniſhment of that, which only we do deſire you (by Chriſt) not to do. For tranſgreſſions are ſo to be puniſhed, that the life of the Tranſgreſſors may repent. *Alſo another ſaying of Saint* Auguſtine *we would have you to remember, which is this,* Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate, & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter; *that is,* Let nothing be done through the greedineſs of hurting, but all things through the charity of profiting; neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing ungently. Item, *of the ſame* Auguſtine *it is written,* In the fear and name of Chriſt I exhort you, which of you ſoever have not the gifts of this world, be not greedy to have them. Such as have them, preſume not too much upon them. For, I ſay, to have them is no damnation, but if you preſume upon them, that is damnation; if for the having of them you ſhall ſeem great in your own ſight, or if you do forget the common condition of man through the excellency of any thing you have. Uſe therefore therein due diſcretion, tempered with moderation, the which Cup of diſcretion is drawn out of the Fountain of the Apoſtolick Preaching, which ſaid, *Art thou looſe from thy wife? Do not ſeek a wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seek not to be looſed from her.* Where alſo it followeth, *Such as have wives, let them be as though they had them not, and they that uſe the world, let them be as not uſing it.*

Note well the ſaying of *Auguſtine.*

Item, *concerning the Widow, he ſaith,* Let her marry to whom ſhe will, only in the Lord. *To marry in the Lord, is nothing elſe but to attempt nothing in contractings of Matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid.* Jeremy *alſo ſaith,* Truſt not in the words of lyes, ſaying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord. *The which ſaying of* Jeremy, Hierome *expounding, ſaith thus, This may agree alſo, and be applied to ſuch Virgins, which brag and vaunt of their Virginity with an impudent face, pretending Chaſtity, when they have another thing in their Conſcience, and know not how the Apoſtle defineth the Virgin, that ſhe ſhould be holy in body, and alſo in ſpirit. For what availeth the chaſtity of the body, if the mind inwardly be deflowred? Or if it have not the other Vertues, which the Prophetical Sermon doth deſcribe? The which Vertues, for ſo much as we ſee partly to be in you; and becauſe we are not ignorant, that this diſcretion, although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life is kept honeſtly of you, we do not deſpair, but you will alſo ſoon amend the little lack which is behind. And therefore with as much gravity as we can, we ceaſe not to call upon you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although, according to our common calling, a Biſhop is greater than a Prieſt, and* Auguſtine *was leſs than* Hierome; *notwithſtanding the good correction proceeding from the leſſer to the greater, was not to be refuſed or diſdained; eſpecially, when he which is corrected is found to ſtrive againſt the truth, to pleaſe men. For as Saint* Auguſtine *ſaith, writing to* Boniface, *The Diſputations of all men, be they never ſo Catholick or approved perſons, ought not to be had in ſtead of the Canonical Scriptures. So that we may diſprove or refuſe (ſaving the honour and reverence which is due unto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing there be found contrary to truth. And what can be found more contrary to the truth than this? When as the truth it ſelf, ſpeaking of continency, not of one only, but of all together (the number only excepted of them which have profeſſed continency) ſaith,* He that can take, let him take: *the which ſaying, theſe men (moved, I cannot tell by what occaſion) do turn and ſay,* He that cannot take, let him be accurſed. *And what can be more fooliſh amongſt men, than when any Biſhop or Archdeacon run themſelves headlong into all kind of luſt, to Adultery and Inceſt, and alſo* Sodomitry? *Yet ſhame not to ſay, that the chaſt marriage of Prieſts doth ſtink before them: and, as void of all compaſſion and true righteouſneſs, do not deſire or admoniſh their Clerks, as their fellow-ſervants to abſtain, but command them, and enforce them as ſervants, violently to abſtain. Unto the which imperious Commandment of theirs, or Counſel (whether you will call it) they add alſo this fooliſh and filthy ſuggeſtion, ſaying,* That it is more honeſt, privily to have to do with many women, than openly in the ſight and conſciences of many men to be bound to one wife. *The which truly they would not ſay, if they were either of him, or in him, which ſaith,*

What it is to marry in the Lord.

What a Virgin is by the definition of the Apoſtle.

*Auguſt. ad Bonifacium.*

The abſurd ſaying and contrary doing of Papiſts.

*Auguſt. ad Donatum.*

Woe

Woe to you *Phariſees*, which do all things before men. *And ſo the* Pſalmiſt, Becauſe they pleaſe men, they are confounded, for the Lord hath deſpiſed them. *Theſe be the men, who ought to perſwade us that we ſhould rather ſhame to ſin privily in the ſight of him, to whom all things be open, than ſeem in the ſight of men to be clean. Theſe men therefore, although through their ſinful wickedneſs they deſerve no counſel of godlineſs to be given them: yet we, not forgetting our humanity, ceaſe not to give them counſel by the authority of Gods Word, which ſeeketh all mens ſalvation; deſiring them by the bowels of Charity, & laying with the words of Scripture,* Caſt out *(thou Hypocrite)* firſt the beam out of thine own eye, and then thou ſhalt ſee to caſt the mote out of the eye of thy Brother.

*Moreover, this alſo we deſire them to attend, what the Lord ſaith of the adulterous woman,* Which of you that is without ſin, let him caſt the firſt ſtone againſt her. *As though he would ſay, If* Moſes *bid you, I alſo bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent Miniſters and Executors of the Law, take hoed what you add thereunto; take heed alſo (I pray you) what you are your ſelves: for if (as the Scripture ſaith) thou ſhalt well conſider thy ſelf, thou will never defame or detract another.*

*Moreover, it is ſignified unto us alſo, that ſome there be of them, which (when they ought like unto good Shepherds to give their lives for the Lords Flock) yet are they puffed up with ſuch pride, that without all reaſon they preſume to rend and tear the Lords Flock with whippings and beatings, whoſe unreaſonable doings Saint* Gregory *bewailing, thus ſaith,* Quid fiat de ovibus quando Paſtores Lupi fiunt? *that is,* What ſhall become of the Sheep when the Paſtors themſelves be Wolves? *But who is overcome, but he which exerciſeth cruelty? Or who ſhall judge the Perſecutor, but he which gave patiently his back to ſtripes? And this is the fruit which cometh to the Church by ſuch Perſecutors, alſo which cometh to the Clergy by ſuch deſpightful handling of their Biſhops, or rather Infidels. For why may you not call them Infidels, of whom Saint* Paul *thus ſpeaketh, and writeth to* Timothy? That in the later days there ſhall certain depart from the Faith, and give heed to Spirits of Error and Doctrine of Devils: that ſpeak falſe through hypocriſie, having their Conſciences marked with an hot Iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, &c. *And this is (if it be well marked) the whole handful of the Darnel and Cockel growing amongſt the Corn: this is the Covent of all madneſs; that whiles they of the Clergy be compelled to relinquiſh the company of their own lawful Wives, they become afterward Fornicators and Adulterers with other women, and wicked Miniſters of other ſinful filthineſs. Theſe be they which bring into the Church of God this Hereſie (as blind Guides leading the blind) that it might be fulfilled which the* Pſalm *ſpeaketh of, as fore-ſeeing the Errors of ſuch men, and accuſing them after this manner,* Let their eyes be blinded, that they ſee not, and bow down always their back. *For ſo much then (O Apoſtolical Sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your diſcretion had underſtood and ſeen what poiſoned peſtilence might have come into the Church through the Sentence of this your Decree, you would never have conſented to the ſuggeſtions of certain wicked perſons. Wherefore we counſel you by the fidelity of our due ſubjection, that with all diligence you would put away ſo great ſlander from the Church of God: and through your diſcreet Diſcipline, you will remove this Phariſaical Doctrine from the Flock of God: ſo that this only* Sunamite *of the Lords (uſing no more adulterous Husbands) do not ſeparate the holy people, and the Kingly Prieſthood from her Spouſe which is Chriſt, through an unrecoverable Divorcement: ſeeing that no man without Chaſtity (not only in the Virgins ſtate, but alſo in the ſtate of Matrimony) ſhall ſee our Lord, who with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth for ever.* Amen.

1 *Tim.* 4.

*Inveniur hæc epiſtola in veteſtis membranaceis libris (teſtante Illyrico in catalogo) Meminit ejuſdem epiſtolæ Æneas Sylvius, in ſua peregrinatione, & Gemmule deſcriptione.*

¶ By this Epiſtle of Biſhop *Hulderick* (above prefixed) the matter is plain (gentle Reader) to conceive what was then the Sentence of learned men concerning the marriage of Miniſters: but that here by the way, the Reader is to be admoniſhed, that this Epiſtle which by Error of the Writer is referred to Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, in my mind is rather to be attributed to the name and time of *Nicholas* the ſecond, or *Nicholas* the third.

After this Pope *Nicholas* ſucceeded *Adrianus* the ſecond, *Joannes* the ninth, *Martinus* the ſecond. After theſe came *Adrian* the third, and *Stephan* the fifth. By this *Adrian* it was firſt decreed, That no Emperor after that time ſhould intermeddle or have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperors firſt decay, and the Papacy to ſwell and riſe aloft. And thus much concerning *Romiſh* matters for this time.

Pope *Adrian* the ſecond. *John* the ninth. *Martin* the ſecond. *Adrian* the third. *Stephan* the fifth.

Then to return where we left, touching the ſtory of King *Ethelwolfe*. About the later end of his Reign, the *Danes* which before had invaded the Realm, in the time of King *Egbert*, as is above declared, now made their reentry again, with three and thirty Ships arriving about *Hamſhire*: through the barbarous tyranny of whom, much bloodſhed and murther happened here among *Engliſh*men, in *Dorſetſhire*, about *Portſmouth*, in *Kent*, in *Eaſt-Angle*, in *Lindſie*, at *Rocheſter*, about *London*, and in *Weſt-Sex*, where *Ethelwolfe* the King was overcome, beſides divers other Kings and Dukes, whom the *Danes* daily approaching, in great multitudes, in divers Victories had put to flight. At length King *Ethelwolfe*, with his Son *Ethelbaldus*, warring againſt them in *Southery*, at *Okley*, drave them to the Sea; where they hovering a ſpace, after a while braſt in again with horrible rage and cruelty, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared, ſo much as to our purpoſe ſhall ſerve, profeſſing in this Hiſtory to write of no matters extern and politick, but only pertaining to the Church. The cauſe of this great Affliction ſent of God unto this Realm, thus I found expreſſed and collected in a certain old written ſtory, which hath no name: the words of which Writer, for the ſame cauſe as he thought to recite them, writing (as he ſaith) *Ad cautelam futurorum*, I thought alſo for the ſame here not to be omitted, albeit in all parts of his Commendation I do not fully with him accord. The words of the Writer be theſe:

*Ex vetuſto exemplo hiſtoriæ Cariane. W. C. 1.*

*In* Anglorum *quidem Eccleſia primitiva, religio clariſſime reſplenduit: ita ut Reges & Reginæ, & Principes ac Duces, Conſules, & Barones, &c.*

In Engliſh thus:

*In the Primitive Church* (ſaith he) *of the* Engliſh-*men, Religion did moſt clearly ſhine, inſomuch that Kings, Queens, Princes and Dukes, Conſuls, Barons, and Rulers of Churches, incenſed with the deſire of the Kingdom of Heaven, labouring and ſtriving among themſelves to enter into Monkery, into voluntary exile and ſolitary life, forſook all, and followed the Lord. Where, in proceſs of time all vertue ſo much decayed among them, that in fraud and treachery none ſeemed like unto them: neither was to them any thing odious or hateful, but Piety and Juſtice. Neither any thing in price or honour, but civil War and ſhedding of innocent blood. Wherefore Almighty God ſent upon them* Pagan *and cruel Nations, like ſwarms of Bees, which neither ſpared Women nor Children, as* Danes, Norwegians, Gothes, Suevians, Vandals, *and* Friſians. *Who, from the beginning of the Reign of King* Ethelwolfe, *till the coming of the* Normans, *by the ſpace near of two hundred and thirty years, deſtroyed their ſinful Land from the one ſide of the Sea to the other, from man alſo to beaſt. For why? They invading* England *oft-times, of every ſide, went not about to ſubdue and poſſeſs it, but only to ſpoil and deſtroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be overcome of* Engliſh-men, *it availed nothing, when as other Navies ſtill with greater Power in other places were ready upon a ſudden and unawares, to approach upon them, &c.* Hiſtoria Cariana.

The cauſe of Gods wrath whereby the Realm of England was ſcourged by the Danes.

Thus far have you the words of mine Author, declaring the cauſe which provoked Gods anger: whereunto may be adjoyned the wickedneſs, not only of them but of their fore-Fathers alſo before them, who falſely breaking the Faith and Promiſe made with the *Britains*, did cruelly murther their Nobles, wickedly oppreſſed their Commons, impiouſly perſecuted the innocent *Chriſtians*, injuriouſly poſſeſſed their Land and Habitation: chaſing the Inhabitants out of Houſe and Country, beſides the violent murther of the Monks of *Bangor*, and divers foul Slaughters among the poor *Britains*, who ſent for them

to

to be their Helpers. Wherefore Gods juſt recompence falling upon them from that time, never ſuffered them to be quiet from foreign Enemies, till the coming of *William* the *Norman*, *&c.*

Another cauſe rendred, why *England* was ſcourged of the *Danes*.

Moreover, concerning the outward occaſions given of the *Engliſhmens* parts, moving the *Danes* firſt to invade the Realm, I find in certain ſtories two moſt ſpecially aſſigned. The one unjuſtly given, and juſtly taken. The other not given juſtly, and unjuſtly taken. Of the which two, the firſt was given in *Northumberland*, by the means of *Osbright*, reigning under-King of *Weſt-Saxons*, in the North parts. This *Osbright* upon a time journeying by the way, turned into the houſe of one of his Nobles called *Bruer*. Who having at home a wife of great beauty (he being abſent abroad) the King after his dinner (allured with the excellency of her beauty) took her to a ſecret Chamber, where he forceably (contrary to her will) did raviſh her: whereupon ſhe being greatly diſmayed, and vexed in her mind, made her moan to her Husband returning, of this violence and injury received. *Bruer* conſulting with his Friends, firſt went to the King, reſigning into his hands all ſuch ſervice and poſſeſſions which he did hold of him: that done, he took ſhipping and ſailed into *Denmark*, where he had great Friends, and had his bringing up before. There making his moan to *Codrinus* the King, deſired his aid in revenging of the great villany of *Osbright* againſt him and his wife. *Codrinus* hearing this, and glad to have ſome juſt quarrel to enter that Land, levied an Army with all ſpeed, and preparing all things neceſſary for the ſame, ſendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba*, two Brethren, his chief Captains, with an innumerable multitude of *Danes* into *England*; who firſt arriving at *Holderneſs*, there burnt up the Country, and killed without mercy, both Men, Women and Children, whom they could lay hands upon. Then marching towards *York*, entred their battel with the foreſaid *Osbright*, where he with the moſt part of his Army was ſlain. And ſo the *Danes* entred the poſſeſſion of the City of *York*. Some others ſay, and it is by the moſt part of ſtory-writers recorded, that the chief cauſe of the coming of *Inguar* and *Hubba* with the *Danes*, was, to be revenged of King *Edmund*, reigning under the *Weſt-Saxons* over the *Eaſt-Angles* in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*: for the murthering of a certain *Dane* being Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*, which was falſely imputed to King *Edmund*. The ſtory is thus told.

The firſt entring of the *Danes*. *Ex hiſtoria Jornalenſis.*

Example, what miſchief commeth by Adultery.

*Codrinus* King of *Denmark*.

*Inguar* and *Hubba* Captains of the *Danes*.

Another cauſe of the coming of the *Danes*.

A certain Nobleman of the *Danes* of the Kings ſtock, called *Lothbroke*, Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*, entring upon a time with his Hawk into a certain Schiffe or Cockbote alone; by chance through tempeſt was driven with his Hawk to the coaſt of *Norfolk* named *Rodham*, where he being found and detained, was preſented to the King. The King underſtanding his Parentage, and ſeeing his caſe, entertained him in his Court accordingly, and every day more and more perceiving his Activities and great Dexterity in hunting and hawking, bare ſpecial favour unto him. Inſomuch that the Kings Falkoner, or Maſter of his Game, bearing privy envy againſt him, ſecretly as they were hunting together in a Wood did murther him, and threw him into a buſh. This *Lothbroke*, being murthered, within two or three days began to be miſſed in the Kings houſe: of whom no tidings could be heard, but only by a Dog or Spaniel of his, which continuing in the Wood with the corps of his Maſter, at ſundry times came and fawned upon the King: ſo long that at the length they following the trace of the Hound, were brought to the place where *Lothbroke* lay. Whereupon inquiſition being made, at length by certain circumſtances of words and other evidences, it was known how and by whom he was murthered, that was by the Kings Huntſman named *Berike*. Who thereupon being convicted, was ſet into the ſame Bote of *Lothbroke*, alone and without any tackling to drive by Seas, either to be ſaved by the weather, or to be drowned in the deep. And as it chanced, *Lothbroke* from *Denmark* to be driven to *Norfolk*, ſo it happened that from *Norfolk* he was carried into *Denmark*, where the Bote of *Lothbroke* being well known, hands were laid upon him, and inquiſition made of the party. In fine in his torments, to ſave himſelf, he uttered an untruth of King *Edmund*, ſaying, *That the King had put him to death in the Country of* Norfolk. Whereupon grudge firſt was conceived, then an Army appointed, and great multitudes ſent into *England* to revenge that Fact, where firſt they arriving in *Northumberland*, deſtroyed (as is ſaid) thoſe parts firſt. From thence ſailing into *Norfolk* they exerciſed the like tyranny there, upon the Inhabitants thereof, eſpecially upon the innocent Prince, and bleſſed Martyr of God, King *Edmund*. Concerning the farther Declaration whereof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt our Lord ſo permitting) more to be ſpoken, as place and obſervation of time and years ſhall require.

Lothbroke Father to *Inguar* and *Hubba*.

What miſchief envy worketh.

Murther will out.

In the mean ſeaſon, King *Ethelwolfe* in this Chapter here preſently touched, when he had chaſed the foreſaid *Danes*, (as is above rehearſed) from place to place, cauſing them to take the Sea, he in the mean while departeth himſelf both from land and life: leaving behind him four Sons, which reigned every one his order, after the deceaſe of their Father. The names of whom were *Ethelbaldus*, *Ethelbrightus*, *Ethelredus* and *Aluredus*.

King *Ethelwolfe* deceaſeth.

## King *Ethelbald*.

KIng *Ethelbald* the eldeſt Son of *Ethelwolfe*, ſucceeding his Father in the Province of *Weſt-Sax*, and *Ethelbright* in the Province of *Kent*, reigned both together the term of five years, one with the other. Of the which two, *Ethelbald* the firſt left this Infamy behind him in ſtories, for marrying and lying with his ſtepmother, wife to his own Father, named *Judith*. After theſe two ſucceeded *Ethelred*, the third Son, who in his time was ſo incumbred with the *Danes*, burning in on every ſide, eſpecially about *York* (which City they then ſpoiled and burnt up) that he in one year ſtood in nine battels againſt them, with the help of *Alured* his Brother. In the beginning of this Kings Reign, the *Danes* landed in *Eaſt-England*, or *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. But (as *Fabian* writeth) they were compelled to forſake that Country, and ſo took again ſhipping, and ſailed *Northward*, and landed in *Northumberland*: where they were met of the Kings then there reigning, called *Osbright* and *Ella*, which gave to them a ſtrong fight. But notwithſtanding, the *Danes*, with the help of ſuch as inhabited the Country, won the City of *York*, and held it a certain ſeaſon, as is above foretouched.

{Anno 857.}

King *Ethelbald*.

King *Ethelbright*.

{Anno 867.}

King *Ethelred*. *York* burned by the *Danes*.

What diſcord doth in a Commonwealth.

In the Reign of this *Ethelred*, the *Northumberlanders* rebelling againſt the King thought to recover again the former ſtate of their Kingdom out of the *Weſt-Saxons* hand; by reaſon of which diſcord (as happeneth in all Lands where diſſention is) the ſtrength of the *Engliſh* Nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the *Danes* the more thereby prevailed.

{Anno 870.}

About the later time of the Reign of this *Ethelred*, which was about the year of our Lord, 870. certain of the foreſaid *Danes* being thus poſſeſſed of the North Country (after their cruel Perſecution and murther done there, as partly is touched before) took ſhipping from thence, intending to ſail toward the *Eaſt-Angles*, who by the way upon the Sea met with a Fleet of *Danes*; whereof the Captains or Leaders were named, *Inguar* and *Hubba*. Who joyning altogether in one Council, made all one courſe, and laſtly landed in *Eaſt-England* or *Northfolk*, and in proceſs of time came to *Thetford*. Thereof hearing *Edmund*, then under-King of that Province, aſſembled an Hoſt that gave to them battel. But *Edmund* and his Company was forced to forſake the Field; and the King, with a few perſons fled unto the Caſtle of *Framingham*, whom the *Danes* purſued. But he in ſhort while after yielded himſelf to the perſecution of the *Danes*: anſwering in this manner to the Meſſenger, that told him in the name of *Inguar* Prince of the *Danes*, which moſt victoriouſly (ſaith he) was come with innumerable Legions, ſubduing both by Sea and Land many Nations unto him: and ſo now arrived in thoſe parts requireth him likewiſe to ſubmit himſelf, yielding to him his hid Treaſures, and ſuch other goods of his Anceſtors, and ſo to Reign under him: which thing if he would not do, he ſhould (ſaid he) be judged unworthy both of life and reign. *Edmund* hearing of this proud meſſage of the *Pagan*, conſulted with certain of his friends; and among others, with one of his Biſhops, being then his Secretary; who ſeeing the preſent danger, of

S. *Edmund* King of *Eaſt-Angles*.

The meſſage of the *Danes* to King *Edmund*.

of the King, gave him counſel to yield to the conditions. The anſwer of King *Edmund.* Upon this the King pauſing a little with himſelf, at length rendred this anſwer, bidding the meſſenger go tell his Lord in theſe words, That *Edmund* a Chriſtian King, for the love of temporal life, will not ſubmit himſelf to a Pagan Duke, unleſs he before would be a Chriſtian. Incontinent upon the ſame, the wicked and crafty *Dane*, approaching in moſt haſty ſpeed upon the King, encountred with him in battel (as ſome ſay) at *Thetford*; where the King being put to the worſe, and pittying the terrible ſlaughter of his men, thinking with himſelf rather to ſubmit his own perſon to danger, than his people ſhould be ſlain, did flie (as *Fabian* ſaith) to the Caſtle of *Framingham*, (or as mine Author writeth) to *Haleſdon*, now called St. *Edmundsbury*, where this bleſſed man being on every ſide compaſſed of his cruel enemies, yielded himſelf to their perſecution. And for that he would not reny or deny Chriſt and his Laws, they therefore moſt cruelly bound him unto a Tree, and cauſed him to be ſhot to death; and laſtly, cauſed his head to be ſmitten from his body, and caſt into the thick buſhes. Which head and body at the ſame time by his friends was taken up, and ſolemnly buried at the ſaid *Haleſdon*, otherwiſe now named St. *Edmundsbury*. Whoſe Brother named *Edwoldus* (notwithſtanding of right the Kingdom fell next unto him) ſetting apart the liking and pleaſure of the world, became an Hermite of the Abbey of *Cerum* in the Country of *Dorſet*.

The perſecution and death of St. *Edmund* K. of the *Eaſtangles*.

K. *Edmund* Martyr.

After the Martyrdom of this bleſſed *Edmund*, when the cruel *Danes* had ſufficiently robbed and ſpoiled that Country, they took again their Ships, and landed in *Southery*, and continued their journey till they came to the Town of *Reading*, and there won the Town with the Caſtle, where (as *Cambrenſis* ſaith) within three days of their thither coming, the foreſaid *Inguar* and *Hubba* Captains of the *Danes*, as they went in purchaſing of their preys or boo-ties, were ſlain at a place called *Englefield*. Which Princes of the *Danes* thus ſlain, the reſt of them kept whole together, in ſuch wiſe that the *Weſtſaxons* might take of them none advantage. But yet within few days after, the *Danes* were holden ſo ſhort, that they were forced to iſſue out of the Caſtle and to defend themſelves in plain battel. In the which (by the induſtry of King *Ethelred*, and of *Alured* his Brother) the *Danes* were diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain; which diſcomfort made them fly again into the Caſtel, and there he kept them for a certain time. Then King then committing the charge of them to *Ethelwold* Duke of *Baroke*, or *Barkſhire*, ſo departed. But when the *Danes* knew of the Kings departure, they brake ſuddenly out of their Hold, and took the Duke unprovided, and ſlew him, and much of his people. And ſo adjoyning themſelves with others that were ſcattered in the Country, imbattelled them in ſuch wiſe, that of them was gathered a ſtrong Hoſt.

*Reading* taken of the *Danes*.

*Inguar* and *Hubba* ſlain.

Duke *Ethelwold* ſlain.

As the tidings hereof was brought unto King *Ethelred*, (which put him in great heavineſs) word alſo was brought the ſame time of the landing of *Oſrike* King of *Denmark*, who with aſſiſtance of the other *Danes* had gathered a great Hoſt, and were imbattelled upon *Aſhdon*. To this battel King *Ethelred* with his Brother *Alured* (forced by great need) ſped themſelves to withſtand the *Danes*. At which time the King a little ſtaying behind, being yet at his ſervice, *Alured* which was come in before, had entred already into the whole fight with the *Danes*; who ſtruck together with huge violence. The King being required to make ſpeed (he being then at ſervice and meditations) ſuch was his devotion, that he would not ſtir out one foot before their ſervice was fully compleat. In this mean while, the *Danes* ſo fiercely invaded *Alured* and his men, that they won the hill, and the Chriſtian men were in the valley, and in great danger to loſe the whole field. Nevertheleſs through the grace of God, and their godly manhood, the King coming from his ſervice, with his freſh Soldiers recovered the hill of the Infidels, and ſo diſcomfited the *Danes* that day; that in flying away not only they loſt the victory, but moſt part alſo of them their lives. Inſomuch that their Duke or King *Oſrike*, or *Oſege*, and five of their Dukes, with much of their people were ſlain, and the reſt chaſed unto *Reading* Town.

*Oſrike* King of *Denmark* landeth in *England*.

*Ex Guſtel. Malmeſb. Ex Hiſtoris Tornatenſi. Ex Fabiano & aliis.*

Invocation and prayer profitable in time of battel.

The *Danes* overthrown at *Aſhdon*.

After this the *Danes* yet reaſſembled their people, and gathered a new Hoſt; ſo that within fifteen days they met at *Baſingſtoke*, and there gave battel unto the King, and had the better. Then the King again gathered his men, which at that field were diſparkled, and with freſh Soldiers to them accompanied, met the *Danes* within two months after at the Town of *Merton*, where he gave them a ſharp Battel, ſo that much people were ſlain as well of the Chriſtians as of the *Danes*, but in the end the *Danes* had the honour of the field, and King *Ethelred* there was wounded, and therefore fain to ſave himſelf.

Another battel fought with the *Danes* at *Merton*.

After theſe two fields thus won by the *Danes*, they obtained great circuit of ground, and deſtroyed man and child that would not yield to them. And Churches and Temples they turned to the uſe of Stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the King being beſet with enemies on every ſide, ſeeing the land ſo miſerably oppreſſed of the *Danes*, his Knights and Soldiers conſumed, his own Land of *Weſtſaxons* in ſuch deſolation, he being alſo wounded himſelf, but ſpecially for that he ſending his Commiſſions into *Northumberland*, into *Mercia*, and *Eaſtanglia*, could have of them but ſmall or little comfort (becauſe they through wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the *Danes* than of their King) was ſore perplexed there withal, as the other Kings were both before him and after him at that time. So that as *Malmesbury* witneſſeth, *Magis optarent honeſtum exitium, quam tam acerbum imperium*: that is, They rather wiſhed honeſtly to die, than with ſuch trouble and ſorrow to reign. And thus this King not long after deceaſed, when he had reigned (as *Fabian* ſaith) eight years, or as *Malmesbury* writeth, but five years. During which time of his reign, notwithſtanding his ſo great troubles and vexations in Martial affairs (as is in ſome Stories mentioned) he founded the Houſe or Colledg of Canons at *Exceſter*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Winborne* or *Woborne*. After whoſe deceaſe, for lack of iſſue of his body, the rule of the land fell unto his Brother *Alured*.

What diſcord and rebellion doth in a Realm.

The death of *Ethelred*.

The Abbey of *Exceſter* founded.

## King *Alured*, otherwiſe called *Alfred*.

AMONG the *Saxon* Kings hitherto in this Story aforementioned, I find few or none to be preferred (or almoſt to be compared) to this *Alured* or *Alfred*, for the great and ſingular qualities in this King, worthy of high renown and commendation; whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold travels which he continually from time to time ſuſtained againſt his enemies in wars, during almoſt all the time of his reign, for the publick preſervation of his people; or whether we conſider in him his godly and excellent vertues, joyned with a publick and tender care, and a zealous ſtudy for the common peace and tranquillity of the weal publick; appearing as well in his prudent Laws by him both carefully ſet forth, and with the like care executed; as alſo by his own private Exerciſes touching the vertuous inſtitution of his life. Or whether we reſpect that in him, which with equal praiſe matcheth with both the other before; that is, his notable knowledg of good Letters, with a fervent love and Princely deſire to ſet forth the ſame through all his Realm, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his Heroical properties, joyned together in one Prince, as it is a thing moſt rare, and ſeldom ſeen in Princes now a days; ſo I thought the ſame the more to be noted and exemplied in this good King. Thereby either to move other Rulers and Princes in theſe our days to his imitation; or elſe to ſhew them what hath been in times paſt in their anceſtors, which ought to be, and yet is not found in them. Wherefore of theſe three parts to diſcourſe either part in order, firſt we will enter to intreat of his acts and painful travels ſuſtained in defence of the Realm publick, againſt the raging tyranny of the *Danes*, as they be deſcribed in the *Latin* Hiſtories of *Roger Hoveden*, and *Huntington*; whom *Fabian* alſo ſeemeth in this part ſomewhat to follow. King *Alfred* therefore the firſt of all the *Engliſh* Kings, taking his Crown and Unction at *Rome* of Pope *Leo* (as *Malmesbury* and *Polychronicon* do record) in the beginning of his reign, perceiving his Lords and people much waſted and decayed, by the reaſon of the great wars of *Ethelred* had againſt the *Danes*, yet as well as he could, gathered a ſtrength of men unto him, and in the ſecond month that he was made King, he met with the *Danes* beſide *Wilton*, where he gave them Battel,

{Anno 872.} *Alured* King of *England*.

*Ex Reg. Hoved. H. Huntig. Polychronic. & Fabian.*

*Burthred expulſed his Kingdom, went to Rome, and there died in the Engliſh houſe.*

But being far over-matched through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worſe; although not without a great ſlaughter of the Pagan Army. Which Army then of the *Danes*, after that victory, by compaction made with King *Alfred* to depart out of his Dominion of *Weſtſax*, removed from *Reading* to *London*, where they abode all that Winter. Where *Halden* their King, truce with *Burthred* King of *Mercians*, the next year following voided thoſe parts, and drew to *Lindſey*, robbing and ſpoiling the Towns and Villages as they went, and holding the common people under their ſervage. From thence after to *Repingdon*, where they joyning with the three other Kings of the *Danes* (called *Surdrim*, *Osketell*, and *Hamond*) grew thereby in mighty force and ſtrength. Who then dividing their Army in two parts, the one half remained with *Halden* in the Country of *Northumberland*; the reſidue were with the other three Kings, wintring and ſojourning all the next year at *Grantbridge*, which was the fourth year of King *Alfred*. In the which year King *Alfred* his men had a conflict on the Sea with ſix of the *Danes* Ships, of which one they took, the other fled away.

*Rollo a Dane firſt Duke of Normandy.*

In this year went *Rollo* the *Dane* into *Normandy*, where he was Duke thirty years, and afterward was Baptized in the Faith of Chriſt, and named *Robert*. The foreſaid Army of the three *Dane* Kings above mentioned from *Grantbridge* returned again to *Weſtſaxony*, and entred the Caſtle of *Warrham*; where *Alfred* with a ſufficient power of men was ready to aſſault them. But the *Danes* ſeeing his ſtrength, durſt not attempt with him, but ſought delays, whiles more aid might come. In the mean ſeaſon they were conſtrained to entreat for truce; leaving alſo ſufficient pledges in the Kings hand, promiſing moreover upon their Oath to void the Country of the *Weſtſaxons*. The King upon the ſurety let them go. But they falſely breaking their league, privily in the night brake out, taking their journey toward *Exceſter*. In which journey they loſt ſix ſcore of their ſmall Ships, by a tempeſt at *Sandwich*, (as *Henry Huntington* in his Story recordeth.) Then King *Alfred* followed after the Horſemen of the *Danes*, but could not overtake them before they came to *Exceſter*, where he took of them pledges and fair promiſes of peace, and ſo returned. Notwithſtanding the number of the Pagans did daily more and more increaſe, in ſo much (as one of my Authors ſaith) that if in one day thirty thouſand of them were ſlain, ſhortly after they increaſed double as many again. After this truce taken with King *Alfred*, the *Danes* then voided to the Land of *Mercia*, whereof part of that Kingdom they kept themſelves, part they committed to one *Ceolulphus*; upon condition that he ſhould be vaſſal to them, and at their commandment, with his people at all times.

{ Anno 879. }

The next year enſuing, which was the ſeventh year of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* now having all the rule of the North part of *England*, from the river of *Thames*, with *Mercia*, *London*, and *Eſſex*, diſdained that *Alfred* ſhould bear any Dominion on the other ſide of *Thames* Southward. Whereupon the foreſaid three Kings, with all the forces and ſtrength they could make, marched toward *Chippenham* in *Weſtſex*, with ſuch a multitude, that the King with his people was not able to reſiſt them; inſomuch that the people which inhabited there, ſome fled over the Sea, ſome remained with the King, divers ſubmitted themſelves to the *Danes*. Thus *Alfred* being overſet with multitude of enemies, and forſaken of his people, having neither land to hold, nor hope to recover that which he had loſt, withdrew himſelf with a few of his Nobles about him, into a certain Wood-country in *Somerſetſhire* called *Etheling*; where he had right ſcant to live with, but ſuch as he and his people might purchaſe by hunting and fiſhing. This *Edeling* or *Etheling*, or *Ethelingſey*, ſtandeth in a great mariſh or moor, ſo that there is no acceſs unto it without Ship or Boat, and hath in it a great Wood called *Selwood*, and in the middle a little Plain about two acres of ground, in which Iſle is Veniſon, and other wild Beaſts, with Fowl and Fiſhes, great plenty. In this Wood King *Alfred* at his firſt coming eſpied a certain deſert cottage of a poor Swineherd, keeping Swine in the Wood, named *Dunwolfus*; of whom the King then unknown was entertained and cheriſhed, with ſuch poor fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which King *Alfred* afterward ſet the poor Swineherd to learning, and made him Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

*K. Alfred flieth into a deſert Wood.*

*Etheling, which is to ſay, the Iſle of Nobles.*

*A Swineherd made Biſhop of Wincheſter.*

In the mean ſeaſon, while King *Alfred* accompanied with a few was thus in the deſert Wood, waiting the event of theſe miſeries, certain Stories record of a poor Beggar, which there came and asked his Alms of the King; and the night following he appeared to the King in his ſleep, ſaying, his name was *Cuthbert*, promiſing (as ſent from God unto him for his good charity) great victories againſt the *Danes*. But to let theſe dreaming Fables paſs, although they be teſtified by divers Authors, as both *Wilhelmus lib. de Reg. Polychronicon*, *Rog. Hoveden*, *Fornalenſis*, and others more. Notwithſtanding the King in proceſs of time was ſtrengthened and comforted more, through the Providence of God; reſpecting the miſerable ruin of the *Engliſh* men. Firſt, the Brother of King *Halden* the *Dane* before mentioned, coming in with three and thirty Ships, landed about *Devonſhire*; where by chance being reſiſted by a Buſhment of King *Alfreds* men (who for their ſafeguard there lay in Garriſon) were ſlain to the number of 1300 men, and their Enſign called the *Raven* was taken. *Hovedenus* in his Book of *Continuationes* writeth, that in the ſame conflict both *Inguar* and *Hubba* were ſlain among the other *Danes*. After this King *Alfred*, being better cheared, ſhewed himſelf more at large; ſo that daily reſorted to him men of *Wiltſhire*, *Sommerſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, till that he was ſtrongly accompanied.

*Hen. Huntingt. lib. 5. Hiſt. Ang.*

*Inguar and Hubba ſlain.*

*A bold adventure or attempt of K. Alfred, venturing himſelf into the Tents of the Danes.*

Then the King put himſelf in a bold and dangerous venture, as writeth *Wilhelmus lib. de Reg. Polychron.* and *Fabian*, which followeth them both. For he apparelling him in the habit of a Minſtrel (as he was very skilful in all *Saxon* Poems) with his inſtrument of Muſick entred into the Tents of the *Danes*, lying then at *Eddendun*; and in ſhewing there his Interludes and Songs, eſpied all their ſloth and idleneſs, and heard much of their counſel; and after returning to his company, declared unto them the whole manner of the *Danes*. Shortly upon the ſame, the King ſuddenly in the night fell upon the foreſaid *Danes*, and diſtreſſed and ſlew of them a great multitude, chaſed them from that coaſt. Inſomuch that through his ſtrong and valiant aſſaults upon his enemies out of his Tower of *Edeling* newly fortified, he ſo incumbred them, that he clearly voided the Country of them, between that and *Selwood*. His ſubjects eftſoons hearing of theſe his valiant victories and manful deeds, drew to him daily out of all coaſts. Who through the help of God, and their aſſiſtance, held the *Danes* ſo ſhort, that he won from them *Wincheſter*, and divers other good Towns. Briefly, at length he forced them to ſeek for peace; the which was concluded upon certain Covenants. Whereof one and the principal was, that the forenamed *Gutrum* their King ſhould be Chriſtened. The other was, that ſuch as would not be Chriſtened, ſhould depart and void the Country.

*Ex Fabian.*

*Gutrum the Prince of the Danes was chriſtened.*

Upon theſe Covenants, firſt the ſaid *Gutrum* the *Daniſh* Prince coming to *Wincheſter*, was there Chriſtened with twenty of his greateſt Dukes or Nobles. To the which *Gutrum* King *Alfred* being his Godfather at his Baptiſm, named him *Athelſtan*. Who after a certain ſeaſon that he had feaſted the ſaid *Danes*, he according to his promiſe before made, gave unto their King the Country of *Eaſtanglia*, containing *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, and part of *Cambridgeſhire*. Moreover (as ſaith *Polychronicon*) he granted to the *Danes* that were Chriſtened, the Country of *Northumberland*. So the reſidue that would not be Chriſtened, departed the land, and ſailed into *France*; where what vexation and harm they wrought, the Chronicles of *France* do partly comprehend.

*K. Gutrum named Athelſtan.*

*Northfolk and Suffolk given to K. Gutrum.*

King *Athelſtan* thus having the poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, had all *Eaſtangles* under his obedience. And albeit that he held the ſame Province as in fee of the King, and promiſed to dwell there as his liege man, yet that notwithſtanding, he continued more like a Tyrant by the term of eleven years, and died in the twelfth year. During the which ſpace, King *Alfred* having ſome more reſt and peace, repaired certain Towns and ſtrong Holds afore by the *Danes* impaired. Alſo he builded divers Houſes of Religion, as the Houſe of *Nuns* at *Shaftsbury*; another Religious Houſe at *Etheling*, he founded. Item, another in *Wincheſter*, named the New Monaſtery. Item, he endued richly the Church of St. *Cuthbert* in *Dirham*. He ſent alſo to *India* to pay and perform his Vows to St. *Thomas* of *Inde*, which he made during the time of his diſtreſs againſt the *Danes*.

*The Nunnery of Shaftsbury builded.*

*The Monaſtery of Etheling.*

*The New Minſter at Wincheſter beſieged of the Danes.*

About

About the fifteenth year of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* returning from *France* to *England*, landed in *Kent*, and ſo came to *Rocheſter* and beſieged that City; and there lay ſo long, that they builded a Tower of timber againſt the Gates of the City. But by ſtrength of the Citizens that Tower was deſtroyed, and the City defended, till King *Alfred* came and reſcued them. Whereby the *Danes* were ſo diſtreſſed, and ſo neer trapped, that for fear they left their Horſes behind them, and fled to their Ships by night. But the King when he was thereof aware, ſent after them and took ſixteen of their Ships, and ſlew many of the ſaid *Danes*. This done, the King returned to *London*, and repaired the ſame honourably (as ſaith *Hovedenus*) and made it habitable, which before was ſore decayed and feebled by the *Danes*.

{Anno 892.} The third year after this, which was the nineteenth year of the reign of King *Alfred*, the foreſaid *Athelſtan* the *Daniſh* King of *Northfolk* (which by *Alfred* was Chriſtened before) deceaſed. Not long after this, about the one and twentieth year of this Kings reign, the *Danes* again landed in four places of this land; which was in *Eaſt-England*, in the North, and in the Weſt, in two places. Before the landing of theſe *Danes* it chanced King *Alfred*, hearing of the death of King *Athelſtan*, and of other complaints of the *Danes*, was then in *Eaſt-England* when theſe tidings came to him.

The *Danes* driven from *Northfolk*.

When King *Alfred* was thereof aſcertained, for ſo much as ſome of the *Danes* were landed in that Coaſt, thinking with themſelves the ſlither they went in thoſe parts the leſs reſiſtance to have, and the more ſpeed, as they were wont to have before; *Alfred* therefore ſending meſſengers in all haſt to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, to aſſemble to him an Hoſt to withſtand the *Danes* which landed in the Weſt, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in *Eaſtanglia*, whom he purſued ſo ſharply, that he drove them out from thoſe parts. They then landed in *Kent*, whither the King with his people ſped him, and in like manner drave the *Danes* from thence, without any great fight, ſo far as in our Authors we can ſee. After this,

The *Danes* return again to *Northwales*.

again the *Danes* took ſhipping, and ſailed into *Northwales*, and there robbed and ſpoiled the *Britains*, and from thence returned by the Sea into *Eaſtanglia*, with an hundred Ships, and there reſted them, for ſo much as the King then was gone Weſtward.

The *Danes* driven out of *Cheſter*.

The fourth Hoſt of the *Danes* the ſame year came to *Cheſter*, which at length they won; but then the Country adjoyning preſſed ſo ſore upon them, and beſieged them ſo long, keeping themſelves within the City, that at the laſt the *Danes* wearied with the long ſiege, were compelled to eat their own Horſes for hunger. But by appointment at laſt they gave over the Town, and went about by *Northwales* to *Northumberland*, which was about the three and twentieth year of King *Alfred*. Which *Alfred* in the mean while with his Hoſt ſped him thitherward. Then the *Danes* leaving their ſtrong Holds and Caſtles, garniſhed with men and victual, took again ſhipping, and ſet their courſe in ſuch wiſe that they landed in *Suſſex*, and ſo came to the Port of *Lewes*, and from thence toward *London*, and builded a Tower or Caſtle near unto the River of *Luy*, twenty miles from *London*. But the *Londoners* hearing thereof, manned out a certain number of

The *Danes* driven from *Lewes*.

men of Arms, who with the aſſiſtance of them of that Country, put the *Danes* from that Tower, and after beat it down to the ground. Soon after the King came down thither, and to prevent the dangers that might enſue, commanded the River of *Luy* to be divided in three ſtreams; ſo that where a Ship might ſail in times before,

The river of *Luy* divided into three ſtreams.

there a little Boat might ſcantly row. From thence the *Danes* leaving their Ships and Wives, were forced to flie that Country, and took their way again toward *Wales*, and came to *Quadruge* near to the River of *Severn*; where upon the borders thereof they builded them a Caſtle, there reſting themſelves for a time, whom the King eftſoons with his Army purſued. In the mean time the *Londoners* at *Luy* taking the *Danes* Ships, ſome of them they brought to *London*, the reſt they fired. During all theſe three years, from the firſt coming of the *Danes* to *Luy*, *England* was afflicted with three manner of ſorrows, with

Three Plagues in *England*.

the *Danes*, with peſtilence of men, and murrain of beaſts. The which troubles notwithſtanding, yet the King manfully reſiſted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God always, what trouble ſoever fell to him, or unto his Realm, and ſuſtained it with great patience and humility. Theſe three years overpaſt, the next following, which was the eight and twentieth of the reign of *Alfred*, the *Danes* divided their Hoſt, of whom part went to *Northumberland*, {Anno 897.} ſome to *Northfolk*, part ſailed over to *France*, ſome other came to *Weſtſax*, where they had divers conflicts with the *Engliſh* men, both by land, and eſpecially upon the Sea; of whom ſome were ſlain, many by ſhipwrack periſhed, The *Danes* Ships taken. divers others were taken and hanged, and thirty of their Ships were taken.

Not long after this, King *Alfred*, when he had reigned nine and twenty years and ſix months, changed this {Anno 899.} mortal life. And thus much (and more peradventure than will ſeem to this our Eccleſiaſtical Story appertaining) touching the painful labours and travels of this good King, which he no leſs valiantly atchieved, than patiently ſuſtained for the neceſſary defence of his Realm and ſubjects.

The vertues and godly life of King *Alfred* deſcribed.

Now if there be any Prince who liſteth to ſee and follow the vertuous and godly diſpoſition of this King, both touching the inſtitution of his own life, and alſo concerning his careful Government of the Common-weal, thus the Hiſtories of him do record. That at what time he being young, perceiving himſelf ſomewhat diſpoſed to the vice of The inclination of nature corrected in K. *Alfred*. the fleſh, and thereby letted from many vertuous purpoſes, did not as many young Princes and Kings Sons in the world be now wont to do, that is, to reſolve themſelves into all kind of carnal licenſe, and diſſolute ſenſuality, running and following without bridle whither ſoever their licenſe given doth lead them (as therefore not without cauſe the common Proverb reporteth of them, that Kings Sons learn nothing well elſe but only to ride.) Meaning thereby, that Princes and Kings Sons having about them flatterers, which bolſter them in their faults, only their Horſes give to them no more than to any other; but if they ſit not faſt, they will caſt them. But this young King ſeeing in himſelf the inclination of his *fleſhly* nature, minding not to give himſelf ſo much as he might take, but rather by reſiſtance to avoid the tentation thereof, The Godly Petition of K. *Alfred*. beſought God that he would ſend to him ſome continual ſickneſs, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publick buſineſs of the Commonwealth; and more apt to ſerve God in his calling. *Ceſtren. lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. *Fab. cap.* 17.

Then at Gods Ordinance he had the Evil called *Ficus*, till he came to the age of twenty years, whereof at length he was cured (as is ſaid in ſome Stories) by the Virgin called *Modwen*, an *Iriſh* woman. After this ſickneſs being *Modwen.* taken away, to him fell another, which continued with him from the twentieth year of his age to forty and five (according to his own Petition and requeſt made unto God) whereby he was the more reclaimed and attempered from the other more great inconveniencies, and leſs diſpoſed to that which he did moſt abhor.

King *Alfred* how he divided his Goods in two parts. *Polychron. lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. *Guliel. lib de Regibus.*

Moreover, to behold the bountiful goodneſs joyned with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and diſpoſing his riches and rents, it is not unworthily to be recited, how he divided his goods in two equal parts; the one appertaining to uſes ſecular, the other to uſes ſpiritual or Eccleſiaſtical. Of the which two principal parts, the firſt he divided into three portions, the firſt to the behoof of his The liberal heart of K. *Alfred*. houſe and family; the ſecond upon the workmen and builders of his new works, whereof he had great delight and cunning; the third upon ſtrangers. Likewiſe the other ſecond half upon Spiritual uſes, he did thus divide in four portions, one to the relieving of the poor, another to the Monaſteries, the third portion to the Schools of *Oxford*, for the maintaining of good Letters; the fourth he ſent to foreign Churches without the Realm. This alſo is left in Stories written to his commendation for his great tolerance and ſufferance, that when he had builded the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, and afterward his Son *Edward* had purchaſed of the Biſhop and the Chapter a ſufficient piece of ground for certain Offices to be adjoyned unto the ſame, and had given for every foot of ground, *Marcam auri pleni ponderis*, (which was as I think a mark of Gold, or more) yet *Alfred* therewith was not greatly diſcontented to ſee his Coffers ſo waſted.

Over and beſides, how ſparing and frugal he was of time, (as of a thing in this Earth moſt precious) and how far

How well and godly this King ſpent his time.

from all vain paſtims and idleneſs he was, this doth well declare, which in the ſtory of *William de Reg.* and other Writers is told of him. That he ſo divided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by wars and other great buſineſs, that eight hours he ſpent in ſtudy and learning, and other eight hours he ſpent in prayer and almeſdeeds, and other eight hours he ſpent in his natural reſt, ſuſtenance of his body, and the needs of the Realm. The which order he kept duly by the burning of waxen Tapers kept in his Cloſet by certain perſons for the ſame purpoſe. *Guliel.*

The Godly Laws of K. *Alfred.*

How ſtudious he was and careful of the Commonwealth, and maintenance of publick tranquillity, his Laws moſt godly ſet forth and deviſed by him may declare.

A notable example of thievery and felony baniſhed this Realm.

Wherein eſpecially by him was provided for the extirpating and aboliſhing of all theft and thieves out of the Realm. Whereby the Realm through his vigilant care was brought into ſuch tranquillity, or rather perfection, that in every croſs or turning way he made to be ſet up a golden Brouch, at leaſt of ſilver gilded, through his Dominions, and none ſo hardy neither by day nor night to take it down; for the more credit whereof the words of the *Latin* ſtory be theſe, *Armillas aureas juberet ſuſpendi, quæ viantium aviditatem irritarent, dum non eſſent qui eas abriperent*, &c. *Guliel. lib. de regibus Angl.* And no great marvel therein, if the Realm in thoſe days was brought into ſuch an order, and that juſtice then was ſo well miniſtred, when the King himſelf was ſo vigilant in overſeeing the doings of his Judges and Officers. Whereof thus alſo we read in the ſaid Author teſtified: *Judiciorum a ſuis hominibus factorum inquiſitor perperam actorum aſperrimus corrector.* i.e. He was (ſaith mine Author, ſpeaking of the King) a vigilant inquiſitor of the doings of his Judges, and a ſtrict puniſher of their miſdoings. *Jornalenſis* alſo writing upon the ſame, thus ſaith, *Facta miniſtrorum ſuorum & potiſſime judicum diligenter inveſtigavit, adeo ut quos ex avaritia aut imperitia errare cognoſceret, ab officio removebat:* that is, He did diligently ſearch out the doings of his Officers, and eſpecially of his Judges, ſo that if he knew any of them to err either through covetouſneſs or unskilfulneſs, them he removed from their office.

Ex Hiſtoria Jornalenſi.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble vertues of this worthy Prince; whereunto although there were no other ornaments adjoyning beſides, yet ſufficient were they alone to ſet forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Now beſides theſe other qualities and gifts of Gods grace in him above mentioned, remaineth another part of his no little praiſe and commendation, which is his learning and knowledg of good letters, whereof he not only was excellently expert himſelf, but alſo a worthy maintainer of the ſame through all his Dominions; where before no uſe of Grammar or other Sciences was practiſed in this Realm, eſpecially about the Weſt parts of the land, were through the induſtry of the King, Schools began to be erected, and ſtudies to flouriſh. Although among the *Britains*, in the Town of *Cheſter* in *Southwales*, long before that in King *Arthurs* time, as *Galfridus* writeth, both Grammar and Philoſophy, with other Tongues was then taught. After that ſome other Writers record that in the time of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, this Iland began to flouriſh with Philoſophy. About which time ſome alſo think that the Univerſity of *Grantcheſter*, near to that which now is called *Cambridg*, began to be founded by *Beda*, following this conjecture therein, for that *Alcuinus* (before mentioned) which after went to *Rome*, and from thence to *France*, in the time of *Charles* the Great, where he firſt began the Univerſity of *Paris*, was firſt trained up in the exerciſe of ſtudies at the ſame School of *Grantcheſter*. Beda *lib.* III. *cap.* 18. Writing alſo of *Sigebert* King of *Eaſtangles*, declareth how the ſaid *Sigebert* returning out of *France* into *England* (according to the examples which he did there ſee) ordered and diſpoſed Schools of Learning through the means of *Felix* then Biſhop, and placed in them Maſters and Teachers, after the uſe and manner of the *Cantuarits*. And yet before theſe times, moreover it is thought that there were two Schools or Univerſities within the Realm, the one *Greek* at the Town of *Greglade*, which afterward was called *Kirkelade*; the other for *Latin*, which place was then called *Latinlade*, afterward *Lethelade* near to *Oxford*.

King *Alfred* commended for Learning.

When Learning firſt began to be ſet up in *England*.

*Cheſter* a place of Learning.

The Univerſity of *Grantcheſter* by *Cambridge*.

The Univerſity at *Paris* firſt began by four, *Rabanus*, *Alcuinus*, *Claudius*, *Johannes Scotus*.

*Sigebert* K. of *Eaſtangles* a Scepter of Schools.

Two ancient Schools in *England*, one for *Greek*, the other for *Latin*.

But howſoever it chanced that the knowledg and ſtudy of good Letters being once planted in this Realm, afterward went to decay; yet King *Alfred* deſerveth no little praiſe, for reſtoring or rather increaſing the ſame. After whoſe time they have ever ſince continued, albeit not continually through every age in like perfection. But this we may ſee, what it is to have a Prince learned himſelf, who feeling and taſting the price and value of Science and knowledg, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but alſo to inſtruct and frame his ſubjects, from a rude barbarity, to a more civil congruency of life, and to a better underſtanding of things, as we ſee in this famous Prince to happen. Concerning whoſe firſt education and bringing up, although it was ſomewhat late before he entered any Letter, yet ſuch was the apt towardneſs and docility of his nature, that being a child, he had the *Saxon* Poems (ſuch as were uſed then in his own tongue) by heart and memory. Who afterwards with years and time grew up in ſuch perfection of learning and knowledg, in ſo much that (as mine Author ſaith) *Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior.* The which thing in him the more was to be marvelled, for that he was twelve years of age before he knew any Letter. Then his Mother, careful and tender over him, having by chance a Book in her hand, which he would fain have, promiſed to give him the ſame, ſo that he would learn it. Whereupon he for greedineſs of the Book, eſtſoons learned the Letters, having to his School-maſter *Pleimundus*, after Biſhop of *Canterbury*. And ſo daily grew he more and more in knowledg, that at length, as mine Author ſaith, *Plurimam partem Romanæ Bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium uſibus convertens:* that is, A great part of the *Latin* Library he tranſlated into *Engliſh*, converting to the uſes of his Citizens a notable prey of foreign ware and Merchandize, *&c.* Of which Books by him and through him tranſlated, was *Oroſius*, *Paſtorale Gregorii*, the Hiſtory of *Beda*, *Boetius de conſolatione Philoſophiæ*. Alſo a Book of his own making, and in his own tongue, which in the *Engliſh* ſpeech he called, *A Hand-book*; in *Greek* called it, *Enchiridion*, in Latin, *A Manual*. Beſides the Hiſtory of *Beda* tranſlated into the *Saxons* Tongue, he alſo himſelf compiled a ſtory in the ſame Speech, called, *The Story of Alfred*, &c. which both Books in the *Saxons* Tongue I have ſeen, though the Language I do not underſtand. And as he was learned himſelf excellently well, ſo likewiſe did he inflame all his Countrymen to the love of Liberal Letters, as the words of the Story reporteth, *Illos præmiis, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aſpirare permittens:* that is, He exhorted and ſtirred his people to the ſtudy of Learning, ſome with gifts, ſome by threats, ſuffering no man to aſpire to any dignity in the Court except he were learned. Moreover another Story thus ſaith, ſpeaking of his Nobles, *Optimates quoque ſuos ad literaturam addiſcendam in tantum provocavit, ut ſibi filios ſuos, vel ſaltem ſi filios non haberent, ſervos ſuos, liberis commendarent:* that is, Alſo his Nobles ſo much he did allure to the imbracing of good Letters, that they ſet all their Sons to School; or if they had no Sons, yet their ſervants they cauſed to be learned. Whereby the common Proverb may be found not ſo common as true, *Such as is the Prince, ſuch be the ſubjects.* He began moreover to tranſlate the *Pſalter* in *Engliſh*, and had almoſt finiſhed the ſame, had not death prevented him. *Guliel. de Regib. Angl.* In the Prologue of the Book, Intituled, *Paſtorale Grego.* thus he writeth, declaring the cauſe why he was ſo earneſt and diligent in tranſlating good Books from *Latin* into *Engliſh*, ſhewing the cauſe thereof why he ſo did, as followeth: *Quod Eccleſiæ in quibus innumeræ priſcæ Bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incenſæ ſint: quodque in tota inſula ſtudium literarum ita abolitum eſſet, ut quiſque minus timeret capitis periculum, quam ſtudiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter ſe in hoc Anglis ſuis conſulere*, &c. that is, The cauſe was for that innumerable ancient Libraries which were kept in Churches, were conſumed with fire by the *Danes*; and that men had rather ſuffer peril of their life than to follow the exerciſes of ſtudies; and therefore he thought thereby to provide thereby for the people of the *Engliſh* Nation, *&c.*

Ex Hiſtoria *Guliel. de Regib. Ang.*

*Pleimundus* Teacher to King *Alfred* and after Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

Books tranſlated out of *Latin* by K. *Alfred*.

None permitted to have any dignity in the Court except he were learned. *Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 11.*

The *Pſalter* tranſlated into *Engliſh* by King *Alfred*.

The cauſe why the King turned *Latin* Books into *Engliſh*.

It is told of him both in *Polychronicon*, *Malmesbury*, *Jornalenſis*, and other ſtories more, whereof I have no names, that he ſeeing his Country (namely Weſtward) to be ſo

ſo deſolate of Schools and Learning, partly to profit himſelf, partly to furniſh his Country and ſubjects with better knowledg, firſt ſent for *Grimbaldus* a learned Monk out of *France* to come into *England*. Alſo he ſent for another learned man out from the parts of *Wales*, whoſe name was *Aſſerion*, whom he made Biſhop of *Shireborne*. Item, out of *Mercia* he ſent for *Werefrithus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to whom he put the Dialogues of *Gregory* to be tranſlated. But chiefly he uſed the counſel of *Neotus*, who then was counted for an holy man, an Abbot of a certain Monaſtery in *Cornwal*. By the adviſement of which *Neotus*, he ſent for theſe learned men above recited; and alſo ordained certain Schools of divers Arts, firſt at *Oxford*, and alſo franchiſed the ſame with many great liberties. *Guliel. Fornalenſ. Fab. c. 171.* Whereof perhaps the School, now called the New Colledg (firſt then begun of this *Neotus*) might take his name; which afterward peradventure the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* after a larger manner did re-edifie and enlarge with greater poſſeſſions.

Learned men ſent for and placed about the King.

The Dialogues of *Gregory* tranſlated.

*Neotus* an Abbot.

The Schools and Univerſity of *Oxford* firſt begun by King *Alfred*.

The new Colledg in *Oxford*.

Moreover, among other learned men, which were about King *Alfred*, Hiſtories make mention of *Joannes Scotus* a godly Divine, and a learned Philoſopher) but not that *Scotus* whom now we call *Duns*. For that *Johannes Scotus* came after this many years. This *Johannes* is deſcribed to be of a ſharp wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the *Greek* Tongue, pleaſant and merry of nature and conditions, as appeareth by divers his doings and anſwers. Firſt, he coming to *France* out of his own Country of *Scotland*, by reaſon of the great tumults of war, was there worthily entertained, and for his learning had in great eſtimation of *Carolus Calvus* the *French* King; whom he commonly uſed familiarly uſed ever to have about him, both at Table, and in Chamber. Upon a time the King ſitting at meat, and ſeeing ſomething (belike in this *John Scot*) which ſeemed not very Courtly, caſt forth a merry word, asking of him what difference there was betwixt a *Scot* and a Sot? Whereunto the *Scot* ſitting over againſt the King ſomewhat lower, replied again ſuddenly, rather than adviſedly (yet merrily) ſaying, *Menſa tantum*, that is, the Table only; importing thereby himſelf to be the *Scot*, and ſo calling the King a Sot by craft. Which word how other Princes would have taken of ſtomach, I know not; but this *Charles*, for the great reverence he bear to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his Nobles, and ſo let it paſs.

*Johannes Scotus*.

The anſwer of *Johannes Scotus* to the *French* King.

Another time the ſame King being at dinner was ſerved with a certain diſh of Fiſh, wherein were two great fiſhes and a little one. After the King had taken thereof his repaſt, ſetteth down to *Johannes Scotus* the foreſaid Fiſh, to diſtribute unto the other two Clerks ſitting there with him, which were two tall and mighty perſons, he himſelf being but a little man. *Johannes* taketh the Fiſh of the which the two great he taketh and carveth to himſelf, the little Fiſh he reacheth to the other two. The King perceiving his diviſion thus made, reprehended the ſame. Then *Johannes* whoſe manner was ever to find out ſome honeſt matter to delight the King, anſwered to him again, proving his diviſion to ſtand juſt and equal: For here (ſaith he) be two great, and a little, pointing to the two great fiſhes and himſelf; and likewiſe here again is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fiſh, and two great perſons. I pray you (ſaith he) what odds is there, or what diſtribution can be more equal? Whereat the King with his Nobles being much delighted, laughed merrily.

At the requeſt of this *Charles*, Sirnamed *Bald*, the *French* King, this *Scotus* tranſlated the Book of *Dionyſius*, intituled, *De Hierarchia*, from *Greek* into *Latin*, word for word, *Quo fit* (as my Author ſaith) *ut vix intelligatur Latina litera, quum nobilitate magis Græca, quam poſitione conſtruitur Latina*. He wrote alſo a Book, *De corpore & ſanguine Domini*, which was afterward condemned by the Pope, *in concilio Vercellenſi*.

*Johannes Scotus* tranſlated *Hierarchiam Dionyſii* from *Greek* into *Latin*.

The Book of *Johannes Scotus* call'd Περὶ φυσικῶν. *Johannes Scotus* addicted more to the *Greek* Church than the *Latin*.

*Johannes Scotus* accuſed of the Pope for an Heretick.

The ſame *Johannes Scotus* moreover compiled a Book of his own, giving it a *Greek* Title, Περὶ φυσικῶν διαιρέσεων, that is, *De naturæ diviſione*. In which Book (as ſaith my foreſaid Author) is contained the reſolution of many profitable queſtions; but ſo that he is thought to follow the *Greek* Church rather than the *Latin*, and for the ſame was counted of ſome to be an Heretick; becauſe in that Book ſome things there be which in all points accord not with the *Romiſh* Religion. Wherefore the Pope writing to the ſaid King *Charles* of this *Scotus*, complaineth, as in his own words here followeth: *Relatum eſt Apoſtolatui noſtro, quod opus Dionyſii Areopagitæ, quod de divinis nominibus, & de cæleſtibus ordinibus, Græco deſcripſit eloquio, quidam vir Joannes (genere Scotus) nuper tranſtulit in Latinum. Quod, juxta morem Eccleſiæ, nobis mitti, & noſtro judicio debuit approbari; præſertim quum idem Joannes (licet multæ ſcientiæ eſſe prædicetur) olim non ſane ſapere, in quibuſdam frequenti rumore dicatur*, &c. That is, Relation hath been made unto our Apoſtleſhip, that a certain man called *Johannes* a *Scotiſh* man, hath tranſlated the Book of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagit*, of the names of God, and of the Heavenly Orders, from *Greek* into *Latin*. Which Book, according to the Cuſtom of the Church, ought firſt to have been approved by our judgment; namely, ſeeing the ſaid *John* (albeit he be ſaid to be a man of great learning and ſcience) in time paſt hath been noted by common rumor to have been a Man not of upright or ſound Doctrine, in certain points, &c. For this cauſe, the ſaid *Scotus* being conſtrained to remove from *France*, came into *England*, allured (as ſome teſtifie) by the Letters of *Alured* or *Alfred*, of whom he was with great favour entertained and converſant a great ſpace about the King; till at length (whether before or after the death of the King, it is uncertain) he went to *Malmesbery*, where he taught certain Scholars a few years; by the which Scholars at laſt moſt impiouſly he was murthered and ſlain with their Penknives, and ſo died, as Stories ſay, a Martyr, buried at the ſaid Monaſtery of *Malmesbury* with this Epitaph.

*Johannes Scotus* ſlain by his own Scholars.

*John Scotus* a Martyr.

*Clauditur in tumulo ſanctus ſophiſta Joannes,*
*Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.*
*Martyrio tandem Chriſti conſcendere regnum*
*Qui meruit, regnans ſecli per ſecula cuncta.*

King *Alfred* having theſe helps of learned men about him, and no leſs learned alſo himſelf, paſt over his time not only to great utility and profit of his ſubjects, but alſo to a rare and profitable example of other Chriſtian Kings and Princes for them to follow. This foreſaid *Alfred* had by his wife, called *Ethelwitha*, two Sons, *Edward* and *Ethelward*; and three Daughters, *Elfleda*, *Ethelgora*, and *Ethelguida*: *Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus eruditi*; that is, Whom he ſet all to their Books and ſtudy of Liberal Arts, as my Story teſtifieth. Firſt, *Edward* his Eldeſt Son ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; the ſecond Son *Ethelward* died before his Father: *Ethelgora* his middle Daughter was made a Nun, the other two were married, the one in *Merceland*, the other to the Earl of *Flanders*. Thus King *Alfred* the valiant, vertuous and learned Prince, after he had thus Chriſtianly governed the Realm the term of nine and twenty years, and ſix months, departed this life, 5 *Cal. Novemb.* and lyeth buried at *Wincheſter*, *Anno Dom.* 901. Of whom this I find moreover greatly noted and commended in Hiſtory, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof touching this *Alfred*, that whereſoever he was, or whitherſoever he went, he bear always about him in his boſom or pocket a little Book containing the *Pſalms* of *David*, and certain other Oriſons of his own collecting. Whereupon he was continually reading or praying whenſoever he was otherwiſe vacant, having leiſure thereunto. Finally, what were the vertues of this famous King, this little Table here under written, which is left in ancient writing in the remembrance of his worthy and memorable life, doth ſufficiently in few lines contain.

This *Ethelwitha* builded firſt the houſe of Nuns at *Wincheſter*.

The Children of K. *Alfred*.

All his Daughters learned.

The deceaſe of King *Alfred*. Anno 901.

## In Regis Alfredi, & virtutis illius claram memoriam.

*FAmoſus, bellicoſus, victorioſus: viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum, pauperumq; proviſor ſtudioſus; Poetarum Saxonicorum peritiſſimus; ſuæ genti chariſſimus, affabilis omnibus, liberaliſſimus; prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, juſtitia præditus; in infirmitate, qua continue laboravit, patientiſſimus; in exequendis judiciis indagator diſcretiſſimus, in ſervicio Dei vigilantiſſimus & devotiſſimus, Anglo-Saxonum Rex Alfredus, piiſſimi Ethelulfi fil. annis 29.*

*annis ſexque menſibus regni ſui peractis mortem obiit. Indict. 4. quinto cal. Novemb. feria quarta, & Wintoniæ in novo Monaſterio ſepultus, immortalitatis ſtolam, & reſurrectionis gloriam cum juſtis expectat,* &c.

Moreover in the Hiſtory of *Henricus Huntingtonenſis* theſe Verſes I find written in the commendation of the ſame *Alfred* made (as I ſuppoſe, and by his words appeareth) by the ſaid Author, whereof I thought not to defraud the Reader, the words whereof here follow:

Epitaphium Regis *Alfredi.*

*Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,*
*Armipotens Alfrede, dedit, probitaſque laborem,*
*Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori*
*Gaudia ſemper erant, ſpes ſemper mixta timori.*
*Si modo victor eras, ad craſtina bella pavebas,*
*Si modo victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.*
*Cui veſtes ſudore jugi, cui ſicca cruore*
*Tincta jugi, quantum ſit onus regnare, probarunt.*
*Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,*
*Cui tot in adverſis nil reſpirare liceret.*
*Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,*
*Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finiſſe dolores.*
*Jam poſt tranſactos vitæ regnique labores,*
*Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumque perenne.*

*Etheredus, Pleimundus, Athelmus, Vifelmus, Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

In the ſtory of this *Alfred*, a little above mention was made of *Pleimundus* Schoolmaſter to the ſaid *Alfred*, and alſo Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſucceeding *Etheredus* there Biſhop before him. Which *Pleimundus* governed that See the number of thirty and four years. After *Pleimundus* ſucceeded *Athelmus*, and ſat twelve years. After him came *Ulfelmus* thirteen years. Then followed *Odo* a *Dane* born in the ſaid See of *Canterbury*, and governed the ſame twenty years, being in great favour with King *Ethelſtan*, King *Edmund*, and *Edwin*, as in proceſs hereafter (Chriſt willing) as place and order doth require, ſhall more at large be expreſſed.

*Nine Popes in nine years at Rome.*

*Formoſus* firſt Pope.

*Ex Chronico Sigeberti.*

As touching the courſe and proceedings of the *Romiſh* Biſhops there, where I laſt entred mention of them, I ended with Pope *Stephan* the fifth. After his time was much broil in the Election of the Biſhops of *Rome*, one contending againſt another; inſomuch that within the ſpace of nine years, were nine Biſhops. Of the which, firſt was *Formoſus*, who ſucceeded next unto the forenamed *Stephan* the fifth, being made Pope againſt the mind of certain in *Rome*, that would rather *Sergius*, than Deacon of the Church of *Rome* to have been Pope. Notwithſtanding *Mars* and Money prevailed on *Formoſus* part. This *Formoſus*, of whom partly alſo is mentioned in other places of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, being before Biſhop of *Pontiniake*, had in times paſt (I know not on what cauſes) offended Pope *John* the eighth of that name, by reaſon whereof, for fear of the Pope, he voided away, and left his Biſhoprick. And becauſe he being ſent for again by the Pope, would not return, therefore was he Excommunicated. At length coming into *France* to make there his ſatisfaction unto the Pope, he was degraded from a Biſhop into a ſecular mans habit, ſwearing to the Pope that he would no more re-enter into the City of *Rome*, nor claim his Biſhoprick again, ſubſcribing moreover with his own hand to continue from that time in the ſtate of a ſecular perſon. But then Pope *Martin* (the next Pope after *John*) releaſed the ſaid *Formoſus* of his Oath, and reſtored him again unto his Biſhoprick; whereby *Formoſus* entred not only into *Rome* again, but alſo obtained ſhortly after the Papacy. Thus he being placed in the Popedom, aroſe a great doubt or controverſie among the Divines of his Conſecration, whether it was lawful or not; ſome holding againſt him, that forſomuch as he was ſolemnly depoſed, degraded, unprieſted, and alſo ſworn not to reiterate the State Eccleſiaſtical, therefore he ought to be taken no otherwiſe than for a ſecular man. Others alledged again, that whatſoever *Formoſus* was, yet for the dignity of that Order, and for the credit of them whom he ordered, all his Conſecration ought to ſtand in force, eſpecially ſeeing the ſaid *Formoſus* was afterward received and abſolved by Pope *Martin* from that his perjury and degradation, *&c.* In the mean time (as witneſſeth *Sigebertus*) this *Formoſus* ſendeth for King *Arnulphus* for aid againſt his adverſaries; who then marching toward *Rome*, was there reſiſted by the *Romans* from entring. But in the ſiege (ſaith the Author) the *Romans* within ſo plaid the Lions, that a poor Hare (or ſuch a like thing) coming toward the City, the Hoſt of *Arnulphus* followed after with ſuch a main cry, that the valiant *Romans* upon the walls for very fear (where there was no hurt) caſt themſelves deſperately over the walls, ſo that *Arnulphus* with little labour ſcaled the walls, and got the City. Thus *Arnulphus* obtaining the City of *Rome*, reſcueth Pope *Formoſus*, and beheadeth his adverſaries; whom the Pope to gratifie with like recompence again, bleſſeth and Crowneth him for Emperor. Thus *Formoſus* ſitting faſt about the ſpace of four or five years, followed his Predeceſſors; after whoſe time (as I ſaid) within the ſpace of nine years were nine Biſhops, as followeth. But in the mean time, concerning the ſtory of this *Formoſus* declared by *Sigebert*, and many other Chronicles; this thing would I gladly ask, and more gladly learn of ſome indifferent good Catholick perſon, which not of obſtinacy, but of ſimple error being a Papiſt, would anſwer his conſcience; Whether doth he think the holy Order of Prieſthood, which he taketh for one of the ſaven Sacraments, to be *Character indelebilis*, or not? If it be not *indelebilis*, that is, If it be ſuch a thing as may be put off, why then doth the Popes Doctrine ſo call and ſo hold the contrary, pretending it to be *Indelebilis*, unremoveable? If it be indeed ſo as they teach and affirm, *Indelebilis character*, why then did Pope *John*, or could Pope *John* annihilate and evacuate one of his ſeven Pope-holy-Sacraments, making of a Prieſt, a non-Prieſt, or layman, uncharactering his own Order, which is (as he ſaith) a Character, which in no wiſe may be blotted out, or removed? Again, howſoever Pope *John* is to be judged in this matter to do either well or not well; this would I know, if he did well in ſo diſprieſting and diſcharactering *Formoſus* for ſuch private offences? If yea, how then ſtandeth his doing with his own Doctrine which teacheth the contrary? If he did not well, how then ſtandeth his Doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his Synod of Cardinals cannot err? Moreover, if this Pope *John* did not err in his diſordering *Formoſus*, how then did *Martinus* his Succeſſor not err in repealing the ſaid doing of his Predeceſſor? or how did not Pope *Formoſus* err himſelf, who being unprieſted by Pope *John* afterward, without reiterating the character or order of Prieſthood, took upon him to be Pope, and made Acts and Laws in the Church? Again, if *Formoſus* now Pope did not err, how then did Pope *Stephan* his Succeſſor afterward not err, who did annihilate the Conſecration, and all other Acts of the ſaid *Formoſus* as erroneous? Or again, if we ſay that this *Stephan* with his Synod of Cardinals did right, then how could it be that Pope *Theodore*, and Pope *John* the tenth, which came after the foreſaid *Stephan*, did not plainly err, who approving the Conſecration of *Formoſus*, did condemn and burn the Acts Synodal of *Stephan* and his Cardinals, which before had condemned *Formoſus*, according as in ſtory here conſequently may appear?

*Character indelebilis.*

Whether the Pope with his Cardinals may err.

*Bonifacius* the ſixth Pope.

*Stephan* the ſixth Pope.

*Ex Chron. Martini pœnitentiarii. Sigeberti. Ex Polych. & aliis.*

After *Formoſus* had governed the See of *Rome* five years, ſucceeded firſt *Bonifacius* the ſixth, who continued but five and twenty days. Then came *Stephan* the ſixth, which ſo envied the name of his Predeceſſor *Formoſus*, that he abrogated and diſſolved his Decrees, and taking up his body after it was buried, cut two fingers off his right hand, and commanded them to be caſt into *Tiber*, and then buried the body in a private or lay-mans Sepulchre.

Thus after *Stephan* had ſat in the Chair of Peſtilence one year, ſucceeded in the ſame Chair Pope *Romanus*, and ſat three months, repealing the Acts decreed by *Stephan* his Predeceſſor againſt *Formoſus*. Next to whom came *Theodorus* the ſecond, who likewiſe taking part with *Formoſus* againſt the foreſaid *Stephan*, reigned but twenty days. Then ſat Pope *John* the tenth, who did fight and repugn againſt the *Romans*, and to confirm the cauſe of *Formoſus* more ſurely, did hold a Synod at *Ravenna* of 74 Biſhops, with the *French* King *Endo*, and his Arch-Biſhops being preſent at the ſame. At the which Council were ratified all the Decrees and doings of *Formoſus*, and the contrary Acts of the Synod of *Stephan* the ſixth were burned. This Pope lived not Pope fully two years,

Schiſmes among the Popes.

Pope *Theodorus* the ſecond. Pope *John* the tenth.

One Council burneth anothers Decrees.

Pope *Benedictus* the fourth. Pope *Leo* the fifth impriſoned & unpoped by his own Chaplain. Pope *Chriſtophorus* the firſt. Pope *Sergius*. Pope *Formoſus* after his death beheaded of Pope *Sergius*. A falſe fained Miracle upon the body of *Formoſus*. Popiſh Miracles not to be credited. Bearing of Candles on Candlemas day how it came up. Pope *Anaſtaſius* the third. Pope *Lando* the firſt. Pope *John* the 11th. Harlots at this time ruled all at Rome. Pope *John* the 12th. Pope *Leo* the ſixth. Pope *Stephen* the 9th. Pope *John* the 12th. reſtored.

years, after whom ſucceeded *Benedictus* the fourth, who kept the Chair three years. After whom *Leo* the firſt was next Pope, who within forty days of his Papacy, was with ſtrong hand taken and caſt in Priſon by one *Chriſtopher*, his own houſhold Chaplain, whom he had long nouriſhed before in his houſe. Which thing (ſaith *Platina*) could not be done without great conſpiracy and much ſlaughter of men. Which *Chriſtopher*, being Pope about the ſpace of ſeven Months, was likewiſe himſelf hoyſted from his Papal Throne by *Sergius*, like as he had done to his Maſter before. And thus within the ſpace of nine years had been nine Popes one after another. Then *Sergius* after he had thruſt down Pope *Chriſtopher*, and ſhorn him Monk into a Monaſtery, occupied the room ſeven years. This *Sergius* a rude man and unlearned, very proud and cruel, had before been put back from the Popedom by *Formoſus* above mentioned. By reaſon whereof, to revenge *Formoſus* again being now in his Papacy, he cauſed the body of *Formoſus* where it was buried, to be taken up; and afterward, ſitting in the Papal See (as in his *Pontificalibus*) firſt degraded him, then commanded his Head to be ſmitten off, with the other three fingers that were left (as *Sigebertus* writeth) which done, he made his body to be thrown into *Tiber*, depoſing likewiſe all ſuch as by the ſaid *Formoſus* before had been conſecrated and inveſted. This body of *Formoſus*, thus thrown into *Tiber*, was afterward (as our Writers ſay) found and taken up by certain Fiſhers, and ſo brought into St. *Peter*'s Temple. At the preſence whereof (as they ſay) certain Images there ſtanding by, bowed down themſelves, and reverenced the ſame, with lie and all. But ſuch deceivable Miracles of Stocks and Images, in Monkiſh and Friery Temples, be to us no news, eſpecially here in *England*, where we have been ſo inured with the like and ſo many, that ſuch wily practices cannot be to us invitible, though this Crown-ſhorn generation think themſelves to dance in a Net. But the truth is, while they think to deceive the ſimple, theſe wily beguilers moſt of all deceive themſelves, as they will find, except they repent. By this Pope *Sergius* firſt came up the uſe to bear about Candles on *Candlemas* day, for the purifying of the Bleſſed Virgin; as though the Sacred Conception of Jeſus the Son of God, were to be purified as a thing impure, and that with Candle light.

After *Sergius* entred Pope *Anaſtaſius*, in whoſe time the body of *Formoſus* aforenamed, is thought to be found of Fiſhermen in the River of *Tiber*, and ſo brought (as is ſaid) into the Temple to be ſaluted of the Images; which thing may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought, that the body of *Formoſus* ſo long dead before, and now lying ſeven years in the River, could remain whole all that while, that Fiſhers might take it up, and diſcern it to be the ſame? After *Anaſtaſius* had ſate two years, followed Pope *Lando*, the father (as ſome ſtories think) of Pope *John*, which *John* is ſaid to be the Paramour of *Theodora*, a famous Harlot of *Rome*, and ſet up of the ſame Harlot, either againſt *Lando*, or after *Lando* his father to ſucceed in his room. There is a Story-writer called *Luithprandus*, who writing *De Imperatorib. l. 2. cap. 13.* maketh there mention of this *Theodora* and Pope *John* the Eleventh, and ſaith moreover, that this *Theodora* had a Daughter named *Marozia*, which *Marozia* had by Pope *Sergius* above mentioned, a Son which afterward was Pope *John* the twelfth. The ſame *Marozia* afterwards chanced to marry with *Guido* Marqueſs of *Tuſcia*, through the means of which *Guido* and his friends at *Rome*, ſhe brought to paſs that this Pope *John* the Eleventh was ſmothered with a Pillow laid to his mouth, after he had reigned thirteen years, and ſo the foreſaid *John* the twelfth her ſon that might ſucceed next after him. But becauſe the Clergy and People of *Rome* did not agree to his Election, therefore was Pope *Leo* the ſixth in his place ſet up. Thus Pope *John* the Son of *Sergius*, and *Marozia* being dejected, reigned Pope *Leo* ſeven months. After him Pope *Stephan* two years, who being poyſoned, then was Pope *John* the twelfth above rehearſed, the ſon of *Sergius* and *Marozia* ſet up again in the Papacy, where he reigned near the ſpace of five years. Of the wickedneſs of this Strumpet *Marozia*, how ſhe married two brethren, one after the death of the other, and how ſhe governed all *Rome*, and the whole Church at that time I let it paſs. Although the *Latine* Verſes wherewith the ſaid *Luithprandus* doth invey againſt ſuch Women as marry two brethren, were neither worthy here to be recited, and perhaps might be further applied than to that *Marozia* of *Rome*; but for ſhortneſs I let them alſo paſs. After *John* the twelfth, followed Pope *Stephan* three years, Pope *Leo* three years and four months. Pope *Stephan* the eighth three years and four months. Pope *Martin* three years and ſix months; after him Pope *Agapetus* eight years and ſix months. About whoſe time, or a little before, began firſt the Order of Monks, called *Ordo Cluniacenſis, &c.* But now to leave off theſe monſtrous matters of *Rome*, and to return again to our Country of *England*, where we laſt left before.

*Luithprandus Ticinen.* Pope *Stephan* the 7th. Pope *Leo* the ſeventh. Pope *Stephan* the 8th. Pope *Martin* the 3d. Pope *Agapetus* the 2d. *Ordo Cluniacenſis* beginneth.

## *King* Edward *the elder.*

King *Edward* the Elder.

AFter the Reign of the famous King *Alfred*, his Son *Edward* ſucceeded, ſirnamed the Elder: where firſt is to be noted, that before the Conqueſt of the *Normans*, there was in *England* three *Edwards*; firſt, this *Edward* the Elder; ſecondly, *Edward* the Martyr; thirdly, *Edward* the Confeſſor; whereof hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall follow in order as place ſhall give to be declared. This *Edward* began his Reign the year of our Lord 901. and governed the Land right valiantly and nobly four and twenty years. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his Father, otherwiſe in Princely Renown, in Civil Government, and ſuch like Marrial Proweſs, he was nothing inferiour, but rather excelled him; through whoſe valiant acts firſt the Princedom of *Wales* and Kingdom of *Scotland*, with *Conſtantine* King thereof, were to him ſubdued. He adjoyned moreover to his dominion, the Country of *Eaſtanglia*, that is, of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*. All *Merceland* alſo he recovered, and *Northumberland* out of the hands of the *Danes*. In all his Wars he never lightly went without Victory. The Subjects of his Provinces and Dominions were ſo inured and hardened in continual practice and feats of War, that when they heard of any enemies coming (never tarrying for any bidding from the King or from his Dukes) ſtraightways they encountred with them, both in number and knowledge of the order of War excelling always their adverſaries. *Guliel. de regi. Ita hoſtes militibus contemptui, regi riſui erant*; to mean, *So was the coming and aſſaulting of their enemies, to the people and common ſouldiers but a trifle, to the King but a ridicle.* Among other adverſaries which were buſie rather than wiſe, in aſſailing this King, was one called *Clito Ethelwoldus* a young man, King *Edwards* Uncles ſon, who firſt occupying the Town of *Winborn* (taking thence a Nun with him, whom then he had married) fled by night to *Northumberland*, to adjoyn himſelf unto the *Danes*, who was made chief King and Captain over them. Then chaſed from thence, he fled over into *France*, but ſhortly returning again into *England*, he landed in *Eaſtengland*, where the ſaid *Clito* with a company of *Danes* of that Country gathered to him, deſtroyed and pilled much of the Country about *Crekinford* and *Crikeland*. And ſo paſſing over *Thames*, after he had ſpoiled the Land there to *Bradenſtock*, returned again to *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, where he meeting with an ambuſhment of *Kentiſh* men, which dragged and tarried after the main Hoſt of *Edward*, contrary to his commandment, incloſed them in, and ſlew the moſt part of them. Soon after, the two Hoſts meeting together, between the two Ditches of S. *Edmunds* land, after a long fight, *Clito* with many of the *Danes* were ſlain, and the remnant were conſtrained to ſeek for peace, which upon certain conditions, and under a Tribute was to them granted.

In proceſs about the twelfth year of his Reign, the *Danes* repenting them of their Covenants, and minding to break the ſame, aſſembled an Hoſt, and met with the King in *Staffordſhire*, at a place called *Totenhall*, and ſoon after at *Wodenfield*, at which two places, the King ſlew two Kings, two Earls, and many thouſands of *Danes* that occupied the Country of *Northumberland*.

Thus the importunate rage of the *Danes* being aſſwaged, King *Edward* having now ſome leiſure given from Wars to other ſtudies, gave his mind to the building or repairing of Cities, Towns and Caſtles, that by the *Danes*

Three *Edwards* before the Conqueſt.

A compariſon between *Alfred* and his ſon *Edward*

Uſe and long exerciſe of things makes perfectneſs.

*Clito Ethelwold* rebelleth againſt K. *Edward.*

{Anno 904.}

{Anno 913.}

were

were raced, ſhattered and broken. As firſt of *Cheſter*, which City he double enlarged to that it was before, compaſſing the Caſtle within the Walls of the ſame, which before ſtood without. That done, the King builded a ſtrong Caſtle at *Hereford*, in the edge of *Wales*. Alſo for the ſtrengthning of the Country, he made a Caſtle at the mouth of the water of *Aven*, and another Caſtle at *Buckingham*, and the third faſt thereby upon the River of *Ouſe*. Moreover, he builded or re-edified the Towns of *Toceſter* and *Wigmor*, and deſtroyed the Caſtle that the *Danes* had made at *Demesford*. Likewiſe upon the River of *Trent*, againſt the old Town of *Notingham*, he builded a new Town on the South ſide, and made a Bridge over the River between the ſaid two Towns. Alſo by the River of *Merce* he builded a City or Town in the North end of *Mercia*, and named it *Thilwal*, and after repaired the City of *Mancheſter*, that ſore was defaced with Wars of the *Danes*.

*Cheſter* repaired and enlarged. The Caſtle of *Hereford* builded upon the River of *Aven* and *Ouſe*. The Towns of *Tocheſter* and *Wigmor* builded. The new Town of *Notingham* builded. *Thilwal*. *Mancheſter* repaired.

In this renewing and building of Towns and Caſtles, for the more fortifying of his Realm, his Siſter *Elfleda*, daughter of King *Alfred*, and married to the Duke of *Mercia* (as is afore mentioned) was no ſmall helper. Of this *Elfleda*, it is firmly of Writers affirmed, that ſhe being (as is ſaid) married to *Ethelred*, Duke of *Mercia*, after ſhe had once aſſaied the pains of Women in travelling with her child, ſo much ſhe abhorred ever after the embracing of her Husband, that it ſeemed to her (ſhe ſaid) not ſeemly for a Noble Woman to uſe ſuch fleſhly liking, whereof ſo great ſorrow and travel ſhould enſue. And yet notwithſtanding, the ſame *Elfleda* for all her delicate tenderneſs, in eſchewing the natural paſſion which neceſſity giveth to Women, was ſo hardy in Warlike dangers which nature giveth not to Women, that fighting againſt the *Danes* (ſo venturous ſhe was of ſtomach) four of her next Knights, which were guardians of her body, were ſlain faſt by her. This *Elfleda*, among her other noble acts, whereby ſhe deſerved praiſe, was a great helper and ſtirrer up of her brother *Edward*, who builded and newly repaired many Caſtles and Towns, as *Tamworth* beſides *Lichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwick*, *Shrewsbury*, *Watrisbury*, *Eldsbury*, beſides *Cheſter* in the Foreſt now deſtroyed. Alſo in the North end of *Mercia*, upon the River of *Merce*, a Caſtle called *Rimcorn*; alſo a Bridge over *Severn*, named *Brimmisbury* Bridge.

*Thilwal*. *Mancheſter* repaired.

The laws of King *Alfred* and K. *Edward*.

As touching the Laws and Statutes of this *Edward*, as alſo of his father *Alfred*, made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waſte of time: yet notwithſtanding this admonition, by the way I think good to note, that in thoſe days of theſe ancient Kings reigning in *England*, the authority then both of conferring Biſhopricks and ſpiritual Promotions, and alſo of preſcribing Laws as well to the Churchmen, as to the Laity, and of ordering and intermedling in matters meerly ſpiritual, was then in the hands of Kings ruling in the Land, and not only in the hand of the Pope, as appeareth by theſe Laws of *Alfred*.

*Si quis fornicetur cum uxore aliena, &c.*

*Si quis in quadrageſima ſanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.*

*Ut Chriſtiani Deum diligant & paganiſmo renuncient, &c.*

*Si quis Chriſtianitatem mutet, &c.*

*Si quis ordinatus ſacris furetur, &c.*

*Si Presbyter ad rectum terminum ſanctum chriſma, &c.*

*Si duo fratres vel cognati cum una aliqua fornicentur, &c.*

Note how Kings of *England* in times paſt had authority in ſpiritual cauſes.

By theſe and other ſuch like Conſtitutions of King *Alfred* it may appear, how the governance and direction of the Church in thoſe days depended not upon *Monſieur le* Pope of *Rome*, but upon the King which here in their time (under the Lord) did govern the Land. To this alſo the example of King *Edwards* time gives teſtimony; which *Edward* with *Pleimundus* (above mentioned) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and with other Biſhops in a Synod aſſembled, aſſigned and elected ſeven Biſhops in ſeven Metropolitan Churches of the Realm. Which were, the firſt *Fridelſtan*, the ſecond *Adelſtan*, the third *Werſtan*, the fourth *Adeleme*, the fifth *Edulfus*, the ſixth *Dernegus*, the ſeventh *Kenulphus*; in which Election, the Kings Authority ſeemed then alone to be ſufficient, &c.

This *Edward* (as in the beginning was ſaid) reigned 24 years, who had three Wives, *Egwin*, *Elfled* and *Ethelwid*. Of *Egwin* he had his eldeſt Son, *Adelſtan*, who next ſucceeded in the Kingdom, and a Daughter, married after to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Of *Elfled* he received two Sons and ſix Daughters, to wit, *Ethelwald* and *Edwin*. *Ethelwald* was excellently well ſeen in all knowledge of learning, much reſembling both in countenance and conditions his Grandfather *Alfred*, and died ſoon after his father. Of his ſix Daughters, two of them, *Elfled* and *Ethelhida* were made Nuns, the other four were married, *Edgina* to *Charles* the *French* King in his Fathers time, *Ethilda*, by King *Ethelſtan* was married to *Hugo* the Son of Duke *Robert*. *Edgitha* and *Algina*, were both ſent to *Henricus*, Prince of *Almains*. Of which two ſiſters, the ſecond, the ſaid *Henricus* married to his Son *Otho*, who was the firſt Emperor of the *Almains*. The other ſiſter, which was *Edgitha*, the foreſaid *Henricus* married unto a certain Duke, about the border of the *Alps* in *Italy*. Of his third Wife *Ethelwid*, he received two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, which both reigned after *Adelſtan*, and two Daughters, *Egburga*, whom he made a Nun, and *Eadguina*, who was married unto *Ludovicus*, Prince of *Aquitania* in *France*. Theſe Sons and Daughters King *Edward* thus brought up; his Daughters he ſet to ſpinning, and to the Needle: *Guliel. de reg.* his Sons he ſet to the ſtudy of learning, *Ut quaſi Philoſophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non jam rudes procederent*: that is, *To the end, that they, being at firſt made Philoſophers, ſhould be the more expert thereby to govern the Commonwealth.*

Anno 925.

The children of King *Edward* the elder.

Prince *Ethelwald* excellent in learning.

*Guliel. de regib.*

The bringing up of King *Edwards* children.

## *King* Ethelſtan, *or* Adelſtan.

King *Ethelſtan*, or *Adelſtan*.

*Ethelſtan* or *Adelſtan*, after the death of *Edward* his Father, began his Rein in *England*, and was crowned at *Kingſton*. He was a Prince of worthy memory, valiant and wiſe in all his acts, nothing inferiour unto his Father *Edward*. In like worldly renown of Civil Government, joyned with much proſperous ſucceſs, in reducing this Realm under the ſubjection of one Monarchy. For he both expelled the *Danes*, ſubdued the *Scots*, and quieted the *Welſhmen*, as well in *Northwales*, as alſo in *Cornwal*. The firſt enemy againſt this *Ethelſtan*, was one *Elfredus*, who, with a faction of ſeditious perſons, conſpiring againſt the ſaid *Ethelſtan* at *Wincheſter*, incontinently after the death of his Father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithſtanding, the King eſcaping that danger, through the help of God, was at that time delivered. *Elfred* upon the ſame being accuſed, fled to *Rome*, there before the Pope to purge himſelf by his Oath. Who being brought to the Church of St. *Peter*, and there ſwearing (or rather forſwearing) himſelf to be clear, which indeed was guilty thereof, ſuddenly upon his Oath fell down, and ſo being brought to the *Engliſh* houſe in *Rome*, within three days after departed. The Pope ſending word unto King *Ethelſtan*, whether he would have the ſaid *Elfred* buried among Chriſtians or no? at length, through the perſwaſions of his friends and kinſfolks, it was concluded that he ſhould be buried in Chriſtian Burial. This ſtory, although I find it in no other Writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of *Guliel. lib. de regib.* yet for ſo much as it beareth the witneſs and words of the King himſelf, as teſtified in an old deed of gift, given to the Monaſtery of *Malmesbury*, I thought the ſame the more to be of credit. The words of the King proceed in this tenor as followeth.

Duke *Elfred* ſuddenly ſtricken by the hand of God for Perjury.

*Guil. lib. de regib. in vita Ethelſtani.*

The

## The Copy of an old Writing of King *Ethelſtan*, teſtifying of the miraculous death of Duke *Elfred*, ſuddenly ſtricken by the hand of God for Perjury.

The Copy of an old Charter of King *Ethelſtan.*

*SCiant ſapientes regionis noſtræ, non has præfatas terras me injuſte rapuiſſe, rapinamque Deo dediſſe: Sed ſic eas accepi, quemadmodum judicaverunt omnes optimates Regni Anglorum. Inſuper & Apoſtolicus Papa Romanæ Eccleſiæ Joannes, Elfredo defuncto, qui noſtræ fælicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitiæ inimicorum noſtrorum conſentiens; quando me voluerunt (parte defuncto) cæcare in urbe Wintonia, ſi non me Deus ſim pietate eripuiſſet. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remiſſus eſt ad Romanam Eccleſiam, ut ibi ſe coram Apoſtolico Joanne jurejurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram Altare ſancti Petri. Sed facto juramento, cecidit coram Altare, & manibus famulorum ſuorum portatus eſt ad ſcholas Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finivit. Et tunc Apoſtolicus ad nos remiſit, & quid de eo ageretur a nobis conſuluit, an cum cæteris Chriſtianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis noſtræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, ut corpus illius per noſtram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Chriſtianorum. Noſque flagitationi illorum conſentientes Romam remiſimus; & Papa conſentiente, poſitus eſt ad cæteros Chriſtianos, quamvis indignus. Et ſic judicata eſt mihi tota poſſeſſio ejus in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum prænotavimus, ne quando aboleatur, unde mihi præfata poſſeſſio, quam Deo & ſancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec juſtius novi, quam Deo & ſancto Petro hanc poſſeſſionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conſpectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi proſperitatem Regni largiti ſunt, &c.*

{Anno 927.} In the ſecond year of the Reign of King *Ethelſtan*, for an unity and peace to be had between the King and the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, he married to *Sithericus* their King, his ſiſter, whereof mention is made before; but ſhortly after, within one year, this *Sithericus* died. After whoſe death, King *Ethelſtan* ſeized that Province into his own hands, putting out the ſon of the foreſaid *Sithericus*, called *Alanus*, who with his brother *Godfridus* fled, the one into *Ireland*, the other unto *Conſtantine*, King of the *Scots*. And when he had thus accorded with the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, he ſhortly made ſubject unto him *Conſtantine* King of the *Scots*. But the ſaid *Conſtantine* meeked himſelf ſo lowly to the King, that he reſtored him to his former Dignity, ſaying, *that it was more honour to make a King, than to be a King.*

*Northumberland* ſubdued to King *Ethelſtan.*

The *Scots* ſubdued to the King of *England.* It is more honour to make a King than to be a King.

Not long after, the ſaid *Conſtantine*, King of *Scots* did break Covenant with King *Ethelſtan*; wherefore he aſſembled his Knights, and made towards *Scotland*, where he ſubduing his enemies, and bringing them again unto due ſubjection, returned into *England* with Victory. Here by the way, in ſome Story-writers (who, forgetting the office of Hiſtoricians, ſeem to play the Poets) is written and recorded for a marvel, that the ſaid *Ethelſtan*, returning out of *Scotland* into *England*, came to *York*, and ſo into the Church of Saint *John* of *Beverly*, to redeem his Knife, which before he had left there for a Pledge at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God, and to St. *John* of *Beverly*, that he might leave there ſome remembrance whereby they that came after might know that the *Scots* by right ſhould be ſubdued to the *Engliſh* men, ſmote with a Sword (they ſay) upon a great hard ſtone ſtanding near about the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, that with the ſtroke thereof the ſtone was cut a large Ell deep, with a lie no leſs deep alſo than was the ſtroke in the ſtone. But of this poetical or fabulous ſtory, albeit *Polychronicon*, *Fabian*, *Fornalenſis*, and others more conſtantly accord in the ſame, yet in *Gulielm.* and *Henricus* no mention is made at all. But peradventure, he that was the inventor firſt of this tale of the ſtone, was diſpoſed to lie for the Whetſtone; wherefore in my mind he is worthy to have it.

A fabulous Miracle falſly reported of King *Ethelſtan.*

Of like truth and credit ſeemeth alſo to be this that followeth, about the ſame year and time under the Reign of King *Ethelſtan*, being the eighth year of his Reign of one *Briſtanus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſucceeded *Frichſtanus* in the ſame See, and governed that Biſhoprick four years. This *Briſtanus* being a devout Biſhop in prayer and contemplation, uſed much among his ſolitary walks, to frequent late the Church-yard, praying for the ſouls there, and all Chriſtian ſouls departed. Upon a time the ſaid *Briſtanus* after his wonted manner proceeding in his devotions, when he had done, came to *Requieſcant in pace.* Whereunto ſuddenly a great multitude of ſouls anſwering together with one voice, ſaid *Amen.* Of this Miracle albeit I have not much to ſay (haſting to other matters) yet this queſtion would I ask of ſome indifferent *Papiſt*, which were not wilful, but of ignorance deceived; Whether this multitude which here anſwered, *Amen*, were the ſouls of them buried in the Church-yard or not? If yea, then how were they in Purgatory, what time they were heard in that place anſwering *Amen*? Except we ſhould think Purgatory to be in the Church-yard at *Wincheſter*, where the ſouls were heard then ſo many anſwering and praying, *Amen.* And yet this ſtory is teſtified by the accord of Writers of that time, *Guliel. Polychron. Hovedenus*, *Fornalenſis*, and others more. Much like Miracles and Propheſies alſo we read of *Elphegus* which ſucceeded him; but becauſe we haſte to other things, let theſe Fables paſs.

{Anno 933.}

*Briſtanus* Biſhop.

A ridiculous Miracle forged upon *Briſtanus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

A Miracle of ſouls anſwering *Amen.*

Ye heard a little before, how King *Ethelſtan* after the death of *Sithericus* King of *Northumberland*, ſeized that Land or Province into his own hand, and put out his ſon *Alanus*, who after flying into *Scotland*, married the daughter of *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*. By whoſe ſtirring and exhortation he gathered a company of *Danes*, *Scots*, and others, and entred the mouth of *Humber* with a ſtrong Navy of ſix hundred and fifteen Ships.

Whereof King *Ethelſtan*, with his brother *Edmund*, having knowledge, prepared his Army, and at length joyned in fight with him and his people, at a place called *Brimambruch* or *Brimford*, where he fighting with them from morning till evening, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides (as the like hath not been ſeen lightly in *England*) had the Victory. In the which Battel were ſlain five ſmall and under-Kings, with *Conſtantine* King of *Scots*, and twelve Dukes, with the moſt part of all the ſtrangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here alſo our Writers put in another Miracle in this Battel, how King *Ethelſtans* Sword miraculouſly fell into his ſheath, through the prayer of *Odo* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

A ſore Battel fought at *Brunford.*

Another unlike Miracle of King *Ethelſtans* ſword *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Concerning this Battel, I find in a certain written Chronicle theſe Verſes, which becauſe they ſhould not be loſt, I thought not unworthy here of rehearſal.

*Tranſierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,*
*Jure regens cives, ſubigens virtute tyrannos:*
*Cum redit illa lues Europæ noxia labes.*
*Jam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,*
*Et jacet in campis pelago pirata relicto.* *Analanus.*
*Illicitas torvaſque minas* Analanus *anhelans,*
*Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,*
*Commodat aſſenſum borealis terra ſerenum,*
*Et jam grande tument, jam terrent aere verbis.*
*Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota ſuperbis.*
*Nam quia Rex noſter fidens alacriſque juventa,*
*Emeritus pridem detriverat ocia lenta,*
*Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis*
*Urgentes miſeros injectis ignibus agros,*
*Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,*
*Ægra ſeges votum deluſerat agricolarum.*
*Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,*
*Innumerabilium concurſus quadrupedantum.*
*Excivit tandem famæ querimonia regem,*
*Ne ſe cauterio tali pateretur inuri,*
*Quod ſua barbaricæ ceſſiſſent arma ſecuri,*
*Nec mora, victrices ducentia ſigna cohortes,*
*Explicat inventum vexilla ferocia contum,*
*Junctaque virum virtus, decies bis millia quinta,*
*Ad ſtadium belli comitantur prævia ſigna.*
*Hicque ciet ſtrepitus armatorum legiones,*
*Terruit inſignis venientum fama latrones,*
*Ut poſita propriæ præda repetant regiones:*
*At vultus reliquum miſeranda ſtrage peremptum,*

Ira-

*Infecit bibulas terris nidoribus auras,*
*Fugit* Analanus *de tot modo millibus unus*, &c.

After this Victory thus obtained of the *Danes* and *Scots*, King *Ethelſtan* alſo ſubdued (or at leaſt quieted the North *Britains*, whom he conventing together at *Hereford* (or thereabouts) forced them to grant unto him as a yearly tribute, twenty pounds of Gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, and of heads of Neat five and twenty hundred, with Hawks and Dogs, to a certain number. This done, he went to *Exceſter*, and there likewiſe ſubduing the South *Britains* about *Exceſter* and *Cornwal*, repaired the Walls of *Exceſter* with ſufficient ſtrength, and ſo returned.

*The North Britains brought to Tribute.*

*The South Britains ſubdued.*

Among theſe victorious and noble acts of this King, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended; (that is) the innocent death and murther of his brother *Edwin*. The occaſion thereof was this. King *Edward* aforenamed their Father, in the time of his youth coming by a certain Village or Grange where he had been nurſed and brought up of a Child, thought of courteſie to go to ſee how his Nurſe did, where he entering into the houſe, eſpied a certain young Damſel beautiful and right ſeemly attired, *Egwina* by name. This *Egwina*, before, being a poor mans daughter, had a Viſion by night, that of her body ſprang ſuch a bright light of the Moon, that the brightneſs thereof gave light to the Realm of *England*, by reaſon whereof ſhe was taken into the foreſaid houſe, and daintily brought up inſtead of their own daughter, for hope of ſome commodity to enſue thereby, as afterward it came to paſs. For King *Edward* (as is declared) coming into the houſe, and raviſhed with the beauty of the Maiden, begat of her the ſame Night this *Ethelſtan*. Wherefore the ſaid *Ethelſtan* being thus baſely born of *Egwina*, the firſt Wife to *Edward* (as is ſaid) before he was Married to her, and fearing his next Brother *Edwin*, which was rightly born, eſpecially being ſtirred thereunto through the ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of his Butler) did caſt ſuch diſpleaſure to the foreſaid *Edwin* his Brother, being yet but young, that (notwithſtanding his innocent ſubmiſſion and purgation made againſt his accuſers) he cauſed him to be ſet in an old rotten Boat in the broad Sea (only with one Eſquire with him) without any tackling or other proviſion to the ſame. Where the young and tender Prince being diſmaid with the rage of Winds and of the Floods, and now weary of his life, caſt himſelf over-board into the Sea, and ſo was drowned. Notwithſtanding the Eſquire ſhifting for himſelf as he could, and recovering the body of his Maſter, brought it to *Sandwich*, where it was buried. Which done, the King, afterwards coming to the remembrance of himſelf, was ſtricken with great repentance the ſpace of ſeven years together, and at length was revenged of him that was the accuſer of his Brother. This accuſer (as is ſaid) was the Kings Cup-bearer, who (as God the righteous Judge of all things would have it) upon a certain ſolemn Feaſt, bearing the Cup unto the King, chanced in the middle of the Floor to ſtumble with one foot, helping and recovering himſelf with the other, ſaying in theſe words, *Thus one brother (as you ſee) helpeth another.* Theſe words being thus ſpoken in the hearing of the King, ſo moved his mind, that forthwith he commanded the falſe accuſer of his Brother, to be had out to execution. Whoſe juſt recompence I would wiſh to be a warning to all men, what it is to ſow diſcord between Brother and Brother.

*King Ethelſtan ſeeketh the death of his own brother.*

*A note to learn not to ſow diſcord between brother and brother.*

King *Ethelſtan* (beſides his ſeven years lamentation for this act) builded the two Monaſteries of *Midleton* and of *Michlenes* for his Brothers ſake, or (as the ſtories ſay) for his Soul. Whereby it may appear what was the cauſe moſt ſpecial in thoſe days of building Monaſteries, to wit, for releaſing the ſins both of them departed, and them alive: which cauſe, how it ſtandeth with the grace and verity of Chriſts Goſpel, and of his paſſion, let the Chriſtian Reader try and examine with himſelf. This cruel fact of the King towards *Edwin*, cauſed him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other Brethren and Siſters left in his hands unmarried. Which Siſters, as is partly in the Chapter before declared, he richly beſtowed in great Marriages; as one to the King of *Northumberland*, *Sithericus*; another he gave unto *Lewis* King of *Aquitania*; the third to *Henricus*, Duke of *Almain* for his Son *Otho*, who was the firſt Emperor of the *Germans*. Whereby it is to be underſtood, that the Empire at this time began firſt to be tranſlated from *France* (where it remained about one hundred years and an half) unto *Germany*, where it hath ever ſince continued.

*The cauſe of building Abbies examined.*

*Otho* firſt Emperor of the *Germans*.

The fourth of his Siſters being a Virgin of ſingular beauty, *Hugo* the *French* King required to be given unto him, ſending to King *Ethelſtan* precious and ſumptuous Preſents, ſuch as were not before ſeen in *England*. Among the which Preſents and Gifts, beſides the rare odors of ſundry ſavours, and fine Spices; and beſides the precious and coſtly Gems, namely, of Smaragds of moſt redolent green; beſides, alſo many and great Courſers and Palfries richly trapped; eſpecially of one Jewel (as Writers make mention) which was a certain Veſſel finely and ſubtilly made of the Precious Stone *Onychinus*, ſo radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lively Corn growing, and Mens Images walking, &c. Over and beſides was ſent alſo the Sword of *Conſtantine* the great, with the name of the poſſeſſor, written in Golden Letters, where in the Haft of the ſame all beaten in Gold, was one of the iron Nails wherewith our Saviour on the Croſs was nailed. Of the verity whereof I am not diſpoſed at this preſent much to ſay what I ſuſpect; but that this in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtory of *Euſebius* is evident, that two of the aforeſaid Nails of Chriſt were ſpent on the Bridle of *Conſtantine*, the third he caſt into the Sea in a raging Tempeſt. Wherefore, if Chriſt were nailed with four Nails, perhaps, this Nail might be one. If he were nailed but with three, I ſee not how this ſtory can ſtand with other ſtories, neither how this fourth Nail can ſtand with the truth. Among the reſt moreover, was the Spear (as is reported) wherewith the ſide of our Saviour was opened, which alſo the ſaid *Conſtantine* was wont to carry in the field againſt his enemies; with a portion likewiſe of the holy Croſs incloſed in Chriſtal, alſo a part of the Crown of Thorn in like manner incloſed, &c. Of the which Reliques, part was given to *Winchester*, part to the Church of *Malmesbury*, where King *Ethelſtan* was buried. As this King was endued and inlarged by the gift of God (the ſetter up and diſpoſer of all Kings) with great Victories of worldly Renown, having under his ſubjection both *Scots* and *Britains*, and the whole Monarchy of the Land: ſo he deviſed divers good and wholſome Laws for the government of the ſame, as well concerning the ſtate of the Orders Eccleſiaſtical, as alſo of the Secular or Lay-people. Whereby it is to be underſtood, that the uſurped power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, did not then extend it ſelf ſo largely, nor ſo proudly to derogate from the authority of Kings and Princes, but that every one in his own Dominion had (under God, and not under the Pope) the doing of all matters within the ſame his Dominion contained, whether they were cauſes temporal or ſpiritual, as by the Decrees and Conſtitutions of this King (and alſo of other as well before him, as after him) may evidently be teſtified, as where he amongſt other Laws thus ordaineth touching the Biſhop, in words as follow.

*Precious Jewels ſent to King Ethelſtan from the French King.*

*Concerning one of the nails wherewith our Saviour Chriſt was crucified.*

*Kings of England governors as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as temporal.*

*Epiſcopo jure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promovere, Dei videlicet, ac ſeculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum inſtruere, quid ei ſit agendum jure, & quid hominibus ſecularibus judicare debeant.*

*Extractum ex legib. Regis Ethelſtani.*

*Debet etiam ſedulo pacem & concordiam operari cum ſeculi judicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alii perperam agat in jurejurando, vel ordalio.*

*Nec pati debet aliquam circumventionem injuſtæ menſuræ, vel injuſti ponderis. Sed convenit ut per conſilium & teſtimonium ejus omne legis rectum & burgi menſura, & omne pondus ſit ſecundum * diſtionem ejus, inſtitutum valde rectum; ne quis proximum ſuum ſeducat, pro quo decidat in peccatum.*

* Alias diligentiam.

*Et ſemper debet Chriſtianis providere contra omnia quæ prædicta ſunt, & ideo debet ſe de pluribus intromittere: ut ſciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum cuſtodire ſuſcepit, ne Diabolus cum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod ſuperſeminet. Nunquam enim erit populo bene conſultum, nec digne Deo converſabitur, ubi lucrum impium & magis falſum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum eſt enervare, & quod juſtum eſt elevare, nec*

*pati*

*pati ut propter falſum, & pecuniæ quæſtum homines ſe foriſfaciant erga vere ſapientem Deum, cui diſplicet omnis injuſtitia.*

*Chriſtianis autem omnibus neceſſarium eſt, ut rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent, & ſaltem ſacris ordinibus evecti juſtum ſemper erigant, & prava deponant.*

*Hinc debent Epiſcopi cum judicibus judicia dictitare, & intereſſe, ne permittant (ſi poſſint) ut illinc aliqua pravitatum gramina pullulent. Et ſacerdotibus pertinet in ſuâ diœceſi, ut ad rectum ſedulo quemcumque juvent, nec patiantur (ſi poſſint) ut Chriſtianus aliquis alii noceat, non potens impotenti, non ſummus infirmo, non prælatus b ſubditis, non dominus hominibus ſuis, ſervus, aut liberis. Et ſecundum c ditionem, & per menſuram ſuam, convenit per rectum, ut neceſſaria d ſervi operentur ſuper omnem ſcyram cui e præeſt.*

*Et rectum eſt ut non ſit aliqua menſurabilis virga longior quam alia, ſed per f Epiſcopi menſuram omnes inſtitutæ ſint, & exequatæ per ſuam g diœceſin. Et omne pondus conſtet ſecundum ditionem ejus. & ſi aliquid controverſiarum interſit, diſcernat Epiſcopus.*

*Unuſcujuſque Domini proprium eſt & neceſſe, ut ſervis condeſcendat; & compatiatur, ſicut indulgentius poterit: quia Domini Deo viventi ſunt æque chari ſervus, & liber. Et omnes uno & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes ſumus Deo neceſſario ſervi, & ſic judicabit nos, ſicut ante judicavimus eos, in quos poteſtatem judicii in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus eſt ut eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent, & tunc manutenebimur in Dei Omnipotentis proprio judicio: Amen.*

b *Alia minoribus.* c. *Alia ſcriptes diſtorum.* d *Alia ſervi teſtamentaler.* e *Vel cui inſunt.* f *Alias ſcriptes menſuram.* g *In ſua ſcyra loyæ.*

A Law how that maſters ought to condeſcend and bear ſometimes with their ſervants.

The ſaid *Ethelſtan* beſides, preſcribed other Conſtitutions alſo, as touching Tithes giving, where he ſaith and proclaimeth: *Ego Ethelſtanus Rex, conſilio Ulfelmi Archiepiſcopi mei & aliorum Epiſcoporum, mando præpoſitis omnibus in Regno meo, in nomine Domini & ſanctorum omnium, ut imprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in vivente capitali, quam in mortuis frugibus terræ: & Epiſcopi mei ſimiliter faciant de ſuo proprio, & Aldermanni mei & præpoſiti mei, &c.* That is, *I* Ethelſtan *King, charge and command all my Officers through my whole Realm, to give Tithes unto God of my proper Goods, as well in living Cattel, as in the Corn and Fruits of the ground, and that my Biſhops likewiſe of their proper goods, and mine Aldermen, and my Officers and Headmen ſhall do the ſame.* Item, *this I will, that my Biſhops and other Headmen do declare the ſame to ſuch as be under their ſubjection, and that to be accompliſhed at the Term of St.* John the Baptiſt. *Let us remember what* Jacob *ſaid unto the Lord,* Of all things that thou giveſt to me I will offer Tithes unto the Lord, &c. *Alſo what the Lord ſaith in the Goſpel of St.* Matthew, To him that hath it ſhall be given, and he ſhall abound. *We muſt alſo conſider how terrible it is written in Books, that if we will not offer our tenths, from us nine parts ſhall be taken away, and only the tenth part ſhall be left us, &c.* And in the ſame place, after that he hath aſſigned the Church Rights to be paid in the place whereto they belong, it followeth thus: *Facite etiam ut mihi mea propria capiatis, quæ mihi poteritis recte acquirere. Nolo ut aliquid mihi injuſte conquiratis. Sed omnia veſtra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea ſimiliter exoptetis, Cavete ſimul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & tranſgreſſione mea.*

The Law of King *Ethelſtan* concerning Tithes.

Tithes.

The King would uſurp no mans goods wrongfully.

Among his other Laws and Ordinances, to the number of 35 divers things be comprehended, pertaining as well to the Spiritual, as alſo to the Temporal Juriſdiction.

The Law of K. *Ethelſton* concerning felons ſtealing above 12 pence. *Epitaph. in Ethelſt. Sol illuſtravit biſſeno ſcorpion ortu. Cum gegem cauda percutit ille ſua.*

Out of the Laws of this King firſt ſprang up the Attachment of Thieves, that ſuch as ſtole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old, ſhould not be ſpared.

And thus much briefly concerning the Hiſtory of King *Ethelſtan*, and things in his time done; who reigned about the ſpace of ſixteen years. And becauſe he died without iſſue, therefore after him ſucceeded his Brother *Edmund*, the year of our Lord 940, who reigned ſix years.

{Anno 940.}

## *King* Edmund.

*Edmund* the ſon of *Edward* the Elder by his third Wife (as is declared) and brother of *Ethelſtan*, being of the age of 20 years, entred his Reign, who had by his Queen *Elgina* two ſons, *Edwin* and *Edgarus*, ſirnamed *Pacificus*, which both reigned after him as followeth. This *Edmund* continued his Reign ſix years and an half. By him were expelled the *Danes*, *Scots*, *Normans*, and all foreign enemies out of the Land. Such Cities and Towns which before were in the poſſeſſion of ſtrangers, as *Lincoln*, *Notingham*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, and *Leiceſter*, he recovered out of their hands. Thus the Realm being cleared of Foreign power for a time; then the King ſet his ſtudy and mind in the redreſſing and maintaining the ſtate of the Church; which all ſtood then in building of Monaſteries, and furniſhing of Churches, either with new poſſeſſions, or with reſtoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of this *Edmund*, this I find in an old written ſtory borrowed of *William Carey*, a Citizen of *London*, a worthy Treaſurer of moſt worthy Monuments of Antiquity. The name of the Author I cannot alledge, becauſe the Book beareth no Title, lacking both the beginning and the later end; but the words thereof faithfully recited be theſe, *Hujus Regis tempore facta eſt diſperſio Monachorum Euſhmenſis cœnobii, cum ſubſtitutione canonicorum per Athelmum & Ulricum laicos, & Oſulphum epiſcopum, &c.* that is, *In the time of this King, there was a ſcattering or diſperſion made of the Monks out of the Monaſtery of* Euſham, *and Canons ſubſtituted in their place, through the doing of* Athelmus *and* Ulricus *Laymen, and of* Oſulfus *Biſhop, &c.*

Edmund K. of England.

*Ex Hiſtoria Cariana.*

Monks put out of *Euſham*, in the year of our Lord 941.

Where, as concerning this matter between Monks and others of the Clergy, firſt it is to be underſtood, that in the Realm of *England* heretofore, before the time of *Dunſtan*, the Biſhops Sees and Cathedral Churches were repleniſhed with no Monks, but with Prieſts and Canons, called then Clerks or Men of the Clergy. After this beginneth to riſe a difference or a Sect between theſe two parties in ſtrictneſs of life, and in habit; ſo that they which lived after a ſtrict rule of holineſs were called Monks, and profeſſed Chaſtity, that was, to live from Wives (for ſo was Chaſtity then defined to thoſe blind days) as though holy Matrimony were no Chaſtity, according as *Paphnutius* did well define it in the Council of *Nice*. The other ſort which were no Monks but Prieſts or Men of the Clergy ſo called, lived more free from thoſe Monkiſh Rules and Obſervances, and were then commonly (or at leaſt lawfully married) and in their life and habit came neareſt to the ſecular ſtate of other Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof great diſdain and emulation was among them, in ſo much that in many Cathedral Churches, whereas Prieſts were before, there Monks were put in: and contrary, ſometime whereas Monks were intruded, there Prieſts and Canons again were placed, and Monks thruſt out; whereof more ſhall appear hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) when we come to the life of *Dunſtan*. In the mean time, ſomething to ſatisfie the cogitation of the Reader, which peradventure either is ignorant, or elſe would know of the firſt coming in of Monks into this Realm and Church of *England* in the *Saxons* time; this is to be noted, according as I find in old Chronicles, namely in the *Latine* Hiſtory of *Gulielm. de geſtis Pontificum Anglorum*, recorded touching the ſame. About this time of King *Edmund*, or ſhortly after, when hardneſs and ſtrictneſs of life joyned with ſuperſtition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holineſs; men therefore, either to win publick fame with men, or merits with God, gave themſelves to lead a ſtrict life, thinking thereby (the ſtranger their converſation was, and the further from the common trade of vulgar people) the more perfect to be towards God and Man. There was at that time (and before that) a Monaſtery in *France* named *Floriake*, after the order and rule of *Benedict*: from the which Monaſtery did ſpring a great part of our *Engliſh* Monks, who being there profeſſed, and afterward returning into *England*, did congregate men daily to their profeſſion. And ſo, partly for ſtrangeneſs of their rule, partly for outward holineſs of their ſtrict life, partly for the opinion of holineſs that many had of them, were in great admiration, not only with the rude ſort, but with

The diſference between Monks and Prieſts.

Chaſtity wrongly defined.

Holy Matrimony by the definition of *Paphnutius* is chaſtity.

Monks how they differed from Prieſts, and how they firſt began in *England*.

*Guliel. de pontif. lib. 3.*

The Monaſtery of *Floriake*.

with Kings and Princes, who founded their Houſes, maintained their Rules, and enlarged them with poſſeſſions. Among the which Order of Monks coming from *Floriake*, eſpecially was one *Oſwaldus*, firſt a Monk of *Floriake*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *York*, a great Patron and ſetter up of Monkery. Touching the which *Oſwaldus*, *William* in his Book *De pontific.* writing of his Hiſtory, hath theſe words: *Familiaris per id temporis Anglis conſuetudo fuit, ut ſi qui boni afflati eſſent deſiderio, in beatiſſimi Benedicti Monaſterio cœnobialem ſuſciperent habitum, a quo Religionis hujuſce manavit exordium, &c.* That is, *It was a common cuſtom at that time among* Engliſhmen, *that if any good men were well affected or minded toward Religion, they went to the Monaſtery of bleſſed St.* Benedict *in* France, *and there received the Habit of a Monk, whereupon the firſt origine of this Religion began, &c.* But of this *Oſwald* Biſhop of *York*, and *Dunſtan* Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, how they repleniſhed divers Monaſteries and Cathedral Churches with Monks; and how they diſcharged married Prieſts and Canons out of their Houſes, to plant in Monks in their Cells, more ſhall be ſpoken (by the grace of Chriſt) hereafter. Now let us return again to the matter where we left, of King *Edmund*; who, beſides his noble Victories againſt his enemies, and recovering the Cities above expreſſed into his own hands, did alſo ſubdue the Province of *Cumberland*. And after he had put out the eyes of the two Sons of *Dunmail* King of *Cumberland*, he committed the government thereof to *Malcolmus* King of the *Scots*, upon promiſe of his truſty ſervice and obedience, when the King ſhould ſtand in any need of him. In the time of this King, *Dunſtan* was not yet Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but only Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, of whom many fabulous narrations paſs among the Writers, importing more vanity than verity, whereof this is one of the firſt. What time *Edgarus* called *Pacificus* was born, *Dunſtan* being the ſame time Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* (as the Monkiſh Fables dream) heard a voice in the Air of certain Angels ſinging after this tenor and ſaying, *Now peace cometh to the Church of* England *in the time of this Child, and of our* Dunſtan, &c. This I thought to recite, that the Chriſtian Reader might the better ponder with himſelf the impudent and abominable fictions of this *Romiſh* Generation. But of the ſame mint alſo they have forged how the ſaid *Dunſtan* ſhould hear the Angels ſing the *Kyrieleſon*, uſed to be ſung at Even-ſong in the Church: *Guliel. de pontif. lib.* 1. Which is as true as that the Harp, hanging in a Womans Houſe played by it ſelf the tune of the Antheme, called *Gaudent in cœlis, &c.* What would not theſe deceivers feign in matters ſomething likely, which in things ſo abſurd and ſo inconvenient ſhame not to lie and to forge ſo impudently and alſo ſo manifeſtly? Through the motion of this *Dunſtan*, King *Edmund* builded and furniſhed the Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury*, and made the ſaid *Dunſtan* Abbot thereof.

*Oſwaldus* Biſhop of *York* a great Patron of Monkery. *Guil. lib.* 3. *de Pontif.*

The origine of Monkery how it firſt began in *England.*

*Dunſtan* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury.*

The ſons of K. *Edmund.*

The impudent vanity of the Popes Church in forging falſe Miracles.

*Guliel. lib. de pontif.*

The Monaſtery of *Glaſtenbury.*

*Dunſtan* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury.*

The Abby of *Glaſtenbury* was builded by King *Ive*, by the counſel of *Adalmus*, after being deſtroyed by the *Danes*.

Concerning the end and death of this King, ſundry opinions there be. *Alfridus* and *Marianus* ſay, that while this King *Edmund* endeavoured himſelf to ſave his Sewer from the danger of his enemies, which would have ſlain him at *Pulcher* Church, the King in parting of the fray was wounded, and died ſhortly after. But *Gulielmus de regib. lib.* 2. ſaith, that the King being at a Feaſt at *Pulcher* Church upon the day of St. *Auguſtine*, ſpied a Felon ſitting in the Hall named *Leof*, whom he before for his Felony had exiled; and leaping over the Table did flie upon him, and plucked the Thief by the hair of the head to the ground. In which doing, the Felon with a Knife wounded the King to the death, and alſo with the ſame Knife wounded many other of the Kings ſervants, and at length was all to behewed, and died forthwith.

*Guliel. lib.* 2. *de regib.*

By the Laws of King *Edmund* (ordained and ſet forth, as well for the redreſs of Church matters, as alſo of civil Regiment) it may appear, that the ſtate both of cauſes Temporal and likewiſe Spiritual, appertained then to the Kings Right (the falſe pretended uſurpation of the Biſhop of *Rome* notwithſtanding) as by theſe Laws is to be ſeen: where he, by the advice of his Lords and Biſhops did enact and determine concerning the chaſtity and pure life of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, and ſuch as were in the Orders of the Church, with the penalties alſo for them which tranſgreſſed the ſame.

The Laws of King *Edmund* touching as well the ſtate ſpiritual as temporal.

Item, *For Tithes to be paid for every Chriſtian Man, and for the Church fees, and Alms fees, &c.*

Item, *For deflouring of Women profeſſed, which we call Nuns, &c.*

Item, *For every Biſhop to ſee his Churches repaired of his own proper Charge; and boldly to admoniſh the King, whether the Houſes of God were well maintained, &c.*

Item, *For flying into the Church for Sanctuary, &c.*

Item, *Concerning caſes and determinations ſpouſal or matrimonial, &c.*

All which Conſtitutions declare what intereſt Kings had in thoſe days in matters as well Eccleſiaſtical as others, within their dominion, and that not only in diſpoſing the Ordinances and Rites, ſuch as appertained to the Inſtitution of the Church, but alſo in placing and ſetting Biſhops in their Sees, &c.

In the time of this *Edmund*, was *Ulſtanus* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; which *Odo* being a *Dane* born (as is before touched) was promoted to that See by King *Ethelſtan*, for that (as they ſay) he being firſt Biſhop of *Wilton*, and preſent with King *Ethelſtan* in the Field againſt *Analanus* before mentioned, what time the ſaid *Ethelſtan* had loſt his Sword, he through his interceſſion up to Heaven, did ſee a Sword from Heaven come down into the Sheath of the King. Whereof relation being made unto the King by the foreſaid Biſhop, *Ethelſtan* upon the ſame was ſo affected towards *Odo*, that not only he counted him for a patron of his life, but alſo made him Primate of *Canterbury* after the deceaſe of *Ulfelmus*. This *Odo* was the firſt from the coming of the *Saxons* till his time, which was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being no Monk. For all the other before him were of the profeſſion of Monks, of whom a great part had been *Italians* unto *Bertualdus*. Notwithſtanding, this *Odo*, being alſo a ſtranger born, after he was elected into the Biſhoprick, to anſwer to the old cuſtom of others before him, ſailed over into *France*, and there at *Floriake* (after the uſual manner above mentioned of *Engliſhmen*) received the Profeſſion and Habit of Monkiſh Religion, as ſaith my foreſaid Author. And like as the ſaid *Odo* firſt being no Monk, was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; ſo alſo *Ulſtanus*, the ſame time being Biſhop of *York* and of *Worceſter*, differed from divers his Predeceſſors before him in Profeſſion and Habit; of whom the forenamed Author thus writeth in his third Book, ſpeaking of *Ulſtanus*; *Qui ſanctitate diſcrepabat & habitu*; that is, *He differed in ſanctimony and in habit.* Whereby it is to be collected, that in thoſe days was a difference in Habit and Garment, not only between Monks and Biſhops, but alſo between one Biſhop and another; albeit what difference it was, yet I do not find. But I return again to *Odo*, who by the deſcription of his manners might ſeem not to be the worſt that occupied that place, were it not that our lying Hiſtories, feigning falſe Miracles upon him (as they do of others) make him indeed to ſeem worſe than he was. As where they imagine that he ſhould ſee from Heaven a Sword fall into the Scabbard of King *Ethelſtan*. *Item*, where he ſhould cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury* with his Prayers from Rain. And alſo where he ſhould turn the Bread of the Altar (as the Writer termeth it) into lively fleſh, and from fleſh into bread again, to confirm the People which before doubted in the ſame. Where note again (good Reader) that albeit this Miracle were true, as no doubt it is untrue, yet is it to be noted, that in thoſe days was a great doubt amongſt *Engliſhmen* of the *Popiſh* Sacrament, and that Tranſubſtantiation was not received into the Chriſtian Creed. The like judgment is to be given alſo of that, where our *Engliſh* Writers, teſtifying of the ſame *Odo*, ſay that he ſhould prophecy long before of *Dunſtan* to be his Succeſſor in the Church of *Canterbury*. But to let theſe phantaſies and idle ſtories paſs, this which we find of *Odo* his own writing is certain, that the ſaid *Odo*, in the Reign of King *Edmund*, had a Synod commenced of the chief Prelates and men of the Clergy in his time, to whom he directed this Letter here following: the Copy whereof I thought to expreſs, for the Reader to ſee what zealous care reigned in Archbiſhops then toward the Church of the Lord. The words of his Epiſtle proceed in this tenor.

*Ulſtanus* Archbiſhop of *York*.

*Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Guliel. de pontif. lib.* 1. *Polychron. lib.* 6. *cap.* 6.

*Odo* made Monk at *Floriake*, after he was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Guliel. de pont. lib.* 2.

*Guliel. lib.* 3. *de pont. Ebor.*

The difference of habit and garments among men of the Church.

Falſe and lying Miracles noted upon *Odo*. A note to the Reader.

Tranſubſtantiation was not yet received.

The

## The Letter or Epiſtle of *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent to the other Biſhops and Men of the Clergy.

The Letter of *Odo* Archbiſhop, to the Prelates

*Mirabile cuncti-potentis polorum præſulis clementia opitulante, Ego* Odo *Eccleſiæ ſalvatoris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Archiepiſcopus Dovernienſis civitatis Metropolitanus, coepiſcopis fidei Catholicæ compagatoribus, ſpirituali charitatis vigore meis conſortibus, præſentium proſperitatem æthereique decoris beatitudinem,* &c.

The ſame in *Engliſh*.

*By the divine grace of God, I* Odo *of the Church of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of the City of* Dover, *to my fellow Biſhops and fellow planters of the Catholick Faith, and my fellow brethren in the ſpiritual bond of charity, with greeting, wiſh proſperity in this world preſent, and in the world to come felicity. If it were ſo, or by any means could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, ſo that I being Emperor had all things univerſally under my ſubjection, all thoſe things would I gladly give, yea and my ſelf alſo would offer willingly for the health of your ſouls, as which alſo do deſire and truſt likewiſe my ſelf to be ſtrengthened with the fervency of your holineſs, as appertaining to thoſe things wherein the Lord our God hath ſet us to be workmen,* &c.

And after a few other words of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heavy burthen of his office, it followeth after this manner.

*Wherefore moſt humbly and one unworthy, but yet a devote fellow brother of yours; I beſeech and exhort your holineſs, that you will not ſhew your ſelves cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of ſouls, ſo that in the time of the fearful judgment, the Lord do not complain of you, ſaying,* My Shepherds did not feed my Flock, but they fed themſelves. *And again,* They were Princes of my Flock, and I knew not of it. *But rather let us take heed and be diligent over the Houſhold of the Lord, over which he hath ſet us to be the leaders, to give them meat and true meaſure of Corn in time convenient, that is to ſay, wholeſome Doctrine. And although upon mine own demerits or worthineſs, I do not preſume to comfort or exhort any man; but as one being unworthy and faulty in tranſgreſſions innumerable, am glad, and ſtand in need rather to be ſtrengthened by your brotherly admonitions; yet for the ancient authority of my Predeceſſors, as of* Auguſtine *of happy memory, and alſo of all other Saints, by whoſe induſtry the rule of Chriſtianity did firſt flouriſh and ſpring from this Metropolitan See unto all quarters of* England; *therefore I have thought good to direct unto you theſe my Letters to the profit of you all; eſpecially, for that our Renowned and Princely King* Edmund, *with all his People, doth joy to follow that which he heareth in you and of you; and alſo for ſo much as all his Subjects, which be under his imperial Dominion, do love and delight to follow moſt joyfully the ſame, and report of your ſincere converſation,* &c.

This *Odo* continued Biſhop the ſpace of twenty years. After whom *Elſinus* was elected and ordained by the King to ſucceed through favour and money; but in going to *Rome* for the Popes Pall, in his journey through the *Alps*, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon ſucceeded *Dunſtan*, as in time and place (by the leave of Chriſt) followeth to be declared.

*Elſinus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* elect. S. *Edmundsbury*.

This *Edmund* gave to St. *Edmund* the Martyr before mentioned, the Town of *Bredrichcheworth*, which is now called S. *Edmundsbury*, with great Revenues and Lands appertaining to the ſame. But concerning the frivolous Miracles which our Monkiſh ſtory-writers here feign of this good *Edmund*, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them paſs.

The children of K. *Edmund*.

And thus much concerning the Reign of King *Edmund*, who after he had reigned ſix years and an half, was ſlain, as is ſaid, at *Pulcherchurch*, and buried at *Glaſtenbury* of *Dunſtan*, leaving behind him two Children, *Edwin* and *Edgar*, by his Wife *Elgiva*. But becauſe the foreſaid Children were yet young, and under age, therefore *Edred* Brother to King *Edmund*, and Uncle to the Children, governed as Protector about the ſpace of nine years and an half, till *Edwin* the eldeſt Son came to age. This *Edred* with great moderation and fidelity to the young Children behaved himſelf, during the time of his Government. In his time *Dunſtan* was promoted, through the means of *Odo* the Archbiſhop, from Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* to be Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and after of *London*. By the counſel of this *Dunſtan*, *Edred* was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted; inſomuch that the foreſaid *Edred* is reported in Stories to ſubmit himſelf unto much fond penance and caſtigations, inflicted to him of the ſaid *Dunſtan*. Such zealous devotion was then in Princes, and more blind ſuperſtition in Biſhops. And here again is another Miracle as fantaſtical as the other before, forged of *Dunſtan*, that when that *Edred* being ſick ſent for *Dunſtan* to be his Confeſſor, by the way *Dunſtan* ſhould hear a Voice declaring to him before, that *Edred* was already departed, at the declaring whereof *Dunſtan*'s Horſe fell immediately dead under him, with ly and al'.

*Edred* Governour of the Realm.

*Dunſtan* made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and after of *London*.

With lie and all.

## *King* Edwin.

*Edwin* the eldeſt Son of King *Edmund* afore mentioned, after his Uncle *Edred*, began his Reign about the year of our Lord 955. being crowned at *Kingſton* by *Odo* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Of this *Edwin* it is reported of divers Writers, that the firſt day of his Coronation, ſitting with his Lords, he brake ſuddenly from them, and entred a ſecret Chamber, to the company of a certain Woman whom he inordinately retained (being, as ſome ſay, another mans Wife) whoſe Husband he had before ſlain, as others ſay, being of his alliance, to the great miſliking of his Lords, and eſpecially of the Clergy. *Dunſtan* was yet but Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*; who, following the King into the Chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accuſed him to *Odo* the Archbiſhop, cauſing him to be ſeparate from the company of the foreſaid party; by the which *Odo* the King was for his fact ſuſpended out of the Church. By reaſon whereof the King, being with *Dunſtan* diſpleaſed, baniſhed him his Land, and forced him for a ſeaſon to flie into *Flanders*, where he was in the Monaſtery of St. *Amandus*. About the ſame ſeaſon the Monaſtical Order of *Benedict* Monks, or black Monks (as they were called) began to multiply and increaſe here in *England*. Inſomuch that where before time other Prieſts and Canons had been placed, there Monks were in their rooms ſet in; and the Secular Prieſts (as they then were called, or Canons) put out. But King *Edwin* for that diſpleaſure he bare to *Dunſtan*, did ſo vex all the Order of the ſaid Monks, that in *Malmesbury*, *Glaſtenbury*, and other places more, he thruſt out the Monks, and ſet in Secular Prieſts in their ſtead.

*K. Edwin.* { Anno 955. }

The King ſuſpended by the Archbiſhop.

*Edwin* an enemy unto Monks.

Monks put out, and ſecular prieſts placed in their rooms.

Notwithſtanding, it was not long but theſe Prieſts and Canons were again removed, and the ſaid Monks in their ſtead reſtored, both in the foreſaid Houſes, and in divers other Churches Cathedral beſides, as in the next Story of King *Edgar* (Chriſt willing) ſhall more at large appear.

In fine, King *Edwin* being hated, by reaſon of certain his demeanors, of all his Subjects (eſpecially the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*) was by them removed from his Kingly Honour, and his Brother *Edgar* in his ſtead received; ſo that the River of *Thames* divided both their Kingdoms. Which *Edwin*, after he had Reigned about the term of four years departed, leaving no heir of his body. Wherefore the rule of the Land fell unto *Edgar* his younger Brother.

The death of K. *Edwin*

## *King* Edgar.

*Edgar* the ſecond Son of *Edmund* and Brother to *Edwin*, being of the age of ſixteen years, began his Reign over the Realm of *England*, in the year of our Lord 959. but was not Crowned till fourteen years after; the cauſes whereof hereunder follow (Chriſt willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his Reign he called home *Dunſtan*, whom King *Edwin* before had exiled. Then was *Dunſtan*, which before was Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, made Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and then of *London*. Not long

{ Ann. 959. }

K. *Edgar* called *Pacificus*.

*Dunſtan* made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and of *London*.

long after, this *Odo* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed, after he had governed that Church 24 years. After whom *Brithilinus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* firſt was elected; but becauſe he was thought not ſufficient to furniſh that room, *Dunſtan* was ordained Archbiſhop, the other ſent home again to his old Church. Where note by the way, how in thoſe days the donation and aſſigning of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities remained in the Kings hand; only they fet their Pall from *Rome* as a token of the Popes Confirmation. So *Dunſtan*, being by the King made Archbiſhop, took his journey to *Rome* for his Pall of Pope *John* the thirteenth, which was about the beginning of the Kings Reign. Thus *Dunſtan* obtaining his Pall, ſhortly after his return again from *Rome*, intreateth King *Edgar*, that *Oſwaldus* (who, as is ſaid, was made Monk at *Floriake*, and was Nephew to *Odo* late Biſhop of *Canterbury*) might be promoted to be Biſhop of *Worceſter*; which thing to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the ſaid *Dunſtan*, *Ethelwoldus*, (whom ſtories do feign to be the great Patron of Monkery) firſt Monk at *Glaſtenbury*, then Abbot of *Abendon*, was alſo made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Of this *Ethelwoldus*, *Gulielmus libro de geſtis pontificum* recordeth, that what time he was a Monk in the Houſe of *Glaſtenbury*, the Abbot had a Viſion of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his ſleep a certain great Tree, the branches whereof extended through all the four quarters of the Realm, which branches were all covered with many little Monks Cowls, where in the top of the Tree was one great Maſter Cowl, which in ſpreading it ſelf over the other Cowls, incloſed all the reſt; which Maſter Cowl in the Tree top, mine Author in the interpretation applieth to the life of this *Ethelwold*. Of ſuch prodigious fantaſies our Monkiſh Hiſtories be full; and not only our Hiſtories of *England*, but alſo of the Heathen Stories of the *Gentiles* be ſtuffed with ſuch kind of Dreams of much like effect.

*Ex Hiſt. Ro. Hoveden.* Spiritual livings given by the King, and not by the Pope.

*Oſwaldus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and after of *York*.

*Ethelwoldus* Biſhop of *Wint.* a great maintainer of Monkery.

{ Anno 963. }

*Ex Guliel. Malmesbur. de geſt. pontif. Aug.*

Monkiſh dreams.

Of ſuch a like Dream we read of the Mother of *Athelſtan*, how the Moon did ſpring out of her Womb, and gave light to all *England*. Alſo of King *Charles* the Emperor, how he was led by a thred to ſee the torments of Hell. Likewiſe of *Furceus* the Hermite mentioned in the third Book of *Beda*, who ſaw the joys of Heaven, and the four fires that ſhould deſtroy the World; the one of lying, for breaking our promiſe made at Baptiſm; the ſecond fire was of the covetous; the third of diſſention; the fourth was of the fire of impiety and wrongful dealing. *Item*, in like ſort of the dream of *Dunſtan*, and of the ſame *Ethelwold*, to whom appeared the three Biſhops, *Briſtanus*, *Birinus*, and *Swithinus*, *&c.* Of the dream of the Mother of this *Ethelwold*, who being great with him, did ſee a golden Eagle flie out of her mouth, &c. Of the dream likewiſe, or the Viſion of King *Edgar* concerning the falling of the two Apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Alſo of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, touching the ruine of the Land by the conqueror of the *Normans*. We read alſo in the Hiſtory of *Aſtiages*, how he dreamed of *Cyrus*, and likewiſe of many other dreams in the Books of the Monks, and of the Ethnike Writers. For what cannot either the idle vanity of mans head, or the deception of the lying ſpirit work by man, in foreſhewing ſuch earthly events as happen commonly in this preſent world? But here is a difference to be underſtood between theſe earthly dreams, ſpeaking of earthly things and matters of humane ſuperſtition; and between other ſpiritual revelations ſent by God touching ſpiritual matters of the Church pertaining to mans ſalvation. But to our purpoſe, by this dream, and by the event which followed after, it may appear how and by what means the multitude of Monks began firſt to ſwarm in the Churches of *England*, that is, in the days of this *Edgar*, by the means of theſe three Biſhops, *Dunſtan*, *Ethelwold* and *Oſwald*. Albeit *Dunſtan* was the chiefeſt ringleader of this race; yet *Ethelwold* being now Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, were not much behind for their parts. By the inſtigation and counſel of theſe three foreſaid, King *Edgar* is recorded in Hiſtories to build either new out of the ground, or to reedifie Monaſteries decaied by the *Danes*, more than forty. As the Houſe of *Ely*, *Glaſtenbury*, *Abbington*, *Burga* by *Stamford*, *Thorney*, *Ramſey*, *Wilton*, *Wenton*, *Winchcomb*, *Thamſtoke* in *Devonſhire*, with divers more. In the ſetting up and building of the which the foreſaid *Ethelwold* was a great doer, and a Founder under the King. Moreover through the motion of this *Dunſtan* and his fellows, King *Edgar* in divers great Houſes and Cathedral Churches, where Prebendaries and Prieſts were before, diſplaced the Prieſts and ſet in Monks. Whereof we read in the Chronicles of *Roger Hoveden*, in words and form as followeth, *Hic namque Ethelwoldus regem, cujus eximius erat conſiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut Clericos a Monaſteriis expelleret, & Monachos ſanctimonialeſque in eis collocaret, &c.* that is, Ethelwold *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *who was then one of the Kings Council, did urge the King chiefly to expel Clerks out of Monaſteries, and in their rooms to beſtow Monks and Nuns, &c.* Whereunto accordeth likewiſe *Hiſtoria Jornalenſis*, containing the like effect in theſe words, *Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oſwaldus Wigornienſis, Epiſcopi, juſſu Regis Edgari (Clericis de quibuſdam maſoribus Eccleſiis expulſis) Monachos inſtituerunt, aut de eiſdem Clericis & aliis Monachos in eiſdem fecerunt.* *Gulielmus* alſo writing of the time of *Dunſtan*, maketh the matter ſomewhat more plain, where he ſaith, *Itaque Clerici multarum Eccleſiarum data optione, ut aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes: ſurgebant itaque in tota inſula Religioſorum Monaſteria, cumulabantur molè pretioſi metalli ſanctorum Altaria, &c.* Thus the Secular Prieſts being put to their choice, whether to change their Habit; or to leave their Rooms, departed out of their Houſes, giving place for other better men to come in. Then the Houſes and Monaſteries of Religious Men through all the Realm went up apace, *&c.*

*Ro. Hoveden. lib. Continuationum poſt Bedam. Chron. Jornalenſ. Guliel. de geſtis pontif. l. 1.*

Dreams not neceſſary to be regarded.

Difference of Dreams.

How and when Monks firſt began to ſwarm in *England*. *Dunſtan*, *Ethelwold*, *Oſwald*, three fetters up of Monkiſh Religion.

Forty Monaſteries builded and repaired by King *Edgar*.

After the Kings mind was thus perſwaded and incited by theſe Biſhops to advance Monkery, then *Oſwaldus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and alſo made Archbiſhop of *York* after the deceaſe of *Oskitellus*, *Sui voti compos effectus* (as *Hoveden* writeth) having his See in the Cathedral Church there of Saint *Peter*, began firſt with fair perſwaſions to aſſay the minds of the Canons and Prieſts, whether they could be content to change their Profeſſion, and to be made Monks, or no. Which when he ſaw it would not take effect, he practiſed this policy with them: Near to the ſaid Church of Saint *Peter*, within the Church-yard, he erected another Church of our Lady, which when he had repleniſhed with Monks, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there he ſat, and was ever there converſant. By reaſon whereof the other Church was left naked and deſolate, and all the People gathered there where the Biſhop was. The Prieſts ſeeing themſelves ſo to be left and neglected both of the Biſhop and of the People, to whom nothing remained but ſhame and contempt, were driven of ſhame either to relinquiſh the Houſe (ſuch as would not enter the monkiſh Profeſſion) or elſe to become Monks, ſuch as had nothing elſe to ſtay upon. After the like Superſtition (although not after the ſame ſubtilty) did *Ethelwold* alſo drive out the Canons and Prieſts from the new Monaſtery in *Wincheſter*, afterward called *Hida*, and placed his Monks. So in *Oxford* and in *Mildune*, with divers other places more, the Secular Prieſts with their Wives were expelled, to give place to Monks. The cauſe whereof is thus pretended in certain Story-writers, whom I ſee alſo *Fabian* to follow; for that the Prieſts and Clerks were thought ſlack and negligent in their Church Service, and ſet in Vicars in their ſtead, while they lived in pleaſure, and miſ-ſpent the Patrimony of the Church after their own luſt. Then King *Edgar* gave to the Vicars the ſame Land which before belonged to the Prebendaries; who alſo not long after ſhewed themſelver as negligent as the others. Wherefore King *Edgar* (as mine Authors write) by the conſent of Pope *John* the thirteenth voided clearly the Prieſts, and ordained there Monks. Although certain of the Nobles, and ſome of the Prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the Chapter following may partly appear.

*Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Archbiſhop of *York*. The policy of *Oſwald* in driving out Prieſts to place in Monks.

{ Anno 969. }

*Guliel. l. 2. de geſt. pont. Chr. Fornale, in vita Edgari.*

Prebendaries and Prieſts ſlack in their duty.

Prieſts voided of Cathedral Churches, and Monks ſet in.

But

The difference, order, and inſtitution of Monks examined.

But for ſo much as we have entred into the mention of Monks and Nuns, and of their Profeſſion, which I ſee ſo greatly in our Monkiſh Stories commended: leſt perhaps the ſimple Reader may be deceived thereby, in hearing the name of Monks in all Hiſtories of times to be ſuch an ancient thing in Chriſtian life (even from the Primitive Church after the Apoſtles time) both commonly recited and well received, therefore to help the judgment of the ignorant, and to prevent all error herein, it ſhall not be unprofitable, in following the preſent occaſion here given (by way of a little digreſſion) to intermeddle ſomewhat concerning the original Inſtitution of Monks, what they were in the old time which were called *Monachi*, wherein the Monks of the primitive time did differ from the Monks of the middle time, and from theſe our Monks now of this later Age; moreover, wherein all theſe three do differ from Prieſts (as we call them) and from men of the Clergy. Wherefore to anſwer to the ſuperſtitious ſcruple of ſuch, which alledge the old antiquity of the name and Title of Monks; Firſt I grant the Name and Order of Monks to be of old continuance, during near from the time of three hundred years after Chriſt. Of whom divers old Authors do record, as *Auguſtinus*, *Hieronimus*, *Baſilius Magnus*, who was alſo himſelf one of the firſt inſtituters and commenders of that ſuperſtition, *Chryſoſtomus*, *Nazianzenus*, *Evagrius*, *Sozomenus*, *Dionyſius*, and divers others. In the number of theſe Monks (which then were divided into Hermits or Anchorits, and into Cœnobits) were *Antonius*, *Paulus*, *Johannes*, with divers other recluſes. Among the which was *Hierome*, *Baſil*, *Macharius*, *Iſidorus*, *Pambus*, *Nilammon*, *Simeon*, with infinite others, both in *Paleſtina*, *Syria*, *Thebaide*, *Meſopotamia*, in *Egypt*, in *Africa*, and in *Scythia*. In ſo much that *Caſſianus Lib.2. Cap.4. De Canon. Noctur. orat.* maketh mention of a certain Monaſtery in *Thebaide*, wherein were above five thouſand Monks, under the government of one Abbot. And here alſo in *England* mention is made before of *Bangor*, wherein were two thouſand and two hundred Monks under one mans ruling, in the year of our Lord five hundred ninety ſix. Whereby it appeareth that Monks were then, and two hundred years before, in the primitive time of the Church. But what Monks theſe were is to be conſidered; ſuch as either by tyranny of Perſecution were driven into ſolitary and deſert places; or elſe ſuch as not conſtrained of any, but of their own voluntary devotion (joyned with ſome Superſtition among, for the love they had unto ſpiritual contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrew themſelves from all company, either having nothing to themſelves proper, or elſe all things common with others. And all theſe were then nothing elſe but Lay men; of which Lay men, there were two ſundry ſorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which only were partakers of the Sacraments, the other, in following a Monaſtical kind of life, were called Monks, (being nothing but Lay men) leading a more ſevere and ſtricter trade of life than the others, as may ſufficiently appear, *Auguſt. lib. de moribus eccleſiæ, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item, Epiſtola ad Aurelium.* Alſo by *Hieromè ad Heliodorum*, writing theſe words: *Alia Monachorum eſt cauſa, alia Clericorum; Clerici paſcunt oves, ego paſcor, &c.* that is, *One thing pertaineth to Monks, another thing unto them of the Clergy; they of the Clergy feed their Flock, I am fed, &c. Et ex Dionyſio.* Alſo the ſame appeareth likewiſe by the fourth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it is provided, *Ne Monachi ſe eccleſiaſticis negotiis immiſceant*; that is, *That Monks ſhould not intermeddle with matters of the Church*, &c. *Et Leo Epiſtola 62. vetat Monachos & Laicos, etſi ſcientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.*

Caſſian. lib. 2. cap. 4. de do Canon. Noctur. Orat.

Two ſorts of Monks in the Primitive Church.

Two ſorts of Lay-men. Monks in the old time were no other but Lay-men, leading a ſtrict life. *Auguſt. de mor. Eccleſ. Hier. ad Heliodor. Dionyſ. Concil. Chalc. Can. 4.*

Monks forbidden to intermeddle with matters Eccleſiaſtical.

Monks differing from Prieſts.

Monks in the Primitive time differing from Monks in the ſecond age of the Church. *Auguſt. de inſtitute monachorum.*

By theſe foreſaid Authors alledged, it is evident, that Monks in the former Age of the Church, albeit they lived a ſolitary life, yet they were then no other but only Lay men, differing from Prieſts, and differing from the other Monks which ſucceeded them afterwards in the middle Age of the Church, and that in three points: Firſt, they were tied and bound to no preſcript form, either of diet or apparel, or any thing elſe, as we may ſee teſtified by the words of Saint *Auguſtine*, which be theſe: *Neque inter hæc nemo urgetur in aſpera, quæ ferre non poteſt: nulli quod recuſat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur a cæteris, in quod eis imitandus ſe fatetur invalidum. Meminerunt enim quantopere commendata ſit in ſcripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, ſed quod exit. Itaque non rejiciendis generibus ciborum quaſi pollutis, ſed concupiſcentiæ perdomandæ & dilectioni fratrum tetinendæ invigilat omnis induſtria.* And *Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16.* ſpeaking of the Monks of the ſame time, which in Cities had ſeveral Manſions from others, ſaith, *Alii in turba civitatum converſabantur, ſic ſeipſos gerentes, ut nullius momenti viderentur, & a multis nihil differrent*, &c. that is, *Some live in Cities ſo behaving themſelves, as ſeeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude*, &c. The ſecond point wherein they were diſcrepant from the later Monks was, in that they remained no other but in the Order of Lay Men (only being of a ſtricter life than the reſt) and had nothing to do in matters and charges Eccleſiaſtical; which was afterward broken by Pope *Boniface* the fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be ſeen and ſaid. Thirdly, the foreſaid Monks of that Age (albeit the moſt part of them lived ſole and ſingle from Wives) yet ſome of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or reſtrained from Marriage. Of ſuch as were married, ſpeaketh *Athanaſius in Epiſtola ad Dracontium qui ait ſe noviſſe & Monachos & Epiſcopos conjuges & liberorum patres*, &c. that is, *Which ſaith, that he knew both Monks and Biſhops married Men, and Fathers of Children*, &c.

*Sozom. li 3. cap. 16.*

Monks of the Primitive time were no Clerks, but meer Laymen.

Monks of the old time ſome married, none reſtrained from marriage.

And yet the ſaid Monks of the old time, though they were better than the other which followed them; yet all that notwithſtanding, Superſtition with them, and among them began then to creep into the Church through the crafty ſubtilty of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free juſtification by faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Examples do declare the vain and prodigious ſuperſtition of theſe Monaſtical ſort of men; which examples do not lack, if leiſure rather, did not lack to bring them in. But two or three ſhall ſuffice for many, which I purpoſe (the Lord willing) here to inſert, to the intent the mind of the godly Reader may the better conſider and underſtand, how ſhortly after the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the Doctrine of Chriſtian Juſtification began to be forgotten, true Religion turned to Superſtition, and the Price of Chriſts Paſſion to be obſcured through the vain Opinion of mens Merits, &c. A certain Abbot named *Moſes* thus teſtifieth of himſelf in the Collations of *Caſſianus*, that he ſo afflicted himſelf with much faſting and watching, that ſometimes for two or three days together, not only he felt no appetite to eat, but alſo had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reaſon thereof was driven alſo from ſleep. In ſo much that he was cauſed to pray to God but for a little refreſhing of ſleep to be given him ſome piece of the Night. In the ſame Author mention is made of a certain old man an Hermit, who becauſe he had conceived in himſelf ſuch a purpoſe never to eat meat, without he had ſome gueſt or ſtranger with him, ſometime was conſtrained to abſtain five days together until Sunday, while he came to the Church, and there brought ſome ſtranger or other home with him.

Superſtition crept in with Monkery.

The ignorance of our free juſtification by Chriſt is the cauſe of all ſuperſtition.

*Ex Caſſ. ca. 17. Collat. 2.*

Two other Examples yet more will I add out of the ſaid *Caſſianus*, to declare how the ſubtilty of Satan, through Superſtition, and falſe colour of holineſs, blindeth the miſerable eyes of ſuch, which rather attend mens Traditions than the Word of God. In the fortieth Chapter of the ſaid Author, in his Book *De gaſtrimargia*, is told of a certain Abbot named *Johannes*, in the deſert Wilderneſs of *Scythia*, who ſent two of his Novices with Figs unto one that was ſick in the Wilderneſs, eighteen Miles off from the Church. It chanced theſe two young Novices, miſſing the way, wandred ſo long in the wild Foreſt or Wilderneſs, and could not find the Cell, that for emptineſs and wearineſs they waxed faint and tired; and yet rather would they die than taſte the Figs committed to them to carry,

*Caſſian. lib. de ſpiritu gaſtrimarg. cap. 40.*

Superſtition.

and ſo did: for ſhortly after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.

*Caſſian. l. 6. cap. 2.* Another Story he alſo reciteth of two Monaſtical Brethren, who making their Progreſs in the Deſert of *Thebaide*, purpoſed with themſelves to take no ſuſtenance but ſuch as the Lord himſelf ſhould miniſter unto them. It happened as they were wandring deſolate in the Deſert, and fainting almoſt for penury, certain *Mazices*, a kind of people by nature fierce and cruel, notwithſtanding being ſuddenly altered into a new nature of Humanity, came forth, and of their own accord offered Bread unto them; which Bread the one thankfully received as ſent of God; the other, as counting it ſent of Man, and not of God, refuſed it, and ſo for lack periſhed.

Hereunto might I alſo annex the ſtory of *Mucius*, who, to declare his obedience, did not ſtick, at the commandment of his Abbot, to caſt his Son into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to reſcue him from drowning; ſo far were the Monks in thoſe days drowned in Superſtition. What is this, but for Mans Traditions and Commandments to tranſgreſs the Commandments of God, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt do no murther*; *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God?* What man is ſo blind, that ſeeth not by theſe and infinite examples more, what pernicious ſuperſtition hath begun by reaſon of this Monkery, almoſt from the beginning, to creep into the Church? Whereas I cannot marvel enough, ſeeing that Age of the Church had in it ſo many Learned Doctors, who not only did approve and follow theſe Monaſtical Sects of life, but alſo certain themſelves were the Authors and Inſtitutors of the ſame, yea, and of Mens Traditions, made the ſervice of God. In number of whom may be reckoned *Baſilius Magnus*, and *Nazianzenus*, who with immoderate Auſterity did ſo pluck down themſelves, that when they were called to the Office of Biſhops, they were not able to ſuſtain the labour thereof.

Monkery mother of ſuperſtition and hypocriſie.

*Baſilius Magnus. Nazianzen.*

After theſe foreſaid Monks of that time above rehearſed, followed other Monks of the middle Age of the Church; who, as in multitude, ſo alſo in Superſtition increaſing, began by little and little from their deſolate Dens in the vaſt Wilderneſs to approach more near to great Towns; where they had ſolemn Monaſteries founded by Kings and Queens, and Kings daughters, and other rich Conſuls, as is partly before touched; and the cauſes alſo touched withal, for the which they were firſt founded, as theſe, *Pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remiſſione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, & pro ſalute regnorum, quique meo ſubjacent regimini populorum, in honoren glorioſæ Virginis, &c.* For all theſe impious and erroneous Titles and Cauſes we find alledged in ſtories, as in *Malmesburienſis, Jornalenſis, Henricus*, and others more. In which Hiſtories I alſo note, that the moſt part of theſe aforeſaid Monaſteries were erected firſt upon ſome great Murther, either by War in the Field, or privately committed at home, as ſhall well appear to them that read their Books whom I have alledged. But to return to our Monks again, who (as I ſaid) firſt began to creep from the cold Field into warm Towns and Cloiſters, from Towns then into Cities, and at length from their cloſe Cels and Cities, into Cathedral Churches (as here appeareth by this Story of King *Edgar*) where, not only they did abound in Wealth and Riches (eſpecially theſe Monks of our later time) but much more did ſwim in Superſtition and Phariſaical Hypocriſie, being yoked and tied in all their doings, to certain preſcript Rules, and formal Obſervances; in watching, in ſleeping, in eating, in riſing, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in taſting, in touching, in handling, in their geſtures, in their veſtures, every man apparalled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the ſeaſon of the year did ſerve, but as the coacted Rules and Order of every Sect did enforce them. The number of which Sects was infinitely divers; ſome after *Baſilius* Rule went in white; ſome after *Benets* Rule in black; ſome *Cluniacenſes*, firſt ſet up by *Otho* in the time of this King *Edgar*, wearing after the Rule of *Benets* Order; ſome after *Hierome's* Rule, leather girdled, and coped above their white Coat; ſome *Gregorians* Copper coloured; ſome *De valle umbroſa*, Grey Monks; ſome *Grandimontenſes*, wearing a Coat of Mailes upon their bare bodies, with a black Cloak thereupon; ſome *Ciſtercians*, who had white Rochets on a black Coat; ſome *Celeſtines*, all in blew, both Cloak, Cowl and Cap; ſome Charter Monks, wearing Haircloth next their bodies; ſome *Flagellants*, going bare-foot in long white Linen Shirts, with an open place in the back, where they beat themſelves with ſcourges on the bare skin every day before the peoples eyes, till the blood ran down, ſaying, that it was revealed to them by an Angel, that in ſo ſcourging themſelves, within thirty days and twelve hours, they ſhould be made ſo pure from ſin, as they were when they firſt received Baptiſm; ſome ſtarred Monks; ſome Jeſuites, with a white Girdle and ruſſet Cowl. Briefly, who can reckon the innumerable Sects and diſguiſed Orders of their Fraternities? ſome holding of Saint *Benet*, ſome of Saint *Hierome*, ſome of Saint *Baſil*, ſome of Saint *Bernard*, ſome of Saint *Bridget*, ſome of Saint *Bruno*, ſome of Saint *Lewis*, as though it were not enough for Chriſtians to hold of Chriſt only. So ſubject were they to ſervile rules, that no part of Chriſtian liberty remained among them; ſo drowned and ſunk in Superſtition, that not only they had loſt Chriſts Religion, but alſo almoſt the ſenſe and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the diſcreet government of reaſon in all outward doings, wherein one Rule can ſerve for all Men; the circumſtance of time, place, perſon and buſineſs being ſo ſundry and divers; contrary among theſe, no reaſon, but only the knock of a Bell ruled all their doings; their riſing, their ſleeping, their praying, their eating, their coming in, their going out, their talking, their ſilence, and altogether like inſenſible people, either not having reaſon to rule themſelves, or elſe as perſons ungrateful to God, neither injoying the benefit of reaſon created in them, nor yet uſing the grace of Chriſts Liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Monks of the middle and later age of the Church deſcribed.

Cauſes of the founding of Monaſteries and Nunneries, tending to the derogation of Chriſts Paſſion and Chriſtian Faith.

Moſt part of Monaſteries were builded upon ſome Murther.

Monachi Flagellantes

Monks are ſubject and ruled by the knock of a Bell.

Thus thou ſeeſt (gentle Reader) ſufficiently declared, what the Monks were in the primitive time of the Church, and what were the Monks of the middle Age, and of theſe our later days of the Church. Whereunto joyn this withal, that where the Monks of elder time (as is ſaid) were meer Lay-men and no Spiritual Miniſters: afterward *Bonifacius* the Fourth made a Decree, in the year of our Lord ſix hundred and ſix, that Monks might uſe the office of Preaching, of Chriſtening, of hearing Confeſſions, and alſo of abſolving them of their ſins, &c. So then Monks, who in the beginning were but Lay-men, and no Spiritual Miniſters, forbidden by the General Council of *Chalcedon* (as is above related) to intermeddle with matters Eccleſiaſtical; afterward in proceſs of time, did ſo much incroach upon the office of Spiritual Miniſters, that at length the Prieſts were diſcharged out of their Cathedral Churches, and Monks ſet in their places; becauſe that Monks in thoſe days, leading a ſtricter life, and profeſſing chaſtity, had a greater countenance of holineſs among the People than the Prieſts, who then in the days of King *Edgar* had Wives (at leaſt ſo many as would) no Law forbidding them to the contrary, till the time of *Hildebrand*, now called *Gregory* the ſeventh, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) in the Book next following.

Monks made ſpiritual Miniſters contrary to the old decrees and cuſtom of the Church.

Prieſts in K. *Edgars* time had Wives.

And thus much by the way as touching the Order and Profeſſion of Monks. Now to turn in again from whence we digreſſed (that is) to the matter of King *Edgar*, who following the counſel and leading of *Dunſtan*, and the foreſaid *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was ſomewhat thereby inclined to Superſtition: but otherwiſe of his own nature well given to all vertues and Princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in juſtice, and ſharp in correction of vices (as well in his Magiſtrates as other ſubjects) that never before his days was leſs Felony by Robbers, nor leſs Extortion or Bribery by falſe Officers. Such Provinces and Lordſhips, as were not yet come under the Kings ſubjection, he united and adjoyned to his Dominion; and ſo made one perfect Monarchy of the whole Realm of *England*, with all the Iſlands and borders about the ſame.

The worthy acts of King *Edgar*.

The Kings good judiciary.

The Order of Monks *Cluniac*, by *Otho* ſet up in K. *Edgars* time.

Such

*England* reduced into one full and perfect Monarchy.

Such as were wicked, he kept under, he repreſſed them that were Rebels, the godly he maintained, he loved the modeſt, he was devout to God, and beloved of his Subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietneſs. And as he was a great ſeeker of peace, ſo God did bleſs him with much abundance of peace and reſt from all Wars, ſo that as the Story recordeth of him, *Nullas inſidias domeſticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum ſenſerit*, for the which he was called *Pacificus*. He neither taſted of any privy Treaſon among his Subjects, nor of any Invaſion of Foreign Enemies. So ſtudious he was of the publick profit of his Realm, and fruitful in his Government, that as the ſaid ſtory ſaith of him, *Nullus fere annus in chronicis præteriit, quo non magnum & neceſſarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No year paſſed in all the time of his Reign, wherein he did not ſome ſingular and neceſſary commodity for the Common wealth, &c.* A great maintainer he was of Religion and Learning, not forgetting herein the foreſteps of King *Alfred* his Predeceſſor. Among his other Princely virtues this chiefly is to be regarded, that whereas other Princes commonly in much peace and quietneſs are wont to grow into a diſſolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed unto them; this King in continuance of peace (that notwithſtanding) kept ever with him ſuch a watch, and a vigilant ſeverity joyned with a ſeemly clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witneſs of our Story-writers, teſtifying of his diligent care over the Commonwealth, which was ſo great, *Ut nullum cujuſcunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret*: that is, *That he would ſuffer no man, of what degree of Nobility ſo ever he were, to dally out his laws without condign puniſhment, &c.* And followeth more in the ſame Author, *Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, niſi qui mallet in fortunas alienas graſſari propriæ vitæ diſpendio, &c.* In all his time there was neither any privy picker, nor open thief, but he that in ſtealing other Mens goods, would venture and ſuffer (as he was ſure) the loſs of his own life, &c. *Guliel. de reg.*

*Edgarus rex Pacificus.* K. Edgar and K. Alfred compared together.

A note for men of Nobility to mark.

A notable example of a Prince, to admoniſh all Princes what to do.

Moreover, as the ſtudious induſtry of this Prince was forward in all other points, ſo his prudent proviſion did not lack in this alſo, in driving out the devouring and ravening Wolves throughout all his Land. Wherein he uſed this policy, in cauſing *Ludwallus* Prince or King of *Wales*, to yield to him yearly by way of Tribute three hundred Wolves. By means whereof, within the ſpace of four years after, in *England* and *Wales* might ſcantly be found one Wolf alive.

Wolves firſt driven out of *England*.

This *Edgar* among other of his politick deeds had in readineſs three thouſand ſix hundred Ships of War to ſcour the Seas in the Summer time, whereof one thouſand two hundred kept the Eaſt Seas; as many defended the Weſt ſide; again, as many were on the South Seas, to repulſe the Invaſion of Foreign Enemies. Moreover, in Winter ſeaſon, the uſe and manner of this vertuous King was this, During all the time of his life, to ride over the Land in progreſs, ſearching and inquiring diligently (to uſe here the words of mine Author) *Quomodo legum jura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum obſervarentur; & ne pauperes a potentibus præjudicium paſſi opprimerentur*; that is, *How his Laws and Statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poor ſhould ſuffer no prejudice, or be oppreſſed any manner of ways by the mightier, &c.* Briefly, as I ſee many things in this worthy Prince to be commended, ſo this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to ſee him like a Phenix to fly alone, that of all his Poſterity ſo few there be that ſeek to keep him company. And although I have ſhewed more already of this King, than I think will well be followed, yet this more is to be added to the worthineſs of his other acts, that whereas by the multitude of the *Danes* dwelling in diverſ places of *England*, much exceſſive drinking was uſed, whereupon enſued drunkenneſs and many other vices, to the evil example and hurt of his Subjects; he therefore, to prevent that evil, ordained certain Cups with Pins or Nails ſet in them, adding thereunto a Law, that what perſon drank paſt the mark at one draught, ſhould forfeit a certain peny, whereof one half ſhould fall to the accuſer, and the other half to the Ruler of the Borough or Town where the offence was done.

The proviſion of King *Edgar* in keeping the Seas.

A notable example in a Prince, for all good Princes to mark and to follow.

The device of K. Edgar to avoid drunkenneſs

It is reported of this *Edgar* by divers Authors, that about the thirteenth year of his Reign, he being at *Cheſter*, eight Kings (called in Hiſtories *Subreguli*) to wit, petty Kings, or under Kings, came and did Homage to him. Of whom the firſt was the King of *Scots*, called *Kinadius*, *Macolinus* of *Cumberland*, *Mackus* or *Maſcuſinus* King of *Monia*, and of divers other Iſlands, and all the Kings of *Wales*, the names of whom were *Duſnal*, or *Dunewaldus*, *Siſreſh*, *Huwall*, *Jacob*, *Ulkell*, *Juchel*. All which Kings, after they had given their fidelity to *Edgar*, the next day following (for a Pomp or Royalty) he entred with theſe aforeſaid Kings into the River of *Dee*; where he, ſitting in a Boat, took the rule of the Helm, and cauſed theſe eight Kings, every perſon taking an Ore in his hand, to row him up and down the River, to and from the Church of Saint *John*, unto his Palace again, in token that he was Maſter and Lord of ſo many Provinces; whereupon he is reported to have ſaid in this manner, *Tunc demum poſſe ſucceſſores ſuos gloriari, ſe Reges Angliæ eſſe, cum tanta prærogativa honorum fruerentur.* But in my mind, this King had ſaid much better, if he had rather ſaid with Saint *Paul*, *Abſit mihi gloriari, niſi in Cruce Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.*

Eight Kings do Homage to K. Edgar.

The glory of K. Edgar reprehended.

Wherein Kings ought to glory.

And thus ye have heard hitherto, touching the commendation of King *Edgar*, ſuch reports as the old Monkiſh Writers thought to beſtow upon him, as upon the great Patron of their Monkiſh Religion, who had builded ſo many Monaſteries for them, as were Sundays in the year (as ſome ſay) or as *Edmer* reporteth, but forty eight.

K. Edgar a ſuperſtitious upholder of Monkery. Ex Edmero.

Now on the other ſide, what Vices in him were reigning, let us likewiſe conſider, according as we find in the ſaid Authors deſcribed, which moſt wrote to his advancement. Whereof, the firſt Vice is noted to be Cruelty, as well upon others, as namely, upon a certain Earl, being of his ſecret Council, called *Ethelwold*. The ſtory is this; *Ordgarus*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, had a certain Daughter named *Elfrida*, whoſe Beauty being highly commended to the King, he being inflamed therewith, ſent this foreſaid *Ethelwold* (whom he ſpecially truſted) to the party, to ſee and to bring him word again, and if her Beauty were ſuch as was reported, willing him alſo to make the Match between them. *Ethelwold* well viewing the party, and ſeeing her Beauty nothing inferiour to her fame, and thinking firſt to ſerve his own turn, told all things contrary unto the King. Whereupon the King withdrawing his mind otherwiſe, in the end it came to paſs, that *Ethelwold* himſelf did marry her.

Vices noted in K. Edgar.

K. Edgar circumvented by one of his Councill.

Not long after, the King underſtanding further by the complaints and rumors of certain, how he was prevented and beguiled, ſet a fair face upon the matter before *Ethelwold*; and merrily jeſting with him, told him how he would come and ſee his Wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. *Ethelwold* the Husband, perceiving this matter to go hardly with him, made haſte to his Wife, declaring to her the coming of the King, and alſo opening the whole order of the matter how he had done; deſiring her of all love, as ſhe would ſave his life, to diſgrace and deform her ſelf with garments and ſuch attire, as the King might take no delighting in her. *Elfrida* hearing this, what did ſhe, but contrary to the requeſt of her Husband and promiſe of a Wife, againſt the Kings coming trimmed her ſelf at the Glaſs, and decked her in her beſt array. Whom when the King beheld, he was not ſo much enamored with her, as in hatred with her Husband, who had ſo deceived him. Whereupon the King ſhortly after, making as though he would go to hunt in the Foreſt of *Harwood*, ſent for *Ethelwold* to come to him under the pretence of Hunting, and there ran him through and ſlew him. After this, the Baſtard Son of *Ethelwold* coming to him, the King asked him how he liked that hunting? Who anſwered again, *that which pleaſeth the King, ought not to diſpleaſe him*; for the death of which *Ethelwold*, *Elfrida* afterward builded a Monaſtery of Nuns in remiſſion of ſins.

Cruelty in K. Edgar noted.

Great detriment happening in this Realm by King *Edgar.*

Another fault which *Malmesbury* noteth in him, was the coming in of Strangers into this Land, as *Saxons*, *Flemings* and *Danes*, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of the Land, as the foresaid story of *Malmesbury* recordeth, whose words be these: *Unde factum est, ut fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandricæ, ipsi etiam Dani huc frequenter annavigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti. Quorum adventus magnum provincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde merito jureque reprehendunt eum literæ, &c.* That is, *Whereby it happened that divers strangers out of foreign Countries allured by his fame came into the Land, as* Saxons, Flemings *and* Danes *also, all which he retained with great familiarity. The coming of which strangers bred great damage to the Realm, and therefore is* Edgar *justly blamed in stories, &c.* With the which reprehension the *Saxon* stories also do agree.

*W. Malmib.*

The incontinent life of K. *Edgar.*

The third vice to him objected, was, his incontinent and lascivious lust in deflouring Maids, as first of a Dukes Daughter being a Nun, and a Virgin named *Wilfrida*, or *Wilstrud*, of which *Wilfrid* was born *Editha* a Bastard Daughter of *Edgar*. Also of another certain Virgin in the Town of *Andevar*, who was privily conveyed into his Bed by this means: The lascivious King coming to *Andevar*, not far from *Winchester*, and thinking to have his pleasure of a certain Dukes Daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the Maid to be brought unto him. The Mother of the Virgin, grieving to have her Daughter made a Concubine, secretly by night conveyed to the Kings Bed instead of her Daughter, another Maiden, of Beauty and Favour not uncomely; who in the morning rising to her work, and so being known of the King what she was, had granted unto her of the King such liberty and freedom, that of a servant she was made Mistress both to her Master, and also to her Mistress. *Ex Matthæo Paris. lib. de regib.*

*Editha* base Daughter of *Wilfrid* the Kings lemman.

*Edward* born in Bastardy of *Elfled*, King *Edwards* Concubine.

Another Concubine he had also besides these aforesaid, which was *Egelfleda*, or *Elfleda*, called *Candida*, the white Daughter of Duke *Ordmere* (as *Gulielm. Malmesburiens.* recordeth) she being also a professed Nun, of whom he begot *Edward* in Bastardy; for the which he was injoyned by *Dunstan* seven years Penance. After which Penance being compleat, then he took to him a lawful Wife (as *Malmesb.* saith) *Elfritha*, the Mother of *Edmund* and *Ethelred*, or otherwise called *Egelred*, whereof more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

King *Edgar* a great maintainer of Monkery

Over and besides all these Vices noted and objected to King *Edgar* in our Monkish Story-writers, I also observe another no less, or rather greater Vice than the other afore recited, which was, blind Superstition and idolatrous Monkery brought into the Church of Christ, with the wrongful expulsing of lawful married Priests out of their Houses. Whereupon what inconveniences insued after in this Realm, especially in the House of the Lord, I leave it to the consideration of them which have heard of the detestable enormities of those Religious Votaries: the occasion whereof first and chiefly began in this *Edgar*, through the instigation of *Dunstan* and his Fellows, who after they had inveigled the King, and had brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a Council of the Clergy, where it was Enacted, that the Canons of divers Cathedral Churches, Colleginers, Parsons, Vicars, Priests and Deacons, with their Wives and Children, either should give over that kind of life, or else give room to Monks, *&c.* For execution of which Decree, two principal Visitors were appointed, *Athelwold* or *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, as is partly before touched. *Osbernus in vita Dunstani. Malmsbur. de vit. pontif. Rog. Hoved.*

King *Edgar* seduced by *Dunstan* and *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winchester.* *Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani, fol. 27. Malmib. Hovedan. & alibi.*

And thus much concerning the History of King *Edgar*, and of such things as in his time happened in the Church, which *Edgar* after he had entered into the parts of *Britany* to subdue the Rebellion of the *Welshmen*, and there had spoiled the Country of *Glamorgan*, and wasted the Country of *Odo*, within ten days after, when he had reigned the space of sixteen years, he died, and was buried at *Glastenbury*, leaving after him two Bastards, to wit, *Editha* and *Edward*, and one Son lawfully begotten, named *Ethelred*, or otherwise by corruption called *Egelred*, for *Edmund* the elder Son died before his Father.

The death of K. *Edgar.*

You heard before how King *Edgar* is noted in all Stories to be an incontinent liver in deflouring Maids and Virgins. Of which Virgins, three notoriously are expressed in Authors, to wit, *Wilstrude* or *Wilfrida*; the second was the Dukes Maid at *Andevar*, near to *Winchester*; the third was *Elfled* Mother of *Edward*, for the which *Elfled* he was staved and kept back from his Coronation by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the space of seven years; and so the said King beginning his Reign in the sixteenth year of his Age, being the year of the Lord, nine hundred fifty nine, was Crowned at his Age one and thirty, *Anno Domini* 974. as is in the *Saxon* Chronicle of *Worcester* Church to be proved. For the more evident declaration of which matter, concerning the Coronation of the King restrained, and the presumptuous behaviour of *Dunstan* against the King, and his Penance by the said *Dunstan* enjoyned, ye shall hear both *Osbern*, *Malmesbur.* and other Authors speak in their own words as followeth. *Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato, &c.* After that *Dunstan* had understanding of the Kings offence perpetrated with the professed Nun, and that the same was blazed amongst the People, with great ire and passion of mind he came to the King, who seeing the Archbishop coming, eftsoons of gentleness arose from his Regal Seat towards him, to take him by the hand, and to give him place. But *Dunstan* refusing to take him by the hand, and with stern countenance bending his Brows, spake after this effect of words (as Stories import) unto the King, *You that have not feared to corrupt a virgin Maid handfast to Christ, presume you to touch the consecrated hands of a Bishop? You have defiled the Spouse of your Maker, and think you by flattering service to pacifie the friend of the Bridegroom? No Sir, his friend will not I be, which hath Christ to his enemy, &c.* The King terrified with these thundering words of *Dunstan* and compuncted with inward repentance of his sin perpetrated, fell down with weeping at the feet of *Dunstan*; who after he had raised him up from the ground again, began to utter to him the horribleness of his fact; and finding the King ready to receive whatsoever satisfaction he would lay upon him, enjoyned him this Penance for seven years space, as followeth:

The Chronicle *Saxonice Ecclesiæ Wigornienses*

Ex *Osberno in vita Dunstani.*

*Dunstan* refuseth to take the King by the hand. The words of *Dunstan* to K. *Edgar.*

*That he should wear no Crown all that space; that he should fast twice in the Week; he should distribute his Treasure left to him of his Ancestors liberally unto the poor, he should build a Monastery of Nuns at* Shaftsbury, *that as he had robbed God of one Virgin through his transgression, so should he restore to him many again in times to come. Moreover he should expel Clerks of evil life (meaning such Priests as had Wives and Children) out of Churches, and place Covents of Monks in their room, &c.*

Penance enjoyned to K. *Edgar* by *Dunstan.*

It followeth then in the Story of *Osbern*, that when the seven years of the Kings Penance were expired, *Dunstan* calling together all the Peers of the Realm, with Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastical degrees of the Clergy, in the publick sight of all the multitude, set the Crown upon the Kings Head at *Bath*, which was the one and thirtieth year of his Age, and the thirteenth year of his Reign; so that he reigned only but three years crowned King. All the other years besides *Dunstan* belike ruled the Land as he listed. Furthermore, as touching the Son of the said *Elfled*, thus the Story writeth, *Puerum quoque ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, sacro fonte regeneratum lavavit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium sibi adoptavit*, Id est, *The Child also which was gotten of the Harlot, he baptised in the holy fountain of regeneration, and so giving his Name to be called* Edward, *did adopt him to be his Son, &c.* Ex Osberno.

King *Edgar* reigned but three years crowned King.

*Elfled* proved a Nun, and *Edward* her son proved a Bastard.

By

Errors in *Malmsbury*, and certain other monks ſtories.

By the which Narration of *Osbern*, agreeing alſo with the Story of the *Saxon* Book above mentioned, is convinced a double untruth or error, either negligently overſeen, or of purpoſe diſſembled in our later Monkiſh Story-writers, as in *Malmesbury*, *Matth. Paru*, *Matth. Weſtm.* and others more. Who, to conceal the fault of King *Edgar*, or to bear with *Dunſtan*'s fact, in ſetting up *Edward* for the maintenance of their Monkiſh Order, firſt do falſly affirm, that *Editha* the daughter of *Ulfride* was born after *Edward*, and that for her this Penance was injoyned to King *Edgar*. Which neither is, nor can be ſo, as in proceſs hereafter (the Lord willing) ſhall appear.

The firſt error. The Kings Penance not for *Editha*, but for *Edward*.

Secondly, they are deceived in this, that they affirm King *Edgar* to have two Wives, and that *Elfleda* the Mother of *Edward* was not a profeſſed Nun indeed, but diſſembled ſo to be to avoid the violence of the King: whereas indeed the truth of the Story both giveth her to be a Nun, and her Son to be baſe, and ſhe her ſelf never to be married unto the King.

The ſecond error. *Elfleda* the Mother of *Edward*, proved to be a profeſſed Nun.

The lying Miracles of *Elfled*, *Dunſtan*, and *Editha* reproved.

Now forſomuch as we have hitherto entered mention of *Elfleda* and *Editha*; alſo of *Ulfred* and *Dunſtan*, here would not be let paſs to ſpeak ſomething of their lying Miracles, falſly forged, to the great ſeduction of Chriſtian People by ſuperſtitious Monks, who cared not what Fables and Lies they brought into the Church, ſo they might have the vantage of poor mens Purſes and Oblations. And firſt here cometh in the fabulous Miracles wrought at the Tomb of *Elfleda* the Kings Concubine, which *William Malmesbury* in theſe Verſes expreſſeth:

Idolatrous worſhipping the Tomb of Elfled.

*Nam nonnullis paſſa annis morborum moleſtiam,*
*Dæfecatam & excoctam Deo dedit animam.*
*Functas ergo vitæ fato beatas exuvias,*
*Infinitis clemens ſignis illuſtravit Deitas:*
*Inops viſus & auditus ſi adorant tumulum,*
*Sanitati reſtituti probant ſanctæ meritum.*
*Rectum greſſum refert domum, qui acceſſit loripes,*
*Mente captus redit ſanus, boni ſenſus locupleS.*

The *Engliſh* of which Verſes is needleſs here to be recited. Briefly, the effect is this; *That both the blind, deaf, halt, and ſuch as be mad, receive their health again, if they worſhip the Tomb of this* Elfleda, &c.

The idle fantaſies and forged Miracles of *Dunſtan*. A doubt whether *Dunſtan* was a Sorcerer.

The like feignings and monſtrous Miracles we read alſo in Chronicles of doting *Dunſtan*, drowned in all ſuperſtition, if he were not alſo a wicked Sorcerer. Firſt, how he being yet a Boy, chaſed away the Divel, ſet about with a great company of Dogs, and how the Angels did open the Church door for him to enter. Then how the Lute or Harp hanging upon the Wall did ſing or play without any finger theſe words, *Gaudent in cœlis animæ ſanctorum, qui Chriſti veſtigia ſunt ſequuti, & qui pro ejus amore ſanguinem ſuum fuderunt; ideo cum Chriſto regnabunt in æternum.*

Dunſtan's Poſt-ſetter. *Dunſtan* caught the Devil by the Noſe with an hot pair of Tongs. Our Lady appeared to *Dunſtan*. What marvel, if certain books and Epiſtles be falſly intituled to the Doctors, when the *Papiſts* ſhame not to aſcribe other mens Verſes alſo to the Virgin *Mary* her ſelf?

*Item*, where a certain great Beam or maſter-poſt was looſed out of the place, he with making the ſign of a Croſs, ſet it in right frame again. Moreover, how the ſaid *Dunſtan* being tempted upon a time, of the Devil with the cogitation of Women, caught the Devil by the Noſe with a hot pair of Tongs, and held him faſt. *Item*, How often Heavenly Spirits appeared to him, and uſed to talk with him familiarly. *Item*, How he propheſied of the Birth of King *Edgar*, of the death of King *Egelred*, of the death of *Editha*, and of *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Alſo how our Lady with her fellows appeared viſibly to him, ſinging this Song;

*Cantemus domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem;*
*Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio.*

Again, how the Angels appeared to him, ſinging the Hymn called *Kyrie Rex ſplendens, &c.* And yet theſe prodigious Fantaſies with other more are written of him in Chronicles, and have been believed in Churches.

A foul, filthy monkiſh Miracle in the ſtory of *Editha*.

Among many other falſe and lying Miracles, forged in this corrupt time of Monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy Legend of *Editha* were not to be overpaſſed, if for ſhame and honeſty it might well be recited. But to caſt the dirt of theſe Pope-holy Monks in their own face, which ſo impudently have abuſed the Church of Chriſt, and ſimplicity of the People, with their ungratious vanities; let us ſee what this Miracle is, and how honeſtly it is told.

Another Dream of *Dunſtan*.

Certain years after the death of *Editha*, ſaith *William* of *Malmesbury*, which years *Capgrave* in his new Legend reckoneth to be thirteen, the ſaid *Editha*, and alſo Saint *Dennis* holding her by the hand, appeared to *Dunſtan* in a Viſion, willing and requiring him that the body of *Editha* in the Church of *Wilton*, ſhould be taken up and ſhrined, to the intent it might be honoured here in Earth of her Servants, according as it is worſhipped of her Spouſe in Heaven. *Dunſtan* upon this coming from *Salisbury* to *Wilton*, where *Editha* was interred, commanded her body to be taken up with much Honour and Solemnity. Who there in opening her Tomb (as both *Malmesbury* and *Capgrave* with ſhame enough record) found all the whole body of this *Editha* conſumed to Earth, ſave only her Thumb, her Belly, and the part under the Belly. Whereof the ſaid *Editha* expounding the meaning, declared that her Thumb remained ſound, for the much croſſing ſhe uſed with the ſame. The other parts were incorrupted for a teſtimony of her Abſtinence and Integrity, &c. *Ex Malmesburienſ. & Capgrave.* *Ex W. Mal. & Capgrave in legenda nova.*

What Satan hath ſo envied the true ſincerity of Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine, ſo to contaminate the ſame with ſuch impudent tales, ſuch filthy vanities, and idolatrous fantaſies as this? Such Monks with their deteſtable Houſes, where Chriſts People were ſo abominably abuſed and ſeduced to worſhip dead Carcaſes of Men and Women, whether they deſerved not to be raced and pluckt down to the ground, let all chaſt Readers judge. But of theſe matters enough and too much.

The death of K. Edgar.

¶ Here followeth the Epitaph written by *Henricus* Archdeacon of *Huntington*, upon the praiſe and commendation of King *Edgar*.

An Epitaph commendatory of K. Edgar written by H. Huntington.

*Autor opum, vindex ſcelerum, largitor honorum,*
*Sceptriger Edgarus regna ſuperna petit.*
*Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,*
*Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.*
*Templa Deo, Templis Monachos, Monachis dedit agros,*
*Nequitiæ lapſum, juſtitiæque locum.*
*Novit enim Regno verum perquirere falſo,*
*Immenſum modico; perpetuumque brevi.*

Sunday firſt hallowed from Saturday at nine of the clock, to Monday morning.

Among his other laws, this King ordained that the Sunday ſhould be ſolemnized, from Saturday at nine of the Clock, till Monday morning.

## *King* Edward *called the Martyr.*

AFTER the death of King *Edgar* no ſmall trouble aroſe among the Lords and Biſhops for ſucceſſion of the Crown; the principal cauſe whereof roſe upon this occaſion, as by the Story of *Simon* of *Durham* and *Roger Hoveden*, is declared. Immediately after the deceaſe of the King, *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles which held with *Egelred* or *Ethelred* the only right heir and lawful Son of *Edgar*, miſliking the placing and intruding of Monks into Churches, and the thruſting out of the Secular Prieſts, with their Wives and Children out of their ancient Poſſeſſions, expelled the Abbots and Monks, and brought in again the foreſaid Prieſts with their Wives.

{Anno 975.} The ſtory of K. Edward. *Ex Simone Dunhamo.* Contention amongſt the Lords about the putting in of monks.

Wives. Againſt whom certain other there were on the contrary part that made reſiſtance, as *Ethelwin* Duke of *Eaſtangles*, *Elfwoldus* his brother, and the Earl *Brithnothus*, ſaying in a Council together aſſembled, *That they would never ſuffer the Religious Monks to be expelled and driven out of the Realm, which held up all Religion in the Land*; and thereupon eſtſoons levied an Army, whereby to defend by force the Monaſteries, ſuch as were within the Precinct of *Eaſtanglia*.

Contention amongſt the Lords for chooſing the King.

In this hurly-burly amongſt the Lords, about the placing of Monks, and putting out of Prieſts, roſe alſo the contention about the Crown, who ſhould be their King; the Biſhops and ſuch Lords as favoured the Monks, ſeeking to advance ſuch a King as they knew would incline to their ſide; ſo that the Lords thus divided, ſome of them would have *Edward*, and ſome conſented upon *Egelred* the lawful Son. Then *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York*, with other their fellow Biſhops, Abbots, and divers other Lords and Dukes aſſembled in a Council together. In the which Council *Dunſtan* coming in with his Croſs in his hand, and bringing *Edward* before the Lords, ſo perſwaded them, that in the end *Edward* by *Dunſtan*'s means was elected, conſecrated and anointed for their King.

Edward the Baſtard made King, and the right heir put back.

And thus haſt thou (good Reader) the very truth of this ſtory, according to the writing of Authors of moſt antiquity which lived neareſt to that Age, as *Oſbern* and others; which *Osbern*, living in the days of *William* the Conqueror, wrote this Story of *Dunſtan* through the motion of *Lanfrancus*, and alledgeth, or rather tranſlateth the ſame out of ſuch *Saxon* Stories as were written before his time. Beſides which *Oſbern* we have alſo for witneſs hereof, *Nicholas Trivet*, in his *Engliſh* Story written in *French*, and alſo *Joannes Paris* in his *French* Story written in the *Latine* Tongue, where he plainly calleth *Edward*, *Non legitimum filium*, that is, *No lawful Son*. Whereunto add moreover, the teſtimony of *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, who in plain terms likewiſe report the ſame.

*Ex Osbern. Nic. Trivet. Joan. Pariſ. Vincentio, Antonino.*

Editha proved not to be the child for whom King Edgar was enjoyn d. Penance.

Now having laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let us come to examine how truly our later Writers do ſay, which write that *Editha*, and not *Edward*, was the Child for whom *Dunſtan* enjoyned to the King ſeven years Penance, and alſo how truly they report *Edward* to be a lawful Heir, and *Elfled* to be a lawful Wife to King *Edgar*.

For firſt touching *Editha*, this is confeſſed by the ſaid Writers themſelves, that ſhe was of good years at what time *Edgar* her Father was enjoyned his Penance. After the which ſeven years of his Penance expired, he lived at the moſt but three years and a half, which ſeven years, and three years and a half, do make in all but ten years and a half. But now the ſaid Authors themſelves do grant, that ſhe was made Abbeſs by her Father, he being then alive. And how can this then ſtand with her Legend, which ſaith, that ſhe was not leſs than fifteen years of Age? By which account it muſt needs fall out, that ſhe could not be ſo little as five years old, before the birth of that Child for whom the King did Penance.

The years of *Editha* & *Edward* caſt by the ſupputation of legends and ſtories.

And thus much touching *Editha*. Now in like manner to conſider of the time of *Edward*. Firſt, this by all Writers is granted, that he was ſlain in the fifteenth year of his Age. Which years do well agree to that Child which King *Edgar* begat in Baſtardy, and for the which he did his Penance; for the more evidence whereof, let us come to the ſupputation of the years in this ſort.

Firſt the Penance of the King after the birth of this Child, laſted ſeven years. Then the King after the ſame lived three years and a half. After whoſe death *Edward* reigned other three years and a half, which in all make the full ſum of fourteen years. About the count of which age, the ſaid *Edward* going on his fifteenth year, by their own reckoning was ſlain.

And thus have ye by manifeſt demonſtration proved by the right caſting of the years, after their own grant and reckoning, that *Editha* Daughter of *Ulfride* in no caſe can be the Child which was born after *Edward*, and for whom the King was enjoyned Penance; but that *Edward* rather was born after *Editha*, and was the Child for whom the Penance was injoyned; contrary to the Opinion commonly received in the Church, which for ignorance of the Story hath hitherto holden *Edward* to be an Holy Martyr, and right Heir unto the Crown. Which Error and Opinion how it firſt ſprang, and by whom, albeit it pertain not to my Story to diſcuſs, yet were it no hard matter to conjecture.

K. Edward, called Martyr, proved to be a Baſtard.

The cauſe perpending this ſtory of K. Edward is ſo fully corrupted in Monkiſh Stories.

Firſt, After that *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald* with other Biſhops, Abbots, and certain Lords and Dukes of that Faction, for the maintenance of Monkery, had advanced *Edward* to be King, againſt Queen *Alfrith* Mother of *Ethelred*, and *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and certain other Nobles which held the contrary ſide of the Prieſts againſt the Monks; in proceſs of time the Monks that came after to write Stories, perceiving *Dunſtan* to be reputed in the Church of *Rome* for an holy Saint, and the ſaid King *Edward* for an holy Martyr, and partly alſo to bolſter up their own Religion of Monkery ſo much as they could; to the intent therefore that they might ſave both the credit of *Dunſtan*, and of the King, and eſpecially bearing favour to their own Religion, and partly that the reputation of the Church of *Rome* ſhould not be diſtained by opening the truth of this matter, either they did not ſee, or would not confeſs herein what they knew; but rather thought beſt to blanch the Story, and colourably to hide the ſimple truth thereof, making the People falſely believe that *Elfleda* the Mother of *Edward*, was Wife to King *Edgar*, and *Edward* to be lawfully born, and alſo that *Editha* was born after *Edward*, and to be the Child for which the King was enjoyned Penance. All which is falſe and contrary both to the order of time above declared, and alſo to the plain words of *Malmesbury*, which ſpeaking of King *Edgar*'s laſt Concubine, ſaith in plain words, *Dilexit unice integram lecto uni differens fidem, quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfthridem, Filiam Ordgari*: that is, *He had a Concubine whom he loved intirely, keeping true faith of his Bed to her alone, until the time he married for his lawful Wife* Elfrid *the Daughter of Duke* Ordgar, &c. Whereby we have to underſtand, that whatſoever Concubine this was which *Malmesbury* ſpeaketh of, certain it is, that *Edgar* lived in Whoredom till the time he married his lawful Wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beſide theſe Arguments and Allegations above recited, let this alſo be perpended, how the ſaid *Dunſtan* with his Complices, after the killing of King *Edward*, leaving the right Heir of the Crown (which was *Ethelred*) went about (as *Capgrave* and their own Legend confeſſeth) to ſet up *Editha* the other Baſtard to poſſeſs the Crown, but that ſhe, more wiſe than her Brother *Edward*, refuſed the ſame. Whereby what is to be thought of the doings of *Dunſtan*, and what ſhould be the cauſe why he preferred both *Edward* and *Editha* to the Crown, rather than the lawful Heir, I leave to all indifferent Readers thereof to judge.

*Malmsb. in lib. de regib.*

*Dunſtan* ſuborneth *Editha* the Baſtard, to take the crown from the right Heir.

*Capgrav. in vita ſanctæ Editha.*

After that *Dunſtan* and his fellows had thus ſet up *Edward* for their King, they were now where they would be, ſuppoſing all to be ſure on their ſide, and that they had eſtabliſhed the Kingdom of Monkery for ever, through the help of the young King, and the Duke of *Eaſtangles*, and certain other Nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter paſſed not ſo well with them as they hoped. For ſhortly after the Coronation of the young King, *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, who followed much the deeds of the Queen with other great Men, ſtoutly ſtanding on the other ſide, drove out the Monks from the Cathedral Churches, which King *Edgar* before had ſet in, and reſtored again the Prieſts (as *Ranulphus* ſaith) with their Concubines; but in the Hiſtory of the Library of *Fornal*, I find it plainly expreſſed with their Wives. The words

*Duke Alferus.*

Prieſts with their Wives reſtored.

of

*Hiſtoria Jornalenſis in vita Edgari.*

of the very Author be theſe: *Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæterique plures, ejectis monachis de magnis monaſteriis, quos Rex Edgarus nuper inſtituerat, Clericos cum uxoribus reduxerunt:* that is, *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, with other great men more, drove out the Monks from the great Monaſteries whom King *Edgar* had there ſet in before, and reſtored again the Prieſts with their wives.

Biſhops and Prieſts in thoſe days married in England.

Whereby it doth evidently appear that Prieſts in thoſe days were married, and had their lawful wives. The like before that in King *Inas* time is plain, that Biſhops then had wives and children, as appeareth by the words of the Law then ſent forth, extant in the Hiſtory of the ſaid *Jornalenſis*, which be theſe, *Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, ſit ſimile cognationi, & creſcat emendatio ſecundum Weram ejus Regi, ſicut cognationi. Si de parentela ſit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, ſicut mandata Domini. Si Epiſcopi filiolus ſit, ſit dimidium hoc*, &c. And thus much by the way for Prieſts wives and their children.

*Jornalenſ.*

Now to the purpoſe again of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and Nobles of *England* expelled the Monks out of the Monaſteries after the death of King *Edgar*; whereof let us hear what the Monkiſh ſtory of the Abbey of *Crowland* recordeth: *Monachis de quibuſdam Monaſteriis ejectis, Clerici ſunt introducti, qui ſtatim Monaſteriorum maneria ducibus terræ diſtribuebant, ut ſic in ſuas partes obligati eos contra monachos defenſarent. Tunc de Monaſterio Eveſhamenſi, monachis expulſis, Clerici fuerunt introducti. Terræque tyranni de terris Eccleſiæ præmiati ſunt quibus Regina novercali nequitia, ſtans cum Clericis in Regis opprobrium, favebat. Cum monachis autem Rex, & ſancti Epiſcopi perſiſtebant. Sed tyranni, fulti reginæ favore & potentia, ſuper monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus eſt. Ex Chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Crowland*, &c. that is, The Monks being expelled out of certain Monaſteries, the Clerks again were brought in, who diſtributed the Mannors or Farms of the ſaid Monaſteries to the Dukes and Lords of the land, that they being obliged to them, ſhould defend them againſt the Monks. And ſo were the Monks of *Eveſham* thruſt out, and the ſecular Clerks placed, and the lands of the Church given to the Lords; with whom the Queen, the Kings ſtepmother holding the ſame time, took part alſo with the ſaid Clerks againſt the King. On the contrary part ſtood the King and the holy Biſhops, taking part with the Monks. Howbeit the Lords and Peers of the Realm, ſtaying upon the favour and power of the *Queen*, triumphed over the Monks, *&c.*

*Ex Chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Crowland.*

Great buſineſs in the land about placing of Monks, and diſplacing Prieſts.

Thus, as much ado there was through all quarters of the Realm about the matter among the Lords, ſo aroſe no leſs contention between the Prieſts and Monks of *England*. The Prieſts complaining to the King and *Dunſtan*, ſaid for themſelves that it was uncomely, uncharitable, yea and unnatural, to put out an old known dweller for a new unknown; and that God was not pleaſed that that ſhould be taken from the ancient poſſeſſor which by God was given him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to ſuffer any ſuch injury to be done, leſt peradventure the ſame thing, wherein he was prejudicial to another, might after revert and redound upon himſelf at length. The Monks, on the other ſide ſaid for their part, that Chriſt allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new comer, nor yet looked upon the perſon, but who ſo would take the Croſs of Penance upon him, and follow Chriſt in vertuous living, ſhould be his Diſciple.

A controverſie between Prieſts and Monks. Prieſts Marriage noted for an old cuſtom in *England*. The objection of Prieſts againſt the Monks. *Guliel. de Regib. lib. 2.*

The anſwer of Monks againſt the Prieſts.

Theſe and ſuch other were the allegations of the Monks. But whether a Monks Cowl, or a wifeleſs life make a ſufficient title to enter into other mens poſſeſſions or no, I refer it to the judgment of the godly. The troublous cares in marriage, the neceſſary proviſion for Houſe-keeping, the vertuous bringing up of children, the daily helping of poverty, and bearing of publick charges, with other manifeſt perturbations and combrances daily incident unto Matrimony, might rather appear to godly wiſe men to come nearer to the right Croſs of Penance, than the eaſie and loitering idleneſs of Monkery. In the end, upon this controverſie was holden a Council of Biſhops, and other of the Clergy. Firſt, at *Reading* or at *Wincheſter* (as *Guliel.* ſaith) where the greater part both of the Nobles and Commons judged the Prieſts to have great wrong, and ſought by all means poſſible to bring them again to their old poſſeſſions and dignities. *Jornalenſis* here maketh rehearſal of an Image of the Crucifix, or a Rood ſtanding upon the Frater-wall, where the Council was holden. To this Rood *Dunſtan* required them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of ſome ſpiritual proviſion beforehand. In the midſt of their prayer the Rood (or elſe ſome blind Monk behind it in a Trunk) through the wall, is reported to ſpeak theſe words, *Abſit hoc ut fiat; abſit hoc ut fiat: judicaſtis bene, mutaretis non bene.* In remembrance whereof theſe verſes were written under the Roods feet.

{Anno 977.}

A vain miracle of *Dunſtans* Rood that ſpake.

*Humano more crux præſens ædidit ore,*
*Cœlitus affata, quæ perſpicis hic ſubarata,*
*Abſit ut hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.*

Here lacked a *Thomas Cromwell* to try out falſe jugling.

Of this *Dunſtanical*, or rather Satanical Oracle, *Henricus* maketh no mention, nor *Ranulphus*, nor yet *Hovedenus*, nor *Fabian* in their Hiſtories. *Gulielmus* in his Book *De Regibus* reporteth it but by hear-ſay, in theſe words ſaying, *Aliæ literæ docent, &c.* Wherefore the leſs it ſeemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proveth in this matter nothing elſe but *Dunſtan* to be a Sorcerer, as *Polydore Virgil* alſo himſelf ſeemeth to ſmell ſomething in this matter.

Another aſſembly called at *Calve*.

Notwithſtanding, for all this yet the ſtrife ceaſed not; inſomuch that a new aſſembly of the Clergy and other was appointed after at a place called the Street of *Calve*, where the Council was kept in an upper loft. In this Council many grievous plaints were objected (as *Malmsb.* ſaith) againſt *Dunſtan*; but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remove from that which he began to maintain. And while they were in great contention and argument which way ſhould be admitted and allowed (if it be true that in the ſtories is written) ſuddenly the Joyces of the Loft failed, and the people with the Nobles fell down, ſo that certain were ſlain, and many hurt. But *Dunſtan* (they ſay, only ſtanding upon a poſt of the Sollar which remained unbroken) eſcaped without danger. Which thing whether it ſo happened to protend before the ruin of the Realm and of the Nobles (as *Henry Huntington* doth expound it) which after inſued by the *Danes*, or whether it was ſo wrought by *Dunſtan*'s ſorcery (as was not unpoſſible) or whether it were a thing but feigned of the Monkiſh writers, and not true; all this I leave to the Readers, to think therein what them liketh. The Stories ſay further, that upon this the matter ceaſed, and *Dunſtan* had all his will.

*Dunſtan* an enemy to Prieſts wives.

A ſudden fall of the people at the Council of *Calve*.

*Henricus lib. 5. Guliel. Ranulph. Jornalenſis, Fabian.*

Theſe things thus done at *Calve*, it happened not long after the ſame, that King *Edward*, whom the writers deſcribe to be a vertuous and a meek Prince, much pitiful and beneficial to the poor, about the fourth year of his reign came upon a ſeaſon from hunting in the Foreſt alone, without the company of his ſervants to the place in the Weſt Country, where *Alfrith* his mother with her ſon *Egelred* did lye. When the Queen the mother was warned of his coming by her men, anon ſhe calleth a ſervant of hers which was of her ſpecial truſt, opening to him all her conceived counſel, and ſhewing him all points how and what to do for the accompliſhing of her wicked purpoſe. Which thing ſo done, ſhe made towards the King, and received him with all courteſie, deſiring him to tarry that night; but he in like courteſie excuſed himſelf, and for ſpeed deſired to ſee his Brother, and to drink upon his Horſe ſitting, the which was ſhortly brought.

The horrible wickedneſs of a Queen-mother.

Now while the Cup was at his mouth, the ſervant of the Queen (being informed) ſtrake him in the body with a long two edged Dagger. After the which ſtroke the King took the Horſe with the ſpurs, and ran toward the way where he ſuppoſed to meet with his company, but he bled ſo ſore, that with faintneſs he fell from his Horſe, his one foot being in the Stirrup. By reaſon whereof he was drawn of his Horſe over fields and lands till he came to a place named *Corifgate*, where he was found dead; and for that neither the manner of his death, nor yet he himſelf was known to be the King, he was buried unhonourably at the Town of *Warham*, where the body remained the ſpace of three years, and then after was taken up by Duke *Alfer* above mentioned, and with pomp and honour accordingly was removed to the Minſter of *Shaftsbury*, and there beſtowed in the place called *Edward*-

King *Edward* traytorouſly murthered by his ſtepmother, and her ſervant.

K. *Edward* found dead and buried, not known to be King. *Corif* Caſtle.

The body of King *Edward* after three years, honourably taken up and tranſlated to *Shaftsbury*.

*Edwardſtow.* Many tales run (more perchance than be true) concerning the finding and taking up of his body, which our moſt common Hiſtories aſcribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the King was buried. As firſt, how a poor woman born blind received her ſight by the means of St. *Edward*, there where he did lie. Alſo how a pillar of fire from Heaven deſcended over the place of his burial. Then how the foreſaid Queen *Alfrith* taking her Horſe to go to the place, was ſtopped by the way, that neither her Horſe could be driven by any means, nor ſhe her ſelf on foot was able to approach near to the place where the Corpſe of St. *Edward* was. Furthermore, how the ſaid Queen in repentance of her fact, afterward builded two Nunneries, one at *Amesbury* by *Saliſbury*; the other at *Werewell*, where ſhe kept her ſelf in continual repentance all the days of her life. And thus as ye have heard, was this vertuous young King *Edward* murthered, when he had reigned almoſt four years, leaving no iſſue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to *Egelredus* his Brother.

Two Nunneries founded upon murther.

§ But here by the way is to be noted (upon the name of this *Edward*) that there were three *Edwards* before the Conqueſt. The firſt was King *Edward* the Senior; the ſecond, King *Edward* the Martyr, which was this King; the third was King *Edward* called the Confeſſor, whereof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

{ Anno 979. }

Three *Edwards* Kings before the Conqueſt.

In the order and courſe of the *Roman* Biſhops, mention was made laſt of *Agapetus* the ſecond, after whom next ſucceeded Pope *John* the thirteenth, of whom *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* received his Pall, as in the ſtory of King *Edgar* is before minded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleat from his firſt bringing up with abominable vices; a Whoremaſter, an Adulterer, Inceſtuous, Libidinous, a Gamſter, an Extortioner, perjured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruel and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, ſome he put out their eyes, from ſome he cut off their tongues, ſome their fingers, ſome their noſes, *&c.* In a General Council before the Emperor *Otho* the firſt of that name (who was the firſt Emperor of the *Germans*) after the Empire was tranſlated out of *France* to *Germany* by Pope *Agapetus* (as is above Hiſtoried) theſe Objections were articulate againſt him. Firſt, that he never ſaid his Service; that in ſaying his Maſs he did not Communicate; that he Ordained Deacons in a Stable; that he committed Inceſt with two of his Siſters; that playing at Dice he called for the Devil to help; that for money he made boys Biſhops; that he deflowred Virgins and ſtrangers; that of the Palace of *Lateran* he made a Stews; that he lay with *Stephana* his Fathers Concubine; likewiſe with *Ramera*, and with *Anna* and her Neece; that he put out the eyes of the Biſhop *Benedict*; that he cauſed houſes to be ſet on fire; that he brake open houſes; that he drank to the Devil; that he never croſſed himſelf, *&c.* For the which cauſes (and worthily) he was depoſed by the conſent of the Emperor with the Prelates, and Pope *Leo* was ſubſtitute in his place. But after his departing (through the Harlots of *Rome*, and their great promiſes) the ſaid Pope *John* was reſtored again to his place, and *Leo* (ſet up by the Emperor) was depoſed. At length about the tenth year of the Popedom of this *John*, he being found without the City with another mans wife, was ſo wounded of her husband, that within eight days after he died.

Continuation of the *Romiſh* Biſhops, or Popes.

Pope *John* the 13*th.* a wicked Pope.

*Luitbprandus, lib. 6.*

As merry as Pope *John*, a Proverb.

Pope *John* the 13*th.* depoſed.

Pope *John* reſtored.

Pope *John* wounded in adultery.

Pope *Benedictus* the fifth.

After him the *Romans* Elected Pope *Benedictus* the fifth, without the conſent of the Emperor; whereupon the ſaid *Otho* the Emperor being not a little diſpleaſed for diſplacing of *Leo*, whom he had before promoted, and for the chooſing alſo of *Benedict*, came with his Army and laid ſiege to *Rome*, and ſo ſet up Pope *Leo* again the Eighth of that name; which *Leo* to gratifie his Benefactor again, Crowned *Otho* for Emperor, and intituled him to be called *Auguſtus*. Alſo the power which *Carolus Magnus* had given before to the Clergy and people of *Rome*, this *Leo* by a Synodal Decree granted to the Emperor and his Succeſſors; that is, touching the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Emperor again reſtored to the See of *Rome* all ſuch Donations and Poſſeſſions which either *Conſtantinus* (as they falſely pretend) or which *Carolus Magnus* took from the *Lombards*, and gave to them.

Pope *Leo* the eighth.

The election of the Biſhop of *Rome* given to the Emperor.

The Donations of *Carolus Magnus*, and *Otho* to *Rome*.

After Pope *Leo* had reigned a year and three months, ſucceeded Pope *John* the Fourteenth, againſt whom (for holding with the Emperor) *Petrus* the Head-captain of the City, with two Conſuls, twelve Aldermen, and divers other Nobles, gathering their power together, laid hands upon him in the Church of *Lateran*, and clapt the Pope in priſon eleven months. The Emperor hearing this, with all ſpeed returned with his Army again to *Rome*; who after execution done upon the Authors and chief doers of that fact; among other committed the foreſaid *Petrus* to the Popes arbitrement, whom he cauſed firſt to be ſtript naked, then his beard being ſhaven, to be hanged by the hair a whole day together, after that to be ſet upon an Aſs (his face turned backward, and his hands bound under the Aſſes tayl) and ſo to be led through the City, that all men might ſee him; that done, to be ſcourged with rods, and ſo baniſhed the City. Thus ye ſee how the holy Father obſerveth the injunction of the Goſpel, *Diligite inimicos veſtros*, Love your enemies, *Luk. 6. &c.* From this Pope proceeded firſt the Chriſtening of Bells, *Ann.* 971.

Pope *John* the 14*th.*

Pope *John* the 14*th.* caſt into priſon.

The cruel revenge of the Pope.

Chriſtening of Bells firſt begun.

After him followed Pope *Benedictus* the Sixth, who in like manner was apprehended by *Cinthius* a Captain of *Rome*, and caſt in priſon, where he was ſtrangled, or as ſome ſay, famiſhed to death.

Pope *Benedictus* the ſixth.

Pope *Benedictus* ſlain in priſon.

Then came Pope *Donus* the Second, after whom *Bonifacius* the Seventh was Pope, who likewiſe ſeeing the Citizens of *Rome* to conſpire againſt him, was conſtrained to hide himſelf, and ſeeing no place there for him to tarry, took the Treaſure of St. *Peters* Church, and ſo privily ſtole to *Conſtantinople*. In whoſe ſtead the *Romans* ſet up Pope *John* the Fifteenth. Not long after *Boniface* returning again from *Conſtantinople*, by his money and treaſure procured a Garriſon or Company to take his part: by whoſe means the foreſaid Pope *John* was taken, his eyes put out, and ſo thrown in priſon, where he was, as ſome ſay, famiſhed; ſome ſay he was ſlain by *Ferrucius*. Neither did *Boniface* reign many days after but ſuddenly died; whoſe carcaſs after his death was drawn by the feet through the Streets of *Rome* after a moſt deſpightful manner. the people ſhrieking and exclaiming againſt him, *An.* 976.

Pope *Donus* the ſecond.

Pope *Boniface* the 2.

Two Popes together.

Pope *John* the 15*th.*

Pope *John* ſlain.

Pope *Boniface* drawn through the ſtreets of *Rome*.

Next Pope after him was *Benedictus* the Seventh by the conſent of the Emperor *Otho* the Second, and reigned nineteen years. In the time of this Pope *Hugh Cappet* the *French* King took *Charles* (the right heir to the Crown) by the Treaſon of the Biſhop of *Laon*, and when he had impriſoned him, he alſo committed to priſon *Arnoldus* Archbiſhop of *Reims*, and placed in his room *Gillertus* a Monk of *Floriack* (a Necromancer) who was Schoolmaſter to Doctor *Robert* the Kings Son. But this Pope *Benedictus* called a Council at *Reims* reſtored the ſaid *Arnoldus* again, and diſplaced *Gilbertus*, which after by the help of *Otho* was made Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and at length was Pope, as in proceſs hereafter (Chriſt granting) ſhall be declared.

Pope *Benedictus* the 7. *Otho* the 2d. Emperor.

*Gilbertus* a Necromancer made Archbiſhop.

After *Benedictus* ſucceeded in the See of *Rome* Pope *John* the Sixteenth, and died the eighth month of his Papacy; next to whom came *John* the Seventeenth, and after him *Gregory* the Fifth in the year of our Lord 995. This *Gregory* (called before *Bruno*) was a *German* born, and therefore the more maliced of the Clergy and people of *Rome*. Whereupon *Creſcentius* with the people and Clergy conventing againſt the ſaid *Gregory* ſet up *John* the Eighteenth. *Gregory* upon the ſame ſped himſelf in all convenient haſt to the Emperor *Otho* the Third in *Germany*; who, hearing the complaint of *Gregory*, and underſtanding his wrongs, ſet forward with his Army well appointed to *Italy*, got the City, and there took both *Creſcentius* the Conſul, and *John* the Pope. Which *John* firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. *Creſcentius* the Conſul was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and ears cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe-tayl, and afterward having his members cut off, was hanged upon a Gibbet.

Pope *John* the 16*th.*

Pope *John* the 17*th.*

Pope *Gregory* the 5*th.*

Pope *John* the 18*th.*

Two Popes together in *Rome*.

Pope *John* had his eyes put out, and ſo put to death.

Pope *Gregory* thus being reſtored to his former ſtate, reigned four years in his Papacy (although *Marianus Scotus*, and *Martinus* ſay that he ſat but two years, *&c.*) During the which time he aſſembled a Counſil in *Rome*, where he to eſtabliſh the Empire in his own Country (by the conſent and counſel of *Otho*) ordained ſeven Princes of *Germany* to be Electors of the Emperor, which order yet to this day remaineth. What be the

Pope *Gregory* reſtored.

Seven Electors of the Empire ordained in *Germany*, and who they be. *Ex Cronico Martini.*

names

names of theſe Seven Electors, and what is their Office, thus I find in theſe Verſes expreſſed.

*Maguntinenſis, Treverenſis, Colonienſis.*
*Quilibet imperii ſit cancellarius horum.*
*Et Palatinus dapifex, Dux portitor enſis,*
*Marchio præpoſitus cameræ, pincerna Bohemus.*

Theſe ſeven he ordained to be Electors, three Biſhops, three Princes; to wit, the Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſs *Brandenburgh*; to whom was added alſo the King of *Boheme* to give the odd voice, if the even voice could not agree. This Conſtitution being firſt begun *Anno 997*, was after eſtabliſhed in *Germany* by *Otho* the Emperor, the year of our Lord 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digreſſion, concerning the rages and tumults of the *Romiſh* Church. Now to our matter again.

## King *Egelred*, or *Elred*.

King *Egelred*.

Anno 979.

KING *Edward* thus being murthered, as is aforeſaid, the Crown fell next to *Egelred* his younger Brother, and Son to King *Edgar* by the foreſaid Queen *Alfrith*, as we have declared. This *Egelred* had a long reign given him of God, which dured the term of eight and thirty years, but very unfortunate and full of great miſeries; and he himſelf (by the Hiſtories) ſeemeth to be a Prince not of the greateſt courage to govern a Commonwealth. Our *Engliſh* Stories writing of him, thus report of his reign, that in the beginning it was ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the later end. Of this *Egelred* it is read, that when *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop ſhould Chriſten him, as he did hold him over the Font, ſomething there happened that pleaſed not *Dunſtan*, whereupon he ſware, *Per ſanctam Mariam iſte ignavus homo erit*: By the mother of Chriſt he will be a Prince untoward and cowardly: *Chron. de Crowland.* I find in *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Lib.* 2. *de Regib.* that this *Egelred* being of the age of ten years, when he heard his Brother *Edward* to be ſlain, made ſuch ſorrow and weeping for him, that his mother falling therewith in a rage, took Wax-candles (having nothing elſe at hand) wherewith ſhe ſcourged him ſo ſore (well near till he ſwounded) that after the ſame he could never abide any Wax-candles to burn before him. After this, about the year of our Lord 981, (the day of his Coronation being appointed by the Queen the mother, and the Nobles) *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who firſt refuſed ſo to do) with *Oſwald* Archbiſhop of *York*, were inforced to Crown the King, and ſo they did at *Kingſton*. In doing whereof, the report of Stories goeth, that the ſaid *Dunſtan* ſhould ſay thus, prophecying unto the King, That forſomuch as he came to the Kingdom by the death of his Brother, and through the conſpiracy of the wicked conſpirators, and other *Engliſhmen*, they ſhould not be without blood-ſhedding and ſword, till there caſhe a people of an unknown tongue, and ſhould bring them into thraldom, neither ſhould that treſpaſs be cleanſed without long vengeance, *&c.*

The life of Egelred.

Anno 981.

The Coronation of Egelred.

The Proteſie of Dunſtan as Monkiſh Stories give it.

In the Chronicles of *Crowland* I find theſe words, *Quoniam aſcendiſti ad thronum tuum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini: Hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet gladius de domo tua, ſæviens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, & interficiens de ſemine tuo, & de gente tua, uſque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: cujus ritum & linguam, gens tua non novit, nec expiabitur niſi longa vindicta, & multa ſanguinis effuſione peccatum matris tuæ, & peccatum virorum peſſimorum, qui conſenſerunt conſilio ejus nequam, ut mitterent manum in Chriſtum Domini ad effundendum ſanguinem innocentem.* Chron. de Crowland.

Not long after the Coronation of this King, a Cloud was ſeen throughout the land, which appeared the one half like blood, and the other half like fire, and changed after into ſundry colours, and vaniſhed at the laſt in the morning. Shortly after the appearance of this Cloud, in the third year of his reign the *Danes* arriving in ſundry places of the land, firſt ſpoiled *Southampton*, either ſlaying the inhabitants, or leading them captive away. From thence they went to the Iſle of *Thanet*, then they invaded *Cheſter*, from thence they proceeded to *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, and ſo to *Suſſex*, where in thoſe coaſts they did much harm, and ſo retired to their Ships again. *Roger Hoveden* writing hereof, ſaith, that *London* the ſame time, or (as *Fabian* ſaith) a great part of *London* was conſumed with fire. About this time fell a variance between the foreſaid *Egelred* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; inſomuch that he made war againſt him, and beſieged the City. And notwithſtanding that *Dunſtan* required the King, ſending him admoniſhment, to give over for the ſake of Saint *Andrew*; yet continued he his ſiege till the Biſhop offered him an hundred pounds of Gold; which he received, and ſo departed. The *Danes* ſeeing the diſcord that then was in the Realm, and eſpecially the hatred of the ſubjects againſt the King, roſe again, and did great harm in divers places of *England*; inſomuch that the King was glad to grant them great ſums of money for peace to be had. For the aſſurance of which peace, *Analaffe* Captain of the *Danes*, became a Chriſtian man, and ſo returned home to his Country, and did no more harm. Beſides theſe miſeries before recited, a ſore ſickneſs of the Bloody-flux, and hot Fevers fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like Murren alſo among the Beaſts. Moreover for lack of juſtice, many thieves, rioters and bribers were in the land, with much miſery and miſchief.

*Hoveden lib. Continuatorum.*

*London* conſumed with fire.

The King warred againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Anno 990.

The Bloody flux and hot Fevers reigned in this land.

About the eleventh year (ſome ſay the ninth year) of this Kings reign died *Dunſtan*. After whom ſucceeded *Ethelgarus*, or as *Fornalenſis* writeth, *Stilgerus*. After him *Elfricus*, as affirmeth *Guliel. lib.* 1. *de Pontif.* But as *Polydorus* ſaith, *Siricius*. After him *Elfrisius* came; but *Siricius* after the mind of *Guliel. lib.* 1. but *Polydore* ſaith, *Aluricius*, then *Elphegus*, &c.

The death of *Dunſtan*. *Ethelgarus*, *Elfricus*, *Siricius*, *Elphegus*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*.

About the ſame time in the year of our Lord 995, *Aldunus* Biſhop tranſlated the body of St. *Cuthbert* from *Cheſter* (which firſt was a Northern Iſland, then at *Rocheſter*) to *Durelme* or *Dunelme*. Whereupon the Biſhops See of *Dureſm* firſt began.

Anno 995.

The Biſhops See of *Durham*.

Not long after the death of *Dunſtan*, the *Danes* againe entred *England*, in many and ſundry places of the land; in ſuch ſort that the King was to ſeek to which coaſt he ſhould go firſt to withſtand his enemies. But in concluſion, for the avoiding of more harm, he was compelled to appeaſe them with great ſums of money. But when that money was ſpent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and aſſailing the land in divers places, not only about the Country of *Northumberland*, but alſo beſieged the City of *London* at the laſt. But being from thence repelled by the manhood of the *Londoners*, they ſtrayed to other Countries adjoyning, as to *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Hampſhire*, burning and killing whereſoever they went; ſo that for lack of a good Head or Governour many things in the land periſhed. For the King gave himſelf to the vice of lechery, and polling of his ſubjects, and diſinherited men of their poſſeſſions, and cauſed them to redeem the ſame again with great ſums of money; for he payed great tributes to the *Danes* yearly, which was called *Danegilt*. Which tributes ſo increaſed, that from the firſt tribute of ten thouſand pounds, it was brought at laſt in proceſs of five or ſix years to forty thouſand pounds. The which yearly (until the coming of St. *Edward*, and after) was levied of the ſubjects of this land.

*London* beſieged of the *Danes*.

The *Danes* ſpoiled the land.

Great tribute levied of the *Engliſh* men. *Danegilt*.

The ſorrowful affliction of the *Engliſh* Nation.

What diſcention and diſcord doth among the Nobles in a realme.

To this ſorrow moreover was joyned hunger and penury among the Commons, inſomuch that every one of them was conſtrained to pluck and ſteal from others. So that what for the pillage of the *Danes*, and what by inward thieves and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit the greateſt cauſe of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not ſo much to be imputed to the King, as to the diſſention among the Lords themſelves, who then did not agree one with another. But when they aſſembled in conſultation together, either they did draw divers ways; or if any thing were agreed upon any matter of peace between the parties, ſoon it was broken again; or elſe if any good thing were deviſed for the prejudice of the enemy, anon the *Danes* were warned thereof by ſome of the ſame counſel. Of whom the chief doers were *Edrike* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Alfrike* the Admiral or Captain of the Ships, who betrayed the Kings Navy to the *Danes*. Wherefore the King apprehended *Alfagarus* Son of the ſaid *Alfrike*, put out his eyes, and ſo did he after to the two Sons of Duke *Edrike* in like manner.

The Danes recourſe to England.

The pride and wretchedneſs of the *Danes* toward the *Engliſhmen.*

The *Danes* thus prevailing more and more over the *Engliſh* men, grew in ſuch pride and preſumption, that when they by ſtrength cauſed the Husbandmen to ear and ſow the land, and to do all other vile labour belonging to the houſe, they would ſit at home holding the wife at their pleaſure, with daughter and ſervant. And when the Husbandman came home, he ſhould ſcantly have of his own, as his ſervants had; ſo that the *Dane* had all at his will, and ſill, faring of the beſt; when the owner ſcantly had his ſill of the worſt. Thus the common people being of them oppreſſed, were in ſuch fear and dread, that not only they were conſtrained to ſuffer them in their doings, but alſo glad to pleaſe them, and called every one of them in the houſe where they had rule, *Lord-Dane.* Which word after (in proceſs of time when the *Danes* were voided) was for deſpight of the *Danes* turned of the *Engliſh* men to a name of opprobry, that when one *Engliſh* man would rebuke another, he would for the more part call him *Lurdane.*

Lord *Dane.*

*Lurdane.*

{Anno 1000.}

And thus hitherto (through the aſſiſtance of Chriſt) we have brought this Hiſtory to the year of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing theſe great miſeries upon this *Engliſh* Nation, the land being brought into great ruin by the grievous tributes of the *Danes*, and alſo by ſuſtaining the manifold villanies and injuries, as well by them as by other oppreſſions within the Realm; this year which was the year of our Saviour 1000, this *Egelred* through the counſel of certain his familiars about him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign, began a matter, which was occaſion either given by the one, or taken by the other, of a new Plague to inſue upon the *Saxons*, who had driven out the *Britains* before; that was in joyning with the *Normans* in Marriage. For the King this year aboveſaid, for the more ſtrength (as he thought) both of him and the Realm, married *Emma* the daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. Which *Richard* was the third Duke of the *Normans*, and the firſt of that name. By reaſon of which Marriage King *Egelred* was not a little inhanced in his own mind; and, by preſumption thereof, ſent ſecret and ſtrict commiſſions to the Rulers of every Town in *England*, that upon St. *Brices* day at an hour appointed, the *Danes* ſhould be ſuddenly ſlain. And ſo it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

*Hen. Archidiac. lib. 6.* The firſt joyning between the *Normans* and *Engliſh* men.

King *Egelred* married *Emma* the Dukes daughter of *Normandy.*

*Richard* Duke of *Normandy.*

The *Danes* by ſecret commiſſion ſlain in every Town of *England.*

After that tidings came into *Denmark* of the murther of thoſe *Danes*, anon after *Swanus* King of *Denmark* with a great Hoſt and Navy landed in *Cornwal*; where by treaſon of a *Norman*, named *Hugh*, which by favour of Queen *Emma* was made Earl of *Devonſhire*, the ſaid *Swanus* took *Exceſter*, and after beat down the walls. From thence proceeding further into the land, they came to *Wilton* and *Shireborne*, where they cruelly ſpoiled the Country, and ſlew the people. But anon *Swanus* hearing that the King was coming to him with the power of his land, took his Ships and ſet about to *Northfolk*; where after much waſting of that Country, and ſpoiling the City of *Norwich*, and burning the Town of *Thetford* and deſtroying the Country thereabout, at length Duke *Uskatel* met him and beat him, and ſlew many of the *Danes*. Wherefore *Swanus* for that year returned to *Denmark*, and there made great proviſion to re-enter the land again the next year following; and ſo did, landing at *Sandwich* about the five and twentieth year of the reign of K. *Egelred*, and there ſpoiled that Country. And as ſoon as he heard of any Hoſt of *Engliſh* men coming toward him, then he took Shipping again. So that when the Kings Army ſought to meet him in one coaſt, then would he ſuddenly land in another. And when the King provided to meet with him upon the Sea, either they would feign to flee, or elſe they would with gifts blind the Admiral of the Kings Navy. And thus wearied they the *Engliſh* men, and in concluſion brought them into extream and unſpeakable miſery. Inſomuch that the King was fain to take peace with them, and gave to King *Swanus* 30000 pounds. After which peace thus made, *Swanus* returned again to *Denmark.*

*Swanus* King of *Denmark* arriveth in *England.*

*Exceſter* beaten down.

*Norwich* ſpoiled and waſted by the *Danes.*

{Anno 1004.}

A tribute paid to the *Danes* of 30000 *l.* to have peace.

But this peace continued not long, for the year next following, King *Egelred* made *Edricus* above mentioned Duke of *Mercia*, who was ſubtil of wit, gloſing and eloquent of ſpeech, untruſty, and falſe to the King and the Realm. And ſoon after one *Turkillus* (a Prince of the *Danes*) landed in *Kent* with much people, and there did ſuch harm that the *Kentiſh* men were fain to make peace with great gifts, and ſo thence departed. But this perſecution of the *Danes* (in one Country or other in *England*) never ceaſed, nor the King did ever give to them any notable battel. For when he was diſpoſed to give them battel, this *Edricus* would ever counſel him to the contrary, ſo that the *Danes* ever ſpoiled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the *Engliſh* men ever poor and bare.

The perſecution of *Turkillus* a *Dane.*

Evil counſel about a King what hurt it doth.

After this *Swanus* being in *Denmark*, and hearing of the increaſe of his people in *England*, brake his Covenants before made, and with a great Army and Navy, in moſt defenſible wiſe appointed, landed in *Northumberland*, proclaimed himſelf to be King of this land. Where after much vexation when he had ſubdued the people, and cauſed the Earl with the Rulers of the Country to ſwear to him fealty; he paſſed the river of *Trent* to *Gainsburgh*, and to *Northwatling-ſtreet*, and ſubduing the people there, enforced them to give him pledges; which pledges he committed with his Navy unto *Canutus* his Son to keep while he went further into the land; and ſo with a great Hoſt came to *Mercia*, killing and ſlaying. Then he took by ſtrength *Wincheſter* and *Oxford*, and did there what him liked. That done, he came toward *London*, and hearing the King was there, paſſed by the river *Thames*, and came into *Kent*, and there beſieged *Canterbury*, where he was relieved the ſpace of twenty days. At length by Treaſon of a Deacon called *Almaricus* (whom the Biſhop had preſerved from death before) he wan it, and took the Goods of the People, and fired the City, and tithed the Monks of Saint *Auguſtine*'s Abby (that is to mean they ſlew nine by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as for their ſlave.) So they ſlew there of religious men, to the number of 900 perſons; of other men, women and children, they ſlew above 8000. And finally, when they had kept the Biſhop *Elphegus* in ſtrait priſon the ſpace of ſeven months, becauſe he would not condeſcend to give unto them 3000 Pounds; after many villanies unto him done, they brought him to *Greenwich*, and there ſtoned him to death.

The ſecond return of *Swanus* to *England.*

The great power of *Swanus* K. of *Danes.*

*Canterbury* beſieged.

Treaſon of a falſe Deacon.

*Canterbury* taken and burnt.

The tything of the Monks of *Canterbury.*

A cruel murther of the *Danes.*

*Elphegus* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtoned to death.

King *Egelred* in the mean time, fearing the end of this Perſecution, ſent his wife *Emma*, with his two Sons *Alfred* and *Edward*, to the Duke of *Normandy*, with whom alſo he ſent the Biſhop of *London*. The *Danes* proceeded ſtill in their fury and rage, and when they had won a great part of *Weſtſaxony*, they returned again to *London*. Whereof the *Londoners* hearing, ſent unto them certain great gifts and pledges. At laſt the King about the five and thirtieth year of his reign, was chaſed unto the Iſle of *Wight*, and with a ſecret company he ſpent there a great part of the winter; and finally, without cattel or comfort ſailed into *Normandy* to his wife. *Swanus* being aſcertained thereof (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding Impoſitions upon the people. And among other he required a great ſum of money of St. *Edmunds* lands, which the people there claiming to be free from Kings tributes, denied to pay. For this *Swanus* entred the territory of St. *Edmund*, and waſted and ſpoiled the Country, deſpiling the holy Martyr, and menacing alſo the place of his Sepulture. Wherefore the men of that Country fearing his tyranny, fell to prayer and faſting, ſo that ſhortly after *Swanus* died ſuddenly, crying and yelling among his Knights. Some ſay that he was ſtricken with the Sword of St. *Edmund*, whereof he died the third day after.

{Anno 1013.}

K. *Egelred* driven to the Iſle of *Wight*, from thence to *Normandy.*

The vertue of Chriſtian mens prayer.

The death and end of *Swanus.*

In fear whereof *Canutus* his Son, which ruled as King after his Father, granted them the freedom of all their Liberties; and moreover ditched the land of the ſaid Martyr with a deep ditch and granted to the Inhabitants there of great freedoms, quitting them from all task or tribute; and after builded a Church over the place of his Sepulture, and ordained there an Houſe of Monks, and endued them with rich poſſeſſions. And after that time it was uſed, that Kings of *England* when they were Crowned, ſent their Crowns for an offering to Saint *Edmunds* Shrine, and redeemed the ſame again afterwards with a condigne price.

The Abbey of St. *Edmundsbury* builded.

When King *Egelred* heard of the death of *Swanus*, he made proviſion and returned into *England*. For whoſe ſudden coming *Canutus*, being unprovided, fled to *Sandwich*, and there cutting off the noſes and hands of the Pledges, which his Father left with him, ſailed into *Denmark*; who the next year returned again with a great Navy, and landed in the South Country. Wherefore the

K. *Egelred* returneth into *England.*

*Canutus* cutteth off the noſes and hands of his Pledges.

the eldeſt Son of King *Egelred*, called *Edmund Ironſide*, made proviſion with the aid of *Edrike* Duke of *Mercia* to meet him. But *Edrike* faining himſelf ſick, came not, but deceived him. For as it was after proved, *Edrike* had promiſed his Allegiance to *Canutus*. By reaſon whereof, *Canutus* entred the Country of *Weſt-Saxon*, and forced the people to be ſworn unto him, and to give him pledges. In this ſeaſon, King *Egelred* being at *London*, was taken with great ſickneſs, and there died, and was buried, in the North ſide of *Pauls* Church, behind the Quire, after he had Reigned unproſperouſly thirty and ſix years; leaving after him his ſaid Eldeſt Son *Edmund Ironſide*, and *Elfred*, and *Edward* which were in *Normandy*, ſent thither before as is above rehearſed. This *Egelred* although he was miſerably Impugned and vexed of his Enemies, yet he with his Council gave forth wholeſome Laws, whereof this is one parcel, containing good Rules and Leſſons for all Judges and Juſtices to learn and Follow.

*Canutus taketh Weſt-Saxon.*

*A Leſſon for all Judges and Juſtices.*

*O Omnis judex juſtus miſericordiam & judicium liberet in omnibus, & inprimis per rectam ſcientiam dicat emandationem ſecundum culpam, & eam tamen admenſuret propter indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur a bonis judicibus ſecundum rectum emendandæ. Quædam per Dei miſericordiam condonandæ. Judicia debent eſſe ſine omni haderunga, quod non parcatur diviti alicui vel egeno amico vel inimico, jus publicum recitari. Nihil autem injuſtius eſt, quam ſuſceptio munerum pro judicio ſubvertendo: Quia munera excæcant corda ſapientum, & ſubvertunt verba juſtorum. Dominus Jeſus dixit: In quo judicio judicaveritis, judicabimini. Timeat omnis judex ac diligat Deum judicem ſuum, ne in die judicii mutus ſiat, & humiliatus ante oculos judicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente judice. Et nullus dominus, nulla poteſtas, ſtultos aut improbos judices conſtituant, quia ſtultus per ignaviam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat quam diduci, veritatem. Gravius enim laceranter pauperes a pravis judicibus, quam a cruentis hoſtibus. Nullus hoſtis acerbior, nulla peſtis efficacior quam familiaris inimicus. Poteſt aliquoties homo fuga, vel defenſione vitare pravos inimicos. Non ita poſſunt judices, quoties adverſus ſubditos malis deſideriis inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni judices habent malos vicarios & miniſtros nefandos, quorum reatibus ipſi domi conſtringuntur, ſi non eos coerceant, & a rapacitate cohibeant. Quia Dominus & miniſter ſæculorum ait, Non ſolum male agentes, ſed omnes conſentientes digni ſunt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam pravi judices judicium pervertunt, vel reſpectant, & non finiunt cauſam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et quando judicant, non opera, ſed munera conſiderant. Impii judices, juxta verbum ſapientum, ſicut rapaces lupi veſpere nil reſiduant uſque mane, id eſt, de præſenti ſolum vita cogitant, de futura nihil conſiderant. Malorum præpoſitorum mos eſt, ut, quicquid poſſunt, auferant, & vix neceſſarium parum quid relinquant ſuſtentationi. Iracundus judex non poteſt attendere rectam judicii ſatisfactionem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perſpicit rectitudinis claritatem, Juſtum judicium, ubi non perſona conſideratur. Scriptum eſt: Non attendas perſonam hominis in judicio, nec pro aliquo facies, ut a vero declines, & injuſte judices. Suſceptio muneris eſt dimiſſio veritatis.* Ex hiſtoria bibliothecæ Jornal.

*Bribes.*

*Evil Judges worſe in a common wealth than bloody Enemies.*

*Wicked officers.*

*Againſt wicked Judges.*

*A wicked Judge depoſed and deprived by the King.*

Of this King *Egelred* I find noted in the Book of *Roger Hoveden*, that he depoſed and deprived from his Poſſeſſions a certain Judge or Juſticier named *Walgeatus*, the Son of one *Leonet*, for falſe judgment and other proud doings, whom notwithſtanding he loved above all others.

## Edmund Ironſide *a Saxon, and* Canutus *a Dane, Kings together in* England.

{ Anno 1016. } AFter the death of *Egelred* variance fell between the *Engliſhmen* for the Election of their King. For the Citizens of *London*, with certain other Lords, named *Edmund* the Eldeſt Son of *Egelred* (a young man of luſty and valiant courage) in Martial adventures both hardy and wiſe, who could very well indure all pains; whereſore he was ſurnamed *Ironſide*. But the more of the Lords favoured *Canutus* the Son of *Swanus*, eſpecially the Abbats, Biſhops, and men of the ſpiritualty, which before had ſworn to his Father. By means whereof, between theſe two Martial Princes were fought many great Battels, firſt in *Dorſetſhire*, where *Canutus* was compelled to fly the field. And after that they fought another Battel in *Worceſterſhire*, ſo ſore that none could tell who had the better; but either for wearineſs or for lack of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next morrow fought again: But then *Canutus* was compelled to forſake the field. After this they met in *Mercia*, and there fought again; where *Edmund* (as ſtories ſay) by the Treaſon of that falſe *Edrike* Duke of *Mercia* (whom he before had received to favour) had the worſe. Thus many great conflicts there were between theſe two Princes. But upon a ſeaſon, when the hoſts were ready to joyn, and a certain time of Truce was taken before battel, a Knight of the party of *Edmund* ſtood up upon a high place, and ſaid theſe Words.

*Edmund Ironſide* Son of *Egelred*, King.

*Canutus* Son of *Swanus*, King.

*The battels between Edmundus and Canutus.*

*Daily we die, and none hath the victory: And when the Knights be dead on either part, then the Dukes compelled by need ſhall accord, or elſe they muſt fight alone. And this Kingdom is not ſufficient for two men, which ſometimes ſufficed ſeven. But if the covetouſneſs of Lordſhip in theſe twain be ſo great, that neither can be content to take part and live by the other, nor the one under the other; then let them fight alone that will be Lords alone. If all men fight ſtill, at the laſt all men ſhall be ſlain, and none left to be under their Lordſhip, nor able to defend the King that ſhall be, againſt ſtrange Enemies and Nations.*

*A witty Oration to ſtay blood between two Armies.*

Theſe words were ſo well allowed of both the Hoſts and Princes, that both were content to try the quarrel between them two only. Then the place and time was appointed, where they both met in ſight of both Hoſts. And when either had aſſaied other with ſharp ſwords and ſtrokes; firſt by the motion of *Canutus* (as ſome write) haſtily they were both agreed, and kiſſed each other to the comfort of both Hoſts. And ſhortly after they agreed upon partition of the land; and after that, during their lives they loved as brethren. Soon after, a Son of wicked *Edricus*, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his Father, eſpied, when King *Edmund* was at the draught, and with a ſpear (ſome ſay with a long knife) thruſt him into the Fundament, whereof the ſaid *Edmund* ſhortly after died, after that he had Reigned two years. He left behind him two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edward*, whom *Edrike* the wicked Duke, after the death of their Father, took from their Mother (not knowing yet of the death of *Edmund* her Husband) and preſented them to King *Canutus*, ſaluting him in theſe words, *Ave rex ſolus*. Thus *Canutus* after the death of *Edmund Ironſide*, was King alone of the whole Realm of *England*, and afterward by the advice of his Council, he ſent the foreſaid Sons of *Edmund Ironſide* to his brother *Swanus* King of *Sweveland* to be ſlain; who, abhorring that deed, ſent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, where *Edmund* being married to the Kings daughter, died; *Edward* was married to *Agatha* daughter of his brother *Henry* the fourth Emperor.

*Two Kings fight hand to hand.*

*The wicked murther of King Edmund.*

*Two Sons of Edmund Ironſide.*

When *Canutus* was ſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, he called a Parliament at *London*, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the Biſhops, Barons, and Lords of the Parliament there preſent, whether that in the compoſition made between *Edmund* and *Canutus*, any ſpecial remembrance was made for the children or brethren of *Edmund*, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the *Engliſh* Lords falſly flattering the foreign King, and ſpeaking againſt their own minds, as alſo againſt their native Country, anſwered and ſaid; Nay: Affirming moreover with an oath (for the Kings pleaſure) that they to the uttermoſt of their powers, would put off the blood of *Edmund* in all that they might. By reaſon of which anſwer and promiſe, they thought (many of them) to have purchaſed with the King great favour. But by the juſt retribution of God it chanced far otherwiſe. For many of them or the moſt part (ſuch eſpecially as *Canutus* did perceive to be ſworn before time to *Edmund*, and his heirs, and alſo conſidering that they were native Engliſhmen) he miſtruſted and diſdained ever after

*Flattery, Infidelity, and untruth in Engliſh Lords.*

*False unfaithful and unconſtant mutability in Engliſh Lords well rewarded.*

In ſo much that ſome he exiled, a great ſort he beheaded, and ſome by Gods puniſhment died ſuddenly. Among whom wicked *Edrike* alſo the Traytor (although with his ſugered words he continued a while in the Kings favour) at length eſcaped not condigne reward for his deceivable dealing. For (as the Hiſtory of *Fornalenſis* recordeth) as the King was in his Palace beyond *Thames*, this *Edrike* (being belike accuſed, or elſe ſuſpected of the King before) coming unto him, began to reckon up his benefits and labours beſtowed for his ſake. Firſt, in forſaking and betraying *Egelred*, then in ſlaying King *Edmund* his Son, with many ſuch other deeds more, which all for his ſake he had done. Well, ſaith the King, thou haſt here rightly judged thy ſelf, and worthily thou ſhalt die for ſlaying thy natural Prince, and my ſworn brother. And ſo commanded him to be bound immediately hand and foot, and to be thrown into the *Thames*. Some ſtories ſay, that when he had ſaluted the King with *Ave rex ſolus*, and ſhewed him the ſlaying of *Edmund: Canutus* (promiſing that he would make him therefore higher than all the Lords of the Realm) commanded his head to be ſtricken off, and to be ſet upon *London* Bridge, and his body to be caſt into the Town ditch: And thus with ſhame ended he his wretched life, as all they commonly do, which with like diſſimulation ſeek the deſtruction of their Prince, and of their Country.

*Duke Edrike, the falſe traytor and murtherer of his King, worthily rewarded for his wicked Falſhood.*

*The end of pernicious traytors.*

This *Canutus* (ſhortly after the death of King *Edmund*) by the Council of *Edrike* exiled *Edmund*, being brother unto King *Edmund*, called *Rex ruſticorum*, the King of Churles. But afterward he was reconciled again to the Kings favour, and laſtly ſlain by certain of the Kings Secretaries or Servants. Alſo through the Council of the ſaid *Edrike*, and of *Emma* his wife, he ſent the two Sons of *Edmund Ironſide (Edmund* and *Edward)* to his brother *Swanus* King of *Denmark*, to be ſlain, as is abovesaid.

*The brother of Edmund Ironſide, baniſhed, reconciled, and laſtly ſlain.*

*Edmund, and Edward two Sons of Edmund Ironſide ſent out to be ſlain.*

In this mean time, *Swanus* King of *Denmark*, brother to *Canutus*, died. Wherefore that Land fell to *Canutus*, which anon after ſailed thither, and took thereof poſſeſſion. And after he had ſet it in an Order, he returned into *England*, and married *Emma*, late wife before of *Egelred*, and by her had a Son called *Hardeknight* or *Hardeknoutus*. Moreover, this *Canutus* aſſembled a Parliament at *Oxford*, where it was agreed that Engliſhmen and *Danes* ſhould hold the Laws made by King *Egdar*, becauſe they were thought ſo good and reaſonable above any other Laws.

*Canutus King of Denmarke.*

*Canutus married Emma, Wife before of Egelred.*

*Lawes of King Edgar.*

Thus the *Danes* being in *England* began by little and little to be Chriſtian men. And *Canutus* went to *Rome*, and ſo, returning again to *England*, governed that Land the ſpace of twenty years, leaving after him two Sons, *Harold* and *Hardeknoutus*; which *Hardeknoutus* was made King of *Denmark* in his Fathers time.

*Harold* (called *Harefoot* for his deliverneſs and ſwiftneſs) Son to *Canutus* by *Elgina* his firſt wife, began his Reign over *England*, in the year 1039. Of him his little left in memory (for he Reigned but four years) ſave that he baniſhed his ſtep-mother *Emma*, and took her Goods and Jewels from Her.

*Harold Harefoot* King of *England* a *Dane.*

{Anno 1039.}

*Hardeknoutus* being King of *Denmark*, and ſecond Son to *Canutus* by his laſt wife *Emma*, was next King of *England*. In the time of theſe *Daniſh* Kings, there was one *Godwin* an Earl in *England*, which had been before in great favour with *Canutus*, for his Acts done in *Denmark* againſt the *Norwegians*; and afterward married the Siſter (ſome ſay the Daughter) of *Canutus*. This *Godwin* was of a cruel and ſubtil wit, as he declared no leſs by the two Sons of King *Egelred*. For when theſe two aforeſaid (whoſe names were *Alfred* and *Edward)* came from *Normandy* into *England*, to viſit their Mother *Emma*, and brought with them a great company of *Normans*; This *Godwin* (having a Daughter called *Godith*, whom he thought to marry to *Edward*, and ſet him up to be King) to bring his purpoſe about, uſed this Practice, that is, to perſwade King *Hardeknout*, and the Lords, not to ſuffer thoſe *Normans* to be within the Realm for Jeopardy, but rather to puniſh them for example: By which means he gat authority to order the matter himſelf. Wherefore he met them on *Guild-down*, and there moſt wretchedly murthered, or rather Martyred the moſt number of the *Normans*, and that innocently. For as *Swanus* before had tithed the Monks of *Canterbury*; ſo he, with the cruel company of *Engliſh* ſouldiers, ſlew nine of the ſaid *Normans*, and ſaved the tenth. And yet paſſing the fury of *Swanus* (as not contented with that tyranny) he tithed again the ſaid tithe, and ſlew every tenth Knight, and that by cruel torment, as winding their Guts out of their bodies, as writeth *Kanulphus*. And among others, he put out the Eyes of the Elder brother *Alfredus*, and ſent him to an Abbey of *Ely*; where he, being fed with Bread and Water, indured not long after. Of ſome writers it was recorded that he was there ſlain with the forenamed torment, and that *Edward* was conveyed by ſome other unto his Mother; who fearing the Treaſon of *Godwin*, ſent him ſoon over the Sea into *Normandy* again. This cruel Fact of *Godwin* and his men againſt the innocent *Normans*, whether it came of himſelf, or of the Kings ſetting on, ſeemeth to me to be the cauſe, why the Juſtice of God did ſhortly after revenge the quarrel of theſe *Normans*, in conquering and ſubduing the *Engliſh* Nation by *William Conquerer*, and the *Normans* which came with him. For ſo juſt and right it was, that as the *Normans*, coming with a natural *Engliſh* Prince, were murthered of Engliſh men: So afterward the Engliſhmen ſhould be ſlain and conquered by the *Normans*, coming with a foreign King, being none of their natural Country.

*The Normans tithed, and yet the tenths reſtithed again.*

*Alfredus Son of Egelred, right heir of the Crown tormented with cruel death.*

*The cauſe expreſſed, why God ſuffered this land to be conquered by the Normans.*

*Examples of Gods righteous judgment.*

Then it followeth in the ſtory, that this King *Canute* or *Hardeknout*, when he had Reigned two years (being merry at *Lambeth)* ſuddenly was ſtricken Dumb, and fell down to the ground, and within eight days after died without Iſſue of his body; who was the laſt that Reigned in *England* of the blood of the *Danes*.

*The death of King Hardeknout.*

This foreſaid *Godwin*, had by the Daughter of *Canutus* his Wife, but one Son, which was drowned. Of his ſecond wife he received ſix Sons, to wit, *Swanus*, *Harold*, *Toſtius*, *Wilmotus*, *Sixth* or *Surth*, and *Leofricus*, with one Daughter called *Goditha*, which after was married to King *Edward* the Confeſſor.

*The Sons of Earl Godwin.*

Concerning the ſtory of this *Alfred*, I find it ſomething otherwiſe reported in our *Engliſh* Chronicles, that it ſhould be after the death of *Hardeknout*; for ſo much as the Earls and Barons after his death, aſſembled and made a Council, that never after any of the *Danes* blood ſhould be King of *England*, for the deſpight that they had done to Engliſhmen. For evermore before, if the Engliſhmen and the *Danes* had happened to meet upon a Bridge, the Engliſhmen ſhould not be ſo hardy to move a foot, but ſtand ſtill, till the *Dane* were paſſed forth. And moreover, if the Engliſhmen had not bowed down their heads to do reverence unto the *Danes*, they ſhould have been beaten and defiled. For the which deſpites and villanies they were driven out of the Land after the death of *Hardeknout*; for they had no Lord that might maintain them. And after this manner avoided the *Danes* out of *England*, that they never came again.

*The ſtory of Alfred repeated.*

*Taken out of the Engliſh ſtory or chronicle compiled certain Engliſh Clerkes.*

The Earls and Barons, by their common aſſent and Council, ſent unto *Normandy* for theſe two brethren, *Alfred* and *Edward*; intending to Crown *Alfred* the Elder brother, and to make him King of *England*. And to this the Earls and Barons made their oath: But the Earl *Godwin* of *Weſt-Sax* (falſly and traiterouſly) thought to ſlay theſe two brethren, as ſoon as they came into *England*, to the intent he might make *Harold* his Son King: Which Son he had by his wife *Hardeknouts* Daughter, that was a *Dane*. And ſo this *Godwin* went privily to *South-Hampton*, to meet there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the Meſſengers that went (ſaith mine Author) into *Normandy*, found but only *Alfred* the Elder brother. For *Edward* his Younger brother was gone to *Hungary*, to ſpeak with his Couſin the Outlaw, which was *Edmund Ironſide*'s Son.

When *Alfred* had heard theſe Meſſengers, and perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and in all haſte ſped him to *England*, arriving at *South-Hampton*. There *Godwin* the falſe Traytor (having knowledge of his coming) welcomed and received him with joy, pretending to lead him unto *London*, where the Barons waited for to make him King, and ſo they together paſſed forth toward *London*. But when they came to *Guild-down*, the Traytor commanded all his men to ſlay all that were in *Alfreds* company, which came with him from *Normandy*; and after that, to take *Alfred*, and to lead him into the

*Alfred* and *Alured* Sons of King *Edmund.*

*The miſerable wretchedneſs of Godwin againſt the Normans.*

the *Iſle of Ely*, where they ſhould put out both his Eyes; and ſo they did. For they ſlew all the company that were there, to the number of twelve Gentlemen, which came with *Alfred*, from *Normandy*; and after that they took *Alfred*, and in the *Iſle of Ely* they executed their commiſſion. That done, they opened his body, took out his bowels, ſet a ſtake into the ground, and faſtened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with needles of Iron they pricked his tender body, thereby cauſing him to go about the ſtake, till that all his bowels were drawn out. And ſo died this innocent *Alfred* or *Adured*, being the right heir of the Crown, through Treaſon of wicked *Godwin*. When the Lords of *England* heard thereof, and how *Alfred*, that ſhould have been their King, was put to death through the falſe Traytor *Godwin*, they were wonderous wroth; and ſware between God and them, that he ſhould die a worſe death than did *Edrith*, which betrayed his Lord *Edmund Ironſide*, and would immediately have put him to death, but that the Traytor fled thence into *Denmark*, and there held him four years and more, and loſt all his Lands in *England*.

*Ex hiſtoria ignoti authoris.*

Another Latin ſtory I have (bearing no name) which ſaith that this coming in of *Alfred* and the *Normans*, was in the time of *Harold*, *Canutus* Son. And how *Godwin* (after he pretended great amity to them) ſuddenly in the night came upon them at *Gilford*, and after he had tithed the *Normans*, ſent *Alfred* to *Harold* at *London*; who ſent him to the *Iſle of Ely*, and cauſed his Eyes to be put out.

*Gunilda*, wife to *Henricus* the Emperor.

And thus much of *Canutus*, and of his Sons, *Harold* and *Hardecanutus*. Beſides theſe two Sons, *Canutus* had alſo a Daughter named *Gunilda*, married to *Henricus* the Emperor. Of whom ſome write, that ſhe being accuſed to the Emperor of Spouſe-breach, and having no Champion or Knight that would fight for her, (after the manner of that Country) for trial of her cauſe, a certain little dwarfe or boy, whom ſhe brought with her out of *England* (ſtirred up of God) fought in her cauſe againſt a mighty big *German*, of a Monſtrous greatneſs, which ſilly dwarfe, cutting by chance the Sinews of his Leg, after ſtroke him to the ground, and ſo cut off his Head, and ſaved the life of the Queen, if it be true that *Guliel-mus* and *Fabianus* reporteth.

*Canutus* went to *Rome*.

The Hoſpital built at *Rome* for *Engliſh* Pilgrims.

*Rome-ſhot* confirmed by *Canutus*.

The Cathedral Church of *Winche-ſter* inriched by *Canutus*.

S. *Benets* in *Norfolke* builded.

*Bury* Abbey turned to Monks.

Of this *Canutus*, it is ſtoried, that he following much the ſuperſtition of *Achelnotus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, went on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and there founded an Hoſpital for *Engliſh* Pilgrims. He gave the Pope precious gifts, and burdened the Land with a yearly tribute, called the *Rome-ſhot*. He ſhrived the body of *Berinus*, and gave great Lands and Ornaments to the Cathedral Church of *Wincheſter*; he builded S. *Benets* in *Norfolke*, which was before an Hermitage. Alſo S. *Edmundsbury*, which King *Athelſtan* before ordained for a College of Prieſts, he turned to an Abbey of Monks of Saint *Benets* Order.

*Henricus*, Archdeacon of *Huntington*, *lib.* 6. maketh mention of this *Canutus*, as doth alſo *Polydor*, *lib.* 7. That he after his coming from *Rome*, walking upon a time by the Port of *South-Hampton*, but *Polydor* ſaith, and *Fabian* affirmeth the ſame, that it was by the *Thames* ſide of *London*, when his flatterers coming about him, began to exalt him up with high Words, calling him a King of all Kings (moſt mighty) who had under his ſubjection both the People, the Land, and alſo the Sea: *Canutus* revolving this matter in his mind (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to try and refel their flattering words) commanded his chair of ſtate to be brought to the Sea ſide, at what time it ſhould begin to flow. *Polydor* ſaith that no ſeat was brought; but ſitting upon his garments, being folded together under him, there charged and commanded the floods ariſing and coming towards his feet, that they ſhould touch neither him nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinary courſe came neerer and neerer; firſt to his feet, and ſo growing higher, began to waſh him well favouredly. Wherewith the King abaſhed, and partly alſo afraid, ſtart back, and looking to his Lords; Lo (ſaith he) ye call me ſuch a mighty King, and yet can I not command back this little water to ſtay at my word, but it is ready to drown me. Wherefore all earthly Kings may know, that all their powers be but vain, and that none is worthy to have the name of a King, but he alone which hath all things ſubject to the power and authority of his Word, which is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Creator above of all things, the Father of our Chriſt and Lord, who with him for ever is to be glorified: Him let us worſhip and extol for our King for ever. After this (as Hiſtories witneſs) he never ſuffered the Crown to come upon his head, but went to *Wincheſter*, or (as ſome ſay) to *Canterbury*; but both thoſe may be true; for his going to *Canterbury*, was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power than he himſelf was, and therewithal to render up his Crown for ever. With that, *Egelnothus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* informed him of the Image of the Crucifix before mentioned, which diſſolved the matter between married Prieſts and life of Monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at *Wincheſter*. Wherewith the King, provoked to go to *Wincheſter* to the Rood, there reſigned up his regal Crown, and made the Rood King over all the Land.

Flatterers and clawbacks about Princes.

*Canutus* chargeth the Sea to ſtand back, but it would not be.

A leſſon notable for Kings and Princes.

God only the King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords.

The Kings Crown put on a Rood.

Here is alſo to be noted in this *Canutus*, that although (as is ſaid) he condeſcended in the beginning of his reign upon King *Edgars* Laws: Yet after in proceſs of time, he ſet forth peculiar Laws of his own. Among which, divers there be that concern as well cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, as alſo temporal. Whereby it may appear, that the government of ſpiritual matters did not depend then of the Biſhop of *Rome*: But appertained to the lawful authority of the temporal Prince, no leſs than of matters and cauſes temporal. As for example, by theſe ordinances of the aforeſaid *Canutus* may be well conſidered as here follow: *Pecunia ſepulturæ juſtum eſt ut aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a ſua parœchia deferatur in aliam, pecunia ſepulturæ, &c.* In Engliſh.

Kings of *England* have as much right in cauſes ſpiritual as temporal.

Certain Laws of King *Canutus* for the ordering of matters Eccleſiaſtical.

It is meet and right, that in Funerals, money be given for opening the Earth.

If any body, or corſe, be carried from his own Pariſh into another, the money of the burial ſhall pertain by the Law to his own Pariſh Church.

All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them be obſerved as need in all things requireth.

Upon the Sunday we forbid all publick Fairs or Markets, all Synods, or Conventicles, Huntings, or any ſuch ſecular Actions to be exerciſed, unleſs urgent neceſſity compel thereunto.

Let every Chriſtian man prepare himſelf thrice a year, to approach to the receiving of the Lords body: So to eat the ſame, as not to his Judgment, but to his wholeſome remedy.

If a Miniſter of the Altar do kill any man, or have intangled himſelf in any notorious Crime, let him be deprived both from his Order and Dignity.

Adultereſs women to loſe their Ears and Noſes.

If any married woman (her Husband being alive) have committed adultery, and be proved with the ſame; to her open ſhame in the World, let her have her Noſe and Ears cut off.

Let every widow, after the death of her Husband, ſo remain ſole twelve months; or if ſhe marry, let her loſe her Joynture.

And here is an end of the Daniſh Kings. Now to the *Engliſh* Kings again, whoſe right line cometh in again in *Edward* here Following.

## *King* Edward, *called the Confeſſor.*

FOr ſo much as God of his mercy and providence who is only the maker of heirs, thought it ſo good, after the woful captivity of this *Engliſh* nation, to grant now ſome reſpite of deliverance, in taking away the *Daniſh* Kings without any Iſſue left behind them: Who reigning here in *England*, kept the *Engliſh* people in miſerable ſubjection, about the ſpace of eight and twenty years, and from their firſt Landing in the time of King *Brightricus*, waſted and vexed this land the term of 255. years. Now their Tyranny here coming to an end, the next Election and right of the Crown fell (as appertained) to *Edward* the younger Son of King *Egelred* and *Emma*, a meer Engliſhman: Who had been now long baniſhed in *Normandy*, as is above declared; a man of gentle and ſoft Spirit, more appliable to other mens council, than able to truſt to his own; of nature and condition ſo given from all War and Blood-ſhed, that being in his baniſhment

{ Anno 1043.

King *Edward* the Confeſſor. *England* afflicted by the *Danes* the ſpace of 255. years.

he wiſhed rather to continue all his life long in that private eſtate, than by war or blood-ſhed to aſpire to any Kingdom. This *Edward*, after the death of *Canutus* the ſecond, or *Hardecanute*, being ſent for of the Lords into *Normandy*, to take poſſeſſion of the Realm, although he ſomething miſtruſted the unconſtant and fickle heads of Engliſhmen (yet having ſufficient Pledges laid for him in *Normandy*) came over, accompanied with a few *Normans*, and not long after was Crowned at *Wincheſter*, in the year 1043. by *Edſius* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And not long after that, he married *Goditha*, or *Edithy*, Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, whom he intreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet dealt with her fleſhly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as moſt like it was) or for love of chaſtity, it remaineth uncertain. But moſt Writers agree, that he continued his life without offence with women; for the which he is highly exalted among our ſtory Writers, and called holy King *Edward*. After he had thus taken upon him the Government of the Realm, he guided the ſame with much wiſdom and juſtice, the ſpace of four and twenty years, lacking two months; from whom iſſued (as out of a fountain) much godlineſs; mercy, pity, and liberty toward the poor, gentleneſs and juſtice toward all men, and in all honeſt life he gave a vertuous example to his people. He diſcharged the Engliſhmen of the great Tribute called Dane-gilt, which before time was yearly levied to the great Impoveriſhing of the people. He ſubdued the *Scots* and the Welſhmen, which in their borders began to rebel againſt him. In much peace he continued his Reign, having no forrein Enemy to aſſault him: Albeit, as ſome Chronicles do ſhew, certain *Danes* and *Norgwaines* there were, which intended to ſet upon *England*. But as they were taking ſhipping, there was brought to them firſt one Boul, then another, of *Meede* or *Methe*, to drink upon a boun Voyage. Thus one Cup coming after another, after drink came drunkenneſs, after drunkenneſs followed jangling, of jangling came ſtrife, and ſtrife turned unto ſtripes; whereby many were ſlain, and the other returned to their home again. And thus the merciful Providence of the Lord diſpatched that Journey.

King Edward Crowned.

Holy King Edward a virgin in marriage.

*Methe* in Greek ſignifieth drunkenneſs.

In the time of this *Edward*, *Emma* his Mother was accuſed to be familiar with *Alwin* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Upon which accuſation (by Council of Earl *Godwin*) he took from her many of her Jewels, and cauſed her to be kept ſome-deal more ſtrictly in the Abbey of *Warwel*, and the Biſhop committed to the Examination of the Clergy. *Polydor* ſaith they were both in Priſon at *Wincheſter*, where ſhe ſorrowing the defame both of her ſelf and the Biſhop, and truſting upon her conſcience, delireth them of juſtice, offering her ſelf ready to abide any lawful trial, yea, although it were with the ſharpeſt.

Then divers of the Biſhops made labour to the King for them both, and had obtained, had not *Robert* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtopped the ſuit. Who, not well contented with their labour, ſaid unto them; My brethren, how dare you defend her which is no woman but a beaſt? She hath defamed her own Son the King, and taken her Lecherous Leman the Biſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the Prieſt, who ſhall then purge the woman, that is accuſed to be conſenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, and procured venom to the poyſoning of her Son *Edward*? But whether ſhe be guilty or guiltleſs; if ſhe will go barefooted for her ſelf four ſteps, and for the Biſhop five, continually upon nine Plough ſhars fire hot; then if ſhe eſcape harmleſs, he ſhall be abſoyled of this challenge, and ſhe alſo.

Accuſation of the Archbiſhop againſt *Emma* the Kings mother.

To this ſhe granted: The day was appointed; at which day the King, and a great part of his Nobles were preſent, except only *Robert* the Archbiſhop. This *Robert* had been a Monk of a houſe in *Normandy*, and an helper of the King in his exile, and ſo, by the ſending for of the King, came over and was made firſt Biſhop of *London*, after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Then was ſhe led blindfold unto the place between two men, where the Irons lay burning hot, and paſſed the nine ſhares unhurt. At laſt, ſaith the: Good Lord, when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and ſhe ſaw that ſhe was paſt the pain, ſhe kneeled down giving God thanks.

Falſe accuſation purged by hot Iron.

A ſtrange thing if it were true, and without falſe conveyance.

Then the King repented (ſaith the ſtory) and reſtored unto her, that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiveneſs. But the Archbiſhop fled into *Normandy*.

Neer about this time, about the tenth year of his Reign, fell paſſing great ſnow from the beginning of *January*, to the ſeventeenth day of *March*. After which inſued a great mortality of men, murren of cattel, and by lightning the Corn was wonderfully Blaſted and Waſted.

Great ſnow and mortality in *England*.

Not long after this, a certain Earl of *Bologne*, who had married King *Edwards* Siſter, came into *England*: Through the occaſion of whom, when execution ſhould be done upon the Citizens of *Dover*, for a fray between them and the Earls men, variance hapned between King *Edward*, and Earl *Godwin*; who perceiving that he could not withſtand the Kings malice (although he gathered great company to work therein what he could) fled into *Flanders*, and was outlawed with his five Sons. King *Edward* repudiated his Wife, the Daughter of the ſaid *Godwin*: But the ſecond year after by mediators, he was reconciled to the King, again and called from baniſhment, and for his good abearing he gave for Pledges his two Sons, *Biornon* and *Toſtius*, which were ſent to the *Duke* of *Normandy*, there to be kept.

Variance between the King and *Godwin*.

*Godwin* with his five Sons outlawed.

*Godwin* reconciled to the King upon pledges given.

During the time of the Outlawry of *Godwin*, *William* Baſtard Duke of *Normandy*, came with a goodly company into *England* to ſee King *Edward*, and was honourably received. To whom the King made great chear, and at his return inriched him with great gifts and pleaſures; and there (as ſome write) made promiſe to him, that if he died without Iſſue, the ſaid *William* ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *England*.

*William* Duke of *Normandy* came to *England* to King *Edward*.

In this Kings reign lived *Marianus Scotus* the ſtory writer. As concerning the end of Earl *Godwin*, the cruel murtherer of *Alfred*, and of the *Normans*, although divers Hiſtories diverſly do vary, yet in this the moſt part do agree, that as he ſat at the Table with King *Edward* at *Windſor*, it happned one of the Cup-bearers, one of Earl *Godwins* Sons, to ſtumble and recover again, ſo that he ſhed none of the drink, whereat *Godwin* laughed; and ſaid, how the one brother had ſuſtained the other. With which words the King calling to mind his brothers death that was ſlain by *Godwin*, beheld the Earl, ſaying, So ſhould my brother *Alfred* have holpen me, had not *Godwin* been. *Godwin* then, fearing the Kings diſpleaſure to be newly kindled, after many words in excuſing himſelf, ſaid; So might I ſafely ſwallow this Morſel of Bread, as I am guiltleſs of the deed. But as ſoon as he had received the Bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the King commanded him to be drawn from the Table, and ſo was conveyed by *Harold* his Son to *Wincheſter*, and there Buried.

*Marianus Scotus*, when he lived.

The end and death of ungodly *Godwin*.

*Ex Jorna. Malmesbur. Polydor. Fabia. & alii.*

Gods juſt Judgment upon *Godwin* for the murthering of *Alred*.

Perjury plagued.

About the thirteenth year of this Kings reign, the ſaid King *Edward* ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* to the Emperor *Henricus* the fourth, praying him that he would ſend to the King of *Hungary*, that his Couſin *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, might come into *England*, for ſo much as he intended to make him King after him, which was called *Edward* Outlaw. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into *England* with his Wife *Agatha*, and with his children, to wit, *Edgar Adeling*, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*. But the year after his return into this Realm, this *Edward* deceaſed at *London*, and was buried at *Wincheſter*, or as *Jornalenſis* ſaith, at *Pauls* Church in *London*. After whoſe deceaſe the King then received *Edgar Adeling* his Son, as his own child, thinking to make him his heir. But fearing partly the unconſtant mutability of the Engliſhmen, partly the Pride and malice of *Harold* the Son of *Godwin*, and of others (perceiving thereby that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo well to paſs) directed ſolemn Ambaſſadors unto *William* Duke of *Normandy* his kinſman, admitting and aſſigning him to be his lawful heir, next to ſucceed after him to the Crown.

*Edward* the Outlaw, Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, ſent for to *England*.

Anno 1056.

The death of *Edward*, Son of *Edmund Ironſide*.

*William* Duke of *Normandy* admitted heir to the Crown.

After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* his Son waxed ſo in the Kings favour, that he ruled the moſt and greateſt cauſes of the Realm, and was Lieutenant of the Kings Army, who with his brother *Toſton* or *Toſtius* (ſent by the King againſt the Welſhmen) ſubdued their rebellion. But afterward, ſuch envy grew between theſe two brethren, for that *Toſtius* ſaw his brother *Harold* ſo greatly ad-

The envy and diſcord of brethren.

advanced in the Kings favour, that at *Hertford* the ſaid *Toſtius* ſlew all his Brothers men. Whom, when he had cut in pieces, he powdred their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of Salt, Vinegar, Wine, and other Liquors. That done, he made a Power againſt his Brother *Harold* (being King) with the aid of certain *Danes* and *Norwegians*, and fought a battel with him in the *North*, as after ſhall follow (God willing) to be ſeen. So ungracious were theſe wicked Children of Earl *Godwin*, that if they had ſeen any fair Manſion or Manor-place, they would ſlay the Owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the poſſeſſion thereof themſelves.

Ungracious Children of a wicked Father.

At length it came in the mind of this *Harold* to ſail over the Sea (as *Polydor* ſaith) unto *Normandy*, to ſee his Brother *Wilnotus*, as alſo his couſin *Hacus*, whom the King had ſent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. *Polydor* ſaith, Theſe pledges were *Toſto* and *Biorton*; but that cannot be, for *Toſtius* was then in *England*. But as *Henricus* Archdeacon of *Huntington* ſaith, his Journey was into *Flanders*, as ſeemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that *Harold*, who was a doer in the cruel murther of *Alfred*, and of the *Normans*, would venture into *Normandy*: and therefore more like it is, that his ſailing was into *Flanders*. But as the ſtory proceedeth, he, being in the courſe of his ſailing, was weather driven by tempeſt into the Province of *Pountith*, where he was taken as Priſoner, and ſent to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, to whom he was made to ſwear, that he in time following ſhould marry his Daughter: and that, after the death of King *Edward*, he ſhould keep the Land of *England* to his behoof, according to the will and mind of *Edward* (after ſome Writers) and ſo to live in great Honour and Dignity next unto him in the Realm. This promiſe faithfully made to the Duke, *Harold* returneth into *England*, with his couſin *Hacus* the Son of his Brother *Swanus* being delivered unto him. But *Wilnotus*, Brother of *Harold*, the Duke keepeth ſtill for performance of the Covenants: Thus *Harold*, I ſay, returning home, ſheweth the King all that he had done in the foreſaid matters, wherewith the King was well contented. Whereby it may be gathered, that King *Edward* was right well willing, that Duke *William* ſhould Reign after him, and alſo it ſeemeth not unlike, but that he had given him his promiſe thereunto before.

A place of *Polydor Virgil* examined.

*Harold* taken of the *Normans*.

*Harold* promiſeth Duke *William* to marry his daughter, and to keep the Realm for his behoof.

Among all that were true and truſty to King *Edward* of the *Engliſh* Nobility, none had like commendation, as had *Leofricus* Earl of *Mercia* and of *Cheſter*. This *Leofricus* purchaſed many great Liberties for the Town of *Coventry*, and made it free of all manner of things, except only of Horſe. Which freedom there was obtained by means of his wife *Godina*, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a ſtrange manner through the Town. This *Leofricus* with his wife *Godina* builded alſo the Abbey of *Coventry*, and indued the ſame with great Lands and Riches.

Earl *Leofricus* ever true and faithful to his Prince.

How *Coventry* was made free.

*Godina* wife to *Leofricus*

The Abbey of *Coventry* builded by *Leofricus*.

You heard a little before of the coming over of *Edward* called the *Outlaw*, Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, whom King *Edward* had purpoſed to have made King after him; but ſoon after his coming over, he deceaſed at *London*. This *Edward* had by his wife *Agatha*, a Son and a Daughter called *Edgar Adeling*, and *Margaret*. Which *Margaret*, being afterward married to the King of *Scots*, was the Mother of *Matild* or *Mawd* the Queen of *England*, and of *David* King of *Scots*, &c.

*Edward* the *Outlaw*.

*Edgar Adeling*.

*Margaret* Queen of *Scots*.

*Matild* Queen of *England*.

*David* King of *Scots*.

This vertuous and bleſſed King *Edward*, after he had reigned three and twenty years and ſeven months, died, and was buried in the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*, which he had greatly augmented and repaired: but afterward was more inlarged after this form which it hath now, by *Henry* the third Son of King *John*.

The death of King *Edward*.

*Weſtminſter* repaired.

They that write the Hiſtory of this King, here make mention of a Dream or Revelation that ſhould be ſhewed to him in time of his ſickneſs: how that becauſe the Peers and Biſhops of the Realm were Servants not of God, but of the Devil, God would give this Realm to the hand of others. And the King deſired utterance to be given him, that he might declare the ſame to the people, whereby they might repent. It was anſwered again, that neither would they ſo do; or yet if they did, it ſhould be given to another people. But becauſe it is a Dream, I let it paſs.

*Guliel. Malmeſ. Ex Formulgo. Ex hiſtoria Richardi a. Jaſi. compoſita.*

The Laws of King *Edward*.

Divers Laws were before in divers Countries of this Realm uſed, as the Law firſt of *Dunuallo Melmucius*, with the Laws of *Mercia*, called *Mercenelaga*: then the Laws of *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, as of *Ive*, *Offa*, *Alfred*, &c. which was called *Weſt-Saxenelaga*: the third were the Laws of *Canutus*, and of *Danes*, called *Danelaga*. Of all theſe Laws, which before were diverſly in certain particular Countries uſed and received, this *Edward* compiled one univerſal and common Law for all people through the whole Realm, which were called King *Edwards* Laws; which Laws being gathered out of the beſt and chieſeſt of the other Laws, were ſo juſt, ſo equal, and ſo ſerving the publick profit and wealth of all Eſtates, that, mine Authors ſay, The people long after did rebel againſt their Heads and Rulers, to have the ſame Laws again (being taken from them) and yet could not obtain them.

Furthermore, I read and find in *Matthew Paris*, that when *William Conqueror* at his coming in, did ſwear to uſe and practiſe the ſame good Laws of *Edward*, for the Common Laws of this Realm: afterward (being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom) he forſwore himſelf, and placed his own Laws in their room, much woſſe and obſcurer than the other were, &c.

*Ex Mat. Paris.*

*William Conqueror* ſworn to King *Edwards* Laws, yet went from it.

Notwithſtanding, among the ſaid Laws of *Edward*, and in the firſt Chapter and beginning thereof, this I find among the ancient Records of the *Guildhall* in *London*; The Office of a King, with ſuch other appurtenances as belong to the Realm of *Britain*, ſet forth and deſcribed in the *Latine* ſtile; which I thought here not unmeet to be expreſſed in the *Engliſh* Tongue, for them that underſtood no *Latine*. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.

## De jure & appendiis regni *Britanniæ*, & quod ſit officium Regis.

*Rex autem, quia vicarius ſummi Regis eſt, ad hoc eſt conſtitutus, ut Regnum terrenum & populum Domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam ejus veneretur Eccleſiam & regat, & ab injurioſis defendat, & maleficos ab eo avellat & deſtruat, & penitus diſperdat. Quod niſi fecerit, nomen Regis non in eo conſtabit. Verum Papa* Johanne *teſtante, nomen Regis perdit: cui* Pipinus & Carolus *filius ejus (nec dum Reges, ſed Principes ſub Rege* Francorum *ſtulto) ſcripſerunt, quærentes, ſi ita permanere deberent* Francorum *Reges, ſolo Regio nomine contenti. . A quo reſponſum eſt, illos decet vocare Reges, qui vigilanter defendunt & regunt Eccleſiam Dei populum ejus, &c.* In Engliſh thus:

The King, becauſe he is the Vicar of the higheſt King, is appointed for this purpoſe, to Rule the earthly Kingdom, and the Lords people, and above all things to reverence his holy Church, to govern it, and to defend it from Injuries; to pluck away wicked doers, and utterly to deſtroy them. Which unleſs he do, the name of a King agreeth not unto him, but he loſeth the name of a King, as witneſſeth Pope *John*: to the which Pope, *Pipinus* and *Carolus* his Son (being not yet Kings but Princes under the *French* King, being not very wiſe) did write, demanding this queſtion, whether the Kings of *France* ought ſo to continue, having but only the name of a King. Unto whom Pope *John* anſwereth again, that it was convenient to call them Kings, which vigilantly do defend and govern the Church of God and his people, following the ſaying of King *David* the *Pſalmograph*, *He ſhall not dwell in my houſe which worketh pride, &c.*

*Ex libro reg. antiquo in prætorio London.*

The office of a King deſcribed in the Laws of King *Edward*.

A King the Vicar of God in earth.

Moreover, the King by right and by his office, ought to defend and conſerve fully and wholly in all amplenеſs, without diminution, all the Lands, Honors, Dignities, Rights and Liberties of the Crown of his Kingdom. And further to reduce into their priſtine ſtate all ſuch things as have been diſperſed, waſted, and loſt, which appertain to his Kingdom. Alſo the whole and univerſal Land, with all Iſlands about the ſame in *Norway* and *Denmark*, be appertaining to the Crown of his Kingdom, and be of the appurtenances and dignity of the King, making one Monarchy and one Kingdom, which ſometime was called the Kingdom of *Britains*, and now the Kingdom of *England*: ſuch bounds and limits as is aboveſaid be appointed and limited to the name of this Kingdom.

The limits of the Kingdom of *England*, how far they do extend.

The office of a King further deſcribed.

Moreover, in the foreſaid Laws of this King *Edward*, it followeth in the ſame Book, where the foreſaid *Edward*, deſcribing the office of a King, addeth in theſe words, *A King*, ſaith he, *ought above all things to fear God, to love and to obſerve his Commandments, and cauſe them to be obſerved through his whole Kingdom. He ought alſo to keep, cheriſh, maintain, and govern the holy Church within his Kingdom, with all integrity and liberty, according to the Conſtitutions of his Anceſtors and Predeceſſors, and to defend the ſame againſt all Enemies, ſo that God above all things be honoured, and ever be before his eyes. He ought alſo to ſet up good Laws and Cuſtoms, ſuch as be wholeſome and approved: ſuch as be otherwiſe to repeal them, and thruſt them out of his Kingdom.* Item, *He ought to do Judgment and Juſtice in his Kingdom, by the counſel of the Nobles of his Realm.* All theſe things ought a King in his own Perſon to do, taking his Oath upon the *Evangeliſt*, and the bleſſed Relicks of Saints, ſwearing in the preſence of the whole State of his Realm (as well of the Temporalty as of the Spiritualty) before he be Crowned of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops. Three Servants the King ought to have under him as Vaſſals; fleſhly luſt, avarice, and greedy deſire, whom if he keep under as his Servants and Slaves, he ſhall Reign well and honourably in his Kingdom. All things are to be done with good adviſement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a King. For haſty raſhneſs bringeth all things to ruine, according to the ſaying of the Goſpel, *Every Kingdom divided in it ſelf ſhall be deſolate, &c.*

Three ſlaves and ſervants a King ought to have under his Subjection.

After the duty and office of Princes thus deſcribed, conſequently followeth the inſtitution of Subjects, declared in many good and neceſſary Ordinances very requiſite and convenient for publick Government. Of the which Laws *William Conqueror* was compelled, through the Clamor of the people, to take ſome, but the moſt part he omitted, contrary to his own Oath at his Coronation, inſerting and placing the moſt of his own Laws in his Language, to ſerve his purpoſe, and which as yet to this preſent day in the *Norman* Language do remain. Now (the Lord willing) let us proceed in the ſtory as in order followeth.

## ¶ King *Harold.*

{Anno 1066}

*Harold* laſt King of *Saxons.*

HArold the ſecond Son of Earl *Godwin*, and laſt King of the *Saxons*, notwithſtanding that divers of the Nobles went with *Edgar Adeling*, the next Heir after *Edmund Ironſide*; yet he through force and might contemning the young age of *Edgar*, and forgetting alſo his promiſe made to Duke *William*, took upon him to be King of *England*, *Anno* 1066. When *Harold Harefagar*, Son of *Canutus*, King of *Norway* and *Denmark*, heard of the death of King *Edward*, he came into *England* with three hundred Ships or more: who then joyning with *Toſtius*, Brother to the ſaid *Harold* King of *England*, entred into the North parts, and claimed the Land after the death of *Edward*. But the Lords of the Country aroſe, and gave them battel, notwithſtanding the *Danes* had the Victory. And therefore *Harold* King of *England* prepared toward them in all haſt, and gave them another ſtrong battel, and there had the Victory, where alſo *Harold* the *Dane* was ſlain by the hand of *Harold* King of *England*; and *Toſtius* was alſo ſlain in the battel. After this Victory, *Harold* waxed proud and covetous, and would not divide the prey to his Knights that had deſerved it, but kept it to himſelf; whereby he loſt the favour of many of his Knights and people.

*Harold* King of *Denmark*, and *Toſtius* ſlain.

In this mean time, *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, ſent Ambaſſage to *Harold*, King of *England*, admoniſhing him of the Covenants that were agreed between them: which was, to have kept the Land to his uſe after the death of *Edward*. But becauſe that the Daughter of Duke *William* (that was promiſed to *Harold*) was dead, *Harold* thought him thereby diſcharged, and ſaid, *That ſuch a nice fooliſh Promiſe ought not to be holden (concerning anothers land) without the conſent of the Lords of the ſame: and eſpecially for that he was thereunto for need or for dread compelled.*

The Pope ſendeth a Banner to Duke *William* upon boun Voyage into *England.*

Upon theſe Anſwers received, Duke *William*, in the mean while that the Meſſengers went and came, gathered his Knights, and prepared his Navy, and had the aſſent of the Lords of his Land to aid and aſſiſt him in his journey. And over that ſending unto *Rome* to Pope *Alexander*, concerning his Title and Voyage into *England*, the Pope confirmeth him to the ſame, and ſent unto him a Banner, willing him to bear it in the Ship, wherein himſelf ſhould ſail. Thus Duke *William* being provided of all things concerning his journey, ſped him to the Sea-ſide and took ſhipping at the Haven of S. *Valery*, where he tarried a long time ere he might have a convenient Wind, for the which his Souldiers murmured, ſaying, *It was a woodneſs, and a thing diſpleaſing God, to deſire to have another mans Kingdom by ſtrength; and namely, when God was againſt it in ſending contrary Wind, &c.* At the laſt, the Wind ſhortly after came about, and they took ſhipping with a great Company, and landed at *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*.

Duke *William* landeth at *Hastings.*

For three Cauſes Duke *William* entred this Land to ſlay King *Harold*. One was, for that it was to him given by King *Edward* his Nephew. The ſecond was to take wreke for the cruel murther of his Nephew *Alfred*, King *Edward*'s Brother, and of the *Normans*, which deed he aſcribed chiefly to *Harold*. The third was to revenge the wrong done to *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which was exiled by the means and labour of *Harold*, in the time of King *Edward*.

The cauſe why Duke *William* entred *England.*

Thus, while *Harold* was in the North, Duke *William* made ſo great ſpeed, that he came to *London* before the King; out of which he was holden, till he made good ſurety, that he and his people ſhould paſs through the City without tarrying: which promiſe he well obſerving, paſſed the Bridge, and went over to *Suſſex*, from whence he ſent a Monk unto *Harold*, and profered him three manner of ways. Firſt, either to render to him the poſſeſſion of the Land, and ſo to take it again of him under Tribute, reigning under him; Secondly, or elſe to abide and ſtand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both; or Thirdly, to defend this quarrel in his own Perſon againſt the Duke, and they two only to try the matter by dint of Sword, without any other blood-ſhedding.

Three conditions offered to *Harold* by Duke *William.*

But *Harold* refuſed all theſe Offers, ſaying, *It ſhould be tried by dint of Swords, and not by one Sword:* and ſo gathered his people and joyned battel with the *Normans*, in the place where afterward was builded the Abbey of *Battel* in *Suſſex*. In the beginning of which fight, the *Engliſhmen* kept them in good Array like to vanquiſh the *Normans:* wherefore Duke *William* cauſed his men to give back, as though they fled, whereby the *Engliſhmen* followed faſt, and broke their Array. Then the *Normans*, fiercely giving a Charge upon them, in concluſion obtained the Victory through the juſt providence of God. Where King *Harold*, who before had murthered *Alfred* the true Heir of the Crown, with his Company of *Normans* ſo cruelly, was now wounded of the *Normans* in the left eye with an Arrow, and thereof incontinent died: although *Gerardus* ſaith he fled away to *Cheſter*, and lived after that a Monk in the Monaſtery of S. *James*. Which is not like, but rather that he was there ſlain after that he reigned nine months, and was buried at *Waltham* (which proveth that he died not at *Cheſter*) and ſo was he the laſt that reigned in *England* of the blood of *Saxons*, the which continued (to reckon from *Hengiſtus* his firſt Reign in *Kent*) by the ſpace of 591 years, and if it be reckoned from the years of the *Weſt-Saxons*, then it indureth the ſpace of 565 years.

The fight betwixt *Harold* and Duke *William.*

King *Harold* ſlain.

This Duke *William* and King *Edward* were by the Fathers ſide couſin germans removed. For *Richard* the firſt of that name, which was the third Duke of *Normandy* after *Rollo*, was Father to Duke *Richard* the ſecond of that name, and Brother to *Emma* Mother to King *Edward*. Which Duke *Richard* the ſecond was Father to Duke *Robert*, this Duke *Williams* Father.

The conſanguinity betwixt King *Edward* and *William* the *Conqueror.*

Albeit in this matter other ſome may gather otherwiſe and better, perchance; yet if I may ſay what I think, verily I ſuppoſe, that there is no Conſanguinity ſo much the cauſe, why God of his unknown Judgments ſuffered the *Normans* here to prevail, as was rather the cruel murther of *Alfred* and of the innocent *Normans*, wrought by the cruel deſpight of *Harold* and the *Engliſhmen*, as is before declared. The which mercileſs murther, God here juſtly in this Conqueſt recompenced.

Murther juſtly recompenſed.

Now it remaineth alſo, to theſe foreign Affairs of Kings and Princes, to add ſomething likewiſe concerning the con-

Archbiſhops of *Canterbury.*

continuation of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, beginning there where we laſt left: that is, with *Elphegus*, whom we declared a little before to be ſtoned by the *Danes* at *Greenwich*. After which *Elphegus*, next ſucceeded *Liningus*, after him *Egelnothus* alſo above mentioned. Then *Robertus* a *Norman*, a great doer (as is declared) about King *Edward*, and a faithful Counſellor unto him; but he abode not long. After whom *Stigandus* invaded the See (as they report) by Symony, being both Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and alſo Abbot in another place, wherein he continued a great ſpace, gathering and heaping goods together; till at length Duke *William* clapt him in priſon, and there kept him, placing in his room *Lanfrancus* a *Lombard* born, of whom more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter to be declared.

*Liningus, Egelnothus, Robertus, Stigandus.*

The decay of the Church.

¶ Although the Church of Chriſt and ſtate of Religion, firſt founded and grounded by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, did not continually altogether remain in his primitive Perfection, wherein it was firſt inſtituted; but in proceſs of time began from better to worſe, to decreaſe and decline into much ſuperſtition and inconveniency; partly through the coming in of *Mahomet*, partly through the increaſe of wealth and riches, partly through the decreaſe of knowledge and diligence in ſuch as ſhould be the Guids of Chriſts Flock: yet the infection and corruption of that time (though it were great) did not ſo abound in ſuch exceſſive meaſure as afterward in the other later times now following, about the thouſand years expired after Chriſt, whereof we have to intreat, Chriſt ſo permitting. About which time and year came *Sylveſter*, the ſecond of that name, who next ſucceeded after *Gregory* the fifth before mentioned; and occupied the See of *Rome* about the year of our Lord, 1000. lacking one or two.

Pope *Sylveſter* the ſecond.

Sylveſter the ſecond a foul Sorcerer.

This *Sylveſter* was a Sorcerer, which after the ſort of them that work by Familiars (as they call them) and by Conjuration, compacted with the Devil to be made Pope. And ſo he was (through the operation of Satan) according to his requeſt. Which things ſome Hiſtories ſay, he did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of *Johannes Stella*, a *Venetian*, tranſlated from *Latine* into *Engliſh*, concerning the ſaid *Sylveſter*; to the intent that our Inchanters and Sorcerers now adays (whereof there be too many in *England*) may the better through his example be admoniſhed. The words of *Stella* be theſe, agreeing alſo with the Narration of *Benno*, *Platina*, and many others. *Sylveſter*, the ſecond of that name, being Pope, and a *Frenchman*, called *Gilbertus*, ſate in his Papacy four years, one month, and eight days. He entred into his Papacy through wicked and unlawful means: who from his youth being a Monk, and leaving his Monaſtery, gave himſelf wholly to the Devil, to obtain that which he required. And firſt coming to *Hiſpalis* a City in *Spain*; there he applied his Book and profited alſo, inſomuch that he was made Doctor, having amongſt his Auditors, *Otho* the Emperors Son, and *Robert* the *French* King, *Lotharius* Archbiſhop of *Senon*, with divers other more. By whoſe advancement he was promoted, firſt Biſhop of *Rheme*, afterward Biſhop of *Ravenna*, and at laſt, through the operation of Satan, was exalted to the Papacy of *Rome*; upon this condition, that after his death, he ſhould give himſelf to the Devil, by whoſe procurement he came to that promotion. Upon a certain time he demanded an Anſwer of the Devil, how long he ſhould injoy his Popedom. To whom he anſwered again, *Until thou ſay Maſs in* Jeruſalem *thou ſhalt live*. At length the fourth year of his Popedom, ſaying Maſs at *Lent* time in the Temple of the holy Croſs, being called then *Jeruſalem*, there he knew the time was come when he ſhould die. Whereupon being ſtruck with Repentance, he confeſſed his fault openly before the people, deſiring them to cut his body all in pieces (being ſo ſeduced by deceits of the Devil) and ſo being hewn in pieces, that they would lay it upon a Cart, and bury it there whereſoever the Horſes would carry it of their accord. And ſo the ſaying is, That by the Providence of God (whereby the wicked may learn, that there is yet hope of remiſſion with God, ſo that they will repent them in their life) the Horſes of their own accord ſtayed at the Church of *Lateran*, and there he was buried: where commonly by the ratling of his bones within the Tomb, is portended the death of Popes, as the common report goeth. Thus much out of *Johannes Stella* concerning *Sylveſter*. By whom our Sorcerers and Inchanters, or Magicians may learn to beware of the deceitful operation of Satan, who at the end deceiveth and fruſtrateth all them that have to do with him: as the end of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which uſe the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the Spirit of Jeſus our Redeemer, diſſolve the works of Satan, and preſerve the hearts of our Nobles, and all other *Engliſhmen* from ſuch Infection. *Amen.*

*Johannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Premonſtratenſis. Naucleru, Antoninus, Robertus, Bargus, Johannes Baltenſis.*

*Ex Johan. Stella.*

An admonition for Sorcerers and wicked Conjurers.

After *Sylveſter*, ſucceeded *John* the nineteenth, by whom was brought in (as *Volateran* ſaith) the Feaſt of *All Souls* in the year 1004. through the means and inſtigation of one *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluniake*, to be celebrate next after the Feaſt of *All Saints*. This Monk *Odilo*, thinking that Purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the Mount *Aetna*, dreamed upon a time, in the Country of *Sicil*, that he by his Maſſes, had delivered divers Souls from thence: ſaying moreover, *That he did hear the voyces and lamentations of Devils, crying out for that the Souls were taken from them by the Maſſes and Dirges Funeral*, Ex Bakenthorpo. in prolo. 4. lib. ſentent. And not long after him, came *John* the twentieth, and *Sergius* the fourth. After whom ſucceeded *Benedictus* the eighth; then *John* the one and twentieth, who being promoted by Art Magick, of *Theophylact* his Nephew, *Gratianus*, *Brazutus*, and other Sorcerers, brought in firſt the Faſt of the even of *John Baptiſt* and Saint *Lawrence*. After him followed Pope *Benedictus* the ninth, likewiſe aſpiring to his Papacy by like Magick, practiſing Inchantments and Conjuration in Woods, after an horrible manner; who reſiſting the Emperor *Henricus* the third, Son to *Conradus*, and placing in his room *Petrus* the King of *Hungary* with this verſe,

The Feaſt of *All Souls* brought in to the Church.

*Benedictus* the ninth.

*Petra dedit Romam* Petro, *tibi Papa coronam.*

Afterward, for fear of *Henricus* prevailing in battel, he was fain to ſell his Seat to his Succeſſor, *Gratianus*, called *Gregorius* the ſixth, for 1500 *l.* At which time were three Popes together in *Rome*, reigning and raging one againſt another; *Benedictus* the ninth, *Sylveſter* the third, and *Gregorius* the ſixth. For the which cauſe *Henricus*, ſirnamed *Niger*, the Emperor coming to *Rome*, diſplaced theſe three Monſters at one time, placing for them *Clement* the ſecond, and thereupon inacting that there ſhould no Biſhop of *Rome* henceforth be choſen, but by the conſent and confirmation of the Emperor. Which Conſtitution, though it was both agreeable, and alſo neceſſary for publick tranquility of that City, yet the Cardinals would not ſuffer it long to ſtand, but did impugne it afterward by ſubtil practice and open violence, as in proceſs (the Lord permitting) ſhall appear in the time of *Henricus* the fourth and the fifth. In the time of this *Clement*, the *Romans* made an Oath to the Emperor, concerning the election of the Biſhops, themſelves to intermeddle no further therein, but as the aſſent of the Emperor ſhould go withall. Howbeit the Emperor departing thence into *Germany* again, by and by they forgat their Oath, and within nine months after, poiſoned the Biſhop. Which fact, ſome impute to *Stephen* his Succeſſor, called *Damaſus* the ſecond. Some impute it to *Brazutus*, who (as Hiſtories record) within 13 years poiſoned ſix Popes; that is, *Clement* the ſecond, *Damaſus* the ſecond, *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* the ſecond, *Stephanus* the ninth, *Nicholaus* the ſecond.

*Gregorius* the ſixth.

A conſtitution that no Pope ſhould be choſen, but by the confirmation of the Emperor.

Pope *Clement* the ſecond.

Thus *Clement* being poiſoned, after him ſucceeded *Damaſus* the ſecond, neither by conſent of the people, nor of the Emperor elected, but by force and invaſion, who alſo within 23 days being poiſoned, in the year 1049. much contention and ſtriving began in *Rome* about the Papal ſeat. Whereupon the *Romans* through the counſel of the Cardinal ſent to the foreſaid Emperor, deſiring to give them a Biſhop; and ſo he did, whoſe name was *Bruno*, an *Alman*, and Biſhop of *Cullen*, afterward called *Leo* the ninth. This *Bruno* being a ſimple man, and eaſie to be led with evil counſel, coming from the Emperor towards *Rome* in his pontifical Apparel like a Pope; there meeteth him by the way, the Abbot of *Cluniack*, and *Hildebrand* a Monk, who, ſeeing him ſo in his *Pontificalibus*, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his authority of the Emperor, and not rather of the Clergy of *Rome*, and the people thereof, as other his Predeceſſors were wont to do: and

Pope *Damaſus* the ſecond.

ſo

ſo counſelled him to lay down that Apparel, and to enter in with his own habit, till he had his Election by them. *Bruno* following their counſel, and confeſſing his fault before the Clergy of *Rome*, obtained their favour, and ſo was nominate *Leo* the ninth, whereby *Hildebrand* was made a Cardinal, and put in high room. Under this Pope *Leo*, were two Councils; one kept at *Verſailis*, where the Doctrine of *Berengarius* againſt the real preſence in the Sacrament was firſt condemned, although *Berengarius* yet recanted not, which nevertheleſs was done after in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Nicholas* the ſecond, in the year 1060. The other was kept at *Moguntia*, where amongſt many other Decrees it was inacted, That Prieſts ſhould be excluded and debarred utterly from marriage. *Item*, that no lay-man might give Benefice or Biſhoprick, or any Spiritual Promotion, &c.

Pope *Leo* the ninth.

*Concilium Moguntinum. Nauclerus Cranz.*

This *Leo*, being at *Wormes* with the Emperor upon *Chriſtmas-day*, did Excommunicate the Sub-deacon; becauſe in reading the Epiſtle, he did it not in the *Roman* tune, he being there preſent. The Archbiſhop, moved therewith, departed from the Altar (being then at Maſs) ſaying, He would not proceed any further in his Service, unleſs his Sub-deacon were reſtored, whereupon the Pope commandeth him to be releaſed, and ſo they went forward in their Service.

*Alb. Cranz. Saxo. lib. 4. cap. 45.*

After the death of *Leo*, whom *Brazutus* poiſoned the firſt year of his Popedom, *Theophylactus* did ſtrive to be Pope: but *Hildebrand*, to defeat him, went to the Emperor (partly alſo being ſent by the *Romans* for fear of the Emperors diſpleaſure) who aſſigned another Biſhop, a *German*, called *Victor* the ſecond. This *Victor*, having a Council at *Florence*, depoſed divers Biſhops and Prieſts for Simony and Fornication: for Simony, in that they took of ſecular men their Dignities for money; for Fornication, in that, contrary to their Canon, they were married, &c. The ſecond year of his Papacy, and little more, this Pope alſo followed his Predeceſſors, being poiſoned by the foreſaid *Brazutus*, through the procurement of *Hildebrand* and his Maſter.

Pope *Victor* the ſecond.

*Concilium Florentinum.*

Here now began the Church and Clergy of *Rome* to wring out of the Emperors hand the Election of the Pope: electing *Stephen* the ninth for Pope, contrary to their Oath, and to the Emperors aſſignment. Here was the Church of *Millan* firſt brought to Obedience of the *Romiſh* Church, by this *Stephanus* the ninth Biſhop of *Rome*; who alſo ſhamed not to accuſe the Emperor *Henry* (of whom mention is made before) of Hereſie, for miniſhing the Authority of the *Roman* See. So this was their Hereſie at that time, not to maintain the ambitious Proceedings of the *Romiſh* Prelate. And Simony they called this, to take and injoy any Spiritual Living at a ſecular mans hand. Wherefore *Stephen* hearing this Simony to reign in divers places, namely, in the Churches of *Burgundy* and *Italy*, ſent forth the Cardinal *Hildebrand* to reform the matter, who was no leſs earneſt in that kind of Commiſſion to help the matter forward.

Pope *Stephen* the ninth.

The Church of *Millan* firſt brought under the Church of *Rome*.

The Emperor accuſed of Hereſie.

*Hildebrand* ſent in Commiſſion for Simony.

*Hildebrand* beginneth to ſtir.

In the mean time *Stephanus* the Pope taſting of *Brazutus* Cup fell ſick. *Hildebrand*, hearing that, applieth home, with all poſt ſpeed. So being returned to *Rome*, he aſſembleth all the Companies and Orders of the Clergy together, making them to ſwear that they ſhould admit none to be Biſhop, but which ſhould be appointed by the publick conſent of them all together. This being done, *Hildebrand* taketh his journey into *Florence*, belike to fetch the Biſhop of *Florence*, to ſtall him Biſhop; the Clergy ſwearing unto him that no Biſhop ſhould be ordained before his return again. But the people of *Rome* not ſuffering the Election to ſtand ſo long, after the death of *Stephen*, elected one of their own City, called *Benedictus* the tenth. *Hildebrand*, hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to *Rome* with one *Garhardus* Biſhop of *Florence*, he cauſed the Clergy to proceed to a new Election, ſaying, *That* Benedictus *was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing*. But the Clergy not daring to attempt any new Election at *Rome*, went to *Sene*, and there elected this *Garhardus* Biſhop of *Florence*, whom *Hildebrand* brought with him. So were two Popes in *Rome* together: But *Garhardus*, named *Nicholas* the ſecond, holding a Council at *Sutrium*, through the help of Duke *Godfrid* and *Guibert*, and other Biſhops about *Italy*, cauſed the other Pope to be depoſed. *Benedictus* underſtanding them to be ſet againſt him through the means of *Hildebrand*, unpoped himſelf, and went to *Velitras*; living there more quietly than he ſhould have done at *Rome*.

*Hildebrand* beginneth to ſtir.

Pope *Benedictus* the tenth.

Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond.

Two Popes together at *Rome*.

Pope *Benet* unpoped himſelf.

Here is to be touched by the way the error of the gloſs upon the three and twentieth Diſtinction, which falſely alledgeth out of the Chronicles, that *Benedictus* the tenth, which ſucceeded *Stephen*, was depoſed: after whom came *Johannes* Biſhop of *Sabinecor* money, and he again depoſed. *Benedictus* was then reſtored, and after diſplaced again, and then *Johannes* Archdeacon *Ad portam latinam*, was made Pope, and he again depoſed by the Emperor, and all in one year. Which ſtory neither is found in any Chronicle, nor agreeth to any *Benedictus*, ſave only that *Benedictus* the ninth, which was depoſed, and then reigned three Popes together: *Benedictus* the ninth, *Sylveſtus* the third, and *Gregorius* the ſixth, which before was called *Johannes ad portam latinam* (whom the Emperor depoſed) all three together. But that *Benedict* neither was the tenth, neither did he ſucceed Pope *Stephen*, as the gloſs recordeth. *Nicholas* thus being ſet up without the mind both of the Emperor and of the people of *Rome*, after his fellow Pope was driven away, brake up the Synod of *Sutrium*, and came to *Rome*, where he aſſembled another Council, called *Concilium Lateranum*. In which Council firſt was promulgate the terrible ſentence of Excommunication mentioned in the Decrees, and beginneth, *In nomine Domini noſtri, &c.* The effect whereof is this: Firſt, that he after a ſubtil practiſe (as far and as plainly as he durſt ſpeak) undermineth the Emperors Juriſdiction, and transferreth to a few Cardinals, and certain Catholick Perſons, the full Authority of chuſing the Pope. Secondly, againſt all ſuch as do creep into the Seat of *Peter* by money or favour, without the full conſent of the Cardinals, he thundereth with terrible blaſts of Excommunication, accurſing them and their Children with Devils, as wicked perſons, to the anger of Almighty God, giving alſo Authority and Power to Cardinals, with the Clergy and Laity, to depoſe all ſuch Perſons and call a Council-General, whereſoever they will againſt them.

The gloſs of the Popes Decrees refuted.

*Concilium Lateranum.* { Anno 1059. } *Diſt. 23 cap. Inno.*

A terrible Curſe of *Nicholas*.

*Item*, in the ſaid Council of *Laterane*, under Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, *Berengarius Andegavenſis*, an Archdeacon, was driven to the recantation of his Doctrine, denying the real ſubſtance of Chriſts holy body and blood to be in the Sacrament, otherwiſe than Sacramentally and in myſtery.

*Berengarius* driven to recantations.

In the ſame Council alſo was hatched and invented the new found deviſe and term of Tranſubſtantiation.

Tranſubſtantiation brought into the Church.

It were too long here to declare the Confederation betwixt this *Nicholas* and *Robertus Guiſcardus*, whom this Pope (contrary to all right and good Law, diſplacing the right Heir) made Duke of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Sicilia*, and Captain-General of S. *Peters* lands: that through his force of arms and violence he might the better ſubdue all ſuch as ſhould rebel to his Obedience, and ſo did. Now let all men, which be godly wiſe, judge and underſtand how this ſtandeth with the Doctrine of Chriſt, the example of *Peter*, or the ſpirit of a Chriſtian Biſhop, by outward arms and violence to conquer Chriſtian men and Countries, under the Obedience of a Biſhops See. Thus Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, well anſwering to his *Greek* name, by might and force continued three years and an half. But at length he met with *Brazutus* Cup, and ſo turned up his heels.

*Nauclerus, Platina. Eneas Sil.*

*Potentia Papæ coalitus* ſtandeth not with the Goſpel.

{ Anno 1062. }

At the beginning of this *Nicholas*, or ſomewhat before, about the year of our Lord, 1057. *Henry* the fourth, after the deceaſe of *Henry* the third, was made Emperor, being but a Child, and reigned fifty years: but not without great moleſtation and much diſquietneſs, and all through the ungracious wickedneſs of *Hildebrand*, as hereafter (the Lord ſo permitting) ſhall be declared.

*Henricus* the fourth, Emperor.

Here by the way cometh to be noted an example, whereby all Princes may learn and underſtand how the Pope is to be handled, whoſoever looketh to have any goodneſs at his hand. If a man ſtand in fear of his curſe, he ſhall be made his ſlave; but if he be depiſed of you, you ſhall have him as you luſt. For the Popes curſe may well be aſſimiled to *Domitians* thunder: If a man give ear to the noiſe and crack, it ſeemeth a terrible thing; but if you conſider the cauſes and effect thereof, it is a moſt vain ridicle.

The Popes Curſe compared to *Domitians* thunder.

In

*Aldredus* Archbiſhop of *York.*

In the Reign of this *Nicholas*, in the year, 1060. *Aldredus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, after the deceaſe of *Kinſius* his Predeceſſor, ſhould be made Archbiſhop of *York*; who coming to *Rome* with *Toſtius* Earl of *Northumberland* for his Pall (as the manner was) could not obtain it, but was deprived of all his Dignity, for ſome default (I cannot tell what) in his anſwer; and furthermore, after his reverſion home, was ſpoiled alſo of all that he brought with him. Whereupon, he returning again to *Rome* with *Toſtius* the foreſaid Earl, there made his Complaint, but could not be heard: till *Toſtius*, a man of ſtout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the Pope to his face, *That his Curſe was not to be feared in far Countries, which his own Neighbours, yea and moſt vile Vagabonds derided and deſpiſed at home.* Wherefore he required the Pope, either to reſtore *Aldredus* again to his goods loſt, or elſe it ſhould be known that they were loſt, through his means and ſubtilty. And furthermore it would come to paſs that the King of *England* hearing this would debar him of S. *Peters* Tribute, taking it for a great ſhame to him and his Realm, if *Aldredus* ſhould come from *Rome* both deprived of Dignity, and ſpoiled alſo of his goods, &c. In fine, the Pope thus perſwaded by the argument of his purſe, was content to ſend home *Aldredus* with his Pall, according to his requeſt.

How *Toſtius* perſwaded the Pope.

*Cadolus* a *Lombard* made Pope by the Emperor.

After the death of *Nicholas*, the *Lombards* being oppreſſed before by Pope *Nicholas*, and brought under fear, were the more deſirous, and thought it good to have a Biſhop of their Company, and ſo elected the Biſhop of *Parmen*, called *Cadolus*, to be Pope: ſending to the Emperor, and deſiring his favour and ſupportation therein, for the Election of the Pope (ſaid they) moſt properly appertained unto him.

Pope *Alexander* the ſecond. Two battels betwixt two Popes for S. *Peters* Seat.

The Emperor, well pleaſed and content, giveth his good leave and voice withall. *Hildebrand*, no leſs a wicked *Necromancer* than a ſtout Maintainer of Popiſh Liberties againſt good Emperors, hearing this, ſetteth up by a contrary Faction another Biſhop, *Anſelmus*, after called *Alexander* the Second. *Cadolus*, thus elected by the Emperor and the Cardinals, ſetteth forward to *Rome* with a ſufficient Army and ſtrength of men. *Alexander* alſo, no leſs prepared, there received him with another Army, where they had a great Conflict, and many ſlain on both ſides. But *Cadolus* as he had the better cauſe, ſo he had the worſe fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himſelf and came again with a greater Power: albeit he prevailed not. The Emperor ſeeing this hurly burley, to take up the matter, ſent thither his Ambaſſador *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Cullen*: who coming to *Rome*, beginneth ſharply to chide the Pope for taking ſo upon him without the leave or knowledge of the Emperor, declaring how the Election of that See ought chiefly to appertain to the right of the Emperor, as it hath done for the moſt part in the time of his Predeceſſors before. But *Hildebrand* all ſet on wickedneſs and ambition, and alſo puft up not a little with his late Victories, not ſuffering the Ambaſſador to tell to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale; affirming, that if they ſhould ſtand to Law and Cuſtom, the Liberty of that Election ſhould rather belong to the Clergy than to the Emperor. To make ſhort, *Otho* the Ambaſſor bearing (belike) more with the Clergy than with the Emperor, was content to be perſwaded, only required this in the Emperors Name, a Council to be had, to decide the matter, whereat the Emperor ſhould be preſent himſelf; and ſo he was. In the which Council being kept at *Mantua*, *Alexander* was declared Pope, the other had his pardon granted. In this Council, amongſt many other conſiderations, it was concluded concerning Prieſts, That they ſhould have no Wives: ſuch as have Concubines to ſay no Maſs: Prieſts Children not to be ſecluded from holy Orders: no Benefices to be bought for money: *Alleluja* to be ſuſpended in time of *Lent* out of the Church, &c. This alſo was decreed (which made moſt for *Hildebrands* purpoſe) that no ſpiritual man, whatſoever he be, ſhould enter into any Church, by a ſecular Perſon, and that the Pope ſhould be elected only by the Cardinals, &c. *Benno Cardinalis* writeth thus of *Alexander*, that after he perceived the frauds of *Hildebrand*, and of other the Emperors Enemies, and underſtanding that he was ſet up and inthroniſed but only for a purpoſe; being at his Maſs, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not ſit in the place, unleſs he had the Licence of the Emperor. Which when *Hildebrand* heard, he was ſtricken in ſuch a fury, that ſcarcely he could keep his hands off him, while Maſs was done. After the Maſs being finiſhed, by force of Souldiers and ſtrength of men he had him into a Chamber, and there all to be pommild Pope *Alexander* with his fiſts, rating and rebuking him for that he would ſeek for favour of the Emperor. Thus *Alexander* being kept up in cuſtody, and being ſtinted to a certain allowance, as about five grotes a day, *Hilderand* incroacheth all the whole Revenues of the Church to himſelf, procuring thereby much treaſure. At length *Alexander*, under the miſerable indurance of *Hildebrand*, died at eventide after eleven years and a half of his Popedom. And thus much of *Romiſh* matters.

Pope *Alexander* knockt about the pate by *Hildebrand.*

*Concilium Mantuanum*

*Alleluja* ſuſpended in the time of *Lent.*

A Decree that no ſecular man ſhould give a Spiritual Promotion. *Benno Cardinalis.*

Theſe things thus diſcourſed concerning the matters of *Rome*; now returning again to our own Country ſtory, the order thereof would require to enter again into the Reign of *William Conqueror*, the next King following in *England*. But as a certain Oration of King *Edgars*, which ſhould have been placed before, chanced in the mean time to come to my hands, not unworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the end of this Book to inſert the ſame (although out of order) yet better I judge it out of order, than out of the Book.

## The Oration of King *Edgar* to the Clergy.

*BEcauſe GOD hath ſhewed his great Mercy to work with us, it is meet (moſt reverend Fathers) that with worthy Works we ſhould anſwer his innumerable Benefits. For we poſſeſs not the Land by our own Sword,* Pſal. 43. *and our own Arm hath not ſaved us: but his right Hand and his holy Arm, becauſe he hath been delighted in us. Therefore it is meet that we ſhould ſubmit both our ſelves and our Souls to him, that hath ſubjected all theſe things under our Government: and we ought ſtoutly to labour, that they, whom he hath made ſubject to us, might be ſubject to his Laws. It belongs to me to Rule the Laypeople with the Law of Equity, to do juſt Judgment betweem a Man and his Neighbour, to puniſh Church-Robbers, to hold under Rebels, to deliver the helpleſs from the hand of the ſtronger, the needy alſo and the poor from them that rob them. It belongs alſo to my care to provide neceſſary things to the Miniſters of the Churches, to the flocks of the Monks, to the Company of Virgins, and to provide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whoſe manners belongeth unto us; whether they live chaſtly, if they behave themſelves honeſtly toward them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods Service, if they be earneſt to teach the people, if they be ſober in eating and drinking, if they keep meaſure in Apparel, and if they be diſcreet in judgment. If ye had regarded theſe things with a trial of them (O reverend Fathers, by your leaves I ſpeak) ſuch horrible and abominable things of the Clerks ſhould not have come unto our ears. I omit to ſpeak how their crown is not broad, nor their rounding convenient: the wantonneſs in your life, your pride in your geſture, the filthineſs in your words do declare the evil of the inward man.*

*Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods Service, whence ſcarce they will be preſent at the holy Vigils? And when they come to Maſs, they ſeem rather to be gathered to play and laugh than to ſing. I will tell that, that good men be ſorry for, and the evil laugh at. I will ſpeak with ſorrow (if ſo be I may expreſs it) how they be riotous in Banquetings, in Chambering, Drunkenneſs and Unſhamefac'dneſs: that now Clerks houſes may be thought to be a Stews of Harlots, and a Covent of Players. There be Dice, there is Dancing and Singing, there is watching to Midnight, with crying and ſhouting. Thus the Goods of Kings, the Alms of Princes, yea (and that is more) the price of that precious blood is not eſteemed. Have our Fathers then ſpent their Treaſure for this purpoſe? Have the Kings Coffers decayed by taking away many Revenues, for this cauſe? Hath the Kings Liberality given Lands and Poſſeſſions to Chriſts Churches for this intent, that Clerks Harlots ſhould be decked with the ſame? that riotous Feaſts might be dreſſed? that Hounds and Hawks and ſuch other toys might be gotten? The Souldiers cry*

*out*

*out of theſe things, the people grudge, Minſtrels ſing and dance*
Gen. 34. *and yet ye regard it not, ye ſpare it, ye diſſemble it. Where is the Sword of* Levi, *and the Zeal of* Simeon, *which killed the* Sichemites *and the circumciſed, which bare the figure of them that defile Chriſts Church with filthy deeds, becauſe they abuſed* Jacobs *Daughter as an Harlot? Where*
Exod. 32. *is* Moſes *ſpirit, which ſpared not his own Kinſfolk that*
Num. 25. *worſhipped the head of the Calf?*
Acts 5. 8. *Where is* Phineas *the Prieſts Dagger, which pacified Gods anger by holy zeal, when he killed him that played the Harlot with the* Midianite? *Where is* Peters *ſpirit, by whoſe power covetouſneſs is deſtroyed, and ſimoniacal Hereſie is condemned? Be earneſt ye Prieſts, be earneſt to*
Deut. 33. *follow the ways of the Lord, and the righteouſneſs of our God. It is time to do againſt them that have broken the Law of God. I have* Conſtantines *Sword, and ye have* Peters *Sword in your hands; let us joyn right hands, let us couple Sword to Sword, that the Lepers may be caſt out of the Temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the Sons of* Levi *may miniſter in the Temple, who ſaid to his Father and Mother,* I know you not; *and to his Brother,* I know you not. *Go too diligently I pray you, leſt we repent to have done that we have done, and to have given that we give, if we ſhall ſee that to be ſpent not in Gods Service, but on the riotouſneſs of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life, for lack of Chaſtiſement. Let the relicks of holy Saints, which they deſpiſe, and the holy Altars before which they play the mad-men, move you. Let the great devotion of our Anceſtors move you, whoſe Alms the madneſs of the Clerks doth abuſe. My great Grandfather (as ye know) gave the tenth part of all his Lands to Churches and Abbies. My great great Grandfather,* Alfredus *of holy memory, thought it not meet to ſpare his Treaſures, his Goods, nor Coſts, nor Rents that he might inrich the Church. My Grandfather the elder,* Edward, *your Fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gave to the Churches. It becometh you to remember with what Gifts my Father and his Brothers did inrich Chriſts Altars. O Father of Fathers,* Dunſtan, *behold (I pray thee) the eyes of my Father looking on thee, from that bright place of Heaven: hearken to his complaining words ſounding in thine ears, thus pitifully lamenting,* O Father *Dunſtan,* thou, thou *(I ſay)* gaveſt me counſel to build Abbies and Churches, thou wait my Helper and Fellow-worker in all things: I choſe thee as a Shepherd and Biſhop of my Soul, and a Keeper of my Manners. When did I not obey thee? What Treaſures did I prefer in reſpect of thy counſels? What Poſſeſſions did I not deſpiſe, if thou baddeſt me? If thou thoughteſt meet to give any thing to the poor, I was ready. If thou thougheſt meet to give any thing to Churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedſt that Monks or Clerks wanted any thing, I ſupplied. Thou ſaidſt that Alms laſted for ever, and that there was none more fruitful than that which was given to Abbies or Churches. For with that both Gods Servants are ſuſtained, and that which remaineth is given to the Poor. O worthy Alms! O worthy price of the Soul! O wholſome remedy for our ſins, which now doth ſtink in the ſweet Furrs of Prieſts Lemmans, wherewith they adorn their Ears and deck their Fingers, apparelling their delicate Bodies with ſilk and Purple! O Father, is this the fruit of my Alms, is this the effect of my deſire, and of thy promiſe? What wilt thou anſwer to this complaint of my Fathers? I know, I know: When thou didſt ſee a Thief, thou runneſt not with him, neither haſt thou put thy portion with Adulterers. Thou haſt rebuked, thou haſt exhorted, thou haſt blamed them: but words have been deſpiſed; now we muſt come to ſtripes of Correction. Thou haſt here with thee, the Worſhipful Father *Edward* Biſhop of *Wincheſter.* Thou haſt the Reverend Prelate *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter.* I commit this buſineſs to you, that both by Biſhoply Correction, and the Kings Authority, the filthy Livers may be caſt out of the Churches, and they that live orderly may be brought in, &c.

The ignorance and ſuperſtition of the time of King *Edgar* noted.

In this Oration of King *Edgar* above prefixed three things are chiefly to be noted and conſidered of them that have judgment to mark and underſtand, to wit, The religious zeal and devotion of Kings, both in giving to the Church, and alſo in correcting the manners of Churchmen. Secondly, the diſſolute behaviour and wantonneſs of the Clergy, then abuſing the great Donations and Patrimonies of Princes beſtowed upon them. Thirdly, the blind Ignorance and Superſtition of that time in both States, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, in eſteeming Chriſts Religion chiefly to conſiſt in giving to Churches, and in maintaining of Monkery; being falſely perſwaded that remiſſion of their Sins, and remedy of their Souls therein, did lie in building Monaſteries, erecting Churches and Cloyſters, and in placing Monks in the ſame, and ſuch other Alms-deeds, and Works of devotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true Doctrine of Chriſts Faith, and of free Grace of the Goſpel, which promiſeth life, remedy, and juſtification, not by any devout Merits of ours, nor by any Works either of the Law of God, or of the Inventions of man, but only and freely by our Faith in Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, in whom only conſiſteth all the Promiſes of God. *Amen.*

The Doctrine of Juſtification unknown.

Juſtification by Faith in Chriſt.

Now remaineth as in the former Book before, ſo in this likewiſe, to proſecute the Order and Race of Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, as we have done the Race of Kings, beginning with *Ethelredus*, who ſucceeded next after *Celnooke*, the ſeventeenth Archbiſhop of that See, mentioned where we left before.

The

## *The Names and Order of the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury, *from the time of King* Egbert *to* William Conqueror.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 18. *Ethelredus.* | 18 | |
| 19. *Pleimundus.* | 20 | This *Pleimundus* was School-Maſter to King *Alfred.* |
| 20. *Athelmus.* | 12 | |
| 21. *Ulfelmus.* | 13 | |
| 22. *Odo.* | 20 | By the Prayers of this *Odo*, the Monkiſh ſtories ſay that the Sword of King *Ethelſtan* was brought again into his Scabbard, as is noted before in that Kings time. |
| 23. *Elfius*, or *Elfinus.* | 1 | This *Elfius*, firſt Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, came to the See of *Canterbury*, by the Commandment of King *Edgar*, ſome ſay by Bribes, contrary to the mind of *Odo*. Whereupon in the firſt day of his Conſecration, he inſulting upon the Tomb of *Odo* with deſpite, ſhortly after went to *Rome* for his Pall, where in his journey upon the *Alpes* he died for cold, inſomuch that his Horſes being killed, and he put in their warm bellies, yet could he get no heat. *Malmesbur.* |
| 24. *Dunſtan.* | 20 | Of this *Dunſtan* many Monkiſh Miracles be feigned, as of the Harp upon the Wall playing by it ſelf, *Gaudent in Cœlis, &c.* Of our Lady with her company appearing to him ſinging, *Cantemus Domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio.* Alſo of the Angels ſinging *Kyrieleiſon, &c. Item,* of holding the Devil by the Noſe with a pair of Tongs, tempting him with Women, *Malmesb. Item*, of ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt at his Maſs in likeneſs of a Dove. *Item*, in delivering the Soul of *Edwin* from the Devil. *Item*, in foreſeeing the death of King *Edred*, by the death and falling of his Horſe. *Item*, of his Mother being great with *Dunſtan*, when all the Candles of others went out, her only Candle remained light: and many other like Fables, &c. |
| 25. *Ethelgarus.* | 1 | |
| 26. *Elfricus.* | 11 | |
| 27. *Siricius.* | 5 | This *Siricius* was the Counſellor to King *Egelred*, to redeem peace of the *Danes* with a great Tribute. |
| 28. *Elphegus.* | 6 | *Elphegus*, becauſe he denied to pay to the *Danes* a Tribute, was ſtoned to death at *Greenwich*, and of ſome is called a Martyr. |
| 29. *Livingus.* | 7 | |
| 30. *Egenoldus.* | 17 | |
| 31. *Edſius.* | 11 | |
| 32. *Robertus.* | 2 | This *Robertus* cauſed *Godwin* and his Sons to be baniſhed, accuſing them of Treaſon. But afterward they being reſtored, he went to *Rome*, and at his return died. |
| 33. *Stigandus.* | 17 | *Stigandus* being an *Engliſhman*, in the time of *William Conqueror* the *Norman*, was by the craft of the ſaid *William* conveyed into *Normandy*, where a while with great honour he was entertained. At length the ſaid *William* procured ſecretly the Popes Letters to depoſe him, that he might place *Lanfrancus* in his room. This *Stigandus* died at length in priſon. |
| 34. *Lanfrancus.* | 19 | |

*Polydorus* maketh *Dunſtan* to be the 23 Archbiſhop.

8. *Dunſtan.* Harp upon the Wall faſt by a pin did hang a. Without mans help, with lye and all, and by it ſelf did twang

## The End of the Third Book.

THE

# THE FOURTH BOOK,

## CONTAINING

Other three hundred years from *William Conqueror*, to the time of *John Wickliffe*, wherein is described the proud and mis-ordered Reign of *Antichrist*, beginning to stir in the Church of CHRIST.

*William Conqueror.*

WIlliam Duke of *Normandy*, surnamed *Conqueror*, base Son of *D. Robert*, the sixth Duke of *Normandy*, and Nephew unto King *Edward*, after the foresaid Victory against *Harold* and the *English-men* obtained, was received King over the Realm of *England*, not so much by assent, as for fear and necessity of time. For else the *Londoners* had promised their assistance to *Edgar Etheling* to the uttermost of their power. But being weakned and wasted so greatly in battels before, and the Duke coming so fast upon them, and fearing that they could not make their party good, submitted themselves. Whereupon the said *William* (of a Duke made a King) was Crowned upon *Christmas-day* in the year of our Lord, 1067. by the hands of *Aldredus* Archbishop of *York*; forasmuch as at that time *Stigandus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the King. A little before the coming in of this Duke, a terrible blazing Star was seen the space of seven days, which was the year before. In record whereof, as well of the Conquest of the Duke, as of the blazing-Star, these Verses yet remain:

{Anno 1067}

*A blazing Star.*

*Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,*
*Cum pereunt Angli stella monstrante Cometa.*

Which King thus being Crowned, did Reign over the Realm of *England* the space of one and twenty years, and one month, with great severity and cruelness toward the *English-men*, burthening them with great Tributes and Exactions; which was, to pay of every Hide of ground containing twenty Acres, six shillings. By means whereof certain parts of the Land rebelled, and specially the City of *Excester*. But at last *William* overcame them, and won the City, and punished them grievously. But, for that and for other stern deeds of *William*, divers of the Lords departed into *Scotland*: wherefore he kept the other Lords that tarried the straiter, and exalted the *Normans*, giving to them the chief Possessions of the Land. And forsomuch as he obtained the Kingdom by force and dint of Sword, he changed the whole state of the Governance of this Common-wealth; and Ordained new Laws at his own pleasure, profitable to himself, but grievous and hurtful to the people; abolishing the Laws of King *Edward*, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworn before, to observe and maintain them. For the which, great Commotions and Rebellions remained long after among the people (as Histories record) to have the said Laws of King *Edward* revived again.

*Tribute.*

*Rebellion. Earl Marcarus, and Earl Edwin, Edgar Atheling, with his mother and two sisters Margaret and Christian fled into Scotland.*

*New King, new Laws.*

*King William forsworn in abolishing King Edwards Laws.*

Where by the way speaking of Laws, this is memorable, that even in this Kings time the Authority of the Temporal Magistrate was distinct from that of the Church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deal in Causes Ecclesiastical, and be assistant to the Bishop; whose Jurisdiction what it was, and how qualified by King *William* now holding the stern of Government in his hand, the words following do declare.

*Turris Lond'.*

Willielmus *Gratia Dei Rex* Anglorum, *comitibus, vicecomitibus, & omnibus* Francigenis & Anglis, *qui in Episcopatu Remigii Episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis, &c.* In English thus:

William *by the Grace of God King of* England, *to all Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and to all* French-born *and* English, *which in the Bishoprick of* Remigius *the Bishop have Lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithful Subjects which abide in* England, *that the Bishops Laws which have been not well, nor according to the Precepts of holy Canons, even to my time in the Kingdom of* England; *by the Common Council and the Council of mine Archbishops, and the rest of Bishops and Abbots, with all the Princes of my Kingdom I have judged to be amended. Wherefore I command, and by my Royal Authority give in Charge, That no Bishop or Archdeacon do hold any more Pleas of Law in the Hundred by the Bishops Laws, nor bring any Cause which pertaineth to the Cure of Souls unto the judgment of secular men: but whosoever, according to the Bishops Laws, about any Suit or Default be troubled, shall come to the place, which to this end the Bishop shall choose and name, and there answer his cause, and not according as in the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Laws of the Bishop they shall do right unto God and to their Bishop. And if any puffed up with pride, being called once, twice, and thrice to the Court of Pleas, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawn to amendment, let him be Excommunicate. And if need be, to correct and revenge this, let the Power and Justice of the Kings Under-Sheriff be used. And he, which being called or summoned to the Bishops Court, will not come, for every calling shall be put to his answer before the Bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine Authority forbid, that no Under-Sheriff, or Provost, or Officer of the King, nor any Lay-man meddle or make with the Laws belonging to the Bishop; nor that any Lay-man bring or sue another out of the Bishops Court of Justice unto Judgment. And as for Judgment, let it be given in no place but in the Bishops See, or in that place which in this behalf the Bishop shall appoint.*

*The Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical qualified and circumscribed in King Williams time.*

By this evidence of Record it is manifest (as you see) that Duke *William* (now King) having assumed unto himself the absolute Authority Royal, endeavoured to establish a form of Government both in the Church and Common-wealth answerable to his own mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed unto the Clergy a kind of Jurisdiction of conventing persons before them, and likewise of exercising such Ecclesiastical Discipline as the quality of that age and time did use. Wherein we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our story, as the Spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct us.

Over and besides this, the foresaid *William*, as he was a Warrior, so he delighting in Forts and Bulwarks, builded four strong Castles; two at *York*, one at *Nottingham*, and another at *Lincoln*, which Garrisons he furnished with *Normans*.

About the third year of his Reign, *Harold* and *Canutus* Sons of *Swanus*, King of *Denmark*, entred into the *North* Country. The *Normans* within *York*, fearing that the *English-men* would aid the *Danes*, fired the Suburbs of the Town. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong that it took into the City, and burnt a great part thereof, with the Minster of S. *Peter*, where no doubt many worthy Works and Monuments of

*York with the Minster of S. Peter burnt.*

Books

Books were conſumed. In the time whereof the *Danes* by the favour of ſome of the Citizens entred the City, and ſlew more than three thouſand of the *Normans*. But not long after King *William* chaſed them out, and drave them to their Ships, and took ſuch diſpleaſure with the inhabitants of that Country, that he deſtroyed the land from *York* to *Durham*, ſo that nine years after the Province lay waſt and unmanured, only except St. *Johns* land of *Beverly*; and the people thereof were ſo ſtrictly kept in penury by the war of the King; that (as our *Engliſh* ſtory ſaith) they eat Rats, Cats, and Dogs, with other vermin.

The North Country waſted.

Horrible famine in the North parts of *Northumberland*.

Alſo in the fourth year of this King, *Malcolm* King of *Scots* entred into *Northumberland*, and deſtroyed the Country, and ſlew there many of the people, both of men, women and children, after a lamentable ſort, and took ſome priſoners. But within two years after, King *William* made ſuch war upon the *Scots*, that he forced *Malcolm* their King to do him homage.

*Scots* ſubdued to King *William*.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this Realm under his foreign Conquerour, which is now the fifth time that the ſaid land with the inhabitants thereof hath been ſcourged by the hand of God. Firſt, by the *Romans* in the time of *Julius Ceſar*; then by the *Scots* and *Picts* (as hath been ſhewed) afterward by the *Saxons*. Again, the *Saxons* or *Engliſhmen* did not enjoy the poſſeſſion of *Britain* with long quiet, but were brought in as much ſubjection themſelves under the *Danes*, as they had brought the *Britains* before (and that much more) inſomuch that through all *England*, if an *Engliſhman* had met a *Dane* upon a Bridg, he might not ſtir one foot before the Lord *Dane* (otherwiſe *Lurdane*) were paſt. And then if the *Engliſhman* had not given low reverence to the *Dane* at his coming by, he was ſure to be ſharply puniſhed (with more) as above hath been declared. And this ſubjection continued almoſt from the reign of King *Ethelwolfus* 230 years, till the reign of King *Edward*. And yet the indignation of God thus ceaſed not, but ſtirred up the *Normans* againſt them, who conquered and altered the whole Realm after their own purpoſe; inſomuch that beſides the innovation of the Laws, Coyns, and Poſſeſſions, there was in no Church of *England* almoſt any *Engliſh* Biſhop, but only *Normans* and foreigners placed through all their Dioceſs. To ſuch miſery was this land then brought, that not only of all the *Engliſh* Nobility not one houſe was ſtanding, but alſo it was thought reproachful to be called an *Engliſhman*. This puniſhment of God againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, Writers do aſſign diverſly to divers cauſes, (as partly before is touched) of whom ſome aſſign this to be the cauſe as followeth in the words of the ſtory: *In primitiva Angliæ Eccleſia religio clariſſime ſplenduit, ita ut reges & reginæ, duces & epiſcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent: proceſſu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam proditione & nequitia ſibi parem eſſe permitterent, &c.* The meaning whereof is this: That whereas Kings and Queens, Dukes and Prelates, in the primitive time of the *Engliſh* Church, were ready for Religion to forſake either Liberty or Country, and give themſelves to a ſolitary life; in proceſs of time they grew to ſuch diſſoluteneſs, that they left no other Realm like unto them in iniquity, *&c.* Again, ſome writing of the Viſion of King *Edward*, a little before the Invaſion of the *Normans*, teſtifie how the King reporting of his own Viſion, ſhould hear that for the great enormity and misbehaviour of the head-Dukes, Biſhops and Abbots of the Realm, the Kingdom ſhould be given to the hand of their enemies after the deceaſe of him, for the ſpace of one hundred years and one day. Which ſpace was alſo ſeen by *William* the Conquerour, to be one hundred and fifty years; and that his progeny ſo long ſhould continue. Again, ſome Writers intreating of this ſo great wrath of God upon the *Engliſh* people, declare the cauſe thereof as followeth: *Nam ſicut Angli Britones quos Deus diſterminare propoſuerat (peccatis ſuis exigentibus) humiliaverant, & a terra Angliæ minus juſte fugaverant: ſic ipſi duplici perſecutione, &c.* Like as the *Engliſhmen* did ſubdue the *Britains* (whom God propoſed for their deſervings to exterminate) and them unjuſtly did diſpoſſeſs of their land, ſo they ſhould likewiſe be ſubdued and ſcourged with a double perſecution; firſt by the *Danes*, and after by the *Normans*, &c. Moreover to theſe injuries and iniquities done and wrought by the *Engliſhmen*, hitherto recited, let us add alſo the cruel villany of this Nation, in murthering and tything the innocent *Normans* before, who coming as ſtrangers with *Alfred* the lawful heir of the Crown, were deſpightfully put to death. Which ſeemeth to me no little cauſe why the Lord (whoſe doings be always juſt and right) did ſuffer the *Normans* ſo to prevail. By the coming in of the which *Normans*, and by their quarrel unto the Realm, three things we may note and learn. Firſt to conſider and learn the righteous retribution and wrath of God from Heaven upon all iniquity and unrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for Princes to leave no iſſue or ſure ſucceſſion behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often do chance to Realms publickly by foreign marriage with other Princes, *&c.*

The continual affliction and diſquieteneſs of this Realm of *England*. Five Conqueſts which have been in this Realm, *Romans*, *Scots* and *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*.

Ex Henr. Huntington. Lib. 6.

Ex Hiſtor. Jornalenſ.

*England* afflicted and ſcourged for iniquity.

The viſion of King *Edward*.

*Engliſhmen* ſcourged for their unjuſt oppreſſion of the *Britains*.

*Engliſhmen* juſtly ſcourged for their unjuſt cruelty againſt the *Normans*.

Three things in this Conqueſt to be noted.

Gods juſt judgment.

Lack of Succeſſion.

Foreign Marriage.

In the ſame fourth year of this King, between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide* was holden a ſolemn Council of the Clergy of *England* at *Wincheſter*. At the which Council were preſent two Cardinals ſent from Pope *Alexander* the Second, *Peter* and *John*. In this Council, the King being there himſelf preſent, were depoſed divers Biſhops, Abbots and Priors, (by the means of the King) without any evident cauſe; to the intent his *Normans* might be preferred to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his Knights before to the rule of the Temporality, thereby to ſtand in more ſurety of the land. Amongſt whom alſo *Stigandus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was put down for three cauſes againſt him pretended.

{Anno 1070.}

A Council holden at *Wincheſter*.

Might overcometh right.

Divers Biſhops, Abbots and Priors depoſed in *England*.

*Stigandus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deprived, and the cauſe why.

The firſt was for that he had holden wrongfully that Biſhoprick, while *Robert* the Archbiſhop (above mentioned) was living.

The ſecond was for that he had received the Pall of *Benedict* Biſhop of *Rome*, the fifth of that name. Which *Benedict*, for buying his Popedom had been depoſed, as is ſhewed before.

The third cauſe, for that he occupied the ſaid Pall without license and lawful authority of the Court of *Rome*.

Fair countenance not to be truſted.

Then *Stigandus* well proved the benevolence of King *William*. For where before the King ſeemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did unto him great reverence; then he changed all his mildneſs into ſternneſs, and excuſed himſelf by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s authority. So that in the end, *Stigandus* was deprived of his dignity, and kept in *Wincheſter* as a priſoner during his life. This *Stigandus* is noted for a man ſo covetous and ſparing, that when he would take nothing of his own, and ſwearing that he had not a peny, yet by a key faſtened about his neck, was found great treaſure of his under the ground.

A covetous Biſhop.

*Thomas* made Archbiſhop of *York*.

At the ſame time was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, *Thomas* a *Norman*, and Canon of *Baion*.

*Lanfrancus* an *Italian*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

At which time alſo *Lanfrancus*, Abbot of *Cadomenſey* (a *Lombard* and *Italian* born) was ſent for, and made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, between which two Archbiſhops, about their Conſecration firſt began a contention, for giving and taking the Oath of obedience; but that contention was at that time appeaſed by the King; and *Thomas* was contented to ſubſcribe to the Archbiſhop of *Canterburies* obedience.

The Miniſter of *York* builded.

After this it followed within ſhort ſpace, that the ſaid *Lanfrancus* and *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York*, who firſt builded the Miniſter of *York*, and gave poſſeſſions thereunto, came to *Rome* with *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorceſter* for their Palls, as the manner was; without which no Archbiſhop nor Biſhop could be confirmed, although their Election were never ſo lawful. This Pall muſt be asked no where but of the Pope or his aſſigns, and that within three months; alſo it muſt be asked not faintly, but mightily. *Diſt.* 100. *cap. priſca.* Which as it was a chargeable thing to other Nations (eſpecially ſuch as were far from *Rome*) ſo it was no ſmall gain to the *Romiſh* See, ſo as they did order it. For although at the beginning the Pall was given without money according to the Decree, *Diſt.* 100. or for little, as percaſe in this time of *Lanfranke*; yet in proceſs of years it grew to ſuch exceſs, that where the Biſhoprick of *Mentz* was wont to give to *Rome* but ten thouſand Florens; afterward it aroſe ſo, that he which asked his Confirmation, could not obtain it without twenty thouſand. And from thence it exceeded to five and twenty thouſand, and at length to ſeven and twenty thouſand Florens; which ſum *Jacobus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* was preſt to pay a little before the Council of *Baſil*; inſomuch that the ſaid *Jacobus* at his departing (which was within four

The giving of the Palls.

*Diſt.* 100. *cap. priſca.*

*Diſt.* 100. *cap. nouit.* Ex lib. Gravaminum Nationis Germanicæ.

*Jacobus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

years after) ſaid, that his death did not ſo much grieve him as to remember his poor ſubjects, which ſhould be conſtrained to pay ſo terrible a fine for the Popes Pall. Now by this, what riſeth to the Pope in whole *Germany*, containing in it above fifty Biſhopricks, it may be eaſily conjectured. *Lanfrancus* thus coming to *Rome*, with the other two Biſhops; he for the eſtimation of his Learning obtained of *Alexander* two Palls, one of honour, the other of love. *Item*, he obtained for the other two Biſhops alſo their Confirmation. At which time, they being there preſent before *Alexander*, the controverſie began firſt to be moved (or rather renewed) for the Primacy betwixt the two Metropolitans, that is, betwixt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, whether of them ſhould have preeminence above the other. For *Canterbury* challenged to himſelf the Prerogative and primacy over whole *Britain* and *Ireland*; the which contention continued a long ſeaſon betwixt theſe two Churches, and was often renewed in the days of divers Kings after this; as in the reign of *Henry* the Firſt, betwixt *Thurſtinus* of *York*, and *Radulphus* of *Canterbury*. And again, in the ſeven and twentieth year of the ſaid King, at his ſecond Coronation. For *Radulphus* would not ſuffer the firſt Coronation to ſtand, becauſe it was done by the Biſhop of *York*, without his aſſent. Alſo in the reign of *Henry* the Second, where *Alexander* Pope made a Letter Decretal betwixt theſe two Metropolitans, for bearing the Croſs in the year 1159. Alſo another time, in the reign of the ſaid King, betwixt *Richard* of *Canterbury*, and *Roger* of *York*. Again, about the year of our Lord 1170, when *Thomas Becket* hearing the King to be Crowned of *Roger* Biſhop of *York*, complained thereof grievouſly to Pope *Alexander* the Third. Item, another time in the year 1176, betwixt *Richard* and the ſaid *Roger*, whether of them ſhould ſit on the right hand of Cardinal *Hugo* in his Council at *London*. Moreover, in the beginning of the reign of King *Richard*, in the year 1190, betwixt *Baldwinus* of *Canterbury*, and *Godfridus* of *York*, *&c.*

*Eneas Silvius* writeth that there be fifty Biſhopricks in *Germany*.

Now to proceed in the ſtory hereof: After this queſtion was brought (as is ſaid) to the Popes preſence, he (not diſpoſed to decide the matter) ſent them home into *England*, there to have their cauſe determined. Whereupon they ſpeeding themſelves from *Rome* to *England* in the year 1070, and in the ſixth year (as is ſaid) of this *William*, brought the matter before the King and the Clergy at *Windſor*. Whereas *Lanfranke* firſt alledging for himſelf, brought in from the time of *Auſtin* to the time of *Beda* (which was about 140 years) how that the Biſhop of *Canterbury* had ever the Primacy over the whole land of *Britain* and *Ireland*; how he kept his Councils divers times within the precincts of *York*; how he did call and cite the Biſhops of *York* thereto; whereof ſome he did conſtitute, ſome he did Excommunicate, and ſome he did remove; beſides alſo he alledged divers priviledges granted by Princes and Prelates to the Primacy of that See, *&c.*

To this *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* replieth again, and firſt beginning with the firſt original of the *Britains* Church, declareth in order of time how the *Britains*, &c.

*Lucius* the firſt King of *Britain* chriſtened.

*Theonus* firſt Archbiſhop of *London*.

*Ex Chronic. Sigeberti.*

5. The *Britains* firſt poſſeſſioners of this Kingdom of *Britain*, which endured from *Brutus* and *Cadwalladar* 2076 years, under an hundred and two Kings, at length received the Chriſtian Faith in the year 162, in the time of *Lucius* their King, *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent *Faganus* and *Damianus* Preachers unto them; at which time after their converſion, they aſſigned and ordained in the Realm eight and twenty Biſhops, with two Archbiſhops, *Theonus* the Archbiſhop of *London*, and *Theodoſius* Archbiſhop of *York*. Under thoſe Biſhops and Archbiſhops the Church of *Britain* was governed after their converſion, almoſt three hundred years, till at length the *Saxons* being then Infidels, with *Hengiſtus* their King, ſubduing the *Britains* by fraudulent murther invaded their land, which was about the year of our Lord 440. After this the *Britains* being driven into *Cambria* (which we now call *Wales*) the *Saxons* over-running the land, divided themſelves into ſeven Kingdoms. And ſo being Infidels and Pagans, continued till the time that *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent *Auſtin* to preach unto them; which *Auſtin* coming firſt to *Dover*, being then the head City of *Kent*, called in *Latin*, *Dorobernia*, and there planting himſelf, converted firſt the King of *Kent*, called *Edelbertus*, who had then ſubdued certain other Kings unto *Humber*. By reaſon whereof *Auſtin* was made Archbiſhop of *Dover*, by the appointment of *Gregorius*, who ſent him certain Palls with his Letter from *Rome*, as before is expreſſed. Which Letter being recited, then *Thomas* expounding upon the ſame, beginneth to declare for himſelf, how the meaning of *Gregory* in this Letter was, to reduce the new Church of *Saxons* or *Engliſhmen* to the order that was in the old time among the *Britains*; that is, to be under two Metropolitans, one of *London*, the other of *York*; for ſo the Church was ordered in the time of the *Britains*, as is before declared. Notwithſtanding he giveth to *Auſtin* this prerogative during his life time, to have authority and juriſdiction, not only over his twelve Biſhops, but upon all other Biſhops and Prieſts in *England*. And after his deceaſe then theſe two Metropolitans, *London* and *York*, to overſee the whole Clergy, as in times paſt amongſt the *Britains*; whom he joyneth together after the death of *Auſtin*, to conſtitute Biſhops, and to overſee the Church. And that he ſo meaneth *London* to be equal in authority with *York*, it appeareth by four arguments: Firſt, That he willeth *London* to be conſecrate by no Biſhop, but of his own Synod. Secondly, In that he willeth no diſtinction of honour to be betwixt *London* and *York*, but only according to that as each one of them is elder in time. Thirdly, For that he matcheth theſe two together in common Council, and with one agreement to conſent together in doing and diſpoſing ſuch things as they ſhall conſult upon in the zeal of Chriſt Jeſus; and that in ſuch ſort that one ſhould not diſſent nor diſcord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they ſhould govern together, whom he would not to diſſent together? Fourthly, where he writeth, that the Biſhop of *York* ſhould not be ſubject to the Biſhop of *London*; what meaneth this, but that the Biſhop of *London* ſhould be equivalent with the Metropolitan of *York*, or rather ſuperior unto him?

*Dover* the head-City of *Kent*.

This was about 150 years after the coming of the *Saxons*.

And thus he expounded the meaning of *Gregory* to be in the foreſaid Letter. To whom *Lanfrancus* again anſwereth, That he was not the Biſhop of *London*, and that the queſtion pertained not to *London*. *Thomas* replieth, having on his part many ſautors, that this priviledg was granted by *Gregory* to *Auſtin* alone, to have all other Biſhops ſubject to him; but after his deceaſe there ſhould be equality of honour betwixt *London* and *York*, without all diſtinction of priority; ſave the only priority of time ſhould make ſuperiority between them. And although *Auſtin* tranſlated the See from *London* to *Kent*; yet *Gregory*, if his mind had been to give the ſame prerogative to the Succeſſors of *Auſtin* (which he gave to him) would expreſly have uttered it in the words of his Epiſtle, writing thus to *Auſtin*: That which I give to thee *Auſtin*, I give alſo and grant to all thy Succeſſors after thee. But in that he maketh here no mention of his Succeſſors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind ſo to do.

*Lanfrancus* replieth.

*Thomas* argueth.

To this *Lanfrancus* argueth again: If this authority had been given to *Auſtin* alone, and not to his Succeſſors it had been but a ſmall gift, proceeding from the Apoſtolick See, to his ſpecial and familiar friend; eſpecially ſeeing alſo that *Auſtin* in all his life did conſtitute no Biſhop of *York*, neither was there any ſuch Biſhop to be ſubject to him. Again, we have priviledges from the Apoſtolick See, which confirm this dignity in the Succeſſors of *Auſtin*, in the ſame See of *Dover*. Moreover, all *Engliſhmen* think it both right and reaſon to fetch the direction of well living from that place, where firſt they took the ſparkle of right believing. Further, whereas you ſay that *Gregory* might have confirmed with plain words the ſame thing to the Succeſſors of *Auſtin*, which he gave unto him; all that I grant: yet notwithſtanding, this is nothing prejudicial to the See of *Canterbury*. For, if you know your Logick, that which is true in the whole is alſo true in the part; and what is true in the more, is alſo true in the leſs. Now the Church of *Rome* is as the whole, to whom all other Churches be as parts thereof; and as *Homo*, mankind

*Lanfrancus* replieth.

The dignity of *Canterbury* confirmed by priviledges.

Well replied of an Italian.

mankind is *Genus*, the general in a certain reſpect to all his *Individua*, to all particular perſons, yet in every particular perſon lyeth the property of the general; ſo in like manner the See of *Rome* in a certain reſpect is the general, and the whole to other Churches, and yet in every particular Church is contained the whole fulneſs of the whole Chriſtian faith. The Church of *Rome* is greater than all Churches; that which is wrought in it ought to work in the leſs Churches alſo; ſo that the authority of every chief head of the Church ought to ſtand alſo in them that do ſucceed; unleſs there be any preciſe exception made by name. Wherefore like as the Lord ſaid to all Biſhops of *Rome* the ſame thing which he ſaid to *Peter*, ſo *Gregory* in like manner ſaid to all the Succeſſors of *Auſtin*, that which he ſaid to *Auſtin*. So thus I conclude, Likewiſe as the Biſhop of *Canterbury* is ſubject to *Rome*, becauſe he had his faith from thence; ſo *York* ought to be in ſubjection to *Canterbury*, which ſent the firſt Preachers thither. Now whereas you alledg that *Gregory* would *Auſtin* to be reſident at *London*, that is utterly uncertain. For how is it to be thought that ſuch a Diſciple would do contrary to the mind of ſuch a Maſter? But grant (as you ſay) that *Auſtin* removed to *London*, what is that to me, which am not Biſhop of *London*? Notwithſtanding all this controverſie ceaſing betwixt us, if it ſhall pleaſe you to come to ſome peaceable compoſition with me (all contention ſet apart) you ſhall find me not out of the way, ſo far as reaſon and equity ſhall extend.

If this ſimilitude were formed into a Syllogiſm, neither were the major true; and ſpecially the minor were utterly falſe.

With theſe reaſons of *Lanfranke*, *Thomas* gave over, condeſcending that the firſt of his Province ſhould begin at *Humber*. Whereupon it was then decreed that *York* from that time ſhould be ſubject to *Canterbury* in all matters appertaining to the Rites and Regiment of the Catholick Church; ſo that whereſoever within *England Canterbury* ſhould or would hold his Council, the Biſhop of *York* ſhould reſort thither with his Biſhops, and be obedient to his Decrees Canonical.

Order taken between *Lanfrancus* Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* Biſhop of *York*.

Provided moreover that when the Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould deceaſe, *York* ſhould repair unto *Dover*, there to conſecrate with others the Biſhops that ſhould be Elect. And if *York* ſhould deceaſe, his Succeſſor ſhould reſort to *Canterbury*, or elſe where the Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould appoint, there to receive his Conſecration, making his profeſſion there, with an Oath of Canonical obedience. *Thomas* being content withal, *Lanfrancus* the *Italian* triumpheth with no ſmall joy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writing, that the memory thereof might remain to the poſterity of his Succeſſors. But yet that Decree did not long ſtand. For ſhortly after the ſame ſcar, ſo ſuperficially cured, braſt out again. Inſomuch that in the reign of King *Henry* the Firſt, *Anno Dom.* 1121. *Thurſtinus* Archbiſhop of *York* could not be compelled to ſwear to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and yet notwithſtanding by the Letters of *Calixtus* the Second, was Conſecrated without any profeſſion made to the ſaid Biſhop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to Hiſtory, to the intent men might ſee the lamentable decay of true Chriſtianity amongſt the Chriſtian Biſhops, who enflamed with glorious ambition, ſo contended for honour, that without meer forcement of Law no modeſty could take place.

Of ſuch like contentions among Prelates of the Clergy for ſuperiority, we read of divers in old Chronicles, as in the Hiſtory intituled *Chronicon Hirſeldenſe*, where is declared a bloody conflict, which twice happened in the Church of *Goſlaria*, between *Hecelon* Biſhop of *Hildeſheime*, and *Wederatus* Biſhop of *Fulda*, and all for the ſuperior place, who ſhould ſit next to the Emperor; the Emperor himſelf being there preſent, and looking on them, and yet not able to ſtay them.

Thus I have deſcribed the troublous contention between *Lanfrancus* and *Thomas* Metropolitan of *York*, in the days of *Alexander*, of which controverſie, and of the whole diſcourſe thereof *Lanfrancus* writeth to Pope *Alexander*, beginning thus:

A Letter of *Lanfrancus* ſent to Pope *Alexander*.

*Domino totius Chriſtianæ religionis ſummo ſpeculatori Alex. Papæ. Lanfrancus ſanctæ Dorobernenſis Eccleſiæ antiſtes, debitam cum omni ſervitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per veſtram authoritatem coactum eſt, ubi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiſcopi prolatæ & ventilatæ ſunt, allata eſt Eccleſiaſtica gentis Anglorum Hiſtoria, quam Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ Presbyter, & Anglorum doctor compoſuit:* and ſo forth, in a long proceſs of words which follow. Among which in the middle of the Epiſtle, ſpeaking of *Dover* and *Canterbury*, he hath theſe words: *Urbs namque quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus, ab ipſis terræ incolis, Dorobernia vocabatur*, &c. With many other words in the ſaid Epiſtle, which for brevity here I overpaſs.

In the ſtory before of King *Egelred*, was declared about the year of our Lord, 1016, how the Biſhoprick of *Lindaffarne*, otherwiſe named *Holyland*, in the flood of *Tweed*, was tranſlated to *Durham*; ſo likewiſe in the days of this *Lanfrancus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1076, divers Biſhops Sees were altered and removed from Townſhips to greater Cities. As the Biſhoprick of *Seleſe* was removed to *Chicheſter*; out of *Cornwal* to *Exceſter*; from *Wells* to *Bath*; from *Shireborne* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorcheſter* to *Lincoln*; from *Litchfield* to *Cheſter*; which Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, *Robert* being then Biſhop, reduced from *Cheſter* to *Coventry*. Likewiſe after that in the reign of *William Rufus*, Anno 1095, *Herbert* Biſhop of *Thetford* from thence reduced the See to *Norwich*, &c.

Biſhops Sees tranſlated into England.

As concerning *Dover* and *Canterbury*, whether the See was likewiſe tranſlated from the Town of *Dover* to the City of *Canterbury* in the time of *Theodorus*; or, whether *Canterbury* by old time had the name of *Dorobernia* (as the Letter of *Lanfrancus* to Pope *Alexander* above mentioned doth pretend) I find it not in Hiſtories expreſly defined; ſave that I read by the words of *William*, being yet Duke of *Normandy*, charging then *Harold* to make a Well of Water for the Kings uſe in the Caſtle of *Dorobernia*, that the ſaid *Dorobernia* then was taken for that which we now call *Dover*; but whether *Dorobernia* and the City of *Canterbury* be both one or divers, the matter is not great. Notwithſtanding this I read in the Epiſtle of Pope *Bonifacius* to King *Ethelbert*, as alſo to *Juſtinus* Archbiſhop: Item, in the Epiſtle of Pope *Honorius* to Biſhop *Honorius*: Item, of Pope *Vitalianus* to *Theodorus*; of Pope *Sergius* to King *Ethelred*, *Alfred* and *Adulphus*, and to the Biſhops of *England*. Likewiſe of Pope *Gregory* the Third to the Biſhops of *England*. Item, of Pope *Leo* to *Athelard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Of *Formoſus* to the Biſhops of *England*, and of Pope *John* to *Dunſtan*; that the name of *Dorobernia* and of *Canterbury* indifferently are taken for one matter.

*Dorobernia* and *Canterbury* taken both for one.

In this time (and by the procuring of this *Lanfrancus*) the ninth year of this King, a Council was holden at *London*, where among the Acts thereof theſe were the principal things concluded:

A Council holden at *London*, and what were the Acts thereof.

Firſt, For the order of ſitting, that the Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould ſit on the right hand, and the Biſhop of *London* on the left hand; or in the abſence of *York*, *London* ſhould have the right, and *Wincheſter* the left hand of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſitting in Council.

2. The ſecond, that Biſhops ſhould tranſlate their Sees from Villages into Cities, whereupon thoſe Sees above named were tranſlated.

3. That Monks ſhould have nothing in proper; and if any ſo had, he dying unconfeſſed ſhould not be buried in the Churchyard.

4. That no Clerk or Monk of any other Dioceſs ſhould be admitted to Orders, or retained without Letters Commendatory or Teſtimonial.

5. That none ſhould ſpeak in the Council except Biſhops and Abbots, without leave of the Arch-Metropolitans.

6. That none ſhould marry within the ſeventh degree, with any either of his own kindred, or of his wives departed.

7. That none ſhould either buy or ſell any Office within the Church.

8. That no Sorcery or any Divination ſhould be uſed or permitted in holy Church.

9. That no Biſhop nor Abbot, nor any of the Clergy ſhould be at the judgment of any mans death or diſmembring, neither ſhould be any fautor of the ſaid Judicants.

Biſhops of England about to drive out Monks, and to place Prieſts again in their ſtead.

Moreover in the days of this *Lanfrancus*, divers good Biſhops of the Realm began to take part with Prieſts againſt the Monks, in diſplacing theſe out of their Churches, and to reſtore the married Prieſts again; inſomuch that *Walkelmus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had placed above forty Canons inſtead of Monks for his part; but this godly enterprize was ſtopped by ſtout *Lanfranke* the *Italian Lombard*. This luſty Prelate ſat nineteen years, but at his latter end he was not ſo favoured of *William Rufus*, and died for ſorrow. Although this *Italian Frank* being Archbiſhop had little leiſure to write, yet ſomething he thought to do to ſet out his famous learning, and wrote a Book againſt *Berengarius*, intituling it *Opus Scintillarum*. The old Church of *Canterbury* he plucked down and builded up the new.

*Opus Scintillarum. Lanfranci.*

{Anno 1074}

*Hildebrandus ſeu Gregor. 7.*

After the death of Pope *Alexander* above mentioned, next unto him followed *Hildebrand*, Sirnamed *Gregory* the ſeventh. This *Hildebrand* as he was a Sorcerer, ſo was he the firſt and principal cauſe of all this perturbation that is now and hath been ſince his time in the Church; by reaſon that through his example all this ambition, ſtoutneſs, and pride entred firſt into the Church of *Rome*, and hath ever ſince continued. For before *Hildebrand* came to *Rome* working there his feats, ſetting up and diſplacing what Biſhops he liſted, corrupting them with pernicious counſel, and ſetting them againſt Emperors, under pretence of Chaſtity deſtroying Matrimony, and under the title of liberty breaking peace, and reſiſting authority; before this (I ſay) the Church of *Rome* was in ſome order, and Biſhops quietly governed under Chriſtian Emperors, and alſo were defended by the ſame; as *Marcellus*, *Meltiades*, and *Sylveſter* were ſubdued, and under obedience to *Conſtantinus*, Ann. 340. *Siricius* to *Theodoſius*, Ann. 388. *Gregorius* to *Mauricius*, Ann. 600. *Hilarius* to *Juſtinian*, Ann. 528. *Adrianus* and *Leo* to *Carolus Magnus*, An. 801. *Paſchalis* and *Valentius* to *Ludovicus Pius*, Ann. 830. *Sergius* the nine and twentieth to *Lotharius*, Ann. 840. *Benedictus* the third, and *Johannes* the ninth unto *Ludovicus*, Son of *Lotharius*, Ann. 856. But againſt this obedience and ſubjection *Hildebrand* firſt began to ſpurn, and by his example taught all other Biſhops to do the like.

*Hildebrand* the cauſe of all the ſtoutneſs and pride in Prelates.

The obedience of Biſhops in ancient time to Emperors.

Inſomuch that at length they wrought and brought to paſs that it ſhould be lawful for a few Curtiſans and Cardinals (contrary to ancient Ordinance and Statutes Decretal) to chuſe what Pope they liſt, without any conſent of the Emperor at all. And whereas before it ſtood in the Emrors gift to give and to grant Biſhopricks, Archbiſhopricks, Benefices, and other Eccleſiaſtical Preferments within their own limits, to whom they liſt; now the Popes through much wreſtling, wars, and contention, have extorted all that into their own hands, and to their aſſigns; yea, have pluckt in all the riches and power of the whole world: and not content with that, have uſurped and prevailed ſo much above Emperors, that (as before) no Pope might be choſen without the confirmation of the Emperor; ſo now no Emperor may be elected without the confirmation of the Pope, taking upon them more than Princes to place or diſplace Emperors at their pleaſure for every light cauſe; to put down or ſet up when and whom they liſted; as *Fredericus Primus*, for holding the left Stirrup of the Popes Saddle, was perſecuted almoſt to Excommunication. The which cauſe moveth me to ſtrain more diligence here, in ſetting out the ſtory, acts and doings of this *Hildebrand*, from whom as the firſt Patron and founder ſprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the *Roman* Church; to the intent that ſuch as cannot read the *Latin* Hiſtories may underſtand in *Engliſh* the original of evils; how and by what occaſion they firſt began, and how long they have continued.

What Popes have done.

Popes more than Princes.

*Frederick* the firſt ſhent for holding the Popes left Stirrup.

And firſt how this *Hildebrand* hitherto had behaved himſelf, before he was Pope, I have partly declared. For though he was not yet Pope in name, yet he was then Pope indeed, and ruled the Popes and all their doings as him liſted. Item, what ways and fetches he had attempted ever ſince his firſt coming to the Court of *Rome*, to magnifie and maintain falſe liberty againſt true authority; what practice he wrought by Councils, what factions and conſpiracies he made, in ſtirring up Popes againſt Emperors, ſtriving for ſuperiority; and what wars followed thereof, I have alſo expreſſed. Now let us ſee further (by the help of Chriſt) the worthy vertues of this Princely Prelate, after he came to be Pope, as they remain in Hiſtories of divers and ſundry writers deſcribed.

*Ex Aventino & alij.*

## The Tragical Hiſtory of *Gregory* the Seventh, otherwiſe named *Hildebrand*.

*Gregory* the ſeventh. *Ex Aventino.*

THE words of the *Latin* Hiſtory be theſe, *Hactenus Pontifices Romani in comitiis curiatis calatis a ſacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, ſenatu*, &c.

In *Engliſh*.

Hitherto the Biſhops of *Rome* have been elected by voices and ſuffrages of all ſorts and degrees, as well of the Prieſts and the Clergy, as of the Nobility, people, and Senate, all conventing and aſſembling together. And this Election ſo I find to ſtand in force, if ſo be it were ratified and confirmed by the conſent of *Roman* Emperors who had authority to call and to aſſemble all theſe, as well as Biſhops, together unto Councils as caſe required. Under the authority and juriſdiction of theſe Emperors were contained both in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, and through the whole Dominion of *Rome*, all Patriarchs, Biſhops, Maſters of Churches and Monaſteries, by the Decree of Councils, according to the old cuſtom of our Anceſtors, as is declared in a certain ſtory in the life of *Carolus Magnus*. The holy and ancient Fathers (like as Chriſt our Lord with his Diſciples and Apoſtles both taught and did) honoured and eſteemed their Emperors as the ſupreme Poteſtate next under God on earth, ſet up, ordained, elected and crowned of God, above all other mortal men, and ſo counted them, and called them their Lords. To them they yielded tribute, and paid their ſubſidies, alſo prayed every day for their life. Such as rebelled againſt them they took as rebels and reſiſters againſt God, his Ordinance and Chriſtian pietty. The name of the Emperor then was of great Majeſty, and received as given from God. Then theſe Fathers of the Church never intermedled nor intangled themſelves with Politick affairs of the Commonweal; much leſs occupied they Martial arms and matters of Chivalry. Only in poverty and modeſty was all their contention with other Chriſtians, who ſhould be pooreſt and moſt modeſt among them. And the more humbleneſs appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceived of him. The ſharp and two edged-ſword they took, given to the Church of Chriſt, to ſave, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to deſtroy; and called it the ſword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, the life and light of men, and revoketh from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortal, immortal. Far were they from that, to thruſt out any Prince or King (though he were never ſo far out of the way, yea an *Arrian*) from his Kingdom, or to curſe him, to releaſe his ſubjects from their Oath and their Allegiance, to change and tranſlate Kingdoms, to ſubvert Empires, to pollute themſelves with Chriſtian blood, or to war with their Chriſtian Brethren for Rule and Principality. This was not their ſpirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their Princes. Again, Princes loved them alſo like Fathers and fellow-Princes with them of the ſouls of men. Now this *Gregorius* the ſeventh, otherwiſe named *Hildebrandus*, truſting upon the *Normans*, which then ruffled about *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Campania*, truſting alſo upon the power of *Machtilda*, a ſtout woman there about *Rome*; and partly again bearing himſelf bold for the diſcord among the *Germans*; firſt of all others (contrary to the manner of Elders) contemning the authority of the Emperor, invaded the Cathedral See of *Rome*, vaunting himſelf, as having both the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Sword committed to him by Chriſt, and that fulneſs of power was in his hand to bind and looſe what ſo he liſted. Whereupon thus he preſumed to occupy both the Regiments, to challenge all the whole Dominion, both of the Eaſt and Weſt Church, yea, and all power to himſelf alone, abiding none to be equal, much leſs ſuperior unto him, derogating from others, and arrogating to himſelf their due right and honour, ſetting at light *Ceſars*, Kings and Emperors, and who reigned but by his own Godamercy? Biſhops and Prelates as his Underlings he kept in awe, ſuſpending and curſing, and chopping off their heads, ſtirring up ſtrife and wars, ſowing of diſcord, making

The ſtate and manner of the old Church in times paſt.

Reverence and obedience in old time given to Princes.

The manner and vertue of the forefathers deſcribed.

The ambitious preſumption of *Hildebrand*.

making factions, releaſing Oaths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of ſubjects to their Princes. Yea, and if he had offended, or injured the Emperor himſelf, yet notwithſtanding he ought to be feared, as he himſelf glorieth in a certain Epiſtle, as one that could not err, and had received of Chriſt our Saviour, and of *Peter*, authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleaſure. Prieſts then in thoſe days had wives openly and lawfully (no Law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deed and writings of their Chapter-ſeals and Donations, which were given to Temples and Monaſteries, wherein their wives alſo be cited with them for witneſs, and were called *Presbyteriſſæ*. Alſo for Biſhops, Prelates, Parſons of Churches, Governours of the Clergy, Maſters of Monaſteries, and Religious Houſes; all theſe were then in thoſe times in the Emperors Ordination, to aſſign by voice or conſent to whom he would. Now theſe two things *Gregorius* this Pope could not abide; for the which two cauſes only was all his ſtriving and driving from his firſt beginning to aboliſh the marriage of Prieſts, and ſo tranſlate the Authority Imperial to the Clergy. For to this ſcope only tended all his labour, practiſes and devices, as appeared before in the Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Nicholas*, and alſo in the Council of *Mantua* under *Alexander*, making their marriage hereſie, and the other to be ſimony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiſeth by himſelf, to condemn Miniſters that were married for *Nicholaitans*, and to receive any Spiritual Regiment of ſecular perſons for ſimony, directing forth his Letters upon the ſame to *Henricus* the Emperor, to Dukes, Princes, Poteſtates, Tetrarchs; namely to *Berchtoldus*, to *Rodulphus* of *Swevia*, to *Whelpo*, *Adalberon*, and their wives. Item, to Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Prieſts, and to all the people; in the which Letters he denounceth them to be no Prieſts, ſo many as were married, forbidding men to ſalute them, to talk, to eat, to company with them, to pay them tythes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Amongſt all others he directed ſpecial Letters to *Otho* Biſhop of *Conſtance* concerning this matter. But *Otho* perceiving the ungodly and unreaſonable pretence of *Hildebrand*, would never ſeparate them that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry which were unmarried, *&c.*

*Ex Avuntino qui invenit in inſtrumentis donationum.* Prieſts wives call'd *Presbyteriſſæ* in old Chapter-ſeals.

*Hildebrand* a mortal enemy againſt Prieſts marriage.

Prieſts marriage made hereſie.

*Otho* Biſhop of *Conſtance.*

## The Copy of the Letter of *Hildebrand* ſent to the Biſhop of *Conſtance* againſt Prieſts Marriages.

GREGORY *Biſhop, Servant of Servants of God, to the Clergy and Laity, both more and leſs, within the Dioceſs of Conſtance, Salvation and Benediction. We have directed to our Brother Otho your Biſhop our Letters Exhortatory; wherein we enjoyned him, according to the neceſſity of our duty, by the authority Apoſtolical, that he ſhould utterly aboliſh out of his Church the hereſie of Simony, and alſo ſhould cauſe with all diligence to be preached the Chaſtity of Prieſts. But he neither moved with reverence of St.* Peter's *precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do theſe things, whereunto we ſo fatherly have exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not only of diſobedience, but alſo of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done clean contrary to our commandment (yea rather the commandment of bleſſed St.* Peter) *ſo that he hath permitted his Clergy, not only ſuch as had wives, not to put them away, but alſo ſuch as had none, to take unto them. Whereupon we being truly informed thereof, and grieved therewith, have directed to him another Letter, declaring the motion of our diſpleaſure and indignation. In which Letters alſo we have cited him up to our Council at* Rome, *there to appear and give account of his diſobedience in the audience of the whole Synod. And now therefore we thought it beſt to ſignifie this to you (our dear children) whereby in this behalf we might the better provide for your health and ſalvation. For if your Biſhop ſhall continue ſo obſtinately to repugn and reſiſt againſt our Commandment, he is not meet to ſit over you, &c. Wherefore theſe ſhall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to bleſſed St.* Peter, *by our Apoſtolical authority, that if this your Biſhop ſhall perſiſt in his obſtinacy, you that be his ſubjects hereafter give to him no ſervice nor obedience. For the which thing doing, we here diſcharge you before God and your ſouls. For if your Biſhop ſhall ſeem contrary to the decreements and injunctions Apoſtolical, we through the Apoſtolical authority of St.* Peter, *diſcharge and abſolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be ſworn to him, ſo long as he is a rebel againſt God and the Apoſtolick Seat, we looſe you from the peril of your Oath, that you ſhall not need to fear therein any danger, &c.*

Otho cited to appear for ſuffering Prieſts with their lawful wives.

The Pope diſpenſeth for diſobedience.

*Otho* Biſhop of *Conſtance* thus being cited, whether he did appear perſonally himſelf, I do not read. Thus I read and find, that in the ſaid Council holden at *Rome*, *Hildebrand* with other Biſhops of *Rome* did then Enact among many others theſe three things moſt ſpecial: Firſt, That no Prieſt hereafter ſhould marry wives. Secondly, That all ſuch as were married ſhould be divorced. Thirdly, That none hereafter ſhould be admitted to the Order of Prieſthood, but ſhould ſwear perpetual Chaſtity, *&c.* This Council of *Rome* being ended, forthwith the act of *Hildebrand* concerning the ſingle life of Prieſts was proclaimed and publiſhed in all places, and ſtrait Commandment given to Biſhops to execute the ſame.

Three things Enacted by *Hildebrand*, Here cometh in the vow of Chaſtity.

## The Copy of his Bull ſent into *Italy* and *Germany* was this.

GREGORY *the Pope, otherwiſe* Hildebrand, *the Servant of the Servants of God, ſendeth the Apoſtles bleſſing to all them within the Kingdoms of* Italy *and* Germany, *that ſhew their true obedience to St.* Peter. *If there be any Prieſts, Deacons and Subdeacons, that ſtill will remain in the ſin of fornication, we forbid them the Churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of S.* Peter, *till in time they amend and repent. But if they perſevere in their ſin, we charge that none of you preſume to hear their ſervice; for their bleſſing is turned into curſing, and their prayer into ſin, as the Lord doth teſtifie to us by his Prophets,* I will turn your bleſſing, *&c.*

The Clergy of *France* repugning for divorcing from their wives.

The Biſhops of *France* being called upon daily with the Popes Letters, were compelled to obey the Decree of the Council, but the reſidue of the Clergy manfully and ſtoutly withſtanding the Popes Decree and inforcement of their Biſhops, would not agree, but repined thereat, and ſaid, that the Council did manifeſtly repugn againſt the Word of God, and that the Pope did take from Prieſts that which both God and nature had given them; and therefore that perſon to be an heretick, and author of a wicked Doctrine, which ruled and governed not by the Spirit of God, but by Satan. The Decree and Act ſet forth to tend directly againſt the Word of God and the ſaying of Chriſt, *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc:* All men have not the gift and capacity of this word. Item, to be againſt the ſound Doctrine of St. *Paul* writing theſe words, *As concerning virginity I have no Commandment of the Lord,* &c. Again, *He that cannot otherwiſe live continent, let him marry.* Item, that it was againſt the Canons both of the Apoſtles, and of the *Nicen* Council. Moreover, that it was againſt the courſe of nature which he required, that men being ſequeſtred from their natural wives and women, ſhould be coacted to live as Angels; that is, to perform that which nature doth not give. And therefore the Biſhop therein did open a pernicious window to uncleanneſs and to fornication. In ſum, giving up their anſwer, thus they concluded, That they had rather give up their Benefices than to forſake their natural and lawful wives againſt the word of Chriſt. And finally, if married Prieſts could not pleaſe them, they ſhould call down Angels from Heaven to ſerve the Churches. But *Hildebrand* nothing moved, neither with honeſt reaſon, nor with the authority of holy Scripture, nor with the determination of the *Nicen* Council, nor any thing elſe, followeth this matter, calleth upon the Biſhops ſtill, with his Letters and Legates doth ſollicite their minds, accuſeth them of negligence and daſtardneſs, threatneth them with Excommunication, unleſs they cauſe their Prieſts to obey his Decree injoyned them. Whereupon a great number of Biſhops, for fear of the Popes tyranny, laboured the matter with their Prieſts, by all means poſſible to bereave them of their accuſtomed Matrimony.

Amongſt other, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, perceiving

Biſhop of *Mentz. Ex Lamberto Scafnaburgen. in Hiſt. Germanorum.*

this act of taking away Prieſts marriage might breed him no little trouble, talketh with his Clergy gently, admoniſheth them of the Popes mind and decree, and giveth them half a years reſpite to deliberate upon the caſe; exhorting them diligently to ſhew themſelves obedient to the Pope and to him, and to grant with good will that which at length (will they nill they) needs they muſt be forced unto, and therefore of their own accord to ſtand content therewith, leſt the Pope ſhould be compelled to attempt ways of ſharper ſeverity. The time of deliberation expired, the Archbiſhop aſſembleth his Clergy at *Erpsford* the month of *October*, and there willeth them, according to the Pontifical Decree, either to abjure for ever all Matrimony, or elſe to abrenounce their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Livings. The Clergy again defend themſelves againſt the Popes Decree with Scriptures, with reaſon, with the Acts of General Councils, with examples of Anceſtors, by divers ſtrong arguments, declaring the Popes Decree not to be conſtant, nor ought to take effect. But the Archbiſhop ſaid he was compelled ſo of the Pope, and could not otherwiſe do, but to execute that which was injoyned him.

The Paleſts of *Germany* ſtout againſt the Popes unlawful proceedings

The Clergy ſeeing that no reaſon nor prayer, nor diſputation would ſerve, laid their heads together, conſulting among themſelves what was beſt to be done; ſome gave counſel not to return again to the Synod, ſome thought it good to return and to thruſt out the Archbiſhop from his See, and to give him due puniſhment of death for his deſerving, that by the example of him others may be warned hereafter never to attempt that thing any more to the prejudice of the Church, and the rightful liberty of Miniſters. After that this was ſignified to the Archbiſhop by certain ſpies that were amongſt them, what the Clergy intended to do, the Archbiſhop to prevent and ſalve the matter, ſendeth to the Prieſts as they were coming out, certain meſſengers, bidding them be of good hope, and to return again to the Metropolitan, and they ſhould have that ſhould content their minds. So being perſwaded, they come again to the Council. The Biſhop promiſeth he would do his endeavour what he could, to revoke and turn the mind of the Biſhop of *Rome* from that ſentence, willing them in the mean time to continue as they had done in their Cure and Miniſtry. The next year following, *Hildebrand* the Souldier of Satan ſendeth his Legate (a certain Biſhop called *Curienſis*) unto the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and aſſembled there a Council. In the which Council the Archbiſhop again propoſeth the matter, commanding all the Clergy, under pain of the Popes curſe, there perpetually either to abrenounce their wives or their livings. The Clergy defendeded their cauſe again with great conſtancy. But when no defenſion could take place, but all went by tyranny and meer extortion, it burſt in the end to an uproar and tumult, where the Legate and the Archbiſhop being in great danger, hardly eſcaped with their lives, and ſo the Council broke up. By this ſchiſm and tumult it followed, that the Churches after that in chuſing their Prieſts, would not ſend them to the Biſhops (the enemies and ſuppreſſors of Matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themſelves, and ſo put them in their office without all leave or knowledg of the Biſhops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no Prieſts, but ſuch as ſhould take an Oath of perpetual ſingleneſs, never to marry after. And thus firſt came up the Oath and profeſſion of ſingle Prieſthood. Notwithſtanding, if other Nations had followed the like conſtancy and concord of thoſe *German* Miniſters, the Deviliſh drift and decree of this *Hildebrand* (or rather *Helbrand*) had been fruſtrate and avoided. But this greedineſs of Livings in weak Prieſts made them to yield up their godly liberty to wicked tyranny. Yet this remaineth in theſe *Germans* to be noted, what concord can do in repreſſing the unordinate requeſts of evil Biſhops, if they conſtantly ſtand to the truth, and hold together. And thus much for baniſhing of Matrimony.

Single Prieſthood how it began.

Examples of concord in Prieſts and Miniſters.

Now let us proceed to the contents between wicked *Hildebrand* and the godly Emperor. But before, by the way of digreſſion, it ſhall not be much wide from the purpoſe to touch a little of the properties of this Pope, as we find them deſcribed in certain Epiſtles of *Benno* a Cardinal, writing to other Cardinals of *Rome*; which *Benno* lived in the ſame time of *Hildebrand*, and deteſteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monſtrous Pope.

Firſt, declaring that he was a Sorcerer moſt notable, and a Necromancer, an old companion of *Sylveſter*, of *Laurentius* and *Theophylactus*, called otherwiſe *Benedictus Nonus*. Amongſt others *Benno Cardinalis* writeth this Hiſtory of him: 'How upon a certain time this *Gregorius* 'coming from *Albanus* to *Rome*, had forgot behind him 'his familiar Book of Necromancy, which he was wont 'commonly to carry always with him. Whereupon re- 'membring himſelf, entring the Port of *Lateran*, he call- 'eth two of his moſt truſty familiars to fetch the Book, 'charging them at no hand to look within it. But they 'being ſo reſtrained, were the more deſirous to open it, 'and to peruſe it, and ſo did. After they had read a little 'the ſecrets of the Satanical Book, ſuddenly there came 'about them the meſſengers of Satan, the multitude and 'terrour of whom made them almoſt out of their wits. At 'length they coming to themſelves, the Spirits were inſtant 'upon them to know wherefore they were called 'up, wherefore they were vexed; quickly (ſaid 'they) tell us what ye would us to do, or elſe we will 'fall upon you, if ye retain us longer. Then ſpake one of 'the young men to them, bidding them go and pluck 'down yonder walls, pointing unto certain high walls 'there nigh to *Rome*, which they did in a moment. The 'young men croſſing them for fear of the Spirits (ſcarce re- 'covering themſelves) at length came to their Maſter.

*Ex Benno Cardinali.*

And it followeth moreover in the Epiſtle of the ſaid *Benno* to the Cardinals.

Pope *Hildebrand* forſaken of the Peers of his Cardinals.

'We have made mention to you before of divers Col- 'ledges of the Church of *Rome* which refuſed to Commu- 'nicate with him; as *Leo* then Archprieſt of the Cardi- 'nals, *Benno*, *Ugobaldus*, *Johannes* the Cardinal, *Peter* 'Chancellor and Cardinal, being all inſtituted before this '*Hildebrand*. Theſe three alſo being conſecrated by him, 'that is, *Natro*, *Innocentius*, and *Leo*, forſook him, cur- 'ſing the deteſtable errors which he held. In like caſe *Theo- 'dinus* whom he conſtituted Archdeacon, and other Car- 'dals more, *Johannes* Sirnamed *Primicerius*, *Petrus Ob- 'lationarius*, with all that appertained to them, ſaving one 'only man. And now when this *Hildebrand* ſaw that 'the Biſhops alſo would forſake him, he called unto 'him the Laymen, and made them privy of his Council, 'thinking thereby to ſeparate the Biſhops, that they ſhould 'have no conference with the Cardinals. After that he 'called together thoſe Biſhops, and being guarded with 'bands of Lay-men he inforced the Biſhops partly for fear, 'and partly for his menacing words, to ſwear unto him, 'that they ſhould never diſagree unto that which he would 'have done, that they ſhould never defend the Kings quar- 'rel, and that they ſhould never favour nor obey the Pope 'that ſhould in his ſtead be inſtituted. Which thing be- 'ing done he ſent them by means of the Prince of 'Salernites into *Campania*, and thus did he ſeparate them 'from the company of the Cardinals, and from the City 'of *Rome*. And not only the Biſhops, but alſo the Prieſts 'of the City, and Clerks of inferior Orders, as alſo the 'Lay-men he bound by their Oaths, that at no time, nor 'for any cauſe they ſhould condeſcend unto the King.

Pope *Hildebrand* compelleth the Biſhops and Prieſts of *Rome* to ſwear unto him.

'As ſoon as Pope *Alexander* was dead, which died 'ſomewhat before night, the ſame day contrary to the 'Canons, he was choſen Pope of the Lay-men. But the 'Cardinals ſubſcribed not to his Election. For the Canons 'preſcribed (under pain of curſing) that none ſhould be 'choſen Pope before the third day after the burial of his 'Predeceſſor. But he (by ſiniſter means thus climing to 'the See) removed the Cardinals of the ſaid See from be- 'ing of the Council. But with what perſons he conſulted 'night and day, *Rome* well heard and ſaw. And he now 'putting the Cardinals from his Council, his life, faith, and 'doctrine, no man could accuſe or bear witneſs of; whereas 'in the Canons is commanded, that in every place where- 'ſoever the Pope is, ſhould be with him three Cardinals 'being Prieſts, and two Deacons, becauſe of his Eccleſia- 'ſtical teſtimony, and ſtile of verity; of which Canonical 'Decree loore gentle Reader before. He violently wreſted 'the Sacred Scriptures to cover his falſhood, which kind 'of Idolatry how great it is, manifeſtly throughout all the 'Scripture it appeareth. Contrary to the minds and coun- 'ſel of the Cardinals, and beſides the determinate order of 'pronouncing judgment by the Canons, he raſhly did Ex- 'communicate the Emperour, being in no Synod ſolemn- 'ly accuſed before. The ſentence of which Excommuni-

Pope *Hildebrand* unorderly made Pope.

The Emperor wrongfully Excommunicated.

'cation

'cation, after rehearſal of theſe preſents, ſhall alſo be manifeſted (Chriſt willing) to the which Excommunication, ſaith *Benno*, none of the Cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſoon as he aroſe out of his Seat Papal, to Excommunicate the Emperor, the ſame Seat (being made but a little before with big Timber) ſuddenly by the appointment of God was rent and ſhivered in pieces; ſo that all men might plainly underſtand, what and how great and terrible Schiſms that Lubber had ſown againſt the Church of Chriſt, againſt the Seat of St. *Peter*, and how cruelly he had diſperſed the Chair of Chriſt, in defiling the Laws of the Church, ruling by might and auſterity in that his ſo perilous and preſumptuous Excommunication.

The Popes Chair brake under him as he roſe to excommunicate the Emperor.

'In the deſcription of the ſame Excommunication he inſerteth thoſe things wherein he himſelf erred, when he abſolved the Emperor being unjuſtly Excommunicate, and the Biſhops alſo communicating with him, and to the uttermoſt thus cutting and mangling the Unity of the Church, and thoſe that communicated with them, did as much as if him lay to make two Churches.

The Pope divideth the unity of the Church.

'Alſo the ſame bold Merchant commanded that the Cardinals ſhould faſt, to the intent that God would reveal whoſe Opinion was better (either of the Church of *Rome*, or of *Berengarius*) touching the controverſie of the Lords Body in the Sacrament. And hereby he proved himſelf to be a manifeſt Infidel, for, that in the *Nicene* Council it is written, he that doubteth is an Infidel.

'Further, he ſought for a Sign to eſtabliſh his Faith concerning the Article of the Lords Body; as did *Gregory* to confirm the Womans Faith, when the conſecrated Bread was tranſubſtantiated into the form of a fleſhly Finger. He alſo ſent two Cardinals (*Attones* and *Cunones*) unto *Anaſtaſe*, that with the Archprieſt of the ſame Church they ſhould begin a Faſt of three days ſpace, and that every of them (every day during thoſe three days) ſhould ſay over the Pſalter, and ſing Maſſes, that Chriſt would ſhew unto them ſome ſuch like ſign of his Body, as he did to the foreſaid *Gregory*; which thing they could not ſee.

Of this Miracle we read in no approved Hiſtory.

'The Emperor was wont oftentimes to go to St. *Maries* Church in the Mount *Aventine* to pray. *Hildebrand*, when he had by his Eſpials ſearched out and knew all the doings of the Emperor, cauſed the place where the Emperor was accuſtomed (either ſtanding or proſtrate on his face to pray) to be marked, and for Money he hired a naughty pack (like himſelf) to gather and lay together a heap of great ſtones directly over the place in the Vault of the Church, where the Emperor would ſtand, that in throwing the ſame down upon his Head, he ſhould ſlay the Emperor. About which purpoſe as the Hireling haſted, and was buſie, removing to the place a ſtone of great hugeneſs and weight, it broke the Plank whereon it lay, and the Hireling ſtanding thereupon, both together fell down from the Roof to the Pavement of the Church, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in pieces. And after the *Romans* had underſtanding of the handling of this matter, they faſtened a Rope to one of the feet of this Hireling, and cauſed him to be drawn through the Streets of the City three days together in example to others. The Emperor notwithſtanding, according to his wonted clemency, cauſed him to be buried.

The Pope hireth one to ſlay the Emperor.

'*Johannes* Biſhop of *Portua* (being one of the ſecret Council of *Hildebrand*) came up into the Pulpit of St. *Peter*, and amongſt other things in the hearing both of the Clergy and People, ſaid, *Hildebrand* and we have committed ſuch a fact, and ſo horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alive (meaning of the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt) which Sacrament *Hildebrand*, when he thereof required a Divine Anſwer againſt the Emperor, and it would not ſpeak, threw into the fire and burned it, contrary to the perſwaſion of the Cardinals that were there preſent, and would have reſiſted the ſame.

*Hildebrand* caſteth the Sacrament of the Lords Body in the fire, becauſe it would give him no anſwer.

'In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter-week, when the Clergy and the People were aſſembled at S. *Peter*'s Church to hear Maſs, after the Goſpel he ſent up into the Pulpit as he was in his Pontifical Attire, and in the preſence of divers Biſhops and Cardinals (a great company both of the Senate and the People of *Rome* being gathered together) openly preached (among many other words of Divination) that the King, whoſe name was *Henry*, ſhould die (without all peradventure) before the Feaſt of S. *Peter* next enſuing: or elſe at leaſtwiſe, that he ſhould be ſo dejected from his Kingdom, that he ſhould not be able any more to gather together above the number of ſix Knights. This he preached to the Biſhops and Cardinals, and all that were preſent, crying out of the Pulpit in theſe words, *Never accept me for Pope any more, but pluck me from the Alar, if this Propheſie be not fulfilled by the day appointed.* About the ſame time he went about by help of privy Murtherers to kill the Emperor, but God preſerved him. And many there were even at that time, which thought Pope *Hildebrand* to be guilty, and to be the deviſer of the Treaſon, becauſe that then he (before the deed put in execution) preſumed of the death of the King, being by him falſly propheſied of before; which words of his wounded many mens hearts. And it came to paſs that *Hildebrand* by his words was openly condemned in the Congregation, which (as is ſaid) gave judgment of himſelf to be no Pope, neither that he would be counted for Pope any longer, but thought to be both a Belier and a Traitor, unleſs that before the Feaſt of S. *Peter* next coming, the Emperor ſhould die, or elſe ſhould be deprived of all Kingly Honour, inſomuch as he ſhould not be able to make above ſix Knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to paſs, that by his own mouth he was condemned for an Heretick.

The Pope a falſe Prophet.

The Pope ſeeketh again to murther the Emperor

The Pope by his own mouth condemned for an heretick.

'*Thus ſaith the Lord: The Prophet which of arrogancy will propheſie in my name thoſe things I have not commanded him, or elſe will propheſie in the name of other Gods, let him be ſlain. And if thou ſhalt ſay with thy ſelf, How ſhall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou have to know it by; Whatſoever things the Prophet in the Name of God, ſhall propheſie, and the ſame come not to paſs, that mayſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the Prophet hath imagined through the haughtineſs of his own mind, and therefore thou ſhalt not be afraid of him.*

'When the time was expired that *Hildebrand* in his Divination had ſet, and that neither the King was dead, neither the power of the Empire impaired; and fearing leſt by the words of his own mouth he ſhould be reprehended and condemned, ſubtilly he turned his Tale, ſaying, and perſwading the ignorant People, *that he meant not of the Body of the King, but of his Soul*; as though the Soul of the King had loſt all, ſaving ſix of his Knights or Souldiers, or elſe had been dead during that ſpace; and thus by theſe ſleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Againſt ſuch Prophets S. *Gregory* upon *Ezekiel* ſaith, *Betweeen true Prophets and falſe this difference there is, that true Prophets if they ſpeak any thing upon their own mind they be ſoon rebuked; but the falſe Prophets, both they tell lies, and not having the ſpirit of truth, they perſevere in their falſity.*

The Emperor preſerved by the power of God from the Pope.

A ſubtil ſhift of *Hildebrand* to ſave his lying Propheecy.

'Over and beſide, the ſaid *Hildebrand* judged to death three men before they were convict, or elſe confeſſed their crime, without the ſentence of any Secular judge, and cauſed them to be hanged upon a pair of Gallows, over againſt the Church of St. *Peter* in a place called *Palatiolum*, without any delay or adviſement, contrary to the Laws which command that every publick offender ſhould have thirty days ſpace before he be put to execution. Which thing even amongſt the Pagans is in ure and obſerved, as teacheth the authority of S. *Ambroſe*, and the Martyrdom of holy *Marcellianus* and *Marcus*.

Three perſons before they were convict, put to execution by *Hildebrand* againſt all law.

'He caſt *Centius* the Son of *Stephan* the Alderman into Priſon, being before his truſty friend; and in a Veſſel being thick ſet with ſharp Nails, he tormented him to the point of death, who, after that he was eſcaped, apprehended the ſaid *Hildebrand*. Of this apprehenſion, before he was ſet at liberty, he openly forgave all the Conſpirators. Which thing afterwards, contrary to his fidelity, he brake and revenged, and cauſed *Centius*, to whom he had forgiven all offences, to be taken, and hanged him and nine of his Men upon the Gallows before St. *Peter*'s Porch.

*Centius* taken by the Pope, and put into a Barrel of Nails.

The Pope taken of *Centius*.

*Centius* executed by the Pope contrary to promiſe and faith.

There

'There was at the apprehenſion of Pope *Hildebrand* a 'certain Widows Son, to whom (and others more for 'their Penance) he enjoyned a years Baniſhment. Which 'time being expleat or run out, the Widow in token of 'more ample ſatisfaction, thinking thereby to have ap-'peaſed the mind of *Hildebrand*, put a Halter upon her 'Sons Neck, and drawing her Son by the rope unto the 'foot of *Hildebrand*, ſaid, *My Lord Pope, at your hands 'will I receive again my Son, which one whole year hath 'ndured baniſhment, and other Penance, by your Holineſs 'injoyned.* Then the ſaid *Hildebrand* for that inſtant, 'becauſe of thoſe which were with him in company (diſ-'ſembling his wrath) delivered her her Son very churliſh-'ly, ſaying, *Get thee hence Woman, I bid thee, and let 'me be in reſt.* After this, he ſent his Officers, and ap-'prehended the Widows Son, and gave commandment to 'the Juſtices to put him to death; who all together mak-'ing anſwer, ſaid, *That they could no more condemn or 'meddle with him, for that he had for his crime commit-'ted appealed once to the Pope, and abidden the baniſhment, 'and done the Penance by him injoyned.* Hereupon this 'glorious *Hildebrand*, diſpleaſed with the Judges, cauſed 'the foot of the Widows Son to be cut off; making nei-'ther Repentance, nor the Laws and Ordinances to be 'of any eſtimation with him; and thus his foot being 'cut off, he died within three days after with the pain 'thereof. Many other wicked deeds did this *Hildebrand*, 'upon whom the bloud of the Church crieth vengeance, 'ſhed by the Sword (that is) the miſerable treachery of 'his tongue: for which things (and that juſtly) the 'Church refuſed to communicate with him. *Hæc Benno.*

The villany of the Pope in killing a widows ſon which before had done his penance.

## *Another Epiſtle of* Benno *to the Cardinals.*

Another Letter of *Benno.*

TO the reverend Fathers of the Church of *Rome*, 'and to his beloved in Chriſt, and to his Brethren 'that ſhall for ever be beloved, *Benno* the Cardinal of the 'Church of *Rome*, wiſheth faithful ſervice, health, and 'communion with the ſervants of the Catholick Church. 'Of the which communion, diſcipline and power he vain-'ly braggeth, that by the preſumption of his Authority 'ſhall unjuſtly bind or looſe any manner of perſon. And 'he doth unjuſtly bind whatſoever he be, that curſeth any 'man (being willing to make ſatisfaction, and bewailing 'his boldneſs, being alſo unconvict, and not confeſſing 'the crime) but rather curſing that party in vain, he 'curſeth and condemneth himſelf turning his weapon up-'on his own perſon to his deſtruction. O ſtrange and new 'found treachery proceeding from the Sanctuary, nay ra-'ther, from him which as High-Prieſt ſeemeth to rule the 'Church, and to be a Judge over the Judges.

The deviliſh practice of *Hildebrand* in ſering the Biſhops againſt the Emperor.

'*Hildebrand* was earneſtly in hand with the Emperor, 'that he ſhould deprive thoſe Biſhops, which came in by 'Simony. The Emperor (thinking, as a zealous Prince, 'that this Commiſſion had proceeded from the Throne 'of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith 'without any conſideration, or judicial order, deprived 'certain Biſhops, and thought that by this his obedience to '*Hildebrand* he offered an acceptable Sacrifice to God; 'not knowing the crafty handling of him. But *Hilde-'brand* then again placed thoſe, whom the Emperor for 'Simony at his commandment had before depoſed, and 'thoſe whom by that means he made to bear a hateful 'heart to the Emperor, he reconciled again to himſelf in 'great familiarity; and by many and great Oaths taken 'of them, for their fidelity towards him, he promoted 'them above all the reſt. And thus by theſe pranks, the 'Imperial Seat of the King being ſhortly after impaired, 'and deſtitute almoſt of friends, he craftily purchaſing the 'friendſhip and favour of the greateſt Princes, the better to 'bring his matters to paſs; ſuddenly again, without any 'lawful accuſation, without any Canonical vocation, with-'out all judicial order, he excommunicated the Emperor '(ſo obedient always unto him) and ſet the Princes of the 'Empire all againſt him. And notwithſtanding (as the 'Apoſtle ſaith) that no Man ought to circumvent his 'Brother in his buſineſs, as much as in him lay, he rather 'mortified and killed him, than brotherly corrected him. 'Thus the Emperor being many ways circumvented, as ex-'communicated beſides the Canonical Order, and by the 'conſent and counſel of *Hildebrand*, ſpoiled of the greateſt 'part of his Imperial Honour, and overcharged with great 'Wars and Slaughters of his own Subjects, in vain deſired 'and ſued to have the Canon read and heard, cauſing him 'by force and violence at *Canuſium*, in the preſence of *Hil-'debrand*, to accuſe himſelf by his own confeſſion.

The Emperor cauſed by *Hildebrand* to accuſe himſelf.

'Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as love juſtice, and 'love not to lean either upon the left hand, or elſe the right 'hand, in favour of any perſon; ſay your minds, whe-'ther that ſuch a confeſſion being forced upon never ſo 'poor a Man (much more upon an Emperor) ought at 'ſuch a time to be prejudicial or not? Or whether he, 'which extorted the ſame confeſſion is guilty of the Ca-'non? Or elſe he, which being ſo perverſly judged, ſuffer-'ed the injury of a moſt perverſe Judge? Which alſo moſt 'patiently and publickly ſuffered this violence with lament-'able affliction upon his bare feet, clothed in thin garments, 'in the ſharp Winter, which never was uſed, and was three 'days together at *Canuſium* made a ſpectacle both of An-'gels and Men, and a ludibrious Mocking-ſtock to that proud '*Hildebrand*. Never truſt me, if that fourteen Cardinals, 'the Archdeacon himſelf, and he that is called *Primicerius*, 'being all wiſe and religious Men, beſides many other of 'the Clerks of *Lateran* (to the judgment and priviledge 'of whoſe holy ſeat the whole World is obedient) weighing 'and conſidering his intolerable Apoſtaſie, departed not 'from participating, and refuſed communicating with him.

The great Reverence of the godly Emperor.

'This glorious *Hildebrand*, and his affinity, by their 'new Authority, breaking the Decrees of the *Chalcedon* 'Council, not only in words, but alſo in publick Writings 'have agreed, that it is tolerable both to baptiſe and com-'municate being out of the Church of God: and how blind 'theſe men were, and alſo what Hereticks they be, their own 'writings do declare. *What a miſchief is this* (ſaith *Ben-'no*) *they preſume to judge of the Church, which ſwarm 'themſelves in all errors, who alſo eſteem the verity but 'as a lye; and leſt their poyſoned falſhood both in words 'and writings ſhould appear, they have like ſubtil poyſoners '(the ſooner to deceive) mixed honey therewithal. A lie,* ſaith St. *Auguſtine, is every thing pronounced with the in-'tent of deceiving of others.*

*Mendacium quid.*

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doings, and diabolical practices of Conjurings, Charms and filthy Sorceries, exerciſed between him and *Laurentius*, and *Theophylact*, otherwiſe named Pope *Benedict* the ninth, whereof a long narration followeth in the foreſaid Epiſtle of *Benno* to the Cardinals, to be ſeen, to whom the Reader may repair, whoſo hath either leiſure to read or mind to underſtand more of the abominable parts and deviliſh acts of this *Hildebrand*.

Pope *Hildebrand* a worker of Sorcery and Conjuring.

Thus having ſufficiently alledged the words and teſtimonies of *Benno* and *Aventinus*, concerning the acts and facts of this Pope; now let us proceed (in the order as followeth in his ſtory) to ſet forth the miſerable vexation which the vertuous and godly Emperor ſuſtained by that ungodly perſon.

About what time *Hildebrand* was made Pope, *Henricus* the fourth Emperor was incumbred and much vexed with civil diſſention in *Germany*, by reaſon of certain grievances of the *Saxons* againſt him and his Father *Henricus* the third. Whereupon the matter growing to ſedition, ſides were taken, and great Wars enſued betwixt *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Henricus* the Emperor. This buſie time ſeemed to *Hildebrand* very opportune to work his feats, whoſe ſtudy and drift was ever from the beginning to advance the Dominion of the *Romiſh* ſeat above all other Biſhops, and alſo to preſs down the authority of the Temporal Rulers, under the Spiritual Men of the Church. And although he went about the ſame long before by ſubtil traines and acts ſet forth concerning Simony; yet now he thought more effectuouſly to accompliſh his purpoſed intent after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therefore now bearing himſelf the bolder, by the authority of St. *Peter*'s Throne, firſt he began to purſue the act ſet out by his Predeceſſor, as touching Simony, curſing and excommunicating, whoſoever they were, that received any ſpiritual living or promotion at Lay mens hands, as alſo all ſuch as were the givers thereof. For this he called then Simony, that under that colour he might defeat the Temporal Poteſtates of their right,

*Henricus* Emperor.

Much ado made of *Peters* Throne, but his life they let alone.

and

and ſo bring the whole Clergy at length to the lure of *Rome*. And forſomuch as the Emperor was the Head, thinking firſt to begin with him, he ſendeth for him by Letters and Legates to appear in the Council of *Lateran* at *Rome*. But the Emperor buſied in his Wars againſt the *Saxons*, had no leiſure to attend to Councils. Notwithſtanding *Gregorius* the Pope proceedeth in his Council, rendring there the cauſe and reaſon before the Biſhops, why he had Excommunicated divers of the Clergy, as *Herman* Biſhop of *Bamberge*, Counſellor to the Emperor, and other Prieſts more for Simony. And there moreover, in the ſaid Council he threatneth to Excommunicate likewiſe the Emperor himſelf, and to depoſe him from his Regal Kingdom, unleſs he would abrenounce the Hereſie of Simony, and do Penance. The Council being ended, *Guibertus* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna* perſwaded with one *Centius* (a *Roman*, the Captains Son, whom the Pope had Excommunicated) to take the Emperors part againſt the Pope, who watching his time in the Temple of St. *Mary*, upon Chriſtmaſs day in the morning, taketh the Pope and putteth him faſt in a ſtrong Tower. The next day the People of *Rome* hearing this, harneſs themſelves with all expedition to help the Biſhop, whom when they looſed out of Priſon, they belieged the Houſe of *Centius*, and pluckt it down to the ground; his Family having their Noſes cut off, were caſt out of the City; *Centius* himſelf eſcaping, fled to the Emperor. *Guibert* the Archbiſhop, pretending good will to the Pope, departed from *Rome*, who likewiſe had wrought with *Hugo Candidus* Cardinal, and with *Theobaldus* Archbiſhop of *Millain*, alſo with divers other Biſhops about *Italy*, to forſake the Pope and take the Emperors part. *Gregory* the Pope called *Hildebrand*, hearing the Conſpiracy, layeth the ſentence of Excommunication upon them all, and depriveth them of their Dignity. The Emperor being moved (not unworthily) with the arrogant preſumption of the proud Prelate, called together a Council at *Wormes*. In which Council all the Biſhops not only of *Saxony*, but of all the whole Empire of *Germans*, agree and conclude upon the Depoſition of *Hildebrand*, and that no obedience hereafter ſhould be given to him. This being determined in the Council, *Roulandus* a Prieſt of *Parmen*, was ſent to *Rome* with the ſentence, who in the name of the Councill ſhould command *Gregory* to yield up his Seat, and alſo charge the Cardinals to reſort to the Emperor for a new Election of another Pope. The tenor of the Sentence ſent by *Roulandus* was this.

*Hermannus* Excommunicate of *Hildebrand.*

*Hildebrand* caſt in the Tower.

*Guibertus* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna.*

## The Sentence of the Council of *Wormes* againſt *Hildebrand.*

The Council of *Wormes* againſt the Pope.

*FOrſomuch as thy firſt ingreſs and coming in hath been ſo ſpotted with ſo many perjuries, and alſo the Church of God brought into no little danger through thine abuſe and new fangleneſs: moreover, becauſe thou haſt defamed thine own life and converſation, with ſo much and great diſhoneſty, that we ſee no little peril or ſlander to riſe thereof; therefore the obedience, which yet we never promiſed thee, hereafter we utterly renounce, and never intend to give thee. And as thou haſt never taken us yet for Biſhops (as thou haſt openly reported of us) ſo neither will we hereafter take thee to be Apoſtolick. Vale.*

The council of *Rome* againſt the Council of *Wormes.*

*Henricus* the Emperor excommunicated by *Hildebrand.*

*Gregory* the Pope, tickled with this Sentence, firſt condemneth it in his Council of *Lateran* with Excommunication. Secondly, depriveth *Sigifridus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* of his Dignities and Eccleſiaſtical Livings, with all other Biſhops, Abbots and Prieſts, as many as took the Emperors part. Thirdly, accuſeth *Henricus* the Emperor himſelf, depriveth him of his Kingdom and Regal poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all his Subjects of their Oath of Allegeance given unto him, after this form and manner.

## The Tenor of the Sentence Excommunicatory, againſt *Henricus* the Emperor by Pope *Hildebrand.*

*OBleſſed St.* Peter *Prince of the Apoſtles, bow down thine ears I beſeech thee, and hear me thy Servant, whom thou haſt brought up even from mine infancy, and haſt delivered me until this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and perſecute me, becauſe of my faith in thee. Thou art my witneſs, and alſo the bleſſed Mother of Jeſus Chriſt, and thy Brother St.* Paul, *fellow partner of thy Martyrdom, how that I entred this Function not willingly, but inforced againſt my will; not that I take it ſo as a Robbery, lawfully to aſcend into this Seat; but becauſe that I had rather paſs over my life like a pilgrim or private perſon, than for any fame or glory to climb up to it; I do acknowledge (and that worthily) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge over Chriſtian people, and this power of binding and looſing is committed to me. Wherefore, truſting upon this aſſurance for the dignity and tuition of Holy Church in the Name of God Omnipotent, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, I do here depoſe* Henry, *the Son of* Henry *once the Emperor, from his Imperial Seat, and Princely Government, who hath ſo boldly and preſumptuouſly laid hands upon thy Church. And furthermore, all ſuch as heretofore have ſworn to be his Subjects, I releaſe them of their Oath, whereby all Subjects are bound to the Allegiance of their Princes. For it is meet and convenient, that he ſhould be void of Dignity, which ſeeketh to diminiſh the Majeſty of thy Church. Moreover, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his People; and hath ſeparate himſelf from the fellowſhip of the Church (which he, through his ſeditions, ſtudieth to deſtroy) therefore I bind him by vertue of Excommunication, truſting and knowing moſt certainly, that thou art* Peter *(in the Rock of whom as in the true foundation) Chriſt our King hath built his Church.*

Ex Platina.

Mark this ye Papiſts, that ſay, the Pope cannot err.

The Pope threatneth kindneſs of St. Peter.

*Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?* Juven.

The Emperor, thus aſſaulted with the Popes cenſure, ſendeth abroad his Letters through all Nations to purge himſelf, declaring how wrongfully, and againſt all right he was condemned. The Princes of *Almany* partly fearing the crack of the Popes Thunderclap, partly again rejoycing that occaſion was renewed to rebel againſt the Emperor, aſſembled a Commenſement, where they did conſult and ſo conclude to elect another Emperor, and ſo fall from *Henry*, unleſs the Pope would come to *Germany*, and he would there be content to ſubmit himſelf and obtain his pardon.

The *Saxons* take the Popes part againſt the Emperor.

Wherein is to be conſidered the lamentable affections of the *Germans* in thoſe days, ſo to forſake ſuch a valiant Emperor, and ſo much to repute a vile Biſhop. But this was the rudeneſs of the World then, for lack of better knowledge. The Emperor, ſeeing the chief Princes ready to forſake him, promiſeth them with an Oath, that if the Pope would repair to *Germany*, he would ask forgiveneſs.

Upon this the Biſhop of *Triers* was ſent up in Commiſſion to *Rome*, to intreat the Pope to come into *Germany*. The Biſhop (at the inſtant of the Legat and of the Princes, was content. He entred into *Germany*, thinking to come to *Auguſta*. After he was come to *Vercellos* (the Biſhop of that City being the Chancellor of *Italy*, and deſirous to diſturb peace for the old grudge he had to the Emperor) falſly perſwaded with the Pope, that he was certain the Emperor was coming with a mighty great Army againſt him, counſelling him therefore to provide betimes for his own ſafeguard in ſome ſtronger place. Whereby the Popes mind being altered, he retired back to *Canuſium* or *Canoſſus*, a City being ſubject to *Matilda*, a Counteſs of *Italy*, where he ſhould not need to fear the Emperor.

Peace diſturbed through wicked Counſels.

*Henricus* underſtanding the falſe fear of the Pope, and of his retire to *Canuſium*, incontinent (coming out of *Spire* with his Wife and his young Son, in the deep and ſharp of Winter) reſorteth to *Canoſſus*. All his Peers and Nobles had left him for fear of the Popes curſe, neither did any accompany him. Wherefore the Emperor, being not a little troubled (laying apart his Regal Ornaments)

came

A wondrous ſubmiſſion of a valiant Emperor to a vile Pope.

came barefooted with his Wife and Child to the Gate of *Canoſſus*, where he from Morning to Night (all the day faſting) moſt humbly deſireth abſolution, craving to be let in, to the ſpeech of the Biſhop. But no ingreſs might be given him once within the Gates. Thus he continuing three days together in his petition and ſute; at length anſwer came, that the Popes Majeſty had yet no leiſure to talk with him. The Emperor nothing moved therewith, that he was not let into the City, patient and with an humble mind abideth without the Walls, with no little grievance and painful labour; for it was a ſharp Winter, and all frozen with cold. Notwithſtanding, yet through his importunate ſute at length it was granted, through the intreating of *Matilda* the Popes Paramour, and of *Arelatus* Earl of *Sebaudia*, and the Abbot of *Cluniake*, that he ſhould be admitted to the Popes ſpeech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yieldeth to the Popes hands his Crown, with all other ornaments imperial, and confeſſed himſelf unworthy of the Empire, if ever he do againſt the Pope hereafter, as he hath done before, deſiring for that time to be abſolved and forgiven. The Pope anſwereth, he will neither forgive him, nor releaſe the bond of his Excommunication, but upon conditions. Firſt, to promiſe that he ſhall be content to ſtand to his arbitrement in the Council, and to take ſuch Penance as he ſhall injoyn him; alſo that he ſhall be preſt and ready to appear, in what place or time the Pope ſhall appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the Pope Judge of his cauſe, ſhall anſwer in the ſaid Council to all objections and accuſations laid againſt him, and that he ſhall never ſeek any revengement herein. *Item*, that he (though he be quit and cleared therein) ſhall ſtand to the Popes mind and pleaſure, whether to have his Kingdom reſtored, or to loſe it. Finally, that before the trial of his cauſe, he ſhall neither uſe his Kingly Ornaments, Scepters or Crown, nor uſurp the authority to govern, nor to exact any Oath of Allegiance upon his Subjects, &c. Theſe things being promiſed to the Biſhop by an Oath, and put in writing, the Emperor is only releaſed of Excommunication.

Notable patience in a Noble Emperor.

Proud conditions of the Pope.

Pope both accuſer and judge.

Here the Beaſt of the Apocalyps appeareth in his colours.

*Henricus the Emperor, with his wife and child waiting barefoot and bareleged, three days and three nights, at the gates of Canuſium.*

## The form and tenor of the Oath, which *Henricus* made to the Pope.

I Henricus *King, after peace and agreement made to the mind and ſentence of our Lord* Gregorius *the Seventh, promiſe to keep all Covenants and Bonds betwixt us, and to provide that the Pope go ſafely whereſoever he will, without any danger either to him, or to his Retinue; eſpecially in all ſuch places as be ſubject to our Empire. Nor that I ſhall at any time ſtay or hinder him, but that he may do that belongeth to his Function, where and whenſoever his pleaſure ſhall be. And theſe things I bind my ſelf with an Oath to keep.* Actum Canoſ. 5. Calend. Februarii, indic. 15.

Thus the matter being decided between them after the Popes own preſcribement, the Emperor taketh his journey to *Papia*. The Pope with his Cardinals did vaunt and triumph with no little pride, that they had ſo quailed the Emperor, and brought him on his knees to ask them forgiveneſs. Yet notwithſtanding, miſtruſting themſelves, and miſdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter if fortune ſhould turn, and God give the Emperor to enjoy a more quiet Kingdom; therefore to prevent ſuch dangers betime, they ſtudy and conſult privily with themſelves how to diſplace *Henry* clean from his Kingdom, and how that device might ſafely be conveied. They conclude and determine to derive the Empire unto *Rodulphus*, a Man of great Nobility amongſt the chiefeſt States of *Germany*; and alſo to incite and ſtir up all other Princes and Subjects (being yet free and diſcharged from their Oaths) againſt *Henry*, and ſo by force of Arms to expel the Emperor out of his Kingdom. To bring this purpoſe the better to paſs, Legates were ſent down from the Pope, *Sigehardus* Patriarch of *Aiquilia*, and *Altimanus* Biſhop of *Padway*, which ſhould perſwade through all *France*, that *Henry* the Emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they ſhould give to the Biſhop of *Rome* their conſents in chooſing *Rodulphus* to be Emperor. This being done, there was ſent to the ſaid *Rodulphus*, Duke of *Suevia*, a Crown from the Pope with this Verſe;

The crafty conſpiracy of the Cardinals againſt the Emperor.

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho.* The Verſe

*The Rock gave the Crown to* Peter,
Peter *giveth it to* Rodulph.

Here by the way of digreſſion (to make a little gloſs upon this barbarous Verſe) two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lyeth upon Chriſt, the other, where he lyeth upon St. *Peter*. Firſt, that Chriſt gave any Temporal Diadem to *Peter*, it is a moſt manifeſt lie, and

The gloſs upon the Verſe of *Hildebrand*.

and againſt the Scriptures, when as he would not take it, being given to himſelf, and ſaith, *his Kingdom is not of this World.* Again, where he ſaith that *Peter* giveth it to *Rodulph*, here he playeth the Poet; for neither had *Peter* any ſuch thing to give; and if he had, yet he would not have given it to *Rodulphus* from the right Heir; neither is it true that *Peter* did give it, becauſe *Hildebrand* gave it. For it is no good argument, *Hildebrand* did give it, *Ergo*, *Peter* did give it; except ye will ſay, *Hildebrand* ſtirred up great Wars and Bloudſhed in *Germany*; *Ergo*, *Peter* ſtirred up great Wars in *Germany*. So *Peter* neither could, nor would, nor did give it to *Rodulphus*, but only *Hildebrand* the Pope; who after he had ſo done, he gave in commandment to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and of *Cullen* to elect this *Rodulphus* for Emperor, and to annoint him King, and alſo to defend him with all force and ſtrength they might.

The Pope proved a double lier.

While this Conſpiracy was in hand, *Henricus* the Emperor was abſent, and the Popes Ambaſſadors with him alſo. In the mean ſpace *Rodulphus* was elected Emperor, unknown to *Henry*. Upon this cometh the Biſhop of *Strasborough* unto the Emperor, certifying him what was done. He ſuſpecting and ſeeing the ſtomach and doings of the *Saxons* ſo bent againſt him, muſtereth his Men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but firſt ſendeth to *Rome* (truſting upon the League betwixt him and his Pope) and requireth the Biſhop to proceed with his Sentence againſt *Rodulphus*, for the rebellious Invaſion of his Empire. But the Biſhop, minding nothing leſs, ſendeth word again, that it was not right to condemn any perſon, his cauſe being not heard; thus under pretence of the Law, colouring his unlawful treachery. *Henricus*, thus diſappointed and forſaken on every ſide, with his Men about him, attempteth Battel againſt *Rodulphus*. In which Battel a marvellous great ſlaughter was on both ſides, but the Victory on neither part certain; ſo that both the Captains yet challenged the Empire. After the Battel, and great murther on both ſides, they both ſent to *Rome*, to know of the Popes determination, to whether of them two he judged the right Title of the Empire to appertain. The Biſhop commanded them both to break up their Armies, and depart the Field, promiſing that he ſhortly would call a Council where this matter ſhould be diſputed; in the mean time they ſhould ceaſe from War. But before the Meſſengers returned again (their Armies being refreſhed) they had another conflict together, but not Victory got on either part. Thus both the Captains being wearied in Wars, the *Romiſh* Beaſt the Biſhop, which was the cauſe thereof, perceiving whither theſe cruel Wars would tend, to the great calamity not only of the *Germans*, but alſo of other Nations (truſting to find another way to help *Rodulphus* and his adherents) ſendeth down a Commiſſion by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Trevers*, *Bernardus* Deacon, and *Bernardus* Abbot of *Maſſilia*, to whom he gave in charge that they ſhould call together a Council or ſitting in *Almany*, and that there it ſhould be defined to whether part the Empire ſhould pertain, by moſt right and publick conſideration; promiſing that what they ſhould therein determine, he (looking upon the matter through the authority of God omnioptent, and of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*) would ratifie the ſame. Moreover, for that no let nor impeachment ſhould happen to the Legates by the way, he giveth with them Letters to the Princes and Nations of *Germany*; whereof the contents be declared briefly in *Platina*, if any liſt to read them.

The Pope ſolitor to the Emperor.

Great Wars ſtirred up by the Pope.

But the Emperor would not ſo permit the Legates to have any Council within *Germany*, except they would firſt deprive *Rodulphus* of his Kingdom. The Legates, conſidering that to be againſt the drift and intention of the Pope, returned again from whence they came. The Pope hearing this, and ſeeing his purpoſe was ſo diſappointed by the Emperor, draweth out another Excommunication againſt him, and again bereaveth him of his Kingdom; ſending about his Letters Excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of *Rodulphus* the better. *Platina* hath in his Book the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this ſort:

## The Copy of the ſecond Excommunication of *Hildibrand* againſt the Emperor.

*BLeſſed St.* Peter, *Prince of the Apoſtles, and thou St.* Paul *alſo, the teacher of the Gentiles, give ear unto me I beſeech you a little, and gently hear me, for you are the diſciples and lovers of truth. The things that I ſhall ſay are true. This matter I take in hand for truth ſake, that my brethren (whoſe ſalvation I ſeek) may the more obſequiouſly obey me, and better underſtand, how that I truſting upon your defence (next to Chriſt, and his Mother the immaculate Virgin) reſiſt the wicked, and am ready to help the faithful. I did not enter this Seat of mine own accord, but much againſt my will, and with tears, for that I accounted my ſelf unworthy to occupy ſo high a Throne. And this I ſay, not that I have choſen you, but you have choſen me, and have laid this great burthen upon our ſhoulders. And now, whereas by this your aſſignment, I have aſcended up this Hill, crying to the people, and ſhewing them their faults, and to the children of the Church their iniquities; the members of Satan have riſen up againſt me, and have laid hands together to ſeek my blood. For the Kings of the Earth have riſen up againſt me, and the Princes of this World, with whom alſo have conſpired certain of the Clergy Subjects againſt the Lord, and againſt us his anointed, ſaying,* Let us break aſunder their bonds, and caſt off from us their yoke. *This have they done againſt me, to bring me either to death or to baniſhment. In the number of whom is* Henricus, *whom they call King, the Son of* Henry *the Emperor, which hath lift up ſo proudly his horns and heel againſt the Church of God, making Conſpiracy with divers other Biſhops, both* Italians, French *and* Germans. *Againſt the pride of whom hitherto your authority hath reſiſted; who rather being broken than amended, coming to me in* Ciſalpina, *made humble ſute to me for Pardon and Abſolution. I, thinking nothing elſe but true repentance in him, received him again to favour, and did reſtore him to the Communion only, from which he was Excommunicate; but to his Kingdom (from which in the Synod of* Rome *he was worthily expelled) I did not reſtore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof, (that he might return to the Faith again) that I granted not to him. And that I did for this purpoſe, that if he ſhould defer to fall to agreement with certain of his Neighbours whom he hath always vexed, and to reſtore again the Goods both of the Church and otherwiſe, then he might be compelled by the Cenſures of the Church, and force of Arms thereunto. Whereby divers and ſundry Biſhops and Princes of* Germany *(ſuch as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, Elected* Rodulphus *their Duke to be King in the place of* Henricus, *whom they for his tranſgreſſions had removed and diſpatched from his Empire. But* Rodulphus, *firſt in this matter uſing a Princely modeſty and integrity, ſent up his meſſengers to me, declaring how he was conſtrained (wild he, nild he) to take that Regal Government upon him, albeit he was not ſo deſirous thereof, but that he would rather ſhew himſelf obedient to us, than to the other that offered him the Kingdom; and whatſoever our arbitrement ſhould be therein, he would be under obedience both of God and of us. And for more aſſurance of his obedience, he hath ſent his own children hither for pledges. Upon this* Henricus *began to ſnuff, and firſt intreated us to reſtrain and inhibite* Rodulphus, *through the pain of our curſe, from the uſurpation of his Kingdom. I anſwered again, I would ſee whether of them had more right and title thereunto, and ſo ſend our Legates thither upon the ſame, to know the whole ſtate of the matter; and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But* Henricus *would not ſuffer our Legates to come to take up the matter, and ſlew divers, both Secular Men, and of the Clergy, ſpoyling and prophaning Churches; and ſo by this means hath indangered himſelf in the Bonds of Excommunication. I therefore truſting in the judgment and mercy of God, and in the ſupportation of the Bleſſed Virgin, alſo upon your authority, do lay the Sentence of Curſe upon the ſaid* Henricus, *and all his adherents; and here again I take his Regal Government from him, charging and forbidding all Chriſtian Men that have been ſworn unto him, whom I diſcharge here of their Oath, that hereafter they obey him in nothing,*

O peſtiferous hypocrite.

The Pope prayeth St. *Peter* to diſhonour his King.

And S. Peter bindeth the Pope to honour his King.

*Crocodili lachrymæ.* Scripture vvell applied.

A Fleure called *Dvrticarta Gallis. Cujus contrarium verum eſt. Vim faciunt ſcripturis, ut plenitudinem accipiant pro teſtatis.*

Let all Papiſts mark here vvell the holineſs of their holy father.

As though he vvere not ſet up by you, rather than by them.

but

The more to blame Emperors to ſuffer you to be ſo faucy with them.

*but that they take* Rodulphus *to their King, who is elected by many Princes of the Province. For ſo right it is and convenient, that as* Henry *for his pride and ſtubborneſs is deprived of his dignity and poſſeſſion*; *ſo* Rodulphus, *being grateful to all men for his virtue and devotion, be exalted to the imperial Throne and Dominion.*

*Therefore, O you bleſſed Princes of the Apoſtles, grant to this, and confirm with your authority that I have ſaid, ſo that all men may underſtand, if you have power to bind and looſe in Heaven, you have alſo power in Earth to give and take away Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, and whatſoever here in Earth belongeth to mortal men. For if you have power to judge in ſuch matters as appertain to God: what then ſhould we think you have of theſe inferiour and prophane things? And if it be in your power to judge the Angels, ruling over proud Princes, what then ſhall it beſeem you to do upon their Servants? Therefore let the Kings underſtand by this example, and all other Princes of the World, what you be able to do in Heaven, and what you are with God; that thereby they may fear to contemn the Commandment of Holy Church. And now do you exerciſe this judgement quickly upon* Henricus, *whereby all men may ſee this ſon of iniquity to fall from his Kingdom, not by any chance, but by your proviſion and only work. Notwithſtanding this I would crave of you, that he, being brought to repentance through your interceſſion, yet in the day of judgment may find favour and grace with the Lord.* Actum Romæ, nonis Martii, indictione 3.

Nigo argumentum.

Confer this clauſe with the Hiſtory of the ſtory hereafter. O double Hypocrite.

*Guibertus* Archbiſhop deprived.

Furthermore, *Hildebrand*, not yet content with this, interdicteth and depoſeth alſo *Guibertus* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, for taking the Emperors part, commanding al Prieſts to give no manner of obedience to him, and ſendeth thither to *Ravenna* another Archbiſhop with full authority.

The 4. battel betwixt *Henry* and *Rodulph. Henricus* Victor.

After and upon this, *Henricus* and *Rodulphus*, to try the matter by the ſword, coped together in Battel, not without Bloudſhed, where *Henricus*, by the favour of God, againſt the judgement of *Hildebrand*, had the Victory. *Rodulphus* there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the Army, and carried to *Hyperbolis*, where he commanded the Biſhops and chief doers of his conſpiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand in which he had taken his deadly wound, and ſaid, *This is the Hand which gave the Oath and Sacrament unto* Henricus *my Prince, and which through your inſtigation ſo oft hath fought againſt him in vain; now go and perform your firſt Oath and Allegiance to your King; for I muſt to my fathers*, and ſo died. Thus the Pope gave Battel, but God gave the Victory.

*Rodulphus* at his death repenteth. The Pope giveth War. God giveth Victory.

*Henricus* (after his enemy being thus ſubdued, and Wars being ceaſed in *Germany*) forgat not the old injuries received of *Hildebrand*, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his Kingdom, and three days making humble ſute (yea and that in ſharp Winter) could find no favour with him. Belides that, he incited moreover, and aided his enemy againſt him. Wherefore he calleth together a Council or Aſſembly of divers Biſhops of *Italy*, *Lombardy*, and *Germany* at *Brixia* 1083. where he purged himſelf, and accuſed the Biſhop *Hildebrand* of divers crimes, to be an uſurper, perjured, a Necromancer and Sorcerer, a ſower of diſcord; complaining moreover of wrongs and injuries done by the Biſhop and Church of *Rome*, in that the Church of *Rome* preferred the Biſhop before him; when that his Father, being Emperor before him, had inthronized and ſet in divers and ſundry Biſhops there by his aſſignment, without all others Election. And now this Biſhop, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe made, thruſt in himſelf without the will and knowldge of him, being their King and Magiſtrate. For, in the time of his Father *Henricus* the third, this *Hildebrand* with other, bound themſelves with a Corporal Oath, that ſo long as the Emperor, and his Son now being King, ſhould live, they ſhould neither themſelves preſume, nor ſuffer any other to aſpire to the Papal Seat, without the aſſent and approbation of the foreſaid Emperors; which now this *Hildebrand*, contrary to his Corporal Oath, had done. Wherefore the foreſaid Council, with one agreement condemned this *Gregory*, that he ſhould be depoſed. The Tenor of which Condemnation is thus expreſſed in *Abbate Uſpergenſi*.

*Concilium Brixienſe.* {Anno 1083.}

No Biſhop of *Rome* can be choſen without conſent of the Emperor.

*Abbas Uſpergenſis.*

## The Sentence of the Council of *Brixia* againſt *Hildebrand*.

*BEcauſe it is not unknown, this Biſhop not to be elected of God, but to have intruded himſelf by fraud and money, who hath ſubverted all Eccleſiaſtical Order, who hath diſturbed the government of the Chriſtian Empire, menacing death of body and ſoul againſt our Catholick and peaceable King, who hath ſet up and maintained a perjured King, ſowing diſcord where concord was, cauſing debate amongſt friends, ſlanders and offences amongſt brethren, divorcements and ſeparation amongſt the married, for he took away the Marriage of Prieſts,* as Henr. Mutius *witneſſeth, and finally diſquieting the peaceable ſtate of all quiet life: Therefore we here in the Name and Authority of God congregate together, with the Legates and hands of nineteen Biſhops, the day of* Pentecoſt *at* Mentz, *do proceed in canonical judgement againſt* Hildebrand, *a man moſt wicked, preaching ſacrilege and burning, maintaining perjury and murthers, calling in queſtion the Catholick Faith of the Body and Bloud of the Lord, a follower of Divination and Dreams, a manifeſt Necromancer, a Sorcerer, and infected with a Pythonical Spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, and we judge him to be depoſed and expelled, and unleſs he hearing this, ſhall yield and depart the Seat, to be perpetually condemned. Enacted* 7. Calend. Julii, feria. 5. Indictione 3.

Note here the Pope judged and depoſed the council.

This being enacted and ſent to *Rome*, they elected *Guibertus* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna* in the place of *Hildebrand*, to govern the Church of *Rome*, named *Clemens* the third. But when *Hildebrand* neither would give over his hold, nor give place to *Clement*; the Emperor, gathering an Army to ſend to *Italy*, came to *Rome* to depoſe *Gregory*, and to place *Clement*. But *Hildebrand*, ſending to *Matilda* the Counteſs before mentioned, required her (in remiſſion of all her ſins) to withſtand *Henry* the Emperor, and ſo ſhe did. Notwithſtanding *Henricus* prevailing came to *Rome*, where he beſieged the City all the Lent, and after *Eaſter* got it, the *Romans* being compelled to open the Gates unto him; ſo he coming to the Temple of St. *Peter*, there placeth *Clement* in his Papacy. *Hildebrand* ſtraight flyeth into *Adrian's* Tower with his adherents, where he, being beſet round about, at length ſendeth for *Robert Guiſcardus* his friend, a *Norman*. In the mean time, while *Robertus* collecteth his power, the Abbot of *Cluniake*, conferring with *Gregory* exhorteth him to Crown *Henricus* Emperor in *Lateran*: Which if he would do, the other promiſeth to bring about that *Henry* ſhould depart with his Army into *Germany*; whereunto the People of *Rome* alſo did likewiſe move him. To whom *Gregory* anſwered, *That he was content ſo to do, but upon condition that the Emperor would ſubmit himſelf to ask pardon, to amend his fault, and to promiſe obedience.* The Emperor not agreeing to thoſe conditions, went to *Senas*, taking *Clement*, new ſtalled Pope with him.

The Pope ſeeketh ſuccour of his Paramour. The firſt example to fight for remiſſion of ſins, began in *Hildebrand*.

After the return of the Emperor, the foreſaid *Robert Guiſcardus*, approaching with his Souldiers, burſt in at one of the Gates, and ſpoileth the City. And not long after, delivereth *Hildebrand* out of his enemies hands, and carried him away to *Campania*; where he not long continuing, after died in Exile.

*Platina. Naucterus. Sabellicus. Crantzius, Benno, &c.*

*Antonius* writeth, that *Hildebrand*, as he did lie a dying, called to him one of his chief Cardinals, bewailing to him his fault and miſorder of his ſpiritual Miniſtery, in ſtirring up Diſcord, War and Diſſention, whereupon he deſired the Cardinal to go to the Emperor, and deſire of him forgiveneſs, abſolving from the danger of Excommunication both him and all his partakers both quick and dead.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the full Hiſtory of *Pope Gregory* the ſeventh, called *Hildebrand*; which I have laid out more at large, becauſe that from this Pope (if thou mark well) ſpringeth all the occaſions of miſchief, of pomp, pride, ſtoutneſs, preſumption and tyranny, which ſince that time hath reigned in his ſucceſſors hitherto, in the Cathedral Church of the *Romiſh* Clergy. For here came firſt the ſubjection of the temporal regiment under the ſpiritual juriſdiction; and Emperors, which before were their Maſters, now are made their

*Hildebrand* the firſt author and patron of all miſrule that followed after in Popes.

their underlings. Alſo here came in the ſuppreſſion of Prieſts Marriage, as is ſufficiently declared. Here came in moreover the authority of both the Swords Spirittual and Secular into ſpiritual Mens hands. So that Chriſtian Magiſtrates could do nothing in Election, in giving Biſhopricks or Benefices, in calling Councils, in hearing and correcting the exceſſes of the Clergy, but only the Pope muſt do all. Yea moreover, no Biſhop nor Paſtor in his own Pariſh could excommunicate or exerciſe any diſcipline among his Flock, but only the Pope challenged that Prerogative to himſelf. Finally, here came in the firſt example to perſecute Emperors and Kings with Rebellion and Excommunication, as the Clergy themſelves hereafter do teſtifie and witneſs in proceeding againſt *Paſchalis*. Thus theſe Notes being well obſerved, let us (by the grace of Chriſt) now repair again to our Country Hiſtory of *England*.

About the death of Pope *Hildebrand* (or not long after) followed the death of King *William* the Conqueror, in the year 1090. after he had reigned in *England* the ſpace of one and twenty Years, and ten Months. The cauſe of his ſickneſs and death is ſaid to be this: For that *Philip* the *French* King, upon a time (jelting) ſaid, that *King* William *lay in Child-bed, and nouriſhed his fat Belly*. To this the foreſaid *William*, hearing thereof, anſwered again and ſaid, *When he ſhould be Churched, he would offer a thouſand Candles to him in* France, *wherewithal the King ſhould have little joy*. Whereupon King *William* in the Month of *July* (when the Corn, Fruit and Grapes were moſt flouriſhing) entred into *France*, and ſet on fire many Cities and Towns in the Weſt ſide of *France*. And laſtly, coming to the City of *Meaux*, where he burning a Woman being as a recluſe in a Wall incloſed (or as ſome ſay, two Men Anchorites incloſed) was ſo fervent and furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the time of the year, thereby he fell into ſickneſs, and died upon the ſame.

By the life and acts of this King it may appear true, as ſtories of him report, that he was wiſe, but guileful; rich, but covetous; a fair ſpeaker, but a great diſſembler; glorious in victory, and ſtrong in arms, but rigorous in oppreſſing whom he overcame, in levying of tasks paſſing all others. Inſomuch that he cauſed to be enrolled and numbred in his Treaſury every Hide of Land, and owner thereof, what fruit and revenues ſurmounted of every Lordſhip, of every Townſhip, Caſtle, Village, Field, River and Wood within the Realm of *England*. Moreover, how many Pariſh Churches, how many living Cattel there were, what and how much every Baron in the Realm could diſpend, what Fees were belonging, what Wages were taken, &c. The tenor and contents of which taskment yet remaineth in Rolls. After this tasking or numbring, which was the year before his death, followed an exceeding Murren of Cattel and barrenneſs of the ground, with much Peſtilence and hot Fevers among the People, ſo that ſuch as eſcaped the Fever were conſumed with Famine. Moreover, at the ſame ſeaſon, among certain other Cities, a great part of the City of *London*, with the Church of St. *Pauls*, was waſted with fire in the Year of our Lord 1085.

Peſtilence in *England* and Murren of Beaſts.

*Lond.n* with the Church of *Pauls* burnt.

In hunting and in Parks the foreſaid King had ſuch pleaſure, that in the County of *Southampton*, by the ſpace of 30 Miles, he caſt down Churches and Townſhips, and there made the new Foreſt; loving his Deer ſo dearly, as though he had been to them a Father, making ſharp laws for the increaſing thereof, under pain of loſing both the eies. So hard he was to *Engliſhmen*, and ſo favourable to his own Country, that as there was no *Engliſh* Biſhop remaining, but only *Wolſtan* of *Worceſter*, who being commanded of the King and *Lanfrank* to reſign up his Staff, partly for inability, partly for lack of the *French* Tongue, refuſed otherwiſe to reſign it, but only to him that gave it, and ſo went to the Tomb of King *Edward*, where he thought to reſign it, but was permitted to enjoy it ſtill; ſo likewiſe in his days there was almoſt no *Engliſhman* that bare office of honour or rule in the Land. Inſomuch that it was half a ſhame at that time to be called an *Engliſhman*. Notwithſtanding he ſome deal favoured the City of *London*, and granted unto the Citizens the firſt Charter that ever they had, written in the *Saxon*, with green Wax ſealed, and contained in few lines.

*Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that ſo given he was to peace and quiet, that any Maiden being laden with Gold or Silver, might paſs through the whole Realm without harm or reſiſtance. This *William* in his time builded two Monaſteries, one in *England* at *Battel* in *Suſſex*, where he wan the Field againſt *Harold*, called *the Abby of Battel*; another beſides, named *Barmondſey* in his County of *Normandy*.

*England* peaceable from Thieves.

The Abby of *Battel*.

The Abby of *Barmondſey*.

After the Life and Story of King *William* thus briefly deſcribed, with the acts and order of Battel between him and King *Harold*, (although much more might have been written of that matter, if the Book had come ſooner to my hands, which afterwards I ſaw) now remaineth in the end of this Story to deſcribe the Names of ſuch Barons and Nobles of *Normandy*, which entred with him into this Land, as well of them which were imbarqued with him, and ſlain alſo (as appeareth) in the Battel, as alſo of them who were planted and advanced by the ſaid Conqueror in the Lands and Poſſeſſions of *Engliſh* Lords, whom he expelled, or elſe beheaded. The Names of which *Normans* here follow under-written.

## *Out of the Annals of* Normandy *in* French, *whereof one very ancient written Book in Parchment remaineth in the cuſtody of the Writer hereof.*

THE day after the Battel, very early in the Morning, *Odo* Biſhop of *Bajeux* ſung Maſs for thoſe that were departed. The Duke after that deſirous to know the eſtate of his Battel, and what People he had therein loſt and were ſlain, he cauſed to come unto him a Clerk that had written their Names when they were embarqued at Saint *Valeries*, and commanded him to call them all by their Names, who called them that had bin at the Battel, and had paſſed the Seas with Duke *William*. And hereafter follow their Names.

## The Names of thoſe that were at the Conqueſt of *ENGLAND*.

*Odo, Biſhop of Baieux.*
*Robert, Conte de Mortaign.* Theſe two were Brethren unto Duke *William* by their Mother.
*Baudwin de Buillon,*
*Roger, Conte de Beaumont,* ſirnamed With the Beard, Of whom deſcended the line of *Meullent.*
*Guillaume Malet,*
*Le Sire de Monfort, ſur Rille.*
*Guill. de Viexpont,*
*Neel de S. Saveur le Viconte,*
*Le Sire de Fougiers,*
*Henry Seigneur de Ferrieres,*
*Le Sire Daubemaoe,*
*Guillaume Sire de Rommare,*
*Le Sire de Lithehare,*
*Le Sire de Touque,*
*Le Sire de la Mare,*
*Le Sire de Neauhou,*
*Le Sire de Pirou,*
*Rob. Sire de Beaufou,*
*Le Sire Davou,*
*Le Sire de Sotoville,*
*Le Sire de Magneville,*
*Le Sire de Tancarville,*
*Euſtace Dambleville,*
*Le Sire de Mangneville*
*Le Sire de Grantmeſnil,*
*Guillaume Creſpin,*
*Le Sire de S. Martin,*

*Guil. de Moulins,*
*Le Sire de Puis,*
*Geoffrey Sire de Maienne,*
*Auffroy de Bohon,*
*Auffroy & Maugier de Cartrait,*
*Guill. de Garrennès,*
*Hue de Gournay,*
*Sire de Bray,*
*Le conte Hue de Gournay,*
*Euguemont de laigle,*
*Le Vicomte de Tovars,*
*Rich. Danverrnechin,*
*Le Sire de Biars,*
*Le Sire de Solligny,*
*Le Bouteiller Daubigny,*
*Le Sire de Maire,*
*Le Sire de Vitry,*
*Le Sire de Lacy,*
*Le Sire du val Dary,*
*Le Sire de Tracy,*
*Hue Sire de Montfort,*
*Le Sire de Piquegny,*
*Hamon de Kaieu,*
*Le Sire de Deſpinay,*
*Le Sire de Port,*
*Le Sire de Torcy,*
*Le Sire de Jort,*
*Le Sire de Riviers,*
*Guillaume Moyonne,*
*Raoul Teſſon de Tingueleix,*
*Roger Marmion,*
*Raoul de Guel,*
*Avenel des Biars,*

*Paennel du Monſtier Hubert,*
*Rob. Bertramle Tort,*
*Le Sire de Seulle,*
*Le Sire de Dorival,*
*Le Sire de Breval,*
*Le Sire de S. Jehan,*
*Le Sire de Bris,*
*Le Sire du Homme,*
*Le Sire de Souchhoy,*
*Le Sire de Cailly,*
*Le Sire de Semilly,*
*Le Sire de Tilly,*
*Le Sire de Romelly,*
*Mar. de Baſqueville,*
*Le Sire de Preaulx,*
*Le Sire de Gonis,*
*Le Sire de Sanceaulx,*
*Le Sire de Moulloy,*
*Le Sire de Monceaulx,*

¶ The *Archers du val du Ruel*, and of *Bretheul*, and of many other places.

*Le Sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio,*
*Le Sire de la Kiviere,*
*Le Sire de Salnarville,*
*Le Sire de Rony,*
*Eude de Beaugieu,*
*Le Sire de Oblie,*
*Le Sire de Sacie,*
*Le Sire de Naſſie,*
*Le Viſquaius de Chymes,*
*Le Sire du Sap,*

*Le Sire de Glos,*
*Le Sire de Mine,*
*Le Sire de Glanville,*
*Le Sire de Breencon,*
*Le Vidam de Partay,*
*Raoul de Morimont,*
*Pierre de Bailleul, Sire de Fiſcamp,*
*Le Sire de Beauſault,*
*Le Sire de Tillieres,*
*Le Sire de Pacy,*
*Le Seneſchal de Torcy,*
*Le Sire de Gacy,*
*Le Sire de Doully,*
*Le Sire de Sacy,*
*Le Sire de Vacy,*
*Le Sire de Tourneeur,*
*Le Sire de Praeres,*
*Guillaume de Coulombieres,*
*Hue Sire de Bollebec,*
*Rich. Sire Dorbeck,*
*Le Sire de Bonneboz,*
*Le Sire de Treſgoz,*
*Le Sire de Montfiquet,*
*Hue le Bigor de Maletot,*
*Le Sire de la Hay*
*Le Sire de Mombray,*
*Le Sire de Say,*
*Le Sire de la Ferte,*
*Boutevillain,*
*Trouſſebout,*
*Guillaume Patric de la Laund,*
*Hue de Mortemer,*
*Le Sire Danvillers,*
*Le Sire Donnebaut,*

*Le Sire de S. Cler.*
*Rob. le filz Herneys, duc de Orleans,*
*Le Sire de Harecourt,*
*Le Sire de Crevecœur,*
*Le Sire de Deincourt,*
*Le Sire de Bremetot,*
*Le Sire Combray,*
*Le Sire Daunay,*
*Le Sire de Fontenay,*
*Le conte Deureux,*
*Le Sire de Rebelhil,*
*Alain Fergant conte de Britaigne,*
*Le Sire de S. Vallery,*
*Le conte Deu*
*Gualtier Gifford conte de Longeville,*
*Le Sire Deſtouteville,*
*Le conte Thomas Daubmalle,*
*Guil. conte de Hoymes & Darques,*
*Le Sire de Bereville,*
*Le Sire de Breante,*
*Le Sire de Freanville,*
*Le Sire de Pavilly,*
*Le Sire de Clere,*
*Touſtan du Bec,*
*Le Sire Maugny,*
*Roger de Montgomery,*
*Amauri de Tovars.*

Over and beſides the great number of Knights and Eſquires that were under them. In the ſame Battel betweer the ſaid *William* the Baſtard, Duke of *Normandy* on the one part, and King *Harold* on the other part, there were ſlain or King *Harold*'s ſide of *Engliſhmen*, ſixty ſix thouſand, ſix hundred fifty four. And on Duke *William*'s ſide ther were ſlain ſix thouſand thirteen Men, as it is to be found in the Chronicle of S. *Peter* of *Weſtminſter*, beſides thoſe tha were drowned in the River of *Thames*.

When as the above named, and many other great Lords were ſo called, ſome of them appeared, other ſome dic not, for ſome of them were ſlain there in the Field, and others ſo wounded, that they could not come forth to ſhew themſelves. Then gave the Duke commandment, that the dead ſhould be buried, and thoſe that were ſick comforted, and eaſed the beſt that might, *&c.*

## Out of the Ancient Chronicles of *ENGLAND*, touching the Names of other *Normans* which ſeemed to remain alive after the Battel, and to be advanced in the Seigniories of this Land.

*John de Maundevile,*
*Adam Undevile,*
*Bernard de Frevile,*
*Rich. de Rochvile,*
*Gilbert de Frankvile,*
*Hugo de Dovile,*
*Symond de Rotevile,*
*R. de Evile,*
*B. de Knevuile,*
*Hugo de Morvile,*
*R. de Colevile,*
*A. de Warvile,*
*C. de Karvile,*
*R. de Rotevile,*
*S. de Stotevile,*
*H. Bonum,*
*J. Monum,*
*W. de Vignonum,*
*K. de Viſpount,*
*W. Bailbeof,*
*S. de Baleyn,*
*H. de Marreys,*
*J. Aguleyne,*

*G. Agilon,*
*R. Chamburlayne,*
*N. de Vendres,*
*H. de Verdon,*
*H. de Verto,*
*C. de Vernon,*
*H. Hardul,*
*C. Cappan,*
*W. de Camvile,*
*J. de Cameyes,*
*R. de Rotes,*
*R. de Boys,*
*W. de Waren,*
*T. de Wardboys,*
*R. de Boys,*
*W. de Audeley,*
*K. Dynham,*
*R. de Vaures,*
*G. Vargenteyn,*
*J. de Haſtings,*
*G. de Haſtenk,*
*L. de Burgee,*
*R. de Butuileyn,*

*H. de Malebranch,*
*S. de Malemain,*
*G. de Hautevile,*
*H. Hailteyn,*
*R. de Morteyn,*
*R. de Mortimer,*
*G. de Kanovile,*
*E. de Columb,*
*W. Paynel,*
*C. Panner,*
*H. Pontrel,*
*J. de Rivers,*
*T. Revile,*
*W. de Beauchamp,*
*R. de Beaupale,*
*E. de On,*
*F. Lovel,*
*S. de Troys,*
*J. de Artel,*
*John de Montebrugge,*
*H. de Mounteſerel,*
*W. Truſſebut,*
*W. Truſſel,*

*H. Byſet,*
*R. Baſſet,*
*R. Molet,*
*H. Malovile,*
*G. Bonet,*
*P. de Bonvile,*
*S. de Rovile,*
*N. de Norbeck,*
*J. de Corneux,*
*P. de Corbet,*
*W. de Mountague,*
*S. de Mountfychet,*
*J. de Genevyle,*
*H. Gyffard,*
*J. de Say,*
*T. Gilbard,*
*R. de Chalons,*
*S. de Chauward,*
*H. Ferret,*
*Hugo Pepard,*
*J. de Harecourt,*
*H. de Haunſard,*
*J. de Lamare,*

P. de Mautrevers,
G. de Ferron,
R. de Ferrers,
J. de Deſty,
W. de Werdyrs,
H. de Bornevile,
J. de Santenys,
S. de Syncler,
R. de Gorges,
E. de Gemere,
W. de Feus,
S. de Filberd,
H. de Turbervile.
R. Troblenuer,
R. de Angon,
T. de Morer,
T. de Rotelet,
H. de Spencer,
E. de Saintpuenten,
J. de Saint Martin,
G. de Cuſtan,
Saint Conſtantin,
Saint Leger & Saint Med.
M. de Cronu & de S. Viger,
S. de Crayel,
R. de Crenker,
N. Meyuel,
J. de Berners,
S. de Chumly,
E. de Charers,
J. de Grey,
W. de Grangers,

S. de Grangers,
S. Baubenyn,
H. Vamgers,
E. Bertram,
R. Bygot,
S. Treoly,
J. Trigos,
G. de Feues,
H. Filiot,
R. Taperyn,
S. Talbot,
H. Santſaver,
T. de Samford,
G. de Vandien,
C. de Vautort,
G. de Mountague,
Thomas de Chambernon,
S. de Montfort,
R. de Fernevaulx,
W. de Valence,
T. Clarel,
S. de Clervaus,
P. de Aubemarle,
H. de Saint Arvant,
Ed. de Auganuteys,
S. de Gant,
G. de Malearbe,
H. Mandut,
W. Cheſun,
L. de Chandut,
B. Filzurs,
B. Vicount de Low,
G. de Cantemere,

T. de Cantlow,
R. Breaunce,
T. de Broxeborf,
S. de Bolebec,
B. Mol de Boef,
J. de Muelis,
R. de Brus,
S. de Brewes,
J. de Lille,
T. de Bellile,
T. de Watervile,
G. de Nevile,
R. de Neuburgh,
H. de Burgoyne,
G. de Bourgh,
S. de Lymoges,
L. de Lyben,
W. de Helyoun,
H. de Hildrebron,
R. de Loges,
S. de Saintlow,
J. de Maubank,
P. de Saint Malow,
R. de Leoferne,
J. de Lovotot,
G. de Dabbevile,
H. de Appetot,
W. de Percy,
H. de Lacy,
C. de Quincy,
E. Tracy,
R. de la Souche,
V. de Somery,
J. de Saint John,

T. de Saint Gory,
P. de Boyly,
Rich. de Saint Valery,
P. de Pinkeny,
S. de Pavely,
G. de Monthaut,
T. de Mountcheſy,
R. de Lymozy,
G. de Lucy,
J. de Artois,
N. de Arty,
P. de Grenvile,
J. de Greys,
V. de Creſty,
F. de Courcy,
T. de Lamar,
H. de Lymaſtre,
J. de Moubray,
C. de Morley,
S. de Gorney,
R. de Courtenay,
P. de Gourney,
R. de Cony,
J. de la Huſe,
R. de la Huſe,
V. de Longevile,
P. Longeſpy,
J. Pouchardon,
R. de la Pomercy,
J. de Pountz,
R. de Pontlarge,
R. Eſtraunge,
Tho. Savage,

The firſt Biſhop of Salisbury. Oſmund Biſhop of Sarum. Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officii ſecundum uſum Sarum. Ex Eulogio hiſtor. lib. 3. The uſe and ordinary of Sarum, how and when it was deviſed

A little above, mention was made of the Biſhops See of *Shireborne*, tranſlated from thence to *Salisbury*. The firſt Biſhop of *Salisbury* was *Hirmannus* a *Norman*, who firſt began the new Church and Minſter of *Salisbury*. After whom ſucceeded *Oſmundus*, who finiſhed the work, and repleniſhed the houſe with great living, and much good linging. This *Oſmundus* firſt began the Ordinary which was called *Secundum uſum Sarum, Anno* 1076. The occaſion whereof was this, as I find in an old Story-book intituled *Eulogium*. A great contention chanced at *Glaſtenbury* between *Thurſtanus* the Abbot and his Convent, in the days of *William* the Conqueror. Which *Thurſtanus* the ſaid *William* had brought out of *Normandy* from the Abby of *Cadonum*, and placed him Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*. The cauſe of this contentious Battel was, for that *Thurſtanus* contemning their Quire-ſervice, then called *the uſe of S. Gregory*, compelled his Monks to the uſe of one *William* a Monk of *Fiſcam* in *Normandy*. Whereupon came ſtrife and contentions amongſt them, firſt in words, then from words to blows, after blows then to armour. The Abbot, with his guard of harneſt Men, fell upon the Monks, and drave them to the ſteps of the High Altar, where two were ſlain, eight were wounded with Shafts, Swords and Pikes. The Monks then driven to ſuch a ſtraight and narrow ſhift, were compelled to defend themſelves with Formes and Candleſticks, wherewith they did wound certain of the Souldiers. One Monk there was (an aged Man) who inſtead of his ſhield took an Image of the Crucifix in his Arms for his defence, which Image was wounded in the breaſt by one of the Bowmen, whereby the Monk was ſaved. My ſtory addeth more, that the ſtriker incontinent upon the ſame fell mad, which ſavoureth of ſome Monkiſh addition beſides the Text. This matter being brought before the King, the Abbot was ſent again to *Cadonum*, and the Monks by the commandment of the King were ſcattered in far Countries. Thus, by the occaſion hereof, *Oſmundus* Biſhop of *Salisbury* deviſed that Ordinary, which is called *the uſe of Sarum*, and was afterward received in a manner through all *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this King *William*.

Which *William* after his death, by his Wife *Matilda* or *Maud*, left three Sons, *Robert Courtſey*, to whom he gave the Dutchy of *Normandy*; *William Rufus* his ſecond Son, to whom he gave the Kingdom of *England*; and *Henry* the third Son, to whom he left and gave treaſure; and warned *William* to be to his People loveing and liberal, *Robert* to be to his people ſtern and ſturdy.

Example of Gods juſt judgment upon a Biſhop, who being unmerciful to the poor, was eaten with Rats and Mice.

In the Hiſtory called *Jornalenſis*, it is reported of a certain great Man, who about this time of King *William* was compaſſed about with Mice and Rats, and flying to the midſt of a River, yet when that would not ſerve, came to the Land again, and was of them devoured. The *Germans* ſay that this was a Biſhop, who dwelling between *Cullen* and *Mentz*, in time of Famine and Dearth, having ſtore of Corn and Grain, would not help the poverty crying to him for relief but rather wiſhed his Corn to be eaten up of Mice and Rats. Wherefore being compaſſed with Mice and Rats (by the juſt judgment of God) to avoid the annoiance of them, he built a Tower in the midſt of the River of *Rhein* (which yet to this day the *Dutchmen* call *Rats Tower*) but all that would not help; for the Rats and Mice ſwam over to him in as great abundance as they did before; of whom at length he was devoured.

## *William Rufus.*

WILLIAM *Rufus*, the ſecond Son of *William* the Conqueror, began his Reign in the year of our Lord 1088. and Reigned thirteen Years, being crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Lanfrancus*; who, after his Coronation, releaſed out of Priſon, by the requeſt of his Father, divers *Engliſh* Lords, which before had bin in cuſtody. It chanced that, at the death of *William* the Conqueror, *Robert Courtſey* his eldeſt Son was abſent in *Almany*, who hearing of the death of his Father, and how *William* his younger Brother had taken upon him the Kingdom, was therewith greatly moved; inſomuch that he laid his Dukedom to pledge unto his Brother *Henry*, and with that good gathered unto him an Army, and ſo landed at *Hampton*, to the intent to have expelled his Brother from the Kingdom. But *William Rufus* hearing thereof ſent to him fair and gentle words, promiſing him dedition and ſubjection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that ſeeing he was now in place and poſſeſſion, he might enjoy it during his life, paying to him yearly three thouſand Marks, with con-

Anno 1088. *William Rufus.*

dition that which of them overlived the other ſhould enjoy the Kingdom. The occaſion of this variance between theſe brethren wrought a great diſſention between the *Norman* Lords and Biſhops, both in *England* and in *Normandy*. Inſomuch that all the *Norman* Biſhops within the Realm almoſt rebelled againſt the King, taking part with Duke *Robert*, except only *Lanfrancus*, and *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter* above mentioned, an *Engliſhman*; who for his vertue and conſtancy was ſo well liked and favoured of his Citizens, that (emboldened with his preſence and prayer) they ſtoutly maintained the City of *Worceſter* againſt the Siege of their enemies, and at laſt vanquiſhed them with utter ruine. But Duke *Robert* at length by the advice of his Councel (hearing the words ſent unto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiving ſome matter of doubt or doubleneſs) was yet content to aſſent to all that was deſired, and ſo returned ſhortly after into *Normandy*, leaving the Biſhops, and ſuch others, in the Briers, which were in *England*, taking his part againſt the King.

*Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter.*

This *Rufus* was ſo ill liked of the *Normans*, that between him and his Lords was oft diſſention. Wherefore (well near) all the *Normans* took part againſt him; ſo that he was forced of neceſſity to draw to him the *Engliſhmen*. Again, ſo covetous he was, and ſo immeaſurable in his tasks and takings, in ſelling Benefices, Abbies and Biſhopricks, that he was hated of all *Engliſhmen*.

{Anno 1091.} In the third year of this King died *Lanfrancus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; from whoſe commendation and worthineſs, as I liſt not to detract any thing (being ſo greatly magnified of *Polydorus* his Countryman) ſo neither do I ſee any great cauſe why to add any thing thereto. This I think, unleſs that Man had brought with him leſs ſuperſtition, and more ſincere ſcience into Chriſt his Church, he might have kept him in his Country ſtill, and have confuted *Berengarius* at home. After the deceaſe of *Lanfrank* the See of *Canterbury* ſtood empty four years.

The death of *Lanfrancus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

*Remigius* Biſhop of *Lincoln.*

After the Council of *Lanfrancus* above mentioned, wherein was concluded for tranſlating of Biſhops Sees from Villages into Head Cities, *Remigius* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter* (who, as ye heard, accompanied *Lanfrancus* unto *Rome*) removed his Biſhops See from *Dorcheſter* unto *Lincoln*, where he builded the Minſter there, ſcituate upon an Hill within the ſaid City of *Lincoln*. The Dedication of which Church *Robert* Archbiſhop of *York* did reſiſt, ſaying, that it was builded within the Ground of his Precinct. But after, it had his *Romiſh* Dedication by *Robert Blevet*, next Biſhop that followed. By the ſame *Remigius* alſo was founded the Cloyſter or Monaſtery of *Stow*, *&c.*

*Lincoln* Minſter builded.

*Stow* Abby builded.

{Anno 1092.} In the fourth year of this King, great Tempeſts fell in ſundry places of *England*, ſpecially at *Winchcombe*, where the Steeple was burned with Lightning, the Church wall burſt through, the head and right Leg of the Crucifix, with the Image of our Lady on the right ſide of the Crucifix, thrown down, and ſuch a ſtink left in the Church, that none might abide it. At *London* the force of the Weather and Tempeſt overturned ſix hundred Houſes. In which Tempeſt the Roof of *Bow* Church was hurled up in the Wind, and by the vehemency thereof was pitched down a great deepneſs into the ground.

*Winchcomb* Steeple burnt with Lightning.

Six hundred houſes blowyn down with Wind.

The roof of *Bow* Church overthrown.

King *William* (as ye have heard) an exceeding poller or rayener rather of Church Goods, after he had given the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* to his Chancellor *Robert Blevet* above minded, began to cavil; avouching the See of *Lincoln* to belong to the See of *York*; till the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had pleaſed him with a great ſum of mony of five thouſand Marks, *&c.*

*Robert Blevet* paid five thouſand Marks for his Biſhoprick.

And as nothing could come in thoſe days without mony from the King, ſo *Herbert Loſinga*, paying to the King a piece of Mony, was made Biſhop of *Thetford*, as he had paid a little before to be Abbot of *Ramſey*. Who likewiſe, the ſame time removing his See from *Thetford* to the City of *Norwich*, there erected the Cathedral Church with the Cloyſter in the ſaid City of *Norwich*, where he furniſhed the Monks with ſufficient Living and Rents of his own charges, beſides the Biſhops Lands. Afterward, repenting of his open and manifeſt Simony, he went to *Rome*, where he reſigned into the Popes hands his Biſhoprick, but ſo, that incontinent he received it again. This *Herbert* was the Son of an Abbot called *Robert*, for whom he purchaſed of the King to be Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whereof run theſe Verſes:

*Herbert Loſinga* Biſhop of *Norwich.* *Loſinga* Adulator.

*Filius eſt Præſul, pater Abba, Simonſuterque:*
*Quid non ſperemus ſi nummos poſſideamus?*
*Omnia nummus habet, quod vult facit, addit & auferſ.*
*Res nimis injuſta, nummus ſit Præſul & Abba*, &c.

*Norwich* Minſter builded by *Herbert.*

Ye heard a little before of the death of Pope *Hildebrand*, after the time of which *Hildebrand* the *German* Emperors began to loſe their authority and right in the Popes election, and in giving of Benefices. For next after this *Hildebrand* came Pope *Victor* by the ſetting up of *Matilda*, and the Duke of *Normandy*, with the faction and retinue of *Hildebrand*, who likewiſe ſhewed himſelf ſtout againſt the Emperor. But God gave the ſhrewd Cow ſhort hornes. For *Victor* being poyſoned (as ſome ſay in his Chalice) ſate but one year and a half. Notwithſtanding the ſame imitation and example of *Hildebrand* continued ſtill in them that followed after. And like as the Kings of *Iſrael* followed moſt part the ſteps of *Jeroboam*, till the time of their deſolation; ſo for the greateſt part all Popes followed the ſteps and proceedings of this *Hildebrand* their ſpiritual *Jeroboam*, in maintaining of falſe worſhip, and chiefly in upholding the dignity of that See, againſt all rightful authority, and the lawful Kingdom of *Sion*. In the time of this *Victor* began the Order of the Monks of *Charterhouſe*, through the means of one *Hugo* Biſhop of *Gracianople*, and of *Bruno* Biſhop of *Cullen*.

Pope *Victor* the third.

Pope *Victor* poyſoned in his Chalice.

A comparſon between *Hildebrand* Pope of *Rome*, and *Jeroboam* K. of *Iſrael.*

The order of Charter Monks began.

Next to *Victor* ſat *Urban* the ſecond, by whom the acts of *Hildebrand* were confirmed, and alſo new Decrees enacted againſt *Henry* the Emperor. In this time were two Popes at *Rome*, *Urbanus*, and *Clemens* the third, whom the Emperor ſet up. Under Pope *Urban* came in the white Monks of the *Ciſtercian* Order, by one *Stephen Harding* a Monk of *Shireborne*, (an *Engliſhman*) by whom this Order had his beginning in the Wilderneſs of *Ciſtery*, within the Province of *Burgoin*, as witneſſeth *Ceſtrenſis*. Others write that this *Harding* was the ſecond Abbot of that place, and that it was firſt founded by the means of one *Robert* Abbot of *Moliſme* in *Ciſtercium*, a Foreſt in *Burgundy*, *Anno* 1098. perſwaded perchance by *Harding*; and afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1135. it was brought into *England* by a certain man called *Eſpeke*, which builded an Abby of the ſame Order called *Merinale*. In this Order the Monks did live by the labour of their hands; they payed no Tithes nor Offerings, they wore no Fur nor Lining, they wore red Shoes, their Cowls white, and Coats black, all ſhorn ſave a little circle, they eat no fleſh but only in their journey. Of this Order was *Bernardus*, *&c.*

Pope *Urban* the ſecond.

Two Popes in *Rome.*

The order of *Ciſtercian* or White Monks began.

This *Urban* held divers Councils; one at *Rome*, where he Excommunicated all ſuch Lay perſons as gave inveſtiture of any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice; alſo all ſuch of the Clergy as abjected themſelves to be underlings or ſervants to lay perſons for Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, *&c.*

*Synodus Romana vel Placentina.*

Another Council he held at *Cleremount* in *France* where among other things, the Biſhop made an Oration to the Lords being there preſent, concerning the Voyage and recovering the Holy Land from the *Turks* and *Saracens*. The cauſe of which Voyage firſt ſprang by one *Peter* a Monk or Hermit, who being in *Jeruſalem*, and ſeeing the great miſery of the Chriſtians under the Pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope *Urban*, and was therein a great ſollicitor to all Chriſtian Princes. By reaſon whereof, after the foreſaid Oration of Pope *Urban*, 30000 Men (taking on them the Sign of the Croſs for their cogniſance) made preparation for that Voyage, whoſe Captains were *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*, with his two brethren *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*, the Biſhop of *Pody*, *Bohemund* Duke of *Puell* and his Nephew *Tancredus*, *Raimund* Earl of St. *Egidius*, *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Hugh le Grand*, Brother of *Philip* the *French* King. To whom alſo was joyned *Robert Curthoiſe* Duke of *Normandy*, with divers other Noblemen, with the foreſaid *Peter* the Herinit, who was the chief cauſer of that Voyage.

*Synodus Clermontana.*

The Voyage unto the Holy Land.

The number that went.

The Captains of them which went to the holy Land.

At

At that time many of the ſaid Noblemen laid their Lands and Lordſhips to mortgage, to provide for the forenamed Voyage; as *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*, who ſold the Dukedom of *Bullogn* to the Biſhop of *Eburone* for a great ſumm of mony. Alſo *Robert Curthoiſe* Duke of *Normandy* laid his Dukedom to pledge to his Brother *William* King of *England* for ten thouſand pounds, *&c.*

Anno 1096. Thus the Chriſtians, which paſſed firſt over *Boſphorus*, having to their Captain *Peter* the Hermit (a man perchance more devout than expert to guide an Army) being trapped of their enemies, were ſlain and murthered in great numbers among the *Bulgars*, and near to the Town called *Civitus*.

The acts of the Chriſtians in their Voyage to and in *Jeruſalem*.

When the Nobles and the whole Army met together at *Conſtantinople* (where *Alexius* was Emperor) paſſing over by *Helleſpontus* going to *Jeruſalem*, they took the Cities of *Nicea*, *Eracleа*, *Tarſis*, and ſubdued the Country of *Cicilia*, appointing the poſſeſſion thereof to certain of their Captains.

Antioch taken by the Chriſtians.

*Antioch* was beſieged, and in the ninth Month of the Siege it was yielded to the Chriſtians by one *Pyrrhus*; about which ſeaſon were fought many ſtrong Battels, to the great ſlaughter and deſolation of the *Saracens*, and not without loſs of many Chriſtian Men. The governance of this City was committed to *Bohemund* Duke of *Puel*, whoſe martial Knighthood was often proved in time of the Siege thereof.

Anno 1098. The ſlaughter of the *Perſian* Infidels.

And not long after, *Corbona* maſter of the *Perſians* Chivalry was vanquiſhed and ſlain, with an hundred thouſand Infidels. In which diſcomfiture were taken 15000 Camels.

*Jeruſalem* conquered by the Chriſtians. Ex *Henric. lib.* 7.

*Jeruſalem* on the nine and thirtieth day of the Siege, was conquered by the Chriſtians. *Robert* alſo Duke of *Normandy* was elect to be King thereof. Howbeit he refuſed it, hearing of the death of King *William Rufus* of *England*; wherefore he never ſped well in all his affairs after the ſame. Then *Godfrey*, Captain of the Chriſtian Army, was proclaimed the firſt King of *Jeruſalem*. At the taking of the City was ſuch a murther of Men, that blood was congealed in the Streets the thickneſs of a foot. Then after *Godfrey* reigned *Baldwin* his Brother: After him *Baldwin* the ſecond, Nephew. Then *Gaufridus* Duke of *Gaunt*, and after him *Gaufridus* his Son, by whom many great Battels there were fought againſt the *Saracens*, and all the Country thereabout ſubdued, ſave *Aſcalon*, *&c.* And thus much hitherto touching the Voyage to the Holy Land. Now to our own Land again.

The King of *England*'s judgment againſt the Pope. Ex *Mat. Par.*

About this time (as *Matthew Pariſienſis* writeth) the King of *England* favoured not much the See of *Rome*, becauſe of their impudent and unſatiable exactions which they required, neither would he ſuffer any of his Subjects to go to *Rome*, alledging theſe words in the Author thus expreſſed: *Quod Petri non inhærent veſtigiis, præmiis inhiantes; non ejus poteſtatem retinent, cujus ſanctitatem probantur non imitari*; that is, Becauſe they follow not the ſteps of *Peter*, hunting for rewards; neither have they the power and authority of him, whoſe holineſs they declare themſelves not to follow, *&c.*

Decrees of Pope *Urban*

By the ſame *Urbanus*, the ſeven hours, which we call *Septem horas canonicas*, were firſt inſtituted in the Church.

*Item*, By this Pope was decreed, no Biſhop to be made, but under the Name and Title of ſome certain place.

John Stella. Nauclerus.

*Item*, That Mattins and hours of the day ſhould every day be ſaid.

Alſo every Saturday to be ſaid the Maſs of our Lady, and all the *Jews* Sabbath to be turned to the ſervice of our Lady, as in the Council of *Turon*, to the which Service was appointed the Anthem *Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto fœmineo ſexu.*

Diſt. 31. *Eos qui* 15. *q.* 6. *Juratos.*

*Item*, all ſuch of the Clergy as had Wives, to be deprived of their order.

*Item*, to be lawful for Subjects to break their Oath of Allegiance with all ſuch as were by the Pope Excommunicate.

*Item*, not to be lawful both for Husband and Wife to chriſten one child both together; with matters many more.

By the ſame Pope thus many Chapters ſtand written in the Canon Law, *Diſt.* 7. *Sanctorum*, *diſt.* 31. *Eos qui* 1. *q.* 1. *Si qui diſt.* 56. *Presbyterorum*, 11. *q.* 3. *quibus* 15. *q.* 6. *Juratos* 16. *q.* 7. *Congregatio* 19. *q.* 2. *Statuimus*, 23. *q.* 8. *Tributum*, 30. *q.* 4. *quod autem*, *&c.*

30. *q.* 8. *quod autem.*

Example of Gods right-ful judgment in puniſhing cruel murther.

In the ſixth year of this Kings Reign, *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, which former times before had made great ſlaughter of old and young in the North parts, as is before ſhewed, burſt into *Northumberland* with all the power he could make, and there by the right judgment of God was ſlain, with his Son *Edward*, and alſo *Margaret* his Wife, Siſter to *Edgar Adeling* above minded, a vertuous and devout Lady, within three days after.

*Anſelm* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The ſame year he gave the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* (after that he had detained the ſame in his own hands four years) to *Anſelm* Abbot of *Beck* in *Normandy*.

This *Anſelm* was an *Italian*, in the City of *Auguſta*, born and brought up in the Abby of *Beck* in *Normandy*; where he was ſo ſtrict a follower of virtue, that (as the Story recordeth) he wiſhed rather to be without ſin in Hell, than in Heaven with ſin. Which ſaying and wiſh of his (if it were his) may ſeem to proceed out of a mind, neither ſpeaking orderly according to the phraſe and underſtanding of the Scripture, nor yet ſufficiently acquainted with the juſtification of a Chriſtian man. Further, they report him to be ſo far from ſingularity, that he ſhould ſay, it was the Vice which thruſt the Angels firſt out of Heaven, and Man out of Paradiſe.

The ſaying of *Anſelm* pondered.

The vice of ſingularity.

*Anſelm* ill willing to take the Archbiſhoprick. *Canterbury* firſt given to the Archbiſhop wholly.

Of this *Anſelm* it is moreover reported, that he was ſo ill willing to take the Archbiſhoprick, that the King had much ado to thruſt it upon him: and he was ſo delirous to have him take it, that the City of *Canterbury* (which before *Lanfrancus* did hold, but at the Kings good will and pleaſure) he gave now to *Anſelm* wholly, which was about the year of our Lord 1093. But as deſirous as the King was then to place the ſaid *Anſelm*, ſo much did he repent it afterward, ſeeking all manner of means to defeat him if he might. Such ſtrife and contention roſe between them two for certain matters; the ground and occaſion whereof firſt was this:

Strife and contention between the K. and *Anſelm*.

After that *Anſelm* had been thus elected to the See of *Canterbury*, before he was fully conſecrate, the King communed with him (aſſaying by all gentle manner of words to intreat him) that ſuch Lands and Poſſeſſions of the Church of *Canterbury* as the King had given and granted to his friends ſince the death of *Lanfrancus*, they might ſtill enjoy the ſame as their own lawful poſſeſſions through his grant and permiſſion. But to this *Anſelm* in no caſe would agree. Whereupon the King, conceiving great diſpleaſure againſt him, did ſtop his Conſecration a great ſeaſon, till at length in long proceſs of time the King, enforced by the daily complaints and deſires of his People and Subjects, for lack of an Archbiſhop to moderate the Church, was conſtrained to admit and authorize him unto them. Thus *Anſelm* with much ado taking his Conſecration, and doing his Homage to the King, went to his See of *Canterbury*; and not long after, the King ſayled over to *Normandy*.

*Anſelm* ſtopped from his Conſecration.

*Anſelm* conſecrated

*Anſelm* doth homage to K. *William*.

About this time there were two ſtriving in *Rome* for the Popedome, as is afore touched, *Urbanus* and *Guibertus*. Divers Realms diverſly conſenting, ſome to the one, ſome to the other. *England* taking part with their King, was rather inclined to *Guibertus*, called *Clement* the third; but *Anſelm*, did fully go with *Urbanus*, making ſo his exception with the King, entring to his Biſhoprick. After the King was returned again from *Normandy*, the Archbiſhop cometh to him, and aſketh leave to go to *Rome*, to fet his Pall of Pope *Urban*; which when he could not at firſt obtain, he maketh his appeal from the King to the Pope. Whereat the King being juſtly diſpleaſed, chargeth the Archbiſhop with breach of his Fealty, contrary to his promiſe made; that is, if he without his licence, ſhould appeal either to *Urban*, or to any other Pope. *Anſelm* anſwereth again, that it was to be referred unto ſome greater Council, where it is to be diſputed, whether this be to break a Mans Allegiance to a terrene Prince, if he appeal to the Vicar of Saint *Peter*. And here much arguing and contending was on both ſides. The Kings reaſon proceedeth thus: *The cuſtome* (ſaith he) *from my fathers time hath been in* England, *that no perſon*

*Urban* and *Clement* ſtriving for the Papacy. *England* favoured *Clement*.

*Anſelm* holdeth with *Urban*

*Anſelm* denied leave to go to *Rome*.

*Anſelm* appealeth from the King to the Pope.

*Anſelm* charged for a Traitor.

The Kings argument againſt *Anſelm*.

The cuſtom of *England* from *William* Conquerors time, not to appeal to the Pope.

*ſhould appeal to the Pope without the Kings licence. He that breaketh the cuſtoms of the Realm, violateth the power and Crown of the Kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my Crown, is a Traytor and Enemy againſt me, &c.* To this *Anſelm* replieth again, *The Lord* (ſaith he) *eaſily diſcuſſeth this queſtion, briefly teaching what Fidelity and Allegiance we ought to give unto the Vicar of Saint* Peter, *where he ſaith, Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c. And to thee will I give the Keies of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind in Earth, it ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever thou looſeſt in Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven, &c. Again, to them all in general he ſaith, He that heareth you, heareth me; and whoſo deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. And in another place, He that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of mine Eye. On the other ſide, what duty we owe to the King, he ſheweth alſo, Give (ſaith he) to the Emperor, what belongeth to the Emperor, and to God, that which to God belongeth. Wherefore, in ſuch things as belong to God, I will yield, and muſt yield by good right and duty, my obedience to the Vicar of S.*Peter, *and in ſuch things as belong again to terrene dignities of my Prince, in thoſe I will not deny to him my faithful help and counſel, ſo far as they can extend.*

*Anſelm* reply againſt the King.

The reaſons of *Anſelm* to prove the Popes authority above other Kings.

*Anſelm* here ignorantly calleth the Pope the Vicar of St. *Peter*, where the Canon law calleth him but the ſucceſſor of *Peter*, and Vicar of Chriſt.

Thus have ye the grounded arguments of this Prelate to ſtand ſo ſtiffly againſt his Prince, whereunto peradventure was joyned alſo ſome piece of a ſtubborn heart. But in this concluſion none of his fellow Biſhops durſt take his part, but were all againſt him; namely, *William* Biſhop of *Dureſme*; to whom *Anſelm* thus proteſteth, ſaying, *Whoſoever he were that would preſume to prove it any breach of Allegiance or Fealty to his Sovereign, if he appealed to the Vicar of St.*Peter, *he was ready to anſwer at all times to the contrary.* The Biſhop of *Dureſme* anſwered again, *That he who would not be ruled by reaſon, muſt with force be conſtrained, &c.* The King, having on his part the agreement of the Biſhops, thought to deprive the Archbiſhop both of his Paſtoral See, and to expel him out of the Realm. But he could not perform his purpoſe; for *Anſelm*, as he was ready to depart the Realm, he ſaid, whenſoever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he took nothing elſe. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the mean ſeaſon the King had ſent privily two Meſſengers unto Pope *Urban*, to intreat him to ſend his Pall to the King, for him to give it where he would. Which Meſſengers by this time were returned again, bringing with them from *Rome*, *Gualter* Biſhop of *Alban*, the Popes Legate, with the Pall to be given unto *Anſelm*. This Legate, firſt landing at *Dover*, from thence came privily (unknown to *Anſelme*) to the King, declaring and promiſing, that if *Urban* was received Pope in *England*, whatſoever the King required to be obtained, he by his priviledge from the Apoſtolical See would ratifie and confirm the ſame; ſave only that when the King required of the Legate that *Anſelm* might be removed, the Legate thereunto would not agree; ſaying, *that it was unpoſſible to be obtained, that ſuch a man as he, being lawfully called, ſhould be expelled without manifeſt cauſe.* In concluſion, ſo it followed, that although he could not obtain his requeſt of the Legate, yet the Legate ſo wrought with the King, that *Urban* was proclaimed lawful Pope throughout all the Realm.

All the Biſhops of the Realm ſtood of the Kings ſide againſt *Anſelm*.

*William* Biſhop of *Dureſme*.

*Gualterus* the Popes Legat cometh to *England*.

*Anſelm* could not be removed by the King.

The Pope taketh this as no fault, for a ſubject to repugne againſt his King.

Then were ſent to *Anſelm* certain Biſhops to move and prove his mind, declaring what charges and pains the King had been at in his behalf, to procure the Pall for him from *Rome*, which otherwiſe would have ſtood him in great expences, and that all this the King had done for his ſake. Wherefore it were good reaſon and convenient, that he (to gratifie the King) ſhould ſomething condeſcend to his requeſt again. But with all this *Anſelm* the ſtout Archbiſhop would not be moved. Wherefore the King, ſeeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant unto him the full right of his Archbiſhoprick. And ſo the day appointed, when the Pall ſhould be brought to *Canterbury* (being carried with all ſolemnity in a thing of Silver) the Archbiſhop, with a great concourſe of people, came forth bareſoot with his Prieſtly Veſtments, after a moſt goodly manner to meet the ſame; and ſo being brought in, it was laid upon the Altar, whiles *Anſelm* (ſpreading over his ſhoulders his *Popiſh* Veſtments) proceeded unto his *Popiſh* Maſs.

The ſtoutneſs of *Anſelm* ſtanding againſt his King.

The manner of bringing in *Anſelmes* Pall into *Canterbury*.

Thus agreement being made between the King and the Biſhop, ſo long as it would hold; it happened the year following, the King with his Army entred into *Wales*, to ſubdue ſuch as there rebelled againſt him. After the Victory gotten, the King returned home again with triumph; to whom *Anſelm* thought to have come to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſs. But the King prevented him by Meſſengers, laying to the Biſhops charge both the ſmall number and the evil ſervice of his Souldiers ſent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of *Anſelm* was daſht, who at the ſame preſent had thought to have obtained and done many great matters with the King touching the ſtate of the Church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation; inſomuch that he was charged, againſt the next Court of Parliament, to make his anſwer. But he avoided that by appealing to *Rome*. Wherefore he made his ſute and friends to the King for licence to go to the Pope. Unto the which ſute the King anſwered again, *that he ſhould not go, neither was there any cauſe for him ſo to do; for that both he knew him to be of ſo ſound a life, that he had done no ſuch offence, whereof he needed to crave Abſolution at* Rome, *neither was there any ſuch lack of ſcience and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counſel there: Inſomuch* (ſaith the King) *I dare ſay, Pope* Urban *rather hath to give place to the wiſdom of* Anſelm, *than* Anſelm *to have need of* Urban. *Wherefore as he hath no cauſe to go, ſo I charge him to tarry. And if he continue in his ſtubbornneſs ſtill, I ſtill aſſuredly ſeize upon his poſſeſſions, and convert his Archbiſhoprick into my Coffers, for that he tranſgreſſeth and breaketh his fidelity and obeiſance, promiſing before to obſerve all the cuſtoms of my Kingdom. Neither is it the faſhion in this Realm, that any of my Nobles ſhould go to* Rome *without my ſending. And therefore let him ſwear unto me, that he ſhall neither for any grievance appeal hereafter to the See of* Rome, *or elſe let him void my Realm.*

Another quarrel of the King againſt *Anſelm*.

*Anſelm* againſt to *Rome*.

The Kings anſwer to *Anſelm* for his appealing to *Rome*.

The cuſtom of *England*.

No Prelate or Nobleman to go to Rome without the Kings ſending.

Againſt theſe words of the King, *Anſelm* thinking not beſt to reply again by any Meſſage, but by word of mouth, coming himſelf perſonally to the King, he placeth himſelf (after his order) on the right hand of the Prince, where he made his reply unto the Meſſage ſent to him by the King. *Whereas you ſay, I ought not to go to* Rome, *either in regard of any treſpaſs, or for abundance of counſel and knowledge in me (albeit I grant neither of them to be true) yet what the truth is therein, I refer it to the judgment of God. And whereas ye ſay that I promiſed to keep and obſerve your cuſtoms; that I grant, but with a condition; ſo far to keep them, and ſuch of them to obſerve, as were conſonant to the laws of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas ye charge me with breach of my Fidelity and Allegiance, for that contrary to your cuſtoms I appeal to the See Apoſtolick (my reverence and duty to your ſovereignty reſerved) if another would ſay it, that is untrue. For the fidelity and obeyſance that I owe to thee (O King) I have it of the faith and fidelity of God, whoſe Vicar St.*Peter *is, to whoſe ſeat I do appeal. Further, whereas ye require me to ſwear, that I ſhall for no cauſe hereafter at any time appeal to* Rome, *I pronounce openly that a Chriſtian Prince requireth ſuch an Oath of his Archbiſhop unjuſtly. For if I ſhould forſwear S.*Peter, *I ſhould deny Chriſt. And when I ſhall at any time deny Chriſt, then ſhall I be content and ready to ſtand to the ſatisfaction of my tranſgreſſion to you, for asking licence to go to* Rome. *And peradventure when I am gone, the Goods of the Church ſhall not ſo ſerve your temporal deſires and commodites as ye ween for. At theſe words of the Biſhop the King and his Nobles were not a little incenſed:* they defending again, *that in his promiſe of obſerving the Kings Cuſtoms, there was neither condition, nor any clauſe put in, either of God or Right. No was? ſaid Anſelm. If ſo be, that in your cuſtoms was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould be bound to any Cuſtoms which go contrary to God and to right. Thus on both ſides paſſed much altercation between them.*

The anſwer of *Anſelm* to the King.

Note the high reaſons of *Anſelm*.

At length the King, after many threatning words, told him he ſhould carry nothing out of the Realm with him. *Well*, ſaid the Biſhop, *if I may neither have my horſe nor garments with me, then will I walk on foot*; and ſo addreſſed

The Biſhops left *Anſelm* alone.

addreſſed him toward his journey (all the other Biſhops forſaking him) whereof none would take his part; but if he came to them for counſel, they ſaid he was wiſe enough, and needed not their counſel, as who for his prudence knew beſt what was to be done, as alſo for his holineſs, was willing and able to perſecute the ſame that he did know. As for them, they neither durſt nor would ſtand againſt the King their Lord; whoſe favour they could not lack, for the peril that might happen both to themſelves and their kindred. But for him, becauſe he was both a ſtranger, and void of ſuch worldly corruption in him; they willed him to go forward as he had begun; their ſecret conſent he ſhould have, but their open voice they would not give him. Thus *Anſelm*, remaining at *Dover* fifteen days tarrying for Wind, at laſt ſped him toward his paſſage. But his packing being ſecretly known in the Court, the Kings Officer *William Warlwaſt*, prevented his purpoſe, ſearching by the Kings Commandment, all his Truſſes, Coffers, Satchels, Sleeves, Purſe, Napkin and Boſom, for Letters, and for Money, and ſo let him paſs. Who, ſailing into *France*, firſt reſted a while at *Lions*, from thence came to *Rome* to Pope *Urban*, according to the tenor and form of a certain Epiſtle of his; wherein, among many other things in the ſame Epiſtle contained, theſe words he writeth to Pope *Paſchalis*, the third year after his baniſhment, after the death of *Urban*, and a little before the death of the King.

*Anſelm* flying out of *England*.

*Anſelm* ſearched by the King's Officer for Letters.

### *To the Lord and reverend Father* Paſchalis, *High Biſhop*, Anſelm *ſervant of the Church of* Canterbury, *offereth due ſubjection from his heart, and prayers, if they can ſtand in any ſtead*, Ex Epiſt. 36. Paulo poſt initium.

A fragment or portion of a Letter of *Anſelm* to Pope *Paſchalis*. *Ex Legend. Anſ. aut Eadmero, ex epiſt. Anſel.* 36.

I See in *England* many evils, whoſe correction belongeth ‘ to me, and which I could neither amend, nor ſuffer ‘ without mine own fault. The King deſireth of me, that ‘ under the name of right I ſhould conſent to his pleaſures, ‘ which were againſt the law and will of God. For he ‘ would not have the Pope received nor appealed unto in ‘ *England*, without his commandment; neither that I ‘ ſhould ſend a Letter unto him, or receive any from him, ‘ or that I ſhould obey his Decrees. He ſuffered not a Coun‘ cil to be kept in his Realm now theſe thirteen years, ‘ ſince he was King. In all theſe things, and ſuch like, ‘ if I asked any Counſel, all my Suffragan Biſhops of his ‘ Realm, denied to give me any counſel, but according to ‘ the Kings pleaſure. After that I ſaw theſe and ſuch other ‘ things that are done againſt the will and law of God: ‘ I asked a Licence of him to go to *Rome* unto the See ‘ Apoſtolical, that I might there take counſel for my ſoul, ‘ and the office committed unto me. The King ſaid, that ‘ I offended againſt him for the only asking of licence; ‘ and propounded to me, that either I ſhould make him ‘ amends for the ſame as a treſpaſs (aſſuring him never to ‘ ask his licence any more to appeal to the Pope at any ‘ time hereafter) or elſe that I ſhould quickly depart out ‘ of his Land. Wherefore chooſing rather to go out of the ‘ Land, than agree to ſo wicked a thing; I came to *Rome*, ‘ as you know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord ‘ Pope. The King by and by (as ſoon as I went out of ‘ *England*) invaded the whole Archbiſhoprick, and turned ‘ it to his own uſe, taxing the Monks only with bare ‘ Meat, Drink and Cloth. The King being wanned and ‘ deſired of the Lord Pope to amend this, contemned ‘ the ſame, and yet continueth in his purpoſe ſtill. And ‘ now is the third year ſince I came thus out of *England*, ‘ and more. Some men, not underſtanding, demand why ‘ I did not excommunicate the King. But the wiſer ſort, ‘ and ſuch as have underſtanding, counſel me that I do ‘ not this thing; becauſe it belongeth not unto me both to ‘ complain and to puniſh. To conclude, I was fore-warn‘ ed by my friends that are under the King, that mine Ex‘ communication (if it ſhould be done) would be laughed ‘ to ſcorn and deſpiſed, *&c.*

The King would not have the Pope received nor appealed unto in *England*.

*Anſelm* complaineth of the King, and of his Suffragan Biſhops.

The King contemneth the Popes warning.

By theſe here above prefixed, appeareth how *Anſelm* the Archbiſhop, coming unto *Rome*, made his complaint to Pope *Urban* of the King: and how the Pope writeing unto the King in the behalf of *Anſelm* his Letters and Commandments were deſpiſed. And now to our Story. In the mean time, while the Popes Letters were ſent to the King, *Anſelm* was bid to wait about the Pope to look for anſwer back. Who perceiving at length, how little the King reputed the Popes Letters, began to be weary of his office, deſiring the Pope that he might be diſcharged thereof; but the Pope in no caſe would thereto conſent, charging him upon his obedience, that whereſoever he went, he ſhould bear with him the Name and Honour of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Whereunto *Anſelm* again ſaid, his obedience he neither durſt nor would refuſe, as who for Gods cauſe was ready to ſuffer whatſoever ſhould happen (yea though it were death it ſelf) as he thought no leſs would follow thereof. But what ſhould we think, ſaith he, is there to be done, where juſtice not only taketh no place, but is utterly oppreſſed? And whereas my Suffragans do not only not help (for dread) the righteous cauſe, but alſo for favour do impugn the ſame? Well (ſaith the Pope) as touching theſe matters we ſhall ſufficiently provide at the next Council to be holden at *Baion*, whereas I will you the ſame time and place to be preſent.

*Concilium Baionenſe.*

When the time of the Council was come, *Anſelm* amongſt others was called for, who, firſt ſitting in an utter ſide of the Biſhops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the Pope, with theſe words, *Includamus hunc in orbe noſtro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam.* Whereupon the ſame place after him was appointed to the Succeſſors of the See of *Canterbury*, in every General Council by the Decree of Pope *Urban*, to ſit at the right foot of the Pope. In this ſaid Council great ſtir and much reaſoning there was againſt the *Grecians*, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt. Where is to be noted, that the *Greek* Church hath of long time diſſented from the *Latine* Church in many and ſundry points, to the number of twenty, or almoſt 29. Articles, as I have them collected out of the Regiſter of the Church of *Hereford*: whereof like as occaſion hereafter may ſerve (God willing), for a further and more ample tractation to be made; ſo here by the way partly I mean to touch ſome. The firſt is:

*Anſelm* and his ſucceſſors of *Canterbury*, placed at the right foot of the Pope in his General Councils.

*De proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti.*

The difference between the *Greek* Church and the *Latine*

### *Wherein the* Greek *Church diſſereth from the* Latine.

THE firſt Article wherein the *Greek* Church altereth from the *Latine* or *Romiſh* Church is this:

*Quod ſunt extra obedientiam Romanæ Eccleſiæ, pro eo quod Eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana non eſt ſubjecta, ſed ei æqualis. Dicunt dominum Apoſtolicum non habere majorem poteſtatem, quam quatuor patriarchæ. Et quicquid fit præter ſcientiam eorum per Papam, vel ſine eorum approbatione, nullius eſt valoris, &c.*

*Ex regiſtro Eccleſ. Herefordenſis.*

*In Engliſh.*

Firſt, They are not under the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, becauſe that the Church of *Conſtantinople* is not ſubject, but equal to the ſame.

The Articles and Opinions of the *Greek* Church, differing from the *Latine* Church of *Rome*.

2. They hold that the Biſhop of the Apoſtolick See of *Rome* hath not greater power than the four Patriarchs. And whatſoever the Pope doth beſide their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no value.

3. *Item*, They ſay whatſoever hath been done or concluded, ſince the ſecond General Council, it is of no full authority; becauſe from that time they recount the *Latines* to be in error, and to be excluded out of the Holy Church.

4. *Item*, *Dicunt Euchariſtiam conſecratam per Romanam Eccleſiam non eſſe verum corpus Chriſti.* That is, They hold the Euchariſt conſecrated by the Church of *Rome* not to be the very body of Chriſt. Alſo where the *Romiſh* Church doth conſecrate in unleavened bread, they conſecrate in bread leavened.

5. *Item*, They ſay that the *Romiſh* Church doth err in the words of Baptiſm, for ſaying, I baptiſe thee; when they ſhould ſay, Let this Creature of God be baptiſed, *&c.*

6. They hold more over, to be no Purgatory, nor that the Suffrages of the Church do avail the dead, either to leſſen the pain of them that be deſtinate to Hell, or to increaſe the glory of them that be ordained to ſalvation.

7. *Item*,

7. *Item*, they hold that the ſouls out of the bodies departed (whether they have done good or evil) have not their perfect pain nor glory; but are reſerved in a certain place till the day of Judgment.

8. *Item*, they condemn the Church of *Rome* for mixing cold water in their ſacrifice.

9. *Item*, they condemn the Church of *Rome*, for that as well women as Prieſts anoint children (when they baptize them) on both ſhoulders.

10. Item, *Dicunt panem noſtrum panagium:* That is, they call our bread *panagia*.

11. *Item*, they blame the Church of *Rome* for celebrating their Maſs on other days beſides Sundays, and certain other Feaſts appointed.

12. Alſo in this the *Greek* Church varieth from the *Latin*; for they have neither Cream nor Oyl, nor Sacrament of Confirmation.

13. Neither do they uſe extream unction, or annoiling after the manner of the *Roman* Church, expounding the place of St. *James* of the ſpiritual infirmity, and not corporal.

14. *Item*, they enjoyn no ſatisfaction for penance, but only that they ſhew themſelves to the Prieſts, anointing them with ſimple oyl in token of remiſſion of ſins.

15. *Item*, only on Maunday-thurſday they conſecrate for the ſick, keeping it for the whole year after, thinking it to be more holy on that day conſecrated than upon any other. Neither do they faſt any Saturday through the whole year, but only on *Eaſter-eve*.

16. *Item*, they give but only five Orders, as of Clerks, Subdeacons, Deacons, Prieſts and Biſhops; when as the *Roman* Church giveth nine Orders after the nine Orders of Angels.

17. Moreover the *Grecians* in their Orders make no vow of Chaſtity, alledging for them the fifth Canon of *N.* My copy here ſeemed to want ſomewhat. *Ego presbyter vel diaconus, uxorem cauſa honeſtatis non rejiciam*, &c. that is, *I. N.* Prieſt or Deacon will not forſake my wife for honeſty ſake.

18. *Item*, every year the *Grecians* uſe upon certain days to Excommunicate the Church of *Rome*; and all the *Latins* as Hereticks.

19. *Item*, among the ſaid *Grecians* they are Excommunicate that beat or ſtrike a Prieſt. Neither do their Religious men live in ſuch Prieſtly chaſtity as the *Roman* Prieſts do.

20. *Item*, their Emperor amongſt them doth ordain Patriarchs, Biſhops, and other of the Clergy, and depoſeth the ſame at his pleaſure; alſo he giveth Benefices to whom he liſteth, and retaineth the fruits of the ſame Benefices as pleaſeth him.

This Article ſeemeth not to be rightly collected out of the *Grecians*. 21. *Item*, they blame the *Latin* Church becauſe they eat no fleſh, Eggs and Cheeſe on Fridays, and do eat fleſh on Saturdays.

22. *Item*, they hold againſt the *Latin* men for celebrating without the conſecrated Church, either in the houſe or in the field; and faſting on the Sabbath-day; and for permitting menſtruous women to enter into the Church before their purifying; alſo for ſuffering Dogs and other beaſts to enter into the Church.

23. The *Grecians* uſe not to kneel in all their devotions, yea not to the body of Chriſt (as the Regiſter termeth it) but one day in the whole year; ſaying and affirming that the *Latins* be Goats and beaſts, for they are always proſtrating themſelves upon the ground in their prayers.

24. The *Grecians* moreover permit not the *Latins* to celebrate upon their Altars. And if it chance any *Latin* Prieſt to celebrate upon their Altar, by and by they waſh their Altar in token of abomination and falſe ſacrifice. And diligently they obſerve that whenſoever they do celebrate, they do but one Liturgy or Maſs upon one Altar or Table that day.

25. *Item*, they diſſent from the Church of *Rome* touching the order and manner of the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt.

Theſe Articles wherein is declared the difference between the Eaſt and Weſt Church, of the *Grecians* and *Romans*, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentical Regiſter of the Church of *Hereford*, ſo I thought here to inſert them, and leave them to the conſideration of the Reader. Other four Articles more in the ſame Regiſter be there expreſſed concerning Simony, Uſury, not with them forbidden; and touching alſo their Emperor; and how they teach their children to hurt or damnifie by any manner of way the *Latin* Prieſts, &c. Which Articles, for that either they ſeem not truly collected out of their teachings, or elſe not greatly pertinent to the Doctrine of Religion; I overpaſs them. To the purpoſe now of our ſtory again.

When certain of theſe above prefixed were moved in the foreſaid Council to be diſcuſſed, namely concerning the affertion of proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt, and concerning leavened bread in the Miniſtration of the Lords Supper, *Anſelm*, as is above ſaid, was called for, who in the tractation of the ſame Articles ſo beſtirred him in that Council, that he well liked the Pope and them about him, as mine Author recordeth. Whereupon touching the matter of unleavened bread, how indifferently he ſeemed there to reaſon, and what he writeth to *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nurenburgh*, thereof ye ſhall hear by a piece of his Letter ſent to the ſaid Biſhop, the Copy whereof inſueth. *Anſelm* a ſtout Champion againſt the *Grecians*.

## *Anſelm*, Servant to the Church of *Canterbury*, to *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nurenburgh*. *Epiſt.* 325. *poſt. initium.*

A Letter of *Anſelm* ſent to *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nurenburgh*. *Ex Epiſt. Anſel.* 325.

*AS concerning the Sacrifice in which the Grecians think not as we do; it ſeemeth to many reaſonable Catholick men, that which they do not to be againſt the Chriſtian Faith; for both he that ſacrificeth unleavened and leavened, ſacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when he made his body of bread) that he took bread and bleſſed; it is not added unleavened or leavened. Yet it is certain that he bleſſed unleavened bread (peradventure) not becauſe the thing that was done required that, but becauſe the Supper in which this was done did give that. And whereas in another place he calleth himſelf and his fleſh bread, becauſe that as man liveth temporally with this bread, ſo with that bread he liveth for ever. He ſaith not unleavened or leavened, becauſe both alike are bread; for unleavened and leavened differ not in ſubſtance, as ſome think; like as a new man afore ſin, and an old man rooted in the leaven of ſin, differ not in ſubſtance. For this cauſe therefore only he might be thought to call himſelf and his fleſh, bread, and made his body of bread, becauſe that this bread (unleavened or leavened) giveth a tranſitory life; and his body giveth everlaſting life, not for that it is either leavened or unleavened. Although it be a Commandment in the Law to eat unleavened bread in the Paſſover, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Chriſt whom they looked for, was pure and clean; and we that ſhould eat his body were admoniſhed to be likewiſe pure from all leaven of malice and wickedneſs. But now after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eat the unleavened fleſh of Chriſt, that old figure in bread (of which we make that fleſh) is not neceſſary for us. But manifeſt it is, to be better ſacrificed of unleavened, than of leavened*, &c.

Bread in the Communion to be unleavened is not neceſſary.

To this Letter I have alſo adjoyned another Epiſtle of his to the ſaid *Waltram*, appertaining to matters not much unlike to the ſame effect; wherein is intreated touching the variety and divers uſages of the Sacraments in the Church; whereby ſuch as call and cry ſo much for Uniformity in the Church, may note peradventure in the ſame ſomething for their better underſtanding.

## A piece of another Letter of *Anſelm* to the ſaid *Waltram* Biſhop of *Nur.*

*To the Reverend Father and his Friend* Waltram, *by the Grace of God the Worſhipful Biſhop of* Nurenburgh, Anſelm *the Servant of the Church of* Canterbury, *Greeting*, &c. Ex Epiſt. *Anſel.* 327.

*YOUR Worſhip complaineth of the Sacraments of the Church, that they are not made every where after one ſort, but are handled in divers places after divers ſorts. And truly if they were miniſtred after one ſort and agreeing through* Another Letter.

Diverſity of cuſtomes in the Church to be born with peace rather than to be condemned with offence.

*through the whole Church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithſtanding becauſe there be many diverſities which differ not in the ſum of the Sacrament in the ſtrength of it, or in the Faith, or elſe can be gathered into one cuſtom: I think that they are rather to be born with in agreement of peace, than to be condemned with offence. For we have this from the holy fathers, that if the unity of charity be kept in the Catholick faith, the diverſity of cuſtoms hurteth nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diverſity of cuſtoms doth ſpring; I perceive no other cauſe thereof but the diverſity of mens wits, which although they differ not in ſtrength and truth of the thing, yet they agree not in the fineſs and comelineſs of the miniſtring. For that which one judgeth to be meeter, oftentimes another thinketh leſs meet; wherefore not to agree in ſuch diverſities, I think it not to ſwerve from the truth of the thing*, &c.

Divers autores in the Church hurt nothing.

Excommunication denounced againſt the *Grecians*.

Then in the ſtory it followeth, after long debating and diſcuſſing of theſe matters in the Council, when they had given forth their determination upon the ſame, and the Pope had blaſted out his thundring Excommunications againſt the *Grecians*, and all that took their part: at length were brought in the complaints and accuſation againſt the King of *England*. Upon the hearing whereof, Pope *Urban* with his adherents was ready to proceed in Excommunication againſt the King. But *Anſelm* kneeling before the Pope, after he had firſt accuſed his King, then after obtained for him longer time to be given upon further trial.

Excommunication bent againſt K. *William*.

Firſt break his head, and then give him a Plaiſter.

Meſſages between the King and the Pope.

Thus the Council breaking up, the Pope returning again to *Rome*, directeth down his Letters to the King, commanding him that *Anſelm* with all his partakers (in ſpeedy wiſe) ſhould be reveſted again into his Archbiſhoprick, and all other poſſeſſions thereunto appertaining. To this the King ſendeth anſwer again by meſſengers; who coming to the Pope, declared in the Kings behalf on this wiſe, That the King their Maſter did not a little marvel what came in his mind to command *Anſelm* to be reveſted and reſeized again into his former Archbiſhoprick; ſeeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of *England* without his leave, he would ſo do unto him. Well (ſaith the Pope) have ye no other matter againſt *Anſelm* but only this? No (quoth they.) And have ye taken all this travel (ſaith the Pope) to come hither ſo far to tell me this, that the Primate of your Country is therefore diſſeized and diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe he hath appealed to the See and judgment Apoſtolical? Therefore if thou loveſt thy Lord, ſpeed thee home and tell him, if he will not be Excommunicated, that he quickly reveſt *Anſelm* again to all that he had before. And leſt I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, look to thy term, and ſee that thou bring me anſwer again from him into this City, againſt the next Council the third week after *Eaſter*. The meſſenger or ſpeaker being ſomewhat aſtonied at the hearing of this ſo Tragical anſwer, thinking yet to work ſomething for his King and Maſter, came ſecretly to the Pope, ſaying that he would confer a certain myſtery from his King privately with his Holineſs between them two. What myſtery that was, or what there paſſed from the King to the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, mine Author doth not ſhew; but ſo cunningly that myſtery was handled, that with a full conſent both of the Pope and all the Court of *Rome*, a longer day was given, from *Eaſter* to *Michaelmas*, and the Popes cholerick heat ſo aſſwaged, that when the Council came (which then was holden at St. *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*) albeit great complaints were then denounced againſt the King; yet ſuch favour was found that he took no harm. Only the ſentence of Excommunication was there pronounced againſt ſuch lay-perſons as gave Inveſtiture of Churches, and them that were ſo inveſted. Alſo againſt them that do conſecrate ſuch, or which gave themſelves in ſubjection to lay-men for Eccleſiaſtical livings, as is before touched, *&c.*

A loud crack of thunder but without a thunderbolt.

A bribing myſtery handled at *Rome*.

*Concilium Romanum. Optimus Conſidium.*

Acts of the Council of *Rome*.

This Council being finiſhed, the Archbiſhop ſeeing the unſtedfaſtneſs of the Pope (which pleaſed him but a little) took his journey to *Lions*, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death firſt of Pope *Urban*, then after of the King.

Of this King *William* many things be diverſly recorded, ſome to his commendation, and ſome to his diſcommendation; whereof this is one, which ſome will aſcribe to hardineſs, but I rather to raſhneſs in him. As this King upon a time was in his diſport of hunting, ſuddenly word came to him that *Cenourona* (a City in *Normandy*) was beſieged. The King without longer tarrying or adviſement took the ſtraight way toward the Sea-ſide, ſending to his Lords that they ſhould follow after. They being come to his preſence, adviſed him to ſtay till the time his people were aſſembled, but he would not be ſtayed, ſaying that ſuch as him loved (he knew) would follow him ſhortly, and ſo went to take Ship. The Ship-maſter ſeeing the weather ſo dark and cloudy was afraid, and counſelled the King to tarry till the wind did turn about, and the weather more favourable. But the King perſiſting in his journey, commanded him to make all the ſpeed he might for his life; ſaying, That he never heard that any King yet was ever drowned. And ſo paſſed the Sea in ſafety, and came to *Normandy*.

The hardineſs or rather raſhneſs of K. *William*.

The ſaying of K. *William*, how he never knew any King drowned.

The thirteenth year of his reign the ſaid King *William*, having the ſame time in his hand three Biſhopricks, *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter* and *Sarum*; alſo twelve Abbeys in farm; as he was in his diſport of hunting in the new Foreſt, by glancing of an arrow (ſhot of a Knight named *Walter Tirrel*) was wounded to death, and ſo ſpeechleſs was carried to *Weſtminſter*, and there was buried. Where alſo is to be noted, that *Richard* the Couſin-German of King *William*, and Son to Duke *Robert* his Brother, was likewiſe ſlain in the foreſaid Foreſt. See the juſt hand of God upon Kings uſurping wrongfully upon other mens grounds, as did *William* the Conqueror their Father, in making this new Foreſt, plucking down divers Churches and Townſhips, the compaſs of thirty miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot revenge, yet God revengeth either in them, or in their poſterity, *&c.* This King as he always uſed Concubines, ſo left he no iſſue legitimate behind him. His life was ſuch that it is hard for a ſtory that ſhould tell the truth, to ſay whether he was more to be commended or reproved. Among other vices in him, eſpecially is to be rebuked in him unmeaſurable and unreaſonable covetouſneſs; inſomuch that he coveted (if he might) to be every mans heir. This one example of a liberal and Princely nature I find in him; that upon a time when a certain Abbot of a place was dead, there came to his Court two Monks of the ſame houſe, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the King, and offered large offers, either of them to be promoted to that dignity. There was alſo the third Monk of the ſame place, which of meekneſs and humility followed the other two, to the intent that upon him whom the King had admitted for Abbot, he ſhould give attendance, and as his Chaplain with him return. The King called before him the two Monks ſeverally, of whom the one out-proffered the other. As the King caſt his eye aſide, he eſpied the third Monk ſtanding by, ſuppoſing that his coming had been alſo for the like cauſe. Then the King calling him, asked what he would do, whether he would give more than his brethern had offered to be Abbot. He anſwered to the King, and ſaid, that he neither had nor would (if he might) offer any peny for it by any ſuch unlawful means.

The death of *William Ruſus*. *Walter Tirrel*.

The New Foreſt.

Example of the juſt hand of God revenging the faults of Kings in their poſterity.

Covetouſneſs noted in King *William*.

A famous example of Bribes refuſed.

Two bribing Monks both diſappointed.

When the King had well pondered this third Monks anſwer, he ſaid that he was beſt worthy to be Abbot, and to have the rule of ſo holy a Charge; and ſo gave unto him that Benefice without taking any peny.

*Urban* Excommunicated *Henry* the 4th. Emperor.

*Urban* Biſhop of *Rome*, who (as is ſaid) ſucceeded after *Victor*, ruled the Church of *Rome* about the ſpace of twelve years; and amongſt his other acts he Excommunicated the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth of that name, as a man not much deveut to that See of *Rome*. But yet a worthy and victorious Prince he was, in whom albeit ſome vice perchance might be noted, yet none ſuch, wherefore any Prelate or Miniſter of Chriſt ought to excite his ſubjects to rebel againſt publick Authority of God appointed. This Emperor *Henry* the Fourth was by four Popes ſeverally Excommunicated: firſt by *Hildebrand*, by *Victor*, *Urban*, and *Paſchal*. Which Excommunication wrought ſo in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many (as well of the Nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their ſworn allegiance) rebelliouſly conſpired againſt their King and Emperor. In number of whom, amongſt the reſt was one certain Earl named *Ludovicus*, to whom

*Henry* the fourth Emperor, by four Popes Excommunicated.

*Ludovicus* Earl conſpiring, and rebellious againſt the Emperor.

*Waltramus*

*Waltramus* Biſhop of the Church of *Mergburgh* (a godly and faithful man as appeareth) doth write Letters of Fatherly admonition, exhorting and inſtructing him in the office of obedience. Unto the which Letters he likewiſe doth anſwer again by cavilling ſophiſtication, and by meer affection rather diſpoſed to diſcord, than ſeeking ſincerity of truth. And forſomuch as in theſe two Letters the argument of Chriſtian obedience on both ſides is ſo debated by proofs and reaſons, as may be profitable for the Reader to peruſe and underſtand, I thought therefore not to defraud the *Engliſh* Reader of the ſame, whereof peradventure ſome utility might be taken. The tenor of the Biſhops Letter to the Earl here followeth.

## The Epiſtle of *Waltramus* Biſhop of *Merghurgh*, to the Earl *Ludovicus*, exhorting to concord and obedience.

{Anno 1090.} *Ex appendice Mariani Scoti.*

*WAltramus Dei gratia id quod eſt, Ludovico ſereniſſimo Principi, cum inſtantia orationum ſemetipſum ad omnia devotiſſimum, Omni regno utilis eſt concordia, deſiderabilis eſt juſtitia,* &c.

In *Engliſh.*

'*Waltram* by the Grace of God being that he is, to '*Ludowick* the noble Prince, with inſtance of prayers of'fereth himſelf ſerviceable to all things. To every Realm 'concord is a thing profitable, and juſtice much to be de'ſired. For this vertue is the mother of godlineſs, and 'the conſecration of all honeſty. Whoſoever ſeeketh after 'civil diſſention, and incenſeth others to effuſion of blood, 'he is a murtherer, and partaker with him, who ever 'gaping and thirſting for anothers blood, goeth about 'ſeeking whom he may devour. You therefore conſider-
Concord & juſt obedience neceſſary in a Commonwealth.
'with your ſelf (moſt noble Prince) how God is the God 'of peace and not of diſſention (ſo much as in you doth 'lie) have peace with all men. God is charity, the Devil 'is hatred. The whole Law and Prophets conſiſt in love 'and charity. He that hateth and maligneth his brother is 'a murtherer, and hath no part with Chriſt in the King'dom of God. This we read teſtified and proteſted both 'by him which is the truth himſelf, and by him which 'was the ſcholar of the truth; who upon the breaſt of 'the Lord (drinking a more full draught of the Goſpel) 'rejoyceth the City of God with abundance of plentiful 'floods. In like manner that worthy veſſel of Election, 'who being rapt up to the third Heaven (not by man, but 'by revelation of Jeſus Chriſt) proteſteth alſo, ſaying, Let 'every ſoul ſubmit himſelf to the higher powers: There is 'no power, ſaith he, but of God. If that be true there'fore, which certain of our friends do jangle among wo'men and the vulgar ſort, that we ought not to be ſubdu'ed to Kingly power; then is it falſe which the Apoſtle 'teacheth, that every ſoul muſt ſubmit himſelf under pow'er and ſuperiority. But can the Verity lie? Or do we 'ſeek for experiment of him who ſpake in the Apoſtle, 'Chriſt the Lord? Or do we provoke the Lord? Be we 'ſtronger than he? For what doth he but think himſelf 'ſtronger than the Lord, that reſiſteth the ordinance of 'God? For there is no power but of God. But what
Diſobedience puniſhed of God.
'ſaith the Prophet? Confounded be all they that ſtrive 'againſt thee, O Lord; and the men which repugn againſt 'thee ſhall periſh. *Rodolph*, *Hildebrand*, *Egbert*, with 'many other Princes, reſiſted the Ordinance of God in 'Henry the Emperor. And lo even as they had never been, 'ſo are they now periſhed; and as their end was evil, ſo 'their beginning could not be good.

'Now therefore, forſomuch as they which be contrary to 'us do earneſtly ſtrive againſt us even with their own ar'guments, whereas of right (I dare refer me to your 'judgment) we ought to uſe the authority of Chriſt and 'ancient Fathers, before that which our adverſaries take out 'of their own treaſury: And becauſe I will not refuſe the 'order of Law in this behalf; let it be the end of the 'ſtrife, that either I may be openly ſhamed before the peo'ple, either elſe (the victory falling on our ſide) we may 'win you to the obedience of our Soveraign Lord the Em'peror. Alſo take you heed to this ſaying, *If any man do*
*Gal.*
'*preach otherwiſe than that which is preached, let him be*
'*of you accurſed.* This curſe, I ſay, doth not proceed from 'any new prophane authority, but is thundred down from 'the third Heaven. And of them which know not the 'righteouſneſs of God, but go about to ſtabliſh their own 'righteouſneſs, and therefore be not ſubject to the righte'ouſneſs of God, I may boldly ſay, let ſuch be accurſed. So *Job.*
'may you well ſay, Confounded be all they that proudly 'riſe up againſt the Lord; but thy ſervant (O Lord) ſhall 'rejoyce. For as thou haſt well ſaid, Without me you can 'do nothing, ſo in judging of the wicked thou doſt not *Rom.*
'condemn the juſt. Who art thou that judgeſt another mans 'ſervant? to his own Lord he doth either ſtand or fall.

## The Anſwer of Earl *Lewis* to Biſhop *Waltram.*

A railing Anſwer to the former Letter of Biſhop *Waltram.*

THE Earl *Lewis* to the Lord *Waltram*, howſoever unworthy or unmeet he be for the name. Like as a 'good man from the good treaſure of the heart bringeth 'forth good fruit, ſo doth the evil man from the evil trea'ſure of the heart bring forth evil fruit. What arrogancy 'hath ſo poſſeſt you, to provoke my diſpleaſure with ſuch 'injurious contumelies? For indeed thoſe my good Lords 'and Spiritual Fathers, which ſtrengthen me in the way of 'righteouſneſs, you (railingly) call bloody men like unto 'Satan, and the wholſome leſſons which they teach, you ſay 'they are but dreams of the common people amongſt fool'iſh women. Hath God any need of your judgment that 'you ſhould ſpeak leaſings for him? Iniquity hath taught 'your mouth to follow blaſphemous tongues; ſo that well 'may the Prophet ſay of you, He would not underſtand to 'do well, he hath deviſed wickedneſs upon his bed. Al'though therefore you being altogether froward, have only 'ſpoken froward things; yet we have determined to ſet a 'watch before our mouth, like as if a ſhameleſs perſon ſhould 'ſtand up before us; and the Word of God doth provoke 'us, ſaying, Anſwer a fool according to his own fooliſhneſs, Well ſaid, when you are not able to withſtand his wiſdom, call him a fool.
'leſt he ſhould ſeem wiſe in his own opinion. Shall folly 'ſpeak, and wiſdom hold her peace? Shall lyes be freely 'uttered, and truth compelled to keep ſilence? Shall dark'neſs cover the Earth, and ſhall not the Lord ariſe and 'ſhine? yea rather the light hath lightned the darkneſs, and 'darkneſs hath not comprehended it: In conſideration here- Note how the Earl here calleth light darkneſs, and darkneſs light.
'of our hearts have melted, and our zealous meditations 'have ſet us on fire. We therefore ſpeak and cry, and the 'little Foxes which undermine the Lords Vineyards (as 'much as in us is) we drive away, fearing the threatning 'Prophecy: You have not withſtood our adverſaries, neither 'have you made a Bulwark for the defence of the Houſe of '*Iſrael*, that you might be able to ſtand in battel in the day 'of the Lord. Let them hear (I ſpeak not to you which 'have ears and hear not, eyes and ſee not, which have made He hath uttered more reaſon than you are able ever to anſwer to.
'dark the light that is in you) but let them hear, I ſay, that 'be well diſpoſed, and have ears to hear withal: as for you, 'you have no underſtanding, and if you have, you cloak it. 'Neither have you any thing to ſay or to prove, by what 'reaſon we ſhould be ſubject to the Lord *Henry*, whom you 'call Emperor. And yet (as it is given us to underſtand) 'you go about to perſwade, that of neceſſity we ought to 'be ſubject to him, and that by the argument of St. *Paul*, 'Let every ſoul be ſubdued to the higher powers, for there 'is no power but of God; he therefore that doth withſtand 'power, doth reſiſt Gods Ordinance. The which ſentence 'of the Apoſtle we ſay that you do evil conceive, and there'fore evil interpret; for if every power be of God (as you 'underſtand) what is meant by that, that the Lord doth 'ſpeak of ſome by the Prophet? They did reign and were Whether every power is to be obeyed or no.
'not made Princes by me, and I knew them not. If every 'power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of *Hoſ.* 8.
'that, that the Lord doth ſay, If thine eye offend thee, pluck 'it out, and caſt it from thee? For what is power, but the 'eye? Certainly *Auguſtin* in the Expoſition of this ſentence 'of the Apoſtle (Let every ſoul, *&c.*) doth ſay, that if the 'powers do command any thing againſt God, then have 'them in contempt: but yet nevertheleſs fear them. Is 'there any iniquity with God? Is Chriſt the Miniſter of If every power which offendeth his ſubjects is to be caſt out, then hath this Earl made a fair argument.
'ſin? God forbid. What ſhall we therefore ſay? Doth the 'Apoſtle preach contrary to truth? *Auguſt.* ſaith, No. One 'wind filleth many Pipes of divers tunes. Therefore let us 'hear the Apoſtle agreeing and expounding himſelf, and 'deſtroying his enemy and avenger: There is (ſaith he) no 'power but of God. What followeth? He therefore, ſaith 'he,

'he, that doth reſiſt the power, *&c.* God forbid, doth nothing follow? But what doth follow? Thoſe powers 'which be ordained of God truly, that is it we look for. O 'crafty tongue! O heart imagining miſchief! O conſuming breath that ſhall not return! Why haſt thou lyed 'to the Holy Ghoſt?' Thine own conſcience ſhall accuſe 'thee. Behold the wicked flieth, and no man doth purſue 'him. Why would you ſuppreſs the truth to the intent to 'deceive? Why ſtole ye away the pith and effect of this 'ſentence? for if theſe words ſhould be taken away from 'the midſt of the ſentence, it ſhould lie (contrary to it ſelf) 'inconvenient and half dead. The word of the Lord is 'herein fulfilled, He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour 'ſhall fall therein himſelf. Verily you can neither excuſe 'you of theft, neither avoid the puniſhment due for the 'ſame. O unhappy man! what ſhall you anſwer to the 'Judg, when he ſhall require an account of his ſervants of 'whom he putteth you in truſt, ſeeing you ſhall be ſet be- 'fore him in the midſt, and proved a picker of your Maſters 'treaſure? Wherefore did you not fear the judgment and 'execution, when as the guiltineſs of offence doth require 'condign puniſhment? The Apoſtle through the Holy 'Ghoſt did foreſee, that you and ſuch Hereticks as you are 'ſhould ſpring in the Church, which ſhould call good evil, 'and evil good, and that ſhould put darkneſs in place of 'light, and light in place of darkneſs, which alſo ſhould 'take occaſion by the ſentences of truth to bring in error, 'when as he did ſet this before, There is no power but of 'God: to the intent he might take away the conjecture of 'falſe underſtanding. For (ſaith he) thoſe powers that be, 'are ordained of God. Give therefore an ordinary power, 'and we do not reſiſt, yea we will forthwith do our homage. 'But I do marvel (if at the leaſt there remain in you any 'one drop of blood) that you are not aſhamed to call the 'Lord *Henry* King, or to allow him any ordinary place.

'Is this a ſeemly order (think you) to give place to wick- 'edneſs, and to make a general confuſion in mixing good 'and evil, Gods and mans devices together? Either do you 'think this good order for man to ſin againſt his own 'body, as (Oh ſhameful wickedneſs) to make his own wife 'a common harlot, a miſchief not heard of at any time 'ſince the beginning of the world before now? Or do you 'allow this for good order, when as the Lord ſaith, De- 'fend the widows, eſpecially ſuch as require equity of ju- 'ſtice, and then them to ſend away moſt filthily defiled? 'Mad *Oreſtes* doth proteſt him to be out of his wit that 'will ſay theſe things to be orderly or well done. Until 'this moſt miſerable time nature hath ever loved ſecrecy; 'but your King given up to a reprobate ſenſe, hath uncovered the privities of nature, who hath not let to lay abroad all ſhamefaſtneſs. We will not ſpeak of other things 'which cannot be numbred, that is to ſay, burning of 'Churches, Robberies, firing of Houſes, Man-ſlaughters, 'Murders, and ſuch like, the number whereof he knoweth, 'and not we; for let us ſpeak chiefly of thoſe things which 'moſt grieve the Church of God. Hearken therefore to 'true and not fained things: Hearken I ſay, to mat- 'ters of earneſt, and to no trifles. Every one that doth ſell 'ſpiritual dignities is an Heretick. But the Lord *Henry*, 'whom they call a King, doth ſell both Biſhopricks and 'Abbacies; for truly he ſold for money the Biſhoprick of '*Conſtance*, *Babembarge*, *Mentz*, and many others. The 'Biſhopricks of *Ratiſbon*, *Auguſta*, and *Strausbrough*, he 'ſold for a Sword, and the Abbey of *Fulda* for Adultery; 'and for filthy Sodomitry he ſold the Biſhoprick of *Mon*. A 'wickedneſs it is to ſpeak or hear of ſuch a fact. The which 'things if without ſhame ye will deny, he is to be condem- 'ned by the witneſs of Heaven and Earth; yea and of the 'ſilly poor Idiots that come from the Smiths forge. Where- 'fore the Lord *Henry* is an Heretick; for the which moſt 'wicked evils he is Excommunicate from the See Apoſto- 'lick, ſo that he may not exerciſe either Kingdom or pow- 'er over us which be Catholick. And whereas you burthen 'us with hatred of our Brethren, know you that we pur- 'poſe not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeal. 'God forbid that we ſhould think *Henry* worthy to be ac- 'counted amongſt our Chriſtian Brethren, who indeed is 'reputed for an Ethnick and Publican, in that he refuſed to hear the Church which ſo oft hath reproved him. The 'hatred of whom we offer unto God for a great ſacrifice, 'ſaying with the *Pſalmiſt*, Lord ſhall not I hate them that 'hate thee? and ſhall not I triumph over thine enemies? 'I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemies to me 'for thy ſake. The truth it ſelf, commending the worthi- 'neſs of this hatred, doth ſay, If any do not hate Father 'and Mother, Brethren and Siſters for my ſake, he cannot 'be my Diſciple. We are not therefore juſtly to be repro- 'ved of hatred, which do give over our own ſoul to be in 'the way of God; who indeed are commanded to hate 'Father and Mother, and every affection which doth with- 'ſtand us for walking in the path of God. Hereof it com- 'eth, that we labour with all our ſtudy and endeavour to 'beware of the enemies of the Church, and them to hate; 'not for that they be our enemies, but Gods. Further, 'where you perſwade peace to be had with all men, you 'muſt remember what the Apoſtle doth put before, If it 'may be. But if it cannot be that we can have peace with 'them, who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know 'the Lord our Saviour not only to commend peace, when 'as he ſaith, My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave 'unto you; But that he is the peace (as ſaith the Apoſtle) 'he is the peace which made of both one; for he calleth 'him our peace, ſpeaking in commendation of the peace: 'Think not (ſaith he) that I came to ſend peace, for I came 'not to ſend peace, but the Sword. What is meant by this? 'Why is peace called a ſword? Or doth peace bid battel? 'Yea truly, to deſtroy the peace of the Devil. For the Di- 'vel hath his peace, whereof the Lord ſpeaketh, When as 'the ſtrong man keepeth his Houſe, he doth poſſeſs all his 'ſubſtance in peace. Oh how mightily doth the Devil keep 'his ſoldiers and his houſe in this time! Who with the 'ſhield of falſhood, and the helmet of untruth ſo doth de- 'fend him, that he will not ſuffer either arrow or dart of 'truth to pierce him. Nevertheleſs our Lord being more 'ſtrongly armed, and fiercely coming upon your Giant, is 'able to overcome him and to take away his weapons, 'wherein he putteth his truſt. We are not therefore to be 'blamed, if we do deteſt that peace, more cruel than any 'war, the which the truth it ſelf did reprove weeping over '*Jeruſalem*, and ſaying, Truly, it grieveth me this day to 'ſee ſinners in peace; being like unto that peace whereat 'the *Pſalmiſt* was offended. Whereas you condemn Pope '*Gregory*, King *Rodulphus*, and Marquis *Eggebertus*, as 'men that have died of an unhappy death, and do magni- 'fie your Lord, becauſe he doth over-live them; it doth 'plainly (forſooth) appear, that you remain void of all ſpi- 'ritual conſideration. Is it not better to die well, than to 'live ill? They be truly happy who ſuffer perſecution for 'righteouſneſs ſake. By the ſame reaſon may you eſteem '*Nero*, *Herod*, and *Pilat* happy, in that they over-lived '*Peter*, *Paul*, *James*, Apoſtles, and Jeſus Chriſt. What 'can be ſaid more fooliſh and wicked than this opinion? 'Wherefore refrain your babling tongue from this blaſ- 'phemy, leſt that you place your ſelf in the number of 'them, which ſeeing the end of the juſt to be glorious '(themſelves doing late and unfruitful penance, bewailing 'in the anguiſh of the Spirit) ſhall ſay, Theſe be they whom 'ſometimes we had in deriſion and laughed to ſcorn; we 'being out of our wits thought their lives madneſs, and 'their end to be without honour. Behold how they be al- 'lowed to be amongſt the Children of God, and their por- 'tion is amongſt the Saints. Wherefore we have erred from 'the way of truth, and the brightneſs of righteouſneſs did 'not ſhine upon us. What did our pride avail us? and what 'profit did the boaſting of our riches bring us? They are 'all vaniſhed away like a ſhadow. The which words we 'have regiſtred up into perpetual memory, and we do de- 'ſpiſe every attempt that ſhall lift up it ſelf againſt the truth 'of God; and rejoycing in troubles, we may be reproved, 'put to ſhame and rebuked, yea and finally be ſlain and 'killed, but we will neither yield, nor be overcome. And 'with great triumph will we rejoyce in our fathers doings; 'of whom you (as a beardleſs boy, and of ſmall knowledg) 'have nothing rightly conceived; who indeed deſpiſing 'Princes commandments, have deſerved everlaſting reward.

There is a certain Chronicle in old *Engliſh* Meeter, *Ex vetuſta Chronica.* which among other matters, ſpeaking of *William Rufus*, declareth him to be ſo ſumptuous and exceſſive in pompous Apparel, that he being not contented with a pair of Hoſe of a low price, which was three ſhillings, cauſed a pair to be bought of a mark; whereupon his Chamberlain

How lively theſe Papiſts deſcribe themſelves in their own colours.

But *Paul* judged the Emperor to be an ordinary power, when he appealed to him.

This is likely, that the Emperor would make his own Wife a common Harlot.

Evil will never ſaid well.

A zeal, but far from knowledg.

And when they ſhall ſlay you, they ſhall think they do God great ſervice, *Joh.* 16

Yea true, if he had compelled you to forſake the name of Chriſt, which he never did.

Oh how craftily doth Satan here ſhape himſelf to an Angel of light.

beſain procuring a pair much worſe than the other before, ſaid,

*That they coſtened a Mark and uneth he them ſo bought: Yea Belamy (quoth the King) they are well bought.*

Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be ſeen between the Hoſe of Princes then, and the Hoſe of Servingmen now.

*Appendix Hiſtoriæ.*

Kings created inviſible. After the time of this King *William*, the name of Kings ceaſed in the Country of *Wales* among the *Britains*, ſince King *Ris*, who in the reign of this King, the year of our Lord 1093, was ſlain in *Wales*. *Ex continuatione Rogeri Hoved.*

## King *HENRY* the Firſt.

{Anno 1100.} HENRY the Firſt of that name, the Third Son of *William* the Conqueror, ſucceeding his Brother *Rufus*, began his Reign in *England*, the year of our Lord 1100, who for his knowledg and ſcience in the Seven Liberal Arts, was Simamed Clerk or *Beuclerk*. In whom may well appear how Knowledg and Learning doth greatly conduce to the Government and Adminiſtration of any Realm or Country. At the beginning he reformed the ſtate and condition of the Clergy, releaſed the grievous payments, reduced again King *Edward*'s Laws, with Emendation thereof; he reformed the old and untrue meaſures, and made a meaſure after the length of his arm; he greatly abhored exceſs of meats and drinks, many things miſuſed before his time he reformed; and uſed to vanquiſh more by counſel than by ſword. Such perſons as were nice and wanton he ſecluded from his Court. This man (as appeareth) little favoured the uſurped power of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Soon after he was King, he married *Matild*, or *Maud*, Daughter of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, & of *Margaret* his wife, Daughter of *Edward* the Outlaw, as is before ſpecified, being a profeſſed Nun in *Wincheſter*; whom notwithſtanding (without the Popes diſpenſation) he married by the conſent of *Anſelm*, by the which *Maud* he received two Sons, *William* and *Richard*, and two Daughters, *Maud* and *Mary*, which *Maud* afterward was married to *Henry* the fifth Emperor, &c.

Henry Beuclerk the 1. King of England. What Learning doth in a Prince. The laws of King Edward reduced. The meaſure of England made after the length of King Henry's arm. Wanton perſons removed out of the Court. Lx Mat. Paris. Polyd. Virg. Hyſt.

In the ſecond year of his Reign, *Robert* his Elder Brother, Duke of *Normandy*, being occupied in the Chriſtian Wars againſt the *Turks*, and being elect (as you heard) King of *Jeruſalem*, hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refuſed the Kingdom thereof; for the which (as is thought) he never ſped well after. Thus the ſaid *Robert* leaving off the Lords buſineſs, and returning into *Normandy*, made there his preparation, and came over into *England* with a great Hoſt to challenge the Crown; but by mediation of the Lords it was agreed upon that *Robert* ſhould have yearly during his life three thouſand Marks, as was likewiſe promiſed him before by King *Rufus* his Brother; and whether of them overlived the other, to be the others heir. And thus *Robert* departed again into *Normandy*, to the great diſcontentation of his Lords there. But in few years after, the forenamed tribute of three thouſand Marks, through the means of Queen *Maud*, was releaſed to the King his Brother. In proceſs of time, variance falling between King *Henry* and the ſaid *Robert* his Brother; at length *Robert* in his Wars was taken priſoner and brought over into *England*, and was put into the Caſtle of *Cardiff* in *Wales*, where he continued as priſoner while he lived.

Example, what it is to leave off the Lords buſineſs. Duke Robert taken priſoner.

In this time, as about the third year of this King, the Hoſpital of Saint *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield* was founded (by means of a Minſtrel belonging unto the King, named *Rajer*) and after it was finiſhed by *Richard Whittington*, Alderman and Mayor of *London*. This place or *Smithfield* was at that day a Laytall of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other tranſgreſſors of the Kings Laws were put to execution.

The Hoſpital of Bartholomew founded. Rajer and Richard Whittington founders of St. Bartholomews in London.

Divers ſtrict Laws were by this King provided, eſpecially againſt thieves and felons; that whoſoever were taken in that fault, no money ſhould ſave them from hanging.

*Item*, That whoſo did counterfeit falſe Money, ſhould have both his eyes and neather parts of his body cut off.

*Item*, In the ſame Council was decreed an order for Prieſts to be ſequeſtred from their wives, which before were not forbidden, according as the words of mine Author do purport, whoſe words be theſe: *Anſelmus prohibuit uxores ſacerdotibus Anglorum ante non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum, ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent, &c.* Henr. Hunt. Ex H. 7. Anſ

*Item*, It was then decreed that Monks and Prieſts ſhould bear no rule over Lay-perſons.

*Item*, It was then decreed concerning broidering of hair, and wearing of garments.

*Item*, That the ſecret contract between a young lad and a young maid ſhould not ſtand; with other things more concerning the Excommunication of *Sodomites*, &c.

In the ſtory of *William Rufus*, before was declared how *Anſelm* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, departing out of the Realm, went unto the Pope; who after the death of King *William* was ſent for again by the foreſaid King *Henry*, and ſo returned again, and was at the Council of the King at *Weſtminſter*; where the King in the preſence of the Lords as well Temporal as Spiritual, ordained and inveſted two Biſhops, *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Roger* Biſhop of *Hereford*. During which Parliament or Council of the King, *Anſelm* in his Convocation depoſed and diſplaced divers Abbots and other Prelates from their rooms and dignities; either for that they lawfully came not by them, or uprightly did not adminiſter the ſame. The King ordained and inveſted Biſhops without the Pope.

After this Council, and the other before ſet forth by *Anſelm*, *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwich* had much ado with the Prieſts of his Dioceſs; for they would neither leave their wives, nor yet give over their Benefices. Whereupon he wrote to *Anſelm* the Archbiſhop for counſel, what was to be done therein. Which *Anſelm* required him (as he did others more the ſame time by writing) to perſwade the people of *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*; that as they profeſſed Chriſtianity, they ſhould ſubdue them as rebels againſt the Church, and utterly drive both them and their wives out of the Country, placing Monks in their rooms, as by the Epiſtles of the ſaid *Anſelm* doth appear. Whereof certain parcels ſhall hereafter (by the Grace of Chriſt) enſue for the better evidence of this and the other his acts above recited. Herbert Biſhop of Norwich divorceth his Prieſts from their wives, had much ado. Anſelm cruel and fierce againſt married Prieſts. Ex Epiſtl. Anſelm.

The like buſineſs alſo had *Gerard* the Archbiſhop of *York*, in depriving the Prieſts of his Province from their wives; which thing with all his Excommunications and thundrings he could hardly bring about. Upon this ruffling of *Anſelm* with married Prieſts, were rimed verſes made to help the matter withal, when reaſon could not ſerve. Which verſes for the folly thereof I thought here to annex.

*O male viventes, verſus audite ſequentes;*
*Uxores veſtras, quas odit ſumma poteſtas,*
*Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum,*
*Quod ſi non facitis, infernæ clauſtra petetis.*
*Chriſti ſponſa jubet, ne Presbyter ille miniſtret,*
*Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem:*
*Contradicentem fore dicimus inſipientem:*
*Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius ſed amore.* Verſus male feriti, ex bulla Kanuti.

About the end of the third year of this King, which was by computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell between King *Henry* and *Anſelm*, the occaſion whereof was this: Ye heard a little before how *Henry* the foreſaid King had of his own authority inveſted two Biſhops, one *Roger* which was Chancellor, Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and another Biſhop of *Hereford*. Beſides them divers alſo he inveſted, and divers other like things took he upon him in the Eccleſiaſtical State, which he might lawfully do, Gods Word allowing well the ſame; but becauſe he was reſtrained by the Biſhop of *Rome*, and forbidden ſo to do, this *Anſelm* ſwelled, fretted, and waxed ſo mad, that he would neither conſent to it, neither yet confirm them, nor communicate nor talk friendly with them, whom the King

{Anno 1103.} A ſtrife between King Henry, and Anſelm the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

King had inſtituted and inveſted; but opprobriouſly called them abortives, or children of deſtruction, diſdainfully rebuking the gentle King as a defiler of Religion, and pollutor of their holy Ceremonies; as witneſſeth *Polydorus*. With this uncomly outrage the King was much diſpleaſed (as he might full well) and required *Gerard* the Archbiſhop of *York* (as he ought him allegiance) to conſecrate them: Who without delay did ſo, well performing the ſame; ſaving that one *William Gifford*, to whom the King had given the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, refuſed to take his conſecration by the hands of the Archbiſhop of *York*. For the which cauſe the King (worthily with him offended) deprived him both of Biſhoprick and goods, and baniſhed him the Realm.

*Gifford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* refuſed to be conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of *York*.

Moreover, the King required of *Anſelm* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to do unto him Homage, after the manner of his Anceſtors, as witneſſeth *Guliel. de geſtis pontif. Anglo.* Alſo it was asked of the ſaid *Anſelm*, whether that he would be with the King in giving inveſtitures, as *Lanfrancus* his Predeceſſor was with his Father. To whom *Anſelm* ſaid, that he promiſed not at any time, that he would enter into this Order, to keep the Law or Cuſtom of his Father, as *Lanfrancus* did. Moreover, as concerning Homage to be done to the King, that he refuſed; alledging the cenſures of the Popes excommunication, who, in his council of *Rome* a little before, had given forth open ſentence of excommunication upon all ſuch lay perſons (whatſoever they were) that ſhould from henceforth confer or give any ſpiritual promotions: Alſo upon them that received them at their hands, either yet ſhould conſecrate any ſuch receivers. Moreover he accurſed all them that for benefices or other Eccleſiaſtical promotions ſhould ſubject themſeves under the Homage or ſervice of any great man, King, Prince, Duke, or Earl of the Laity. For it was unſeemly (ſaid the Pope) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were converted into ſo high a working, as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their croſſes, which created all, and to offer up the ſame before the ſight of the Father for the ſalvation of the whole World) ſhould be brought to ſuch a ſlavery, as to be ſubject to thoſe filthy hands, which both day and night are polluted with ſhameful touchings, robberies, and bloodſhed, &c. This decree of Pope *Urban Anſelm* alledging for himſelf, denied to ſubject himſelf to the Kings Homage, fearing (as he ſaid) the Popes excommunication. Upon this, meſſengers were ſent to *Rome* on both parts unto the Pope (then *Paſchalis*) who, ſtoutly ſtanding to the ſteps and determinations of *Urban* his predeceſſor, would in no caſe yield to the Kings inveſting.

A ſtrife between King *Henry* and *Anſelm* Biſhop of *Canterbury*. *Ex Gul. lib. 1. de geſtis.*

Acts of the *Roman* Council againſt Laymen to give any ſpiritual promotions.

No ſpiritual perſon to be under ſubjection to any Lay perſonage. *Ex Simeonis. biblioth. Hiſtor.*

*Anſelm* refuſeth to do Homage to his King.

Meſſengers ſent to *Rome*. *Ex Matthæo Pariſ. Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de geſtis pont. Ang.*

In the mean time, while there was long diſputation on both ſides for inveſting, the Nobles of the Realm contended, that inveſtings did belong to the Kings dignity: Wherefore the King, calling for *Anſelm* again, required him either to do Homage to him, or elſe to void his Kingdom. To whom *Anſelm* replying again, required the Popes Letters to be brought forth, and, according to the Tenor thereof, ſo the matter to be decided. For now the meſſengers were returned from *Rome*, with the Popes anſwer; altogether bearing with *Anſelm*. Then ſaid the King: What have I to do with Popes Letters? I will not forgo the liberties of my Kingdom for any Pope. Thus the contention continued between them. *Anſelm* ſaith, he would not out of the Realm, but depart home to his Church: And there ſee who would offer him any violence, and ſo did. Not long after, meſſage came from the King to *Anſelm*, requeſting him, after a gentle ſort, to repair to the Kings preſence again, to ſet an end of the controverſie begun; Whereunto *Anſelm* granted and came. Then were new Ambaſſadors ſent again to the Pope, that he would ſomething qualifie and moderate (or rather aboliſh) the ſtraitneſs of the *Roman* decree before mentioned. On the part of *Anſelm* went two Monks, *Baldwinus* and *Alexander*. On the Kings behalf were ſent two Biſhops, *Robert* Biſhop of *Lichfield*, and *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwich*, with the Kings Letters written unto the Pope, containing in form as followeth.

The King hath nothing to do with the Popes Letters.

Meſſengers ſent again to *Rome*.

The Letter of King *Henry* the firſt unto the Pope.

*Patri venerabili Paſchali ſummo pontifici, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, ſalutem. Promotioni veſtræ in ſedem ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ plurimum congaudeo, petens ut amicitia quæ patri meo cum anteceſſoribus veſtris fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Unde, ut dilectio & benignitas a me videatur ſumere initium, beneficium quod ab anteceſſoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eoſq; honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei anteceſſores veſtri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitatis uſus & conſuetudines, quas pater meus tempore anteceſſorum veſtrorum in regno Angliæ habuit, ego tempore veſtro in eodem regno meo integre obtineam. Notumq; habeat ſanctitas veſtra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates & uſus regni Angliæ non minuentur. Et ſi ego (quod abſit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem; optimates mei (imo totius Angliæ populus) id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (chariſſime pater) utiliori deliberatione, ita ſe erga nos moderatur benignitas veſtra, ne quid invitus faciam, & a veſtra me cogatis recedere obedientia.*

In Engliſh.

*To the Reverend Father* Paſchal *chief Biſhop.* Henry *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *Greeting. For this your promotion unto the See of the holy Church of* Rome, *as I am heartily glad; ſo my requeſt is to you, that the friendſhip and amity, which hath been tofore between my Father and your Predeceſſors in times paſt, may now alſo between us in like manner continue undiminiſhed. And that love and gentleneſs may firſt begin on my part; here I ſend to you that Gift that S. Peter had in former time of my Predeceſſors. And likewiſe the ſame honors and obedience, which your Predeceſſors have had in the Realm of* England *before in the time of my Father, I will you to have the ſame in my time alſo: After this form I mean and tenor, that the uſage and manner of Dignity and Cuſtomes, which my Father hath had in this Realm of* England, *in the time of your Anceſtors; I in like ample manner alſo now in your time may fully injoy the ſame in this the ſaid Realm of* England. *Thus therefore be it known to your Holineſs, that during this life of mine (God Almighty abling me to the ſame) theſe above named Dignities, Uſages, and Cuſtoms of this Realm of* England, *ſhall in no part be leſſened. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I ſhould) would ſo much deject my ſelf unto ſuch cowardneſs: Yet my Nobles, Yea, the whole People of* England *in no caſe would ſuffer it. Wherefore (dear Father) uſing with your ſelf a better deliberation in this matter, let your gentelneſs ſo moderate it ſelf toward us, leſt ye compel me (which I ſhall do againſt my will) to recede and depart utterly from your Obedience.*

Spoken like a King.

The King is at a point to leave the Popes Obedience.

At the ſame Term alſo he ſent another Letter or Epiſtle to the ſaid Pope, Craving of him the Pall for *Gerardus* Archbiſhop of *York*, the form whereof here alſo followeth.

Another Letter of King *Henry* the firſt, ſent to the Pope.

*Reverendo & diligendo patri univerſali papæ* Paſchali, Henricus *Dei gratia rex Anglorum, ſalutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas quæ multum veſtros actus exornat, &c.*

In Engliſh.

*To the Reverend and Welbeloved Father Univerſal,* Pope Paſchalis, Henry, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *Greeting. The great love which I bear to you, and the no leſs gentleneſs in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, miniſtreth to me boldneſs to write. And whereas I thought to have retained ſtill this* Gerardus *with me, and to have craved your Pall for him by Letters: Yet notwithſtanding, when his deſire could not otherwiſe be ſatisfied, but he would needs preſent himſelf before your preſence, by his own heart to crave of you the ſame, I have ſent him up unto you, deſiring your benigne Fatherhood in this behalf, that he, obtaining the Pall at your hands, may be ſent home again to me. And thus requiring the aſſiſtance of your Prayers, I pray the Lord long to conſerve your Apoſtleſhip.*

This ſecond Letter of the King in ſending for the Pall was well taken of all the Court of *Rome*, which (as mine Author ſaith) procured ſuch favour to *Gerardus* Archbiſhop of *York*, and bringer thereof, that no complaint of his adverſaries afterwards could hurt him with the Pope. Notwithſtanding he was accuſed grievouſly for divers things, and ſpecially for not ſtanding to the conſecration of *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

A place of *Polydorus Virg.* found faulty. *Ex Gulielm. lib. 8. de pont. Ang.*

*Polydorus* in his eleventh Book of his *Engliſh* Hiſtory affirmeth, that *Anſelmus* alſo went up to *Rome* with *Gerardus*, about the ſame cauſe. But both the premiſſes and ſequel of the ſtory argue that to be untrue, for what need the two Monks to be ſent up on *Anſelms* ſide, if he had gone up himſelf? Again, how could the Pope write down by the ſaid Meſſengers to *Anſelm*, if he had there been himſelf preſent? For ſo proceedeth the ſtory by the Narration of *Malmesbury* and Others.

The Pope loth to go againſt his own profit.

After the Ambaſſadors (thus on both ſides ſent unto *Rome*) had laboured their cauſe with inſtant ſute, one againſt the other; the Pope glad to gratifie the King (yet loath to grant his requeſt, being againſt his own profit, and therefore more inclining to *Anſelms* ſide) ſendeth down his Letters to the ſaid *Anſelm*, ſignifying that he would not repeal the Statutes of his holy Fathers for one mans Pleaſure: Charging him Moreover, not only not to yield in the cauſe of inveſting, but conſtantly to adhere to the foreſaid Decreement of Pope *Urban* his Predeceſſor, &c. Beſides this Letter to *Anſelm*, he directed alſo another to the King himſelf: Which Letter, mine Author ſaith, the King ſuppreſſed and did not ſhew, only declaring by word of Mouth, what the Ambaſſadors had ſaid unto him from the Pope. Which was, that he permitted unto him the Licence of Inveſting, upon condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good Prince, &c. To this alſo the Teſtimony of the two Biſhops above minded did accord; which made the matter more probable. But the two Monks on the other ſide Replyed again, bringing forth the Letter of *Anſelm* to the contrary, &c. To them was anſwered again, that more credit was to be given to the degree and Teſtimony of the Biſhops, than to theirs. And as for Monks, they had no Suffrage nor Teſtimony (ſaid they) in ſecular matters, and therefore they might hold their Peace. But this is no ſecular matter, ſaid *Baldwin* Abbat of *Ramſey*. Whereunto the Nobles again of the Kings part anſwered, ſaying, that he was a good Man, and of ſuch Demeanour as they had nothing to ſay againſt him, neither would if they might: But yet both Human and Divine reaſon taught them ſo, to yield more credit and confidence to the Teſtimony of three Biſhops, than of two Monks. Whereby may well appear, that *Anſelm* at that time went not with them. Then *Anſelm* ſeeing the King and his Peers how they were ſet, and hearing alſo the Teſtimony of the three Biſhops, againſt whom he ſaw he could not prevail; and alſo having the Popes Seal, which he ſaw to be ſo evident on the contrary ſide, made his anſwer again; that he would ſend to *Rome* for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreover, that he neither would, nor durſt give over his cauſe, though it ſhould coſt him his life, to do or proceed againſt the Determination of the Church of *Rome*, unleſs he had a perfect warrant of abſolution from thence, for his diſcharge. Then was it agreed by the King and his Nobles, that he ſhould not ſend, but go himſelf to *Rome*. And much intreaty was made, that he would take that journey in hand himſelf, in his own perſon, to preſent himſelf to the Pope for the peace of the Church and of his Country. And ſo at length by perſwaſion, he was content, went to *Rome* and ſpake with the Pope. In ſhort time after followeth alſo the Kings Ambaſſador, *(William Warlwaſt)* new Elect Biſhop of *Exceſter*, who there Pleading on the Kings ſide for the Ancient Cuſtoms of the Realm, and for the Kings Right of Inveſting, &c. Firſt declared, how *England* of a long continuance had ever been a Province peculiar to the Church of *Rome*, and how it payed duly his yearly Tribute unto the ſame. Inferring moreover how the King, as he was of nature very liberal, ſo alſo of courage a Prince ſtout and valiant. Then what a ſhame would he think it ſhould be to him (as it were indeed) if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his Progenitors, ſhould not defend and maintain the Liberties and Cuſtoms by them procured? Wherefore he deſired the Pope to ſee to the matter, ſo as might ſtand both with the Kings Honour, and alſo with his own profit and advantage; who otherwiſe no doubt ſhould loſe a great piece of Money out of the Realm, unleſs he did remit ſomething of the ſeverity of his Canons and Laws Decretal.

He meaneth beſide the two Biſhops, *Gerardus*, which made third.

*Anſelm* a devout Chaplain to the Church of *Rome*.

*Anſelm* journieth again to *Rome*.

The effect of the Oration of *William Warwaſt* at the Popes Court.

With theſe and ſuch other like perſwaſions to the ſame Effect, the Court of *Rome* was well contented, agreeing that the Kings requeſt ought with all favour to be granted. But the Pope and *Anſelm* ſat ſtill marking their doings. The Ambaſſador, ſuppoſing their ſilence to be half a yielding unto him, added moreover and ſaid; that the King, no not for the Crown of his Realm, would loſe the authority of inveſting or admitting his Prelates within his Dominion. Whereunto the proud Pope anſwering again burſt out in theſe Words: *Nor I* (ſaid he) *for the Price of this Head (as thou ſayeſt) will loſe the giving of ſpiritual Promotions in* England, *and confirming it with an Oath* (Before God ſaith he I ſpeak it) *know it for a certain, &c.* Then it followeth in the ſtory of *Malmesbury*, With this Word of the Pope the minds of the reſt were changed, ſaying, *Benedicta ſit cordis tui conſtantia, benedicta oris loquela.* The Kings Attorny alſo was therewith daſhed, who notwithſtanding yet brought to paſs, that certain of the Kings, Cuſtoms, uſed before of his Father, were releaſed unto him. At the which time in the ſame Court it was decreed, that (the King only, which had Inveſted them, being excepted) the others which were Inveſted by the King, ſhould be Excommunicated: The abſolution and ſatisfaction of whom was left to *Anſelm* the Archbiſhop.

Excommunication abuſed.

Thus *Anſelm*, being diſmiſſed from *Rome*, took his Journey toward *England*. But the Ambaſſador, pretending to go to S. *Nicholas*, remained behind, to ſee whether he could win the Popes mind to the Kings purpoſe. Which when he ſaw it would not be, he overtaketh *Anſelm* by the way at *Placentia*, and opened him the Kings pleaſure. The King (ſaith he) giveth to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to *England*, and there behave your ſelf to him, as your Predeceſſors did to his Father, you ſhould be received and retained in the Realm accordingly: If not, you are wiſe enough (ſaith he) ye know what I mean, and what will follow, &c. And ſo with theſe Words, parting from him he returned again to the King. *Anſelm* remained at *Lions* a year and a half, writing divers Letters to the King, after this Effect, and in Words as Followeth.

*Anſelm* reſtrained from coming to *England*. *Ex Radulphi Londinenſi.*

## To his Reverend Lord, *HENRY*, King of *England*, *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, faithful Service with Prayers. *Epiſt.* 224.

A Letter of *Anſelm* to King Henry.

*ALthough you underſtand by* William Warlwaſt *what we have done at* Rome; *yet I ſhall ſhortly ſhew you that which belongeth to me. When I came to* Rome, *I declared the cauſe wherefore I came to the Lord Pope. He anſwered that he would not ſwarve from the Statutes of his Predeceſſors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I ſhould have no Fellowſhip with them that received Inveſtings of Churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this Prohibition, except they will do Penance, and forſake that they had received, without hope of recovery; neither that I ſhould communicate with the other Biſhops that had conſecrated ſuch men, except they would preſent themſelves to the Judgment of the Apoſtolique See. The aforeſaid* William *can be a witneſs of all theſe things if he will. This* William, *when we departed aſunder (reckoning up in your behalf, the love and liberality which you had always towards me) warned me as your Archbiſhop, that I ſhould ſhew my ſelf ſuch an one, that if I would come into* England, *I might be with you as my Predeceſſor was with your Father, and ye might intreat me with the ſame Honour and Liberty that your Father intreated my Predeceſſor. By which Words I underſtand, that except I ſhould ſhew my ſelf ſuch a one, you would not have me come into* England. *For your Love and Liberality I thank you: But that I ſhould be with you as my Predeceſſor was with your Father, I cannot do it. For I dare not do Homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take Inveſtings of Churches at your hands: Becauſe of the foreſaid inhibition made, I my ſelf hearing it. Wherefore I deſire you to ſend me your pleaſure herein (if it pleaſe you) whether I may return into* England *(as I ſaid) with your Peace and Power of mine Office.*

The proud ſtoutneſs of a Prelate in a wrong cauſe.

In the mean while, great buſineſs there was, and much Poſting went to and fro between the King, the Archbiſhop, and the Pope, but nothing was done: For neither would the Pope agree to the King, neither would the King condiſcend to the Archbiſhop. At laſt the Archbiſhop,

Ex-communi-cates the King.

Reconcilement made between the King and *Anſelm.*

biſhop, ſeeing by no means he could prevail againſt the King, thought to revenge himſelf by Excommunication, and ſo went about the ſame. The King, having word thereof by the Counteſs *Adela* his Siſter, deſireth her to come to him into *Normandy*, and bring *Anſelm* with her: Whereupon (through the means of the Counteſs) reconcilment was made, and the Archbiſhop was reſtored to his former poſſeſſions again. Only his return into *England* was deferred, becauſe he would not communicate with thoſe whom the King had Inveſted. So the King took his Paſſage over into *England*, and *Anſelm* made his abode at the Abbey of *Becke*.

Ambaſſage to *Rome.*

Then were Ambaſſadors again directed unto *Rome*, *William Warlwaſt*, and *Baldwin* above named, Abbat of *Rameſeie*, who at length concluded the long controverſie between the King and the Pope upon this agreement, that the King ſhould take Homage of the Biſhops Elect, but ſhould not deal with Inveſting them by Staffe and Ring, &c. While the Ambaſſadors were thus in their ſute at *Rome*, divers complaints were daily brought from *England* to *Anſelm*, againſt the Prieſts and Canons, who in his abſence, contrary to the late Council holden at *London*, received their Wives unto their Houſes again, and ſo were permitted by the King, paying him certain Money for the ſame. *Anſelm* (the ſore Enemy againſt lawful marriage) grieved therewith, addreſſeth his Letters unto the King, requiring him to refrain from any more taking of ſuch Exactions, declaring moreover and affirming, that the offences of all ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters muſt be Corrected by the inſtance of Biſhops, and not of Laymen. To this the King anſwereth Gently again by Letters, tempering himſelf; how he purpoſed ſhortly to come over into *Normandy*, and if he had done any thing amiſs, either in theſe or other things, he would reform it by his Obedience.

*Fuller. Matthew. lib. 2. de geſtis pontif.*

Prieſts received their Wives again by the abſence of *Anſelm.*

The faults of Eccleſiaſtical miniſters belong to none but to Biſhops to correct, ſaith *Anſelm.*

It was not long after (the Meſſengers being now returned from *Rome*) but the King, as he had promiſed, ſped him into *Normandy*, where he, warring againſt his Brother *Robert*, brought both him and the Country of *Normandy* at the laſt under his Subjection. But firſt meeting with *Anſelm* at the Abbey of *Becke*, he covenanted and agreed with him in all ſuch points as the Archbiſhop required. As firſt, that all his Churches, which before were made tributary unto King *William* his Brother, now ſhould remain free from all tribute. *Item*, that he ſhould require nothing of the ſaid Churches or Provinces, in the time of the ſeat being vacant. Moreover, concerning ſuch Prieſts and Miniſters as had given Money to the King for their company with their Wives, it was agreed that they ſhould ſurceaſe from all Eccleſiaſtical Function, the ſpace of three years, and that the King ſhould take no more after ſuch manner. *Item*, that all ſuch goods, fruits and poſſeſſions, as had been taken away before from the Archbiſhoprick, ſhould be reſtored at his coming again into *England*, &c.

The King brought under the Archbiſhop.

Conditions granted by the King to *Anſelm.*

Lawful matrimony puniſhed.

*Anſelm* returneth into *England.*

Prieſts driven again from their Wives.

This *Anſelm*, the ſtout Champion of Popery and Superſtition, after this Victory gotten upon the King, for the which he ſo long fought, with Joy and Triumph ſaileth into *England*, having all his Popiſh requeſts obtained. Where firſt he flieth like a Lion upon the married Prieſts contrary to the Word of God, divorcing and puniſhing that by mans Authority, which the Eternal and Almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them, which did hold any Church by Farm under the King. Againſt Simony likewiſe, and againſt them that married within the ſeventh degree, he proceedeth with his full pontifical Authority.

Anno 1106.

Shortly after, as King *Henry* had finiſhed his War in *Normandy*, and with Victory returned again into *England*, about the ſixth year of his Reign, *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (by the permiſſion of the King) aſſembled a great Council at *Weſtminſter* in *London*, of the Clergy and Prelates of *England*.

In the which (by the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority) he ſo wrought with the King, that at length (albeit, as the ſtory ſaith, not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no Temporal man after that day ſhould make Inveſtiture with Croſs or with Ring, or with Paſtoral Hook. In this Council, ſundry and divers Injunctions were given forth to Prieſts and Deacons: As divers other Synodal Acts alſo by the ſame *Anſelm* had been concluded in other Councils before. And becauſe here falleth in mention of the Acts Synodal concluded in the time of this *Anſelm*, I thought here good to Pack them all in one general Heap together, as we find them in *Malmesbury*, and in other ſundry Authors ſcatteringly recited.

*Ex lib. Guliel. de geſtis pontif. & Ex. Formulenſi & aliis.*

The firſt thing, decreed by this *Anſelm* in his Synodal Councils, was touching the fault of Simony, whereby divers, both Biſhops and Abbats (as is aforeſaid) were at the ſame time depoſed. And Lay-men forbidden to confer any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion.

Prieſts apparel.

Alſo it was decreed, that no Biſhop ſhould bear any Office in Secular mens buſineſs or meetings. And that ſuch ſhould not go apparelled as the Lay-men did, but ſhould have their Veſtures decent and meet for Religious Perſons. And that in all places they ſhould never go without ſome to bear witneſs of their Converſation.

Archdeaconries not to be Farmed.

*Item*, that no Archdeaconries ſhould be let out to Farm.

*Item*, that no Archdeacon ſhould be under the degree of a Deacon.

Marriage of Prieſts forbidden.

*Item*, that no Archdeacon, Prieſt, Deacon, Subdeacon, Colligener, nor Canon, ſhould from thence marry a Wife, nor yet keep her, if he had been married to one before.

Vow of chaſtity brought in.

*Item*, that every Subdeacon, being under the degree of a Canon (after the profeſſion of chaſtity marrying a Wife) ſhould be ſubject to the ſame Rule.

Benefices not to go by heritage.

They ordained alſo, that a Prieſt, keeping company with his Wife, ſhould be reputed unlawful, and that he ſhould ſay no Maſs, and if he ſaid Maſs, he ſhould not be heard.

They charged that none ſhould be admitted to Orders from that time forward, from the degree of a Subdeacon, unleſs he did profeſs Chaſtity.

That Prieſts Sons ſhould not claim by Heritage the Benefices of their Fathers, as the cuſtome had always been before.

How then was *Steven Gardiner* Lord Chancellor in Queen *Maries* time?

*Item*, that no ſpiritual perſon ſhould ſit in any ſecular office, as to be Procurators or Judges of blood.

*Item*, that Prieſts ſhould not reſort to Taverns or Banquets, nor ſit drinking by the fire ſide.

That the Garments of Prieſts ſhould be of one colour, and that their ſhoes ſhould be decent.

*Item*, that Monks, or any other of the Clergy (if they forſook their Order) either ſhould come again, or be Excommunicated.

Prieſts Crowns.

*Item*, that the men of the Clergy ſhould wear broad Crowns.

Tithes.

*Item*, that no Tithes ſhould be given but to the Church.

Buying of Prebends.

*Item*, that no Churches or Prebends ſhould be bought.

Building of Chappels.

That no new Chappels ſhould be made without conſent of the Biſhop.

Every Church to find his own Prieſt.

That no Church ſhould be hallowed, before the neceſſary proviſion were made for the Prieſt, and for the Church to be maintained.

Abbats to maintain no War.

That Abbats ſhould ſet forth no men to War, and that they muſt both ſleep and eat in the ſame Houſe with their Monks; unleſs ſome great neceſſity do let.

Monks limited in giving penance.

*Item*, that Monks do injoyn no penance to any man without the knowledge of his Abbat. And that their Abbats may give no licence therein, but only for ſuch perſons whoſe charge they have of Soul.

Monks no godfathers, nor Nuns godmothers.

That no Monks ſhould be Godfathers, nor Nuns Godmothers.

Abby lands. Impropriation reſtrained.

That Monks ſhould have no Lordſhips to Farm.

*Item*, that Monks ſhould take no Churches but by the Biſhop, neither ſhould ſo ſpoil and oppreſs the Churches given unto them with their Rents, that ſufficient were not left for the Miniſters of the ſame.

Privy contracts.

That privy Contracts between man and woman without Witneſs ſhould not ſtand, but be Fruſtrate, if each Party do go from the Contract.

Rounding.

*Item*, that ſuch of the Clergy, as wear long hair, be ſo rounded, that part of their Ear appear, and that their Eyes be not covered.

Marriage within the ſeventh degree reſtrained.

*Item*, that there be no Matrimonial Copulation within the ſeventh degree of kindred, nor ſo continue if they be married: But the marriage to be broken. And if any, be privy to that Inceſt, do not detect the ſame, he to be guilty of the ſame Crime.

Burying.

*Item*, that no Funeral or Buryings be without their own Pariſh Church, ſo that the Prieſt thereof do loſe that which to him is due.

No holineſs to be given to ſhrines and places.

*Item*, that no man upon any new fangled raſhneſs do attribute any reverence or opinion of Holineſs to dead mens bodies, to Fountains, or to any other thing (as the uſe hath been in time paſt) without authority of the Biſhop.

Selling and buying of men.

*Item*, that no Buying and Selling be uſed hereafter in *England* of men, as of other Cattel.

Sodomitry.

*Item*, after the reſtraint of Prieſts marriage, when filthy ſodomitry began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced alſo to make an Act for that, which was this.

A flap with a Foxtail for Sodomitry.

With a grievous curſe we condemn both them that occupied the ungracious vice of Sodomitry, and them alſo that willingly aſſiſt them, or be wicked doers with them in the ſame; till ſuch time as they may deſerve abſolution by penance and confeſſion.

So that whatſoever he be that is noyſed or proved to be of this wickedneſs (if he be a religious perſon) he ſhall from thenceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that which he hath ſhall be taken from him.

If he be a Lay Perſon, he ſhall be deprived of all his Freedom within the Land, and be no better than a foreiner.

And becauſe it ſhall be known, the abſolution of ſuch as be ſecular to belong only to Biſhops: It was therefore inacted, that on every Sunday, in every Pariſh Church of *England*, the ſaid Excommunication ſhould be Publiſhed, &c.

*Ranulph. Ceſtrenſis lib. 7.* Note the Prepoſterous proceeding of *Anſelm* in ceaſing the vice of Sodomitry.

But mark in this great matter what followed. For, as *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis* witneſſeth, this grievous general curſe was ſoon called back again by the ſute of certain, which perſwaded *Anſelm*, that the publication, or opening of that vice, gave kindlings to the ſame in the hearts of lewd Perſons, miniſtring occaſion of more boldneſs to them to do the like. And ſo to ſtop the occaſion of filthy Sodomitry, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and reſtrainment of Prieſts lawful marriage (which chiefly was the cauſe thereof) remained ſtill. And thus ever ſince horrible Sodomitry remained in the Clergy, both for lack of marriage more uſed, and for lack of publication leſs puniſhed.

Beſides all theſe Synodal Acts above comprehended, and given out by *Anſelm* in his Councils before, here alſo in this preſent Council at *Weſtminſter*, in the year of this King aforeſaid, he alſo directed other new Injunctions to the Prieſts.

Penalties and forfeits againſt Prieſts that keep their Wives.

Firſt, that they and their Wives ſhould never more meet in one houſe, neither yet have dwelling in their Territories.

*Item*, that the Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould keep no woman in their Houſe, unleſs they were of their next kin.

*Item*, for ſuch as had diſſevered themſelves from the Society of their Wives, yet for ſome honeſt cauſe they had to common with them, they might, ſo it were without door, and with two or three lawful witneſſes.

In the latter days ſhall come falſe teachers, forbidding marriage and eating of meats, &c.

*Item*, if any of them ſhould be accuſed by two or three witneſſes, and could not purge himſelf again by ſix able men of his own order (if he be a Prieſt) or if he be a Deacon by four, or if he be a Subdeacon by two) then he ſhould be Judged a Tranſgreſſor of the Statutes, deprived of his Benefice, and be made Infamous, or be put to open reproach of all men.

*Item*, he that rebelled, and in contempt of this new Statute held ſtill his Wife, and preſumed to ſay Maſs, upon the eighth day after (if he made not due ſatisfaction) ſhould be ſolemnly Excommunicated.

*Item*, all Archdeacons and Deacons to be ſtraitly Sworn not to Wink or Diſſemble at their Meetings, nor to bear with them for Money. And if they would not be Sworn to this, then to loſe their offices without recovery.

Purification of Prieſts that had been married.

*Item*, ſuch Prieſts, as forſaking their Wives were willing to ſerve ſtill and remain in their holy Order, firſt muſt ceaſe forty days from their miniſtration, ſetting Vicars for them in the mean time to ſerve, and taking ſuch penance upon them, as by their Biſhop ſhould be injoyned them.

Thus have ye heard the tedious Treatiſe of the life and doings of *Anſelm*, how Superſtitious in his Religion, how Stub born againſt his Prince he was, what occaſion of War and Diſcord he miniſtred by his complaints (if they had been taken) what zeal without right knowledge, what fervency without cauſe he pretended, what pains without profit he took. Who if he had beſtowed that time and Travel in Preaching Chriſt at Home to his flock, which he took in Gadding to *Rome*, to complain of his Country, in my mind he had been better occupied. Moreover, what Violent and Tyrannical Injunctions he ſet forth of Inveſting and other things, ye have heard; but ſpecially againſt the lawful and godly marriage of Prieſts. Wherein, what a vehement Adverſary he was, here may appear with theſe Minutes or Pieces Extracted out of the Letters, which we have here Annexed; in Form and Effect as Followeth.

## *A Letter of* Anſelm.

*Anſelm* Archbiſhop, to his Brethren and Deareſt Sons the Lord Prior and others at *Canterbury*.

King Henry permitted Prieſts to have both Churches and Wives. *Ex epiſt. Anſel.* 377. Pope Paſchal hath ſo decreed it at *Rome*. Ergo Prieſts muſt have no Wives.

AS concerning *Prieſts, of whom the King commanded that they ſhould have both their Churches and their women as they had in the time of his Father, and of* Lanfrancus *Archbiſhop: Both becauſe the King hath Reveſted and Reſeized the whole Archbiſhoprick, and becauſe ſo curſed a marriage was forbidden in a Council in the time of his Father and of the ſaid Archbiſhop: Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbiſhoprick, not only within my Archbiſhoprick but alſo through out* England, *that all Prieſts, which keep women, ſhall be deprived of their Churches and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.*

## *A Letter of Pope* Paſchalis *to* Anſelm.

*Paſchal* Biſhop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his Reverend Brother *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Greeting and Apoſtolical Bleſſing.

*Ex epiſt. Anſel.* 33. If profit of the Church may come by Prieſts children what hurt then were it to the Church for Prieſts to have Wives?

WE believe your *Brother-hood is not ignorant what is decreed in the* Romiſh *Church concerning Prieſts Children. But becauſe there is ſo great multitude of ſuch within the Realm of* England, *that almoſt the greater and better part of the Clerks are reckoned to be on this ſide: Therefore we commit this diſpenſation to your care. For the grant theſe to be promoted to holy Offices by reaſon of the need at this time, and for the profit of the Church (ſuch as learning and life ſhall commend among you) ſo that yet notwithſtanding the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.*

## *Another Letter of* Anſelm *for Inveſting.*

To the Reverend Lord and loving Father *Paſchal* High Biſhop, *Anſelm* ſervant of *Canterbury* Church, due Subjection and continual Prayers.

King Henry and his Nobles ready to forſake the Romiſh Church.

AFter *that I returned to my Biſhoprick in* England *I ſhewed the Apoſtolical Decree, which I being preſent heard in the* Romiſh *Council.* 1. *That no man ſhould receive Inveſting of Churches at the King's hand, or any Lay perſon, or ſhould become his man for it, and that no man ſhould preſume to conſecrate him that did offend herein. When the King and his Nobles, and the Biſhops themſelves, and others of the lower degree, heard theſe things, they took them ſo grievouſly, that they ſaid, they would in no caſe agree to the thing, and that they would drive me out of the Kingdom, and forſake the* Romiſh *Church, rather than keep this thing. Wherefore Reverend Father, I deſire your Counſel by your Letter, &c.*

## Another Letter of *Anſelm.*

*Anſelm* Archbiſhop, to the Reverend *Gudulphus* Biſhop, and to *Arnulphus Prior*, and to *William* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and to all in his Dioceſs, Greeting.

A letter of *Anſelm* againſt Prieſt receiving again their Wives.

WIlliam *our Archdeacon hath written unto me, that ſome Prieſts that be under his Cuſtody (taking again their Women that were forbidden) have fallen unto the uncleanneſs from the which they were drawn by whole-*

Ex epiſt. 27. Prieſts excommunicated for receiving again their Wives.

*wholeſome counſel and commandment. When the Archdeacon would amend this thing, they utterly deſpiſed with wicked pride his warning and worthy commandment to be received. Then he, calling together many Religious men and obedient Prieſts, Excommunicated worthily the proud and diſobedient, that beaſtly deſpiſed the curſe, and were not afraid to defile the holy miniſtry, as much as lay in them, &c.*

Unto theſe Letters above Prefixed, I have alſo adjoyned another of the ſaid *Anſelm*, touching a great caſe of conſcience, of a Monks whipping himſelf. Wherein may appear both the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition of thoſe Religious men, and the judgment of this *Anſelm* in the ſame matter.

## Another Letter of *Anſelm*.

*Anſelm* Archbiſhop, to *Bernard* Monk of the Abby of S. *Warburg*, Greeting and Prayer.

A Letter of *Anſelm*. Ex epiſt. 255. Whether is more merit for a Monk to cauſe himſelf in the Chapter to be whipped, or to ſuffer obediently the whipping of his Abbot.

*I Heard it ſaid of your Lord Abbot, that thou judgeſt it to be of greater merit, when a Monk either beaten himſelf, or deſireth himſelf to be beaten of another; than when he is beaten (not of his own will) in the Chapter, by the Commandment of the Prelacy. But it is not ſo as you think. For that judgment, that any man commandeth to himſelf, is kingly. But that, which he ſuffereth by obedience in the Chapter, is Monkiſh. The one is of his own will, the other is of obedience, and not of his own will. That which I call kingly, Kings and Rich proud men commending to be done to themſelves. But that which I call Monkiſh, they take not commanding, but obeying. The Kingly is ſo much eaſier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the ſufferer. But the Monkiſh is ſo much the grievouſer, by how much it differeth from the will of the ſufferer. In the Kingly judgment, the ſufferer is judged to be his own: In Monkiſh he is proved not to be his own. For although the King or Rich man, when he is beaten, willingly ſheweth himſelf humbly to be a ſinner; yet he would not ſubmit himſelf to this Humbleneſs at any others Commandment, but would withſtand the Commander with all his ſtrength. But when a Monk ſubmitteth himſelf to the whip humbly in the Chapter at the will of the Prelate; the truth judgeth him to be of ſo much greater merit, by how much he humbleth himſelf more and more, and more truly than the other. For he humbleth himſelf to God only, becauſe he knoweth his ſins. But this man humbleth himſelf to man for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himſelf both to God and Man for Gods cauſe, than he which humbleth himſelf to God only, and not to Gods Commandment. Therefore if he that humbleth himſelf ſhall be extolled; Ergo he that more humbleth himſelf, ſhall be more exalted. And where I ſaid, that when a Monk is whipped, it differeth from his will; you muſt not ſo underſtand it, as though he would not patiently bear it with an obedient will; but becauſe by a natural appetite he would not ſuffer the ſorrow. But if ye ſay, I do not ſo much flie the open beating for the pains (which I feel alſo ſecretly) as for the ſhame: Know then that he is ſtronger that rejoyceth to bear this for obedience ſake. Therefore be thou ſure, that one whipping of a Monk by obedience is of more merit than innumerable whippings taken by his own mind. But whereas he is ſuch, that always he ought to have his Heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to judge him then to be of a great merit, whether he be whipped privily or openly, &c.*

The judgment or concluſion of *Anſelm* upon the caſe. Falſe opinion of merit.

Anno 1105.

And thus much concerning *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; whoſe ſtout example gave no little courage to *Thurſtinus* and *Becket* his ſucceſſors, and others that followed after, to do the like againſt their Kings and Princes, as in proceſs hereafter by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appear.

About this time, 1105. two famous Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, being right vertuous and well diſpoſed Prelates, were cruelly and tyrannouſly dealt withall, and intreated by the Biſhop of *Rome*? Their names were *Henry* and *Chriſtian*. This *Henry*, having intelligence that he was complained of to the Pope, ſent a learned man (as ſpecial friend of his) to excuſe him, named *Arnold*, one for whom he had done much, and promoted to great livings and promotions. But this honeſt man *Arnold*, inſtead of an excuſer, became an accuſer, bribing the two chieſeſt Cardinals with good Gold; by which means he obtained of the Pope, thoſe two Cardinals, to be ſent as Inquiſitors, and only doers in that preſent caſe. The which (coming to *Germany*) ſummoned the ſaid *Henry*, and depoſed him of his Archbiſhoprick (for all he could do either by Law or juſtice) ſubſtituting in his place the foreſaid *Arnold*, upon hope (truly) of the Eccleſiaſtical Gold. Whereupon that vertuous and honorable *Henry* (as the ſtory telleth) ſpake unto thoſe his Perverſe Judges on this wiſe: If I ſhould appeal unto the Apoſtolick See for this your unjuſt Proceſs had againſt me, perhaps the Pope would attempt nothing more therein than ye have, neither ſhould I win any thing by it, but only toil of body, loſs of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and miſſing of his favour.

Judges Corrupted.

Wherefore I do appeal unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as to the moſt high and juſt Judge, and cite you before his Judgment, there to anſwer me before the high Judge. For neither juſtly nor godly (but by corruption as it pleaſeth you) you have judged. Whereunto they ſcoffingly anſwering: Go you firſt, and we will follow. Not long after (as the ſtory is) the ſaid *Henry* died. Whereof the ſaid two Cardinals having intelligence, ſaid one to the other jeſtingly; Behold, he is gone before, and we muſt follow according to our promiſe. And verily they ſaid truer than they aware of: For within a while they died in one day. For the one, ſitting upon a Jakes to eaſe himſelf, voyded out all his intrails into the draught, and miſerably ended ended his life. The other, gnawing off his fingers of his hands, and ſpitting them out of his mouth (all deformed in devouring himſelf) died. And in like wiſe, not long after the end of theſe men, the foreſaid *Arnold* (moſt horrible) in a ſedition was ſlain; and certain days (lying ſtinking above the ground unburied) lay open to the ſpoil of every Raſcal and Harlot. The Hiſtoriographer in declaring hereof crieth upon the Cardinals in this manner: *O ye Cardinals, ye are the beginning and Authors hereof. Come ye hither, and heap and carry unto your Countries the Divel, and offer your ſelves to him with that Money, whereof ye have been moſt gluttonous and inſatiable.*

A terrible example for corrupt judges to beware.

About the ſame time and year when King *Henry* began his Reign, Pope *Paſchalis* entred his Papacy, ſucceeding after *Urbanus*, about the year of our Lord 1100. nothing ſwarving from the ſteps of *Hildebrand* his Superior. This *Paſchalis* being Elected by the Cardinals, after that the people had cryed thrice, S. *Peter* hath choſen good *Rainerus*; he then putting on a purple Veſture, and a Tire upon his head, was brought upon a white Palfray into *Lateran*, where a Scepter was given him, and a Girdle put about him, having ſeven Keies, with ſeven Seals hanging thereupon for a recogniſance or token of his ſeven-fold power, according to the ſeven-fold Grace of the holy Ghoſt, of binding, looſing, ſhutting, opening, ſealing, reſigning, and judging, &c. After this *Paſchalis* was Elected Pope, *Henry* the ſorth, the foreſaid Emperor (of courage moſt valiant, if the time had ſerved thereto) thought to come up to *Italy* to Salute the new Pope. But, underſtanding the Popes mind bent againſt him, he changed his purpoſe. In the mean time, *Paſchalis*, to ſhew himſelf inferior to *Hildebrand* in no point, began firſt to depoſe all ſuch Abbats and Biſhops whom the Emperor had ſet up. Alſo he baniſhed *Albertus*, *Theodoricus*, and *Maginulphus*, ſtriving at the ſame time for the Papacy. I ſpake before of *Guibert*, whom *Henry* the Emperor had made Pope againſt *Hildebrand*. Againſt this *Guibert Paſchalis* made out an Army; who, being put to flight, not long after departed.

The Popes tirement.

The ſeven-fold power of the Pope.

About the ſame time, *Anno* 1101. the Biſhop of *Florence* began to Teach and to Preach of Antichriſt then to be born and to be manifeſt, as *Sabellicus* teſtifieth: Whereupon *Paſchalis*, aſſembling a Council, put to ſilence the ſaid Biſhop, and condemned his Books. In this Council at *Trecas*, Prieſts that were married were condemned for *Nicolaitans*. *Item*, according to the Decree of *Hildebrand*, all ſuch of what degree or eſtate ſoever they were (being Laymen) that gave any Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, were condemned of Simony. Furthermore, the Statute of Prieſts tithes there he renewed, counting the ſelling

Of Antichriſt born and manifeſt. The Biſhop of Florence a Martyr. *Sabellicus.* A council at *Trecare.*

away thereof as a ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt. Concerning the Excommunication and other troubles, that *Hildebrand* wrought againſt *Henricus* the forth Emperor, it is declared ſufficiently before. This Excommunication *Paſchalis* the Pope renewed afreſh againſt the ſaid *Henry*. And not only that, but alſo, conventing the Princes of *Germany* unto a general aſſembly, ſet up his own Son againſt him, cauſing the Biſhop of *Mentz*, of *Cullen*, and of Worms to deprive him of his Imperial Crown, and to place his Son *Henricus* the fifth in his Fathers Kingdom, and ſo they did. Coming to the place at *Hilgeſhem*, firſt they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the Crown, from him. The Emperor demanded the cauſe, being then Excommunicate and void of friends. They pretending again (I cannot tell what) for ſelling of Biſhopricks, Abbacies, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities for money: Alſo alledging the Popes pleaſure and of other Princes. Then required he firſt of the Biſhop of *Mentz* (and likewiſe of the other two, whom he had preferred to their Biſhopricks before) asking them in order, if he had received of them any penny for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be ſo, Well (ſaith he) and do you requite me again with this? With divers other words of exhortation, admoniſhing, them to remember their Oath and Allegiance to their Prince. But the perjured Prelates, neither reverencing his Majeſty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceaſed not for all this, but firſt plucked from him (ſitting in his Throne) his Crown Imperial, then diſveſtured him, taking from him his Purple and his Scepter. The good Emperor, being left deſolate and in confuſion, ſaith to them: *Videat Deus & judicet*: That is, Let God ſee and judge. Thus leaving him, they went to his Son to confirm him in his Kingdom, and cauſed him to drive his Father out. Who then being chaſed of his Son (having but nine perſons about him) did flie by the Dukedom of *Limbrugh*, where the Duke being then in hunting, perceiving and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The Emperor fearing no other but preſent death (for he had diſplaced the ſame Duke before out of his Dukedom) ſubmitted himſelf, craving of him pardon, and not revengement. The Duke full of compaſſion, and pitying his eſtate, not only remitted all his diſpleaſure, but alſo received him to his Caſtle. Moreover, collecting his ſouldiers and men of War, he brought him to *Cullen*; and there he was well received. His Son hearing this beſiged the City of *Cullen*. But the Father, by night eſcaping, came to *Leodium*, where reſorted to him all ſuch as were men of compaſſion and conſtant heart. In ſo much that his power, being ſtrong enough, he was now able to pitch a field againſt his Enemies, and ſo did: deſiring his friends, that if he had the victory, they would ſpare his Son. In fine (the battel joyned) the Father had the victory, the Son was put to flight: many being ſlain on both ſides. But ſhortly after, the battel renewed again, the Son prevailed, the Father was overcome and taken. Who then, being utterly diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdom, was brought to that exigent, that coming to *Spire*, he was fain to crave of the Biſhop there (whom he had done much for before) to have a prebend in the Church: and for that he had ſome skill of his Book, he deſired to ſerve in our Ladies quire, Yet could he not obtain ſo much at his hand, who ſwore by our Lady, he ſhould have none there. Thus the woeful Emperor (moſt unkindly handled, and repulſed on every ſide) came to *Leodium*, and there for ſorrow died, after he had Reigned fifty years; whoſe body *Paſchalis*, after his Funeral, cauſed to be taken up again, and to be brought to *Shires*, where it remained five years unburied. *Hæc ex Helmoldo.*

A tragical Hiſtory of the Pope *Paſchalis* ſetting the Son againſt the Father.

*Ex Hiſtoria Helmoldi.*

The Prelates ſet the Son againſt the Father.

A grateful example of a good and thankful Duke.

A naughty Son of a good Father.

*Ex Helmoldo, & Gotfredo Viterbienſi.*

The unkindneſs of a proud Prelate.

{Anno 1106.} The Emperor five years without burial.

After the deceaſe of this Emperor *Henry* the fourth, his Son *Henricus* the fifth Reigned the ſpace of twenty years. Who, coming to *Rome* to the Crown of the Pope, could not obtain it, before he would fully aſſent to have this ratified, that no Emperor ſhould have any thing to do with the Election of the *Roman* Biſhop, or with other Biſhopricks. Beſides that (about the ſame time) ſuch a ſtir was made in *Rome* by the ſaid Biſhop, that if the Emperor had not defended himſelf with his own hands, he had been ſlain. But as it happened, the Emperor having victory, amongſt many other *Romans* (which were partly ſlain, partly taken in the ſame skirmiſh) he taketh alſo the Pope and leadeth him out of the City: where he indenteth with him upon divers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recovering again his right and title in the Election of the Pope, and of other Biſhops: whereunto the Pope aſſenting agreed to all. So the Emperor (being Crowned of *Paſchalis*) returned again with the Pope of *Rome*.

{Anno 1107.} *Henricus* Imperor. *Ex chronico Cariensi, lib. 3.*

The Pope taken priſoner.

All the conditions between the Emperor and the Pope (ſo long as the Emperor remained at *Rome*) ſtood firm and ratified. But as ſoon as the Emperor was returned again to *Germany*, forthwith the Pope, calling a Synod, not only revoked all that he had agreed to before, but alſo Excommunicated *Henricus* the Emperor, as he had done his Father before, reproved the former *Privilegium* for *pravilegium*. The Emperor, returning from *Rome* to *France*, there married *Mathild* daughter to King *Henry*. Who then hearing what the Pope had done (grieved not a little) with all expedition marched to *Rome*, and putteth the Pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his ſtead. In the mean time the Biſhops of *Germany* (the Popes good friends) ſlept not their buſineſs, incenſing the *Saxons* all that they might againſt their *Ceſar*: Inſomuch that a great commotion was ſtirred up, and it grew at length to a pitcht field: which was fought in the month of *February*, by the wood called *Sylva Catularia*, in the year of our Lord one thouſand one hundred and fifteen.

War raiſed by the Pope and his Popiſh.

The Emperor ſeeing no end of theſe conflicts (unleſs he would yield to the Pope) was fain to give over, and forgo his privilege, falling to a compoſition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the Popes Election, nor with Inveſting, nor ſuch other things belonging to the Church and Churchmen. And thus was the peace between them concluded, and proclaimed to no ſmall rejoycing of both the Armies, then lying by *Worms*, near the River of *Rhene*.

Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Pope.

In the time of this *Paſchalis* lived *Bernardus*, called *Abbas Claravalleníis*, in the year 1108. of whom ſprang the *Bernardine* Monks.

*Bernardus* the Abbat. *Bernardine* Monks came in.

About what time the City of *Worceſter* was conſumed almoſt all with fire, *An.* 1109.

The City of *Worceſter* almoſt all conſumed with fire. *Matthidis.*

All this while *Henricus* the Emperor had no Iſſue (having to Wife *Mathildis*, the daughter of *Henry* the firſt, King of *England*) and that by the juſt judgment of God, as it may appear. For as he, having a Father, perſecuted him by the Popes ſetting on, contrary to the part of a natural Son: ſo Gods providence did not ſuffer him to be the Father of any child, naturally to love him, or to ſucceed him.

Example of the Lords juſt retribution and judgment.

After the death of *Paſchalis*, *Anno* 1118. ſucceeded Pope *Gelaſius*, choſen by the Cardinals, but without the conſent of the Emperor, whereupon roſe no little variance in *Rome*. And at length another Pope was ſet up by the Emperor called *Gregorius* the eighth, and *Gelaſius* driven away into *France*, and there died. After whom came *Calixtus* the ſecond (choſen likewiſe by a few Cardinals, without the voice of the Emperor) who, coming up to *Rome* to injoy his ſeat, firſt ſent his Legat into *Germany* to Excommunicate the Emperor *Henricus*, who then having divers conflicts with his fellow Pope *Gregorius*, at length drave him out of *Rome*. At this time by this occaſion great diſputation and controverſie was between the Emperor and the Popes Court, whether of them in dignity ſhould excel the other: whereof reaſons and arguments on both ſides were alledged, which in the verſes here following are comprehended.

Two Popes ſtriving together.

*Pope Calixtus* the ſecond.

The Pope Excommunicateth the Emperor.

Allegatio Imperatoris contra Papam.

*Cæſar lex viva ſtat regibus imperativa,*
*Legeq; ſub viva ſunt omnia jura dativa,*
*Lex ea caſtigat, ſolvit & ipſa ligat.*
*Conditor eſt legis, neq; debet lege teneri,*
*Sed ſibi complacuit ſub lege libenter haberi:*
*Quicquid ei placuit, juris ad inſtar erat.*
*Qui ligat ac ſolvit Deus ipſum protulit orbi,*
*Diviſit regnum divina potentia ſecum,*
*Aſtra dedit ſuperis, cætera cuncta ſibi.*

Re-

Reſponſio Romanæ curiæ contra Imperatorem.

*Pars quoque papalis ſic obviat imperiali,*
*Sic dans regnare, quod Petro ſubjiciaris:*
*Jus etenim nobis Chriſtus utrumque parit.*
*Spiritus & corpus mihi ſunt ſubjecta potenter,*
*Corpora terrena teneo, cœleſtia mente,*
*Unde, tenendo polum, ſolvo ligoque ſolum.*
*Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, papa videtur.*
*Nam dare, tollere, nectere, ſolvere cuncta meretur,*
*Cui debit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus:*
*Annulus & baculus quamvis terrena putentur,*
*Sunt de jure poli, quæ ſignificare videntur:*
*Reſpice jura Dei, mens tua cedat ei, &c.*

In concluſion, the Emperor being overcome ſo much with the vain reaſons of the Popes ſide, and fearing the dangerous Thunderbolt of his curſe (talking with Princes, and perſwaded by his friends) was fain to condeſcend to the unreaſonable conditions of the Pope. Firſt, to ratifie his Election, notwithſtanding the other Pope (whom the ſaid Emperor had ſet up) yet was alive. Secondly, that he ſhould reſign up his right and title in matters partaining to the Election of the Pope, and Inveſtiture of Biſhops.

*Gregorius* brought into *Rome* by the Pope, his face to the Horſe tail. *Ex Platina, Vincentio, Stella, &c.*

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof ſet up in the Church of *Lateran*, for a triumph of the Emperor thus ſubdued, the Pope maketh out after *Gregorius* his fellow Pope, being then in a Town called *Sutrium*; which being beſieged and taken, *Gregorius* alſo was taken. Whom *Calixtus* the Pope ſetting upon a Camel (his face to the Camels tail) brought him ſo through the ſtreets of *Rome*, holding the tail in his hand in ſtead of a Bridle; and afterward being ſhorn he was thruſt into a Monaſtery.

The Ember days by whom they were brought in, and when. *Diſt. 70. cap. Jejunium.*

Amongſt many other Acts done by this glorious Pope, firſt he eſtabliſhed the decree of the Papal See againſt this Emperor. He brought in the four quarter Faſts, called *Embers* days. *Diſt. 70. cap. Jejunium.*

The Order of Monks *Præmonſtratenſes.*

By the ſame *Calixtus* the order of Monks, called *Præmonſtratenſes*, were brought in.

Further, by him it was decreed to be judged for Adultery, if any perſon (by his life time) had put from him either Biſhoprick or Benefice, grounding upon this Scripture of S. *Paul* to the *Romans*, *Alligata eſt uxor legi viri quamdiu vir ejus vivit: eo defuncto, ſoluta eſt a lege viri, &c.* That is, *The Wife is bound to the Law of her Husband, ſo long as the Husband liveth: after he is dead, ſhe is looſe from the Law of her Husband, &c.*

Scripture Cleerly applied of the Pope.

Prieſts and Miniſters compelled to leave their Wives

*Item*, the ſame *Calixtus*, holding a general Council at *Rhemis*, decreed that Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould put away their Concubines and Wives: and whoſoever was found to keep his Wife, ſhould be deprived of Benefice, and all other Eccleſiaſtical livings: whereupon a certain *Engliſh* Writer made theſe verſes following;

*O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te:*
*Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti,*
*Hoc deſtruxiſti, poſtquam tu papa fuiſti, &c.*

That is, word for word.

*The hatred of the Clergy haſt thou good Calixte,*
*For ſometimes Prieſts might uſe their Wives right,*
*But that thou haſt rejected, ſince Pope thou waſt elected.*

{Anno 1109.} And thus much of the *Roman* matters. Now to our Country ſtory again. After the death of *Anſelm* before mentioned, (who deceaſed the year of Chriſt 1109. after he had been in the See ſixteen years) the Church of *Canterbury* ſtood voyd five years; and the goods of the Church were ſpent to the Kings uſe. And when he was prayed to help the Church that was ſo long without a Paſtor, his anſwer was: pretending that as his Father and Brother had accuſtomed thereto to ſet the beſt tried and approved men that might be found, ſo to the intent that he might do the ſame (in chooſing ſuch, which either ſhould equal the former examples of them before, or at leaſt follow their footſteps as near as they could) he took therein the more time and leaſure. And ſo with ſhift of anſwer he delayed out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice. The ſame year (after the death of *Anſelm*) the King converted the Abbey of *Ely* to a Biſhoprick, which before was under the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, placing there *Henry* Biſhop of *Bangor*, the Biſhop of that See. And as, of late years before this, divers wonders were ſeen, as Stars falling from Heaven ſo thick that they could not be numbred, at the ſetting forth of the Chriſtians to the holy Land; *Fornalenſ.* A blazing Star over *Conſtantinople*; A ſpring boyling out blood (ſeen at *Finchamſted* in *Barkſhire*) three weeks together; *Anno 1090. Gisburnenſis.* After that, the Firmament appearing ſo red, as it had been all on fire; alſo two full Moons appearing together, one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt (on *Maundy-Thurſday*) with a blazing Star in the ſame year appearing about the taking of Duke *Robert*, having a white circle incloſing it, *Anno 1106. Fornalenſ.* Alſo with an Eclipſe of the Sun darkened after that: So likewiſe about this preſent year, *An. 1110.* was ſeen the flood of *Trent*, about *Nottingham*, ſo dried up from morning to three of the clock at afternoon, that men might go over it dry ſhod; *Gisburnenſ.* Alſo in *Shrewsbury* a great Earthquake happened, and after that followed a ſharp Winter, great Murren of Beaſts, and Peſtilence of Men, as *Gualterus Gisburnenſ.* recordeth; Moreover, the ſame Author mentioneth, that about the ſame year the like vading of water alſo happened in the flood *Medway*; and in the *Thames* (between the Bridge and the Tower, and under the Bridge, from Midnight to the next Evening) was ſo great an Ebb, that an Innumerable ſort of people and children waded over, ſcarce knee deep in the Water, the Sea withdrawing his Tide ten miles from his accuſtomed courſe. *Roger Hoveden. Gualter. Gisburnenſ. &c.* In the which year alſo, as the ſaid Author and *Fornalenſ.* do teſtifie, the City of *Worceſter* by caſualty was conſumed with fire. Alſo the City of *Cheſter*, *An. 1114. Rog. Hoved.*

The Biſhoprick of *Ely* firſt planted. *Henry* firſt Biſhop of *Ely.*

{Anno 1110.} *Trent* dried up.

An Earthquake. Murren and Peſtilence. *Ex Gualtero Gisburnenſi.*

{Anno 1113.} *Worceſter* conſumed with fire.

{Anno 1114.}

The next year following, *Rodulphus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* (an Engliſhman) was promoted to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Thurſtinus* the Kings Chaplain was Elected Archbiſhop of *York*. Who being content to receive his benediction or conſecration of the See of *Canterbury*; yet, becauſe he refuſed to make his profeſſion of obedience to the ſame See, he was by the King deprived of his Dignity.

*Rodulphus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

*Thruſtinus* Archbiſhop of *York.*

Diſſenſion betweeen *Thruſtinus* of *York*, and *Rodulph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for ſubjection.

Then *Thurſtin* (by the Inſtigation of certain of his Clerks at *York*) took his Journey to *Rome*; who, there making his complaint to Pope *Paſchalis*, brought with him a Letter from the Pope to the King, where among other Words was contained as followeth, *Audivimus electum Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ, virum ſapientem & ſtrenuum, ſine judicio ab Eboracenſi ſequeſtratum Eccleſia; quod nimirum divinæ juſtitiæ & S. patrum inſtitutionibus adverſatur. Nos quidem neque Cant. Eccleſiam minui, neque Eboracenſem volumus præjudicium pati, ſed eam conſtitutionem quæ a B. Gregorio, Anglicæ gentis Apoſtolo, inter eaſdem Eccleſias, conſtituta eſt, firman cenſemus illibatamque ſervari. Idem ergo electus, ut juſtitia exigit, ad ſuam Eccleſiam omnibus modis revocetur. Si quid autem quæſtionis inter eaſdem Eccleſias naſcitur, præſentibus utrique patribus in veſtra præſentia pertractetur, &c.*

The Letter of Paſchalis to King Henry.

In Engliſh thus,

We hear and underſtand, that the Archbiſhop Elect of the Church of *York* (a diſcreet and induſtrious man) is ſequeſtred from the Church of *York*; which ſtandeth againſt both divine Juſtice, and the Inſtitution of holy Fathers. Our purpoſe is, that neither the Church of *Canterbury* ſhould be impaired, nor again that the Church of *York* ſhould ſuffer any prejudice, but that the ſame conſtitution, which was by bleſſed *Gregory* (the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh* Nation) ſet and decreed between thoſe two Churches, ſhould remain ſtill in force and effect unviolate. Wherefore, as touching the foreſaid Elect, let him be received again by any means, as right and meet it is, unto his Church. And if there be any queſtion between the foreſaid Churches, let it be handled and decided in your preſence, both the two parties being there preſent.

*Ex Gualtero Gisburnenſis Ex Gulielm. de gestis. lib. 4. Ex Roger. Hoveda. Fabian. &c.*

{Anno 1154.} Aſſembly of the Nobles at *Saliſbury.*

Upon occaſion of this Letter, a ſolemn aſſembly there was appointed at *Saliſbury*, about the hearing of this controverſie. The variance between theſe two Prelates ſtill increaſed more and more. *Rodulph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in no caſe would yield or condeſcend

to

*Thurſtin refuſeth to profeſs ſubjection to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

to give impoſition of hands unto him, unleſs he would make his profeſſion of obedience. *Thurſtin* again ſaid, he would willingly receive and imbrace his Benediction; but as touching the profeſſion of his ſubjection, that he would not agree unto. Then the King, declaring his mind therein, ſignified unto *Thurſtin*, that, without his ſubjection and obedience profeſſed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he ſhould not enjoy his conſecration to be Archbiſhop of *York*. Whereunto *Thurſtin*, nothing replying again, renounced his Archbiſhoprick, promiſing moreover to make no more claim unto it, nor to moleſt them that ſhould enjoy it.

*Thurſtin promiſeth to renounce his Archbiſhoprick.*

Shortly after this, it happened that Pope *Paſchalis* died: After whom, as is above rehearſed, ſucceeded Pope *Gelaſius*, who lived not paſt a year, and died in *France*. Whereupon the Cardinals (which then followed the ſaid Pope *Gelaſius* unto *Cluniack*) created another Pope of their choſing, whom they called *Calixtus* the ſecond. The other Cardinals which were at *Rome* did chooſe another Pope called *Gregory*, as mention before is made: about which two Popes much ſtir there was in Chriſtian Realms. As this *Calixtus* was remaining in *France*, and there calling a general Council at *Rhemis*, as ye heard before; *Thurſtinus* the Archbiſhop of *York* deſired Licence of the King to go to the Council, purpoſing there to open the cauſe of his Church, which eſtſoons he obtained: Firſt promiſing to the King that he ſhould there attempt nothing that ſhould be prejudicial to the Church of *Canterbury*. In the mean time, the King had ſent ſecret word unto the Pope, by *Rodulph* and other Procurators, that in no caſe he would conſecrate *Thurſtinus*. Yet, notwithſtanding the faithful promiſe of the Pope made to the King, ſo it fell out, that the ſaid Pope through the ſute of his Cardinals, whom *Thurſtinus* had won to him, was inclined to conſecrate him, and gave him the Pall. For this deed the King was ſore diſcontented with *Thurſtin*, and warned him the entry of this Land.

{Anno 1118.}

*Pope Calixtus breaketh promiſe with the King.*

*Thurſtin conſecrated Archbiſhop of York by the Pope againſt the Kings mind.*

*Concilium Rhemenſe.*

In this Council at *Rhemis* (above mentioned) where were gathered 434. Prelates, theſe five principal Acts were concluded.

*Acts of the Council of Rhemis.*

1. That no man ſhould either buy or ſell any Biſhoprick, Abbatſhip, Deanry, Archdeaconſhip, Prieſthood, Prebendſhip, Altar, or any Eccleſiaſtical promotion, or Benefice, Orders, Conſecration, Church hallowing, ſeat or ſtall within the Quire, or any Office Eccleſiaſtical, under danger of Excommunication, if he did perſiſt.

2. That no Lay perſon ſhould give Inveſtiture or any Eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſion; and that no ſpiritual man ſhould receive any ſuch at any Lay mans hand, under pain of deprivation.

3. That no man ſhould invade, take away, or detain the goods or poſſeſſions of the Church; but that they ſhould remain firm and perpetual, under pain of perpetual curſe.

4. That no Biſhop or Prieſt ſhould leave any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreover, that for Baptiſm, Chriſm, Annoiling, or Burial, no Money ſhould be exacted.

5. *Item*, that all Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons, ſhould be utterly debarred and ſequeſtred from company of their Wives and Concubines, under pain of excluding from all Chriſtian Communion.

*The Acts ſent to the Emperor.*

The Acts thus determined were ſent eſtſoons to *Henricus* the Emperor, to ſee and try, before the breaking up of the Council, whether he would agree to the Canonical Elections, free conſecration, and Inveſting of ſpiritual Perſons, and to other Acts of the ſaid Council. The Emperor maketh anſwer again, that he would loſe nothing of that ancient Cuſtom which his Progenitors had given him. Notwithſtanding, becauſe of the Authority of the general Council, he was content to conſent to the reſidue, ſave only the Inveſting of Eccleſiaſtical Function to be taken from him, to that he would never agree. Upon this, at the next return of the Pope to the Council, the Emperor was appointed to be Excommunicated. Which thing, when divers of the Council did not well like, and therefore did ſeparate themſelves from the reſt; the Pope applying againſt them the multitude of the ſeventy Diſciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his fleſh and blood, and therefore divided themſelves from him, declaring moreover to them, how they which gathered not with him, ſcattered, and they that were not with him, were againſt him: By theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions reduced them again to his ſide; and ſo by that Council *Henricus* the Emperor was Excommunicated.

*The Emperor agreeth not to the Popes Inveſting.*

*The Council divided. Ex Rog. Hoved.*

*Henricus the Emperor Excommunicated.*

It was not long after but the Pope came to *Giſortium*, where *Henry* King of *England* reſorted to him, deſiring and alſo obtaining of him, that he would ſend henceforth no Legate, nor permit any to be ſent from *Rome* to *England*, unleſs the King himſelf ſhould ſo require, by reaſon of ſome occaſion of ſtrife, which elſe could not be otherwiſe decided by his own Biſhops at home. The cauſe why the King required this of the Pope was, for that certain *Roman* Legates had been in *England* a little before (to wit) one *Guido*, and another *Roman* named *Anſelmus*, and another alſo called *Petrus*, who had ſpoyled the Realm of great Treaſure, as the accuſtomed manner of the proud Popes Legates is wont to be, *Guli. de pont. lib.* 1. Alſo he required of the Pope, that he might uſe and retain all the cuſtoms uſed before of his foreſathers in *England* and in *Normandy*.

*Agreed that England ſhould have no other Legate from Rome, but only the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

*England ſpoyled by the Popes Legats.*

To theſe petitions the Pope did eaſily conſent, requiring again of the King, that he would Licence *Thurſtinus*, the Archbiſhop above minded, to return with favour into his Realm. But that the King utterly denied, unleſs he would profeſs ſubjection to the Church of *Canterbury*, as his Predeceſſors had done before; and excuſed himſelf by his Oath which he before had made. To this the Pope anſwered again, that he, by his authority Apoſtolical, both might, and would alſo eaſily diſpence with him for his promiſe or oath. Then the King ſaid, that he would talk with his Council thereof, and ſo ſend him an anſwer of his mind; which anſwer was this, That, for the love and requeſt of the Pope, he was content that *Thurſtinus* ſhould re-enter his Realm, and quietly enjoy his Prelateſhip, upon this condition that he would (as his Predeceſſors did) profeſs his ſubjection to the Church of *Canterbury*. Otherwiſe (ſaid he) ſo long as he was King, he ſhould never ſit Archbiſhop of the Church of *York*. And thus ended that meeting between the King of *England* and the Pope for that time.

*All the cuſtoms of the Realm granted of the Pope.*

The year following after that, which was, *Anno* 1120. the foreſaid Pope *Calixtus* directeth his Letters for *Thurſtinus* to the King, and to *Rodulph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In which Epiſtle, by his full power Apoſtolical, he doth interdict both the Church of *Canterbury*, and the Church of *York*, with all the Pariſh Churches within the ſame Cities, from all Divine ſervice, from the burial alſo of the dead, except only Baptiſing of Children, and abſolution of them that lie on dying; unleſs, within a month after the receit of the ſame, *Thurſtinus* (without any exaction of ſubjection made) were received and admitted to the See of *York*, and that the King likewiſe ſhould doubtleſs be Excommunicated, except he would conſent unto the ſame. Whereupon *Thurſtinus*, for fear of the Popes curſe, was immediatly ſent for and reconciled to the King, and was placed quietly in his Archiepiſcopal See of *York*.

{Anno 1120.}

*The Popes Letter to the King, compelled to receive Thurſtinus for fear of the Popes curſe.*

*Thurſtinus reſtored.*

{Anno 1122.}

It followed not long after (within two years) *Rodulph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* departed, in whoſe See ſucceeded after him *Guliemus de Turbine*. About which time (in the ſeven and twentieth year of the Kings Reign) the Gray-Friers, by procuring of the King, came firſt into *England*, and had their Houſe firſt at *Canterbury*. About the ſame ſeaſon or a little before, the King called a Council at *London*, where the ſpirituality of *England*) not knowing to what purpoſe it was required) condeſcended to the King to have the puniſhment of married Prieſts: By reaſon of which grant (whereof the ſpirituality afterwards much repented) the Prieſts, paying a certain to the King, were ſuffered to retain their Wives ſtill, whereby the King gathered no ſmall ſum of Money, *Rog. Hoved. Guliel. Gisburnenſis.* At this time began the firſt foundation of the Monaſtery called *Gisburn in Cleveland*.

*William Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

*The Gray-Friers firſt came into England.*

{Anno 1125.}

*Prieſts paid for their Wives. Ex Roger. Hoved. Et Guliel. Gisburnenſi. Hunting. lib. 7.*

*The Abbey of Gisburne builded.*

It was above touched, how *Matild* or *Maud*, Daughter to King *Henry*, was married to *Henry* the fifth Emperor; who, after the deceaſe of the ſaid Emperor her Husband, returned about this preſent time with the Imperial Crown to her Father in *Normandy*, bringing with her the hand of Saint *James*. For the joy whereof the King builded

*S. James hand.*

*Reading* Abbey founded.

builded the Abbey of *Reading*, where the ſaid Hand was repoſed. This *Matild* was received by the ſaid Council to be next Heir to the King, her Father in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crown, for lack of Iſſue Male. And ſoon after upon the ſame, ſhe was ſent over to *Normandy*, to marry with *Geffrey Plantaginet* Earl of *Anjou*, of whom came *Henry* the Second, who (after *Stephan*) was King of *England*. And about this time alſo was founded the the Priory of *Norton* in the Province of *Cheſter*, by one *William* the Son of *Nichelle*. In the ſtory of *Polychronicon*, *Fornal.* and *Polydorus* is declared, how the King was troubled greatly with three ſundry viſions appearing unto him by night. The firſt was of a great multitude of Husbandmen of the Countrey, which appeared to fly upon him with their Mattocks and Inſtruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe unto them. In the ſecond, he ſaw a great number of Souldiers and harneſſed men ro come fiercely upon him. In the third, he ſaw a company of Prelates and Church-men, threatning him with their Biſhops Staves, and fiercely aproaching upon him. Whereupon (being diſmaied) in all haſte he ran and took his Sword to defend himſelf, finding there none to ſtrike: Who afterward, asking Counſel concerning theſe Viſions, was moniſhed by one of his Phyſitians (named *Grimbald*) by Repentance, Almes, and amendment of life to make ſome amends to God, and to his Country whom he offended. Which three Vows thus being made, the next year after he went to *England*; where he, being upon the Seas in a great tempeſt with his Daughter *Matild*, remembred their his three Vows. And ſo coming to the land (for performance of the ſame) firſt releaſed unto the Commons the Dane-gilt which his Father and Brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to S. *Edmundsbury*, where he ſhewed great benefits to the Church-men. Thirdly, he procured Juſtice to be Adminiſtred more rightly throughout his Realm, &c. Alſo he Ordained and Erected a new Biſhoprick at *Carlile*.

*Matild* daughter of King *Henry* heir to the Crown.

*Geffrey Plantagenet.*

*Henry 2.* born of *Matild* the Empreſs.

Anno 1130.

The Priory of *Norton* founded.

Three terrible viſions of the King.

Three vows made of King *Henry*

Anno 1131.

Dane-gilt releaſed.

The Church relieved.

Juſtice rightly adminiſtred.

Biſhoprick of *Carlile* newly Erected by King *Henry*.

In the three and thirtieth year of the Kings Reign (as witneſſeth a certain Author) a great part of the City of *London*, with the Church of S. *Paul*, was burned with fire in *Whitſun* Week.

The City and *Pauls* Church in *London* burned.

After *Calixtus* (whoſe ſtory and time is before diſcourſed) ſucceeded Pope *Honorius* the Second; notwithſtanding that the Cardinals had Elected another, yet he by the means of certain Citizens obtained the Papacy, *Anno* 1125. About the Second year of his Induction (as is to be read in *Mat. Paris*) there was a certain Legat of his, called *Johannes Cremenſis*, ſent down to *England* from the Pope for the redreſs I cannot well tell whereof. But indeed the chiefeſt purpoſe of his coming, as of all others after him in thoſe days, was to fill their Pouches with Engliſh Money, as may further appear by their proceedings. This Legat coming then with the Popes Letters directed both into *England* and into *Scotland*, after he had well refreſhed himſelf in Biſhops houſes, and amongſt the Abbats, at length reſorted to *London*, where he aſſembled the whole Clergy together, inquired of Prieſts Concubines, otherwiſe called their Wives, and made thereupon a Statute in the ſaid Synod of *London*, after this Tenor, *Presbyteris, diaconibus, ſubdiaconibus, & canonicis, uxorum, concubinarum, & omnium omnino fœminarum cantubernia, authoritate apoſtolica inhibemus, præter matrem aut ſororem, vel amitam, aut ejuſmodi quæ omnino careant ſuſpicione. Et qui decreti hujus violator extiterit (confeſſus vel convictus) ruinan ordinis patiatur. Inter conſanguineos ſeu affinitate propinquos, uſquead ſeptimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus.* That is, To Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacons, and Canons, we do utterly Inhibit by Authority Apoſtolical, all manner ſociety and converſation with all kind of women, except only their Mother, Siſter, or Aunt, or ſuch whereof can riſe no ſuſpicion. And whoſoever ſhall be found to violate this Decree, being convict thereof, ſhall ſuſtain thereby the loſs of all that he hath by his Order. Moreover, amongſt kindred or ſuch as be joyned in affinity, we forbid Matrimony unto the ſeventh Generation, &c. But ſee how God worketh againſt ſuch ungodly Proceedings. The next night after it happened the ſame Cardinal (ruffling and revelling with his Concubines) to be apprehended in the ſame vice, whereof he had ſo ſtrictly given out precepts the next day before, to the no little ſlander and ſhame, as *Mat. Paris* doth write, of the whole Clergy.

*Honorius* the ſecond.

*Matthæus Parisiensis.*

A *Romiſh* ſtatute concerning Prieſts Wives and Concubines.

Marriage forbid to the ſeventh degree.

The Popes Legat giving precepts of chaſtity, was found with an Harlot.

Unto this time lived *Henricus* the fifth Emperor after he had Reigned twenty years, dying without Iſſue, as is before mentioned. Next after *Henricus*, the Imperial Crown came unto *Lotharius* Duke of *Saxon*, in the year one thouſand one hundred twenty and ſeven.

Certain Hiſtories make mention of one *Arnulphus*, in the time of this Pope *Honorius* the Second. Some ſay he was Archbiſhop of *Lugdune*, as *Hugo*, *Platina*, *Sabellicus*. *Tritemius* ſaith he was a Prieſt, whoſe Hiſtory, as it is ſet forth in *Tritemius*, I will briefly in Engliſh expreſs. About this time, ſaith he, in the days of *Honorius* the Second, one *Arnulphus* Prieſt, a man Zealous and of great Devotion, and a worthy Preacher, came to *Rome*, which *Arnulphus* in his Preaching rebuked the diſſolute and laſcivious looſeneſs, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate Pride of the Clergy, provoking all to follow Chriſt and his Apoſtles in their poverty rather, and in pureneſs of life. By reaſon whereof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the Nobility of *Rome* for a true Diſciple of Chriſt; but of the Cardinals and the Clergy he was no leſs hated than favoured of the other. In ſo much that privily in the night ſeaſon they took him and deſtroyed him. This his Martyrdom, ſaith he, was revealed to him before from God by an Angel, he being in the deſert, when he was ſent forth to Preach; whereupon he ſaid unto them publickly with theſe Words, *I know (ſaith he) ye ſeek my life, and know you will make me away privily:* But why? *Becauſe I Preach to you in the Truth, and blame your pride, ſtoutneſs, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeaſurable greedineſs in getting and heaping up of riches, therefore you be diſpleaſed with me. I take here Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that I have Preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemn me and your Creator, who by his only Son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you ſeek my death, being a ſinful perſon, preaching unto you the truth, when as if S.* Peter *were here this day and rebuked your Vices, which do ſo multiply above all meaſure, you would not ſpare him neither.* And as he was expreſſing this, with a loud voice he ſaid moreover: *For my part I am not afraid to ſuffer death for the truth ſake; but this I ſay unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. You, being full of all unpurity, play the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to Hell; a God he is of vengeance.* Thus the hatred of the Clergy being incenſed againſt him for Preaching truth, they conſpired againſt him, and ſo, laying privy wait for him, took him and drowned him. *Sabellicus* and *Platina* ſay they hanged him.

*Arnulphus* Martyred at Rome.

The Hiſtory of *Arnulphus*.

*Arnulphus* Martyr.

In the ſecond Tome of the General Councils imprinted at *Cullen*, is mentioned a certain Book called *Opus tripartitum*, written, as the Author ſuppoſeth, above four hundred years ago, either of this *Arnulphus*, or juſt about the ſame time. In this Book, the Writer complaineth of many Enormities and abuſes in the Church. Firſt, of the number of Holy-days, declaring what occaſions of vice grew thereby, according unto the common ſaying of Whores and naughty women, which, ſay they, Vantage more in one Holy-day, than in fifty other days beſides.

*In Tritemio.* A book called *Tripartitum*, written ten 400. years ago.

Number of Holy days.

*Item*, he complaineth of the curious ſinging in Cathedral Churches, whereby many be occaſioned to beſtow much good time, yea, many years about the ſame which otherwiſe they might give to the learning of better Sciences.

Curious ſinging in Cathedral Churches.

Likewiſe he complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging Friers, and religious men and profeſſed women, ſhewing what great occaſion of idle and uncomly life cometh thereof.

The world overcharged with begging religious.

Alſo of the inconſiderate promotion of evil Prelates, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the evil demeanor of the people.

Promotion of evil Prelates.

*Item*, of the great wantonneſs and laſciviouſneſs in their ſervants and families, concerning their exceſſive wearing of Apparel.

Superfluity of apparel in Biſhops families.

*Item*, he complaineth alſo of the outragious and exceſſive gains that Prelates and other under them take for their ſeal, eſpecially of Officials, ſcribes, and ſuch like; which give but the ſeal they care not how, nor wherefore, ſo they may gain Money.

Biſhop Seals abuſed to get Money.

He complaineth in like manner, that Prelats be ſo ſlack and negligent in looking to the reſidents in their benefices.

Non reſidents in Benefices.

Further,

Raſh beſtowing of Benefices.

Further, he lamenteth the raſh giving of Benefices to Parſons, Vicars and Curats, not for any godlineſs or learning in them, but for favour or friendſhip, or interceſſion, or elſe for hope of ſome gain, whereof ſpringeth this great ignorance in the Church.

Waſtefol ſpending of the Church goods.

After this, he noteth in Prelats, how they waſte and expend the goods of the Church in ſuperfluities; or upon their kinſfolks, or other worſe ways, which ſhould rather be ſpent on the poor.

Old Books of councils loſt by the negligence of the Clerks.

Nextly, in the tenth Chapter he complaineth, for that through the negligence of men of the Church (eſpecially of the Church of *Rome*) the Books and Monuments of the old Councils, and alſo of the new, are not to be found: Which ſhould be reſerved and kept in all Cathedral Churches.

The unchaſte life of Prieſts condemned by the nature of the Storks.

*Item*, that many Prelates be ſo cold in doing their duties. Alſo he reproacheth, the unchaſte and voluptuous demeanour of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, by the examples of Stroks, whoſe nature is (ſaith he) that if any of their company, leaving his own mate, joyneth with any other, all the reſt flieth upon him, whether it be he or ſhe, beateth him, and plucketh his Fathers off: What then, ſaith he, ought good Prelates to do to ſuch a Perſon of their company, whoſe filthineſs and corrupt life both defileth ſo many, and ſtinketh in the whole Church?

Amendment of life ought firſt to begin with the Prieſts.

Again, for ſo much as we read in the Book of *Eſdras*, *lib. 2. cap. 9.* that he, purging *Iſrael* of ſtrange Women, began firſt with the Prieſts; ſo now likewiſe in the purging and correcting of all ſorts of men, firſt the Purgation ought to begin with theſe, according as it is written by the Prophet *Ezechiel*; begin firſt with the Sanctuary, &c.

The Realm of *France* interdicted.

Moreover, how that in the time of *Philip* King of *France*, the whole Realm was interdicted for that the King had but one Woman inſtead of his Wife, which was not his Wife by Law. And again, ſeeing in theſe our days

King of *Portugal* depoſed.

the King of *Portugal* hath been ſequeſtred from his Dominion, by the Authority of the Church, being thought not ſufficient to Govern: What then ought be ſaid to that Prelate who abuſeth other mens Wives, Virgins, and Nuns, which alſo is found unable and inſufficient to take upon him the charge of Souls?

The Knights of the Rhodes and Templars.

About the year of our Lord, 1128. the Orders of the Knights of the Rhodes, called Johannits, alſo the Order of Templars roſe up.

Pope *Innocentius* the ſecond.

After *Honorius*, next in the ſame uſurpation ſucceeded Pope *Innocentius* the ſecond, *Anno.* 1130. But as it was with his Predeceſſors before him, that at every mutation of new Popes, came new perturbations, and commonly never a Pope was Elected, but ſome other was ſet up againſt him (ſometimes two, ſometimes three Popes together) ſo likewiſe it hapned with this *Innocentius*; for after he was choſen, the *Romans* Elected another Pope, named *Anacletus*. Betwixt theſe two Popes, there was much ado,

Hurliburly betweene Popes.

and great conflicts through the partaking of *Rogerius*, Duke of *Sicile*, taking *Anacletus* part againſt *Innocentius*, until *Lotharius* the Emperor came; who reſcuing *Innocentius*, drove *Rogerius* out of *Italy*. Our ſtories record, that King *Henry* was one of the great helps in ſetting up and maintaining this Pope *Innocentius* againſt *Anacletus*: *Ciſburnenſis*.

The Popes curſe proclaimed againſt ſuch as ſtrike any Prieſt.

Amongſt many other things, this Pope decreed that whoſoever did ſtrike a Prieſt or Clerk, being ſhaven, he ſhould be Excommunicated, and not be abſolved, but only of the Pope himſelf.

The death of King *Henry*. { Anno 1135.

About the time of doing theſe things, being the year of our Lord, 1135. King *Henry* being in *Normandy*, as ſome ſay, by taking there a fall from his Horſe, as others ſay, by taking a ſurfet in eating Lampries, fell ſick and died, after he had Reigned over the Realm of *England* five and thirty years and odd months; leaving for his heirs *Matilda* the Empreſs his Daughter, with her young Son *Henry* to ſucceed after him; to whom all the Prelats and Nobility of the Realm were Sworn. But, contrary to their Oath made to *Maud* in the preſence of her Father before, *William* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Nobles of the Realm, Crowned *Stephen* Earl of *Bologne*, and Sifters Son to King *Henry*, upon Saint *Stephens* day in *Chriſtmas* week; which Archbiſhop the next year after dyed, being, as it was thought, juſtly puniſhed

Perjury inſtly puniſhed.

for his Perjury. And many other Lords, which did accordingly, went not quit without puniſhment. In the like juſtice of puniſhment is numbred alſo *Roger*, Biſhop of *Sálisbury*; who contrary unto his Oath, being a great doer in the Coronation of *Stephen*, was apprehended of the ſame King, and miſerably, but juſtly, extermined.

A certain Written *Engliſh* ſtory I have, which addeth more, and ſaith, that King *Stephen*, having many foes in divers quarters keeping their holds and caſtles againſt him, went then to *Oxford*, and took the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and put a Rope about his neck, and ſo led him to the Caſtle of *Vies*, that was his, and commanded them to render up the Caſtle, or he would ſlay and hang their Biſhop. Which Caſtle being given up, the King took the ſpoyl thereof. The like alſo he did unto the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, named *Alexander*; whom in like manner he led in a Rope to a Caſtle of the Biſhops, that was upon *Trent*, and bad them deliver up the Caſtle, or elſe he would hang their Lord before the gate. Long it was before the Caſtle was given up; yet at length the King obtaining it, there entred and took all the Treaſure of the Biſhop, &c. *Roger Hoveden* and *Fabian* alledging a certain old Author, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cauſe of this perjury unto one *Hugh Bigot*, Steward ſometime with King *Henry*. Who, immediately after the death of the ſaid *Henry*, came into *England*, and before the ſaid Archbiſhop, and other Lords of the land, took wilfully an Oath, and Swore, that he was preſent a little before the Kings death, when King *Henry* admitted for his heir (to be King after him) *Stephen* his Nephew, for ſo much as *Maud* his daughter had diſcontented him. Whereunto the Archbiſhop with the other Lords, gave too haſty credence. But this *Hugh*, ſaith he, ſcaped not unpuniſhed, for he died miſerably in a ſhort time after. *Ex Fabian.* Albeit all this may be ſuppoſed rather to be wrought not without the practice of *Henry*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, and other Prelates by his ſetting on, which *Henry* was brother unto King *Stephen*, &c.

*Ex chron. Anglii. incerti autoris.*

The Biſhop of Sarum and of Lincoln taken priſoners of the King, and led with Ropes about their necks.

*Roger Hoved. in vit. Steph. Ex Fab. in vita Steph.*

## *King* Stephen.

{ Anno 1136. }

THus, when King *Stephen*, contrary unto his Oath made before to *Maud* the Empreſs, had taken upon him the Crown (as is above ſaid) he Swore before the Lords at *Oxford*, that he would not hold the Benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegild with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreover, becauſe he dreaded the coming of the Empreſs, he gave licence to his Lords, every one to build upon his own ground ſtrong Caſtles or Fortreſſes, as them liked. All the time of his Reign he was vexed with Wars, but eſpecially with *David*, King of the *Scots*, with whom he was at length accorded: But yet the *Scottiſh* King did him no Homage, becauſe he was Sworn to *Maud* the Empreſs. Notwithſtanding, yet *Henry* the Eldeſt Son to King *David*, did Homage to King *Stephen*. But he, after repenting thereof, entred into *Northumberland* with a great hoſt, and burnt and ſlew the people in moſt cruel wiſe, neither ſparing man, woman, or child. Such as were with child they ript, the children they toſt upon their Spears points, and laying the Prieſts upon the Altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a moſt terrible manner. But by the manhood of the *Engliſh* Lords and Souldiers, and through the means of *Thurſtin*, Archbiſhop of *York*, they were met withal, and ſlain a great number of them, and *David* their King conſtrained to give to *Henry* his Son Hoſtage for ſurety of peace. In the mean time, King *Stephen* was occupied in the South Countries, beſieging divers Caſtles of divers Biſhops and other Lords, and took them by force, and fortified them with his Knights and Servants, to the intent to withſtand the Empreſs, whoſe coming he ever feared.

King *Stephen*. Building of Caſtles in *England*.

The cruelty of the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſhmen*.

About the ſixth year of his Reign, *Maud* the Empreſs came into *England* out of *Normandy*, and by the aid of *Robert*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, and *Ranulph* of *Cheſter*, made ſtorng War upon King *Stephen*. In the end whereof the Kings party was chaſed, and himſelf taken priſoner; and ſent to *Briſtow*, there to be kept in ſure hold. The ſame day when King *Stephen* ſhould joyn his Battel, it is ſaid in a certain Old Chronicle before minded, that he being at the Maſs (which then the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſaid before the King) as he went to offer up his Taper, it brake in

{ Anno 1140. }

*Maud* the Empreſs came into *England* againſt *Stephen*.

King *Stephen* taken Priſoner.

two

two pieces. And when the Maſs was done, (at what time the King ſhould have been houſeled) the rope, whereby the Pix did hang, did break, and the Pix fell down upon the Altar.

After this field, the Queen, King *Stephens* wife, (lying then in *Kent*) made great labour to the Empreſs and her Council, to have the King delivered and put into ſome houſe of Religion, but could not obtain it. Alſo the *Londoners* made great Suit to the ſaid Empreſs, to have and to uſe again Saint *Edwards* Laws, and not the Laws of her Father, which were more ſtrict and ſtrange unto them than the other. Which when they could not obtain of her and her Council; the Citizens of *London*, being therewith diſcontented, would have taken the Empreſs: but ſhe having knowledge thereof, fled privily from *London* to *Oxford*. But then the *Kentiſh-men* and *Londoners*, taking the Kings part, joyned battel againſt the Empreſs; where the foreſaid *Robert*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, and baſe Brother to the Empreſs was taken, and ſo by exchange, both the King and the Earl *Robert* were delivered out of priſon. Then *Stephen* without delay, gathering to him a ſtrong Army, ſtraitly purſued the foreſaid *Matild* or *Maud*, with her friends, beſieging them in the Caſtle of *Oxford*. In the Siege whereof fell a great Snow and Froſt ſo hard, that a man well laden might paſs over the water: upon the occaſion whereof, the Empreſs bethinking her ſelf, appointed with her Friends and Retinue cloathed in white Sheets, and ſo iſſuing out by a Poſtern-Gate, went upon the Ice over *Thames*, and ſo eſcaped to *Walingford*. After this, the King (the Caſtle being gotten) when he found not the Empreſs, was much diſpleaſed, and moleſted the Country about divers ways. In concluſion, he purſued the Empreſs and her Company ſo hard, that he cauſed them to fly the Realm, which was the ſixth year of his Reign.

What it is for Princes to be hard and ſtrict to their Subjects.

King *Stephen* and *Robert*, Earl of *Gloceſter* delivered by exchange.

*Sincerus authoris Chronico.*

The ſecond year after this, which was the eighth year of his Reign, there was a Parliament kept at *London*, unto the which all the Biſhops of the Realm reſorted, and there denounced the King accurſed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the Church, or to any Miniſter thereof. Whereupon the King began ſomewhat to amend his conditions for a certain ſpace: but afterward (as my ſtory ſaith) was as ill as he was before; but what the cauſes were, my Author maketh no relation thereof, &c. To return again to the ſtory, the Empreſs compelled, as is ſaid, to fly the Realm, returned again into *Normandy* to *Geoffery Plantaginet* her Husband. Who, after he had valiantly won and defended the *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, againſt the puiſſance of King *Stephen* a long time, ended his life, leaving *Henry* his Son to ſucceed him in that Dukedom. In the mean while, *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Cheſter*, who were ſtrong of people, had divers Conflicts with the King, inſomuch that at a battel at *Wilton* between them the King was well near taken, but yet eſcaped with much pain.

The deceaſe of Geoffery Plantaginet.

It was not long after, but *Euſtace*, Son to King *Stephen*, who had married the *French* Kings Siſter, made War on Duke *Henry* of *Normandy*, but prevailed not. Soon after, the ſaid *Henry*, Duke of *Normandy*, (in the quarrel of his Mother *Maud*) with a great puiſſance entred into *England*, and at the firſt won the Caſtle of *Malmesbury*, then the *Tower* of *London*, and afterward the Town of *Nottingham*, with other Holds and Caſtles, as of *Wallingford*, and other more. Thus between him and the King were fought many battels, to the great annoyance of the Realm. During which time, *Euſtace* the Kings Son departeth. Upon the occaſion whereof, the King cauſed *Theobald* (which ſucceeded next after *William* above mentioned) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to make means to the Duke for peace, which upon this condition between them was concluded, that *Stephen*, during his life time, ſhould hold the Kingdom, and *Henry* in the mean time to be proclaimed Heir-apparent in the chief Cities throughout the Realm. Theſe things thus concluded; Duke *Henry* taketh his Journey into *Normandy* (King *Stephen* and his Son *William* bringing him on his way) where *William* the Kings Son taking up his horſe before his Father, had a fall, and brake his Leg, and ſo was had to *Canterbury*. The ſame year King *Stephen*, about *October* (as ſome ſay for ſorrow) ended his life, after he had reigned nineteen years perjuredly.

Henry Duke of Normandy.

Henry enteth into England.

Theobald Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Peace between King Stephen and Duke Henry concluded.

The death of King Stephen.

As *Theobald* ſucceeded after *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſo in *York*, after *Thurſtan*, ſucceeded *William*, which was called S. *William* of *York*, who was poyſoned in his *Chalice* by his Chaplains.

Saint William of York.

In the time of this King, and about the ſixteenth year of his Reign, *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Legate to the Pope, did hold a Council at *London*. In the which Council firſt began new found Appellations from Councils to the Pope, found out by *Henry*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. For as the words of mine Author do record, *In Anglia namque Appellationes in uſu non erant, donec eas* Henricus Wintonienſis *Epiſcopus, dum Legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit. In eodem namque concilio ad* Romani *Pontificis audientiam ter appell atus ſt, &c.* That is, *For Appellations before were not in uſe in* England, *till* Henry *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *being then the Popes Legate, brought them cruelly in, to his own hurt. For in that Council thrice appeal was made to the Biſhop of* Rome.

In the time of King *Stephen* died *Gratianus* a Monk of *Bonony*, who compiled the Book called *The Popes Decrees*. Alſo his Brother *Petrus Lombardus*, Biſhop of *Paris*, which is called *the Maſter of Sentences*, compiled his four Books of the Sentences. Theſe two Brethren were the greateſt doers in finding out and eſtabliſhing this blind opinion of the Sacrament, that the only ſimilitude of bread and wine remained, but not the ſubſtance of them: and this they call the Spiritual underſtanding of the myſtery. And therefore no marvel if the Sun in thoſe days were ſeen black and dim.

Gratianus the compiler of the Popes Decrees. Petrus Lombardus Maſter of the ſentences.

Some alſo affirm, that *Petrus Comeſtor*, Writer of the Scholaſtical Hiſtory, was the third Brother to theſe above named.

Petrus Comeſtor.

In the ſame time and Reign of the ſaid King *Stephen* was alſo *Hugo*, ſurnamed *De ſancto victore*. About the which time (as *Polychronicon* reciteth) lived and died *Bernardus Clarevalienſis*.

Hugo de Sancto victore. Bernardus Clarevallenſis.

The Author of the Hiſtory, called *Fornalenſis*, maketh alſo mention of *Hildegate* the Nun and Propheteſs in *Almany*, to have lived in the ſame age. Concerning whoſe Propheſie againſt the Fryers, hereafter (by the Grace of Chriſt) more ſhall be ſaid, when we come to recite the order and number of Fryers and religious men crept into the Church of Chriſt.

Hildegare.

We read moreover of one named *Johannes de Temporibus*, which by the affirmance of moſt of our old Hiſtories, lived 361. years (ſervant once to *Carolus Magnus*) and in the Reign of *Stephen*, King of *England* died, *Polychron. lib. 7. Continuator Henr. Hunt. Fornalenſis in vita Steph. Nicol. Trivet, &c.*

Johannes de Temporibus.

In the daies alſo of this King, and by him, was builded the Abbey of *Feverſham*, where his Son and he were buried. He builded the Monaſtery of *Finerneis* and of *Fomitance*, the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, with a number of other Caſtles more.

During the time of the ſaid King *Stephen*, in the year of our Lord, 1144. the miſerable *Jews* crucified a Child in the City of *Norwich*, *Nicol. Trivet. & alii.*

The Jews crucified a Chriſtian body at Norwich.

Much about the ſame time, came up the Order of the *Gilbertines*, by one *Gilbert*, Son to *Jacoline* a Knight of *Lincolnſhire*, *&c.*

The order of the Gilbertines.

Mention hath been made before of certain *Engliſh* Councils holden in the time of this King, where it was (in one of them under *Theobald* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) decreed, that Biſhops ſhould live more diſcreetly; ſhould teach their Flock more diligently; that reading of Scriptures ſhould be frequented more uſually in Abbeys; that Prieſts ſhould not be Rulers of worldly matters; and that they ſhould learn and teach the *Lords Prayer* and *Creed* in *Engliſh*. *Malmes.*

The Lords Prayer and the Creed in Engliſh.

*Matth. Pariſienſis* writeth, how *Stephen* King of *England* in theſe daies reſerved to himſelf the right and authority of beſtowing Spiritual Livings, and inveſting Prelates, in the year, 1133.

*Matth. Pariſienſ. lib. Chron. 4.* Stephen King of England.

At which time alſo, *Lotharius* the Emperor began to do the like, in recovering again the right and priviledge taken away from *Henricus* his Predeceſſor; had not *Bernardus* given him contrary counſel.

Here came into the Church the manner of curſing with Book, Bell, and Candle, deviſed in the Council of *London*, holden by *William*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* under *Celeſtinus*, which ſucceeded after *Inuocentius*, *Anno* 1144. Alſo

Curſing with Book, Bell, and Candle.

Alſo *Lotharius* ſucceeded in the Imperial Crown *Conradus*, the Nephew of *Henricus* the fifth afore mentioned, {Anno 1138.} *Anno* 1138. who only amongſt many Emperors, is not found to receive the Crown at the Popes hand.

In the days of this Emperor, who reigned fifteen years, were divers Popes, as *Celeſtinus* the ſecond, *Lucius* the ſecond, *Eugenius* the third, at which time the *Romans* went about to recover their former old manner of chuſing their Conſuls and Senators. But the Popes, then being in their ruff, in no caſe would abide it; whereupon aroſe many Commotions, with much civil War amongſt them. Inſomuch that Pope *Lucius* (ſending for aid to the Emperor, who otherwiſe letted at that time could not come) armed his Souldiers, thinking to invade them, or elſe to deſtroy them in the Senate-houſe. But this coming to their knowledge before, the people was all in array, and ſo much ado was amongſt them. Pope *Lucius* being alſo amongſt them in the fight (well pelted with ſtones and blows) lived not long after. Likewiſe Pope *Eugenius* after him, *Anno* 1145. purſuing the *Romans* for the ſame matter, firſt did curſe them with Excommunication; after, when he ſaw that would not ſerve, he came with his Hoſt, and ſo compelled them at length to ſeek his peace, and to take his conditions, which were theſe, *That they ſhould aboliſh their Conſuls, and take ſuch Senators as he by his Papal Authority ſhould aſſign them.*

Pope *Lucius* the ſecond warring againſt the Senators.

Spiritual Excommunication abuſed in Temporal Cauſes.

Then followed *Anaſtaſius* the fourth, and after him *Adrian* the fourth an *Engliſhman*, by his name called *Breakſpeare*, belonging once to S. *Albans*. This *Adrianus* kept great ſtir in like ſort with the Citizens of *Rome* for aboliſhing their Conſuls and Senate, curſing, excommunicating, and warring againſt them with all Power he could make, till the time he removed the Conſuls out of their Office, and brought them all under his ſubjection. The like buſineſs and rage he alſo ſtirred up againſt *Apulia*, and eſpecially againſt the Empire, bluſtering and thundering againſt *Fredericus* the Emperor, as (the Lord granting) you ſhall hear anon, after we have proſecuted ſuch matter, as neceſſarily appertaineth firſt to the continuation of our *Engliſh* ſtory.

*Adrianus* a Pope, an *Engliſhman*.

## *King* Henry *the Second.*

{Anno 1154.} HEnry the Second of that name, the Son of *Geffery Plantaginet* and of *Maud* the Empreſs, and Daughter of King *Henry* the firſt, began his Reign after King *Stephen*, and continued five and thirty years. The firſt year of his Reign he ſubdued *Ireland*; and not long after, *Thomas Becket* was made by him Lord Chancellor of *England*. This King caſt down divers Caſtles which were erected in the ſame time of King *Stephen*. He went into the North parts, where he ſubdued *William* King of *Scotland*, who at that time held a great part of *Northumberland*, unto *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, and joyned *Scotland* to his own Kingdom, from the South Ocean to the North Iſles of *Orcades*. Alſo he put under his Dominion the Kingdom of *Wales*, and there felled many great Woods, and made the ways plain. So that by his great manhood and policy, the Seigniory of *England* was much augmented, with the addition of *Scotland*, *Ireland*, the Iſles *Orcades*, *Britain*, *Poictou*, and *Guien*. Alſo he had in his Rule *Normandy*, *Gaſcoin*, *Angeou*, and *Chinon*: alſo *Aluerne* and the City of *Tholous* he won, and were to him ſubject. Over and beſides (by the Title of his Wife *Elenor*, Daughter to the Earl of *Poictou*) he obtained the Mount *Pyrame* in *Spain*: ſo that we read of none of his Progenitors, which had ſo many Countries under his Dominion.

{Anno 1154.} King Henry the ſecond.

Thomas Becket Chancellor of England.

{Anno 1157.} In *England* were ſeen in the Firmament two Suns, and (as it is in *Chronico Chronicorum*) in *Italy* appeared three Suns by the ſpace of three hours in the *Weſt*, and the year following appeared three Moons, whereof the middle Moon had a red Croſs overthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the judgment of ſome) the great Schiſme that after fell among the Cardinals for the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*: or elſe rather the buſineſs between *Fredericus* the Emperor and the Popes, whereof partly now incidently occaſion giveth us to diſcourſe after that I have firſt written of *Gerhardus* and *Dulcinus Navarenſis*; who, in their time, according to their gift, did earneſtly labour and preach againſt the Church of *Rome*, defending and maintaining, that Prayer was not more holy in one place than in another; that the Pope was *Antichriſt*; that the Clergy and Prelates of *Rome* were reject, and the very *Whore of Babylon* prefigured in the *Apocalypſe*, *&c.* Peradventure theſe had received ſome light of knowledge of the *Waldenſes*, who at length with a great number of their Followers were oppreſſed and ſlain by the Pope. And although ſome inconvenient Points of Doctrine and diſhoneſty in their Aſſembles be againſt them alledged of ſome, yet theſe times of ours do teach us ſufficiently what credit is to be given to ſuch Popiſh ſlanders, forged rather upon hatred of true Religion, than upon any judgment of truth. *Illiricus*, in his Book *De teſtibus*, referreth the time of theſe two to the year of our Lord, 1218. but as I find in the ſtory of *Robert Guiſburne*, theſe two about the year of our Lord, 1158. brought thirty with them into *England*, who by the King and the Prelates, were all burnt in the Forehead, and ſo driven out of the Realm, and after (as *Illiricus* writeth) were ſlain by the Pope.

Gerhardus and Dulcinus Preachers againſt Antichriſt of Rome.

*Ex hiſtoria Giſburgenſi.*

{Anno 1158.}

And now (according to my promiſe premiſed) the time requireth to proceed to the Hiſtory of *Fredericus* the firſt (called *Barbaroſſa*) Succeſſor unto *Conradus* in the Empire, who marched up to *Italy*, to ſubdue there certain Rebels. The Pope hearing that, came with his Clergy to meet him by the way, in a Town called *Sutrium*, thinking by him to find Aid againſt his Enemies. The Emperor ſeeing the Biſhop, lighteth from his Horſe to receive him, holding the ſtirrop to the Prelate on the left ſide, when he ſhould have held it on the right, whereat the Pope ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat grieved. The Emperor ſmiling, excuſed himſelf, that he was never accuſtomed to hold ſtirrops. And ſeeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the leſs matter was what ſide of the Horſe he held. The next day to make amends again to the Biſhop, the Emperor ſending for him, received him, holding the right ſtirrop unto the Prelate, and ſo all the matter was made whole, and he the Popes white Son again.

Fredericus Barbaroſſa Emperor.

The Pope diſpleaſed that the Emperor did not hold his right ſtirrop.

The Emperor holds the Pope ſtirrop.

After this, as they were come in and ſate together, *Adrianus* the Pope beginneth to declare unto him, how his Anceſtors before him, ſuch as ſought unto the See of *Rome* for the Crown, were wont always to leave behind them ſome ſpecial token or monument of their Benevolence for the obtaining thereof, as *Carolus Magnus* in ſubduing the *Lombards*, *Otthe* the *Berengarians*, *Lotharius* the *Normans*, *&c.* Wherefore he required ſome benefit to proceed likewiſe from him unto the Church of *Rome*, in reſtoring again the Country of *Apulia* to the Church of *Rome*. Which thing if he would do, he for his part again would do that which appertained unto him to do: meaning in giving him the Crown, for at that time the Popes had brought the Emperors to fetch their Crown at their hands.

The Pope old practiſe in getting Princes gotten by the ears.

*Frederick* with his Princes perceiving that, unleſs he would of his own proper Coſts and Charges fetch in again *Apulia* out of Duke *Williams* hands, he could not ſpeed of the Crown, was fain to promiſe to all that the Pope required, and ſo the next day after was Crowned.

This done, the Emperor returneth into *Germany*, to refreſh his Army and his other Furnitures, for the ſubduing of *Apulia*. In the mean while *Adrianus*, not thinking to be idle, firſt giveth forth Cenſures of Excommunication againſt *William*, Duke of *Apulia*. Beſides, not content with this, he ſendeth alſo to *Emmanuel*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, incenſing him to War againſt the foreſaid *William*. The Duke perceiving this, ſendeth to the Pope for peace, promiſing to reſtore to him whatſoever he would.

War ſtir up the Pope.

But the Pope, through the malignant Counſel of his Cardinals, would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by War. The Duke, ſeeing nothing but War, prepareth himſelf with all Expedition to the ſame. To be brief, making all his Power out of *Sicilia*, he arrived at *Apulia*, and there putteth the Emperor *Emmanuel* to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the City of *Bonaventure*, where the Pope with his Cardinals were looking for Victory. He planting there his Siege, ſo ſtraitly preſſed the City, that the Pope with his Cardinals were glad to intreat for peace, which they refuſed before. The Duke granted unto their peace upon certain conditions, that is, that neither

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neither he ſhould invade ſuch Poſſeſſions as belonged to *Rome*, and that the Pope ſhould make him King of both *Sicilies*. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The Biſhop, coming to *Rome*, was no leſs troubled there about their Conſuls and Senators, inſomuch that when his Curſes and Excommunications could not prevail nor ſerve, he was fain to leave *Rome*, and removed to *Arimi-num*.

The Emperor, all this while ſitting quietly at home, began to conſider with himſelf, how the Pope had extorted from the Emperors, his Predeceſſors, the inveſting and induing of Prelates; how he had pilled and polled all Nations by his Legates, and alſo had been the Sower of Seditions through all his Empery; he began therefore to require of all the Biſhops of *Germany* Homage, and Oath of their Allegiance; commanding alſo the Popes Legates, if they came into *Germany* without his ſending for, not to be received. Charging moreover all his Subjects that none of them ſhould Appeal to *Rome*. Beſides this, in his Letters he ſet and annexed his Name before the Popes name: whereupon the Pope, being not a little offended, directed his Letters to the foreſaid *Frederick* Emperor, after this tenor and form as followeth.

The godly proceedings of *Frederick* the Emperor againſt the Pope.

## The Copy of *Adrianus* the Popes Letters to *Frederick* the Emperor.

ADrianus *Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei*, Frederico *Imperatori ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem, &c.* ¶ Cætera vide in Priore editione.

In Engliſh.

A Letter of Pope *Adrian* to the Emperor *Frederick*.

Adrian *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to* Frederick *Emperor, Health and Apoſtolical benediction. The Law of God as it promiſeth to them that honour Father and Mother long life, ſo it threatneth the ſentence of death to them that curſe Father and Mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that every one the which exalteth himſelf, ſhall be brought low. Wherefore (my welbeloved Son in the Lord) we marvel not a little at your Wiſdom, in that you ſeem not to ſhew that reverence to beſſed S.* Peter, *and to the holy Church of* Rome, *which you ought to ſhew. For why? In your Letters ſent to us, you prefer your own Name before ours, wherein you incur the note of Inſolency, yea rather (to ſpeak it) of Arrogancy. What ſhould I here recite unto you the Oath of your Fidelity, which you ſware to bleſſed S.* Peter *and to us, and how you obſerve and keep the ſame? Seeing you ſo require Homage and Allegiance of them that be gods, and all the Sons of the High God, and preſume to joyn their holy Lands with yours, working contrary to us: ſeeing alſo you exclude, not only out of your Churches, but alſo out of your Cities, our Cardinals, whom we direct as Legates from our ſide: what ſhall I ſay then unto you? Amend therefore I adviſe you, amend; for while you go about to obtain of Us your Conſecration and Crown, and to get thoſe things you have not, I fear much your Honour will loſe the things you have. Thus fare ye well.*

The Emperors name before the Popes.

## The Anſwer of *Frederick* the Emperor to the Pope.

FRederick *by the Grace of God*, Roman *Emperor, ever* Auguſtus, *unto* Adrian *Biſhop of the* Roman *Church, and unto all ſuch that be willing to cleave unto thoſe things which Jeſus began to work and teach, greeting. The law of Juſtice giveth to every perſon accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our Parents: of whom according as we have received this our Dignity of the Imperial Crown and Governance; ſo in the ſame Kingdom of ours, we do render their due and true honour to them again. And for ſo much as duty in all ſorts of men is to be ſought out, let us ſee firſt in the time of* Conſtantine (Silveſter *then being Biſhop of* Rome) *what Patrimony or Regality he had of his own, due to him that he might claim. Did not* Conſtantine *of his liberal benignity give liberty, and reſtored peace unto the Church? And whatſoever Regality or Patrimony the See of your Papacy hath, was it not by the donation of Princes given unto them? Revolve and turn over the ancient Chronicles (if either you have not read, or neglected that we do affirm) there it is to be found. Of them which be gods by adoption, and hold our Lordſhips of us; why may we not juſtly require their Homage, and their ſworn Allegiance, when as he which is both your Maſter and ours (taking nothing of any King or any man, but giving all goodneſs to all men) paid Toll and Tribute for him and* Peter, *unto* Cæſar? *giving you example to do the like. And therefore he ſaith to you and all men,* Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart, &c. *Wherefore either render again your Lordſhips and Patrimonies which ye hold of us: or elſe if ye find them ſo ſweet unto you, then give that which is due to God, unto God; and that which is due to* Cæſar, *unto* Cæſar. *As for your Cardinals, we ſhut them out both of Churches and Cities, for that we ſee them not Preachers, but Prollers; not Repairers of Peace, but Rakers for money; not Pillars and Upholders of the Church, but Pollers inſatiable of the World, and Moylers of money and gold. What time we ſhall ſee them to be other men (ſuch as the Church requireth them to be) members, and makers of peace, ſhining forth like lights to the people, aſſiſting poor and weak mens cauſes in the way of equity, &c. then ſhall they find us preſt and ready to relieve them with ſtipends, and all things neceſſary. And whereas you infer ſuch queſtions as theſe unto ſecular men (little conducing to Religion) you incur thereby no little note and blemiſh of your humility (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your manſuetude. Therefore let your Fatherhood beware and take heed, leſt in moving ſuch matters as ſeem to us unſeemly for you, ye give thereby offence to ſuch as depend of your word (giving ear to your mouth, as it were to an evening ſhowre:) for we cannot but tell you of that we hear; ſeeing now the deteſtable beaſt of Pride doth creep into the Seat of* Peter, *providing always as much as we may (by Gods Grace) for the peace of the Church. Fare ye well.*

Upon this *Adrian* the Pope directeth out a Bull againſt *Frederick*, Excommunicating him with publick and ſolemn Ceremonies. Moreover, conſpiring with *William* Duke of *Apulia* he ſought all manner of ways to infeſt the Emperor, and to ſet all men againſt him, eſpecially the Clergy. Amongſt many other writing to *Hillinus* Biſhop of *Trivers*, to *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Mentz*, and to *Frederick* Biſhop of *Cullen*, he ſeeketh firſt to make them of his ſide. His Epiſtle to them ſoundeth to this effect:

A ſeditious and proud Letter of the Pope to the Biſhops of *Germany*.

*THe Empire of* Rome *was transferred from the* Greeks *to the* Almans; *ſo that the King of* Almans *could not be called Emperour, before he was crowned of the Biſhop Apoſtolical. Before his Conſecration he is a King, afterwards Emperor. Whence hath he his Empire then, but of us? By the election of his Princes he hath the Name of a King, by our Conſecration he hath the name of the Emperor, of* Auguſt, *or of* Cæſar. Ergo *by us he reigneth as Emperor. Search ancient Antiquities.* Zacharias P. *promoted* Carolus *and made him a great Name, that he was made and called Emperor: and after that, ever the King of* Almans *was named Emperor and Advocate to the Sea Apoſtolical: ſo that* Apulia (*conquered by him*) *was ſubdued to the Biſhop of* Rome: *which* Apulia *with the City of* Rome *is ours, and not the Emperors. Our Seat is at* Rome; *the Seat of the Emperour is at* Aquis *in* Ardunna, *which is a wood in* France. *The Emperor whatſoever he hath, he hath it of us. As* Zacharias *did tranſlate the Empire from the* Greeks *to the* Almans; *ſo we may tranſlate it again from the* Almans *to the* Greeks. *Behold it lieth in our Power to give it to whom we will, being therefore ſet up of God above Gentiles and Nations, to deſtroy and pluck up, to build and to plant, &c.*

Well bragged, and like a Pope.

Scripture well wreſted.

And yet further to underſtand the ambitious preſumption of this proud See of *Rome*; it ſo chanced, this Emperor *Frederick*, at his firſt coming up to *Rome*, did behold there in the Palace of *Lateran* a certain Picture brought forth unto him, how *Lotharius* the ſecond Emperor was crowned of the Pope, with the inſcription of certain Verſes in *Latine*, declaring how the foreſaid Emperor, coming to *Rome*, firſt did ſwear to the City, after was made the Popes man, and ſo of him received the Crown. *Fredericus*, offended with this Picture, deſired the Pope it might be aboliſhed, for that it ſhould be no cauſe of any diſſenſion here-

after. The Pope underſtanding the intent of the Emperor, how loth he was to come under ſubjection to his See, deviſed by all craſty ways to bring it to paſs. And firſt taking his occaſion by the Biſhop of *Laodicea* (being then detained in cuſtody, I cannot tell by whom) ſent divers and ſharp Letters unto him; and yet not ſo ſharp, as proud and diſdainful. Wherein the firſt ſalutation by his Legates was this in *Latine, Salutat vos beatiſſimus pater noſter papa, & univerſitas cardinalium, ille ut pater, hi ut fratres.* That is, our moſt Bleſſed Father the Pope Greeteth you, and the Univerſal Company of the Cardinals, he as your Father, they as your Brethren. Meaning thereby that he ſhould underſtand himſelf to be ſubject and underling to the Pope, no leſs then the Cardinals were. Moreover in his Letters Objecting divers things againſt him, he reciteth how many and great Benefits he had received of the Church of *Rome*, by the which Church he had obtained the fulneſs of his Honour and Dignity, &c. The Emperor with his Princes, perceiving whereunto the Pope by his Legates did ſhoot (being a Prince of courage) could not abide ſuch intollerable preſumption of a proud meſſage whereupon much contention fell between the Legates and the Princes. And of whom then, ſay the Legates, receiveth *Ceſar* the Empire, if he take it not of the Pope? With the which word the *German* Princes were ſo much offended that had not the Emperor ſtayed them with much ado, they would have uſed violence againſt the Legates. But the Emperor, not permitting that, commanded the Legates away, ſtraightly charging them to make no turn by the way, to any perſon or perſons, but ſtraight to depart home. And he, to certifie the whole ſtate of the Empire of the truth of the matter, directeth forth theſe Letters that follow.

*Ex Radenic. in appendice Priſmgen.*

*See the ambitious preſumption of a proud Prieſt.*

## The Tenor of the Emperors Letter ſent through all his Empire.

FOr *ſo much as the providence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in Heaven and Earth) hath committed to us, his anointed, this our regiment and Empire to be governed, and the peace of his Churches by our Imperial Arms to be protected; we cannot but lament and complain to you with great ſorrow of heart, ſeeing ſuch cauſes of diſſention the root and fountain of evils, and the infection of peſtiferous corruption thus to riſe from the holy Church, imprinted with the ſeal of Peace and Love of Chriſt.*

*By reaſon whereof (except God turn it away) we fear the whole body of the Church is like to be polluted, the unity thereof to be broken, and ſchiſm and diviſion to be betwixt the ſpiritual and temporal regiment. For we being of late at* Biſunze, *and there intreating buſily of matters pertaining as well to the honour of our Empire, as to the wealth of the Churches, there came Ambaſſadors of the Sea Apoſtolical, declaring that they brought a legacy to our Majeſty of great importance, redounding to the no ſmall commodity of our honour and Empire.*

*Who then, the firſt day of their coming, being brought to our preſence, and received of us (as the manner is) with honour accordingly, audience was given them to hear what they had to ſay. They forthwith burſting out of the mammon of iniquity, Hauty pride, ſtoutneſs and Arrogancy, out of the execrable preſumption of their ſwelling heart did their meſſage with Letter Apoſtolical, whereof the Tenor was this: That we ſhould always have before our eyes, how that our Sovereign Lord the Pope gave us the Imperial Crown, and that it doth not repent him, if ſo be it we have received greater Benefits at his hand. And this was the effect of that ſo ſweet and Fatherly legation, which ſhould nouriſh peace both of the Church and of the Empire, to unite them faſt together in the band of Love.*

*At the hearing of this ſo falſe, untrue, and moſt vain glorious perſumption of ſo proud a meſſage, not only the Emperors Majeſty conceived indignation, but alſo all the Princes (there preſent) were moved with ſuch anger and rage thereat, that if our preſence and requeſt had not ſtaied them. they would not have held their hands from theſe wicked Prieſts, or elſe would have proceeded with ſentence of death againſt them.*

*Furthermore, becauſe a great number of other Letters (partly written already, partly with ſeals ready ſigned, for Letters to be written according as they ſhould think good to the Churches of* Germany) *were found about them, whereby to work their conceived intent of iniquity here in our Churches, to ſpoil the Altars, to carry away the Jewels of the Church, and the fley off the limms and plates of golden Croſſes, &c. To the intent their avarious meaning ſhould have no further power to Reign, we gave them commandment to depart the ſame way they came. And now ſeeing our Reign and Empire ſtandeth upon the Election of Princes from God alone, who in the paſſion of his Son ſubdued the world to be governed with two Swords neceſſary; and again, ſeeing* Peter *the Apoſtle hath ſo informed the world with this Doctrine,* Deum timete, regem honorificate: *That is, Fear God, Honour your King: therefore, who ſo ſaith that we have and poſſeſs our Emperial Kingdom by the benefit of the Lord Pope is contrary both to the Ordinance of God, and to the Doctrine of* Peter, *and alſo ſhall be reproved for a lier.*

Note here a couragious heart in a valiant Emperor.

An example for all Princes to follow.

Note.

*Therefore as our endeavour hath been heretofore to help and to deliver the ſervile captivity of Churches out of the hand and from the yoke of the* Egyptians, *and to maintain the right of their liberties and dignities, we deſire you all with your compaſſion to lament with us this ſlanderous ignominy inferred to us and our Kingdom, truſting that your faithful good will, which hath been ever truſty to the Honour of this Empire (never yet blemiſhed from the firſt beginning of this City, and of religion) will provide, that it ſhall have no hurt through the ſtrange novelty and preſumptuous pride of ſuch. Which thing rather then it ſhould come to paſs, know you this for certain; I had rather incurr the danger of death, then ſuffer ſuch confuſion to happen in our days.*

This Letter of *Ceſar* fretted the Pope not a little who wrote again to the Biſhops of *Germany*, accuſing the Emperor, and willing them to work againſt him what they could. They anſwer again with all obedience to the Pope, ſubmitting themſelves, and yet excuſing the Emperor, and blaming him rather; and exhorted him henceforth to temper his Letters and Legacies with the more gentleneſs and modeſty; which Counſel he alſo followed, perceiving otherwiſe that he could not prevail.

Much trouble had good *Fredericus* with this Pope; but much more with the other that followed. For this Pope continued not very long, the ſpace only of four years and odd months. About whoſe time roſe up the order of the Heremits by one *William* once Duke of *Aquitania*, and afterward a Frier. This *Adrianus* walking with his Cardinals abroad, to a place called *Anagnia* or *Arignanum* (as *Volateran* calleth it) chanced to be choked with a Fly getting into his throat, and ſo was ſtrangled; who in the later time of his Papacy was wont to ſay, that there is no more miſerable kind of life in the Earth, than to be Pope, and to come to the Papacy by Blood, that is (ſaid he) not to ſucceed *Peter*, but rather *Romulus*, who to Reign alone did ſlay his Brother.

The order of Hermits.

Anno 1159.

The ſaying and judgment of Pope *Adrianus* of the Papal See. The Popes rather ſucceſſors to *Romulus* than to *Peter*. Pope *Alexander* the third.

Although this *Adrian* was bad enough, yet came the next much worſe, one *Alexander* the third of that name; who yet was not elect alone; for beſide him the Emperor with nine Cardinals (albeit *Sabelicus* ſaith but with three) did ſet up another Pope, named *Victor* the fourth. Between theſe two Popes roſe a foul ſchiſm and great diſcord, and long continued. Inſomuch that the Emperor, being required to take up the matter, ſent for them both to appear before him, that in hearing them both he might judge their cauſe the better. *Victor* came, but *Alexander* (diſdaining that his matter ſhould come in controverſie) refuſed to appear. Whereupon the Emperor, with a full conſent of his Biſhops and Clergy about him, aſſigned and ratified the Election of *Victor* to ſtand, and ſo brought him into the City, there to be received and placed. *Alexander* flying into *France*, accuſed them both, ſending his Letters to all Chriſtendom againſt them, as men to be avoyded and caſt out of all Chriſtian company. Alſo to get him friends at *Rome*, by flattery and money he got on his ſide the greateſt part of the City, both to the favouring of him, and to the ſetting up of ſuch Conſuls as were for his purpoſe. After this, *Alexander* coming from *France* to *Sicil*, and from thence to *Rome*, was there received with much favour, through the help of *Philip* the *French* King.

*Alexander* curſeth the Emperor.

The Emperor, hearing this rebellion and conſpiracy in *Rome*, removed with great power into *Italy*, where he had deſtroyed divers great Cities. Coming at

Anno 1164.

length

length to *Rome*, he required the Citizens that the cauſe betwixt the two Popes might be decided, and that he which had the beſt Right might be taken. If they would ſo do, he would reſtore again that which he took from them before. *Alexander* miſtruſting his part and doubting the wills of the Citizens (having Ships ready prepared for him, from *William* Duke of *Apulia*) fetcht a courſe about to *Venice*.

To declare here the difference in Hiſtories, between *Blondus*, *Sabellicus*, and the *Venetian* Chroniclers, with other Writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will over-paſs. In this moſt do agree, that the Pope being at *Venice*, and required to be ſent of the *Venetians* to the Emperor, they would not ſend him. Whereupon *Fredericus* the Emperor ſent thither his Son *Otho*, with men and ſhips well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his coming. The young man more hardy than circumſpect (joyning with the *Venetians*) was overcome; and ſo taken, was brought into the City. Hereby the Pope took no ſmall occaſion to work his feats.

The Father, to help the captivity and miſery of his Son, was compelled to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, and to intreat for peace. So the Emperor coming to *Venice* (at S. *Marks* Church, where the Biſhop was, there to take his Abſolution) was bid to kneel down at the Popes feet.

Holy Scripture abuſed.

The Pope treading on the Emperors neck.

The proud Pope, ſetting his foot upon the Emperors Neck, ſaid the verſe of the Pſalm, *Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem*; That is, *Thou ſhalt walk upon the Adder and on the Baſilisk, and ſhalt tread down the Lion and the Dragon.* To whom the Emperor anſwering again, ſaid, *Non tibi ſed Petro*; that is, *Not to thee but to Peter.* The Pope again, *Et mihi & Petro*; Both to me and to *Peter*. The Emperor, fearing to give any occaſion of further quarrelling, held his peace, and ſo was abſolved, and peace made between them. The conditions whereof were theſe: Firſt, That he ſhould receive *Alexander* for the true Pope. Secondly, That he ſhould reſtore again to the Church of *Rome* all that he had taken away before. And thus the Emperor, obtaining again his Son, departed.

Volateran taken with a contradiction.

Here as I note in divers Writers a great diverſity and variety touching the order of this matter (of whom ſome ſay that the Emperor Campt in *Paleſtina* before he came to *Venice*, ſome ſay after) ſo I marvel to ſee in *Volateran* (ſo great a Favourer of the Pope) ſuch a contradiction; who in his two and twentieth Book ſaith, that *Otho* the Emperors Son was taken in this Conflict, which was the cauſe of the peace between his Father and the Pope. And in his three and twentieth Book again ſaith, That the Emperor himſelf was taken Priſoner in the ſame battel: and ſo afterwards (peace concluded) took his Journey to *Aſia* and *Paleſtina*. This Pope in the time of his Papacy (which continued one and twenty years) kept ſundry Councils both at *Turo* and at *Lateran*, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of *Hildebrand*, and others his Predeceſſors; as to bind all Orders of the Clergy to the vow of Chaſtity; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define Chaſtity aright. For whoſo liveth not a chaſte life (ſaith he) *is not fit to be a Miniſter.* But herein lieth an Error full of much blindneſs, and alſo peril, to think that Matrimony immaculate (as S. *Paul* calleth it) is not Chaſtity, but only a ſingle life, that they eſteem to be a chaſte life.

Concilium Lateranenſ. The clergy bound to the vow of Chaſtity. Papiſts err not ſo much in promiſing Chaſtity, as in defining Chaſtity.

Now for ſo much as our *Engliſh* Pope holy Martyr called *Thomas Becket*, happened alſo in the ſame time of this Pope *Alexander*, let us ſomewhat alſo ſtory of him, ſo far as the matter ſhall ſeem worthy of knowledge, and to ſtand with truth: to the end that the truth thereof being ſifted from all flattery and lyes of ſuch Popiſh Writers as paint out his ſtory, men may the better judge both of him what he was, and alſo of his cauſe.

## *The Life and Hiſtory of* Thomas Becket, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

IF the cauſe make a Martyr (as is ſaid) I ſee not why we ſhould eſteem *Thomas Becket* to die a Martyr, more than any other whom the Princes Sword doth here temporally puniſh for their temporal deſerts. To die for the Church I grant is a glorious matter. But the Church (as it is a Spiritual and not a Temporal Church) ſo it ſtandeth upon Cauſes ſpiritual, and upon an heavenly Foundation, as upon Faith, Religion, true Doctrine, ſincere Diſcipline, Obedience to Gods Commandments; and not upon things pertaining to this World, as Poſſeſſions, Liberties, Exemptions, Priviledges, Dignities, Patrimonies, and Superiorities. If theſe be given to the Church, I pray God Church-men may uſe them well; but if they be not given, the Church cannot claim them; or if they be taken away, that ſtandeth in the Princes Power. To contend with Princes for the ſame, it is no matter (in my mind) material to make a Martyr, but rather a Rebellion againſt them to whom we owe ſubjection. Therefore as I ſuppoſe

Becket no Martyr.

*Thomas Becket* to be far from the cause and title of a Martyr (neither can he be excused from a plain Rebel against his Prince) so yet would I have wished again the Law rather publickly to have found out his fault, than the Swords of men (not bidden nor sent) to have smitten him, having no special Commandment either of the Prince, or of the Law so to do. For though the indignation of the Prince (as the wise Prince saith) is death; yet it is not for every private person straightways to revenge the secret indignation of his Prince, except he be publickly authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose) the better way, the Laws first to have executed their Justice upon him. *Certes*, it had been the safest way for the King, as it proved after; who had just matter enough, if he had prosecuted his Cause against him. And also thereby his death had been without all suspition of Martyrdom, neither had there followed that shrining and sainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret Providence of God which governeth all things, did see this way percase to be best, and most necessary for those days. And doubtless (to say here what I think, and yet to speak nothing against Charity) if the Emperors had done the like to the Popes contending against them, what time they had taken them Prisoners, that is, if they had used the Law of the Sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their trayterous Rebellion, they had broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the Church. But for lack of that, because Emperors having the Sword, and the truth on their side, would not use their Sword; but standing in awe of the Popes vain curse, and reverencing his Seat for S. *Peters* sake, durst not lay hand upon him, though he were never so abominable and trayterous a Malefactor; the Popes perceiving that took so much upon them, not as the Scripture would give, but as much as the superstitious fear of Emperors and Kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it past all order, rule, and measure; and all because the Superior Powers either would not, or durst not practise the Authority given unto them of the Lord, upon those Inferiors, but suffered them to be their Masters.

But as touching *Thomas Becket*, whatsoever is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all *Romish* Prelates not to be so stubborn (in such matters not pertaining unto them) against their Prince, unto whom God hath subjected them.

*rbertus Boscham, an Charnotensis. llmus Abbot of euchbury. Gulielmus Cantuariensis. Thomas Becket described.*

Now to the story, which if it be true that is set forth in *Quadrilogo*, by those four, who took upon them to express the life and process of *Thomas Becket*, it appeareth by all conjectures, that he was a man of a stout nature, severe, and inflexible. What perswasion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in no wise be removed, or very hardly. Threatnings and flattering were to him both one; in this point singular, following no mans counsel so much as his own. Great helps of nature there were in him (if he could have used them well) rather than of learning; albeit somewhat skilful he was of the Civil Law, which he studied at *Bonony*; in memory excellent good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strait life, if the Histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and after Lord Chancellor) he was very civil, courtly, pleasant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the Court; and highly favoured he was of his Prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his Son and heir to his Institution and Governance. But in this his first beginning he was not so well beloved, but afterward he was again as much hated (and deservedly) both of the King, and also of the most part of his Subjects, save only of certain Monks and Priests, and such others as were perswaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the Liberties of the Church; that is, the licentious life and excess of Church-men. Amongst all others, these Vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; full of devotion, but without all true Religion; zealous, but clean without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind Conscience being joyned withall) it turned to plain Rebellion. So superstitious he was to the Obedience of the Pope, that he forgot his Obedience to his natural and most beneficial King:

*What cometh of blind zeal and lack of right knowledge.*

and in maintaning (so contentiously) the vain Constitutions and Decrees of men, he neglected the Commandments of God. But herein most of all to be reprehended, that not only (contrary to the Kings knowledge) he sought to convey himself out of the Realm (being in that place and calling) but also being out of the Realm set matter of Discord between the Pope and his King, and also between the *French* King and him, contrary to all honesty, good order, natural subjection, and true Christianity. Whereupon followed no little disquietness after to the King, and damage to the Realm, as here (in process and order following, by the Grace of Christ) we will declare; first beginning with the first rising up of him, and so consequently prosecuting in order his story, as followeth:

*The life of Thomas Becket.*

*Polydorus mistaketh the mother of Becket.*

*Ex Roberto Crikeladensi. Ex Florilego.*

And first here to omit the Progeny of him and of his Mother named *Rose*, whom *Polyd. Virgilius* falsly nameth to be a *Saracen*, when indeed she came out of the parts bordering near to *Normandy*; to omit also the fabulous Vision of his Mother, mentioned in *Roberto Crikeladensi*, of a burning Torch issuing out of her body, and reaching up to Heaven: his first preferment was to the Church of *Branfield*, which he had by the gift of S. *Albans*. After that, he entred into the Service of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by whom he was then preferred to be his Archdeacon; and after by the said *Theobald* was put (as a man meet for his purpose) to King *Henry* to bridle the young King, that he should not be fierce against the Clergy; whom in process of time the King made Lord Chancellor, and then he left playing the Archdeacon, and began to play the Chancellor. He fashioned his conditions like to the Kings both in weighty matters and trifles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the King dined and slept. Furthermore, he began to love the merry jestings of the Court, to delight himself with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And that I may pass over his Houshold stuff, he had his Bridle of silver, and the bosses of his Bridle were worth a great treasure. At his Table and in other Expences he passed any Earl: so that on the one side men judged him little to consider the Office of an Archdeacon; and on the other side they judged him to use wicked doings. He played also the good Souldier under the King in *Gascoigne*, and both won and kept Towns. When the King sent *Thomas* being Chancellor home into *England* (Ambassador with other Nobles, after the death of the Archbishop) he willed *Richard Lucy* one of the chiefest) to commend in his name this *Thomas* to the Covent of *Canterbury*, that they might choose him Archbishop, which thing he did diligently. The Monks said, *It was not meet to choose a Courtier and a Souldier to be Head of so holy a Company; for he would spend* (said they) *all that they had.* Others had this surmise also, because he was in so great favour with the Prince the Kings Son, and was so suddenly discharged of the Chancellorship which he had born five years: in the four and fortieth year of his age (on *Saturday* in *Whitsonweek*) he was made Priest, and the next day consecrated Bishop.

*Difference in Chronicles.*

As touching the Priesthood of this man, I find the Histories to vary in themselves: for if he were beneficed, and Chaplain to *Theobald*, and afterwards Archdeacon (as some say) it is no other like, but that he was Priest before, and not (as our most *English* stories say) made Priest in one day, and Archbishop the next.

But howsoever this matter passeth, here is in the mean time to be seen, what great benefits the King had done for him, and what great love had been between them both. Now after that *Becket* was thus promoted, what variance and discord happened between them, remaineth to be shewed: the causes of which variance were divers and sundry.

*The causes of variance recited between the King and the Archbishop.*

As first, when (according to the custom) the Kings Officers gathered of every one *Hide-money* through the Realm, for the defence of their own Country; the King would have taken it to his Coffers. But the Bishop said, *That which every man gave willingly, he should not count as his proper rent.*

Another cause was, that where a Priest was accused of Murder, and the Kings Officers and the Friends of the dead accused the Priest earnestly before the Bishop of *Salisbury* his Diocesan to whom he was sent, desiring justice to be done on him, the Priest was put to his purgation.

gation. But when he was not able to defend himſelf, the Biſhop ſent to the Archbiſhop to aſk what he ſhould do. The Archbiſhop commanded he ſhould be deprived of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and ſhut up in an Abbey to do perpetual Penance. After the ſame ſort were divers others handled for like cauſes, but none put to death, nor loſt joynt, nor burned in the hand, or put to the like pain.

The third cauſe was, that, where a Canon of *Bruis* did revile the Kings Juſtices, the King was offended with the whole Clergy. For theſe and ſuch like, the Archbiſhop (to pacifie the Kings anſwer) commanded the Canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for certain years. But the King was not content with this gentle puniſhment, becauſe it rather increaſed their boldneſs, and therefore he called the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and all the Clergy to aſſemble at *Weſtminſter*. When they were aſſembled together; the King earneſtly commanded that ſuch wicked Clerks ſhould have no privilege of their Clergy, but be delivered to the *Taylor*, becauſe they paſſed ſo little of the ſpiritual correction: and this he ſaid alſo their own Canons and Laws had decreed. The Archbiſhop, counſelling with his Biſhops and learned men, anſwered probably: and in the end he deſired heartily the Kings gentleneſs (for the quietneſs of himſelf and his Realm) that under Chriſt our new King, and under the new Law of Chriſt he would bring in no new kind of puniſhment into his Realm (upon the new choſen people of the Lord) againſt the old Decrees of the holy Fathers; and oft he ſaid, *That he neither ought nor could ſuffer it.* The King moved therewith (and not without cauſe) alledgeth again and exacteth the old Laws and Cuſtoms of his Grandfather, obſerved and agreed upon by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, and other priviledged Perſons, inquiring likewiſe of him whether he would agree to the ſame, or elſe now (in his Reign) would condemn that which in the Reign of his Grandfather was well allowed? To which Laws and Cuſtoms the ſaid *Thomas* did partly grant, and partly not grant. The Copy of the which foreſaid Laws are contained in the number of eight and twenty or nine twenty, whereof I thought here to recite certain not unworthy to be known.

### *The Copy of the old Laws and Cuſtoms whereunto* Thomas Becket *did grant.*

The Kings cuſtom. 1 That no Order ſhould be given to Husbandmens Children and Bondmens Children, without the aſſent or Teſtimonial of them, which be the Lords of the Country where they were born and brought up: and if their Sons become Clerks, they ſhall not receive the Order of Prieſthood without licence of their Lords.

Out of an *Engliſh* Chronicle as it appeareth, drawn out of *French* by Earl *Rivers*, Lord *Scales*. 2. And if a man of holy Church hold any lay fee in his hand, he ſhall do therefore the King the ſervice that belongeth thereto, as upon Juries, Aſſiſe of Lands and Judgments, ſaving only at execution doing of death.

3. If any man were the Kings Traytor, and had taken the Church, that it ſhould be lawful for the King and his Officers to take him out.

4. And if any Felons goods were brought to holy Church, that there ſhould none ſuch keep there; for every Felons goods be the Kings.

5. That no Land ſhould be given to the Church, or to any Houſe of Religion, without the Kings Licence.

### *Theſe Articles following,* Thomas *agreed not unto.*

1. IF that between a Clerk and a Lay-man were any ſtriving for Church-goods, they would the Plea ſhould be done in the Kings Court.

2. That there ſhould neither Biſhop nor Clerk go out of the Land without the Kings Licence, and then he ſhould ſwear upon a Book he ſhould procure no hurt againſt the King, nor none of his.

3. If any man were denounced accurſed, and were come again to amendment, the King would not that he ſhould be ſworn, but only find Sureties to ſtand to that, that holy Church ſhould award.

4. The fourth, that no man, that held of the King in chief, or in Service, ſhould be accurſed without the Kings Licence.

5. That all the Biſhopricks and Abbies, that were vacant, ſhould be in the Kings hands, until ſuch time that he ſhould chooſe a Prelate thereto, and he ſhould be choſen out of the Kings Chappels; and firſt before he were confirmed, he ſhould do his Homage to the King.

6. If any Plea were brought to the Conſiſtory, they ſhould appeal from thence to the Archdeacon, and from thence to the Biſhops Court, and from the Biſhops Court to the Archbiſhops, and from thence to the King, and no further. So that in concluſion, the Complaints of holy Church muſt come before the King, and not the Pope.

7. That debts, that were owing through troth plight, ſhould not be pleaded in Spiritual, but in Temporal Courts.

8. That the *Peter-pence*, which to the Pope were gathered, ſhould be taken to the King.

9. If any Clerk for Felony were taken and ſo proved, he ſhould be firſt degraded, and then through Judgment be hanged, or if he were a Traytor, be drawn.

### *Other Laws and Conſtitutions made at* Clarendon *in* Normandy, *and ſent to* England, *whereunto* Becket *and the Pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the Realm.*

The Laws of Clarendon. 1. IF any perſon ſhall be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, any writing containing any Indict or Curſe againſt the Realm of *England*, the ſame man to be apprehended without delay for a Traytor, and Execution to be done upon the ſame.

2. That no Monk nor any Clerk ſhall be permitted to paſs over into *England* without a Paſport from the King or his Juſtices: who ſo doth the contrary, that man to be attached and impriſoned.

3. No man to be ſo bold once to appeal to the Pope, or to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* out of *England*.

4. That no Decree or Commandment proceeding from the Authority of the Pope, or the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, be received into *England*, under pain of taking and impriſoning.

5. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any Commandment or Precept, either of Clerk, or lay-man, to the Pope, or to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, under pain of Impriſonment.

6. If any Biſhop, Clerk, Abbot, or Lay-man ſhall do contrary to this Inhibition, or will keep the Sentence of interdicting, the ſame incontinent to be thruſt out of the Land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

7. All the Poſſeſſions, Goods and Chattels of ſuch as favour the Pope or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be ſeized and confiſcate for the King.

8. All ſuch of the Clergy as be out of the Realm, having their Rents and profits out of the Land, to be ſummoned and warned through every Shire within three months to repair home, or elſe their rents and goods to return to the King.

9. That S. *Peters-pence* ſhould be no more paid to the Apoſtolical See, but to be reſerved diligently in the Kings Coffers, and there to be at his Commandment. *Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.*

10. That the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Norwich* be at the Kings mercy, and be ſummoned by the Sheriff, and Bedels, that they before the Kings Juſtices do right to the King and his Juſtices, becauſe (contrary to the Statutes of *Clarendon*) by Commandment they interdicted the land of Earl *Hugh*, and publiſhed the ſame in their Dioceſs without Licence of the Kings Juſtices.

¶ By theſe and ſuch other Laws and Decrees it may appear, that the aboliſhing of the Pope is no new thing in the Realm of *England*. This only difference there is, that the Pope being driven out then, could not be kept out ſo long as now he is. The cauſe is, that the time was not yet come that *Antichriſt* ſhould ſo fully be revealed; neither was his wickedneſs then ſo fully ripe in thoſe days, as it hath been now in our time. Now theſe premiſed, let us return where we left, to the matter between the King and *Thomas Becket*.

## *The Communication and Controverſie between the King and* Thomas Becket, *with his Clergy.*

THe King (as is aforeſaid) conventing his Nobles and Clerks together, required to have the puniſhment of certain miſ-doers of the Clergy; but *Thomas Becket* not aſſenting thereunto, the King came to this point, to know whether he would conſent with his Clergy, that the cuſtoms then ſet forth in the Realm (meaning the firſt part of thoſe Decrees above ſpecified) ſhould be obſerved. To which the Archbiſhop, conſulting together with his Brethren, giveth anſwer again, That he was contented the Kings Ordinances ſhould be obſerved, adding this withall, *Salvo ordine ſuo*; that is, *Saving his order*. And ſo in like manner all the other Biſhops after, being demanded in order, anſwered with the ſame addition, *Salvo ordine ſuo*. Only *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, perceiving the King to be exaſperate with that addition, in ſtead of *Salvo ordine*, agreed to obſerve them *Bona fide*. The King hearing them not ſimply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the Archbiſhop and the Prelates, ſaid, *That he was not well contented with that Clauſe of theirs*, Salvo ſuo ordine, *which he ſaid was captious and deceitful, having ſome manner of venome lurking under it; and therefore required an abſolute Grant of them, without any exception, to agree to the Kings Ordinances.* To this the Archbiſhop anſwered again, *That they had ſworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour*, Salvo ordine ſuo; *and that in the ſame earthly honour alſo thoſe Ordinances were comprehended, and to the obſerving of them they would bind themſelves after no other form, but as they had ſworn before.* The King with this was moved, and all his Nobility not a little. As for the other Biſhops, there was no doubt but they would eaſily have relented, had not the ſtoutneſs of the Archbiſhop made them more conſtant than otherwiſe they would have been. The day being well ſpent, the King (when he could get no other anſwer of them) departed in great anger, giving no word of ſalutation to the Biſhops, and likewiſe the Biſhops every one to his own houſe departed. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter* (amongſt the reſt) was greatly rebuked of his Fellows for changing the exception contrary to the voice of all the others. The next day following, the King took from the Archbiſhop all ſuch Honours and Lordſhips, as he had given him before in the time that he was Chancellor; whereby appeared the great diſpleaſure of the King againſt him and the Clergy. Not long after this, the King removing from *London* (unknown to the Biſhops) ſailed over to *Normandy*, whither the Biſhop of *London* called *Gilbert* (not long after) reſorted to crave the Kings Favour, and gave him counſel withall to joyn ſome of the Biſhops on his ſide; leſt if all were againſt him, peradventure he might ſooner be overthrown. And thus the greateſt number of the Biſhops were by this means reconciled again to the King; only the Archbiſhop with a few others remained in their ſtoutneſs ſtill. The King (thinking to try all manner of ways) when he ſaw no fear nor threats could turn him, did aſſay him with gentleneſs; it would not ſerve. Many of the Nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the King; it would not be. Likewiſe the Archbiſhop of *York* with divers other Biſhops and Abbots, eſpecially the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, did the ſame. Beſides this, his own Houſhold daily called upon him, but no man could perſwade him. At length underſtanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen not only to himſelf, but to all the other Clergy upon the Kings diſpleaſure: partly conſidering the old love and kindneſs of the King towards him in time paſt, he was content to give over to the Kings requeſt, and came to *Oxford* to him, reconciling himſelf about the addition, which diſpleaſed the King ſo much. Whereupon the King being ſomewhat mitigated, receiveth him with a more chearful countenance, but yet not ſo familiarly as before, ſaying, *That he would have his Ordinances and Proceedings after the form confirmed in the publick Audience and open ſight of all his Biſhops and all his Nobles.* After this, the King (being at *Clarendon*) there called all his Peers and Prelates before him, requiring to have all that performed, which they had promiſed, in conſenting to the obſerving of his Grandfathers Ordinances and Proceedings. The Archbiſhop ſuſpecting I cannot tell what in the Kings promiſe, drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at laſt with much ado he was inforced to give aſſent. Firſt, came to him the Biſhop of *Salisbury* and of *Norwich*, who (for old matters indangered to the King long before) came weeping and lamenting to the Archbiſhop, deſiring him to have ſome compaſſion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the King, leſt if he ſo continued (through his ſtoutneſs to exaſperate the Kings diſpleaſure) happily it might redound to no ſmaller danger, not only of them which were in jeopardy already, but alſo of himſelf to be impriſoned, and the whole Clergy to be indangered. Beſides theſe two Biſhops, there went to him other two noble Peers of the Realm, labouring with him to relent and condeſcend to the Kings deſire: if not, they ſhould be inforced to uſe ſuch violence, as neither would ſtand with the Kings fame, and much leſs with his quietneſs; but yet the ſtout ſtomach of the man would not give over. After this came to him two Rulers of the *Temple* called *Templars*, one *Richard de Huſt*, another *Coſtans de Heverio* with their Company lamenting and bewailing the great peril, which they declared unto him to hang over his head: yet neither with their tears, nor with their kneelings would he be removed. At length came the laſt Meſſage from the King, ſignifying unto him with expreſs words, and alſo with tears, what he ſhould truſt to, if he would not give over to the Kings Requeſt.

By reaſon of which Meſſage, he either terrified, or elſe perſwaded, was content to ſubmit himſelf. Whereupon the King incontinent aſſembling the States together, the Archbiſhop firſt before all others beginneth to promiſe the King Obedience, and ſubmiſſion unto his cuſtom, and that *Cum bona fide*, leaving out his former addition, *Salvo ordine*, mentioned before: inſtead whereof he promiſed *in verbo veritatis*, to obſerve and keep the Kings Cuſtoms, and ſwear to the ſame. After him the other Biſhops likewiſe gave the like Oath; whereupon the King commanded incontinent certain Inſtruments obligatory to be drawn, of the which the King ſhould have the one, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* another, the Archbiſhop of *York* the third, requiring alſo the ſaid Archbiſhop to ſet to his Hand and Seal. To the which the Archbiſhop (though not denying but that he was ready ſo to do) yet deſired reſpit in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to his Biſhoprick) might better peruſe with himſelf the foreſaid Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the King. This requeſt as it ſeemed but reaſonable, ſo it was lightly granted; ſo the day being well ſpent, they departed for that ſeaſon and brake up.

*Alanus*, one of the four Writers of the life of this *Thomas Becket*, recordeth, That the Archbiſhop in his Voyage towards *Wincheſter*, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the inſtigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his Croſs-bearer, who, going before the Archbiſhop, ſharply and earneſtly expoſtulated with him for giving over to the Kings requeſt, againſt the Priviledge and Liberties of the Church, polluting not only his fame and conſcience, but alſo giving a pernicious example to them that ſhould come after, with many like words. To make the matter ſhort, the Archbiſhop was ſo touched upon the ſame with ſuch repentance, that keeping himſelf from all company, lamenting with tears, with faſting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himſelf, he did ſuſpend himſelf from all Divine Service, and would not receive comfort, before that (word being ſent to his holy Grandfather the Pope) he ſhould be abſoiled of him, who, tendring the tears of his dear chicken, directed to him Letters again by the ſame Meſſenger which *Thomas* had ſent up to him before. In which Letters not only he abſoiled him from his Treſpaſs, but alſo with words of great conſolation did incourage him to be ſtout in the quarrel he took in hand. The Copy of which Letters conſolatory, ſent from the Pope to Biſhop *Becket*, here followeth under written.

A Lexander *Biſhop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been advertiſed us, how that upon the occaſion of a certain tranſgreſſion or exceſs of yours, you have determined to ceaſe henceforth from ſaying of*

*Maſs*

*Becket addition, Salvo ordine ſuo.*

*The Biſhop of Chicheſter.*

*The ſtubborn willfulneſs of Tho. Becket.*

*Thomas Becket relenteth to the King.*

*Becket yieldeth to the King.*

*Salvo ordine left out in compoſition*

*Becket repenteth of his good deed.*

*A Letter of Pope Alexander to Thomas Becket.*

*Maſs, and to abſtain from the Conſecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord; which thing to do, how dangerous it is (eſpecially in ſuch a Perſonage) and alſo what inconvenience may riſe thereof, I will you adviſedly to conſider, and diſcreetly alſo to ponder. Your wiſdom ought not to forget what difference there is between them which adviſedly and willingly do offend, and thoſe which through ignorance and for neceſſity ſake do offend. For as you read, ſo much the greater is wilful ſin, as the ſame not being voluntary is a leſſer ſin. Therefore if you remember your ſelf to have done any thing that your own conſcience doth accuſe you of, whatſoever it be, we counſel you (as a prudent and wiſe Prelate) to acknowledge the ſame. Which thing done, the merciful and pitiful God, who hath more reſpect to the heart of the doer than to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the ſame according to his accuſtomed great mercy. And we truſting in the merits of the bleſſed Apoſtles S. Peter and* Paul *do abſolve you from the offence committed, and by the Authority Apoſtolical we releaſe you unto your fraternity, counſelling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abſtain not (for this cauſe) from the celebration of the Maſs.*

This Letter, with others more after the like ſort, the Pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel ſo nearly pertaining to the Popes profit. By the occaſion whereof, *Becket* took no ſmall heart and conſolation: inſomuch that thereof ſeemeth to me to proceed all the occaſion that made him ſo ſtout and malepert againſt his Prince, as hereafter followeth to be ſeen by his doings. What the other Letters were that the Pope wrote unto him, ſhortly after (when we come to the Appellations made to the Pope) ſhall appear God willing. In the mean ſeaſon (as he ſat thus mourning at home) the King hearing of him, and how he denied to ſet his Seal to thoſe Sanctions, which he condeſcended to before, took no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt him: inſomuch that he (threatning to him and his baniſhment and death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burthen him with payments, that all men might underſtand that the Kings mind was ſore ſet againſt him. The Archbiſhop hereupon (whether more for the love of the Pope, or dread of his Prince) thought to make an eſcape out of the Realm, and ſo went about in the night (with two or three with him ſtealing out of his houſe) to take the Sea privily. Now amongſt others the Kings Ordinances and Sanctions, this was one, *That none of the Prelacy or Nobility without the Kings Licence (or of his Juſtices) ſhould depart out of the Realm.* So *Becket* twice attempted the Sea to flee to the See of *Rome*; but the weather not ſerving, he was driven home again, and his device for that time fruſtrated. After his departure began to be known and noiſed abroad, the Kings Officers came to *Canterbury* to ſeize upon his goods in the Kings behalf. But as it chanced, the night before their coming, *Becket* being returned, and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpoſe.

*Becket* enterpriſeth againſt the Kings Laws to fly out of the Realm.

*Becket* taunted of the King.

Upon this, the Archbiſhop (underſtanding the King ſore bent againſt him, and the Seas not to ſerve him) made haſte to the Court, lying then at *Woodſtock*; where the King received him (after a certain manner) but nothing ſo familiarly as he was wont, taunting him jeſtingly and merrily, as though one Realm were not able to hold them both. *Becket* (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleaſure to the Court) yet could not obtain the favour that he would, perceiving both in himſelf, and confeſſing no leſs to others, how the matter would fall out, ſo that either he ſhould be conſtrained to give over with ſhame, or ſtoutly ſtand to that which he had ſo boldly taken in hand. The Archbiſhop of *York* in the mean time (going betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop) laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the King in no caſe would be reconciled, unleſs the other would ſubſcribe to his Laws. So the while, neither the King would otherwiſe agree, nor yet the Archbiſhop in any wiſe would ſubſcribe, there was a foul diſcord; where the fault was, let the Reader here judge between them both. The King for his regal authority thought it much that any Subject of his ſhould ſtand againſt him. The Archbiſhop again (bearing himſelf bold upon the authority, and eſpecially upon the Letters of the Pope lately written to him) thought him ſtrong enough againſt the King and all his Realm. Again ſuch was his quarrel for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the Church, that he could lack no ſetters on and favourers in that behalf, in ſo ſweet a cauſe amongſt the Clergy. Wherefore the Archbiſhop (truſting to theſe things) would give no place, but by vertue of his Apoſtolical Authority gave cenſure upon theſe Laws and Conſtitutions of the King, condemning ſome, and otherſome approving for good and Catholick, as is before declared. Beſides this, there came alſo to the King *Rotrodus* Archbiſhop of *Rothomage* (ſent from the Pope) to make peace between the King and *Canterbury*: whereunto the King was well content, ſo that the Pope would agree to ratifie his Ordinances. But when that could in no wiſe be obtained at the Popes hands, then the King being ſtopped and fruſtrate of his purpoſe by reaſon of *Beckets* Apoſtolick Legacy (being *Legatus a latere*) thought good to ſend up to the Pope, and ſo did, to obtain of him, that the ſame Authority of the Apoſtolick Legacy might be conferred to another after his appointment, which was the Archbiſhop of *York*: but the Pope denied. Notwithſtanding at the requeſt of the Kings Clergy, the Pope was content that the King ſhould be Legate himſelf; whereat the King took great indignation (as *Hoveden* writeth) ſo that he ſent the Pope his Letters again. Here the Pope was perplexed on both ſides.

Ex Rogero Hoved. *pri. parte Hiſtoria continuatæ poſt Bedam.*

The King to be the Popes Legate.

If he ſhould have denied the King, that was too hot for him: for the Pope uſeth always to hold in with Kings howſoever the world ſpeedeth. Again, if he ſhould have forſaken ſuch a Churchly Chaplain (the cauſe being ſo ſweet and ſo gainful) that ſhould have been againſt himſelf. What did he then? Here now cometh in the old practiſe of Popiſh Prelacy, to play with both hands: privily he conſpireth with the one, and openly diſſembleth with the other. Firſt he granted to the Kings Ambaſſadors their requeſt, to have the Legate removed, and to place in that Office the Archbiſhop of *York*, to his own contentation; and yet notwithſtanding (to render the cauſe of *Thomas Becket*) he addeth this promiſe withall, that the ſaid *Becket* ſhould receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the Pope craftily conveying the matter between them both, gladly to further the Archbiſhop for his own advantage, and yet loath to deny the King for diſpleaſure, writeth to the King openly, and alſo ſecretly directeth another Letter to *Becket*: the contents whereof here follow.

The crafty diſſimulation of the Pope.

## *Alexander* the Pope, to *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Although we, condeſcending to the Kings Requeſt, have granted the gift of our Legacy after his mind from you: yet let not your mind thereby be diſcomforted, nor brought into ſighs of deſpair. For before that we had granted that, or gave our conſent thereunto, the Kings Ambaſſadors firmly promiſed in the word of truth (ready alſo to be ſworn upon the ſame, if I would ſo have required) that their Letters alſo which he had obtained, ſhould not be delivered to the Archbiſhop of* York *without our knowledge and conſent therein. This is certain, and ſo perſwade your ſelf boldly without any ſcruple, doubt or miſtruſt, that it was never my mind or purpoſe, nor ever ſhall be (God willing) to ſubdue you or your Church under the obedience of any perſon, to be ſubject to any, ſave only to the Biſhop of* Rome. *And therefore we warn you and charge you, that if you ſhall perceive the King to deliver theſe foreſaid Letters, which we truſt he will not attempt without our knowledge to do; forthwith by ſome truſty Meſſengers or by your Letters you will give us knowledge thereof: whereby we may provide upon the ſame both for your perſon, your Church, and alſo your City committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our Authority Apoſtolical, from all power and juriſdiction of any Legacy.*

The Popes ſecret Letters to Becket.

Upon theſe Letters and ſuch others (as is ſaid before) *Becket* ſeemed to take all his boldneſs to be ſo ſtout and ſturdy againſt his Prince, as he was. The Pope (beſide theſe) ſent ſecretly a Chaplain of his, and directed another Letter alſo unto the King, granting and permitting at his requeſt, to make the Archbiſhop of *York* Legate Apoſtolical.

The

The King (after he had received his Letters ſent from the Pope) began to put more ſtrength to his purpoſed proceedings againſt the Archbiſhop, firſt beginning with the Inferiors of the Clergy, ſuch as were Offendors againſt his Laws: as Felons, Robbers, Quarrellers, Breakers of peace, and eſpecially ſuch as had committed Homicide and Murthers, whereof more than an hundred at that time were proved upon the Clergy (as witneſſeth *Guliel. Neuburgenſis*, in his Book *De geſtis Anglorum*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.) urging and conſtraining them to be arraigned after the order of the Law Temporal, and juſtice to be miniſtred to them according to their deſerts: as firſt to be deprived, and ſo to be committed to the ſecular hands. This ſeemed to *Becket* to derogate from the liberties of holy Church, that the ſecular Power ſhould paſs in Cauſes Criminal, or ſit in Judgment againſt any Eccleſiaſtical perſon. This Law, the Roiſters (then of the Clergy) had picked and forged out of *Anacletus* and *Euariſtus*, by whoſe falſly alledged and pretenſed Authority, they have deduced this their Conſtitution from the Apoſtles, which giveth immunity to all Eccleſiaſtical perſons to be free from Secular Jurisdiction. *Becket* therefore, like a valiant Champion (fighting for his Liberties, and having the Pope on his ſide) would not permit his Clerks infamed otherwiſe, to be convented, than before Eccleſiaſtical Judges, there to be examined and deprived for their exceſs, and no ſecular Judge to proceed againſt them: ſo that after their deprivation, if they ſhould incur the like offence again, then the Temporal Judge to take hold upon them, otherwiſe not. This obſtinate and ſtubborn rebellion of the Archbiſhop ſtirred up much anger and vexation in the King, and not only in him, but alſo in the Nobles and all the Biſhops (for the greater part) that almoſt he was alone a wonderment to all the Realm.

More than an hundred murthers done by the Clergy.

*Guliel. Neuburg. lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.

*Becket* cited to *Northampton.*

The Kings wrath daily increaſed more and more againſt him (as no marvel it was) and cauſed him to be cited up to appear by a certain day at the Town of *Northampton*, there to make anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Peers and Nobles, with the Prelates of the Realm upon the Kings Proclamation being aſſembled in the Caſtle of *Northampton*) great fault was found with the Archbiſhop for that he (perſonally cited to appear) came not himſelf, but ſent another for him. The cauſe why he came not, *Hoveden* aſſigneth to be this: for that the King had placed his Horſe and Horſe-men in the Archbiſhops lodging (which was a houſe there of Canons) wherewith he being offended, ſent word again that he would not appear, unleſs his lodging were voided of the Kings Horſe-men, &c. Whereupon (by the publick ſentence as well of all the Nobles, as of the Biſhops) all his moveables were adjudged to be confiſcate for the King, unleſs the Kings Clemency would remit the penalty. The ſtubborn Archbiſhop again (for his part) quarrelling againſt the order and form of the Judgment, complaineth, alledging for himſelf (ſeeing he is the Primate, and ſpiritual Father, not only of all other in the Realm, but alſo of the King himſelf) that it was not convenient that the Father ſhould be ſo judged of his Children, nor the Paſtor of his Flock ſo condemned, ſaying moreover, *That the Ages to come ſhould know what Judgment was done, &c.* But eſpecially he complaineth of his fellow-Biſhops (when they ſhould rather have taken his part) who did ſit in Judgment againſt their Metropolitan. And this was the firſt days action.

The Archbiſhop condemned in the Council of *Northampton* in the loſs of all moveables.

The next day following, the King laid an action againſt him in the behalf of one that was his Marſhal (called *John*) for certain injuries done to him, and required of the ſaid Archbiſhop the repaying again of certain money, which he (as is ſaid) had lent unto him being Chancellor, the ſum whereof came to 500 Marks. This money the Archbiſhop denied not but he had received of the King, howbeit by the way and title of Gift as he took it, though he could bring no probation thereof. Whereupon, the King required him to put in aſſurance for the payment thereof: whereat the Archbiſhop making delays (not well contented at the matter) was ſo called upon, that either he ſhould be countable to the King for the money, or elſe he ſhould incur preſent danger, the King being ſo bent againſt him. The Archbiſhop being brought to ſuch a ſtrait, and deſtitute of his own Suffragans, could here by no means have eſcaped, had not five perſons of their own accord ſtepped in, being bound for him, every man for 100 marks a piece. And this was upon the ſecond day concluded.

*Becket* required to give an account.

The morrow after, which was the third day of the Council, as the Archbiſhop was ſitting below in a certain Conclave with his fellow-Biſhops about him, conſulting together, the doors faſt locked to them, as the King had willed and commanded, it was propounded unto him in the behalf of the King, that he had divers Biſhopricks, and Abbaricks in his hand which were vacant, with the Fruits and Revenues thereof due unto the King for certain years, whereof he had rendred as yet no account to the King: wherfore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and clear reckoning of the ſame. This, with other ſuch like, declared to all the Council, great diſpleaſure to be in the King, and no leſs danger toward the Archbiſhop.

## The advice of the Biſhops for *Thomas Becket.*

THus, while the Biſhops and Prelates were in Council, adviſing and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to Voices, every man to ſay his mind, and to give ſentence what were the beſt way for their Archbiſhop to take. Firſt began *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who then took part with *Becket* ſo much as he durſt for fear of the King, who ſaid, *He remembred that the ſaid Archbiſhop, firſt being Archdeacon, and then Lord Chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the Church of* Canterbury, *was diſcharged from all bonds and reckonings of the Temporal Court, as all the other Biſhops could not but bear record to the ſame.*

The verdict of *Wincheſter.*

Next ſpake *Gilbert*, Biſhop of *London*, exhorting and motioning the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould call with himſelf to mind from whence the King took him, and ſet him up; what, and how great things he had done for him; alſo that he ſhould conſider with himſelf the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruine he might bring upon the whole Church (and upon them all there preſent) if he reſiſted the Kings mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his Archbiſhoprick (although it were ten times better than it is) yet he ſhould not ſtick with the King in the matter. In ſo doing it might happen, the King ſeeing that ſubmiſſion and humility in him, would releaſe him peradventure of all the reſt. To this the Archbiſhop anſwering, *Well, well* (ſaith he) *I perceive well enough, my Lord, whither you tend, and whither about you go.* Then ſpake *Wincheſter*, inferring upon the ſame, *This form of Counſel* (ſaith he) *ſeemeth to me very pernicious to the Chatholick Church, tending to our ſubverſion, and to the confuſion of us all. For if our Archbiſhop and Primate of all* England *do lean to this example, that every Biſhop ſhould give over his Authority and the Charge of the Flock committed to him, at commandment and threatning of the Prince, to what ſtate ſhall the Church be brought then, but that all ſhould be confounded at his pleaſure and arbitrement, and nothing ſhall ſtand certain by any order of Law, and ſo as the Prieſt is, ſo ſhall the people be?*

The counſel of the Biſhop of *London.*

*Canterbury.*

*Wincheſter.*

*Hilary* the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* repleth again to this, ſaying, *If it were not that the inſtance and the great perturbation of time did otherwiſe require and force us, I would think this counſel here given were good to be followed. But now ſeeing the Authority of our Canon faileth, and cannot ſerve us, I judge it not beſt to go ſo ſtrictly to work, but ſo to moderate our proceedings, that diſpenſation with ſufferance may win that which ſevere correction may deſtroy. Wherefore my counſel and reaſon is, to give place to the Kings purpoſe for a time, leſt by over haſty proceeding, we exceed ſo far, that both it may redound to our ſhame, and alſo we cannot rid our ſelves out again when we would.*

*Chicheſter.*

Moderate counſel.

Much to the ſame end ſpake *Robert* the Biſhop of *Lincoln* after this manner, *Seeing* (ſaith he) *it is manifeſt that the life and blood of this man is ſought, one of theſe two muſt needs be choſen; that either he muſt part with his Archbiſhoprick, or elſe with his life. Now what profit he ſhall take in this matter of his Biſhoprick, his life being loſt, I do not greatly ſee.*

*London.*

Next followed *Bartholomew* Biſhop of *Exceſter* with his

*Exceſter.*

his advice, who inclining his Council to the ſtate of the time, confirmed their ſayings before, affirming how the days were evil and perillous; and if they might ſo eſcape the violence of that raging tempeſt under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refuſed. But that, he ſaid, could not be, except ſtrict ſeverity ſhould give place to tractability; and ſo the inſtance and condition of time then preſent required no leſs, eſpecially ſeeing that Perſecution was not general, but perſonal and particular; and thought it more holy and convenient, one head to run into ſome part of danger, than the whole Church of *England* to be ſubject and expoſed to inconvenience inevitable.

The Anſwer of *Roger* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was deviſed in a double diſpence, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whoſe ſaying was this, *That he would give anſwer on neither part; for if I* (ſaith he) *ſhould ſay that the Paſtoral Function and Cure of Souls ought to be relinquiſhed at the Kings will or threatning, then my mouth ſhall ſpeak againſt my conſcience to the condemnation of mine own head. And if I ſhall give again contrary counſel to reſiſt the Kings Sentence, here be they that will hear it, and report it to his Grace, and ſo I ſhall be in danger to be thruſt out of the Synagogue, and for my part to be accounted amongſt the publick Rebels, with them to be condemned: wherefore neither do I ſay this, nor counſel that.*

*Becket the Archbiſhop replieth againſt the Biſhops.*

And this was the Conſultation of the Biſhops in that place, aſſembled together by the Kings Commandment. Againſt theſe Voices and Cenſures of the Biſhops, *Becket* the Archbiſhop replieth again, expoſtulating and checking them with rebukeful words, *I perceive* (ſaith he) *and underſtand ye go about to maintain and cheriſh but your own cowardlineſs under the colourable ſhadow of ſufferance: and under pretence of diſſembling ſoftneſs to choak the Liberty of Chriſts Church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O unſatiable Biſhops? What mean ye? Why do ye ſo, under the impudent Title of forbearing, bear a double heart, and cloak your manifeſt Iniquity? What call ye this bearing with time, to the detriment of the Church of Chriſt? Let terms ſerve the matter. Why pervert you the matter that is good with vocables and terms untrue? For that ye ſay we muſt bear with the malice of time, I grant with you: but yet we muſt not heap ſin to ſin. Is not God able to help the ſtate and condition of his Church, but with the ſinful diſſimulation of the Teachers of the Church?* Certes *God is diſpoſed to tempt you. And tell me* (I pray you) *whether ſhould the Governors of the Church put themſelves to dangers for the Church in time of Tranquility, or in time of Diſtreſs; Ye will be aſhamed to deny the contrary, but in Diſtreſs. And now then (the Church lying in ſo great diſtreſs and vexation) why ſhould not the good Paſtor put himſelf into peril therefore? For neither do I think it a greater Act or merit for the ancient Biſhops of the old time, to lay the Foundation of the Church then with their blood, than now for to ſhed our blood for the Liberties of the ſame. And to tell you plain, I think it not ſafe for you to ſwarve from an Example which you have received of your holy Elders.*

*A great diſtreſs grown in the Church, becauſe that Biſhops may not be above Kings and Princes.*

After theſe things were ſpoken, they ſate all in ſilence a certain ſpace, being locked in together. At length (to find a ſhift to cauſe the door to be opened) I will (ſaith the Archbiſhop) ſpeak with two Earls which are about the King, and named them who they were. Who (being called) opened the door and came in with haſt, thinking to hear ſome thing which ſhould appeaſe the Kings mind. To whom the Archbiſhop ſpake in this manner; As touching and concerning the matters between the King and us, we have here conferred together. And forſomuch as we have them not preſent with us now, which knew more in the matter than we do (whoſe advice we would be glad to follow) therefore we crave ſo much reſpite as till the next day following, and then to give our Anſwer unto the King. With this Meſſage two Biſhops were ſent to the King, which was the Biſhop of *London*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

*London* (to help the matter, and to ſet quietneſs, as I take it, adding ſomething more to the Meſſage) ſaid to the King, That the Archbiſhop craved a little delay of time to prepare ſuch writings and inſtruments, wherein he ſhould ſet forth and declare his mind in accompliſhing the Kings deſire, &c. Wherefore two Barons were ſent to him from the King to grant him that reſpit or ſtay; ſo that he would ratifie that which the Meſſengers had ſignified to the King. To which the Archbiſhop anſwereth, That he ſent no Meſſage as was intimate in his name: but only that the next day he would come and give anſwer to the King, in that which he had to ſay. And ſo the Convocation of the Biſhops was diſſolved and diſmiſſed home: ſo that the moſt part of them that came with the Archbiſhop and accompanied him before (for fear of the Kings diſpleaſure) ſevered themſelves from him. The Archbiſhop thus forſaken and deſtitute (as his ſtory ſaith) ſent about for the Poor, the Lame, and the Halt, to come in and furniſh his houſe, ſaying, *That by them he might ſooner obtain his Victory, than by the others which had ſo ſlipt from him.*

*Becket deſtitute and forſaken.*

On the next day following, becauſe it was *Sunday*, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the ſecond Fery, the Archbiſhop was cited to appear. But the night before (being taken with a Diſeaſe called *Paſſio iliaca*, the Colique) as that day he kept his bed, and was not able, as he ſaid, to riſe. Every man ſuppoſing this to be but a fained ſickneſs, as it ſeemed no leſs, certain of the chief Nobles were ſent to try the matter, and to cite him to the Court: namely, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *Reginald*, Earl of *Devonſhire*. To whom the Archbiſhop anſwered, That as that day he was ſo diſeaſed, that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in an Horſlitter. So that day paſſed over. The morrow after, certain that were about him, fearing no leſs but that ſome danger would happen to him, gave him counſel in the morning to have a Maſs in the honour of the holy Martyr S. *Stephen*, to keep him from the hands of his Enemies that day. When the morrow was come (being *Tueſday*) there came to him the Biſhops and Prelates, counſelling and perſwading him covertly by inſinuation (for apertly they durſt not) that he would ſubmit himſelf with all his goods (as alſo his Archbiſhoprick) to the will of the King, if peradventure his indignation by that means might aſſwage. Adding moreover, that unleſs he would ſo do, perjury would be laid againſt him: for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the Kings Laws and Ordinances, now would not obſerve them. To this *Becket* the Archbiſhop anſwereth again, *Brethren, ye ſee and perceive well how the world is ſet againſt me, and how the Enemy riſeth and ſeeketh my confuſion. And although theſe things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveth me moſt of all, is this, The Sons of mine own Mother be pricks and thorns againſt me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the Poſterity to come will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your Archbiſhop and Metropolitan alone in his Conflict, and how you have ſitten in Judgment againſt me (although unguilty of Crime) now two days together, and not only in the Civil and Spiritual Court, but alſo in the Temporal Court ready to do the ſame. But in general, this I charge and command (as the vertue of pure Obedience, and in peril of your Order) that ye be preſent perſonally in Judgment againſt me. And that ye ſhall not fail ſo to do, I here appeal to our Mother (the refuge of all ſuch as be oppreſſed) the Church of* Rome: *and if any ſecular men ſhall lay hands upon me (as it is rumored they will) I ſtraitly injoyn and charge you in the ſame vertue of Obedience, that you exerciſe your Cenſure Eccleſiaſtical upon them, as it becometh you to do for a Father and an Archbiſhop. And this I do you to underſtand, that though the World rage, and the Enemy be fierce, and the Body trembleth (for the fleſh is weak) yet God ſo favouring me, I will neither cowardly ſhrink, nor yet vilely forſake my Flock committed to my Charge, &c.*

*A Maſs of S. Stephen to ſave him from his Enemies.*

*Becket's Anſwer to the Biſhops.*

*Becket appealeth to Rome.*

But the Biſhop of *London*, contrary to this commandment of the Archbiſhop, did incontinent appeal from him. And thus the Biſhops departed from him to the Court, ſave only two, *Henry* of *Wincheſter*, and *Joceline* of *Saliſbury*, who returned with him ſecretly to his Chamber, and comforted him. This done, the Archbiſhop (which yeſterday was ſo ſore ſick that he could not ſtir out of his bed) now addreſſeth him to his Maſs of S. *Stephen* with all ſolemnity, as though it had been an high Feſtival-day, with his Metropolitan Pall, which was not uſed but upon the holy day to be worn, &c. The Office of the Maſs began, *Sederunt Principes & adverſum*

*London appealeth from the Archbiſhop.*

me

A Maſs to charm away perſecutors.

*me loquebantur*; that is, Princes ſate and ſpake againſt me, &c. (the Kings ſervants being alſo there and beholding the matter.) For this Maſs *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London* accuſed *Becket* afterward, both for that it was done, *Per artem magicam, & in contemptum regis* (as the words of *Hoveden* purport) that is, both by art of magick, and in contempt of the King, &c.

Becket carrieth with him the Sacrament going to the King.

The Maſs being ended, the Archbiſhop (putting off his Pall, his Mitre and other robes) proceedeth to the Kings Court: But yet not truſting, peradventure, ſo greatly to the ſtrength of his Maſs (to make the matter more ſure) he taketh alſo the Sacrament privily about him, thinking himſelf thereby ſufficiently defended againſt all bugs. In going to the Kings chamber (there to attend the Kings coming) as he entred the door, he taketh from *Alexander* his Croſier, the Croſs with the Croſs Staffe, in the ſight of all that ſtood by, and carrieth it in himſelf, the other Biſhops following him, and ſaying, he did otherwiſe than became him. Amongſt others, *Robert* Biſhop of *Hereford*, offered himſelf to bear his Croſs, rather than he ſhould ſo do, for that it was not comely; but the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer him. Then ſaid the Biſhop of *London* unto him; If the King ſhall ſee you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his Sword againſt you, which is ſtronger than yours, and then what ſhall this your account profit you? The Archbiſhop anſwereth again; If the Kings Sword do cut carnally, yet my Sword cutteth ſpiritually, and ſtriketh down to Hell. But you, my Lord, as you have plaid the fool in this matter, ſo you will not yet leave off your folly for any thing I can ſee; and ſo he came into the chamber. The King hearing of his coming, and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where *Becket* was ſet in a place by himſelf with his other Biſhops about him. Firſt, the Cryer called the Prelates and all the Lords of the Temporalty together. That being done (and every one placed in his ſeat according to his degree) the King beginneth with a great complaint againſt the Archbiſhop for his manner of entring into the Court, not as (ſaith he) a ſubject into a Kings Court; but as a Traytor, ſhewing himſelf in ſuch ſort as hath not been ſeen before in any Chriſtian Kings Court, profeſſing Chriſtian faith. To this all there preſent gave witneſs with the King, affirming him always to be a vain and proud Man, and that the ſhame of his fact did not only redound againſt the Prince himſelf, but alſo againſt his whole Realm. Moreover, they ſaid that this had ſo happened to the King, for that he had done ſo much for ſuch a Beaſt, advancing him ſo highly to ſuch a place and room next under himſelf. And ſo all together with one cry, called him Traytor on every ſide, as one that refuſed to give terrene honour to the King, in keeping (as he had Sworn) his Laws and Ordinances, at whoſe hands alſo he had received ſuch honour and great preferments: And therefore he was well worthy (ſaid they) to be handled like a perjured Traytor and Rebel. Whereupon great doubt and fear was what ſhould befall him. The Archbiſhop of *York*, coming down to his men, ſaid, he could not abide to ſee what the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was like to ſuffer. Likewiſe, the Tipſtaves, and other Miniſters of the aſſembly, coming down with an outcry againſt him, croſſed them to ſee his Haughty ſtubbornneſs, and the buſineſs there was about him. Certain there were of his Diſciples ſitting at his feet, comforting him ſoftly, and bidding him to lay his curſe upon them. Others (contrary) bidding him not to Curſe, but to Pray and forgive them; and if he loſt his life in the quarrel of the Church and the liberty thereof, he ſhould be happy. Afterward, one of them, named *Johannes Stephani*, deſired to ſpeak ſomething in his ear; but could not be ſuffered by the Kings Marſhal, who forbad that any man ſhould have any talk with him. Then he (becauſe he could not otherwiſe ſpeak to him) wrought by ſigns, making a croſs, and looking up with his Eyes, and wagging his lip, meaning that he ſhould pray, and manfully ſtand to the cauſe. In the mean time cometh to him *Bartholomew* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, deſiring him to have regard and compaſſion of himſelf, and alſo of them, or elſe they were all like to periſh for the hatred of him: for there cometh out (ſaith he) a Precept from the King that he ſhall be taken, and ſuffer for an open Rebel, that hereafter taketh your part. It is ſaid moreover that *Jocelinus* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and *William* Biſhop of *Norwich* are to be had to the place of Execution, for their reſiſting and making interceſſion for the Biſhop of *Canterbury*. When he had thus ſaid, the Archbiſhop (looking upon the ſaid Biſhop of *Exceſter*) Avoid hence from me, ſaith he, thou underſtandeſt not, neither doſt favour thoſe things that be of God.

*Hoveden* referreth not this ſaying to the Biſhop of *London*, but to the Archbiſhop of *York*.

Becket called Traytor of the King and all his Nobles.

A blind Zeal for the proud liberties of the Church.

Who ſo taketh Becket's part is counted a Rebel.

The Biſhops and Prelates then going aſide by themſelves from the other Nobles, the King ſo permitting them to do, took Council together what was to be done. Here the matter ſtood in a doubtful perplexity, for either muſt they incur the dangerous Indignation of the King, or elſe with the Nobles they muſt proceed in condemnation againſt the Archbiſhop for reſiſting the Kings Sanctions; which thing they themſelves neither did favour. In this ſtrict neceſſity, they, deviſing what way to take, at length agreed upon this; that they with a common aſſent ſhould cite the Archbiſhop to the See of *Rome* upon perjury: and that they ſhould oblige and bind themſelves to the King with a ſure promiſe, to work their diligence in ordaining the Archbiſhop; upon this condition, that the King ſhould promiſe their ſafety, and diſcharge them from the peril of that judgment which was towards them. So all the Biſhops, obliging themſelves thus to the King, went forth to the Archbiſhop; of whom one ſpeaking for the reſt (which was *Hilary* Biſhop *Chicheſter*) had theſe words: *Once you have been our Archbiſhop, and ſo long we were bound to your obedience; but now for as much as you, once ſwearing your fidelity to the King, do reſiſt him, neglecting his Injunctions and Ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his Terrene Honour and Dignity; we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to give obedience to an Archbiſhop thus being perjured; but, putting our ſelves and all ours in the Popes Protection, we do cite you up to his preſence.* And upon the ſame, they aſſigned him his day and time to appear. The Archbiſhop anſwering again, ſaid, he heard him well enough, and upon this ſendeth up to *Rome* in all haſte to the Pope, ſignifying to him by Letters, the whole matter, how, and wherefore, and by whom he was cited, To whom the Pope directed again his Letters of comfort (as he had done divers before) the Copy whereof here enſueth.

Becket cited to *Rome* upon perjury by the Biſhops.

Becket condemned of perjury.

Becket cited to *Rome*.

## Pope *Alexander* to *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*YOur Brotherly Letters, which you directed to us, and ſuch other matters which your meſſenger by word of mouth hath ſignified unto us, we have diligently heard the reading thereof: and thereby fully underſtand the grievous vexations and dolorous griefs wherewith your mind is daily incumbred: By reaſon whereof, we, hearing and underſtanding, are not a little diſquieted in our Spirit for your ſake: In whoſe Proſperities we do both gladly rejoyce, and no leſs do ſorrow in your adverſities as for our moſt dear Brother. You therefore (as a conſtant and wiſe man) remember with your ſelf that which is written: The Apoſtles departed away (rejoycing) from the face of the Council, &c. With like patience do you alſo ſuſtain that mans moleſtations, and let not your Spirit be troubled therein more than needeth, but receive in your ſelf conſolation: That we alſo together with you may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preſerved you to the corroboration of his Catholique and Chriſtian verity, in this diſtreſs of neceſſity: and from whom alſo it hath pleaſed him to wipe away the blot of ſuch things which have been unorderly of you committed, and here to puniſh the ſame through ſundry afflictions: whereby (in the ſtrict judgment of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But henceforth let not this much grieve you: neither let your heart be ſo deject or timorous in the matter (for that you are cited up to the Apoſtolick See) which to us is both grateful and accepted. And this we will you, that if they which have cited you ſhall chance to come; draw not you back, but follow the appeal, if you pleaſe, and ſpare not, all doubt and delay ſet apart: for the Authority of the Church, tendering this your conſtancy, may not do that which may put you in fear, or doubt. But our diligence ſhall be, with all labour and ſtudy, to conſerve the Right and Preheminence, God willing of that Church committed to you, ſo much as in us lyeth (ſaving*

*our*

*our juſtice and equity) as to one whom, in working for the Church, we find to be both a conſtant and a valiant Champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repair unto the Church of* Canterbury: *and retaining but a few Clerks about you (ſuch only as ſerve your neceſſity) make no excurſes out (as little as you can) in that Country. But in this eſpecially I thought to premoniſh you, that in no caſe, neither for fear, or any adverſity, whatſoever may happen, you be brought to renounce and give up the right and dignity of your Church. Written at* Sene, *the ſeventh before the* Kalends *of* November.

As the Archbiſhop was thus cited up to *Rome*, ſitting with his Croſs waiting in the Court, neither given place to the Kings requeſt, nor abaſhed with the clamour of the whole Court againſt him, calling him Traytor on every ſide, neither following the advertiſement of his fellow-Biſhops, at length the King by certain Earls and Barons, ſent commandment to him (*Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter* doing the Meſſage) that he ſhould without delay come and render a full account of all things that he had received, as the Profits and Revenues of the Realm, in the time he was Chancellor, and ſpecially for the 30000 marks, for the which he was accountable to the King. To whom the Archbiſhop anſwereth again, *The King knew how oft he had made his reckoning of thoſe things which now were required of him.* Further and beſides, *Henry* his Son and Heir of his Realm, with all his Barons, and alſo *Richard Lucy*, chief Juſtice of *England* told him, *That he was free and quit to God, and to holy Church from all Receits and Computations, and from all ſecular Exactions on the Kings behalf.* And ſo he, taking thus his Diſcharge at their hands, entred into his Office; and therefore other account beſides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the King, he required his Barons to do the Law upon him; who, ſo doing, judged him to be apprehended and laid in priſon. This done, the King ſendeth to him *Reginald*, Earl of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, and *Robert*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, to declare to him what was his judgment. To whom the Archbiſhop anſwereth, *Hear, my Son, and good Earl, what I ſay unto you: how much more precious the Soul is than the Body, ſo much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terren King. Neither doth any Law or Reaſon permit the Children to judge and condemn their Father. Wherefore, to avoid both, the judgment of the King, of you, and all others, I put my ſelf only to the arbitrement of the Pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whoſe preſence here before you all I do appeal, committing the ordering of the Church of* Canterbury, *my Dignity, with all other things appertaining to the ſame, under the Protection of God and him. And as for you, my Brethren and fellow-Biſhops, which rather obey Man than God, you alſo I call and cite to the Audience and Judgment of the Pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the Enemies of the Catholick Church, and of the Authority of the Apoſtolick See.*

Becket called to a full account.

*Ex Rogero Hovedeno.*

Becket judged to be laid in priſon.

*Ex quadripartita Hiſt. lib. 1. ca. 38.*

Becket appeareth to the Pope.

Becket thinketh not the protection of God ſufficient without the Pope.

While the Barons returned with this Anſwer to the King, the Archbiſhop, paſſing through the throng, taketh unto him his paltry, holding his Croſs in one hand, and his Bridle in the other, the Courtiers following after, and crying, *Traytor, Traytor, tarry and hear thy Judgment.* But he paſſed on till he came to the uttermoſt Gate of the Court, which being faſt locked, there he had been ſtaid, had not one of his Servants called *Peter*, ſurnamed *Demunctorio*, finding there a bunch of Keys hanging by, firſt proved one Key, then another, till at laſt, finding the true Key, he had opened the Gate, and let him out. The Archbiſhop went ſtraight to the Houſe of Canons, where he did lie, calling unto him the poor, where they could be found. When Supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he cauſed to be made between two Altars, privily while the King was at Supper, he prepareth his Journey ſecretly to eſcape away; and changing his Garment and his Name, being called *Derman*, firſt went to *Lincoln*, from thence to *Sandwich*, where he took Ship, and ſailed into *Flanders*, and from thence journyed into *France*, as *Hovedenus* ſaith. Albeit *Alanus*; differing ſomething in the order of his flight, ſaith, *That he departed not that night; but at ſupper-time came to him the Biſhops of* London *and* Chicheſter, *declaring to him, that if he would ſurrender up to the King his two Manors of* Otford *and* Wingcham, *there were hope to recover the Kings favour, and to have all remitted.* But when the Archbiſhop would not agree thereunto, forſomuch as thoſe Manors were belonging to the Church of *Canterbury*, the King hearing thereof, great diſpleaſure was taken, inſomuch that the next day *Becket* was fain to ſend to the King two Biſhops and his Chaplain for leave to depart the Realm. To the which Meſſage the King anſwered, *That he would take pauſe thereof till the next day, and then he ſhould have an Anſwer.* But *Becket* not tarrying his anſwer, the ſame day conveyed himſelf away ſecretly, as is aforeſaid, to *Ludovicus* the *French* King. But before he came to the King, *Gilbert* the Biſhop of *London*, and *William* the Earl of *Arundel*, ſent from the King of *England* to *France*, Prevented him: requiring the ſaid *French* King in the behalf of the King of *England*, that he would not receive, nor retain in his Dominion the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Moreover, that at his inſtance he would be a means to the Pope, not to ſhew any familiarity unto him. But the King of *England* in this point ſeemed to have more confidence in the *French* King, than knowledge of his diſpoſition. For thinking that the *French* King would have been a good Neighbour to him, in truſting him too much he was deceived. Neither conſidered he with himſelf enough the manner and nature of the *Frenchmen* at that time againſt the Realm of *England*; who then were glad to ſeek and take all manner of occaſions to do ſome Act againſt *England*.

Becket flyeth out of the Court.

Becket changeth his name, and is called Derman. Hiſtories differ ſomething in the order of his flight.

The French King ſupporteth Becket againſt the King of England.

And therefore *Ludovick* the *French* King, underſtanding the matter, and thinking (per-caſe) thereby to have ſome vantage againſt the King and Realm of *England*, by the occaſion hereof, contrary to the Kings Letters and Requeſt, not only harboureth and cheriſheth this *Derman*, but alſo (writing to the Pope by his *Almoner* and Brother) intreateth him (upon all loves, as ever he would have his favour) to tender the cauſe of the Archbiſhop *Becket*. Thus the Kings Ambaſſadors repulſed of the *French* King, returned; at what time he ſent another Ambaſſage (upon the like cauſe) to *Alexander* the Pope, then being at *Sene* in *France*. The Ambaſſadors ſent on this Meſſage were *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Hilary* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Bartholomew* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, with other Doctors and Clerks: alſo *William* Earl of *Arundel*, with certain more Lords and Barons, who coming to the Popes Court were friendly accepted of certain of the Cardinals; amongſt the which Cardinals roſe alſo diſſention about the ſame cauſe. Some judging that the Biſhop of *Canterbury* in the defence of the Liberties of the Church (as in a good cauſe) was to be maintained. Some thinking again, that he (being a Perturber of Peace and Unity) was rather to be bridled for his preſumption, than to be foſtered and incouraged therein. But the Pope partly bearing with his cauſe (which only tended to his Exaltation and Magnificence) partly again incenſed with the Letters of the *French* King, did wholly incline to *Becket*, as no marvel was. Wherefore the next day following, the Pope ſitting in conſiſtory with his Cardinals, the Ambaſſadors were called for to the hearing of *Beckets* matter; and firſt beginneth the Biſhop of *London*; next, the Archbiſhop of *York*; then *Exceſter*; and the other Biſhops every one in their order to ſpeak. Whoſe *Orations* being not well accepted of the Pope, and ſome of them alſo diſdained; the Earl of *Arundel* perceiving that (and ſomewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes ears) began after this manner:

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Pope.

The Oration of the Earl of Arundel to the Pope.

*Although to me it is unknown (ſaith he) which am both unlettered and ignorant, what is that theſe Biſhops here have ſaid, neither am I in that Tongue ſo able to expreſs my mind as they have done: yet being ſent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cauſe is of our ſending hither: not (truly) to contend or ſtrive with any perſon, nor to offer any injury or harm unto any man (eſpecially in this place) and in the preſence here of ſuch an one unto whoſe Beck and Authority all the World doth ſtoop and yield. But for this time is our Legacy hither directed, to preſent here before you, and in the preſence of the whole Church of* Rome, *the devotion and love of our King and Maſter, which ever he hath had, and*

*yet*

*yet hath ſtill toward you. And that the ſame might the better appear to your Excellency, he hath aſſigned and appointed to the furniture of this Legacy, not the leaſt, but the greateſt, not the worſt, but the beſt and chiefeſt of all his Subjects; both Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, with other Potentates more, of ſuch worthineſs and Parentage, that if he could have found greater in all his Realm, he would have ſent them, both for the Reverence of your Perſon, and of the holy Church of* Rome. *Over and beſide this, I might add more (which your Sanctitude hath ſufficiently tried and proved already) the true and hearty Fidelity of this our King and Soveraign toward you (in his firſt entrance to his Kingdom) wholly ſubmitted himſelf, with all that is his beſides, to your will and pleaſure. And truly, to teſtifie of his Majeſty how he is diſpoſed to the unity of the Catholick Faith: we believe there is none more faithful in Chriſt than he, nor more devout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the unity of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to proteſt for our King and Maſter, ſo neither do I affirm the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to be a man deſtitute or unfurniſhed with Gifts and Ornaments in his kind of calling, but to be a man both ſage and diſcreet in ſuch things as to him appertain, ſave only that he ſeemeth to ſome more quick and ſharp than needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and if the breach between our King and him had not ſo happened, both the Regiments together (of the Temporalty and Spiritualty) might quietly have flouriſhed one with the other in much peace and concord, both under a Prince ſo worthy, and a Paſtor ſo virtuous. Wherefore (the caſe ſo ſtanding as it doth) our Meſſage hither, and our ſupplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your favour and wiſdom) the neck of this diſſenſion may be broken, and that Reformation of unity and love (by ſome good means) may be ſought.*

℄ This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the ſoftneſs and moderation thereof, yet it could not ſo perſwade the *Romiſh* Biſhop to condeſcend to their ſuit and requeſt: which ſuit was, to have two Legates or Arbitrers to be ſent from his Popiſh ſide into *England*, to examine and take up the Controverſie between the King and the Archbiſhop. But the Pope, inceníed as is ſaid before, would not grant to their petition: forſomuch as it ſhould be (ſaith he) prejudicial and tending to the oppreſſion of the Archbiſhop to grant unto it, he being not preſent. And therefore he willed them to tarry his coming up; otherwiſe he being abſent, he would not (he ſaid) in any caſe proceed againſt him. But they, alledging again their time to be expired, appointed unto them of the King, having beſides other lets and cauſes as they alledged, ſaid, *That they could not there wait for the coming of* Becket, *but return back, their cauſe fruſtrated, without the Popes bleſſing to the King.* Within four days after *Becket* cometh to the Popes Court, where he proſtrating himſelf at his feet, brought out of his boſome a Scroll containing the Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the King, before mentioned. The Pope receiving the foreſaid Scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his Cardinals, condemned and accurſed the moſt part of the ſaid Decrees of the King, which he called *Conſuetudines avitas*; that is, his Grandfathers Ordinances. Beſides this, the Pope moreover blameth *Becket*, for that he ſo much yielded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithſtanding (becauſe he was repentant for his unadviſed Fact) he was content to abſolve him for the ſame, and the rather, becauſe of his great Troubles, which he for the Liberties of holy Church did ſuſtain; and ſo with great favour for that day diſmiſſed him.

The Pope tendereth Beckets cauſe againſt the Kings.

Becket complaineth of the King to the Pope.

Repentance for his well-doing.

The next day (*Alexander* the Pope aſſembling his Cardinals together in his ſecret Chamber) appeareth before them Archbiſhop *Becket*, having this Oration to the Pope and his Popelings, which here I thought to ſet out in our vulgar *Engliſh*-Tongue (tranſlated out of *Latine*) to the intent that the Poſterity hereafter may underſtand either the vain Superſtition or vile ſlavery of the Church-men in thoſe days, who, being not contented with their own natural Prince and King given them of God, muſt ſeek further to the Pope; thinking no Eccleſiaſtical Living to be given, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his Oration be ſtoried rightly thus.

## The Oration of *Becket* reſigning his Biſhoprick to the Pope.

*FAthers and Lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much leſs before God, and in your preſence here. Wherefore, with much ſighing and ſorrow of heart, I grant and confeſs, that theſe Perturbations of the Church of* England *be raiſed through my miſerable fault. For I entred into the Fold of Chriſt, but not by the door of Chriſt; for that, not the Canonical Election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terror of publick power drove me in. And albeit I againſt my will took this burthen upon me; yet not the will of God, but mans pleaſure placed me in the room. And therefore no marvel though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the reſigning up again thereof; if I had ſo done, and given up into their hands the priviledge of my Biſhoply Authority, which I had granted to me at the Commandment of the King (ſo as my fellow-Biſhops did inſtantly call upon me to do) then had I left a pernicious and dangerous Example to the whole Catholick Church. By reaſon whereof I thought to defer that unto your preſence. And now there (recogniſing with my ſelf my ingreſs not to be Canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worſe end; and again pondering my ſtrength and ability not to be ſufficient for ſuch a Charge) leſt I ſhould be found to ſuſtain that room to the ruine of the Flock, to whom I was appointed a Paſtor unworthy; I render up to your fatherly hands the Archbiſhoprick here of* Canterbury, &c. ℄ *And ſo putting off his Ring from his finger, and offering it to the Pope, he deſired a Biſhop for the Church of* Canterbury *to be provided: ſeeing he thought not himſelf meet to fulfil the ſame, and ſo (with tears, as the ſtory ſaith) he ended his Oration.*

Becket argument: the Pope brought him not in but the King, Erg God brought him not in.

And why might ye not (M. Becket) reſign it as well to his hands of whom ye took it?

This done, the Archbiſhop was bid to ſtand apart. The Pope conferring upon this with his Cardinals, about the reſignation of *Becket*, what was beſt to be done: Some thought it beſt to take the occaſion offered, thinking thereby the Kings wrath might eaſily be aſſwaged, if the Church of *Canterbury* were aſſigned to ſome other perſon; and yet the ſaid *Becket* otherwiſe to be provided for notwithſtanding. Contrary, others again thought otherwiſe, whoſe reaſon was; If he (which for the Liberties of the Church, had ventured not only his Goods, Dignity and Authority, but alſo his Life) ſhould now at the Kings pleaſure be deprived; like as it might be a Preſident hereafter to others in reſiſting their King in like ſort, if this cauſe were maintained; ſo contrariwiſe, if it quailed, it ſhould be an example to all others hereafter, none to reſiſt his Prince in the like caſe. And ſo might it redound not only to the weakning of the ſtate of the Catholick Church, but alſo to the derogation of the Popes Authority. Briefly, this ſentence at length prevailed: and ſo *Becket* receiveth his Paſtoral Office of the Popes hand again, with commendation and much favour. But for ſo much as he could not be well placed in *England*; in the mean while the Pope ſendeth him with a Monks habit into the Abbey of *Pontiniack* in *France*, where he remained two years; from thence he removed to *Senon*, where he abode five years. So the time of his exile continued ſeven years in all, &c.

A conſultation between the Pope and the Cardinals about Beckets matter.

Upon this, the King being certified by his Ambaſſadors of the Popes Anſwer, how his favour inclined more to *Becket* than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathful diſpleaſure. Who, upon the ſame ſailing from *England* unto *Normandy*, directed over certain Injunctions againſt the Pope, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as were recited afore. The Contents whereof were declared to be theſe:

If any perſon ſhould be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *&c.*

Of theſe, and ſuch other Injunctions, *Becket* ſpecifieth partly in a certain Letter, writing to a Friend of his in this manner:

THomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *to his well beloved Friend, &c. Be it known to your brotherly goodneſs, that we, with all ours here (by Gods Grace) are ſafe and in good health. Having a good hope and truſt to your faithful Amity, I charge you and require you, that either*

*either by the bringer hereof, or by ſome other, (whom ye know faithful and truſty to our Church of* Canterbury, *and to us) you write with all ſpeed what is done. As touching the Kings decrees here ſet out, theſe they be: That all Havens and Ports ſhould be diligently kept, that no Letters of the Popes Interdict or Curſe be brought in. And if Religious Men bring them in, they ſhall have their feet cut off; if he be a Prieſt or Clerk, he ſhall loſe his Privy Members; if he be a Lay-man, let him be hanged; if he be a Leper, let him be burned. And if any Biſhop, for fear of the Popes Interdict, will depart; beſides his ſtaff only in his hand let him have nothing elſe. Alſo the Kings will is, that all Scholars and Students beyond the Seas ſhall repair home; or elſe loſe their Benifices. And if they yet ſhall remain ſtill, they ſhall loſe the liberty of all returning. Further, if any ſuch Prieſts ſhall be found, that for the Popes ſuſpence or Interdict will refuſe to Sing, they ſhall loſe their Privy Members. In ſumme, all ſuch Prieſts as ſhew themſelves Rebels to the King, let them be deprived of their Benifices,* &c.

Beſides theſe and ſuch like Injunctions, it was alſo ſet forth by the Kings Proclamation, *An.* 1166. That all manner of perſons, both Men and Women, whoſoever were found of the kindred of *Thomas Becket*, ſhould be exiled, without taking any part of their Goods with them, and ſent to him where he was: which was no little vexation to *Becket* to behold them. Moreover, for ſo much as he then was lying with *Gwarine* Abbat of *Pontiniack*, to whom the Pope, as is aforeſaid, had commended him; therefore the King writing to the ſame Abbat, required him not to retain the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his Houſe: for if he did, he would drive out of his Realm all the Monks of his Order. Whereupon *Becket* was inforced to remove from thence, and went to *Lewis* the French King; by whom he was placed at *Senon*, and there found of him the ſpace of five years as is above mentioned.

Anno 1166

Becket's kindred baniſhed.

* Theſe Monks were of the Ciſtertian order.

In the mean time, Meſſengers went daily with Letters between the King and the Pope, between the Pope again and him, and ſo between the Archbiſhop and others. Whereof if the Reader (peradventure) ſhall be deſirous to ſee the Copies; I thought here to expreſs certain of them, to ſatisfie his deſire; firſt beginning with the Epiſtle of *Becket*, complaining of his Prince to the Pope, in manner and form as followeth.

Becket complaineth of his Prince to the Pope.

## *The Copy of an Epiſtle ſent of* Thomas Becket *to Pope* Alexander.

"TO your preſence and audience I flie, moſt holy "Father, that you, who hath bought the liberty "of the Church with your ſo great danger, might the rather attend to the ſame (either being the only or chiefeſt "cauſe of my perſecution) uſing and following therein the "example of you. It grieveth me that the ſtate of the "Church ſhould fall to any decay, and that the liberties "thereof ſhould be infringed through the avarice of Princes. "For the which cauſe I thought to reſiſt betime that inconvenience beginning ſo to grow. And the more I thought "my ſelf obliged to the ſame, my Prince (unto whom next "under God I am moſt chiefly bound) the more boldneſs I "took to me, to withſtand his unrightful attempts; till "ſuch as were on the contrary part, my adverſaries, prevailed, working my diſquietneſs, and incenſing him againſt "me. Whereupon, as the manner is amongſt Princes, they "raiſed up againſt me citations and ſlanders, to the occaſion of my perſecution: but I had rather to be proſcribed, "than to ſubſcribe. Beſides this, I was alſo called to judgment, and cited before the King to make anſwer there "as a Lay perſon, to ſecular accounts: whereas they whom "I moſt truſted did moſt forſake me. For I ſaw my fellow Brethren the Biſhops, through the inſtigation of ſome, "ready to my condemnation. Whereupon all being ſet "againſt me, and I thus oppreſſed on every ſide, I took "my refuge to appeal unto your goodneſs, which caſteth off "none in their extremities; being ready to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to be judged "there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were "that (Father) but to uſurpe to themſelves your right, and "to bring the ſpirituality under the temporality? Which "thing (once begun) may breed an example to many. And "therefore ſo much the more ſtout I thought to be in withſtanding this matter, how much more prone and proclive I ſaw the way to hurt, if they might once ſee us to "be faint and weak in the ſame. But they will ſay to me "here again: *Give to Cæſar that which belongs to Cæſar*, "&c. But to anſwer again thereunto, albeit we are bound "to obey our King in moſt things, yet not in ſuch manner "of things, whereby he is made to be no King: neither "were they then things belonging to *Cæſar*, but to a Tyrant. Concerning the which points, theſe Biſhops ſhould "not for me only, but for themſelves, have reſiſted the "King. For if the extream judgment be referred to him "which is able to judge both body and ſoul: is it not then "extream pride for Men there to judge, which judge but "by themſelves? If the cauſe of the Biſhops and of the "Clergy, which I maintain, be right: why be they ſet "againſt me? why do they reprehend me? For if that I "appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawful, "or elſe not expedient for me to do: what ſeem they by "this, but either to blame me cauſeleſs, or elſe to diſtruſt "your equity? For me to be convicted before your Holineſs, it had been a double confuſion. Or wherein have "I deſerved to be perſecuted of them, for whoſe cauſe I "have ſet my ſelf to ſtand in their behalf? And if they had "willed, I had prevailed; but it is ill with the head, when "he is left of his members and forſaken: as if the eyes "ſhould take the tongue to ſpeak againſt the head. If they "had had eyes to have fore-ſeen the matter, they might "underſtand themſelves to ſpeak their own deſtruction, "and that the Princes did uſe their help but to their own "ſervitude. And what ſo great cauſe of hatred had they "againſt me, to procure their own undoing in undoing "of me? So while they neglected Spiritual things inſtead "of Temporal, they have loſt them both. What ſhould "I ſpeak more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience; yet notwithſtanding they durſt "preſume to ſtand in judgment and condemnation againſt "me, as Children againſt their Father? Yea, and not "againſt me only, but againſt the univerſal Church of "God, conſpiring together with the Prince being with me "offended. And this ſuſpection might alſo as well pertain "to you, holy Father. But to this they will ſay, That "they owe their duty and ſervice unto the King, as their "Lord, to whom they are bound upon their allegiance. "To whom I anſwer, That to him they ſtand bound bodily, to me ſpiritually. But to whom ought they rather "to ſtand bound, than to themſelves? And were it not "better to ſuſtain the loſs of corporal, than of ſpiritual "things? But here they will ſay again: At this time the "Prince was not to be provoked. How ſubtilly do theſe "Men diſpute for their own boudage? Yea, they themſelves provoke him by their own exceſs, miniſtring wings "unto him to fight againſt them; for he would have reſted, if they had reſiſted. And when is conſtancy more "to be required, than in perſecution? Be not a Mans chief "Friends moſt tried in perſecution? If they give over ſtill, "how ſhall they obtain the victory? Sometimes they muſt "needs reſiſt. Condeſcend not therefore (holy Father) to "my exile and perſecution. And remember, that I alſo "once was a great Man, in the time when it was; and "now, for your ſake thus injuriouſly I am intreated. Uſe "your rigour and reſtrain them, by whoſe inſtigation the "name of this perſecution began. And let none of theſe "things be imputed to the King, who rather is to be counted the repairer than the author of this buſineſs.

To keep under the pride of Prelats is no cauſe ſufficient to unking a Prince.

If ye mean by ſpiritual things ſuch as pertain to the ſpiritual part of man, I grant; but your liberties be not ſuch as which pertain to the inward or ſpiritual man, but rather are things more corporal. Perſecution trieth a true friend, but every cauſe maketh not a true perſecution.

Beſides this Epiſtle ſent unto the Pope, he writeth alſo another Letter, ſent to the King in Latine; the tenor whereof he that is diſpoſed to read, may peruſe in our former Edition, with the Notes adjoyned withal.

Beſides which Epiſtle to the King in Latine, he ſent alſo one or two more to the ſaid King *Henry* the Second, much after the like rate and ſort: the one thus beginning: *Loqui de Deo, liberæ mentis eſt & valde quietæ. Inde eſt quod loquar ad Dominum meum, & utinam ad omnes pacificum*, &c. Which Epiſtle, for that I would not overcharge the Volume of theſe Hiſtories with too much matter ſuperfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he ſent afwards, whereof the words be theſe.

## *Another Letter of* Becket *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *ſent to the King.*

" TO his Lord and Friend *Henry*, by the grace of God, " King of *England*, Duke of *Normandy* and *Aqui-* " *tain*, Earl of *Anjou* : *Thomas* by the ſame grace, hum- " ble Miniſter of the Church of *Canterbury* (ſometime his " temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and " true repentance with amendment. I have long looked, " that the Lord would look upon you, and that you would " convert and repent, departing from your perverſe way ; " and cut off from you your wicked and preverſe Counſellors, " by whoſe inſtinction, as it is thought, you are fallen in- " to that deep, whereof the *Pſalm* ſpeaketh, A ſinner when " he cometh to the depth of miſchiefs, is without care or " fear. And albeit we have hitherto quietly ſuffered and " born, conſidering and earneſtly looking if there would " any meſſenger come that would ſay ; Your Soveraign " Lord the King which now a long time hath erred and " been deceived, and led even to the deſtruction of the " Church, through Gods mercy with abundant humility " doth now again make ſpeed for the deliverance of the " Church, and to make ſatisfaction and amendment : Yet " notwithſtanding, we ceaſe not, day by day, continually " to call upon Almighty God with *moſt humble devotion* : " That, that which we have long deſired for you, and by you, " we may ſpeedily obtain with abundant effect. And this is " one point ; that the care of the Church of *Canterbury*, " whereunto God hath preſently appointed us (albeit unwor- " thy) you being King, doth ſpecially conſtrain me (in that as " yet we are detained in exile) to write unto your Majeſty " Letters Commonitory, Exhortatory, and of Correction. " But I would to God they were fully able to correct, leſt " that I be too great a cloker of your outrages (if there be " any) as indeed there are : for the which we are not a lit- " tle ſorry. I mean ſpecially of them which are done by " you in every place about the Church of God and the Ec- " cleſiaſtical perſons, without any reverence either of digni- " ty or perſon ; and leſt alſo that I appear negligent to the " great danger of my ſoul : for without doubt he beareth " the offence of him which doth commit any offence, who " neglecteth to correct that, which another ought to amend. " For it is written, Not only they which do commit evil, " but alſo they that conſent thereunto are counted partakers " of the ſame. For they verily do conſent, which, when " they both might and ought, do not reſiſt, or at the leaſt " reprove. For the error which is not reſiſted is allowed, " and the truth when it is not defended is oppreſſed : nei- " ther doth it lack a privy note of ſociety in him, which " ceaſeth to withſtand a manifeſt miſchief. (2) For like " as, moſt noble Prince, a ſmall City doth not miniſh the " prerogative of ſo mighty a Kingdom as yours is : ſo your " Royal power ought not to oppreſs or change the meaſure " of the Religious diſpenſation. For it is provided always " by the Laws, that all judgments againſt Prieſts ſhould " proceed by the determination of Prieſts. For whatſo- " ever Biſhops they are, albeit that they do err as other men " do (not exceeding in any point contrary to the Religion " of Faith) they (3) ought not, nor can in any caſe be " judged of the ſecular power. Truly, it is the part of a " good and religious Prince to repair the ruinous Churches, " to build new, to honour the Prieſts, and with great re- " verence to defend them, after the example of the godly " Prince of moſt happy memory (4) *Conſtantinus*, which " ſaid, when a complaint of the Clergy was brought to " him, You (ſaid he) can be judged by no ſecular Judge, " which are reſerved to the only judgment of God. And " for ſo much as we do read that the holy Apoſtles and their " ſucceſſors, appointed by the teſtimony of God, command- " ed that no perſecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor " to envy thoſe which labour in the field of the Lord, and " that the ſtewards of the Eternal King ſhould not be ex- " pelled and put out of their ſeats : who then doubteth, " but that the Prieſts of Chriſt ought to be called the Fa- " thers and Maſters of all other faithful Princes ? Is it not a " miſerable madneſs then, if the Son ſhould go about to " bring the (5) Father under obedience ; or the Scholer " his Maſter ? and by (6) wicked bonds to bring him in " ſubjection, by whom he ought to believe that he may be " bound and looſed, not only in Earth, but alſo in Hea- " ven ? If you be a good and Catholick King, and will be " ſuch a one as we hope, or rather deſire you ſhould be, (if " it be ſpoken under your licence) you are the Child of the " Church, and not the ruler of the Church. You ought " to learn of the Prieſts, and not to teach them ; you " ought to (7) follow the Prieſts in Eccleſiaſtical matters, " and not to go before them ; having the priviledge of " your power given you of God to make publick Laws, " that by his benefit you ſhould not be unthankful againſt " the diſpenſation of the heavenly order, and that you " ſhould uſurpe nothing, but uſe them with a wholeſome " diſpoſition.

" Wherefore in thoſe things, which, contrary unto that " you have, through your malicious counſel rather than by " your own mind, wickedly uſurped ; with all humility " and ſatisfaction ſpeedily give place, that the hand of the " moſt High be not ſtretched out againſt you, as an arrow " againſt the mark. For the moſt High hath bended his " bow openly to ſhoot againſt him, that will not confeſs " his offences. Be not aſhamed (whatſoever wicked Men " ſay unto you, or that Traytors do whiſper in your ear) " to humble your ſelf under the mighty hand of God. For " it is he which exalteth the humble, and throweth down " the proud ; which alſo revengeth himſelf upon Princes : " he is terrible, and who ſhall reſiſt him ? You ought not " to have let ſlip out of your memory, in what ſtate God " did find you ; how he hath preferred, honoured, and " exalted you ; bleſſed you with Children, inlarged your " Kingdom, and eſtabliſhed the ſame in deſpight of your " enemies. In ſo much that hitherto, in a manner, all " men have ſaid with great admiration, that this is he whom " God hath choſen. And how will you reward, or can " you reward him for all theſe things which he hath done " unto you ? Will you, at the provocation and inſtance of " thoſe which are about you, that (8) perſecute the Church " and the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, and always have accord- " ing to their power perſecuted them, rendring evil for " good, bringing oppreſſions, tribulations, injuries, and " afflictions upon the Church and Church-men, do the like ? " Are not theſe they of whom the Lord ſpeaketh : he that " heareth you, heareth me ; he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth " me ; and he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of " mine eye ? Verily forſaking all that thou haſt, take up " thy croſs, that thou mayeſt follow thy God our Lord Je- " ſus Chriſt. Yet will it ſcarcely be, or not at all, that " thou ſhalt appear a thankful recompencer of the benefits " received at his hand. Search the Scriptures with ſuch as " are learned, and you ſhall underſtand, that (9) *Saul*, " albeit he was the Elect of the Lord, periſhed with his " whole houſe, becauſe he departed from the ways of the " Lord.

" *Ozias* alſo King of *Judah*, whoſe name is ſpoken of " and ſpread over all, through the manifold victories given " him of God, his heart was ſo puffed up to his deſtruction, " becauſe the Lord did help and ſtrengthen him in every " place, that he, contemning the fear and reverence of the " Lord, would uſurp unto himſelf that which was not his " office, that is to ſay, the Prieſthood, and to offer Incenſe " upon the Altar of the Lord ; for the which he was ſtrick- " en with a Leproſie, and caſt out of the Houſe of the " Lord. Many other Kings and holy Men of great ſub- " ſtance, becauſe they have walked above their eſtate in the " marvels of the world, preſuming to rebel againſt God in " his Miniſteries, have periſhed : and at the laſt, they have " found nothing of their ſubſtance in their power. Alſo " King *Abaz*, becauſe he did uſurp the office of Prieſt- " hood, was likewiſe ſtricken with a Leproſie by God.

" *Oza* alſo, albeit he was not King, yet for ſo much as he " touched the Ark and held it, when it would have fallen " by the unruline ſs of the Oxen, which thing pertained " not unto him, but unto the Miniſters of the Church, he " was ſtricken by the wrath of God and fell down by the " Ark. O King, it is a famous Proverb : That a Man, " forwarned by another Mans miſfortune, will take the " better heed unto himſelf. For every Man hath his own " buſineſs in hand, when his neighbours Houſe is on fire.

" Dearly beloved King, God would have the diſpoſing " of thoſe things, which pertain unto the Church, to be- " long only unto Prieſts, and not unto the ſecular power.

Do

" Do not challenge unto thy ſelf therefore another Mans
" right, neither ſtrive againſt him by whom all things are
" ordained; leſt thou ſeem to ſtrive againſt his benefits,
" of whom thou haſt received thy power. For by the com-
(10) " mon (10) Laws, and not by the ſecular power, and by
" the Biſhops and Prieſts, Almighty God would have the
" Clergy of the Chriſtian Religion to be ordered and ruled.
" And Chriſtian Kings ought to ſubmit all their doings un-
" to Eccleſiaſtical Rulers, and not to prefer themſelves:
" for it is written, That none ought to judge the Biſhops
" but only the Church, neither doth it pertain unto Mans
" Law to give ſentence upon any ſuch. Chriſtian Princes are
" accuſtomed to be obedient unto the Statutes and Ordi-
" nances of the Church, and not to prefer their own pow-
" er. A Prince ought to ſubmit himſelf unto the Biſhops,
" and not to judge the Biſhops: for there are two things
" wherewith the world is chiefly governed, (that is to ſay)
" the Sacred Authority of Biſhops, and Royal Power.
(11) " (11) in the which, the Biſhops charge is ſo much the
" more weighty, in that they ſhall at the later Judgment
" render account even of the Kings themſelves. Truly you
" ought to underſtand, That you depend upon their judg-
" ment, and cannot reduce them unto your own will:
" for many Biſhops have excommunicated both Kings and
" Emperors. And if you require an eſpecial example there-
" of, *Innocentius* the Pope did Excommunicate *Arcadius*
" the Emperor, becauſe he did conſent that *John Cryſoſtom*
" ſhould be expulſed from his ſeat; And Saint *Ambroſe* al-
(12) " ſo did Excommunicate (12) *Theodoſius* the great Em-
" peror for a fault (which ſeemed not ſo weighty unto o-
" ther Prieſts) and ſhut him out of the Church: who after-
" wards by condign ſatisfaction was abſolved.

" There are many other like Examples. For *David*,
" when he had Committed Adultery and Murther, the Pro-
" phet *Nathan* was ſent unto him by God to reprove him,
" and he was ſoon corrected: And the King (laying aſide
" his Scepter and Diadem, and ſetting apart all Princely
" Majeſty) was not aſhamed to humble himſelf before the
" face of the Prophet, to confeſs his fault, and to require
" forgiveneſs for his offence. What will you more? He
" being ſtricken with Repentance asked mercy, and obtain-
" ed forgiveneſs. So likewiſe you (moſt beloved King and
" Reverend Lord) after the example of this good King *Da-*
" *vid*, of whom it is ſaid, *I have found a Man after mine*
" *own heart*; with a contrite and humble heart turn to
" the Lord your God, and take hold of Repentance for your
" tranſgreſſions. For you have fallen and erred in many
" things, which yet I keep in ſtore ſtill, if (peradventute)
" God ſhall inſpire you to ſay with the Prophet; *Have*
" *mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy, for*
" *I have ſinned much againſt thee, and done ill in thy ſight.*
" Thus much I have thought good to write to you my dear
" Lord at this preſent, paſſing other things in ſilence, till I
" may ſee whether my words take place in you, and bring
" forth fruits worthy of Repentance; and that I may hear
" and rejoyce with them that ſhall bring me word and ſay;
" O King, thy Son was dead, and is alive again; was loſt,
" and is found again. But if you will not hear me, look
" where I was wont * before the Majeſty of the Body of
" Chriſt to pray for you in abundance of tears and ſighs;
" there in the ſame place I will cry againſt you, and ſay,
" Riſe up Lord and judge my cauſe, forget not the rebukes
" and injuries which the King of *England* doth to thee and
" thine; forget not the ignominy of thy Church, which
" thou haſt builded in thy blood. Revenge the blood of
" thy Saints which is ſpilt; revenge, O Lord, the afflictions
" of thy ſervants of whom there is an infinite number. For
" the pride of them which hate and perſecute thee is gone
" up ſo high, that we are not able to bear them any longer.
" Whatſoever your ſervants ſhall do, all thoſe things ſhall
" be required at your hands: for he ſeemeth to have
" done the harm, which hath given the cauſe thereof.
" Doubtleſs, the Son of the Moſt High, except you amend
" and ceaſe from the oppreſſing of the Church and Clergy,
" and keep your hand from troubling of them, will come
" in the rod of his fury, at the voyces of ſuch as cry to him,
" and at the ſighs of them that be in bands; when the time
" ſhall come for him to judge the unrighteouſnes of Men in
" equity and ſeverity of the Holy Ghoſt. For he knoweth
" how to take away the breath of Princes, and is terrible a-
" mong Kings of the Earth. Your dear and loving Grace I
" wiſh well to fare. Thus fare ye well again and ever.

* Note the judgement of God againſt this Becket, who was ſlain at his Maſs making the body of Chriſt.

## *Certain Notes or Elenchs upon this Epiſtle: which by the figures you may find out, and their places.*

1. THE ſcope of this Epiſtle is this, To prove that Biſhops and Prieſts ought not to come under the covert and controlement of Temporal power.

2. This ſimilitude holdeth not. For, though the ſmalneſs of a City blemiſheth not the Prerogative of a Kingdom, yet the evilneſs and rebellion of a City doth worthily blemiſh his own prerogative.

3. So ſaith the Popes Decree, *Diſt.* 10. but the Scripture of God importeth otherwiſe. *Abiathar* the Prieſt was depoſed of King *Solomon*, not for any Hereſie, but for other cauſes, 3. *Reg.* 12. *Jonathas* took his Prieſthood of King *Alexander*: and *Simon* of *Demetrius*, 1 *Macch.* 7. Chriſt offered Tribute to *Cæſar* for him and for *Peter*. Alſo *Peter* ſaith, *Be ye ſubject to every humane creature*; and it followeth, *whether it be to the King as to the chief, &c. Item* Pope *Leo* ſubmitted himſelf to *Ludovicus* the Emperor with theſe words: *And if we do any thing incompetently, and do ſwerve from the path of Righteouſneſs, we will ſtand to your Reformation, or of them whom you ſhall ſend*, Quæſt. 2. Hoſ. 7.

4. Notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Conſtantinus*, writing to the Biſhops Congregated at *Tyrus*, firſt chideth them, then commandeth them to reſort unto his preſence, to have their cauſe judged and decided, *Trip. hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.

5. The Father under obedience, *&c.* If Fatherhood go by age, I ſuppoſe that King *Henry* was elder than *Becket*. If Fatherhood conſiſt in Authority, I judge the Authority of a King to be above the Authority of an Archbiſhop. If the See of *Canterbury* make the Fatherhood, yet had *Becket* no cauſe to claim Fatherhood over the King, ſeeing the Son ordained the Father (that is) ſeeing the King made him his Archbiſhop, and he made not him his King.

6. By wicked bonds. All is wicked with the Papiſts, that bringeth them in ſubjection to their Princes.

7. Eccleſiaſtical matters be ſuch, as properly belong to doctrine and divine knowledge, for the inſtitution of the Soul, and information of Conſcience. In which both Princes and Subjects ought to follow the Paſtor, ſo long as they go truly before them without error, or elſe not. But what maketh this for the Lands and Liberties of Church-men?

8. Puniſhment due to Malefactors and Rebels is not to be called Perſecution, but due Correction.

9. *Saul* brake the commandment of God and was rejected. *Ozias* contrary to the commandment of God took the Office of a Prieſt, and was ſtricken. *Oza* againſt the expreſs word of the Law put his hand to the Ark, and was puniſhed. But what expreſs word had King *Henry*, why he ſhould not correct and puniſh rebellious Biſhops, and wicked Prieſts within his own Realm? wherefore theſe ſimilitudes accord not. As for *Achas*, he was not ſo much puniſhed for taking the Prieſts Office, as for ſpoiling the Temple of the Lord, and offering to Idols.

10. Common Laws. S. *Auſtin* writing to *Boniface*, ſaith thus; *Whoſoever obeyeth not the Laws of the Emperor, being made for the verity of God, procureth to himſelf great puniſhment. For in the time of the Prophets, all the Kings which did not forbid and ſubvert all ſuch things as were uſed of the people againſt the Law of God, are rebuked. And ſuch as did withſtand them, are commended above the reſt.* Auguſt.

11. *Iſidorus* hath theſe words: *Let Temporal Princes know that they muſt render account to God for the Church, which they have at the hands of God to govern*, &c.

12. The caſe of *Arcadius*, *Theodoſius*, *David*, and of this King, as touching this matter, hath no ſimilitude. In them was murther: this King doth nothing but claim that which is his due. And though by the ſpiritual ſword thoſe Kings were reſiſted: yet it agreeth not therefore, that the perſons of them which have the uſe of the ſpiritual ſword are above the perſons of them which have the temporal ſword.

Beſides theſe Letters of the Archbiſhop ſent to the King, the Pope alſo in the ſame cauſe writeth to the King, beginning after this ſort: *Alexander Papa ad Henricum regem.*

*Et naturali ratione, & forma juris dictante, providentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuiſſe, quod quanto quis ab eliquo majora ſuſcepiſſe dignoſcitur, tanto ei obnoxior, & magis obligatus tenetur*, &c. The whole tenor of the Letter as he wrote it to the King I would here expreſs, but for protracting of the time and ſtraitneſs of room, having ſo many things elſe in this ſtory (by the Grace of Chriſt) to be comprehended. But the Letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the King to ſhew favour to *Thomas Becket*. Where, in the proceſs of the Epiſtle, it followeth in theſe words: *Ea propter ſeveritatem tuam per Apoſtolica ſcripta rogamus, monemus, & exhortamur in Domino; necnon in remiſſionem peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis Apoſtolorum, authoritate noſtra injungimus, ut memoratum Archiepiſcopum pro Deo & Eccleſia ſua, & honore tuo, necnon & totius regni tui, in gratiam & favorum tuum recipias*, &c. That is, Therefore we do deſire, moniſh, and exhort your honour by theſe our Apoſtolical writings, and alſo injoyn you upon the remiſſion of your ſins, in the behalf of Almighty God, and of St. *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles, by our authority, that you will receive again the foreſaid Archbiſhop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his Church, and of your own Realm, *&c.* Thus have you heard the Popes intreating Letter. Now here is another Letter ſent unto the foreſaid King, wherein he doth menace him, as in the tenor thereof here followeth.

## Biſhop *Alexander*, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to King *Henry*, King of *England*, health and bleſſing Apoſtolical.

*HOW fatherly and gently we have oft-times intreated and exhorted both by Legats and Letters your princely honour, to be reconciled again with our reverend Brother* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *ſo that he and his may be reſtored again to their Churches and other poſſeſſions to them appertaining, your wiſdom is not ignorant, ſeeing it is notified and ſpread almoſt throughout all Chriſtendom. Forſomuch therefore as hitherto we could not prevail with you, neither move nor ſtir your mind with fair and gentle words, it lamenteth us not a little, ſo to be fruſtrate and deceived of the hope and expectation which we had conceived of you. Eſpecially ſeeing we love you ſo dearly, as our own dearly beloved Son in the Lord, and underſtand ſo great jeopardy to hang over you.*

*But forſomuch as it is written*; Cry out and ceaſe not, lift up thy voice like a Trumpet, and declare to my people their wickedneſs, and their ſins to the houſe of Jacob: *Alſo forſomuch as it is in* Solomon *commanded, That the ſluggiſh perſon ſhould be ſtoned with the dung of Oxen: we have thought good therefore, not to forbear or ſupport your ſtubbornneſs any longer againſt juſtice and ſalvation. Neither that the mouth of the foreſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be ſtopped from henceforth any more; but that he may freely proſecute the charge of his office and duty, and revenge with the ſword of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the injuries both of himſelf, and of his Church committed to his charge.*

*And here I have ſent unto you two Legates*, Petrus de ponte Dei, *and* Bernardus de Corilio, *to admoniſh you of the ſame. But if ye will neither by us be advertiſed, nor give ear unto them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtleſs) leſt ſuch things as they ſhall declare to you from us in our behalf may happen and fall upon you.* Dated at *Benevent*, the ninth day before the Kalends of *June*.

To anſwer theſe Letters again, there was another certain writing drawn out and directed to the Pope, made by ſome of the Clergy, as it ſeemeth: but not without conſent of the King, as by the title may appear, inveighing and diſproving the misbehaviour of the Archbiſhop. The tenour whereof here followeth, and beginneth thus:

### *An Anſwer to the Pope.*

Answer to the Popes Letter.

TIme now requireth more to ſeek help than to make complaints. For ſo it is now, that the holy mother Church (our ſins deſerving the ſame) lieth in a dangerous caſe of great decay, which is like to inſue, except the preſent mercy of the Lord ſupport her.

Such is the wickedneſs now of Schiſmaticks, that the Father of Fathers Pope *Alexander* (for the defence of his Faith and for the love of Righteouſneſs) is baniſhed out of his Country: not able to keep free reſidence in his own proper See, by reaſon of the indurate heart of *Frederick* the *Pharaoh*.

Further and beſides, the Church alſo of *Canterbury* is miſerably impaired and blemiſhed; as well in the Spiritual as in the Temporal eſtate: much like to the Ship in the Sea, being deſtitute of her guide toſſed in the floods, and wreſtling with the winds, while the Paſtor being abſent from his Province, dare not there remain through the power of the King. Who being over wiſe (to the jeopardy of himſelf, his Church, and us alſo) hath brought and intangled us likewiſe with himſelf in the ſame partaking of his puniſhments and labours, not conſidering how we ought to forbear, and not to reſiſt ſuperiour powers. And alſo he ſheweth himſelf to us unkind, which with all our affections bear the burthen with him of his afflictions, not ceaſing yet to perſecute us which ſtand in the ſame condemnation with him. For, betwixt him and our Soveraign Prince, the King of *England*, aroſe a certain matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day ſhould be appointed, to have the controverſie diſcuſſed by equity and juſtice.

*Frederic falſely compared to Pharaoh, but this was to claw the Pope with.*

The day being come, the King commanded all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church to be called in a great ſolemn frequency: ſo that the greater and more general this Council was, the more manifeſt the detection of this ſtubborn malice ſhould appear and be eſpied.

At the day therefore above mentioned this troubler of the Realm and of the Church preſenteth himſelf in the ſight of our Catholick King: who, not truſting the quality and condition of his cauſe, armeth him with the armour of the croſs, as one which ſhould be brought to the preſence of a Tyrant. By reaſon whereof, the Kings Majeſty being ſomewhat agrieved (yet becauſe he would be delivered from all ſuſpition) committeth the matter to the hearing of the Biſhops. This done, it reſteth in the Biſhops to decide and ceaſe this contention, and to ſet agreement between them, removing all occaſion of diſſention. Which thing they going about, this foreſaid Archbiſhop cometh in, forbidding and commanding, that no Man proceed in any ſentence of him before the King.

This being ſignified to the Kings hearing, his mind was grievouſly provoked thereby to anger: whoſe anger yet notwithſtanding had been eaſily aſſwaged, if the other would have ſubmitted himſelf, and acknowledged his default. But he adding ſtubbornneſs to his treſpaſs, through the quantity and greatneſs of his exceſs was the author of his own puniſhment, which now by the Law Civil he ſuſtaineth, and yet ſhameth to crave pardon for his deſert at the Kings hand; whoſe anger he feareth not to ſtir up, in ſuch a troubleſome time of the perſecution of the Church, greatly againſt the profit of the ſame; augmenting and increaſing thereby the perſecution which now the Church lyeth under. Much better it had been for him to have tempered himſelf with the bridle of moderation, in the higheſt eſtate of his dignity; leſt in exceeding too far in ſtraining the ſtrict points of things by overmuch preſumption, peradventure through his preſumption, being not in mean and tolerable things, he might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the Church would not move him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honours ought to perſwade him not to be ſo ſtubborn againſt the King. But here peradventure his friend and our adverſary will object, That his bearing and ſubmitting to the King, in this behalf were prejudicial againſt the authority and See Apoſtolical. As though he did not or might not underſtand, that although the dignity of the Church ſhould ſuffer a little detriment in that judgment: yet he might and ought to have diſſembled (for the time) to obtain peace unto the Church. He will object again, alledging the name of Father, That it ſoundeth like a point of arrogancy, for Children to proceed in judgment of condemnation againſt the Father; which thing is not convenient. But he muſt underſtand again, That it was neceſſary that the obedienc and humility of the Children ſhould temper the pride of the Father; leſt afterward, the hatred of the Father might redound upon the Children. Wherefore by theſe premiſes your Fatherhood may underſtand,

*Becket a ſtubborn treſpaſſer, Ergo no Martyr.*

ſtand, that the action of this our adverſary ought to fall down, as void, and of none effect, who only upon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus againſt us, having no juſt cauſe nor reaſon to ground upon.

And forſomuch as the care and charge of all Churches (as ye know) lyeth upon us, it ſtandeth us upon to provide concerning the ſtate of the Church of *Canterbury*, by our diligence and circumſpection: ſo that the ſaid Church of *Canterbury*, by the exceſs of his Paſtor, be not driven to ruine or decay.

¶ By this Epiſtle it may appear to the Reader thereof, that *Becket* (being abſent from *England*) went about to work ſome trouble againſt certain of the Clergy and the Laity (belike) in Excommunicating ſuch as he took to be his evil willers.

Now to underſtand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did Excommunicate, this Letter, ſent to *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſhall better declare the matter.

## A Letter of *Becket* to the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

A Letter of *Becket* to the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

*He bindeth himſelf to the penalty of the crime, whoſoever receiving power and authority of God, uſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeverity, in puniſhing vice: but winking and diſſembling, doth miniſter boldneſs to wicked doers, maintaining them in their ſin. For the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the Prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as the Scripture ſaith,* Thorns and Brambles grow in the hands of the idle Drunkard. *Wherefore, leſt (through our too much ſufferance and diſſembling) the tranſgreſſions of manifeſt evildoers ſhould alſo be laid to our charge, and redound to the deſtruction of the Church through our guilty ſilence; we therefore following the authority of the Popes commandment, have laid our Sentence of Curſe and Excommunication upon the Earl* Hugo: *commanding you throughout all your Dioceſs publickly to denounce the ſaid Earl as accurſed, ſo that, according to the diſcipline of the Church, he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhip of all faithful people. Alſo, it is not unknown to your brotherhood, how long we have born with the tranſgreſſions of the Biſhop of* London; *who, amongſt other his facts, I would to God were not a great doer, and fautour of this Schiſm, and ſubverter of the Rites and Liberties of Holy Church. Wherefore we, being ſupported with the authority of Apoſtolick See, have alſo Excommunicated him; beſides alſo the Biſhop of* Salisbury, *becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others likewiſe, upon divers and ſundry cauſes, whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed:* Hugo Bernards *Son,* Rodulph *of* Brock, Robert *of* Brock *a Clerk,* Hugo de S. Cleare, *and* Ictardus *a Clerk of* Norfolk, Nigellus *of* Scacavil, *and* Richard Chaplin, William *of* Haſting, *and the Frier which poſſeſſeth my Church of* Monchot. *We therefore charge and command you by the Authority Apoſtolical and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the peril of Salvation, and of your Order; that ye cauſe theſe openly to be proclaimed Excommunicate, throughout all your Dioceſs, and to command all the faithful to avoid their company. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fear: for we ſtand ſure through the aſſiſtance of the Apoſtolick See, God being our borow againſt the pretenſed ſhifts of the malignant ſort, and againſt all their appellations. Furthermore, all ſuch as have been ſolemnly cited of us ſhall ſuſtain the like ſentence of Excommunication, if God will, on the* Aſcenſion-*day: unleſs they ſhall otherwiſe agree with me. That is, to wit,* Geoffrey *Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *and* Robert *his Vicar,* Rice *of* Wilceſter, Richard *of* Lucy, William Giffard, Adam *of* Cherings, *with ſuch others more: which either at the commandment of the King, or upon their own proper temerity, have invaded the goods and poſſeſſions either appertaining to us, or to our Clerks about us. With theſe alſo we do Excommunicate all ſuch as be known, either with aid or counſel, to have incenſed or ſet forward the proceeding of our King againſt the liberties of the Church, and exiling of the innocents. And ſuch alſo as be known to impeach or let by any manner of way the meſſengers (ſent either from the Pope, or from us) for the neceſſities of the Church. Fare you well again, and ever.*

The Biſhop of *London* Excommunicated.

This Biſhop was Excommunicated becauſe he ſet in the Dean of *Salisbury* without the licence of him, being then beyond the Seas.

Hitherto haſt thou ſeen (gentle Reader) divers and ſundry Letters of *Thomas Becket*, whereby thou mayſt collect a ſufficient Hiſtory of his doings and demeanor, though nothing elſe were ſaid further of him, concerning his luſty and haughty ſtomach, about that which beſeemed either his degree or cauſe which he took in hand. And here peradventure I may ſeem in the ſtory of this one Man to tarry too long, having to write of ſo many others better than it: yet for the weaker ſort, which have counted him, and yet do count him for a Saint, having in themſelves little underſtanding to judge or diſcern in the cauſes of Men, I thought to add this Letter more, wherein he complaineth of his King to a Foreign power; doing what in him did lie, to ſtir for his own cauſe mortal War to the deſtruction of many. For ſuppoſe wrong had been offered him of his Prince, was it not enough for him to flie? What cauſe had he, for his own private revenge, ſo ſet Potentates in publick diſcord? Now having no juſt cauſe, but rather offering injury in a falſe quarel, ſo to complain of his Prince; what is to be ſaid of this, let every Man judge which ſeeth this Letter.

## An Epiſtle of *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to Pope *Alexander*.

*Amantiſſimo Patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia ſummo Pont. Thomas Cant. Eccleſiæ humilis miniſter, debitam & devotam obedientiam,* &c.

In Engliſh thus:

A ſeditious complaint of *Becket* to the Pope againſt his King.

"To our moſt loving Father and Lord, *Alexander* by "the Grace of God Biſhop, *Thomas* the humble Miniſter "and Servant of the Church of *Canterbury* due and reve-"rend obedience. Long enough and too long moſt loving "Father have I forborn, ſtill looking after the amend-"ment of the King of *England*, but no fruit have I reap-"ed of this my long patience: nay rather, whileſt that un-"wiſely I do thus forbear, I augment and procure the de-"triment and diminiſhing of mine authority, as alſo of the "Church of God: For oftentimes have I by devout and "Religious Meſſengers invited him to make condign ſa-"tisfaction, as alſo by my Letters (the copies whereof I "have ſent you) intimated and pronounced Gods ſeverity "and vengeance againſt him, unleſs he repent and amend. "But he (that notwithſtanding) groweth from evil to worſe, "oppreſſing and conculcating the Church and Sanctuary "of God; perſecuting both me and thoſe which take part "with me: inſomuch that with fearful threatning words "his purpoſe is to terrifie ſuch, as (for Gods cauſe and mine "own) ſeek any way to relieve and help me. He wrote alſo "Letters unto the Abbat of the *Ciſtercian* Order, That as he "favoured the Abbacy of that *his* Order (which was in his "power, ſaid he) he would not accept me into the Fellow-"ſhip thereof, nor do any thing elſe for me. What ſhould "I uſe many words? So much hath the rigor and ſeverity "as well of the King as of his Officers, under our pati-"ence and ſufferance, ſhewed it ſelf; that if a great num-"ber of Men, yea, and that of the moſt Religious ſort, "ſhould ſhew unto you the matter as it is indeed (and that "upon their oath taken) I partly doubt whether your holi-"neſs would give credit unto them or not. With heavi-"neſs of mind therefore I conſidering theſe things, and be-"holding as well the peril of the King as of our ſelf, have "publickly condemned not only thoſe pernicious cuſtoms, "but all thoſe perverſities and wicked doings whereby the "Church of *England* is diſturbed and brought to confuſion; "as alſo the writing whereby they were confirmed; Ex-"communicating generally as well the obſervers and exact-"ers thereof, as alſo the inventers and patrons of the ſame, "with their favourers, counſellours, and coadjutors what-"ever, either of the Clergy or Laity, abſolving alſo our "Biſhops from their oath, whereby they were ſo ſtrictly in "joyned to the obſervation of the ſame. Theſe are the "Articles which in that writing I have principally condem-"ned, Firſt, That it is inhibited to appeal unto the See "Apoſtolical for any cauſe, but by the Kings Licence. That "a Biſhop may not puniſh any Man for perjury, or for "breaking of his troth. That a Biſhop may not Excom-"municate any Man that holdeth of the King *In capite*, or "elſe interdict either their Lands or Offices without the

Godly Articles condemned by *Becket*.
1.
2.
3.

" Kings licence. That Clerks and Religious Men may be " taken from us to ſecular judgment. That the King or any " other Judge may hear and decide the Cauſes of the Church " and Tithes. That it ſhall not be lawful for any Archbiſhop " or Biſhop to go out of the Realm, and to come at the " Popes call without the Kings licence; and divers others " ſuch as theſe. Namely alſo I have Excommunicated *John* " of *Oxenford*, who hath communicated with the Schiſ- " matick and Excommunicate perſon (*Reginald Colonien-* " *ſis*) the which alſo, contrary to the commandment of " the Lord Pope and ours, hath uſurped the Deanry of the " Church of *Salisbury*, and hath (to renew his Schiſm) " taken an oath in the Emperors Court. Alſo I have de- " nounced and excommunicated *Richard* of *Worceſter*, be- " cauſe he is fallen into the ſame damnable Hereſie, and " communicated with that famous Schiſmatick of *Cullen*; " deviſing and forging all miſchief poſſible, with the Schiſ- " maticks and *Flemings*, to the deſtruction of the Church " of God, and eſpecially of the Church of *Rome*, by com- " poſition made by the King of *England* and them. Alſo " *Richard de Lucy*, and *Jocelin de Baliol*, which have " furthered the favours of the Kings Tyranny and workers " of their Hereſies. Alſo *Ranulph de Broc*, and *Hugo de* " *Sancto Claro*, and *Thomas* the Son of *Bernard*, which " have uſurped the poſſeſſions and goods of the Church of " *Canterbury* without our licence and conſent. We have " alſo Excommunicated all thoſe, which without our li- " cence do ſtretch out their hands to the poſſeſſions and " goods of the Church of *Canterbury*. The King him- " ſelf we have not yet Excommunicated perſonally, ſtill " waiting for his amendment: whom (notwithſtanding) " we will not defer to Excommunicate, unleſs he quickly " amend, and be warned by that he hath done. And there- " fore that the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, and the " liberty of the Church of God, which in theſe parts are al- " moſt utterly loſt, may be by ſome means reſtored, it is " meet and very neceſſary that what we have herein done " the ſame be of your Holineſs ratified, and by your Letters " confirmed. Thus I wiſh your Holineſs long to proſper " and flouriſh.

*Becket reprehended for complaining of his King.*

By this Epiſtle, he that liſteth to underſtand of the doings and quarrels of *Becket*, may partly judge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings although in ſome part they may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or blindneſs of zeal, or humane frailty; yet in this point, ſo vilely to complain of his natural Prince, for the zeal of the Pope, he can by no wiſe be defended. But ſuch was the blindneſs then of the Prelates in thoſe days, who meaſured and eſteemed the dignity and liberties of Chriſts Church by no other thing, than only by goods and poſſeſſions flowing and abounding in the Clergy; and thought no greater point of Religion to be in the Church, than to maintain the ſame. For the which cauſe they did moſt abominably abuſe Chriſtian Diſcipline and Excommunication of the Church at that time; as by this aforeſaid Epiſtle may appear. And what marvel if the acts and doings of this Archbiſhop ſeem now to us in theſe days both fond and ſtrange: ſeeing the Suffragans of his own Church and Clergy, writing to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epiſtle tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh may be ſeen.

*Excommunication abuſed in private revenge about lands and poſſeſſions.*

## An effectual and pithy Letter, full of reaſon and perſwaſion, ſent from all the Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury* to *Thomas Becket* their Archbiſhop.

*QUÆ veſtro (pater) in longinquo diſceſſu inopinata rei ipſius novitate turbata ſunt; veſtra ſperabamus humilitate*, &c.

In Engliſh thus:

*The Letters of the Biſhops to Becket.*

" Such troubles and perturbations as happned through " the ſtrangeneſs of your departure out of the Realm, we " hoped by your humility and prudence ſhould have been " reduced again (Gods Grace working withal) into a peace- " able tranquility. And it was no little joy to us, to hear " ſo of you in thoſe parts where you are converſant, how " humbly you there behaved your ſelf, nothing vaunting " your ſelf againſt your Prince and King, and that you at- " tempt no riſings or wreſtlings againſt his Kingdom, but " that you bear with much patience the burthen of poverty, " and gave your ſelf to Reading and Prayer, and to redeem " the loſs of your time ſpent, with faſting, watchings, " and tears; and ſo, being occupied with ſpiritual ſtudies, " to tend and riſe up to the perfection of Vertue, *&c.* But " now, through the ſecret relation of certain, we hear (that " we are are ſorry of) that you have ſent unto him a " threatning Letter, wherein there is no ſalvation premiſed. " In the which alſo ye pretend no intreating nor prayers for " the obtaining of favour, neither do uſe any friendly man- " ner in declaring what you write, but menacing with much " auſterity, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from " the ſociety of the Church. Which thing if you ſhall ac- " compliſh with like ſeverity, as the words ye threaten to " do, you ſhall not only put us out of all hope of any peace, " but alſo put us in fear of hatred and diſcord without mea- " ſure, and without all redreſs amongſt us. But wiſdom will " conſider before the end of things, labouring and indea- " vouring to finiſh that which ſhe wiſely beginneth. There- " fore your diſcretion ſhall do well diligently to forecaſt " and conſider whereto ye tend; what end may enſue there- " of, and whereabout ye go. Certes we (for our parts) " hearing that we do hear, are diſcouraged from that we " hoped for, which, before having ſome good comfort of " tranquility to come, are caſt from hope to deſpair: ſo " that while one is drawn thus againſt another, almoſt " there is no hope nor place left to make intreaty or ſuppli- " cation. Wherefore writing to your Fatherhood, we " exhort and counſel you by way of Charity, That you " add not trouble to trouble, and heap injury upon injury: " but that you ſo behave your ſelf, that all menaces ſet a- " ſide, ye rather give your ſelf to Patience and Humility, " and to yield your cauſe to the Clemency of God, and to " the mercy of your Prince; and in ſo doing you ſhall heap " coals of Charity upon the heads of many. Thus Charity " ſhall be kindled, and that which menacings cannot do " (by Gods help and good Mens counſel) pity peradven- " ture and godlineſs ſhall obtain. Better it were to ſuſtain " Poverty with praiſe, than in great promotions to be a " common note to all Men. It is right well known unto all " Men, how beneficial the King hath been unto you, from " what baſeneſs to what dignity he hath advanced you, " and alſo into his own familiarity hath ſo much preferred " you, that from the North Ocean to the Mount *Perineus* " he hath ſubdued all things to your authority: in ſo much " that they were amongſt all other accounted for Men right " fortunate, whoſoever could find any favour with you.

" And furthermore, leſt that your eſtimation ſhould be " over matched by any Nobility, he (againſt the mind of " his Mother, and of his Realm) hath placed and ratified " you ſubſtantially in Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, and advanced " you to this honour wherein ye ſtand: truſting through " your help and counſel to Reign more ſafely and proſpe- " rouſly. Now, if he ſhall find diſquietneſs, wherein he " truſted to have quietneſs; what ſhall all Men ſay or think " of you? What recompence or retribution ſhall this be " thought to be for ſo many and great benefits taken? " Therefore (if it ſhall pleaſe you) ye ſhall do well to fa- " vour and ſpare your fame and eſtimation, and to overcome " your Lord and Soveraign with Humility and Charity. " Whereunto if our advertiſement cannot move you; yet " the love and fidelity you bear to the Biſhop and Holy " Church of *Rome* ought to incline you thereunto, and " not to attempt any ſuch thing, whereby the troubles of " the Church our Mother may increaſe, or whereby her " dolor may be augmented in the loſs of them, whoſe diſ- " obedience now ſhe doth bewail: For what if it ſo hap- " pen through provocation, that the King (whom all his " Subjects and Kingdoms obey) ſhould relinquiſh the Pope, " which God forbid, and ſhould deny all obedience to " him, as he denieth to the King help or aid againſt you? " what inconvenience would grow thereof? And think you, " he hath not great inſtigations, ſupplications, gifts, and " many fair promiſes ſo to do? Yet he (notwithſtanding) " abideth firm hitherto in the rock, deſpiſing with a vali- " ant mind all that the world can offer. This one thing " feareth us, leſt his mind (whom no worldly offers can " aſſail, no glory, riches, not treaſure can overturn) only " through indignation of unkindneſs be ſubverted. Which " thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you

ſit

" ſit down and ſing the Song of the Lamentation of *Jere-*
" *my* and weep your belly full.

" Conſider therefore, if it pleaſe you, and foreſee well
" with your ſelf, this purpoſe of yours, if it proceed, how
" hurtful and perilous it will be; not only to the Pope,
" and to the Holy Church of *Rome*, but alſo to your ſelf
" moſt eſpecially. But ſome peradventure about you, of
" haughty and high minded ſtoutneſs, more ſtout percaſe
" than wiſe, will not ſuffer you to take this way, but will
" give you contrary counſel, to prove rather and declare
" what ye are able to do againſt your Lord and Prince,
" and to practiſe againſt him and all his the uttermoſt of
" your power and authority, which power and authority
" of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearful; and to him
" that will not amend, terrible. Such counſel as this,
" ſome peradventure will whiſper in your ear. But to theſe
" again this we ſay and anſwer for our King, whom not-
" withſtanding to be without fault we do not affirm: but yet
" always, that he is ready to amend and make ſatisfaction,
" that we ſpeak confidently and proteſt in his behalf.

The commendation of King *Henry* the Second, for his meekneſs and moderation.

" The King, appointed for the Lords annointed, provi-
" deth for the peace of his Subjects all that he is able: and
" therefore to the intent he may conſerve this peace in his
" Churches and amongſt his Subjects committed to him;
" he willeth and requireth ſuch Ordinances due to Kings,
" and exhibited to them before time, alſo to be exhibited
" to him. Wherein if there hath any contradiction ſprung
" betwixt him and us, he being thereupon convented, and
" admoniſhed from the Pope by the Reverend Biſhops of
" *London* and *Hereford*, braſt not out into any defiance,
" but meekly and humbly anſwered, That wherein ſoever
" the Church or any Eccleſiaſtical perſon can ſhew himſelf
" grieved, he would therein ſtand to the judgment of the
" Church of his Kingdom. Which alſo he is ready no leſs to
" perform indeed, thinking nothing more ſweet unto him
" than to be admoniſhed of his fault, if he have offended
" the Lord, and to reform the ſame; and not only to re-
" form and amend his fault, but alſo to ſatisfie it to the
" uttermoſt, if the Law ſhall ſo require him. Wherefore,
" ſeeing he is ſo willing to recompence and ſatisfie the judg-
" ment of the Church in all things appertaining to the
" Church; refuſing no order that ſhall be taken, but in all
" things ſubmitting his neck to the yoke of Chriſt: with
" what right, by what Canon, or reaſon can you interdict
" him, or uſe Excommunication againſt him? It is a thing
" laudable and a vertue of great commendation in wiſe
" Men, wiſely to go with judgment and reaſon, and not
" to be carried with puffs of haſty violence. Whereupon
" this is the only and common Petition of us all, that your
" Fatherly care will diligently provide for your flock and
" ſheep committed to you, ſo that they miſcarry not, or
" run to any ruine through any inconſiderate or too much
" heady counſel in you: but rather, through your ſoftneſs
" and ſufferance, they may obtain life, peace and ſecurity.
" It doth move us all, that we hear of late to be done to
" you againſt the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and the Dean of the
" ſame Church, proſperouſly, as ſome Men ſuppoſe; a-
" gainſt whom you have given out the Sentence of Ex-
" communication and Condemnation, before any queſtion
" of their crime was; following therein, as ſeemeth more
" the heat of haſtineſs than the path of Righteouſneſs. This
" is a new order of judgment, unheard of yet to this day
" in our Laws and Canons, firſt to condemn a Man, and
" after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order
" leſt you ſhould hereafter attempt to exerciſe in like man-
" ner againſt our Soveraign and King, or againſt us and
" our Churches, and Pariſhes committed to us, to the
" detriment of the Pope, and the Holy Church of *Rome*,
" and to the no little confuſion of us all; therefore we lay
" here againſt you, for our ſelves, the remedy of appellati-
" on. And as before, openly in the publick face of the
" Church with lively voyce we appealed to the Pope for
" certain perils that might have happened: ſo now again
" in writing we appeal to the ſame, aſſigning the term of
" our appellation the day of the Lords Aſcenſion. Moſt
" humbly and reverently beſeeching your goodneſs, that
" you, taking a better way with you in this matter, will
" let your cauſe fall, ſparing herein both the labours and
" charges, as well of your ſelf, as ours alſo. And thus we
" wiſh you right well to fare, Reverend in the Lord.

## The Reſcript or Anſwer again of *Thomas Becket* to all his Suffragans, not obeying but confuting the counſel ſent.

*FRaternitatis veſtræ Scriptum (quod tamen prudentiæ veſtræ communi Concilio non facile credimus emanaſſe) nuper ex inſperato ſuſcipimus*, &c.

Your brotherly Letters ſent, albeit not by the whole aſſent of your wiſdoms written, as I ſuppoſe, of late I received upon a ſudden: the Contents whereof ſeem to contain more ſharpneſs than ſolace. And would to God they proceeded more of ſincere zeal of godlineſs, or affection of charity, than of diſobedience or froward wilfulneſs. For charity ſeeketh not the things that be her own, but which appertain to Jeſus Chriſt. It had been your duty (if there be truth in the Goſpel, as moſt undoubtedly there is) and if you would faithfully have accomplihed his buſineſs whoſe perſon you repreſent, rather to have feared him, which can caſt both body and ſoul to Hell; than him whoſe power extendeth no further than to the body; rather to have obeyed God than Man, rather your Father than your Maſter or Lord, after the example of him who was to his Father obedient unto the death; which died for us, leaving us example to follow his ſteps. Let us die therefore with him, and lay down our lives for the deliverance of his Church out of the yoke of bondage, and tribulation of the oppreſſor. Which Church he hath founded, and whoſe liberty he hath procured with his own proper blood: leſt if we ſhall do otherwiſe, it may happly fall upon us which is written in the Goſpel; *Whoſo loveth his own life more than me, is not worthy of me.* This ye ought to know, That if it be right which your Captain commandeth, your duty requireth to obey his will; if not, ye ought then rather to obey God than Men.

Scriptures in words rightly alledged, but falſly applied.

I deny your minor, M. *Becket.*

One thing I will ſay (if I may be ſo bold to tell it unto you) I have now ſuffered and abſtained a long ſpace, waiting if the Lord had given you to take a better heart unto you, which have turned cowardly your backs in the day of battel; or if any of you would have returned again to ſtand like a wall for the Houſe of *Iſrael*; at leaſt if he had but ſhewed himſelf in the field, making but the countenance of a Warrior againſt them, which ceaſe not daily to inſeſt the Lamb of God, I waited, and none came; I ſuffered, and none roſe up; I held my peace, and none would ſpeak; I diſſembled, and none would ſtand with me in like ſemblance: wherefore ſeeing I ſee no better towardneſs in you, this remaineth only, to enter action of complaint againſt you, and to cry againſt mine Enemies; Riſe up, O Lord, and judge my cauſe, revenge the blood of the Chuch which is waſted and oppreſſed. The pride of them which hate his liberty riſeth up ever, neither is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God, Brethren beloved, there were in you any mind or affection to defend the liberty of the Church; for ſhe is builded upon a ſure Rock, that although ſhe be ſhaken, yet ſhe cannot be overthrown. And why then ſeek ye to to confound me? Nay rather your ſelves in me, than me in you? A Man which hath taken upon me all the peril, have ſuſtained all the rebukes, have ſuſtained all the injuries, have ſuffered alſo for you all, to very baniſhment.

The Church of Chriſt cannot be be overthrown: *Ergo, Becket* ought not to be reſiſted.

And ſo it was expedient, one to ſuffer for that Church, that thereby it might be releaſed out of ſervitude. Theſe things diſcuſs you ſimply with your ſelves, and weigh the the matter. Attend I ſay diligently in your minds for your parts, that God for his part removing from your eyes all Majeſty of Rule and Impery, as he is no accepter of perſons, may take from your hearts the veil, that ye may underſtand and ſee what ye have done, what ye intend to do, and what ye ought to do. Tell me which of you all can ſay, I have taken from him, ſince the time of my promotion, either Ox or Aſs. If I have defrauded him of any peny, if I have miſ-judged the cauſe of any Man wrongfully, or if by the detriment of any perſon I have ſought mine own gain, let him complain, and I will reſtore him fourfold. And if I have not offended you, what then is the cauſe that ye thus leave and forſake me in the cauſe of God? Why bend ye ſo your ſelves againſt me in ſuch a cauſe, that there is none more ſpecial belonging to the Church?

Servitude and liberty of the Church wrongfully defined.

The words of holy Scripture clearly applied.

Brethren, ſeek not to confound your ſelves and the Church of God (ſo much as in you is) but turn to me, and you

Turn to thee? Nay turn thou to the Lord and thou ſhalt be ſaved.

you ſhall be ſafe. For the Lord ſaith, *I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ſhould convert and live.* Stand with me manfully in the War, take your armor and your ſhield to defend me. Take the ſword of the word of the mighty God, that we altogether may withſtand more valiantly the malignant enemies, ſuch as go about to take away

The ſoul of the Church is the liberty of the Church, ſaith *Becket.*

the ſoul of the Church, which is her liberty: without which liberty ſhe hath no power againſt them that ſeek to incroach to their inheritance, the poſſeſſion of Gods Sanctuary. If ye will hear and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with us all in the defence of the liberty of his Church. Otherwiſe if ye will not, the Lord judge betwixt me and you, and require the confuſion of his Church at your hands. Which Church, whether the world will or no, ſtandeth firmly in the word of the Lord, whereupon ſhe is builded, and ever ſhall, till the hour come that ſhe ſhall paſs from this world to the Father; for the Lord ever doth ſupport her with his hand.

Wherefore to return to the matter: Brethren, remember well with your ſelves (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought unto, and the Church of God alſo while I was in *England*, at my departing out of *England*, and after my departure from thence alſo; in what danger it ſtandeth at this preſent day; but eſpecially at that

Unbeſeeming words of high preſumption. Chriſt is not judged in the perſon of any traytor.

time, when as at *Northampton* Chriſt was judged again in my perſon, before the Judgment-ſeat of the high Preſident. Whoever heard the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (being troubled for injuries done to him and to his Church, and appealing to the Pope of *Rome*) to be judged, condemned, appealed, and put to his Sureties, and that of his own Suffragans? Where is this Law ſeen, or the Authority (nay rather perverſity) of this Canon heard off? And why yet ſhame ye not at this your enormity? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confuſion work in you repentance, and repentance drive you to due ſatisfaction before God and Men? For theſe and ſuch other injuries done to God and to his Church, and to me for Gods cauſe (which with

Conſcience made where is none.

a good Conſcience I ought to ſuffer, becauſe that without danger of ſoul I ought not to diſſemble them) I chuſe rather to abſent my ſelf for a ſeaſon, and to dwell quietly in the Houſe of my Lord, than in the Tabernacle of ſinners, until the time that (their iniquity being compleat) the hearts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the ſame ſhall be opened. And theſe injuries were the cauſe both of my appeal from the King, and of my departure from thence, which ye do term to be ſudden. But if ye will ſpeak the truth which ye know, it ought no leſs than to be ſudden: leſt (being fore-known) it might have been prevented and ſtopped. And as God turned the matter, it happned for

But he leaveth out here the manner of his coming to the Court and the forwardneſs of his behavior.

the beſt, both for the honour of the King, and better ſafety of them, which (ſeeking my harm) ſhould have brought ſlander to the King. If ſuch troubles followed upon my departing as ye ſay, let them be imputed to him which gave cauſe, the fault is in the worker, not in the departer; in him that purſueth, not in him that avoideth injuries. What would ye more? I preſented my ſelf to the Court, declaring both the cauſes of my coming and of my Appeal, declaring alſo the wrongs and injuries done to me and to my Church, and yet could have no anſwer: neither was there any that laid any thing againſt me, before we came to the King. Thus while we ſtood waiting in the Court, whether any would come againſt me or not, they ſent to my Officials; charging them not to obey me in my Temporalities, nor to owe any ſervice to me or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the Court, my Church was ſpoiled; we and they about us deprived of our goods, Outlawed both of the Clergy and of the Laity, Men, Women, and Infants; the goods of the Church, that is, the patrimony of the Crucifix, confiſcate, and part of the money turned to the Kings uſe, part to your own Coffers. Brother Biſhop of *London*, if this be be true that we hear of you, and that to the uſe of your own Church ye convert this mony; we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience, that within forty days after the ſight of theſe Letters, all delay and excuſe ſet aſide, ye reſtore again within the time aforeſaid, all ſuch goods and parcels as you have taken away: for it is unmeet and contrary to all Law, one Church to be inriched with the ſpoil of another Church. If ye ſtand upon the authority that ſet you a work, you muſt underſtand, that in matters concerning the Church goods, he can give no lawful authority, which committeth violent injury, *&c.*

What authority and what Scripture giveth this Prerogative to Princes upon Church goods, which you would attribute to them? What? will they lay for them the remedy of Appeal? God forbid. It were evil with the Church of God, if when the Sacriligious extortioner hath violently invaded other Mens goods (eſpecially the goods of the Church) he ſhould after defend him with the title of Appeal, *&c.*

*Becket* ſeemeth here more skilful on his Mark-Book than of the Book of holy Scripture, otherwiſe he might ſee it no new thing in the old Law for Kings to deprive Prieſts and to place whom they would. Kings in the old Law did not intermeddle with the Prieſts Office in ſome things that were forbidden: but yet Kings were Officers over Prieſts to correct them when they did amiſs. If ye meant of *Achaz* and *Oze* in the Old Teſtament, then we deny your minor.

Do not Brethren ſo confound altogether the right of the Church and of the Temporal Regiment: for theſe two are much different, one borrowing his authority of the other. Read the Scriptures, and you ſhall find what and how many Kings have periſhed for taking upon them the Prieſtly Office. Therefore let your diſcretion provide, leſt for this your doing Gods puniſhment light upon you; which if it come, it will be hard for you very eaſily to eſcape. Provide alſo and ſee to your King, whoſe favour ye prefer before the wealth and profit of the Church; leſt it happen (which God forbid) that he doth periſh with all his Houſe, after the example of them which for the like crime were plagued. And if you ceaſe not off from that ye begin, with what Conſcience can I diſſemble or forbear, but muſt needs puniſh you? Let him diſſemble with you who liſt (having authority ſo to do, truly I will not) there ſhall be no diſſimulation found in me. And where you write in your Letters concerning my promotion, that it was againſt the voyce of the whole Realm, and that the Church did reclaim againſt it; what ſhould I ſay to you, but that which ye know right well, The lie, which the mouth doth willingly ſpeak, killeth the ſoul? but eſpecially the words of a Prieſts mouth ought ever to go with verity. As touching this matter, I appeal to your own Conſcience whether the form of my Election ſtood not fully with the conſent of them all to whom the Election belonged, having alſo the aſſent of the Prince by his Son, and of them which were ſent thereto. And if there were ſome that repugned the ſame, he that was troubled and is guilty, let him ſpeak.

Ye ſay moreover, That I was exalted and promoted from a baſe and low degree to this dignity by him. I grant that I came of no Royal or Kingly blood: yet notwithſtanding I had rather be in the number of them, whom vertue of mind than of birth maketh noble. Peradventure I was born in a poor Cottage, of poor Parentage; and yet through Gods clemency, which knoweth how to work mercy with his ſervants, and which cheriſheth the humble and low things, to confound the high and mighty, in this my poor and low eſtate, before I came to the Kings ſervice, I had abundantly and wealthily to live withal (as ye know) amongſt my Neighbors and Friends. And *David* even from the Sheepfold was taken up and made a King; *Peter* of a Fiſher was made a Prince of the Church; who, for his blood being ſhed for the name of Chriſt, deſerved to have in Heaven a Crown, and in Earth name and renown: would to God we could do the like! We be the ſucceſſors of *Peter*, and not of Kings and Emperors.

They be the ſucceſſors and ſons of Saints, not that hold the places of Saints, but that do the works of Saints. *Hieron.*

And where ye ſeem to charge me (by inſinuation) with ingratitude: Thus I anſwer, There is no offence capital or infamous, unleſs it proceed from the heart and intention. As if a Man commit a murther unwillingly, although he be called a Murtherer, yet he is not thereby puniſhable: and ſo, although I owe my duty and ſervice with reverence to my King, yet I have forborn him as my Lord, if I have warned him, and talked with him Fatherly and gently as with a Son, and in talking with him could not be heard: if therefore, I ſay, being inforced thereunto, and againſt my will, I do exerciſe upon him the cenſure of due ſeverity, in ſo doing I ſuppoſe I make rather with him than againſt him, and rather deſerve at his hand thanks for my correction, than note or ſuſpition of unkindneſs or puniſhment for the fact. Sometimes a Man againſt his will receiveth a benefit. As when neceſſity cauſeth a Man to be reſtrained from doing that which he ought not to do: he that doth ſo reſtrain him, though he ſtop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his ſouls health. Another thing, that defendeth us from ingratitude, is our Father and Patron Chriſt, which in that he is our Father, to whom we as Children owe obedience, then are we bound as Children by neceſſity to obey his commandment, in warning the evil-doer, in correcting the diſobedient, and in bridling the obſtinate: which if we do not, we run into danger to have his blood required at our hands. Ye ſet forth likewiſe and ſhew, what loſs we thereby may ſuſtain of our temporalities. But ye ſpeak no word of the loſs of our ſouls.

Moreover,

If the King had been an Adulterer & Tyrant againſt the true doctrine or preaching of Chriſt, then might this reaſon ſerve, and God more to be obeyed than man. Now where did *Becket* learn that the King in his Temporal right was not to be obeyed? Take heed ye mate all, if ye open that door.

Moreover, as concerning the departure of the King from the homage of the Church of *Rome* which in your Letters ye ſeem to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I ſay, that the Devotion or Faith of our King ſhould ever ſwarve away from the obedience and reverence of the Church of *Rome*, for any temporal commodity or incommodity: which thing to do is very damnable in any private Subject, much more in the Prince which draweth many other with him: therefore God forbid, that ever any faithful Man ſhould once think ſo hainous a deed. And you according to your direction take heed leſt the words of your mouth infect any perſon or perſons therein, occaſioning them by your words to ſuch dangers and damnable matter, like to the golden Cup which is called the Cup of *Babylon*, which for the outward gold no Man will refuſe to drink of, but after they have drunk thereof, they are poyſoned.

This *John* was called a Schiſmatick, becauſe he took part with *Reginald* Archbiſhop of *Cullen* and the Emperor againſt *Alexander* the Pope.

And where ye lay to my charge for the ſuſpending of the Reverend Father the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and for Excommunicating of *John* Dean of the ſame Church for a Schiſmatick, (by knowledge and proceſs had of the matter) to this I anſwer: That both theſe are juſtly and condignly Excommunicate, and if ye underſtand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of judgments, ye will ſay no leſs. For this ſtandeth with good authority (as ye know) that in manifeſt and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requiſite. Perpend with your ſelves diligently, what the Biſhop of *Salisbury* did concerning the Deanery, after that he was prohibited of the Pope and of us, under pain of Excommunication: and then ſhall you better underſtand, that upon ſo manifeſt diſobedience, ſuſpenſion did rightly follow, as ye read in the Decree of S. *Clement*, ſaying, *If they do not obey their Prelates, all manner of perſons of what order ſo ever they be, whether they ſhall be Princes of high or low degree, and all other people, ſhall not only be infamed, but alſo baniſhed from the Kingdom of God, and the fellowſhip of the faithful.* As concerning *John* of *Oxford*, this we ſay, That Excommunication cometh divers ways. Some are Excommunicate by the Law denouncing them Excommunicate. Some by the ſentence of the Prelate. Some by communicating with them which are Excommunicated. Now he that hath fallen into this damnable Hereſie, in participating with Schiſmaticks, whom the Pope hath Excommunicate, he draweth to himſelf the ſpot and leproſie of like Excommunication. Wherefore, ſeeing he (contrary to the Popes expreſs commandment and ours, being charged under pain of Excommunication to the contrary) took upon him the Deanery of *Salisbury*, we have denounced him, and hold him Excommunicate, and all his doings we diſannul by the authority of the eighth Synod, ſaying, *If any Man either privily or apartly ſhall ſpeak, or communicate with him that is Excommunicated, he draweth unto himſelf the puniſhment of like Excommunication.* And now forſomuch as you, Brother, (Biſhop of *London*) which ought to know that ſaying of *Gregory* the Seventh; *If any Biſhop ſhall conſent to the Fornication of Prieſts, Deacons, &c. within his Precinct, for reward, favour, or petition, or doth not by authority of his Office correct the vice, let him be ſuſpended from his Office.* And again, that ſaying of Pope *Leo*, which is this; *If any Biſhop ſhall inſtitute or conſecrate ſuch a Prieſt as ſhall be unmeet and unconvenient, if he ſcape with the loſs of his own proper dignity, yet he ſhall loſe the power of inſtituting any more*, &c.

Clements Decree.

Divers ways of Excommunication.

The Council ſpeaketh of ſuch which be worthily Excommunicated.

This Gregory otherwiſe called *Hildebrand* was he that firſt took away Prieſts marriage, condemning all Prieſts for Fornicators which had Wives.

Therefore, forſomuch, I ſay, as you, knowing this, have double wiſe offended againſt the Sentence of theſe Canons, we command you, and in the vertue of obedience injoyn you, that if it be ſo, within three months after the receipt hereof, you will ſubmit and offer your ſelf to due correction and ſatisfaction to the council of our fellow Biſhops, for theſe your ſo great exceſſes; leſt others through your example run into the like offence, and we be conſtrained to proceed againſt you with ſeverer ſentence.

Finally (in cloſing up your Letter) where ye bring in for your appellation againſt me, a ſafegard for you, which rather indeed is an hinderance to you, that we ſhould not proceed againſt the invaders of the Church goods, nor againſt the King in like cenſure, as we have done againſt the Biſhop of *Salisbury* (as ye ſay) and his Dean. To this I Anſwer, God forbid that we have, or elſe ſhould hereafter proceed or do any thing againſt the King or his Land, or againſt you or your Churches, inordinately or otherwiſe than is convenient. But what if you ſhall exceed in the ſame or like tranſgreſſion, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury* hath done? Think ye then your appellation ſhall help you from the diſcipline of our ſeverity, that ye ſhall not be ſuſpended? Mark ye diligently whether this be a lawful appeal, and what is the form thereof. We know that every one that appealeth, either doth it in his own name, or in the name of another: if in his own, either it is for ſome grievance inferred already, or elſe for that he feared after to be inferred againſt him. Now concerning the firſt, I am ſure there is no grievance that you can complain of as yet (God be thanked) that you have received at my hand, for the which you ſhould appeal from me: neither have you (I truſt) any cauſe ſpecial againſt me ſo to do. If ye do it for fear of any thing that is to come, leſt I ſhould trouble you and your Churches: conſider whether this be the fear that ought to fall in conſtant Men, or whether this be the Appeal which ought to ſuſpend or ſtay our power and authority that we have upon you and your Churches. It is thought therefore of wiſe Men (and we alſo judge no leſs) your Appeal to be of no force.

Diſcuſſing of a true appellation.

Firſt, for that it hath not the right form of a perfect appellation, and alſo becauſe it is not conſonant to reaſon, and lacketh order and help of the Law.

Furthermore, if your appellation be in another Mans name, either it is for the King (as moſt like it is) or for ſome other. If it be for the King, then you ought firſt to underſtand, that appellations are wont to be made to repel, and not to inferr injury: or to releaſe ſuch as be oppreſſed, that they ſhould not be opreſſed any more.

The form of a true appellation.

Wherefore if any Man ſhall enter any appellation (not truſting to the ſurety of his cauſe, but to delay the time, that ſentence be not given upon him) that appellation is not be received. For what ſtate will there be of the Church, if the liberty thereof being taken away, the goods of the Church ſpoiled, the Biſhops driven from their places, or at leaſt not received with full reſtitution of their goods, the invaders and ſpoilers thereof may defend themſelves by appealing, thereby to ſave themſelves from the penalty of their deſert?

What a ruine of the Church will this be? See what ye have done, and what ye ſay. Be you not the Vicars of Chriſt repreſenting him in Earth? Is it not your Office to correct and bridle ill-doers, whereby they may ceaſe to perſecute the Church? And is it not enough for them to be fierce and to rage againſt the Church, but that you ſhould take their part, ſetting your ſelves againſt us, to the deſtruction of the Church? Who ever heard of ſo monſtrous doings? Thus it ſhall be heard and ſaid of all Nations and Countries, That the ſuffragans of the Church of *Canterbury* (which ought to ſtand with their Metropolitan unto death in defence of the Church) now go about by the Kings commandment, ſo much as in them doth lie, to ſuſpend his authority, leſt he ſhould exerciſe his diſcipline of correction upon them that rebel againſt the Church. This one thing I know, that you cannot ſuſtain two ſorts of perſons at once, both to be the Appeal makers, and to be appealed up your ſelves. You be they which have made the appellation, you be they againſt whom the appellation is made. Is there any more Churches then one, and the body of the ſame? And how meet were it than, that you, being the members of the Church, ſhould hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, Brethren, leſt it may be ſaid of us; Theſe be the Prieſts which have ſaid, Where is the Lord? And having the Law do not know the Law. Furthermore, this I ſuppoſe you (being diſcreet Men) are not ignorant of, that ſuch as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, unleſs the matter of their appellation either belongeth to themſelves, or except ſpecial commandment force them thereunto, or elſe unleſs they take another Mans cauſe upon them. Firſt, That it belongeth nothing unto you, it is plain, forſomuch as the contrary rather pertaineth unto your duty; that is, to puniſh and to correct all ſuch as rebel againſt the Church. And if he which ſubverteth the liberty of the Church, and invadeth the goods thereof (converting them to his own uſe) be not heard appealing for his own defence, much leſs is another to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this caſe neither he can appeal for himſelf, nor yet command you ſo to do; ſo neither may you receive the commandment to appeal for him.

One perſon cannot both be the appeal-maker and the party appealed.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, as touching the taking of another Mans cauſe or buſineſs upon you: to this I ſay and affirm, That ye ought in no manner of wiſe ſo to do, ſpecially ſeeing the matter pertaineth to the oppreſſion of the Church, and whereupon inſueth great damage to the ſame.

Wherefore ſeeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receive any ſuch commandment, nor yet to take upon you any ſuch cauſe as that is, your appeal is neither to be heard, nor ſtandeth with any Law. Is this the devotion and conſolation of brotherly love which you exhibit to your Metropolitan, being for you in exile? God forgive you this clemency. And how now? Will ye look for your Letters and Meſſengers to be gently received here of us? Neither do I ſpeak this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours, or that we have done any thing inordinately againſt the perſon of the King, or againſt his Land, or againſt the perſons of the Church, or intend (by Gods mercy) ſo to do. And therefore we ſay briefly and affirm conſtantly, That our Lord the King cannot complain of any wrong or injury to be done unto him, if he (being often called upon by Letters and Meſſengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confeſs his treſpaſs, nor yet come to any ſatisfaction for the ſame) have the cenſure of ſeverity by the Pope and us laid upon him: for no Man can ſay that he is unjuſtly intreated, whom the Law doth juſtly puniſh. And briefly to conclude, know you this for certain, That Extortioners, invaders, detainers of the Church Goods, and ſubverters of the liberties thereof, neither have any authority of the Law to maintain them, neither doth their appealing defend them, *&c.*

Though the Popes Law will not defend them, yet the Law of the Scripture will and doth.

## A brief Cenſure upon the former Reſcript of *Becket* to his Suffragans, in the page before, with a general reſolution of the reaſons therein contained.

*IF the King of* England *had been an Idolater, Covetous, and Adulterer, an Inceſtuous perſon, a murtherer, with ſuch like; then the zeal of this Archbiſhop (threatning the King and ſuch as took his part) had deſerved praiſe in this Epiſtle, and the Scripture would have born him out therein. For theſe and ſuch cauſes ſhould Biſhops proſecute the authority of the Goſpel againſt all perſons. But the matter ſtanding only upon Church Goods, liberty (or rather licenciouſneſs of Prieſts) making of Deans, Titles of Churches, ſuperiority of Crowning the King, with ſuch other: to ſtand ſo ſtiff in theſe, is not to defend the Church, but to rebel againſt the King. Again, if the principles, which he here groundeth upon, were true; to wit, that the Pope were to be obeyed before Princes, that the liberty of the Church ſtandeth upon the immunity of Prieſts exempted from Princes Laws, or upon ample poſſeſſions of the Church: or that the Popes Law ought to prevail in all foreign Countries, and to bind all Princes in their own Dominions, or that the ſentence of the Pope and his Popelings (how or by what affection ſoever it is pronounced) may ſtand by the undoubted ſentence of God: then all the arguments of this Epiſtle do proceed and conclude well. But if they ſtand not ratified upon Gods Word, but tottering upon Mans traditions; then whatſoever he inferreth or includeth thereupon (his aſſumption being falſe) cannot be true, according to the School ſaying: One inconveniency being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow thereupon. So in this Epiſtle it happeneth, as is above noted, that the major of this Man is true, but the minor is clean falſe, and to be denied.*

## The Letter of *Matild* the Empereſs, and Mother of the King, to *Thomas Becket.*

The Letter of the Empreſs to Becket.

*MY Lord the Pope commanded me, and upon the forgivneſs of my ſins injoyned me, That I ſhould be a mediator and means of peace and concord between my Son and you, by reconciling of your ſelf to him, whereunto (as you know) you requeſted me. Wherefore the earneſter and with more affection (as well for the divine honour as for holy Church) I took the enterpriſe upon me. But this by the way, I aſſure you, that the King, his Barons, and Council, taketh it grievouſly, that you, whom he intirely loved, honoured and made chiefeſt in all this Realm, to the intent to have more comfort and better truſt in you, ſhould thus (as the report is) rebel, and ſtir his people againſt him. Yea and further, that as much as in you lyeth, you went about to diſinherit him, and deprive him of his Crown. Upon the occaſion whereof, I ſent unto you our truſty and familiar ſervant* Lawrence *Arch-deacon, by whom I pray you that I may underſtand your mind herein, and good will toward my Son, and how you mean to behave your ſelf (if my Prayer and Petition may be heard of him in your behalf) toward his Grace. But this one thing I aſſure you of, that unleſs it be through your great humility and moderation, evidently in you appearing, you cannot obtain the favour of the King. Herein what you mean to do, I pray you ſend me word by your proper Letters and Meſſengers.*

But to proceed further in the order of the Hiſtory. After theſe Letters ſent to and fro, the year of our Lord 1169. which was the fifteenth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Second, the King miſdoubting and fearing with himſelf, that the Archbiſhop would proceed (or exceed rather) in his Excommunication againſt his own perſon (to prevent the miſchief) made his appeal to the preſence of the Pope, requiring to have certain Legates ſent down from *Rome* from the Popes ſide, to take up the matter between the Archbiſhop and him; requiring moreover that they might alſo be abſolved that were interdicted. Whereupon two Cardinals, being ſent from *Alexander* the Pope with Letters to the King, came to *Normandy*: where they appointed the Archbiſhop to meet them before the King upon Saint *Martyns* day. But the Archbiſhop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after, neither would go any further than to *Griſortium*, where the two Cardinals and the Archbiſhop, with other Biſhops conventing together, had a certain intreaty of peace and reconciliation: but it came to no concluſion. The contents of which Intreaty or Action, becauſe it is ſufficiently contained in the Cardinals Letters, who were called *Gulielmus* and *Otho*, written to the Pope, it ſhall require no further labour, but to ſhew out the words of the Letter, where the ſumm of the whole may appear: The words of the Letter be theſe.

Anno 1169.

## *The Copy of the Epiſtle written and ſent by two Cardinals to the Pope, concerning the matter of the Archbiſhop* Becket.

*WIlliam* and *Otho*, Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, to *Alexander* the Pope, *&c.* Coming to the Land of the King of *England*, we found the Controverſie betwixt him and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* more ſharp and vehement than we would. For the King, and the greater part of them about him, ſaid, That the Archbiſhop had ſtirred up the French King grievouſly againſt him; and alſo the Earl of *Flanders* his Kinſman (who bare no diſpleaſure to him before) he made his open adverſary, ready to war againſt him, as is by diverſe evidences moſt certain. Thus when we came to *Cadomus* firſt to the Kings ſpeech, we gave the Letters of your Fatherhoo to his hands: which after that he had received and conſi dered (bringing forth withal other Letters received from yo before, ſomething divers and altering from theſe whic he received of us) he was moved and ſtirred with no lit tle indignation; ſaying, That the Archbiſhop, after ou departure from you, had received of you other contrary Let ters, by the vertue whereof he was exempted from our judg ment, ſo that he ſhould not be compelled to anſwer us Moreover, the ſaid King to us added and affirmed, and ſ did the Biſhops there preſent, teſtifying the ſame, Tha concerning the old and antient cuſtoms of his Progeni tors (whereof complaint was made to you) all that ſo the moſt part was falſe and untrue which was intimat to you; offering further to us, That if there were an ſuch cuſtoms or Laws in his time, that ſeemed prejudicia or diſagreeable to the Statutes of the Church he woul willingly be content to revoke and diſannul the ſam Whereupon we with other Archbiſhops, Biſhops an Abbots of the Land hearing the King ſo reaſonable laborec

Becket ſtirring up the French King againſt the King of England.

laboured by all the means we might, that the King ſhould not utterly break from us, but rather ſhould incline to us to have the matter brought before us betwixt him and the forenamed Archbiſhop. By reaſon whereof, we directed out our own Chaplains with Letters unto him, appointing him both time and place where ſafely he might meet with us in the Feaſt of Saint *Martin*. Nevertheleſs he, pretending certain excuſes; made his Dilatories, driving off the time from the day of Saint *Martin* to the Octaves following, which thing ſtirred the Kings heart more than is to be thought.

A communication between Becket and the Cardinals.

Thus although we offered to the Archbiſhop ſafe coming, yet when he refuſed to meet us in the borders of the King, we, to ſatisfie his mind, condeſcended to meet him within the Land of the French King, in the place where he himſelf appointed, becauſe there ſhould be no let in us, whereby to ſtop his profit. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort him, all that we could, to ſubmit and humble himſelf to his Soveraign and King, who had heaped him with ſuch benefits and dignities; whereby matter might be given us to further occaſion of reconciling them together. He, being thus moved and exhorted by us, departed aſide to conſult with his council upon the matter. At length after counſel taken, he cometh again, anſwering in this manner: that he would ſubmit and humble himſelf to the King, *Salvo honore Dei, & Eccleſiæ libertate, ſalva etiam honeſtate perſonæ ſuæ & poſſeſſionibus Eccleſiarum: & amplius, ſua & ſuorum in omnibus ſalva juſtitia*, &c. That is, *Saving the honour of God, and liberty of the Church, ſaving alſo the honeſty of his perſon, and poſſeſſions of Churches: and moreover, ſaving the juſtice of him and of all his in all things*, &c. After which communication had amongſt us, we moved and required him more inſtantly, that he would come to the ſpecialities, when as yet he had brought nothing in, either which was certain or particular. Likewiſe we demanded of him, if he would, in all ſuch things contained and comprehended in our Letters, ſtand and ſubmit himſelf to our Letters, ſo as the King and the Biſhops before were contented to do. To the which he anſwering again, ſaid, That he had received from you a commandment, not to anſwer before he and all his were reſtored full to all their poſſeſſions; and then he would ſo proceed in the matter, according as he ſhould receive commandment from the Sea Apoſtolical.

Becket's addition.

Thus we breaking off communication, ſeeing that he neither would ſtand to judgment, nor come to conformity, thought to make relation thereof to the King, and ſo did: declaring that which he had expreſſed to us; yet not uttering all, but keeping back a great part of that which we had heard and ſeen. Which when the King and his Nobles had underſtanding of, he affirmed to us again; that he therein was cleared ſo much the more, for that the Archbiſhop would not ſtand to their judgment, nor abide their trial. After much heavineſs and lamentation of the King, the Archbiſhop, Biſhops and Abbats of the Realm requiring of us, whether we had any ſuch power, by vertue of our commiſſion, to withſtand him and proceed againſt him; and perceiving that our authority would not ſerve thereunto, and fearing leſt the foreſaid Archbiſhop, refuſing all order of judgment, would work again diſquietneſs to ſome Noble perſonages of the Realm: and ſeeing our authority could not extend ſo far to help them againſt him (taking a conſultation among themſelves) agreed together with one aſſent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the term of their Appeal.

Becket would neither ſtand to judgment nor trial.

¶ And this is the Epiſtle of theſe two Cardinals ſent to the Pope: wherein may ſufficiently appear all the diſcourſe and manner of that aſſembly (although particularly every thing be not expreſſed) concerning the talk betwixt the Cardinals and the Archbiſhop. As when that *William* (who of the two Cardinals was the more eloquent) amongſt other communication had reaſoned long with him as concerning the peace of the Church: which *Becket* ſaid he preferred above all things. Well then (ſaith the Cardinal) ſeeing all this contention between the King and you riſeth upon certain Laws and cuſtoms to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the Church ſo much: then what ſay you? Will you renounce your Biſhoprick, and the King ſhall renounce his cuſtoms? The peace of the Church now lyeth in your hands, either to retain or to let go; what ſay you? To whom he anſwereth again, That the proportion was not like. For I, ſaith he (ſaving the honour of my Church and my perſon) cannot renounce my Biſhoprick. Contrary, it ſtandeth the King upon, for his ſouls health and honour to renounce theſe his ordinances and cuſtoms. Which thing he thus proved; becauſe the Pope had condemned thoſe cuſtoms, and he likewiſe with the Church of *Rome* had done the ſame, *&c.*

Becket loveth better his Biſhoprick than the peace of the Church, for all his gay talk.

## *The talk between the French King, the King of* England, *and* Becket.

AFter the Cardinals were returned, the French King ſeeing the King of *England* diſquieted and ſollicitous to have peace (or at leaſt wiſe pretending to ſet an agreement between them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French King made himſelf as umpire between them. The King of *England*, hearing that the Archbiſhop would commit himſelf to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his preſence. Whereupon, many being there preſent, the Archbiſhop, proſtrating himſelf at the Kings feet, declared unto him kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cauſe, whereof the diſſention roſe between them, unto his own arbitrement; adding thereto (as he did before) *Salvo honore Dei*; That is, *Saving the honour of God*. The King (as is ſaid before) being greatly offended at this word, hearing and ſeeing the ſtiffneſs of the Man ſticking ſo much to this word, *Salvo honore*, &c. was highly therewith diſpleaſed, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a Man proud and ſtubborn, and alſo charging him with ſundry and great benefits beſtowed upon him, as a perſon unkind, and forgetting what he had ſo gently done and beſtowed upon him.

Becket cometh in with his old addition. *Salvo honore Dei.*

Becket charged with unkindneſs.

And ſpeaking to the French King there preſent: See, Sir, (if it pleaſe you, ſaith the King of *England*) whatſoever diſpleaſeth this Man, that he ſaith to be contrary to the honour of God. And ſo by this means he will vindicate and challenge to himſelf both that is his and mine alſo. And yet notwithſtanding, for that I will not ſeem to do any thing contrary or prejudicial to Gods honour, this I offer him: There have been Kings in *England* before, both of greater and leſs puiſſance than I am; Likewiſe there have been Biſhops of *Canterbury* many both great and holy Men: What the greateſt and moſt holy of all his predeceſſors before him hath done to the leaſt of my progenitors and predeceſſors before me, let him do the ſame to me and I am content. They that ſtood by, hearing theſe words of the King, cried all with one voice, *The King hath debaſed himſelf enough to the Biſhop.* The Archbiſhop ſtaying a little at this with ſilence, *What*, ſaith the French King to him, *my Lord Archbiſhop, will you be better than thoſe holy Men? will ye be greater than* Peter? *What ſtand you doubting? Here now have you peace and quietneſs put in your own hands, if ye will take it.* To this the Archbiſhop anſwered again: Truth it is (ſaith he) my predeceſſors before me were much both better and greater than I, and of them every one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet ſomething they did pluck up and correct, which ſeemed adverſe and repugnant againſt Gods honour. For if they had taken all together away, no ſuch occaſion then had been left for any Man to raiſe up this fire of temptation now againſt us, as is here raiſed to prove us withal; that we, being ſo proved with them, might alſo be crowned with them, being likewiſe partakers of praiſe and reward, as we are of their labour and travel. And though ſome of them have been ſlack, or exceeded in their duty doing, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

The Kings offer to Becket both charitable and reaſonable.

The words of the French King.

*Peter*, when he denyed Chriſt, we therefore rebuke him; but when he reſiſted the rage of *Nero*, therein we commend him. And therefore becauſe he could not find in his conſcience to conſent unto that he ought in no wiſe to diſſemble, neither did he; by reaſon thereof he loſt his life. By ſuch like oppreſſions the Church hath always grown. Our fore-fathers and predeceſſors, becauſe they would not diſſemble the name and honour of Chriſt, therefore they ſuffered. And ſhall I, to have the favour of one Man, ſuffer the honour of Chriſt to be ſuppreſt? The

This major, if it had been joyned with a good minor, had made a good argument.

Nobles

Nobles ſtanding by (hearing him thus ſpeak) were greatly grieved with him, noting in him both arrogancy and wilfulneſs, in perturbing and refuſing ſuch an honeſt offer of agreement. But ſpecially one among the reſt was moſt grieved, who there openly proteſted; that ſeeing the Archbiſhop ſo refuſed the counſel and requeſt of both the Kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them; but as the Kingdom of *England* had rejected him, ſo the Realm of *France* ſhould not receive him.

*Ex Quadrilogo.*

*Alanus Herbertus*, and certain other of his Chaplains that committed to ſtory the doings of *Becket*, do record (whether truly or no I cannot ſay) That the French King ſending for him, as one much ſorrowing and lamenting the words that he had ſpoken, at the coming of *Becket* did proſtrate himſelf at his feet, confeſſing his fault, in giving counſel to him in ſuch a cauſe (pertaining to the honour of God) to relent therein and to yield to the pleaſure of Man: wherefore, declaring his repentance, he deſired to be abſolved thereof. So that after this, the French King and *Becket* were great friends together; inſomuch that King *Henry* ſending to the King to intreat him, and deſire him that he would not ſupport nor maintain his enemy within his Realm, the French King utterly denied the Kings requeſt, taking part rather with the Archbiſhop than with him.

Beſides theſe quarrels and grudges betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop above mentioned, there followed yet moreover another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited between the King and *Becket*, the King of *England* returning again from *Normandy* into *England* (which was the year of our Lord 1170. and the ſixteenth year of his Reign) about Midſummer, kept his Court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; in the which Parliament he (through the aſſent both of the Clergy and the Lords Temporal) cauſed his Son *Henry* to be crowned King. Which Coronation was done by the hands of *Robert* Archbiſhop of *York*, with the aſſiſtance of other Biſhops miniſtring to the ſame, as *Gilbert* of *London*, *Joſelin* of *Salisbury*, *Hugo* of *Dureſme*, and *Walter* of *Rocheſter*. By reaſon whereof *Becket* of *Canterbury*, being there neither mentioned nor called to it, took no little diſpleaſure; and ſo did *Lodowick* the French King, hearing that *Margaret* his Daughter was not alſo Crowned with her Huſband: whereupon he, gathering a great Army, forthwith marched into *Normandy*. But the matter was ſoon compoſed by the King of *England*, who ſending his Son unto him in *Normandy*, intreated there and concluded peace with him, promiſing that his Son ſhould be Crowned again, and then his Daughter ſhould be Crowned alſo. But the Archbiſhop not ceaſing his diſpleaſure and emulation, ſent unto the Pope, complaining of theſe four Biſhops, eſpecially of the Archbiſhop of *York*; who durſt be ſo bold in his abſence, and without knowledge of his licence, to intermeddle to Crown the King, being a matter proper and peculiar to his juriſdiction. At the inſtance of whom, the Pope ſent down the ſentence of Excommunication againſt the Biſhop of *London*. The other three Biſhops with the Archbiſhop of *York* he ſuſpended, whoſe Sentence and Letters thereof, for avoiding prolixity, I here omit.

Anno 1170

The Biſhop of *London* Excommunicated, with four other Biſhops ſuſpended.

Beſides theſe foreſaid Biſhops Excommunicated, divers other Clerks alſo of the Court he cited to appear before him, by vertue of his large Commiſſion which he gat from the Pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reaſon of their benefices. And ſome he commanded in vertue of obedience to appear, in pain of forfeiting their Orders and Benefices. Of which when neither ſort would appear, he curſed them openly. And alſo ſome Lay-men of the Court and the Kings familiars (as intruders and violent with-holders of Church goods) he accurſed; as *Richard Lucy*, and *Joſelin Balliot*, and *Ralph Brock* which took the Bells and goods that belonged to the Church of *Canterbury*; and *Hugh Sentclear*, and *Thomas* the Son of *Bernard*, and all that ſhould hereafter take any Church goods without his conſent; ſo that almoſt all the Court was accurſed either by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the Archbiſhop of *York* with the foreſaid Biſhops reſorted to the King with a grievous complaint, declaring how miſerably their caſe ſtood, and what they had ſuſtained for fulfilling his commandment. The King, hearing this, was highly moved, as no marvel was. But what remedy? The time of the ruine of the Pope was not yet come; and what Prince then might withſtand the injurious violence of that Romiſh Poteſtate?

The cauſe of the Kings wrath againſt Becket.

In the mean ſeaſon the French King for his part, his Clergy and Courtiers likewiſe ſlack no occaſion to incite and ſollicit *Alexander* the Pope againſt the King of *England* to Excommunicate him alſo: ſeeing thereby and thinking to have ſome vantage againſt the Realm. Neither was the King ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply ſome agreement of reconciliation. At length came down from the Pope two Legates (the Archbiſhop of *Rothomage* and the Biſhop of *Navern*) with direction and full commiſſion either to drive the King to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes cenſures out of the Church. The King underſtanding himſelf to be in greater ſtraits than he could avoid (at length through the mediation of the French King and of other Prelates and great Princes) was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the Archbiſhop, whom he received both to his favour, and alſo permitted and granted him free return to his Church again. Concerning his poſſeſſions and Lands of the Church of *Canterbury*, although *Becket* made great labour therefore, yet the King (being then in *Normandy*) would not grant him them, before he ſhould repair to *England*, to ſee how he would there agree with his Subjects.

Thus peace after a ſort concluded between the King and him, the Archbiſhop, after ſix years of his baniſhment, returned to *England*, where he was right joyfully received of the Church of *Canterbury*; albeit of *Henry* the young King, he was not ſo greatly welcomed. In ſo much that coming up to *London* to the King, he was returned back to *Canterbury*, and there bid to keep his Houſe. *Roger Hoveden* maketh mention in his Chronicle, That the Archbiſhop (upon *Chriſtmas-day*) did Excommunicate *Robert de Brooke* for cutting of the tail of a certain Horſe of his the day before. In the mean time the four Biſhops before mentioned, whom the Archbiſhop had Excommunicate, ſent to him, humbly deſiring to be releaſed of their cenſure. To whom when the Archbiſhop would not grant clearly and ſimply without cautels and exceptions, they went over to the King, declaring unto him and complaining of their miſerable ſtate and uncourteous handling of the Archbiſhop. Whereupon the King conceived great ſorrow in his mind, and diſpleaſure toward the party. Inſomuch that he lamented oft and ſundry times to them about him that (amongſt ſo many that he had done for) there was none that would revenge him of his enemy. By occaſion of which words, certain that were about the King (to the number of four) hearing him thus to complain and lament, addreſſed themſelves in great heat of haſte to ſatisfie the grieved mind and quarel of their Prince: who within four days after the ſaid *Chriſtmas-day* (ſailing over into *England*, and having a forward and proſperous wind in their journey, being in the deep of Winter) came to *Canterbury*, where *Becket* was commanded to keep. After certain adviſements and conſultations had among themſelves: they preſſed at length into the Palace where the Archbiſhop was ſitting with his company about him: firſt to aſſay him with words, to ſee whether he would relent to the Kings mind, and come to ſome conformity. They brought to him (ſaid they) commandment from the King, which whether he had rather openly there in preſence, or ſecretly to be declared to him, they bad him chuſe. Then the company being bid to avoid, as he ſat alone, they ſaid, You are commanded from the King beyond the Sea, to repair to the King his Son here, and to do your duty to him, ſwearing to him your fidelity for your Baronage and other things, and to amend thoſe things wherein you have treſpaſſed againſt him. Whereupon the Archbiſhop denying to ſwear, and perceiving their intent, called in his company again, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the Biſhops which were Excommunicate for the Coronation of the King, whom they commanded in the Kings name he ſhould abſolve and ſet free again. The Archbiſhop anſwered, That he neither Suſpended nor Excommunicated them, but the Pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they ſhould reſort to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter.

*Becket returneth out of baniſhment.*

*Ex Rogero Hoveden*

The words of the King which were the cauſe of Becket's death.

If the Popes will needs meaſure the ſucceſs of things by ſeaſons and weather, then muſt they by that reaſon [illegible] demn [illegible] cauſe. Becket his adverſaries having ſuch forwardneſs of weather in doing their feat.

The talk tween the four Souldiers and *Thomas Becket.*

Then ſaid *Reginald* one of the four; Although you in your own perſon did not Excommunicate them, yet through your inſtigation it was done. To whom the Archbiſhop

ſaid

ſaid again, *And if the Pope* (ſaid he) *tendring the injuries done unto me and my Church, wrought this revenge for me, I confeſs it offendeth me nothing. Thus then* (ſaid they) *it appeareth well by your own words, that it pleaſeth you right well (in contempt and contumely of the Kings Majeſty) to ſequeſter his Biſhops from their miniſtery, who at the commandment of the King did ſervice in the Coronation of his Son. And ſeeing you have ſo preſumed thus to ſtand againſt the exaltation of this our Sovereign, our new King, it ſeemeth likely that you aſpired to take his Crown from him, and to be exalted King your ſelf. I aſpire not* (ſaid he) *to the Crown and Name of the King, but rather if I had four Crowns (to give him more) I would ſet them all upon him; ſuch good will I do bear him, that only his Father the King excepted, there is none, whoſe honour I more tender and love. And as concerning the ſequeſtring of thoſe Biſhops, this I give you to underſtand, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and aſſent of the King himſelf; to whom when I had made my complaint at the Feaſt of* Mary Magdalene, *of the wrong and injury done to me and my Church therein; he gave me his good leave to obtain at the Popes hand ſuch remedy as I could, promiſing moreover his help to me in the ſame. What is this,* quoth they, *that thou ſayſt? Makeſt thou the King a Traitor, and a betrayer of the King his own Son? that when he had commanded the Biſhops to crown his Son, he would give thee leave afterward to ſuſpend them for ſo doing? Certes, it had been better for you not to have accuſed ſo the King of this prodition.* The Archbiſhop ſaid to *Reginald*, that he was there preſent at that time, and heard it himſelf. But that he denied, and ſwore it was not ſo. *And think you* (ſaid they) *that we the Kings Subjects will or ought to ſuffer this?* And ſo approaching nearer him, they ſaid he had ſpoken enough againſt his own head; whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatning words. Then ſaid the Archbiſhop, *I have ſince my coming over ſuſtained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both my ſelf, my Men, my Cattel, my Wives, and all other Goods; notwithſtanding the King, writing over to his Son, required him that I ſhould live in ſafety and peace, and now, beſide all others, you come hither to threaten me.* To this *Reginald* anſwering again, ſaid, *If there be any that worketh you any injury otherwiſe than right is, the Law is open, why do you not complain? To whom,* ſaid *Becket, ſhould I complain? To the young King,* ſaid they. Then ſaid *Becket, I have complained enough if that would help, and have ſought for remedy at the Kings hands, ſo long as I could be ſuffered to come to his ſpeech: but now ſeeing that I am ſtopt from that, neither can find redreſs of ſo great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily ſuſtain, nor can have the benefit of the law or reaſon; ſuch right and law, as an Archbiſhop may have, that will I exerciſe, and let for no man.* At theſe words one of them, burſting out in exclamation, cried, *He threatneth, he threatneth, What? will he interdict the whole Realm and us altogether? Nay, that he ſhall not,* ſaith another, *he hath interdicted too many already.* And drawing more near to him, they proteſted and denounced him to have ſpoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And ſo departing in great fury, and with many high words, they ruſhed out of the doors; who, by the way returning to the Monks, charged them in the Kings Name, to keep him forth-coming, that he ſhould not eſcape away. *What,* quoth the Archbiſhop. *think ye, I will flee away? Nay, neither for the King, nor any man alive, will I ſtir one foot from you. No,* ſay they, *thou ſhalt not avoid though thou would'ſt.* And ſo they departing with many words, the Archbiſhop followeth them out of the Chamber-door, crying after them, *Here, here, here ſhall you find me,* laying his hand upon his Crown.

The Names of theſe four ſouldiers above mentioned were theſe, the firſt *Reginald Bereſon*, the ſecond *Hugh Mortevil*, the third *William Thracy*, and the fourth *Richard Brito*; who, going to harneſs themſelves, returned the ſame day again: but finding the Hall-door of the Palace of *Canterbury* ſhut againſt them, they went to an inward back Door leading into the Orchard; there brake they up a Window, and opened the Door, and ſo iſſued into the place. The Monks (being about Even-ſong time) had got the Archbiſhop into the Church; who being perſwaded by them, cauſed his Croſs to be born before him, and through the Cloiſter, by a Door which was broken up for him, he proceeded into the Quire. The Harneſs men following after, at length came to the Church-door, which door the Monks would have ſhut againſt them; but, as the ſtory ſaith, the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer them. So they approaching into the Church, and the Archbiſhop meeting them upon the Stairs, there he was ſlain; every one of the four Souldiers ſtriking him with his Sword into the Head; who afterward flying into the North, and at length, with much ado, obtained their Pardon of the Pope by the Kings procurement, as ſome ſtories record, went to *Jeruſalem*.

The death of *Thomas Becket*.

¶ Thus you have heard the Life and Death of this *Thomas Becket*, of whom what is to be judged, let his own acts and facts declare. And albeit the Scripture ought to be the only rule to us to judge all things by, yet if any ſhall require further teſtimony, partly to ſatisfie their minds therein, ye ſhall hear the judgments of certain men, in years and times almoſt as ancient as himſelf, what they write and affirm of him.

What is to be thought or judged of *T. Becket*.

And firſt to begin with the teſtimony of one of his own Religion, and alſo not far (as it appeareth) from his own time, who, writing of his Martyrdom and Miracles, thus teſtifieth of the judgment and ſentence of divers concerning his promotion and behaviour. The Chronicle being written in *Latine*, and having the name of the Author cut out, thus beginneth; *Quoniam vero multi, &c.* And in the firſt Book and eighth Chapter it followeth in this manner: *Nonnullis tamen idcirco promotionem ejus viſum eſt fuiſſe minus canonicam, quod ad eam magis operata eſt regis inſtantia, quam cleri vel populi voto. Præſumptionis quoque vel indiſcretionis fuiſſe notatum eſt, quod qui rerum tenere vix idoneus videbatur, primum gubernaculi locum ſuſcepit, &c. Et mox, magis etiam ſecularia tum ſapiens, tum ſanctum tantæ dignitatis faſtigium non horrens tenuiſſe, ſed ultroneus aſcendiſſe creditus. Aliter Dei amicus, Moſes, &c.* With much more, as in *Latin* inſueth, which for the *Engliſh* Reader here followeth tranſlated. 'Divers notwithſtanding there be, which as touch-'ing his promotion, ſuppoſe the ſame not to be Canonical. 'For that it was wrought rather by the inſtance of the 'King (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to 'his utility) than by the aſſent either of the Clergy, or of the 'People. Further, it is noted in him for a point of pre-'ſumption, and lack of diſcretion, for that he, being ſcarce 'worthy to take the Oar in hand and play the Boatſwain, 'would take upon him to ſit at Helm, and guide the Ship; 'namely, in that Church, where the Covent, being in ge-'ſture and veſture religious, he wont to have their Prelate 'taken out of the ſame profeſſion. Whereas he, ſcant bear-'ing the habit of a Clerk, and going in his changes and 'ſoft apparel, is more converſant among the delicate ruffliers 'in the Court, favouring rather of worldly things, not re-'fuſing moreover, without any dread, to climb up to the 'high preferment of ſuch an holy dignity, but rather will-'ingly of his own accord to aſpire to it. *Moſes* we read did 'otherwiſe, who being the friend of God, and ſent of him 'to conduct his people *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, trembled at the 'Meſſage, and ſaid, *Who am I Lord, that I ſhould go to* Pha-'raoh, *and bring thy people* Iſrael *out of* Egypt? And again, 'I pray thee (ſaith he) *O Lord, I am nothing eloquent, ſend 'him whom thou wilt ſend.* Likewiſe *Jeremias* alſo, being 'ſent of the Lord to propheſie againſt *Jeruſalem*, was a-'baſhed to take the office upon him, anſwering again with 'much dread of heart, *A, a, a, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, 'for I am a child.*

What is to be thought, whether *Tho. Becket* died a Saint or not?

The promotion of *Becket* judged not Canonical.

*Becket* charged with preſumption and lack of diſcretion.

Ambition noted in *Becket*, in not refuſing but taking his promotion.

After like manner we read of the Saints of the New Teſtament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their Biſhopricks and Functions of the Church, by meer forcement and compulſion of others rather than by their own wills. So was bleſſed *Gregory*, after his flight and going away, brought back again, and placed in the See and Chair of *Rome*. Likewiſe Saint *Ambroſe* ſore againſt his mind; who alſo, of purpoſe accuſing and confeſſing his own defects, becauſe he would be repealed: yet by the commandment of *Valentinian* the Emperor was inforced to take the burthen upon him, which he could by no wiſe ſhake off. S. *Martin* in like ſort, not knowing of any ſuch matter, was circumvented by a certain godly train, and wile of the Citizens, before he could be brought

Biſhops againſt their wills thruſt into their Biſhopricks.

to his Conſecration; which he did not ſo much take, as he was thruſt into it with much penſiveneſs and ſorrow of heart. By theſe and ſuch other examples this Chancellor likewiſe ſhould have rather excuſed himſelf as unworthy and unmeet for that room, ſhewing himſelf more willing to refuſe than to take it. To the which this Archbiſhop is judged to do clean contrary, *&c. Hæc ex chronico, cui Titulus, De paſſione & miraculis beati Thomæ.*

And although ſcarcely any teſtimony is to be taken of that Age (being all blinded and corrupted with ſuperſtition) yet let us hear what *Neuburgenſis* an ancient Hiſtiographer ſaith, who, in the days of the Son of this King *Henry* the ſecond, proſecuting his Hiſtory unto King *Richard* the firſt, hath theſe words, writing of *Thomas Becket: Sane cum plerique ſoleant in his quos amant & laudant affectu quodam propenſiori, ſed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur approbare: plane ego in viro illo venerabili, ea quæ ita ab ipſo acta ſunt, quum nulla exinde proveniret utilitas, ſed fervor tantum accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala poſtmodum pullulaſſe noſcuntur, laudanda nequaquam cenſuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo proceſſerint: ſicut in beatiſſimo apoſtolorum principe, quod gentes ſuo exemplo judaizare coegit; in quo eum doctor gentium reprehenſibilem declarat fuiſſe, licet eum conſtet laudabili hoc pietate feciſſe, &c.*

*Ex Chronico Neuburgenſ.*

*Acta Becketi improbata.*

That is in *Engliſh:*

*Whereas many be wont, in them whom they love our praiſe (judging them more by affection than prudence) to allow and approve whatſoever they do, yet for me to judge upon this reverend man, verily I think not his doings and acts to be praiſe-worthy, or to be allowed, for ſo much as thereof came no utility, but only the anger and ſtirring up of the King: whereupon afterward ſprung ſo great miſchiefs (although the thing that he did might proceed of a certain laudable zeal:) like as in the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the* Jews, Paul *the Doctor of the Gentiles did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection, &c.*

And in the ſame Author, in another place it followeth to the like effect, in theſe words: *Literas has in Angliam ad ſuſpenſionem Epiſcoporum præmiſſas ipſe ſequebatur, zelo juſtitiæ fervidus; verum an plene ſecundum ſcientiam novit Deus. Noſtræ enim parvitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temere judicare. Puto enim quod in molli adhuc teneraque regis concordia minus provide egiſſet, & ea quæ ſine fidei Chriſtianæ periculo tolerari potuiſſent, ratione temporis & compenſatione pacis diſſimulanda dixiſſet, juxta illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum eſt. Itaque quod a venerabili Pontifice tunc actum eſt, nec laudandum eſſe judico, nec vituperare præſumo: ſed dico, ſi vel modice in hujuſmodi a ſancto viro per zeli, immoderatiorem impetum eſſe, exceſſum, hoc ipſum eſt ſacræ, quæ conſecuta noſcitur, igne paſſionis excoctum. Ita quippe ſancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi ſunt a nobis, qui nos illis longe impares eſſe cognoſcimus, ut ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuiſſe noſcuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: ſed ea tantum, in quibus eos ſine ſcrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipſis fiant, eſſe imitabliles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciunt, ſed ſapienter & caute debent laudari, ut ſua Deo prærogativa ſervetur, in cujus utique laudibus nemo poteſt eſſe nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur, &c.*

That is in *Engliſh:*

*The Letters which were ſent before for the ſuſpending of the Biſhops, he purſued with burning zeal of juſtice; but whether according to knowledge God knoweth it. It is not for my rude and ſlender wit to judge of the doings of ſuch a perſon. But yet this I ſuppoſe, that he did not behave himſelf ſo circumſpectly as he ought, conſidering the time; and that the concord between him and the King as yet was but ſoft and tender. Who for the conſideration of the time, and for the recompence of peace might have forborne or diſſembled ſuch things, which without any peril of Chriſtian Religion might be tolerate well enough, according to the prophetical ſaying, A wiſe man in that time will keep ſilence, becauſe the time will not ſerve him. Wherefore, as the doings of that reverend Prelate I judge in that behalf not to be commended, ſo neither do I preſume to diſcommend them. But this I ſay, that if that holy Man, through immoderate violence of zeal, did exceed in a part therein, the ſame was excocted again, and purged by the fire of his ſuffering, which afterward inſued. And ſo far holy Men are to be loved or praiſed of us, which know our ſelves much inferiour to their virtues; that in ſuch things wherein they have been Men, and alſo known to be men, therein we neither hold with them, nor commend them; but only in ſuch things wherein without all danger or ſcruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to ſay, that they are to be imitated in all that they do? And therefore are not to be eſteemed and praiſed in all things generally whatſoever they do, but conſiderately and with adviſement, wherein they deſerve praiſe, ſo that the only prerogative in this behalf be reſerved to God, in whoſe praiſe no man can exceed, how fervent ſoever he be in his praiſing, &c.*

And hear yet more what the ſaid Author writeth in the ſame cauſe of the Kings wrath and *Beckets* faults: *Pluſquam centum homicidia a clericis commiſſa ſub Henrico ſecundo dicuntur. In quibus plectendis Rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed hujus immoderationis regiæ, noſtri temporis Epiſcopos tantum reſpicit culpa, quantum ab eis præceſſit & cauſa. Cum enim ſacri præcipiunt canones, clericos non ſolum facinoroſos & gravioribus irretitos criminibus, verumetiam leviorum criminum reos degradari, & tot millia talium, tanquam innumera inter pauca grana paleas Eccleſia Anglicana contineat, tamen quam paucos a multis retro annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio privari. Nempe Epiſcopi dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitiis corrigendis reſecandiſque invigilant, arbitrantur obſequium ſe præſtare Deo & Eccleſiæ, ſi facinoroſos clericos, quos pro officii debito canonicæ vigore cenſuræ coercere debeant, contra publicam tueantur diſciplinam. Unde clerici, qui in ſortem Domini vocati, tanquam ſtellæ in firmamento cœli poſitæ, vita & verbo lucere deberent ſuper terram, habentes pre impunitate agendi quodcunque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, neq; Deum, cujus judicium tardare videtur, neque homines poteſtatem habentes reverentur, cum & Epiſcopalis circa eos ſolicitudo ſit languida, & ſeculari eos juriſdictione ſacri eximat ordinis prærogativa.*

In *Engliſh:*

*More than an hundred Murthers are ſaid to be committed by the Clergy under King* Henry *the ſecond: in puniſhing of whom the King was ſomewhat too vehement. But the fault, ſaith he, of this immoderate dealing of the King reſteth moſt in the Biſhops of our time, for ſo much as the cauſe thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commanded by the Canon Law (concerning the ſpiritual Men of the Clergy) that not only ſuch as be notorious, but ſuch as be ſpotted with lighter crimes ſhould be degraded, whereof we have ſo many thouſands, and whole ſwarmes of ſuch now in* England, *as innumerable chaff among the little good Grain; yet how few do we ſee theſe many years in* England, *deprived of their office? For why? The Biſhops while they labour more to maintain the liberties and dignities of Churchmen, than to correct their Vices, think they do God and the Church great ſervice, if they reſcue and defend the enormities of the Church-men againſt publick diſcipline, whom they ought rather to puniſh by the vertue of the cenſure Eccleſiaſtical. Whereupon the Churchmen, ſuch as be ſorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like Stars to ſhine in Earth by word and example, taking licence and liberty to do what they luſt, neither reverence God (whoſe judgment ſeemeth to tarry) neither Men ſet in Authority; when as both the Biſhops are ſlack in their charge doing, and alſo the prerogative of their order exempteth them from the ſecular juriſdiction, &c.* And thus much out of of *Neuburgenſis.*

To this matter alſo pertain the words of *Ceſarius* the Monk in his eighth Book of Dialogues and ſixty ninth Chapter, about the eight and forſieth year after the death of *Thomas Becket*, which was the year of God 1230. whoſe words in ſumm come to this effect: *Quæſtio Pariſiis inter magiſtros ventilata fuit, utrum damnatus an ſalvatus eſſet ille Tho. Dixerat Rogerius tunc Normannus, fuiſſe illum mortu*

*&*

*ac damnatione dignum, quod contumax eſſet in Dei miniſtrum regem. Protulit contra Petrus Cantor Pariſienſis, quod ſigna ſalvationis & magnæ ſanctitatis eſſent ejus miracula: & quod Martyrium probaſſet Eccleſiæ cauſa, pro qua mortem ſubierat, &c.*

In *Engliſh:*

If God in theſe latter days giveth no Miracles to glorifie his own Son: much leſs will he give Miracles to glorifie *Thomas Becket.*

*There was a queſtion moved among the Maſters of* Paris, *whether* Thomas Becket *was ſaved or damned? To this queſtion anſwereth* Roger a Norman, *that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was ſo obſtinate againſt Gods Miniſter his King. Contrary,* Peter Cantor a Parilian *diſputed, ſaying and affirming, that his Miracles were great ſigns and tokens of ſalvation, and alſo of great holineſs in that Man: affirming moreover, that the cauſe of the Church did allow and confirm his Martyrdome, for the which Church he died, &c.*

And thus have ye the judgment and cenſure of the School of *Paris* touching this queſtion, for the ſanctifying of *Thomas Becket.* In which judgment for ſo much as the greateſt argument reſteth in the Miracles wrought by him after his death; let us therefore pauſe a little upon the ſame, to try and examine theſe his Miracles. In the trial whereof we ſhall find one of theſe two to be true; that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a contrary ſpirit, of whom Chriſt our Lord giveth us warning in his Goſpel, ſaying, *Whoſe coming ſhall be with lying ſigns and wonders, to deceive, if it were poſſible, the elect*, Matth. 24. or elſe we ſhall find that no ſuch were ever wrought at all, but feigned and forged of idle Monks, and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their Churches, and profit of their pouches; which thing indeed ſeemeth rather to be true, and no leſs may appear by the Miracles themſelves, ſet forth by one of his own Monks, and of his own time; who in five ſolemn Books hath comprehended all the Revelations, Vertues and Miracles of the Archbiſhop; the which Books (as yet remaining in the hands of *William Stephenſon* Citizen of *London*) I have ſeen and peruſed; wherein is contained the whole ſumm of all his Miracles, to the number of 270. being ſo far off from all truth and reaſon, ſome ridiculous, ſome monſtrous, vain, abſurd, ſome alſo blaſphemous, and ſome ſo impudent, that not only they deſerve no credit, (altogether ſavouring of meer forgery) but alſo for very ſhame will abaſh an honeſt Pen to write of them. Firſt, if Miracles ſerve for neceſſity and for Infidels, what cauſe or neceſſity was there (in a Chriſtian Realm having the Word of God) for God to work ſuch Miracles after his death, who never wrought any in all his life? Then to conſider the end of theſe Miracles, whither do they tend, but only to bring Men to *Canterbury*, with their Vows and Offerings to enrich the Covent?

*Liber de miraculis B. Thomæ autore Monacho quodam Cantuar.*

Miracles of *Becket* conſidered.

Beſide the number of theſe Miracles, which be ſaid to be ſo many, that they loſe their own credit; what diſeaſe is there belonging to Man or Woman in the curing whereof ſome Miracle hath not bin wrought by this παμπάθρος, as Fevers, Fiſtula, the Gout, Toothach, Palſie, Conſumption, Falling-ſickneſs, Leproſie, Head-ach, broken Arms, maimed Legs, ſwelling Throats, the raiſing up of the dead which have been two days departed; with infinite others. And as all theſe have been healed (for the moſt part) by one kind of ſalve (as a certain *Panacea*) which was, with the water only of *Canterbury*, like as a cunning Smith, which would open with one Key all manner of Locks; ſo again, in reading of the ſtory of theſe Miracles, ye ſhall find the matter ſo conveied, that the power of this dead Saint was never twice ſhewed on any one Diſeaſe, but every divers Diſeaſe had a divers Miracle.

*Aqua Cantuarienſis*

To recite in order all theſe prodigious Revelations and fantaſtical Miracles, falſly imagined and aſcribed to this Archbiſhop, were nothing elſe but to write a Legend of lies, and to occupy the People with trifles. Which becauſe it pertaineth rather to the idle profeſſion of ſuch dreaming Monks and Cloiſterers, that have nothing elſe to maintain that Religion withal; I will not take their profeſſion out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all ſuch vain and lying Apparitions and Miracles, as how this angry Saint (three days after his death) appeared by Viſion at the Altar in his *Pontificalibus*, commanding the Quire not to ſing, but to ſay this office of his Maſs, *Exurge, quare obdormis Domine, &c.*. Which Viſion the Author himſelf of the Book doth ſay he did ſee. To omit alſo the blaſphemous lie, how in another Viſion the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould ſay, that his bloud did cry out of the earth to God, more than the bloud of juſt *Abel*. *Item*, in another Viſion it was ſhewed to a Monk of *Lewis*, how Saint *Thomas* had his place in Heaven appointed with the Apoſtles, above *Stephen*, *Laurence*, *Vincent*, and all other Martyrs. Whereof this cauſe is rendred, for that St. *Stephen*, *Laurence*, and ſuch others, ſuffered only for their own cauſe; but this *Thomas* ſuffered for the Univerſal Church. *Item*, how it was ſhewed to a certain young Man (*Ormus* by name) twelve years before the death of this *Becket*, that among the Apoſtles and Martyrs in Heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain Prieſt, as he ſaid, of *England*; which was credibly ſuppoſed to be this *Thomas Becket*. *Item*, How a certain Knights Son, being two days dead, was revived again ſo ſoon as he had the water of *Canterbury* put in his Mouth, and had by his Parents four pieces of Silver bended, to be offered in *Canterbury* in the Childs behalf. All theſe, I ſay, with ſuch other like to omit (the number whereof cometh to an infinite variety) only this one ſtory, or another that followeth, ſhall ſuffice to expreſs the vanity and impudent forgery of all the reſt.

Singing at the Maſs forbidden by *T. Becket* after his death.

A blaſphemous lie.

*Becket* above the Martyrs in Heaven.

A place prepared in Heaven for *Becket* 12 years before his death.

In the fourth Book of this fabulous Author, and in the third Chapter, a Miracle is there contained of a certain Countryman of *Bedfordſhire* in *Kings Weſton*, whoſe name was *Eilwardus*; which *Eilwardus*, in his drunkenneſs, burſting into another Mans Houſe which was his Debtor, took out of his Houſe a great Whetſtone, and a pair of Hedging-gloves. The other party ſeeing this value not ſufficient for his condemnation (by the counſel of the Town-Clerk) entred an Action of Felony againſt him for other things beſides, as for ſtealing his Wimble, his Axe, his Net, and other Cloths. Whereupon *Eilwardus* being had to the Gaol of *Bedford*, and afterward condemned for the ſame, was judged to have both his eies put out, and alſo thoſe Members cut off, which Nature with ſecret ſhame hath covered. Which puniſhment by the malice of his adverſary being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counſelled to make his prayer to this *Thomas*, of *Canterbury*. Which done (ſaith the Miracle) there appeared one to him by Night, in white Apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his truſt in God and our Lady, and holy St. *Thomas*. In concluſion, the Miracle thus fell out: The next day at Evening, the Man rubbing his Eye-lids, began to feel his Eies to be reſtored again; firſt in a little, after in a greater meaſure, ſo that one was of a gray colour, the other was of black; and here was one Miracle rung. After this followed another Miracle alſo upon the ſame perſon; for going but the ſpace of four miles, when his eies were reſtored, he chanced (in like manner) to rub the place where his ſecret parts were cut off, and immediately on the ſame his *Pendula* (to uſe the words of my ſtory) were to him reſtored, *Principio parva quidem valde, ſed in majus proficientia*, which he permitted every one to feel that would, and ſhamed not to deny. Inſomuch that he, coming up to S. *Thomas*, firſt at *London*, was received with joy of the Biſhop of *Durham*; who, then ſending to the Burgers of *Bedford* for the truth of the matter, received from them again Letters Teſtimonial, wherein the Citizens there (ſaith this fabulous Feſtival) confirmed firſt to the Biſhop, then to the Covent of *Canterbury*, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one Miracle (gentle Reader) ſo ſhameleſs and impudent, I thought here to expreſs, that by this one thou mightſt judge of all the reſidue of his Miracles; and by the reſidue thereof mightſt judge moreover of all the filthy wickedneſs of all theſe lying Monks and Cloiſterers, which count it a light ſport ſo impudently to deceive the ſimple ſouls of Chriſts Church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherefore (as I ſaid) if the holy ſainting of *Thomas Becket* ſtandeth upon no other thing but upon his Miracles, what credit is to be given thereto? and upon what a weak ground his Shrine ſo long hath ſtood, by this may eaſily be ſeen. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no leſs worthy of the Whetſtone, we read in the ſtory of *Gervaſius*: That *Thomas Becket* appearing to a certain

An impudent and a lying Miracle.

*Ex hiſtoria Monachi Cant. de miraculis B. Thomæ.*

A blaſphemous viſion

A falſe and impudent Miracle.

Prieſt, named *Thomas*, declared to him, that he had ſo brought to paſs, that all the Names of the Monks of the Church of *Canterbury*, with the Names of the Prieſts and Clerks, and with the Families belonging to that City and Church of *Canterbury*, were written in the Book of Life. *Ex Gervaſ. fol.6.*

But whatſoever is to be thought of his Miracles, or howſoever the teſtimony of the School of *Paris*, or of theſe ancient times, went with him or againſt him; certain it is, that this Antheme or Collect, lately collected and primered in his praiſe, is blaſphemous, and derogateth from the praiſe of him, to whom only all praiſe and honour is due, where it is ſaid;

The blaſphemous Anthem of *Thomas Becket.*

*Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit,*
*Fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit.*
That is:
*For the bloud of* Thomas,
*Which he for thee did ſpend,*
*Grant us (Chriſt) to climb,*
*Where* Thomas *did aſcend.*

Wherein is a double lie contained; firſt, that he died for Chriſt; ſecondly, that if he had ſo done, yet that his bloud could purchaſe Heaven. Which thing neither *Paul* nor any of the Apoſtles durſt ever challenge to themſelves: for if any Mans bloud could bring us to Heaven, then the bloud of Chriſt was ſhed in vain.

And thus much touching the teſtimony or cenſure of certain ancient times concerning the cauſe of *Thomas Becket*. In the explication of whoſe Hiſtory I have now ſtood the longer (exceeding peradventure in over-much prolixity) to the intent that his cauſe being fully opened to the world, and duely weighed on every part, mens minds (thereby long deceived by ignorance) might come unto the more perfect certainty of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more ſurely what is to be received, and what to be refuſed. Where by the way is to be noted out of the teſtimony of *Rob. Crikeladenſis*, which in him I find; that the Peers and Nobles of this Land, near about the King, gave out in ſtraight charge upon pain of death, and confiſcating of all their Goods, that no Man ſhould be ſo hardy as to name *Thomas Becket* to be a Martyr, or to preach of his Miracles, &c. *Ex Crikeladenſi.*

After the death of *Thomas Becket*, the King fearing the Popes wrath and curſe to be laid upon him (whereunto *Ludovike* the *French* King alſo helped what he could to ſet the matter forward) ſent to *Rome* the Archbiſhop of *Rothomage*, with certain other Biſhops and Archdeacons unto the Pope with his excuſe, which the Pope could in no wiſe hear. And after other Meſſengers being ſent (whom ſome of the Cardinals received) it was ſhewed to them that on *Goodfriday* (being then near at hand) the Pope of cuſtom was uſed to aſſoil or to curſe, and that it was noiſed, how the King of *England* with his Biſhops ſhould be curſed, and his Land interdicted, and that they ſhould be put in Priſon. After this, certain of the Cardinals ſhewed the Pope, that the Meſſengers had power to ſwear to the Pope, that the King ſhould obey his puniſhment and Penance; which was taken both for the King and the Archbiſhop of *York*. So that in the ſame day the Pope curſed the deed doers, with ſuch as were of their conſent, that either aided or harboured them. Concerning theſe deed doers, it is touched briefly before, how they lying in *Gnaſborough* fled into *Yorkſhire*; who, after having in Penance to go in their linnen Clothes barefoot (in faſting and prayer) to *Jeruſalem*, by reaſon of this hard Penance are ſaid to die in few years after.

The K. ſendeth to *Rome.*

*Ex libro annotationum hiſtoricarum manuſcripto. J. Skeni.*

The penance of the four Knights.

The Kings Embaſſadors lying, as is ſaid, in *Rome*, could find no grace nor favour a long time at the Popes hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two Cardinals ſhould be ſent down to inquire out the matter concerning them that were conſenting to *Becket*'s death. The King perceiving what was preparing at *Rome*, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the Pope and coming down of the Cardinals would tend; in the mean time addreſſed himſelf with a great power to enter into *Ireland*, giving in charge and commandment, as *Hoveden* writeth, that no bringer of any Brief or Letter ſhould come over into *England*, or paſs out of the Realm (of what degree or condition ſoever he were) without ſpecial licence, and aſſurance that he would bring nothing that ſhould be prejudicial to the Realm.

*Ex Hoveden.*

This order being ſet and ordained, the King with 400 great Ships taketh his journey to *Ireland*, where he ſubdued in ſhort time the whole Land unto him, which at that time was governed under divers Kings to the number of five; of whom four ſubmitted themſelves unto the ſaid King *Henry*, only the fifth, who was the King of *Tonacta*, denied to be ſubdued, keeping him in Woods and Marſhes.

*Ireland* firſt ſubdued to *England.*

In the mean ſeaſon, while the King was thus occupied in *Ireland*, the two Cardinals that were ſent from the Pope (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) were come to *Normandy*. Unto whom the King the next year following reſorted about the Month of *October*, in the year 1172. But before (during the time of the Kings being in *Ireland*) the Biſhop of *London*, and *Joſeline* Biſhop of *Saliſbury* had ſent to *Rome*, and procured their abſolution from the Pope. The King returning out of *Ireland*, by *Wales*, into *England*, and from thence to *Normandy*, there made his purgation before the Popes Legates, as touching the death of the foreſaid *Becket*; to the which he ſware he was neither aiding nor conſenting, but only that he ſpake rigorous words againſt him, for that his Knights would not avenge him againſt the ſaid *Thomas*; for the which cauſe this Penance was injoyned him under his Oath.

Anno 1172.

First, that he ſhould ſend ſo much into the holy Land, as would find two hundred Knights or Souldiers for the defence of that Land.

The Kings Penance for the death of *Becket.*

Alſo, That from *Chriſtmaſs* day next following, he ſhould ſet forth in his own perſon to fight for the Holy Land, the ſpace of three years together, unleſs he ſhould be otherwiſe diſpenſed withal by the Pope.

*Item*, That if he would make his journey into *Spain* (as his preſent neceſſity did require) there he ſhould fight againſt the *Saracens*, and as long time as he ſhould there abide, ſo long ſpace might he take in prolonging his journeys toward *Jeruſalem.*

*Item*, That he ſhould not hinder, nor cauſe to be hindred by him, any appellations made to the Pope of *Rome.*

*Item*, That neither he nor his Son ſhould depart or diſſever from Pope *Alexander*, or from his Catholick Succeſſors, ſo long as they ſhould recount him or his Son for Kings Catholick.

*Item*, That the Goods and poſſeſſions taken from the Church of *Canterbury* ſhould be reſtored again (fully and amply) as they ſtood the year before *Thomas Becket* departed the Realm; and that free liberty ſhould be granted to all ſuch as were outlawed for *Becket*'s cauſe to return again.

*Item*, That the foreſaid Cuſtoms and Decrees, by him eſtabliſhed againſt the Church, ſhould be extinct and repealed (ſuch only except that concerned his own perſon, *&c.*) beſides other ſecret faſtings and almes enjoyned him.

All theſe former conditions the King with his Son did both agree unto, debaſing himſelf in ſuch ſort of ſubmiſſion before the two Cardinals, by the occaſion whereof, the Cardinal took no little glory, uſing this Verſe of the Pſalm, *Qui reſpicit terram, & facit eam tremere; qui tangit montes & fumigant:* That is, *Which looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble, which toucheth the hills, and they ſmoke, &c.* Moreover, it is mentioned in Hiſtories of the ſaid King, that a little after, *William* King of *Scots* with his Army had made a Rode into the Realm, he, returning out of *Normandy* into *England*, came firſt to *Canterbury*; who by the way (ſo ſoon as he came to the ſight of *Becket*'s Church) lighting off his Horſe, and putting off his Shoes, went barefoot to his Tomb, whoſe ſteps were found bloudy through the roughneſs of the ſtones. And not only that, but alſo he received further Penance, by every Monk of the Cloiſter, certain diſcipline of a rod. By which ſo great dejection of the King (if it were true) thou mayſt ſee the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition and ignorance of thoſe days. If it were pretenſed (as might ſo be in time of war, to get the hearts of the people) yet mayſt thou, learned Reader, ſee what ſlavery Kings and Princes were brought into at that time under the Popes Clergy.

K. *Henry* the ſecond goeth on pilgrimage with bloudy ſteps to *Tho. Beckets* Tomb.

*Ex Rogero Hovedene, Guilielmo & aliis.*

Anno 1174.

The ſame year (as *Hoveden* writeth) which was 1174. the whole City of *Canterbury* was almoſt all conſumed with fire, and the ſaid Minſter Church clean burnt.

The city of *Canterbury* almoſt conſumed with fire.

The

Anno 1175. Cont. overſie betwee n the See of *Canterbury* and the See of *York*.

The next year enſuing, which was 1175. a Convocation of Biſhops was holden at *Weſtminſter* by *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In which Conventicle all the Biſhops and Abbots of the Province of *Canterbury* and of *York* being preſent, determined (as it had done a little before in the days of King *Henry* the firſt, *Anno* 1113.) about the obedience that *York* ſhould do to *Canterbury*; that is, whether the Archbiſhop of *York* might bear his Croſs in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury* or not, whereof ſomething was touched before in the former proceſs of this Hiſtory. Alſo about the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, of *Chicheſter*, of *Worceſter*, and of *Hereford*, whether theſe Churches were under the juriſdiction of the See of *York* or not, &c. Upon theſe and other like matters roſe ſuch controverſie between theſe two Sees, that the one appealed the other to the preſence of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Archbiſhop of *York* appealed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

In theſe and ſuch like cauſes, how much better had it been if the Supremacy had remained more near in the Kings hands at home. Whereby not only much labour and travel had been ſaved, but alſo the great and waſtful expences beſtowed at *Rome* might with much more fruit and thank have been converted to their Cures and Flocks committed unto them, and alſo perceſe their cauſe no leſs indifferently heard, at leaſt more ſpeedily might have been decided. But to the purpoſe again. In this Controverſie divers of the Biſhops of *York*'s Clergy, ſuch as were of *Gloceſter*, belonging to the Church of Saint *Oſwald*, were excommunicate by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, becauſe they, being ſummoned, refuſed to appear before him, &c. At length the ſame year, which was 1175. there was a Cardinal ſent down from *Rome* by the Kings procurement, who ſtudied to ſet a peace between the two Archbiſhops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the means of the King) at *Wincheſter*, that as touching the Church of Saint *Oſwald* at *Gloceſter*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould ceaſe his claim thereof, moleſting the See of *York* no more therein; alſo ſhould abſolve again the Clerks thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the Croſs and all other matters, it was referred to the Archbiſhop of *Rothomage*, and of other Biſhops in *France*, ſo that for five years a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they ſhould have a full determination of their cauſe.

The Clerks of S. *Oſwald* in *Gloceſter* excommunicated.

Agreement between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Anno 1176. Juſtices of Aſſiſe divided into ſix Circuits.

The next year following, the foreſaid King *Henry* the ſecond (dividing the Realm of *England* into ſix parts) ordained upon every part three Juſtices of Aſſiſe. The Circuit or Limitation of which Juſtices was thus diſpoſed. The firſt upon *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cantebridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Hertfordſhire*. Two upon *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Stamfordſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*. Three upon *Kent*, *Surry*, *Southamptonſhire*, *Southſex*, *Barkſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*. Four upon *Hereforſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Salopſhire*. Five upon *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Cornwal*. Six upon *Everikeſhire*, *Richmondſhire*, *Lancaſter*, *Copland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*.

*Matth. Par. & aliarum hiſtoriarum.*

In the which Year alſo *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made three Archdeacons in his Dioceſs, where- as before there was but one. About which time alſo it was granted by the King to the Popes Legate, that a Clerk ſhould not be called before a Temporal Judge, except for offence in the Foreſt, or for his Lay fee that he holdeth.

*Item*, That no Archbiſhoprick, Biſhoprick, or Abby ſhould remain in the Kings hands over one year without great cauſe. It chanced the ſame year that this was done, there was at *Canterbury* one elected to be Abbot in the Houſe of St. *Auſtine*, named *Albert*, who made great labour and ſute unto the Archbiſhop that he would come to his Church, and there conſecrate him Abbot of St. *Auſtins*. To whom the Archbiſhop ſent word again, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other ſhould repair to the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, there to receive his Conſecration. Whereupon (controverſie riſing between them) the foreſaid new elect appealed up to the audience of the Pope, and ſo laboured up himſelf to *Rome*. Where he ſo handled the matter (by what means I cannot tell, unleſs with his Golden Bottel, wherewith he quenched the Popes thirſty ſoul, for Abbots never travel lightly without fat Purſes to *Rome*) that with ſhort diſpatch he procured Letters from *Alexander* the Pope, to *Roger* Biſhop of *Worceſter*; ſignifying to him, that he had given in charge and commandment to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (in the behalf of his dear ſon *Albert*) that he ſhould conſecrate him within his own Monaſtery, which Monaſtery properly and ſolely without mediation belonged to the juriſdiction of *Rome*, and ſo likewiſe ſhould do to his ſucceſſors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing, further he ſaid, if the Archbiſhop would refuſe to do within the term appointed, that then he the foreſaid Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſhould (by the authority committed unto him) execute the ſame, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatſoever ſhould come, notwithſtanding. This Letter being obtained, the Abbot that would be, returneth home, ſuppoſing with himſelf all things to be ſure. The Archbiſhop underſtanding the cauſe, and ſeeing himſelf to be ſo ſtraitly charged, and yet loth to yield and ſtoop to the Abbot, took to him policy where authority would not ſerve; and both to ſave himſelf, and yet to diſappoint the Abbot, he watched a time when the Abbot was about buſineſs of his houſe. And coming the ſame time to the Monaſtery, as he was commanded to do, with all things appointed, that to ſuch a buſineſs appertained, he called for the Abbot, pretending no leſs than to give him his Conſecration. The Abbot, being called for, was not at home; the Archbiſhop, feigning himſelf not a little grieved at his labour and good will ſo loſt, departed: as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in caſe that the Abbot had been at home. Whereupon the Abbot being thus diſappointed, was feign to fill his Silver Flagons afreſh, and make a new courſe to *Rome* to his Father the Pope, of whom he received his Conſecration, and ſo came home again, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with ſo much mony peradventure as he went withal.

A frivolous contention between the Archbiſhop and the Abbot of *Canterbury*.

Where was here the precept of the Goſpel, *He that will be greateſt amongſt you, let him be an underling to others?*

The tenor of the Popes Letter to the biſhop of *Worceſter*.

We have declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this Pope *Alexander* the third, how he had brought the Emperors head under his foot in Saint *Mark*'s Church at *Venice*, at which time and place peace was concluded, and a compoſition made between the Pope and the ſaid *Frederick* the Emperor. Which pacification *Rogerus Hovedenus*, and *Gualterus Gisburgenſis*, refer to this time, being the year of our Lord 1177. bringing in two ſeveral Letters ſent from the ſaid Pope *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Hugh* Biſhop of *Dureſme*. Out of the which Letters, ſo much as ſerveth to our purpoſe, I have taken and here inſerted.

*Hovedenus Guburgenſis* Anno 1177.

## The Letter of Pope *Alexander*, ſent to *Roger* Archpiſhop of *York*, and to the Biſhop of *Dureſme*.

A Lexander *ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his reverend brethren* Roger *Archbiſhop of* York, *and* Hugh *Biſhop of* Dureſme, *greeting and Apoſtolical bleſſing. The obſequy and ſervice of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the Church, requireth that we ſhould deſcribe to you, as to our ſpecial friends, the proſperous ſucceſs of the Church, and to let you know, as ſpiritual children of the Church, what hath happened to the ſame. For meet it is, convenient, and alſo honeſt, that you, whom we have had ſo firm and ſure in our devotion, ſhould now be cheriſhed and made joyous in the proſperity of us and of the Church.* And about the end of the Epiſtle it followeth thus:

A meek Emperor, and a proud Pope.

*The next day following, which was the Feaſt of Saint* James *(the ſaid Emperor ſo requeſting) we came to the foreſaid Church of* St. Mark, *there to celebrate our ſolemn Maſs; where (as we were coming in the way) the ſaid Emperor met us without the Church, and placing us again on his right hand, he brought us ſo into the Church. After the Maſs was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the Church Door. And moreover, when we ſhould take our Palfrie, he held our Stirrup, exhibiting to us ſuch honour and reverence, as his Progenitors were wont to exhibite to our Predeceſſors. Wherefore theſe*

The Emperor holdeth the Popes Stirrup.

*ſhall be to incite your diligence and ſtudy towards us, that you rejoyce with us and the Church in theſe our proſperous ſucceſſes, and alſo that you ſhall open the ſame effect of peace to other devout children of the Church: that ſuch as be touched with the zeal of the houſe of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoyce alſo in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given. Given at* Venice *in the deep River, the* 26 *of July.*

This Year the contention revived again, ſpoken of a little before, between the two Archbiſhops of *York* and *Canterbury*, the occaſion whereof was this; The manner and practice of the Pope is, when he beginneth to lack Mony, he ſendeth ſome limiting Cardinal abroad to fetch his Harveſt in. So there came this year into *England* (as lightly few years were without them) a certain Cardinal from *Rome*, called *Hugo*, or as *Hovedenus* nameth him, *Hugezim*, who would needs keep a Council at *Weſtminſter*. To this Council reſorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors, and ſuch others of the Clergy. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, firſt cometh the Archbiſhop of *York* named *Roger*, who (thinking to prevent the other Archbiſhop) came ſomething ſooner, and ſtraightway placed himſelf on the right hand of the Cardinal. *Richard* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, following ſhortly after, and ſeeing the firſt place taken up, refuſeth to take the ſecond, complaining of the Archbiſhop of *York*, as one prejudicial to his See. So while the one would not riſe, and the other part not ſit down, there roſe no ſmall contention between them two. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* claimed the upper ſeat by the preheminence of his Church. Contrary, the Archbiſhop of *York* alledged for him the old Decree of *Gregory*, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken between the two Metropolitans of *Canterbury* and *York*, that which of them two ſhould be firſt in election, he ſhould have the preheminence in dignity to go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed ſo warm in words, that at laſt they turned to hot blows. How ſtrong the Archbiſhop of *York* was in reaſon and argument, I cannot tell; but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſtronger at the arms end; whoſe ſervants being more in number (like valiant Men) not ſuffering their Maſter to take ſuch a foile, ſo prevailed againſt *York* (ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinal) that they pluckt him down from the hand to the foot of the Cardinal upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he eſcaped with life. His Caſule, Chimer and Rochet were all to be rent and torn from his Back. Here no reaſon would take place, no debating would ſerve, no praying could be heard, ſuch clamour and tumult was there in the Houſe among them, much like to the tumult which *Virgil* deſcribeth:

Contention between two Archbiſhops who ſhould ſit on the right hand of the Cardinal.

*Ac veluti in magno populo, cum ſæpe coorta eſt*
*Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus,*
*Jamque faces & ſaxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat.*

Now as the firſt part of this deſcription doth well agree, ſo ſome peradventure will look again, that according to the latter part alſo of the ſame, my Lord Cardinal with ſageneſs and gravity (after the manner of the old *Romans* ſtanding up) ſhould have ceaſed and allayed the diſturbance, according to that which followeth in the Poet,

*Tum pietate gravem meritis ſi forte virum quem*
*Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus aſtant:*
*Ille regit mentes dictis, & pectora mulcet, &c.*

But what did the noble *Roman* Cardinal? Like a prety man of his hands (but a pretier man of his feet) ſtanding up in the midſt, and ſeeing the houſe in ſuch a broile, committed himſelf to flight, and (as *Hovedenus* writeth) *Abſcondit ſe a facie illorum.* The next day the Archbiſhop of *York* bringeth to the Cardinal his Rochet, to bear witneſs what injury and violence he had ſuſtained; appealing and citing up the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with certain of his men to the Biſhop of *Rome*. And thus the holy Council (the ſame day it was begun) brake up and was diſſolved.

Under the Reign of this King *Henry* the ſecond, the Dominion and Crown of *England* extended ſo far as hath not been ſeen in this Realm before him; whom Hiſtories record to poſſeſs under his rule and juriſdiction, firſt, *Scotland*, to whom *William* King of *Scots*, with all the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, did Homage both for them and for their ſucceſſors (the Seal whereof remaineth in the Kings Treaſury) as alſo *Ireland*, *England*, *Normandy*, *Aquitan*, *Gant*, *&c.* To the Mountains of *Pirency*, which be in the uttermoſt part of the great Ocean in the *Britiſh* Sea, being alſo Protector of *France*; to whom *Philip* the *French* King yielded both himſelf and his Realm wholly to his governance, in the year of our Lord 1181. Moreover, he was offered alſo to be the King of *Jeruſalem*, by the Patriarch and Maſter of the Hoſpital there; who, then being diſtreſſed by the *Soldan*, brought him the Keies of their City, deſiring his aid againſt the Infidels; which offer he then refuſed, alledging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his Sons, which might happen in his abſence.

The large dominion of K. Henry the Second.

Homage of Scotland in pain of interdiction.

K. Henry the ſecond Protector of France.

K. Henry choſen King of Jeruſalem and refuſed it.

¶ And here the old Hiſtories find a great fault with the King for his refuſal; declaring that to be the cauſe of Gods Plagues, which after inſued upon him by his Children, as the Patriach in his Oration (being offended with the King) propheſied ſhould ſo happen to him for the ſame cauſe. Which ſtory, if it be true, it may be a leſſon to good Princes, not to deny their neceſſary help to their diſtreſſed neighbours, eſpecially the cauſe appertaining unto God.

Aid not to be denied to our neighbours, the cauſe being godly. *Ex Polychro. Ex Giraldo. Cambrenſi.*

The wiſdom, diſcretion, manhood and riches of this Prince was ſo ſpread and renowned from all Quarters, that Meſſages came from *Emmanuel* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, *Frederick* Emperor of *Rome*, and *William* Archbiſhop of *Trevers* in *Almain*, the Duke of *Saxon*, and from the Earl of *Flanders*, and alſo from the *French* King, (upon determination of great queſtions and ſtrifes) to ask counſel and determination thereof of this King *Henry*, as of one moſt wiſe, and Schoolmaſter of all wiſdom and juſtice, to have ſolution of their queſtions and doubts. Moreover, *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, and *Sancius* King of *Navarre*, being in ſtrife for certain Caſtles and other poſſeſſions, ſubmitted them (of their free accord, and by their Oaths) to abide the award of this King *Henry*; who made award and pleaſed them both; whereby it is to be preſuppoſed, that this King, to whom other Princes did ſo reſort, as to their arbitrer and deciſer, did not attend either to any ſloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may ſeem that the acts of this Prince were not ſo vicious as ſome Monkiſh Writers do deſcribe.

K. Henry choſen arbitrer by two Kings.

Among many other things in this King memorable, this one is to be noted (follow it who can) that he reigned five and thirty years, and having ſuch Wars with his enemies, yet never upon his Subjects put any Tribute or Tax, nor yet upon the Spiritualty, firſt fruits and appropriations of Benefices. Belike they were not known, or elſe not uſed. And yet his Treaſure after his death (weighed by King *Richard* his Son) amounted to above nine hundred thouſand pounds, beſides Jewels, precious Stones, and houſhold furniture. Of the which ſubſtance eleven thouſand pounds came to him by the death of *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any Prieſt died within his Province without Teſtament, then he ſhould have all his Goods. And ſhortly after the Archbiſhop died, and the King had all his Goods, which extended (as is ſaid) to eleven thouſand pounds beſides Plate, in the year of our Lord God 1181.

The treaſure of K. Henry the ſecond.

A covetous Archbiſhop.

But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal World ſo perfect, which is not darkened with ſome cloud of incumbrance and adverſity; ſo it happened to this King, that among his other Princely ſucceſſors, this incommodity followed him withal, that his Sons rebelled and ſtood in armour againſt him, taking the part of the *French* King againſt their Father. Firſt, at the Coronation of *Henry* his Son, whom the Father joyned with him as King, he being both Father and King, took upon him (that notwithſtanding) but as a Steward, and ſet down the firſt Diſh as Sewer unto his Son, renouncing the name of a King. At what time the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *York*, ſitting on the right hand of the young King, ſaid, *Sir, ye have great cauſe this day to joy, for there is no Prince in the World*

*that*

Pride deſtroyeth all.

*that hath ſuch an Officer this day*, &c. And the young King diſdaining his words, ſaid, My Father is not diſhonoured in this doing, for I am a King and a Queens Son, and ſo is not he. And not only this, but after he alſo perſecuted his Father; and ſo in his youth when he had reigned but a few years died; teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the juſt Commandment of God.

King Henry the ſecond perſecuted by his Sons.

After him likewiſe *Richard* his Son (who was called *Richard Ceur de Lion*) rebelled againſt his Father, and alſo *John* his youngeſt Son did not much degenerate from the ſteps of his Brethren. Inſomuch that this foreſaid *Richard* (like an unkind child) perſecuting and taking part againſt his Father, brought him to ſuch diſtreſs of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an Ague, and within four days departed, after he had reigned five and thirty years; whoſe Corpſe as it was carried to be buried, *Richard* his Son coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compaſſion to weep, the blood braſt incontinent out of the Noſe of the King at the coming of his Son; giving thereby a certain demonſtration how he was the only Author of his death.

The death of K. Henry the ſecond. How the King being dead, bled at the coming of his Son.

After the death and reign of which King, his Children after him (worthily rewarded for their unnaturalneſs againſt their Father) lacking the ſucceſs which their Father had, loſt all beyond the Sea that their Father had got before.

And thus much concerning the Reign of *Henry* the Second, and the death of *Thomas Becket*; whoſe death (as is aforeſaid) happened in the days of Pope *Alexander* the Third; which Pope uſurping the Keys of Eccleſiaſtical Regiment one and twenty years (or as *Gisburnenſis* writeth, three and twenty years) governed the Church with much tumult; ſtriving and contending with *Frederick* the Emperor, not ſhaming like a moſt proud *Lucifer*, to tread with his foot upon the neck of the ſaid Emperor, as is above deſcribed.

Anno 1179.

This Pope among many other his acts had certain Councils (as is partly before touched) ſome in *France*, ſome at *Rome* in *Laterân*; by whom it was decreed, that no Archbiſhop ſhould receive the Pall, unleſs he ſhould firſt ſwear. Concerning the ſolemnity of which Pall, for the order and manner of giving and taking the ſame with obedience to the Pope, as it is contained in their own words; I thought it good to ſet it forth unto thee, that thou mayeſt well conſider and underſtand their doings therein.

## The form and manner how and by what words the *Pope* is wont to give the Pall unto the Archbiſhop.

Giving of the Pall.

*AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beatæ Mariæ Virginis, & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & domini noſtri N. Papæ, & ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, necnon N. Eccleſiæ tibi commiſſæ, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri ſumptum, plenitudinem Pontificalis officii, ut utaris eo infra Eccleſiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis tibi ab Apoſtolica ſede conceſſis.*

That is in *Engliſh*:

To the honour of Almighty God, and of Bleſſed *Mary* the Virgin, and of Bleſſed Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, and of our Lord Pope *N.* and of the holy Church of *Rome*, and alſo of the Church of *N.* committed to your charge, we give to you the Pall taken from the body of St. *Peter*, as a fulneſs of the office Pontifical, which you may wear within your own Church upon certain days, which be expreſſed in the privileges of the ſaid Church, granted by the Sea Apoſtolick.

*Notes upon the ſame.*

§ 'To the honour, &c. With what confidence durſt the 'Pope couple the honour of Almighty God, and the ho'nour of *Mary*, of Saint *Peter*, and of the Pope, and of 'the *Romiſh* Church all together, if he had not been a 'preſumptuous *Lucifer*, equalling himſelf not only with 'ſuch Saints, but alſo even with him which is God alone, 'to be bleſſed for ever?

'*Taken from the body*, &c. If St. *Peter*'s body be not 'all conſumed, let him ſhew it if he can. If he cannot 'ſhew it, how then is this Pall taken from the body of St. '*Peter*? Or if he mean it to be of St. *Peter*'s own wear'ing, then belike St. *Peter* had a goodly Wardrobe of 'Palls, when every Archbiſhop in all Chriſtendom recei'veth from the Pope a divers Pall.

'*As a fulneſs of the office*, &c. Rather he might ſay the 'fulneſs of his own Purſe, when as Archbiſhops paid ſo 'ſweetly for it. Inſomuch that *Jacobus* the Archbiſhop of '*Mentz*, as is above touched a little before in the Council 'of *Baſil*, where the price was wont to be but a thouſand 'Florens, could not obtain it without ſix and twenty thou'ſand Florens.

'*Upon certain days*, &c. This difference there was be- *Ex libro gravaminum Nationis Germanicæ.*
'tween the Pope and other Archbiſhops: for the Pope 'might wear the Pall at all times, and in all places at his 'pleaſure. Archbiſhops might not wear it but upon certain 'days, and in their Church only within their Province. 'Moreover this Pall ſhould not be asked but with great in'ſtance, and within three months, without which Pall he 'is not to be named Archbiſhop, but may be depoſed, 'having it not after three months: and the ſame Pall muſt 'alſo be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is 'given, ſome priviledg muſt be given withal, or the old 'renewed.

## In like manner proceedeth the Oath of every Biſhop ſwearing obedience to the *Pope* in like words as followeth.

The ſolemn Oath of Biſhops made to the Pope.

*EGO N. Epiſcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, ſanctæque Apoſtolicæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & domino meo D. N. Papæ, ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in conſilio, ſeu auxilio, conſenſu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, ſeu capiantur mala captione. Conſilium vero quod mihi crediturî ſunt, per ſe aut per nuncium, ſeu literas eorum, me ſciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum ſalvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ ſedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in ſuis neceſſitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis triennîs viſitabo, aut per per me, aut per meum nuncium, niſi Apoſtolica abſolvar licentia. Poſſeſſiones vero ad menſam mei Epiſcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo inconſulto Rom. Pontifice: ſic me Deus adjuvet, & ſancta Dei Evangelia.*

Salvo meo ord.

This was the clauſe that made Becket to be baniſhed & to be ſlain.

That is in *Engliſh*:

*I. N.* Biſhop of *N.* from this hour henceforth, will be faithful and obedient to bleſſed St. *Peter*, and to the holy Apoſtolick Church of *Rome*, and to my Lord *N.* the Pope. I ſhall be in no Council, nor help either with my conſent or deed, whereby either of them, or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking. The Council which they ſhall commit to me either by themſelves, or by meſſenger, or by their Letters wittingly or willingly I ſhall utter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the Papacy of *Rome*, and the Regalities of St. *Peter*, I ſhall be an aider (ſo mine order be ſaved) againſt all perſons. The Legate of the Apoſtolick See both in going and coming I ſhall honourably intreat and help in all neceſſities. Being called to a Synod I ſhall be ready to come, unleſs I be let by ſome lawful and Canonical impeachment. The Palace of the Apoſtles every third year I ſhall viſit either by my ſelf or my meſſenger, except otherwiſe being licenſed by the See Apoſtolick. All ſuch poſſeſſions as belong to the Table and Diet of my Biſhoprick, I ſhall neither ſell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor leaſe out, nor remove away by any manner of means without the conſent and knowledg of the Biſhop of *Rome*: ſo God help me and the holy Goſpels of God.

And how be not thoſe Biſhops then perjured, which at the death of Q. *Mary*, ſet and let out a great part of their poſſeſſions from their ſucceſſors.

*A Note upon the ſame.*

§ 'Hereby thou haſt by the way (gentle Reader) to 'note and conſider, among other things which here may 'be underſtood, that ſince the time the Oath began to be 'laid and thruſt upon Biſhops, all General Councils began 'to loſe their liberty. For how could any freedom remain 'for men to ſpeak their knowledg in redreſs of things, be- 'ing by their Oath ſo bound to the Pope to ſpeak nothing 'but on his ſide, to maintain the Papacy, and the Church 'of *Rome* in all times and places? Conjecture by thy ſelf '(Chriſtian Reader) what is more hereby to be conſi- 'dered.

BEſides this it was alſo decreed in the ſaid Council at *Rome* of 310 Biſhops, by Pope *Alexander*, that no man ſhould have any Spiritual Promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in Wedlock. That no Pariſh Church ſhould be void above ſix Months. That none within Orders ſhould meddle with Temporal buſineſs. That Prieſts ſhould have but one Benefice, and that the Biſhop ſhould be charged to find the Prieſt a Living till he be promoted.

That open Uſurers ſhould not communicate at *Eaſter*, nor be buried within the Church-yard.

That nothing ſhould be taken for miniſtring Sacraments or Burying.

*Item*, That every Cathedral Church ſhould have a Maſter to teach Children freely, without taking any thing for the ſame.

The Vow of Chaſtity laid upon Prieſts.

In this Council the Vow of Chaſtity was obtruded and laid upon Prieſts. *Thomas Becket* alſo and *Bernard* were Canonized for Saints.

During the reign and time of this King *Henry* the Second, the City of *Norwich* was deſtroyed and burnt by the men of *Flanders*. Alſo the Town of *Leiceſter*. *Nottingham* waſted, and the Burgeſſes ſlain by the Earl of *Ferrers*. The Town of *Barwick* deſtroyed by the *Scots*. The King of *Scots* was taken in war by *Engliſhmen* in the year of our Lord 1174. The Town of *Huntington* taken and burned. The Town of *Canterbury* by caſualty of fire burnt with all the Churches, ſpecially with the Trinity Church where *Becket* was worſhipped, *An. eod.* The year of our Lord 1170. *William* King of *Scots*, with *David* his Brother, and all the Barons of the Realm, did homage to the King of *England*. *Ireland* made ſubject to *England*. Decreed in a Council in *Normandy*, that no Boys or Children ſhould poſſeſs any Benefice. A Council of *Lateran* was holden at *Rome*, where were three and thirty Articles concluded, *Anno* 1179. The *French* King came in Pilgrimage to *Thomas Becket*, the King of *England* meeting him by the way, *An.* 1184. After the death of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who followed after *Thomas Becket*, ſucceeded *Baldwinus*; who of a *Ciſtercian* Monk being made a Biſhop, is ſaid never to eat fleſh in his life. Whom a certain poor woman bare and lean, meeting him in the ſtreet, deſired to know of him whether it were true that was ſaid of him, that he never did eat fleſh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true: Nay (ſaith ſhe) that is falſe, for you have eaten my fleſh unto the bone, for I had but one Cow wherewith I was ſuſtained, and that have your Deans taken from me. True, true, ſaid the Biſhop, and thou ſhalt have another Cow as good as that, &c. *Fornalenſ.*

*Baldwinus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Moreover in the reign of the ſaid King *Henry*, about the year of our Lord 1178, I find in the Story of *Roger Hoveden* and others, that in the City of *Tholouſe* was a great multitude of men and women whom the Popes Commiſſioners, to wit, *Peter* Cardinal of St. *Chryſogon*, and the Popes Legate, with the Archbiſhops of *Narbon* and *Biturienſis*, *Reginald* Biſhop of *Bath*, *John* Biſhop of *Pictavia*, *Henry* Abbot *Clarevallenſis*, &c. did perſecute and condemn for Hereticks; of whom ſome were ſcourged naked, ſome chaſed away, ſome compelled to abjure. Concerning whoſe articles and opinions I have no firm ground to make any certain relation, forſomuch as I ſee the *Papiſts* many times ſo falſe in their quarreling accuſations, untruly collected mens ſayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they ſaid, but wreſting and depraving ſimple mens aſſertions after ſuch a ſubtil ſort as they liſt themſelves to take them. But this I find, how one of the ſaid Commiſſioners or Inquiſitors (*Henry* the Abbot) in a certain Letter of his wrote thus of them: *Nam & panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ, ſacerdotis miniſterio in verbo Domini conſecratum, non eſſe corpus Domini, novo dogmate contendebat aſſerere.* That is, after a new opinion he affirmed that the holy bread of eternal life, conſecrated by the Miniſtry of the Prieſt, was not the body of the Lord, *&c.*

In the time of this *Alexander* ſprang up the Doctrine and name of them which were then called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, which of one *Waldus* a chief Senator in *Lions*, were named *Waldenſes*; *Item Leoniſtæ & Inſabbatati*; about the year of our Lord 1109, or (as *Laziardus* writeth) *Anno* 1170.

*Waldenſes ſeu pauperes de Lugduno. Leoniſtæ. Sabbatati.*

Four Archpillars of proud Papiſtry.

Not long before this time (as is expreſſed above) roſe up *Gratianus* Maſter of the Decrees, and *Petrus Lombardus* Maſter of the Sentences, both Archpillars of all Papiſtry; after whom followed alſo two as evil, or worſe than they, *Franciſcus* and *Dominicus*, maintaining blind hypocriſie no leſs than the other maintained proud Prelacy. As theſe laboured one way by ſuperſtition and worldly advancement to corrupt the ſincerity of Chriſtian Religion, ſo it pleaſed Chriſt the contrary way, labouring againſt theſe, to raiſe up therefore the ſaid *Waldenſes* againſt the pride and hypocriſie of the others.

Thus we never ſee any great corruption in the Church, but that ſome ſparkle of the true and clear light of the Goſpel yet by Gods Providence doth remain; whatſoever Doctor *Auguſtinus*, *Reinerius*, *Sylvius*, *Cranzius*, with others in their Popiſh Hiſtories do write of them (defaming them through miſreport) and accuſing them to Magiſtrates, as diſobedient to Orders, rebels to the Catholick Church, and contemners of the Virgin *Mary*; yet they that carry judgment indifferent, rather truſting truth than wavering with times, in weighing their articles, ſhall find it otherwiſe; and that they maintained nothing elſe but the ſame Doctrine which is now defended in the Church. And yet I ſuppoſe not contrary, but as the *Papiſts* did with the Articles of *Wickliff* and *Hus*, ſo they did in like manner with their Articles alſo, in gathering and wreſting them otherwiſe than they were meant.

## *The Hiſtory of the* Waldenſes *concerning their Original and Doctrine, with their Perſecutions.*

The Hiſtory of Waldenſes, or Albigenſes.

THE firſt original of theſe *Waldenſes* came of one *Waldus*, a man both of great ſubſtance, and no leſs calling in the City of *Lions*; the occaſion whereof is declared of divers Writers thus to come: About the year of our Lord 1160, it chanced that divers of the beſt and chiefeſt heads of the City of *Lions* talking and walking in a certain place after their old accuſtomed manner, eſpecially in the Summer-time, conferred and conſulted together upon matters, either to paſs over time, or to debate things to be done. Amongſt whom it chanced one (the reſt looking upon) to fall down by ſudden death. In the number of whom this foreſaid *Waldus*, there being amongſt them was one; who beholding the matter more earneſtly than the other, and terrified with ſo heavy an example, being (as is ſaid) a rich man, and Gods holy Spirit working withal, was ſtricken with a deep and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration with a careful ſtudy to reform his former life. Inſomuch that firſt he began to miniſter large alms of his goods to ſuch as needed. Secondly, to inſtruct himſelf and his family with the true knowledg of Gods word. Thirdly, to admoniſh all that reſorted to him by any occaſion, to repentance and vertuous amendment of life. Whereby partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholeſome admonitions, more reſort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did ſee ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had tranſlated himſelf into the *French* Tongue: for as he was a man wealthy in riches, ſo he was alſo not unlearned.

Although *Laziardus*, *Volateranus*, with others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who ſhould procure others to write and tranſlate for him: by others, that have ſeen his doings yet remaining in

old Parchment Monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and tranſlate the Books of Scripture, and alſo did collect the Doctors mind upon the ſame.

But whatſoever he was (lettered or unlettered) the Biſhops and Prelates ſeeing him ſo to intermeddle with Scriptures, and to have ſuch reſort about him, albeit it was but in his own houſe under private conference, could not abide, either that the Scriptures ſhould be declared of any other, neither would they take the pains to declare it themſelves. So being moved with great malice againſt the Man, they threatned to excommunicate him if he did not leave ſo to do. *Waldus* ſeeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice ſtirred up upon no juſt nor godly cauſe, neglecting the threatnings and frettings of the wicked, ſaid, *that God muſt be obeyed more then Man.* To be brief, the more diligent he was in ſetting forth the true Doctrine of Chriſt againſt the errors of Antichriſt, the more maliciouſly their fierceneſs increaſed. Inſomuch that when they did ſee their Excommunication to be deſpiſed, and would not ſerve, they ceaſed not with Priſon, with Sword and Baniſhment to perſecute, till at length they had driven both *Waldus* and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the City.

The true nature of Antichriſt, neither himſelf to further the Word, nor ſuffer other men to do it

Whereupon came firſt their Name, that they were called *Waldenſes*, or *Pauperes de Lugduno*, not becauſe they would have all things common amongſt them, or that they, profeſſing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the Apoſtles did (as *Sylvius* did falſly bely them) but becauſe they, being thruſt out both of Country and Goods, were compelled to live poorly whether they would or no. And thus much touching the firſt occaſion and beginning of theſe Men, and of the reſtoring and maintaining of the true Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel, againſt the proud proceedings of *Popiſh* errors. Now concerning their Articles, which I find in order and in number to be theſe:

The Articles of the *Waldenſes.*

SOlis ſacris literis credendum eſſe in iis quæ ad ſalutem, &c. That is, *Only the holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to Salvation, and no mans writing, or man beſides.*

2. All things to be contained in Holy Scripture neceſſary to Salvation, and nothing to be admitted in Religion, but what only is commanded in the Word of God.

3. To be one only Mediator; other Saints in no wiſe to be made Mediators, or to be invocated.

4. To be no Purgatory, but that all Men either by Chriſt are juſtified to life, or without Chriſt be condemned; and beſides theſe two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5. That all Maſſes, namely ſuch as be ſung for the dead, be wicked and to be abrogate.

6. All Mens Traditions to be rejected, at leaſt not to be reputed as neceſſary to ſalvation, and therefore this ſinging and ſuperfluous chanting in the Chancel to be left; conſtrained and prefixed faſts bound to days and times, difference of Meats, ſuch variety of degrees and orders of Prieſts, Friers, Monks and Nuns, ſuperfluous Holy-days, ſo many ſundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, Vows, Peregrinations, with all the Rabblement of Rites and Ceremonies brought in by Man, to be aboliſhed.

7. The Supremacy of the Pope uſurping above all Churches, and eſpecially above all politick Realms and Governments, or for him to occupy or uſurp the juriſdiction of both the Swords, to be denied; neither that any degree is to be received in the Church, but only Prieſts, Deacons and Biſhops.

8. The Communion under both kinds to be neceſſary to all People, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt.

9. *Item*, The Church of *Rome* to be the very *Babylon* ſpoken of in the *Apocalyps*; and the Pope to be the fountain of all error, and the very Antichriſt.

10. * The Popes Pardons and Indulgences they reject.

11. The Marriage of Prieſts, and of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, to be godly, and alſo neceſſary in the Church.

12. Such as hear the Word of God, and have a right Faith, to be the right Church of Chriſt. And to this Church the Keies of the Church are to be given, to drive away Wolves, and to inſtitute true Paſtors, and to preach the Word, and to miniſter the Sacraments.

* This Article ſeemeth to be given of them in *Bohemia* not long after, for Indulgences came not in before *Boniface* the 8.

Theſe be the moſt principal Articles of the *Waldenſes*, albeit ſome there be that add more to them; ſome again divide the ſame into more parts, but theſe be the principal to which the reſt be reduced.

The ſame *Waldenſes*, at length exiled, were diſperſed in divers and ſundry places, of whom many remained long in *Bohemia*; which writing to their King *Uladiſlaus*, to purge themſelves againſt the ſlanderous accuſations of one Doctor *Auſtin*, gave up their confeſſion with an Apology of their Chriſtian Profeſſion; defending with ſtrong and learned arguments the ſame which now is received in moſt reformed Churches, both concerning Grace, Faith, Charity, Hope, Repentance and works of mercy.

As for Purgatory, they ſay that *Thomas Aquinas* is the Author thereof. *The Aquine firſt finder of Purgatory.*

Concerning the Supper of the Lord, their Faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be ſhewed and worſhipped; for a Memorial, not for a Sacrifice; to ſerve for the preſent miniſtration, and not for reſervation; to be received at the Table, not to be carried out of the doors; according to the ancient uſe of the Primitive Church, when they uſed to communicate ſitting. And this they prove both by an old Chronicle called *Chronica geſtorum*, as alſo by ancient *Origen* upon the third Book of *Moſes*, bringing in his words, which be theſe, proving that this Sacramental Bread ought not to be reſerved: *Quicunque hunc panem cœna Chriſti ſecunda vel tertia die ſumpſerit, non benedicitur anima ejus, ſed inquinabitur. Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes, &c.* That is, *Whoſoever receiveth this Bread of the Supper of Chriſt upon the ſecond or third day after, his ſoul ſhall not be bleſſed, but polluted. Therefore the* Gabaonites, *becauſe they brought old bread to the children of* Iſrael, *it was injoyned them to carry wood and water, &c.* *Ex Orthuino Gratio.* *Chronica geſtorum.* *Origen ſuper ter ſum libum Moſis.* *The Sacramental bread ought not to be kept or reſerved.*

Doctor *Auſtin* (of whom mention is made before) diſputing againſt them about this matter of the Holy Euchariſt, urgeth them with this interrogation; whether it be the ſame Chriſt (preſent in the Sacrament) which is preſent at the right hand of the Father? If it be not the ſame Chriſt, how is it true in the Scripture, *Una Fides, unus Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus, One Faith, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt?* If it be the ſame Chriſt, then how is he not to be honoured and worſhipped here as well as there? *Part of the diſputation between Doctor Auſtin and the Waldenſes. Dilemma 2.* *That is, a captious queſtion in conferring on both ſides an inconvenience*

To this the *Waldenſes* anſwer again, and grant that Chriſt is one and the ſame with his natural body, in the Sacrament which he is at the right hand of his Father, but not after the ſame exiſtence of his body. For the exiſtence of his body in Heaven is perſonal and local, to be apprehended by the Faith and Spirit of Men. In the Sacrament the exiſtence of the body is not perſonal or local, to be apprehended or received of our bodies, after a perſonal or corporal manner, but after a Sacramental manner; that is, where our bodys receive the ſign, and our ſpirit the thing ſignified. Moreover, in Heaven the exiſtence of his body is dimenſive and compleat with the full proportion and quantity of the ſame body wherewith he aſcended. Here, the exiſtence of his compleat body with the full proportion, meaſure and ſtature thereof, doth not, neither can ſtand in the Sacrament. Briefly, the exiſtence of his body in Heaven is Natural, not Sacramental; that is, to be ſeen, and not remembred: Here it is Sacramental, not Natural; that is, to be remembred, not to be ſeen. *The anſwer of the Waldenſes.* *What it is to receive after a Sacramental manner.* *Natural. Sacramental.*

That Anſwer being made to the captious Propoſition of Doctor *Auſtin*, the *Waldenſes* (retorting the like interrogation to him again) demand of him to anſwer them in the like objection; Whether it be all one Chriſt ſubſtantially and naturally, which ſitteth in Heaven, and which is under the forms of Bread and Wine, and in the receivers of the Sacrament? If he grant it to be; then they bid him ſay, ſeeing Chriſt is as well in the Sacrament as in Heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the Sacrament, and all one Chriſt in ſubſtance and nature; why then is not the ſame Chriſt as well in the breaſt of the receiver to be worſhipped, as under the forms of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament; ſeeing he is there after a more perfect manner in Man, than in the Sacrament? for in the Sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the Sacraments ſake, but for the Mans cauſe: In Man he is not for the Sacraments cauſe, but for his own; and that not for a ſeaſon, but for *Another Dilemma againſt Tranſubſtantiation.*

ever,

ever, as it is written; *Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum.* That is, *He that eateth this bread ſhall live for ever, &c.*

Moreover and beſides, ſeeing Tranſubſtantiation is the going of one ſubſtance into another; they queſtion again with him, whether the forms of Bread and Wine remaining, the ſubſtance thereof be changed into the whole perſon of our Lord Chriſt Jeſus; that is, both into his body, ſoul and Divinity, or not into the whole Chriſt? If he grant the whole; then ſay they, that is impoſſible (concerning the Divinity) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he ſay, the Bread is changed into the Body and Soul of Chriſt, not to his Divinity, then he ſeparateth the Natures in Chriſt. If he ſay, into the Body alone, and not the Soul, then he ſeparateth the Natures of the true Manhood, *&c.* and ſo it cannot be the ſame Chriſt that was betrayed for us; for that he had both Body and Soul. To conclude, to what part ſoever he would anſwer, this Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation cannot be deſcended without great inconvenience of all ſides.

*Eneas Sylvius Bohemica hiſtoria de Waldenſium dogmatibus.*

Over and beſides, *Eneas Sylvius* writing of their Doctrine and Aſſertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worſe of them than they taught or meant) reporteth them after this manner, which I thought here to ſet out as it is in the *Latine.*

*Romanum Præſulem reliquis Epiſcopis parem eſſe. Inter ſacerdotes nullam diſcrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem ſed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.*

In *Engliſh:*

The Biſhop of *Rome* to be equal with other Biſhops. Amongſt Prieſts to be no difference of degree. No Prieſt to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthineſs of his life.

The ſouls of Men departed either to enter into pain everlaſting, or everlaſting joy. No fire of Purgatory to be found. To pray for the dead to be vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of Prieſts.

The images of God (as of the Trinity) and of Saints to be aboliſhed. The hallowing of water and palmes to be a meer ridicle. The Religion of Begging-Friers to be found out by the Devil. That Prieſts ſhould not incroach riches in this World, but rather follow poverty, being content with their Tithes, and Mens devotion. The preaching of the Word to be free to all Men called thereunto.

That no deadly ſin is to be tolerated, for whatſoever reſpect of a greater commodity to enſue thereupon. The confirmation which Biſhops exercife with Oyl, and extream Unction, are not to be counted among the Sacraments of the Church. Auricular Confeſſion to be but a toy; to ſuffice for every Man to confeſs himſelf in his Chamber to God. Baptiſm ought to be miniſtred only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oyl. The Temple of the Lord to be the wide World. The Majeſty of God not to be reſtrained more within the Walls of Temples, Monaſteries and Chappels, ſo that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

*The Temple of the Lord, that is, the proper habitation wherein God moſt properly dwelleth & worketh. That is, the very place maketh not the miniſtration of holy things either more or leſs holy.*

Prieſts Apparel, Ornaments of the High Altar, Veſtiments, Corporaces, Chalices, Patins, and other Church-plate, to ſerve in no ſtead. For the difference and reſpect of the very place, to make no matter, where the Prieſt doth conſecrate, or doth miniſter to them which do require. To be ſufficient to uſe only the Sacramental words without all other ſuperfluous ceremonies.

The ſuffrages of Saints, reigning with Chriſt in Heaven, to be craved in vain; they being not able to help us. In ſaying or ſinging the Hours and Matins of the day, the time to be but loſt. A man ought to ceaſe from his labour no day, but only upon the Sunday.

The Feaſts and Feſtivals of Saints ought to be rejected. *Item*, ſuch Faſts as be coacted, and enjoyned by the Church have no merit in them.

The Aſſertions of the *Waldenſes* being thus articuled out by *Eneas Sylvius*, I thought to give them abroad in *Engliſh* as they are in *Latine:* to the intent that as they are the leſs to be doubted, being ſet out of a Popes Pen; ſo we may the better know both them hereby what they were, and alſo underſtand how this Doctrine, now preached and taught in the Church, is no new Doctrine which here we ſee both taught and perſecuted almoſt 400 years ago. And as I have ſpoken hitherto ſufficiently concerning their Doctrine; ſo now we will briefly ſomewhat touch of the order of their life and converſation, as we find it regiſtred in a certain old written Book of Inquiſition.

*Ex inquiſitoria quodam libello.*

*De modo & inſtitutione Waldenſium.*

*Modus autem Waldenſium talis eſt, &c.* The whole proceſs cometh to this effect in *Engliſh.* The manner of the *Waldenſes* is this, They, kneeling upon their knees, leaning to ſome bank or ſtay, do continue in their prayers with ſilence ſo long as a man may ſay thirty or forty times *Pater noſter.* And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongſt themſelves, and ſuch as be of their own Religion, and no ſtrangers with them, both before Dinner and after; likewiſe before Suppers and after; alſo what time they go to Bed, and in the morning when they riſe, and at certain other times alſo, as well in the day as in the night. *Item*, They uſe no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any *Ave Maria*, and the Creed, which they affirm not to be put in for any prayer by Chriſt, but only by the Church of *Rome.* Albeit they have and uſe the ſeven Articles of Faith concerning the Divinity, and ſeven Articles concerning the Humanity, and the Ten Commandments, and ſeven works of Mercy, which they have compiled together in a compendious Book, glorying much in the ſame, and thereby offer themſelves ready to anſwer any man for their faith.

*Their manner of grace before meat.*

Before they go to meat they have their Grace, *Benedicite, Kyrie eleyſon, Chriſte eleyſon, Kyrie eleyſon, Pater noſter.* Which being ſaid, then the elder amongſt them beginneth thus in their own tongue: *God which bleſſed the five Barley loaves, and two Fiſhes in the deſert before his Diſciples, bleſs this Table, and that is ſet upon it, or ſhall be ſet upon it: In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen.* And likewiſe again, when they riſe from Meat, the ſenior giveth thanks, ſaying the words of the *Apocalypſe, Bleſſing, and worſhip, and wiſdom, and thankſgiving, honour, vertue, and ſtrength to God alone for ever and ever, Amen.* And addeth moreover, *God reward them in their boſomes, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bleſs us. And the God which hath given us corporal feeding, grant us his ſpiritual life and God be with us, and we always with him.* To which they anſwer again, *Amen.* And thus ſaying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to Heaven. After their Meat and grace ſaid, they teach and exhort amongſt themſelves, conferring together upon their Doctrine, *&c.*

*Their Grace after meat.*

In their Doctrine and teaching they were ſo diligent and painful, that *Reinerius* a Writer about their time (an extream enemy againſt them) in a long proceſs, wherein he deſcribeth their Doctrine and teaching, teſtifieth, that he heard of one which did know the party, that a certain Heretick (ſaith he) only to turn a certain perſon away from our faith, and to bring him to his (in the night, and in the Winter time) ſwam over the River called *Ibis*, to come to him, and to teach him. Moreover, ſo perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the ſaid *Reinerius* ſaith, he did hear and ſee a man of the Country unlettered, which could recite over the whole Book of *Job* word by word, without book, with divers others which had the whole New Teſtament perfectly by heart.

*Reinerius an old Inquiſitor againſt Waldenſes.*

*Pium videtur locum in lascivos facere doctri.*

And although ſome of them rather merrily than unskilfully expounded the words of 1 *John Sui non receperunt eum*, Swine did not receive him; yet were they not ſo ignorant and void of learning, nor yet ſo few in number, but that they did mightily prevail, inſomuch that *Reinerius* hath theſe words; *Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum ſuorum. Inquiſitioni & examinationi ſæpe interfui, & computatæ ſunt 40 Eccleſiæ, quæ hæreſi infectæ fuerunt, ac in una Parochia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum Scholæ, &c.* That is, There was none durſt ſtop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquiſition and examination, and there were numbred forty Churches infected with their Hereſie, inſomuch that in one Pariſh of *Cammach*, were ten open Schools of them, *&c. Hæc ille.*

*The power and multitude of Waldenſes.*

And

*Waldenſes* in all points found, but only for holding against the Church of Rome. *Ex Gribuino Gratio.*

And the ſaid *Reinerius*, when he hath ſaid all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confeſs this of them, where he doth diſtinct their Sect from other Sects, and hath theſe words: *Hæc vero Leoniſtarum Secta magnam habet ſpeciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juſte vivant, & bene omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in ſymbolo continentur; ſolam Romanam Eccleſiam blaſphemant, & oderunt:* That is, This Sect of *Leoniſts* hath a great ſhew of holineſs, in that both they live juſtly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; only they do blaſpheme the *Romiſh* Church, and hate it, *&c.*

Now to touch ſomewhat their Perſecutions: After they were driven out of *Lions*, they were ſcattered into divers and ſundry places (the Providence of God ſo diſpoſing) that the ſound of their Doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I ſaid, went to *Bohemia*, many did flee into their Provinces of *France*, ſome into *Lombardy*, others into other places, &c. But as the Croſs commonly followeth the verity and ſincere preaching of Gods Word, ſo neither could theſe be ſuffered to live in reſt. There are yet to be ſeen the conſultations of Lawyers, Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *France*, as *Narbonenſis*, *Arelatenſis*, *Aquenſis*, and *Albanenſis*, deviſed amongſt themſelves, which yet remain in writing, for the aboliſhing and extirping of theſe *Waldenſes*, written above three hundred years ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in *France*.

The Croſs commonly followeth the Word.

*Waldenſes* perſecuted more than 300 years ago by Antichriſt.

Beſides, there was a whole Council kept in *Tholouſe* about three hundred fifty and five years before, and all againſt theſe *Waldenſes*, the which alſo were condemned in another Council at *Rome* before that.

What great Perſecutions were raiſed up againſt them in *France* by theſe four Archbiſhops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings; whereof I will recite ſome of their words, which towards the end be theſe: *Quis enim eſt iſtius ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorum Waldenſium ignoret a longe retro annis factam, tam famoſam, tam publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expenſis & ſudoribus fidelium inſecutam, & tot mortibus ipſorum infidelium ſolenniter damnatorum, publiceque punitorum tam fortiter ſigillatum?* &c. That is, Who is ſuch a ſtranger that knoweth not the condemnation of *Waldenſes* the Hereticks done and paſt ſo many years ago, ſo famous, ſo publick, followed upon with ſo great labours, expences, and travel of the faithful, and ſealed with ſo many deaths of theſe Infidels, ſo ſolemnly being condemned and openly puniſhed? Whereby we may ſee Perſecution to be no new thing in the Church of Chriſt, when Antichriſt ſo long before (even 300 years) began to rage againſt theſe *Waldenſes*. In *Bohemia* likewiſe after that, the ſame called by the name of *Thaborits* (as *Sylvius* recordeth) ſuffered no little trouble. But never Perſecution was ſtirred up againſt them, or any other people more terrible than was in theſe later years in *France* by the *French* King, in the year of our Lord 1545, which lamentable Story is deſcribed in *Sleidan*, and hereafter in the proceſs of this Book, as we come to the order of years, ſhall be ſet forth (by the Grace of Chriſt) more at large. In the which Perſecution is declared in one Town *Cabriera* to be ſlain by the Captain of *Sathan Sinorius*, 800 perſons at once, without reſpect of Women or Children of any age; of whom forty Women, and moſt of them great with child, thruſt into a Barn, and the Windows kept with Pikes, and ſo fire ſet to them, were all conſumed. Beſides, in a Cave not far from the Town *Muſſium*, to the number of five and twenty perſons, with ſmoke and fire were the ſame time deſtroyed. At *Merindolum* the ſame Tyrant (ſeeing all the reſt were fled away) finding one young man, cauſed him to be tyed to an Olive-tree, and to be deſtroyed with torments moſt cruelly; with much other Perſecution, as ſhall appear hereafter in the Hiſtory tranſlated out of *Sleidan* into *Engliſh*.

Antichriſt with whom he firſt began his perſecution.

An horrible murther of Chriſts holy Martyrs.

*Minerius* an horrible Perſecutor.

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digreſſed. Beſides that *Reinerius* above mentioned, ſpeaketh of one in the Town of *Chiron*, a Glover which was brought in this time to examination, and ſuffered. There is alſo an old Monument of Proceſs, wherein appeareth 443 to be brought to examination in *Pomerania*, *Marchia*, and places thereabouts, about the year of our Lord 1391.

A Glover ſuffered Martyrdom in *Chiron*.

443 brought to Examination.

And thus much touching the Origine, Doctrine, and the lamentable Perſecutions of the *Waldenſes*, who as is declared, firſt began about the time of this King *Henry* the Second of that name.

## *Other Incidences happening in the Reign of this* Henry *the Second.*

Incidences in the reign of K. *Henry* the Second.

COncerning the firſt Origine of the *Waldenſes*, ſpringing in the days of this King, is ſufficiently hitherto declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time to ſtory alſo ſuch other Incidences as chanced under the Reign of the ſaid King, not unworthy to be obſerved, keeping the order of the time ſo near as we may, and as Authors do give unto us.

*Mary* the Daughter of King *Stephen*, being the Abbeſs of *Ramſey*, was married in this Kings days to *Matthew* Earl of *Bullen*; which marriage *Thomas Becket* did work againſt, and did diſſolve, by reaſon whereof he procured himſelf great diſpleaſure with the ſaid Earl, *&c.* An. 1161. *Ex Chronico Bibliothecæ Carienſis.*

Becket a diſſolver of Marriages.

The ſame year a certain Child was Crucified of the *Jews* in the Town of *Glouceſter*, *An.* 1161. *Fornalenſ.* After the ſame manner the wicked *Jews* had Crucified another Child before in the City of *Norwich*, in the days of King *Stephen*, in the year of our Lord 1145.

Two Children Crucified by the *Jews*.

A Collection was gathered through all *England* and *France*, two pence of every pound, for the ſuccour of the Eaſt Chriſtians againſt the *Turks*, in the year of our Lord 1167. *Ex eodem.*

*Babylon* was taken and deſtroyed, and never ſince repaired, by *Almaricus* King of *Hieruſalem*, Ann. 1170. *Ex vetuſto Manuſcripto exemplari Hiſtoriæ Carienſis.*

*Babylon* utterly deſtroyed.

In the year 1173, almoſt all *England* was diſeaſed with the Cough, *Ex vetuſto Chron. Acephalo.* About which year alſo *William* King of *Scots* was taken in battel and impriſoned in *England*.

Great War happened in *Paleſtina*, wherein the City of *Jeruſalem*, with the Croſs and King of the City, and others of the Temple, was taken of the *Saracens*, and moſt part of the Chriſtians there either ſlain or taken. Cruel murther and ſlaugher there was uſed by the *Turk*, who cauſed all the chief of the *Chriſtians* to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. Inſomuch that Pope *Urbanus* the Third for ſorrow died, and *Gregory* the Eighth, next Pope after him, lived not two months. Then in the days of Pope *Clement* the Third, news and ſorrow growing daily for the loſs of *Paleſtina*, and deſtruction of the Chriſtians; King *Henry* of *England*, and *Philip* the *French* King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Campania*, with divers other Chriſtian Princes with a general conſent upon St. *Georges* day, took the mark of the Croſs upon them, promiſing together to take their voyage into the Holy Land. At which time the Stories ſay, the King of *England* received firſt the Red Croſs, the *French* King took the White Croſs, the Earl of *Flanders* took the Green Croſs; and ſo likewiſe other Princes diverſly divers Colours, thereby to be diſcerned every one by his proper Croſs. But King *Henry* (after the three years were expired, in which he promiſed to perform his voyage) ſent to the Pope for further delay of his promiſe, offering for the ſame to erect three Monaſteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the Church of *Waltham* he thruſt out the Secular Prieſts, and ſet in Monks for them. Secondly, he repaired again and brought in the Nuns of *Amesbury*, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promiſe made before to the Pope, *Anno* 1173.

The holy Croſs taken with the City of *Jeruſalem*, by the *Saracens*. Perſecution of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians.

A voyage againſt the *Turks*.

How the difference of the Croſſes firſt came in among Chriſtian Princes.

The Kings Promiſes fulfilled to the Pope.

The King of *Scots* doing Homage to the K. of *England*. The Church of *Scotland* ordered by the Church of *York*.

The King of *Scots* did his Homage and Allegiance to the King of *England* and to his Son, and to his chief Lords; promiſing that all the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* ſhould do the like with their poſterity. *Item*, All the Biſhops and Abbots of the Church of *Scotland* promiſed ſubjection and ſubmiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *York*, in the year of our Lord, 1175. *Nicol. Trivet.*

The cuſtom was in this Realm, that if any had killed any Clerk or Prieſt, he was not to be puniſhed with the temporal ſword, but only excommunicated and ſent to *Rome* for the Popes grace and abſolution. Which cuſtom in the

Murtherers could not be puniſhed by the Popes Decrees.

days

days of this King, began firſt to be altered by the procurement of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year of our Lord 1176. *Trivet.*

*London*-Bridg firſt began to be made of ſtone by one *Peter*, Prieſt of *Colechurch*, in the year 1176. *Ex Chron. cujus initium : in diebus ſanctiſſimi regis Edowardi, &c. Ex Biblioth. Carienſi.*

St. *William* of *Paris* was ſlain of the *Jews* on *Maundy-Thurſday*, wherefore the *Jews* were burned, and he counted a Saint, *Anno* 1177.

*Ireland* ſubdued to the Crown of *England* by this King, *Anno* 1177. *Ex variis Chron.*

Under the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry*, about the five and twentieth year of his Reign, *Ludovicus* the *French* King, by the Viſion of *Thomas Becket* appearing unto him in his dream, and promiſing to him the recovery of his Son, if he would reſort unto him at *Canterbury*, made his journey into *England* to viſit St. *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, with *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*; where he offered a rich Cup of Gold, with other precious Jewels, and one hundred veſſels of wine yearly to be given to the Covent of the Church of *Canterbury*; notwithſtanding the ſaid *Philip* in his return from *England*, taking his journey to *Paris* to viſit St. *Dennis*, in the ſame his Pilgrimage was ſtricken with ſuch cold, that he fell into a Palſie, and was benummed of the right ſide of his body, *Anno* 1178, *Fornalenſis, & alii.*

*Stephanus Epiſcopus Redomonſis* was wont to make many Rimes and gaudiſh Proſe to delight the ears of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verſe was ſounded in his ear, *Deſine ludere temere, nitere propere fugere de pulvere :* Ann. 1178. *Ni. Trivet.*

*Albingenſes* denied Tranſubſtantiation in the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood, about the City of *Tholouſe*; alſo that Matrimony was not a Sacrament, *&c.* in the year of our Lord, 1178. *Ibidem.*

King *Henry* ſeparated himſelf from his Wife *Elenor*, and held her many years in priſon, as ſome think, for the love of *Roſamond*. Which ſeemeth to me to be the cauſe why God afterward ſtirred all his Sons up to war againſt him, and to work him much ſorrow, in the year 1179. *Nic. Trivet.* Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Elenor* was ſhortly after reconciled to him.

St. *Frideſwide* was tranſlated unto *Oxford* in the year 1179.

In the year 1180, there came to the Council of Pope *Alexander* one *Piſanus Burgundio*, a man very cunning both in *Greek* and *Latin*, which brought and preſented to the Council the Homilies of *Chryſoſtom* upon the Goſpel of St. *John*, tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, and ſaid that he tranſlated likewiſe a great part of his Expoſition upon *Geneſis*; ſaying moreover, that the ſaid *Chryſoſtom* had made Expoſitions in *Greek* upon the whole Old Teſtament, and alſo the new in the year 1180.

The Monks of *Charterhouſe* firſt entred into this land, in the year 1180.

In the year 1181, *Richard Pech* Biſhop of *Coventry*, before his death renounced his Biſhoprick, and became a Canon in the Church of St. *Thomas* by *Stafford*, *Ex Chronico pervetuſto, cui initium, in diebus ſanctiſ. regis*, &c.

About the later time of this King *Henry*, one *Hugo*, whom men were wont to call St. *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, born in *Burgundy*, and Prior of the Monks of *Charterhouſe*, was preferred by the King to the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln*, who after his death is ſaid to do great Miracles, and therefore was counted a Saint, *Anno* 1186. *Flores. Hiſt.*

*Baldwinus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, began the building of his new houſe and Church of *Lambeth*; but by the Letters of *Clement* the Third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof. *An.* 1187. *Trivet.*

I do find likewiſe in the foreſaid written Chronicle remaining in the hands of one *William Carie* Citizen of *London*, that this forenamed King *Henry* the Second, gave to the Court and Church of *Rome* for the death of *Thomas Becket*, forty thouſand Marks of Silver, and five thouſand Marks of Gold, in the year of our Lord 1187.

Mention was made a little above of *Almarick* King of *Jeruſalem*, which deſtroyed *Babylon*, ſo that it was never after to this day reſtored, but lyeth waſt and deſolate; wherein was fulfilled that which in the Prophets in ſo many places was threatned to *Babylon* before. This *Almarick* had a Son named *Baldwin*, and a Daughter called *Sybilla*. *Baldwin* from the beginning of his reign was a Leper, and had the Falling-ſickneſs, being not able for feebleneſs of body (although valiant in heart and ſtomack) to ſatisfie that function.

*Sibylla* his ſiſter was firſt married to one *Willermus*, Marqueſs of *Mount Ferrat*, by whom ſhe had a Son called alſo *Baldwinus*. After him ſhe was married to another Husband named *Guido de Liziniaco* Earl of *Joppe*, and of *Aſcalon*. Upon this it befell that the foreſaid *Baldwin* the Leper, ſon of *Almaricus*, being thus feeble and infirm, as is ſaid, called his Nobles together, with his Mother and the Patriarck, declaring to them his inability, and by the conſents of them committed the Under-government of the City unto *Guido* the Husband of *Sibylla* his ſiſter. But he being found inſufficient, or elſe not lucky in the Government thereof, the Office was tranſlated to another named *Raimundus* Earl of *Tripolis*. In the mean time the Soldan with his *Saracens* mightily prevailed againſt the Chriſtians, and over-ran the Country of *Paleſtina*; in which mean time, *Baldwin* the King departed. Whereby the Kingdom fell next to *Baldwinus*, the Son of *Sibylla* by her firſt Husband *Willermus*; the which *Baldwinus*, being but five years old, was put to the cuſtody of *Raimundus* aforeſaid. Who alſo in his Minority, before he came to his Crown died, whereby the next Succeſſion by deſcent fell to *Sibylla* the wife of *Guido* above mentioned. The Peers and Nobles joyning together in Council, offered unto the ſaid *Sibylla* as to the lawfull heir to the Crown, that ſhe ſhould be their Queen, with this condition, that ſhe ſhould ſequeſter from her by ſolemn divorcement the foreſaid her Husband *Guido* her Husband; but ſhe refuſed the Kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at laſt the Magiſtrates with the Nobles in general, granted unto her, and by the Oaths confirmed the ſame, that whomſoever ſhe would chuſe to be her Husband, all they would take and obey as their King. Alſo *Guido* her Husband with like petition among the reſt, humbly requeſted her that the Kingdom for his ſake, or for his private loſs, might not be deſtitute of Government. At length ſhe with tears conſenting to their intreaty, was contented, and ſolemnly was Crowned their Queen, who after the manner again received their fidelity by their Oath. Whereupon *Guido* without all hope both of Wife and Kingdom, departed home quietly to his own. This done, the Queen aſſembling her States and Prelates together, enterd talk with them about the chuſing of the King, according to that which they had promiſed, and ſworn unto her, and to obey him as their King, whom ſhe would name to be her Husband. Thus whileſt they were all in great expectation, waiting every man whom ſhe would nominate, the Queen with a loud voice ſaid to *Guido* that ſtood amongſt them : *Guido* my Lord, I chuſe thee for my Husband, and yielding my ſelf and my Kingdom unto you, openly I proteſt you to be the King. At theſe words all the Aſſembly being amazed, wondred that one ſimple woman ſo wiſely had beguiled ſo many wiſe men. And worthy was ſhe no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her ſingular vertue, both of faithful chaſtity and high prudence : ſo tempering the matter, that both ſhe obtained to her Husband the Kingdom, and retained to her ſelf again her Husband, whom ſhe ſo faithfully loved. *Anno* 1186. *Ex Hiſtoria manuſcripta, cui initium, Rex Pictorum ; ex Bibliotheca Carienſi mutuata.*

As I have hitherto deſcribed the publick Acts of King *Henry*, ſo now I mean to touch ſomething of his private conditions. He was of mean ſtature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in Chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of War, more lamenting the death of his Souldiers dead, than loving them alive; none more courteous and liberal for the obtaining of his purpoſe; in peace and tranquillity none more rough; ſtubborn againſt the ſtubborn, ſometimes merciful to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed, ſtrict to his houſhold-ſervants, but liberal to ſtrangers; publickly of publick things liberal, ſparing of his own; whom once he took a diſpleaſure againſt, hardly or never would he receive again to favour; ſomewhat laviſh of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promiſe, a lover of his eaſe, but an oppreſſor of his Nobility, a ſevere revenger and furtherer of juſtice, variable of word, and crafty in his talk, an open adulterer, a nouriſher of diſcord amongſt his children; more-

OVER

*London*-Bridg of ſtone.

St. *William* of *Paris.*

*Ireland* ſubdued to *England.*

Pilgrimage to *Canterbury* ſprang by a lying Viſion.

A juſt reward for an Idolatrous Voyage.

Tranſubſtantiation gainſaid.

Qu. *Elenor* impriſoned.

Expoſitions made by *Chryſoſtom* both of the Old and New Teſtament.

The *Charterhouſe* Monks.

The Biſhop of *Coventry* voluntarily renounceth his Biſho-prick.

St. *Hugh* of *Lincoln.*

*Lambeth* firſt begun to be built.

K. *Henries* gift to the Church of *Rome* for the death of *Becket.*

A worthy Story of *Sibylla* and *Guido* in *Jeruſalem.*

A worthy Example of a true Wife to her Husband.

A worthy Example in *Guido* of a true ſubject to the Commonwealth.

A ſingular Example of Prudence in a Princeſs, and fidelity in a Wife.

over the *Papiſts* bearing him (for *Thomas Beckets* quarrel, and ſuch like, as may be gathered) no good will, term him to be an adverſary of the Faith, the Mall and Beetle of the Church.

Alſo in the Chronicle intituled *Scala mundi*, I find of him, that he followed the ſteps, manners and conditions of *Henry* the firſt his Grandfather, in every point. He preſerved firm peace, and executed ſtrict juſtice through all his Dominions. He loved marvelous well his Foreſts; and again, thoſe that were tranſgreſſors either to his Crown or Perſon, he moſt ſeverely puniſhed.

Moreover, in a certain Hiſtory intituled *De Regibus Angliæ*, I find that this King was ſundry times admoniſhed to reform and amend his life, and firſt by one that was an old man in the Caſtle of *Cardif* in *Wales*, at that time of the year called *Dominica in albis*, the 8th day after *Eaſter*; where alſo after that he heard Maſs, and was going to take his Horſe, there ſtood a certain man by him, ſomewhat yellowiſh (his hair being rounded, lean and ill favoured) having on a white Coat, and being bare-foot, who looked upon the King, and ſpake on this wiſe, *Good old King*, (that done, thus he proceedeth) *the King ſaluteth you and his bleſſed Mother*, John Baptiſt *and* Peter *ſtraitly charge you, that upon the Sundays throughout all your Dominions, there be no buying and ſelling, or other ſervile buſineſs (thoſe only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink) which thing if thou ſhalt obſerve, whatſoever thou takeſt in hand, thou ſhalt happily finiſh and bring to paſs.* Then ſpake the King in *French* unto the Knight that held his Horſe by the Bridle: *Ask of this Churl whether he dream'd this or not.* And in the mean while that the Knight ſhould have interpreted the Kings words and meſſage, he ſpake before and ſaid, *Whether this be a Dream or not, mark well what day this is; for unleſs that thou do theſe things and amend thy life, ſuch news ſhalt thou hear within theſe twelve months, that will make thee lament and mourn till thy dying day.* And when theſe words were ſpoken, the man vaniſhed out of his ſight; and within one year next after, *Henry*, *Gaufrid*, and *Richard* his Sons, forſook him their Father, and took part with the *French* King. The King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Cheſter*, and Earl of *Leiceſter*, made an inſurrection againſt the King. Many other premonitions were given alſo to the King, but all theſe did he little eſteem. The ſecond, which did admoniſh him, was a certain *Iriſhman*, giving him certain ſecret ſigns. And thirdly, a certain Knight of *Findeſey*, named *Philip de Eaſterby*, ſaying with him over into *France*, declared unto the King in *Normandy* ſeven Articles which he ſhould amend. Which thing if he would do, he ſhould Reign ſeven years moſt honourably, and ſhould take the holy Croſs from his enemies; or elſe he, in the fourth year, ſhould die in a great ignominy. The three firſt things were theſe, which he at his Coronation ſware to obſerve, that is, to defend the Church, to maintain good Laws, and to condemn no man to death without judgment. The fourth was for the reſtoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was in doing juſtice without reward; the ſixth, was of Miniſters and Officers Wages and Stipends; the ſeventh was of expelling the *Jews*, leaving them ſome mony to depart withal. But the King not amending his life, there roſe up againſt him three ſtrong enemies, that is to ſay, his three Sons with the *French* King. But, after that the King forſooth had gone on Pilgrimage to the Martyrs Tomb barefoot, *William* King of *Scots*, and the Earls of *Cheſter* and *Leiceſter* were taken at *Alnewike*.

In the five and thirty year of his Regn, being in the Caſtle of *Chiven* in *Normandy*, he died; at whoſe death thoſe that were preſent, were ſo greedy of the ſpoil, that they left the body of the King naked, and not ſo much could be found as a Cloth to cover it, till that a Page coming in, and ſeeing the King ſo ignominiouſly to lie, threw his Cloak upon his nether parts; wherein, ſaith the Author, was verified the ſirname which from his youth he bare, being called *Henry Curt Mantil.*

The K. admoniſhed to amend his life.

Sunday to be free from buying and ſelling.

The ſecond and third admonition unto the K. to reform his life.

The Kings victory was falſly imputed to the cauſe of his Pilgrimage.

The death of K. Henry the 2d.

## *King* RICHARD.

Anno 1189. K. Richard crowned.

IN this year of our Lord above recited, which was 1189. King *Richard* the eldeſt Son of *Henry* the Second, ſucceeding his Father, entred his Crown; at which time Pope *Clement* ſate at *Rome*, ſucceeding after *Gregory*, which died a little before with ſorrow for the loſs of the Holy-Croſs.

During the time of whoſe Coronation it befell, that notwithſtanding the King, the day before his Coronation, by publick Edict commanded both the *Jews* and their Wives, not to preſume either to enter the Church, or elſe his Palace, during the ſolemnization of his Coronation, amongſt his Nobles and Barons, yet (whileſt the King was at Dinner) the Chieftain of the *Jews*, with divers other of his *Jewiſh* affinity and ſuperſtitious Sect, againſt the King his prohibition, together with other preſs, entred the Court Gates. Whereat a Chriſtian man being offended, ſtruck one of them with his hand or fiſt, and bade him ſtand further from the Court Gate, as the King had given in commandment; whoſe example others alſo following, being diſpleaſed againſt the *Jews*, offered them the like contumely. Others alſo, ſuppoſing that the King had ſo commanded indeed, as uſing the authority of the King, fell upon all the *Jews* that ſtood by without the Court Gate. And firſt they beat them with their fiſts, but afterwards they took up ſtones and ſuch other things as they could get, and threw at them from the Court Gates, ſome of them they wounded, ſome they ſlew, and ſome they left for dead.

The Kings reſtraint, that no *Jew* ſhould enter the Palace nor Church, during his Coronation.

There was amongſt this number of the *Jews*, one which was called *the bleſſed Jew of York*, which was ſo ſore wounded and beaten with the reſt, that, for fear of his life, he ſaid, he would become a Chriſtian, and was indeed of *William* the Prior of the Church of St. *Mary* of *York* baptiſed; whereby he eſcaped the peril of death he was in, and the perſecutors hands. In the mean while, there was a great rumor ſpread throughout all the City of *London*, that the King had commanded to deſtroy all the *Jews*. Whereupon as well the Citizens, as innumerable people more, being aſſembled to ſee the Kings Coronation, armed themſelves and came together. The *Jews* thus being for the moſt part ſlain, the reſt fled into their houſes, where for a time, through the ſtrong and ſure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houſes were ſet on fire, and they deſtroyed therein.

A Jew through fear was baptiſed.

The *Jews* in *London* ſlain, and their houſes ſet on fire.

Theſe things being declared to the King, whilſt he with his Nobles and Barons were at Dinner, he ſendeth immediately *Ranulfe de Glanvile*, the Lord High Steward of *England*, with divers other Noblemen to accompany him, that they might ſtay and reſrain theſe ſo bold enterpriſes of the *Londoners*, but all was in vain: for in this ſo great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the Nobility ſaid, or elſe any whit reverenced their perſonages, but rather with ſtern looks and threatning words adviſed them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation, thinking it the beſt ſo to do, departed; the tumult and inſurrection continuing till the next day. At which time alſo the King, ſending certain of his Officers into the City, gave them in commandment to apprehend and preſent ſome ſuch as were the chiefeſt of the malefactors: of the which, three were condemned to be hanged, and ſo were; the one, for that he had robbed a Chriſtians houſe in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the Houſes, to the great danger of the City. After this, the King ſent for him, that from a *Jew* was converted to Chriſtianity, and in the preſence of thoſe that ſaw where he was baptiſed, the King asked him whether he was become a Chriſtian or not? He anſwering the King, ſaid, *No, but to the intent he might eſcape death, he promiſed to do whatſoever the Chriſtians would have him.* Then the King asked the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (other Archbiſhops and Biſhops being preſent) what were beſt to be done with him? Who unadviſedly anſwering, ſaid; *If he will not be a Man of God, let him be a Man of the Devil:* and ſo revolted he again to *Judaiſm.*

The ſmall regard of Nobility had in tumults and inſurrections.

A new Chriſtian revolteth to an old *Jew.*

An unadviſed anſwer of an Archbiſhop.

Then the King ſent his Writs to the Sheriffs of every County, to inquire for the authors and ſtirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, divers were impriſoned. So great was then the hatred of *Engliſhmen* againſt the *Jews*, that as ſoon as they began to be repulſed in the Court, the *Londoners* taking example thereof, fell upon them, ſet their Houſes on fire, and ſpoiled their goods. The Country again, following the example of the

*Londoners*, ſemblably did the like. And thus the year, which the *Jews* took to be their *Jubile*, was to them a year of confuſion; inſomuch, as in the City of *York*, the *Jews* obtaining the occupying of a certain Caſtle for their preſervation, and afterward, not willing to reſtore it unto the Chriſtians again, when they ſaw no other remedy, but by force to be vanquiſhed, firſt they offered much Mony for their lives; when that would not be taken, by the counſel of an old *Jew* amongſt them, every one with a ſharp Razor, cut anothers Throat, whereby a thouſand and five hundred of them were at that preſent deſtroyed. Neither was this Plague of theirs undeſerved; for every year commonly their cuſtom was, to get ſome Chriſtian mans child from the Parents, and on *Goodfriday* to crucifie him in deſpite of our Religion. *Ex Chron. Weſtm.*

*Ex Chron. Weſtm. cui initium, Enea cum Aſcanio*, &c.

A miſerable and deſerved deſtruction of the *Jews*.

{Anno 1189.} King *Richard*, after the death of his Father, coming unto remembrance of himſelf, and of his Rebellion againſt his Father, ſought for abſolution of his treſpaſs, and, in part of ſatisfaction for the ſame, agreed with *Philip* the *French* King, about *Eaſter* next enſuing, to take his Voyage with him for the recovery of Chriſts Patrimony, which they called the Holy Land. Whereupon the ſaid King *Richard* immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himſelf the better towards his journey, ſet to ſale divers of his Manors, whereof *Godfrey Lucy* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, bought a couple for two thouſand Marks; to wit, *Wergrave* and *Melenge*. The Abbot of *Bury* bought another for a thouſand Marks, called *Middleſay*. *Hugh Puſaz* Biſhop of *Durham* bought the Lordſhip of *Seggesfield*, or *Sedberga* with the Wapentake, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging; he bought alſo the Earldom of *Northumberland*, whom when the King ſhould ſolemnize after the manner of Secular Earls, merrily with a mocking jeſt *Lo* (ſaid he) *of an old Biſhop I have made a young Earl.* And becauſe the ſaid Biſhop had profeſſed before by a ſolemn Vow, to viſit the Holy-Land, to be releaſed of his Vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great ſum of mony therefore; and moreover, gave to the King a thouſand Marks to remain at home, as the Chief Juſtice of *England*. Over and beſides, the King ſet out all that he had to ſale, Woods, Caſtles, Townſhips, Lordſhips, Earldoms, Baronages, ordaining alſo divers new Biſhops, and not without ſome advantage (as appeared) to his Purſe, feigning moreover, his old Seal to be loſt, that they which had Lands to hold, might be driven to renew their Writings again by the new Seal, whereby great ſubſtance of mony was gained.

{Anno 1189.}

The covetous greedineſs of Biſhops noted in buying great Lordſhips.

Sleights to get Mony.

Above all this, by the commandment of Pope *Clement* the third, a Tenth alſo was exacted of the whole Realm, in ſuch ſort, as the Chriſtians ſhould make to the King 70000 Pounds, the *Jews* 60000. *Ex Gerv. fol.* 134. King *Richard*, after his Coronation, ſent certain Earls and Barons unto *Philip* the *French* King in the time of his Parliament at S. *Denis*, deſiring him to remember his promiſe made for the recovery of Chriſt his holy Patrimony out of the *Saracens* hands. Unto whom he ſent word again in the Month of *December*, certifying him how he had bound himſelf by ſolemn Oath, depoſing upon the Evangeliſts, that he, the next year following, about the time of *Eaſter*, had certainly prefixed to addreſs himſelf towards that journey; requiring him likewiſe not to fail but to be ready at the term above limited, appointing alſo the place where both the Kings ſhould meet together.

A tenth gathered through all *England*.

K. *Philip* and K. *Richard* concluding to travel to the Holy Land.

The next year then enſued, which was one thouſand one hundred and ninety, in the beginning of which year upon *Twelf-even*, fell a foul northern brawle, which turned well near to a fray, between the Archbiſhop new elected of the Church of *York* and his company on the one ſide, and *Henry* Dean of the ſaid Church with his Catholick partakers on the other ſide, upon occaſion as followeth: *Gaufridus* or *Geoffry*, Son to King *Henry* the ſecond, and Brother to King *Richard*, whom the King had elected a little before to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, upon the Even of *Epiphany*, which we call *Twelf-day*, was diſpoſed to hear Evenſong with all ſolemnity in the Cathedral Church, having with him *Hamon* the Chanter, with divers Canons of the Church. Who tarrying ſomething long, belike in adorning and attiring himſelf, in the mean while *Henry* the Dean, and *Bucardus* the Treaſurer, diſdaining to tarry his coming, with a bold courage, luſtily began their holy Evenſong, with ſinging their Pſalms, ruffling of deſcant, and merry piping of Organs. Thus this Catholick Evenſong with as much devotion begun, as to Gods high ſervice proceeding, was now almoſt half compleat, when as at length (they being in the midſt of their mirth) cometh in the new elect with his Train and Gardevians, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durſt be ſo bold, not waiting for him, to begin Gods ſervice, and ſo eſtſoons commanded the Quire to ſtay and hold their peace. The Chanter likewiſe, by vertue of his office, commandeth the ſame. But the Dean and Treaſurer on the other ſide, willed them to proceed; and ſo they ſung on, and would not ſtint. Thus the one half crying againſt the other, the whole Quire was in a rore, their ſinging was turned to ſcolding, their chanting to chiding; and, if inſtead of the Organs they had had a Drum, I doubt they would have ſole-faed by the ears together.

{Anno 1190.} A Northern bravel in the Cathedral Church of *York*, betweene the new Archbiſhop and the Dean.

*Henry* Dean of *York*, and *Bucard* begin Service, not tarrying for their Archbiſhop.

The Dean and Treaſurer would not ceaſe Evenſong at the Archbiſhops command.

At laſt, through the authority of the Archbiſhop, and of the Chanter, the Quire began to ſurceaſe and give ſilence. Then the new elect not contented with that had been ſung before, with certain of the Quire began the Evenſong new again. The Treaſurer, upon the ſame, cauſed by vertue of his office, the Candles to be put out: whereby the Evenſong, having no power further to proceed, was ſtopped forthwith. For, like as without the light and beams of the Sun, there is nothing but darkneſs in all the world; even ſo you muſt underſtand the Popes Church can ſee to do nothing without Candle-light, albeit the Sun do ſhine never ſo clear and bright. This being ſo, the Archbiſhop, thus diſappointed on every ſide of his purpoſe, made a grievous plaint, declaring to the Clergy and to the People, what the Dean and Treaſurer had done; and ſo upon the ſame, ſuſpended both them and the Church from all Divine ſervice, till they ſhould make to him due ſatisfaction for their treſpaſs.

The Archbiſhop beginneth Evenſong again being half done before.

The Treaſurer putteth out the candles at Evenſong.

The Popes Church can do nothing without Candle light.

The Dean and Church of *York* ſuſpended by the Archbiſhop from Divine Service.

The next day, which was the day of *Epiphany*, when all the People of the City were aſſembled in the Cathedral Church, as their manner was, namely in ſuch Feaſts, devoutly to hear Divine Service (as they call it) of the Church, there was alſo preſent the Archbiſhop and the Chanter, with the reſidue of the Clergy, looking when the Dean and Treaſurer would come and ſubmit themſelves, making ſatisfaction for their crime. But they, ſtill continuing in their ſtoutneſs, refuſed ſo to do, exclaiming and uttering contemptuous words againſt the Archbiſhop and his partakers. Which when the People heard, they in a great rage would have fallen upon them; but the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer that. The Dean then and his fellows, perceiving the ſtir of the People, for fear, like prety men, were fain to flee, ſome to the Tomb of S. *William* of *York*, ſome ran unto the Deans houſe, and there ſhrowded themſelves, whom the Archbiſhop then accurſed. And ſo for that day the People returned home without any ſervice. *Ex veteri chronico manuſcripto, cui initium, Anno gratiæ milleſimo, &c.*

The ſtoutneſs of the Dean and Treaſurer, in not ſubmitting themſelves to the Archbiſhop.

The people incenſed againſt the Dean of *York* and his Canons.

*Ex Chron. Anonimi, cui initium: Anno gratiæ*

After this, King *Richard*, peparing to ſet all things in an order before his going, committed the whole government of the Realm, principally to *William*, Biſhop of *Ely*, his Chancelor, and to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, whom he ordained to be the Chief Juſtice of all *England* in his abſence, the one to have the cuſtody of the Tower, with the overſight of all other parts of the Land, on this ſide of *Humber*, the other (which was the Biſhop of *Durham*) to have charge upon all other his Dominions beyond *Humber*, ſending moreover unto Pope *Clement*, in the behalf of the foreſaid *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, that he might be made the Popes Legat through all *England* and *Scotland*, which alſo was obtained. Thus the Biſhop being advanced in high authority, to furniſh the King towards his ſetting forth, provideth out of every City in *England* two Palfries, and two Sumpters, and alſo out of every Abby one Palfrey and one Sumpter.

K. *Richard* prepareth towards his journey.

*William* Biſhop of *Ely* the Kings Chancelor, and *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, made chief overſeers of the Realm in the Kings abſence.

*William* Biſhop of *Ely* made the Popes Legate in *England* and *Scotland*.

Theſe things and other thus ſet in a ſtay, the King according to his former appointment, about the time of *Eaſter*, ſailed into *France*, where the *French* King and he conferring together, becauſe they could not make ready at that time of *Eaſter*, concluded to take a longer day, proroguing their Voyage till after *Midſummer*. In which mean time, the King occupying himſelf in redreſſing and

ſtabliſhing

ſtabliſhing ſuch things as further were to be ordered, there determined that *Gaufridus* and *John* his Brethren, ſhould not enter into *England* in three years after his departure; nevertheleſs he releaſed that bond afterward to his Brother *John*. Then he appointed the Captains and Conſtables over his Navy, and ſet Laws to be obſerved in his Journey upon the Seas, but eſpecially his care was to make unity and concord between parties that were at variance, and ſo ſet them together at one. At which time the long contention began alſo to be appeaſed, which ſo many years had continued between *Baldwinus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Monks of *Chriſts*-Church: the diſcourſe whereof, although it be ſomewhat tedious to be ſet forth at large, being enough to make a whole Tragedy; yet to the intent the age now preſent may ſee what great conflicts and diſquietneſs, upon what little trifles, have been ſtirred up, what little peace and unity hath been not only in this Church, but commonly in all other Churches under the Popes Catholick regiment; I thought it not labour ill beſtowed, ſomewhat to interrmeddle in opening to the eyes of the Reader, the conſideration of this matter.

Captains & Conſtables of the Kings Navy pointed.

The long contention betwixt Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Monks of Chriſts-Church.

Archbiſhops of Canterbury commonly were wont to work the Kings of England much ſorrow.

Wherein firſt is to be underſtood, that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, commonly being ſet up by the Pope, eſpecially ſince the time of the Conqueſt, have put the Kings of this Land to much ſorrow and trouble, as appeared by *William Rufus* and *Lanfrank*, and alſo *Anſelm*; by *Henry* the firſt and *Anſelm*; King *Stephen* and *Theobald*; *Henry* the Second and *Becket*, &c. For which the Kings of this Land have uſed the more care and circumſpection, to have ſuch Archbiſhops placed in the See, as either ſhould ſtand with them, or at the leaſt, ſhould not be againſt them.

Kings of *England* ever careful about the chuſing of the Archbiſhop, and wherefore. *Ex Gervaſ. p.* [illegible]

Now to the purpoſe of our matter intended: Firſt, after *Lanfrancus*, who was Archbiſhop twenty years, the See ſtanding vacant five years, ſucceeded *Anſelmus*, and ſat ſeventeen years; after whom the See ſtanding vacant four years, ſucceeded *Rodulphus*, and continued nine years, then followed *William*, who ſat twelve years, and died in the year 1137. after whom came *Theobaldus* in the time of King *Stephen*. This *Theobaldus*, being no great favourer of the Monkiſh Generation, fell out with *Jeremias*, Prior of the Houſe of *Canterbury*, for certain cauſes between them; for which the Archbiſhop, taking ſtomach againſt the Prior, would lay the ſentence of interdiction againſt him. The Prior, ſeeing that, to ſave himſelf, made his appeal to Pope *Innocent*. The Archbiſhop, provoked the more by that, depoſed him from his Priorſhip, and placed one *Walter* in his room. *Jeremias* notwithſtanding, making his complaint and appeal to *Rome*, obtained Letters from the Pope to *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being the Popes Legate; by the vertue whereof, he againſt the heart of the Archbiſhop was reſtored, and *Walter* diſplaced. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid *Jeremy*, not willing there to continue with diſpleaſure of the Archbiſhop, ſhortly after of his own accord, renounced his Priory, and *Walter* again was received in his ſtead. Not long after this followed the General Council at *Rhemes*, in the year 1140. To the which Council, *Theobald*, contrary to the commandment of the King, would needs reſort, to ſhew his obedience to the Pope. Wherefore at his returning home again, the King took ſuch diſpleaſure with him, that within a while after the Archbiſhop was driven to avoid the Realm, and fly into *France*, where he, by cenſure of interdiction, ſuſpended divers Churches and religious Houſes which refuſed to come to the Council; and alſo hearing how the King had ſeized upon all his Goods, he interdicted likewiſe all the Kings Land whatſoever, belonging to the Crown: ſo that the King, in concluſion, was fain to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the year 1148. *Ex Gervaſ.*

Or 15, as ſome reckon

Jeremy the Prior of Canterbury, appealeth to Pope Innocent.

Jeremy the Prior, depoſed by the Archbiſhop.

Jeremy reſtored to his place again, by the Pope.

Concilium Rhemenſ. An. 1140.

After this in the year of our Lord 1151. after the death of *Hugh* Abbot of S. *Auſtins* in *Canterbury*, *Silveſter* was elected by the Covent to be their Abbot in the Reign of King *Stephen*. Which *Silveſter* when he came unto *Theobald* the Archbiſhop to make his profeſſion of ſubjection unto him, and to receive of him Conſecration; the Archbiſhop was contented, ſo that the Abbot would come to *Chriſts*-Church in *Canterbury*, and there make his profeſſion. But to this *Silveſter* in no caſe would grant to take his Conſecration there; but elſe in any other Church, whereſoever the Archbiſhop would, he was contented.

A frivolous ſtrife betwixt Theobald Archbiſhop, and Silveſter Abbot of S. Auſtins, about the place, in what Church the Abbot ſhould take his conſecration.

Whereunto when the Archbiſhop in no wiſe would agree, *Silveſter* making a great Bag of Mony, went to *Rome*, where he obtained of the Pope for mony (for what cannot mony do at *Rome*?) Letters that the Archbiſhop ſhould conſecrate the Abbot in his own Church of S. *Auſten*, and alſo not exact of him any profeſſion of Canonical Subjection. Whereupon the Archbiſhop was compelled againſt his will to come to the Abbots Church, and there at the Popes Commandment to conſecrate him ſimply, and without any further profeſſion to be required.

Silveſter goeth up to Rome.

Then *Walter*, Prior of *Chriſts-Church* in *Canterbury*, ſeeing that, and perceiving how prejudicial and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majeſty of their Church, through counſel of his Brother went thither: and notwithſtanding the Doors were ſtraitly watched and kept; yet by means, he at laſt got in. And as he ſaw the Archbiſhop attired in his *Pontificalibus*, ready to miniſter Conſecration to the Abbot, he ſtepped ſtraight to the Archbiſhop, and eſtſoons appealeth him to *Rome*, for the great injury wrought againſt the Church of *Canterbury*, forbidding him in the name of him to whom he appealed, not to proceed any further. And ſo this holy Conſecration was for the preſent time ſtaid. For the which *Silveſter* with a new Purſe of Mony was fain to travel and trot again to *Rome*, where he complaining of the Archbiſhop, and accuſing him of contempt of the Pope, in not executing the commandment ſent down, obtaineth again new Letters with more effectual charge to the foreſaid Archbiſhop, that he without any profeſſion, ſimply ſhould give to *Silveſter* his Conſecration in his own Church, *Omni occaſione & appellatione remota*, All manner of ſtay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithſtanding. And ſo in concluſion, the Abbot, contrary to whatſoever the Archbiſhop and all the Monks of *Canterbury* could do, was in his own Church made Abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop left not the matter ſo, but within five years after, obtained of Pope *Adrian*, that *Silveſter* ſhould make profeſſion of his obedience to the Archbiſhop, and ſo he did. *Ex Gervaſ.*

The Monks of *Chriſt-Church* ſtrive againſt the Monks of S. *Auſtin* in *Canterbury*, for the honour of their houſe.

*Walter* Prior of *Chriſts Church*, appealeth the Archbiſhop up to *Rome*.

*Silveſter* trudgeth again to *Rome*.

*Silveſter* conſecrated Abbot in his own Church, whether the Archbiſhop would or not.

In few years after this, died King *Stephen*, *Anno* 1154. and after him *Theobald* the Archbiſhop, *Anno* 1159. after he had ſate three and twenty years; after whom through the inſtant procurement of King *Henry* the ſecond, was placed *Thomas Becket*, the Kings Chancellor, *An.* 1162. of whoſe ſturdy rebellion againſt the King, becauſe ſufficient hath been ſaid before, it ſhall not need to make a double labour now about the ſame.

After the death of *Becket*, much ado there was between King *Henry* and *Odo* Prior of *Canterbury*, about the Election of a new Archbiſhop. For the King ſeeing the Realm ſo oftentimes incumbred by thoſe *Popiſh* Archbiſhops, and fearing leſt the Monks of *Canterbury* ſhould elect ſuch another as would follow the ſteps of *Thomas Becket*, moſt humbly with Cap in hand, and courtelie of knee, deſired *Odo* the Prior, that at his requeſt, and for contentation of his mind, ſuch a one might be elected whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certain Biſhop, which was a good ſimple man after the Kings liking) but the Prior diſſemblingly anſwering the King again, *that he neither could nor would, without the conſent of his Covent, give promiſe to any man*: in fine, contrary to the Kings ſo humble requeſt, agreed to the Election of another, which was the Prior of *Dover*, called *Richard*, *Anno Domini* 1173. who continued in that See eleven years.

*Odo* Prior of *Canterbury*.

*Richard* Prior of *Dover*, elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *An.* 1173.

And here was renewed again the like variance between this Archbiſhop, and *Roger* Abbot of the *Auſten* Monks in *Canterbury*, as was before mentioned between *Theobaldus* and *Silveſter*. For when the ſaid *Roger*, after his Election to be Abbot, muſt needs take his Conſecration at the Archbiſhops hand, neither would the Archbiſhop grant it unto him, unleſs he made profeſſion of obedience, according to the ancient cuſtom of his Predeceſſors: then *Roger* conſulting with his Monks, firſt denied ſo to do, but at length was contented, ſo it might not be done in the Archbiſhops Church: but in any other Church where he would, under-writing this clauſe withal, *Salvis utriuſque eccleſiæ privilegiis*, that is, *Saving the priviledges of both Churches*. To this the Archbiſhop ſaid again, firſt, that he ſhould

Another frivolous contention betweene Richard Archbiſhop, and Roger Abbot of the *Auſtins* Monks in *Canterbury*, about profeſſion of obedience.

make his due and Canonical Profeſſion, and that he ſhould not come to him with writing or underwriting, but ſhould ſay in his heart, *Salve ſancta parens*, or *Salve feſta dies*, not *Salvis privilegiis*, or any ſuch like thing. Whereunto when the *Auſten* Monks in no caſe would conſent, nor the Archbiſhop otherwiſe would grant his benediction: *Roger* the Abbot was fain to poſt to *Rome*, and there to bring the Archbiſhop in hatred in the Court of *Rome*, made his Abby Tributary to Pope *Alexander*.

*Roger* Abbot of Saint *Auſtens*, maketh his Houſe Tributary to Pope *Alexander*. 1177.

The Pope well contented with this, not only granteth the Abbot his deſire, but alſo in contumely of the Archbiſhop, dubbeth the Abbot with all ſuch ornaments as to a Prelate appertain; and ſo in the year 1178. ſent home the Abbot triumphantly with his Ring and Miter, and other Enſigns of Victory, with Letters alſo to the Archbiſhop, injoyning him immediately upon the ſight thereof, to conſecrate the Abbot in his own Church, and without making any profeſſion. Although with theſe Letters the Archbiſhop was ſhrewdly preſſed, yet notwithſtanding his ſtout heart would not ſtoop for this; but he laid his Appeal againſt the ſame, and ſo the Conſecration for that time was ſuſpended.

*Roger* the Abbot returneth home with triumph.

Appellation of the Archbiſhop.

Then *Roger*, for his more defence, getting the Kings Letters, travelled up the ſecond time to *Rome*, where grievouſly he complained to Pope *Alexander* of the Archbiſhop. At the ſame time a General Council was ſummoned to be kept at *Lateran*, where *Richard* the foreſaid Archbiſhop was alſo looked for amongſt other Biſhops to be preſent. Who then came as far as *Paris*; but, being there, durſt approach no further, and ſo retired home again. Whereupon the Pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the Abbot with his own Conſecration, and inveſted him with all pomp and glory; howbeit, providing before that the ſaid Conſecration ſhould redound to no prejudice againſt the Liberties of the Mother Church of *Canterbury*, and ſo upon the ſame, wrote to the Archbiſhop his Letters of Certificate, with this addition annexed, *Salvo jure & dignitate Cant. Eccleſiæ*: that is to ſay, *Saving the liberties and dignities of the Church of Canterbury*.

*Concilium Lateranum ſub Alexandro Papa.*

*Roger* Abbot of St. *Auſten*, travelleth up again to *Rome*.

*Roger* Abbot conſecrated at *Rome* by the Pope.

After the Council ended, *Roger* the Abbot returneth home, although with an empty Purſe, yet full of Victory and Triumph. The Archbiſhop, again thinking to work ſome grievance to the *Auſten* Monks, had procured in this mean time Letters from Pope *Alexander* unto the Biſhop of *Durham*, and Abbot of S. *Albans*, that they ſhould cauſe the ſaid *Roger* Abbot of the *Auſten* Monks, to ſhew unto the Archbiſhop all the old priviledges of his Houſe; which indeed, being ſhewed, ſeemed to be raced and new written, with Bulls of Lead, not after the manner nor ſtile of that age, nor pretending any ſuch antiquity as ſhould ſeem to reach from the time of *Auſten*, but rather newly counterfeit.

The Houſe of *Auſten* Monks in *Canterbury* not able to ſhew for them any Deeds or Writings of antiquity.

All this notwithſtanding, the Abbot, bearing him bold upon the Popes favour, ceaſed not ſtill to diſquiet and overcrow the Archbiſhop by all ways he could, in exempting all his Prieſts and Lay-men, belonging to his Juriſdiction, from the Archbiſhops obedience; forbidding alſo that any of his ſhould come to his Chapters or Synods, or fear any Sentence of his Curſe or Excommunication. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, about the month of *November* the ſame year, ſayling over to *Normandy* where the King was, thought to take his journey to the Pope to complain of the Abbot; but being ſtayed by the King, he was not ſuffered to paſs any further, the King labouring what he could, to bring them to agreement. Nevertheleſs the Pope and his *Romans* (ſaith my ſtory) *Aurum & argentum magis quam juſtitiam ſitientes, ſeditiones inter eos & litigia commovebant*: that is, *Caring more for gold and ſilver, than for juſtice, ſtill ſtirred coles of ſedition and debate between them.* Ex Hiſtoria Gervaſii.

*Ex Hiſtor. Gervaſ. Richard* the Archbiſhop, going towards *Rome* to complain of the Abbot, was ſtaid by the King.

A Catholick practice of the *Romiſh* Court, to ſet men together at variance, that they might get their mony.

The next year after this enſuing, which was the year of our Lord 1184, died *Richard* the Archbiſhop aforeſaid, in the eight and thirtieth year of King *Henry* the Second. After whoſe deceaſe much trouble happened about the election of a new Archbiſhop, between the King and Monks of *Canterbury*. And now to enter here into the ſtory of *Baldwin* above mentioned: firſt the King ſent to the Monks, that they ſhould conſider with themſelves about the Election of their Archbiſhop, and to be ready againſt the time that he would ſend for them to the Court. Upon this the Covent, gladly aſſembling together, agreed in themſelves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer; yet naming four more, that if the King would refuſe one, the other yet might ſtand. Now the practice in the Monks was, firſt to keep the Election only in their own hands, as much as they could. And ſecondly, Ever to give the Election either to ſome Prior or Monk of their own houſe, or to ſome Abbot or Biſhop, which ſometimes had been of their company. Whereby as much inconvenience and blind Superſtition was bred in the Church of *England*: ſo the ſame diſliked both the King and the Biſhops not a little.

Trouble in chuſing the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, after the death of *Richard*.

Monks of *Canterbury* ſent for by K. *Henry* the 2d. about chuſing of their Archbiſhop.

Monks of *Canterbury* partial in chuſing their Archbiſhop.

As this paſt on, the King, when he ſaw his time, willed the Monks of *Canterbury* to be cited or ſent for, to underſtand what they had concluded in their Election. Whereupon the Monks ſent up their Prior called *Alanus*, with certain other Monks to *Reading*, where the King then lay, about the month of *Auguſt*. Who at firſt were courteouſly entertained; but after the King had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were ſent home again with cold cheer, the King willing them to pray better, and to adviſe more earneſtly upon the matter amongſt themſelves. *Alanus* the Prior with his fellows, thus departed; who coming home, in concluſion, ſo concluded amongſt themſelves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the King, without the Popes conſent and knowledge. The King underſtanding hereof, ſent his Embaſſadors likewiſe of the Pope, for the fortifying of his cauſe, being in the mean time grievouſly offended with the Prior, ſaying, *that he was proud, and would make Archbiſhops whom he liſted, and would be the ſecond Pope in England*, &c.

Monks of *Canterbury* again ſent for to the K. about their election of *Alanus* Prior of *Canterbury*.

The King offended with the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*.

The ſtubbornneſs of the Monks againſt the King.

Not long after this, as theſe Letters were ſent up to *Rome*, the King ſent for *Alanus* the Prior, and more of the Monks to come to him; whom he intreateth, deſiring them in gentle ſpeech, that they would ſhew ſo much gentleneſs and favour to him being their Lord and King, as becometh his friends and ſubjects to do, as to confer with the Biſhops of the Realm about this matter, and to take ſome better counſel, ſo as might redound to Gods glory, his honour and wealth of the publick State; with other like words to the ſame effect.

The K. ſendeth to *Rome* againſt the Monks.

The King's gentle words to the Monks.

To whom when the Prior had anſwered again, with thanks and due reverence, according to the Kings requeſt, the Biſhops and Monks went to confer together about the matter. And firſt, the Biſhops marvelled why the Monks ſhould exclude them out of the Election, ſeeing they were profeſſed and Suffragans to the ſaid Church of *Canterbury*; *Neither is there any Prince*, quoth the Biſhop of *Bath*, *that will refuſe our counſel. There be ſome counſels*, ſaid the Monks, *whereat you may be called*; *but as touching the doing of this Election, it pertaineth not unto you, further than to publiſh only, and denounce the party whom we have choſen*. The Biſhop of *London* then asked, *if they had already made an Election. No Election*, ſaid the Prior, *as yet, but only we have denominated the perſons. Then have ye proceeded further*, quoth he, *than ye ought, having commandment from the Pope, not to proceed without us*. And with that was brought forth the Popes Letter, commanding that within forty days, the Biſhops of *England*, and the Prior, and Covent of *Canterbury* ſhould elect an able and fit perſon to their Archbiſhop. About the ſcanning of theſe Letters was much ado. The Biſhops ſaid, *they were firſt named, and therefore ought to have moſt intereſt in this Election*. The Monks ſaid again, *That they alſo were not excluded, and required to have a tranſcript of the Letter*, whereof much doubt was made.

Biſhops of *England* claim to have intereſt in the election of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The Popes Letter, commanding the Biſhops of the Realm, with the Prior & Covent, to chuſe the Archbiſhop.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the King, coming between them both, called away the Biſhops from the Monks, ſuppoſing, by ſeparating the one from the other to draw both parties to his ſentence. But that would not be for the Monks, ſtiffly ſtanding to their Liberties, would loſe no preheminence of their Church, ſtill alledging how by the ancient priviledges of the Church of *Canterbury*, the Covent ſhould chuſe their Paſtor and Biſhop, and the Prior was but to publiſh and denounce the perſon. The Biſhops again replied, *That it was their right to appoint their Archbiſhop and Metropolitan, which were Biſhops and Suffragans; and namely, the Biſhop of* London, *alſo being Dean of the ſaid Church of* Canterbury. The King then as Umpire between them, yet favouring rather the ſide of the Biſhops, deſired them to agree together in

The K. ſeparateth the Biſhops from the Monks.

The Monks will loſe no preheminence of their church.

in peace. When that would not prevail, he ſet the Lord Steward, and other Noblemen to intreat the Prior to draw to ſome agreement; at leaſt to be contented with this form of election, which was, that the Biſhop of *London*, or ſome other Biſhops, ſhould declare the Election in theſe words:

The form of election of Archbiſhop, ſet between the Biſhops and Monks of *Canterbury*.

*We Biſhops, and the Prior and Covent of Chriſts Church in* Canterbury, *with the aſſent of our Lord the King, do chuſe ſuch a perſon to be Archbiſhop, &c.* Or elſe thus, that the Prior ſhould pronounce forth the Election in theſe words, ſaying: *The Biſhops of* England, *and I Prior, and the Covent of* Canterbury, *with the aſſent of our Lord and King, do chuſe ſuch a perſon*, &c.

The Biſhops and Monks could not agree about the form of Election.

Upon this, the Prior ſaid he would convent with his Covent. Who with much ado were content to grant to the Kings deſire; but afterward being required to put down the ſame in writing, that they refuſed to do; yet notwithſtanding, relented at laſt to the King. But when the Biſhops made excuſes for the abſence of their fellow Biſhops, ſo the matter for that time ſtaid; and the King, ſending home the Monks again to their houſe in peace, deferred that buſineſs to a further day, which was till the firſt day of *December*; commanding the Prior with his fellows the ſame day not to fail, but to be at *London* about the chuſing of the Archbiſhop.

The election of the Archbiſhop deferred to the Month of *December Anno* 1184.

As the day prefixed came, the Prior with his company were alſo preſent, who giving attendance all that day, and the next day alſo following, ſo were driven off till the third day after. At length the Lord Steward, with other Nobles of the Realm, were ſent unto them from the King to declare, *That whereas the King before had divided the Biſhops from the Monks, that they both might have their Election by themſelves, after the form of a Bill which was put down in writing: Now the mind of the King was, that the Monks, taking another way, ſhould joyn with the Biſhops, and ſo, having the matter in talk together, ſhould proceed joyntly in the Election.*

The Kings meſſage to the Monks.

Againſt this many things were alledged by the Prior and his Mates, complaining much upon the Biſhops, which ſaid, that the Biſhops had ever holden with the Kings, againſt the liberties of their Church and Archbiſhops. As firſt, they ſtood againſt *Anſelm* for King *William*; then againſt *Theobald* for King *Stephen*; after that, againſt *Tho. Becket* for King *Henry*; and after him, did ſupplant the election of *Richard* their Archbiſhop; and now again, went about to practiſe and work againſt this their election preſent, *&c.* At laſt the Prior with his fellows concluding, deſired they might ſpeak with the King himſelf. Who, eſtſoons coming unto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and go talk with the Biſhops about the election; promiſing, that whom they agreed upon, he alſo would grant his aſſent unto the ſame. To whom when the Prior again had objected the writings that before were made: Truth it is (ſaid the King) ſuch writings were made, but I neither may nor will go againſt the council of my Realm; and therefore agree, ſaid he, with my Biſhops and Abbots, and remember that the voice of the People is the voice of God.

The Kings words to the Monks of *Canterbury*.

The Monks of *Canterbury* compell'd againſt their wills to join with the Biſhops, in chuſing the election of the Archbiſhop.

Upon this the Prior with his Monks, ſeeing no other remedy, went to the Biſhops to confer, according to the King his requeſt, about the election; who then were willed by the Biſhops to nominate whom they would, and the Biſhops would likewiſe name theirs. So that when the Prior with his complices, had named three, after their chuſing the Biſhops, ſaid they would nominate but one; and ſo did, which was the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, willing the Prior to go home, and to conſer with his Covent about the ſame. To whom ſhortly after the Biſhops ſent certain Prieſts, to ſignifie to the Covent, that they, according to the Popes Letters, ſhould repair to the Biſhops concerning the election of the Archbiſhop; alſo declared moreover to them, that the perſons whom they had named were good men; but he whom they had to nominate was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and alſo would elect. The Monks, marvelling hereat, ſent two Monks with the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* to the King.

This done, immediately after the return of the Prieſts, the Biſhops cauſed all the Bells of the City to be rung, and *Te Deum* to be ſung for the Archbiſhop new elect. Whereof when the two Monks brought tidings to the Covent at *Canterbury* what was done at *London*, they were all in a marvellous dump. The King hearing this, and perceiving the ſtiffneſs of the Monks, in all haſte ſent meſſengers to *Canterbury* with gentle words, to will the Prior to come to the King, and certifie him of the purpoſe of his Monks. Unto whom the Prior, eſtſoons being come, declareth in the name of the whole Covent, that in no caſe he, nor the Monks would ever while the world ſtood, agree to that Election of the Biſhops; unleſs the King in his own perſon would come to *Canterbury*, and there openly, before the whole Covent, proteſt by his own mouth the foreſaid Election to be nought and void; and ſo, returning to *London* again, openly likewiſe, before the Clergy and People, would repudiate and reject the ſame: and furthermore, that the party alſo elected, ſhould openly in the ſame place proteſt and ſay, that he neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unleſs he entred by the conſent of the Prior and Covent of *Canterbury*; and all this to be done in the ſame place where the Biſhops had made their Election before; and ſo peradventure (ſaid they) at the Kings ſo earneſt ſute and requeſt, they would gratifie his will, and ratifie the ſaid Election with the voices of their conſent. To make the ſtory ſhort, after great hold between the Secular Clergy on the one ſide, and the regular order on the other ſide, and after the Kings indignation againſt the Prior, and the ſwooning of the Prior before the King, at length the King to take up the matter, and to ſave the Priors life, was fain to perform in his own perſon all thoſe conditions above preſcribed by the Monks. *Ex Gervaſ. fol.* 100.

Biſhops of the Realm make their Election of the Archbiſhop, with the Monks of *Canterbury*.

Conditions preſcribed to the King by the Monks of *Canterbury*, for the ratification of the Archbiſhop made by the Biſhops.

*Baldwin* the Biſhop of *Worceſter* elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Anno* 1184.

And thus have ye heard the tragical election of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, named *Baldwin*, made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Now what a troubleſome time the ſaid *Baldwin* had with the Monks in governing the Church of *Canterbury*, here followeth likewiſe not unworthy to be conſidered.

## *The troubles between* Baldwin *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Monks of the ſame Church.*

IN the firſt year the Archbiſhop ſhewed himſelf friendly and loving to the Monks; the next year following he began to appear ſomewhat rough unto them. The manner then was of the houſe of *Chriſts-Church*, toward the time of the Nativity and of *Eaſter*, to receive certain Preſents or Gifts of their Farmers or Tenants, which the Celarer ſhould take and lay up. Thoſe Preſents the Archbiſhop began firſt to intercept from the Monks, and to beſtow them upon his Secular Clerks. After this he took three Churches or Benefices (which the Monks claimed as proper to themſelves) and placed in them three of his Chaplains. After this he incroacheth to his hands, certain Tenements, Revenues and Victuals, belonging before to the Monks (as they ſaid) and committed the cuſtody thereof to certain of his own Clerks and houſhold ſervants.

The great trouble and contention between *Baldwin* Archbiſhop and the Monks of *Canterbury*.

The Monks which had born ſo much with the Archbiſhop before, ſeeing this, could forbear him no longer, but needs would make their appeal againſt him. The Archbiſhop, not much regarding that, waxed thereby the more fierce againſt them, inſomuch that ſuch Farms and Tenements as he before had let alone, now he received to his own occupying, with many other grievances wherewith he greatly vexed the Monks, ſo that three Abbots were fain to come and reconcile the Archbiſhop and the Monks; which reconciliation was this, that the Monks ſhould let fall their appeal, and the Archbiſhop ſhould reſtore again to them their Farms and Tenements. But as touching the Benefices and the Preſents, the Archbiſhop ſtill kept them in his hands for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheleſs, ſome there were of the ancient Monks which in no caſe would give over the foreſaid appeal before the Archbiſhop made a full reſtitution of all together.

The Monks of *Canterbury* appeal to the Pope againſt their Archbiſhop.

Reconciliation between the Archbiſhop and the Monks, which did not hold long.

After this agreement, ſuch as it was between the Monks and him, the Archbiſhop ſoon after ſent up to *Rome* one of his Chaplains (unto whom he had given one of the Benefices afore-mentioned) partly for confirmation of his Benefice, partly alſo to obtain licence for the Archbiſhop to build a Church, which he intended to erect of Secular Prieſts near unto the Town of *Canterbury*. Which being

The Archbiſhop ſendeth to the Pope.

being obtained of the Pope, the Archbiſhop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to war fierce againſt the Monks, not only in taking from them their Churches and Oblations, but alſo in aggravating the whole ſtate of their Houſe, which he intended either to ſubvert, or greatly to diminiſh, to pluck down the pride and ſtubbornneſs of the Monks. Wherefore taking with him certain other Biſhops (whom he knew bare no good will to that Monkiſh generation) he went to the King, declaring how he had a good purpoſe in his mind to erect a new and a ſolemn Church, in the honour of S. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, of ſecular Prieſts or Canons, and therefore deſired of the King to have his favourable licence to the ſame. The King right well perceiving the purpoſe of the Archbiſhop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the ſtiff-necked Monks, was the more willing to give aſſent, if he were not alſo the chief worker of that matter himſelf.

*The Archbiſhop goeth about to pluck down the pride of the Monks of Canterbury.*

*Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* about to build a new Church on the North ſide of *Canterbury*.

The intent of the Archbiſhop in planting of that new Church, was to found there divers Prebends, and to make both the King, and every Biſhop being his Suffragans, Prebendaries thereof, ſo that every one of them ſhould confer one Prebendſhip to the ſame foundation; minding there to conſecrate Biſhops, to make his Chriſmatory, to celebrate his Synods, and to adminiſter all other things belonging unto the function of his See, and the ſame to be called *Hakington* Church. The Monks, not ignorant how the Archbiſhop privily intended the deſolation and ſubverſion of their Houſe and Liberties, conſulting upon the matter, determined at length among themſelves to appeal to the See of *Rome*, namely, for theſe three cauſes againſt the Archbiſhop: Firſt, for ſpoiling them of their Gifts and Oblations: Secondly, for depriving them of their Churches and Benefices: and Thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of ſecular Canons, to the derogation and overthrow of their Religious Order; giving admonition to the Archbiſhop before by their Monks, ſent to him of this their appellation. To whom the Archbiſhop anſwered, that the foundation, which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour of their Houſe. Who anſwered again, that it was, and could not otherwiſe be, but to their ſubverſion. *And what ſhould lett me then* (ſaid the Archbiſhop) *but I may build in my own ground what I will?* No (ſaid they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you have by right are ours, forſomuch as you have them not of your ſelf, but of the Church, and for the Churches cauſe. All which things have been given neither to you, nor to the Archbiſhops, but unto the Church of Chriſt: and therefore (ſaid they) all ſuch as appertain unto us inwardly and outwardly, with the perſons alſo, and the whole ſtate of our Church, we ſubmit under the Popes protection, and now here make our appeal to the See Apoſtolick, aſſigning alſo the term when to proſecute the ſame.

*Hakington* Church.

The Monks of *Canterbury* make their appeal againſt *Baldwin* their Archbiſhop.

Three cauſes alledged againſt the Archbiſhop by the Monks.

*The Monks of Canterbury claim all the goods of the Archbiſhop to be their own.*

*The Monks put themſelves and their houſe in the Popes protection.*

*Appellation againſt the Archbiſhop.*

The Archbiſhop receiving this appellation, and ſaying, that he would anſwer to the ſame either by himſelf, or by his reſponſal, within three days after, which was the ſixteenth of *December*, came to *Canterbury*: where the Monks underſtanding how he was in mind to place new ſecular Prieſts in the Church of St. *Stephen*, where the Monks had ſerved before, came to the Church, to ſtop the proceeding of the Archbiſhop by way of appeal. Whereof the Archbiſhop having warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the Monks, again being ſent by *Honorius* the Prior into the Church, charged the Achbiſhop in the name of Almighty God, and by vertue of their appeal made to the Apoſtolick See, to ſurceaſe thoſe his doings; charging alſo the Parſon of the Church in no wiſe to ſuffer thoſe Secular Clerks to be admitted into the Church. All which yet notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop proceedeth in his buſineſs. And firſt, placing in his Clerks, he ſuſpendeth the Prior from his adminiſtration. Then he adjureth the Porters of the Gate, upon their Oath, to let none of the Monks paſs out of the houſe without his licence. The Monks likewiſe he commanded, by vertue of obedience, not to ſtray any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the foreſaid Monks, which ſerved the Appeal againſt him, he utterly baniſhed from that Covent. Upon this, the day next following, *Honorius* the Prior truſting (ſaith the Story) on God, and S. *Thomas*, took his way to *Rome*, ſent in commiſſion by the Covent, to proſecute the appeal againſt the Archbiſhop.

*Buſineſs between the Monks and the Archbiſhop for placing ſecular clerks in the Church of St. Stephens in Canterbury.*

*The Prior of Canterbury ſuſpended*

In this mean ſeaſon, a new jarr began between the ſaid Archbiſhop and the Monks, about their Rents and Revenues, which the Archbiſhop would have committed to the receiving and keeping of three Monks, but the Sub-prior or *Geffery*, with the Covent, in no caſe would ſuffer that: whereabout there was a foul ſtir. The Archbiſhop, craving the aid of the King, firſt had three Biſhops ſent down to him, of *Coventry*, *Norwich* and *Worceſter*. Who, being inſtant with the Monks to ſubmit their cauſe into the Kings hands, like as the Archbiſhop had done, they utterly refuſed it; eſpecially ſeeing they had already referred the whole ſtate of their cauſe to the determination of the Apoſtolical See. The King ſeeing no other remedy, came himſelf with the Archbiſhop into the Chapter-houſe; where he commanded firſt the doors to be kept faſt, that none ſhould enter but which by name were called for. Amongſt whom were two Biſhops, to wit, of *Norwich* and *Durham*, and one *Petrus Bleſenſis* a learned man (whoſe Epiſtles be yet extant in Libraries) a chief worker in this matter againſt the Monks. Then was called in *Geffry* the Sub-prior, with a few other Monks whom he brought with him. The King then firſt talking with the Archbiſhop and his company, and afterwards with the Monks, laboured to intreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and ſo ſtand to the arbitrement of him and of the Biſhops, concerning the cauſe which was between the Archbiſhop and them in traverſe.

Another garboile between the Monks of *Canterbury* and their Archbiſhop.

The King cometh into the chapter of *Canterbury*.

*Petr. Bleſenſ.* a great doct. againſt the Monks.

The King intreateth peace betweeen the Monks and the Archbiſhop.

To this the Monks anſwered, that theſe were good words, but ſerved not for that time, forſomuch as their cauſe was already tranſlated to the Court of *Rome*, and now was preſently in hearing before the Popes Holineſs, and therefore they could not, ne would do that injury to their Lord Pope, to refuſe him, and to put the matter unto the judgment of any other. Then was it required of the Monks, that they would put the matter in comprimiſe, in caſe the Prior would conſent thereto: upon this intent, that if the Prior conſented, and the Monks not, then ſhould they run in contempt and diſobedience; or if the Monks would conſent, and the Prior not, then ſhould the Prior be excluded the Realm. The wily Monks, being not unprovided of this ſubtilty, made their anſwer, that ſeeing they had ſent their Prior forth in their commiſſion, it ſtood not with their honeſty to give any determinate conſent, without the knowledge, and before the return of the ſaid Prior; unleſs the Archbiſhop firſt would promiſe to make full reſtitution of all that he had wrongfully wreſted from them. When the King could get no other anſwer of the Monks, neither could move the Archbiſhop to releaſe the ſentence of their ſuſpenſion, unleſs they would confeſs and knowledge their fault, he, ſo parting from them, paſſed over into *France*.

The matter from the Pope to the Kings hearing.

The Monks excuſe to the King.

Not long after this came a Meſſenger from *Rome*, bringing Letters from Pope *Urban* to the Archbiſhop, wherein the Pope conſidering and tendering (as he ſaid) the enorme grievances done againſt the Monks, ſtraitly injoyned and commanded him, within ten days after the receiving thereof, to releaſe the ſentence of his ſuſpenſion againſt the Prior and others of the ſaid Covent, and alſo to retract and reſtore again to the Monks whatſoever he plucked from them ſince the time of their appeal firſt made. Who, in caſe he ſhould deny, or foreſlack the doing hereof, commiſſion was given to three Abbots, of *Battel*, of *Feverſham*, and of St. *Auſtins*, with ample authority to perform the ſame, *&c.* The Archbiſhop, receiving theſe Letters brought to him by a Monk of the foreſaid Houſe, firſt made his excuſe that the Pope was miſinformed. But the Monks not contented with that excuſe, when they would needs know what anſwer he would make to the Popes *Nuncio*, his anſwer was, *that he had yet ten days given him of the Pope.* In which mean time the Archbiſhop went to *London*, and there in the Church of St. *Paul* conſecrated his holy Oyl and Cream (making one of the Popes ſeven Sacraments) which was grievouſly taken in the Church of *Canterbury*. At laſt the ten days being ended, when the Archbiſhop refuſed to accompliſh that which was in the Popes Letter injoyned him, the three Abbots aforeſaid, to execute the Popes commandment, came at their day aſſigned to *Canterbury*, and there aſſoiled all ſuch as the Archbiſhop before had ſuſpended, and in the end certified Pope *Urban* by Letters what they had done.

*The firſt Letter of Pope Urban ſent to Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

*The anſwer of the Archbiſhop to the Popes Letter.*

*The Archbiſhop maketh his Oyl and Cream at London.*

*Three Abbots aſſoil the Monks of their ſuſpenſion.*

The

The Archbiſhop appeaſeth up the three Abbots to *Rome*.

The Archbiſhops new Church made of wood.

The Archbiſhop hearing this, within four days after, ſent two of his Clerks, which appealed the three Abbots aforeſaid up to *Rome*; and he himſelf in the mean time prepared buſily for the building up of his Church, ſending to all Churches in *England* upon releaſement of their ſins, to confer unto the ſame; and to make the more haſt, for lack of Free-ſtone he made up his building with Timber, and ſuch other ſtuff as he could get.

A Letter of Pope *Urban* againſt the Archbiſhop.

The Prior *Honorius* all this while remained ſtill at the Court of *Rome*, giving attendance upon the Pope; who having intelligence of the Archbiſhops doings, procured another Letter of Pope *Urban* to the whole Clergy of *England*, ſtraitly injoyning them that none ſhould confer to the new Fraternity of *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. To theſe Letters the Archbiſhop ſhewed ſuch reverence, that where before he had planted his Chappel of wood and boards, now he provided the ſame to be builded of Lime and ſtone.

The Archbiſhops meſſengers come to the Popes Court.

By this time *Petrus Bleſenſis*, with other meſſengers of the Archbiſhop, ſeeing *Honorius* the Prior to be gone from the Court of *France*, reſorted to the Court of *Rome*, bringing with them Letters of Credit from the King, from the Archbiſhop, and alſo from other Biſhops of the Realm; but the Pope reading only the Kings Letters, and the Archbiſhops, the reſidue he caſt into a window by, ſaying he would read them at further leiſure. Then the Pope giving audience in his Conſiſtory to hear their cauſe, firſt came in *Petrus Bleſenſis* with the Agents of the Archbiſhop, exhibiting their Letters, and propounding their requeſts to the Pope, which were, that reſtitution ſhould be made by the Monks to the Archbiſhop, wherein they had injured him. *Item*, That the things which had been granted before to the Prior in that Court, might be called in again. Thirdly, That the Archbiſhop might have licenſe to proceed in building his Colledg of Canons, *&c.* After this was called in *M. Pilleus* the Attorny for the Monks of *Canterbury*. Who alledging many great things againſt the Archbiſhop for his contempt and diſobedience to the Popes precepts, required that he ſhould make reſtitution to the Monks for his injuries done to them, and alſo that his new foundation of Secular Canons, tending to the overthrow of the Conventual Church of *Canterbury*, ſhould be utterly raced and thrown down to the ground. Thus between theſe parties pleaing and repleaing one againſt the other, much hard hold there was, but in concluſion for all the Kings Letters, and for all that the Archbiſhop and Biſhops could do, the matter went on the Monks ſide. So that there was no remedy, but the Pope would needs have the Archbiſhops new building come down, and the Monks to be reſtored again to their full poſſeſſions. The execution whereof was committed to the three Abbots aforeſaid, to wit, of *Battel*, of *Feuerſham*, of St. *Auſtins* in *Canterbury*, and to *Geffrey* Subprior of *Canterbury*.

Letters of the King, the Archbiſhop, and of other Biſhops to the Pope.

Attu[illegible] the Popes Court for the Monks of *Canterbury*.

*Petrus Bleſenſis* Agent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Which things being thus determined at *Rome*, then *Radulph Glanvile*, Lord Steward of *England*, writing to the ſaid Abbot of *Battel*, and to the Subprior and Covent of *Canterbury*, commandeth them in the Kings name, and upon their Oath and fealty given unto him, that they nor any of them do proceed in this Controverſie between the Monks and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the Kings pleaſure: and furthermore charging the Covent of *Canterbury* not to enter further in any Examinations as concerning the Archbiſhops matters; and alſo citing the Subprior of the ſaid Houſe, to appear before him at *London*, at the Feaſt of St. *James* the ſame year, which was 1187. Notwithſtanding he excuſing himſelf by ſickneſs, ſent two Monks in his ſtead, and ſo kept himſelf at home. To whom commandment was given, that the Monks of *Canterbury* within fifteen days ſhould ſail over to *Normandy* to the King, and there ſhew the tenor and evidences of their priviledges; and alſo that ſuch Stewards and Bailiffs whom they had placed in their Farms and Lordſhips, contrary to the will of the Archbiſhop, ſhould be removed. And likewiſe the three Abbots in the Kings name were commanded in no wiſe to execute the Popes commandment againſt the Archbiſhop. Not long after this the Archbiſhop took Shipping at *Dover*, and went over to the King, where he ordained three principal Officers over the Monks of Chriſts Church; the Sacriſt, the Cellarer, and the Chamberlain, contrary to the will of the Covent, with other Grievances more, whereby the Monks were not a little offended, ſo that upon the ſame they made a new Appellation to the Pope. Whereupon Pope *Urban* by the ſetting on of *Honorius* the Prior, who was now come again to the Court, wrote to him another Letter after a ſharper and more vehement ſort, to the effect as followeth.

The Pope holdeth on the Monks ſide againſt the King, the Archbiſhop and the Biſhops of the Realm.

The Popes Executers commanded by *R. Glanvile* in the Kings name not to proceed againſt the Archbiſhop.

Another Appellation of the Monks againſt the Archbiſhop.

## The Tenor of Pope *Urban's* Letters to *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*URbanus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Baldwino Cantuar. Archiepiſcopo & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem, &c.*

The Copy of Pope *Urbani* Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*In that we have born with your Brotherhood hitherto, and have not proceeded in ſuch grievous manner againſt you, as we might, although being thereto greatly provoked; the chiefeſt cauſe was this, that we ſuppoſed your heart would have relented from the oppreſſion of the Conventual Church of* Canterbury, *committed unto you; if not for our reverence, which you ſeem to have contemned more than became you, yet at leaſt for fear of Gods judgment. For well we hoped, our conſcience perſwading us to the ſame, that after you had obtained that high ſtate and dignity in the Church of* England, *you would have been an example to others of obedience and reverence to be given to the See Apoſtolick of all Eccleſiaſtical perſons. Wherefore at the firſt beginning both of our and alſo of your promotion, we did not ſpare to advance and honour you as we have done few others beſides, thinking no leſs, but that we had found a faithful friend of the Church, for our honour. Wherein we perceive now (which maketh us not a little to marvel) our expectation greatly deceived. And whom we well truſted to be a ſure ſtay for the maintenance of our eſtate, him now we find a perſecutor againſt us in our members.*

Note how the Popes ſtand all upon their honour.

The Popes expectation deceived in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*For whereas we ſundry times have written to you in the behalf of our Brethren, and the Church committed to your charge, that you ſhould deſiſt from diſquieting them, and not vex or diſturb their liberties, at leaſt for reverence of us: you not only in this, but in other things more (as commonly is reported of you in all places) ſet at light our Letters and Appellations made unto the Apoſtolical See. What you have wrought againſt them after their ſo manifold Appellations laid unto us, and our Inhibitions again unto you, we are aſhamed to utter. But revolve and conſider in your mind, if ye have well done, and adviſe in your own conſcience what you have done. We for our part becauſe we neither may ne ought with deaf ears to paſs over the clamors of the Brethren, and ſuch contempt of the Apoſtolick See; although our biddings and warnings given to you ſeem to be all in vain, yet notwithſtanding we ſend our Mandates again unto your Brotherhood, in theſe Apoſtolical Writings, diſtrictly and in vertue of obedience commanding you, that whether you be preſent in your Church, or abſent; all that notwithſtanding, whatſoever you have done in building of your Chappel (which you to the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of* Canterbury *have erected) after the time of their appeal made to us, or our inhibition ſent to you, you fail not of your proper coſts and charges to demoliſh; undoing again, and making void, whatſoever ye have begun and innovated concerning the inſtitution of the Canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the ſaid Chappel; accounting moreover and reputing the place where the Chappel was, to be accurſed and prophane, and alſo that all ſuch, whoſoever have celebrated in the ſame place, ſhall ſtand ſuſpended till the time they appear before our preſence. Commanding furthermore, that all thoſe Monks whom you have preſumed to remove from their office, or to excommunicate, ſince the time of their appeal made, you reſtore and abſoile again, rendring alſo and reſtoring all ſuch Farms, Manors, Tenements, and Oblations as you, after their appeal made, have inveagled from them; and finally, that you innovate nothing touching the ſtate of that Monaſtery, during the time of this Controverſie depending before us. Giving you*

The Popes expoſtulateth with *Baldwin* for contempt of his See.

The Archbiſhop commanded by the Pope to throw down the building of his new Church, of his own coſts and charges.

The Archbiſhop commanded to reſtore and abſoile the Monks whom he did deprive and excommunicate.

Monks of *Canterbury* commanded to ſhew their priviledges to the King.

Certain Officers put in the houſe of Chriſts Church againſt the Monks will.

The Archbiſhop threatned by the Pope.

*you to underſtand that in caſe you ſhall continue in your ſtubbornneſs and rebellion upon this preſent warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirty days after the receiving thereof, we ſhall appoint others to execute the ſame; injoyning alſo your Suffragans that as you ſhall ſhew your ſelf diſobedient and rebelling to us, ſo they all ſhall refuſe likewiſe to give any obedience or reverence unto you,* &c.

Given at *FERRARIA*,
5 *Non.* Octob.

The Pope writeth to the Abbots, and alſo to the King.

Another Letter beſides this the Pope alſo ſent to the three Abbots aforeſaid for the correction of theſe enormities. Likewiſe another Letter was ſent to King *Henry* the Second, wherein the Pope injoyneth and requireth him, upon remiſſion of his ſins, not to diſſemble and bear with the Archbiſhop in his oppreſſion of his Monks, but to help that thoſe things may be amended, where he hath treſpaſſed againſt them.

Pope *Urban* dieth. *Baldwinus* King of *Jeruſalem*, with many Nobles taken of the *Saracens*, and the City won.

Theſe Pontifical Letters were written *Anno* 1187, the third day of *October*, and in the nineteenth day after, the ſame month, the ſaid Pope *Urban* died. In the which year, and about the which month, *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem* was taken, with many Noblemen of *Soldan* the *Saracen*; and *Jeruſalem* loſt, after that it had been in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, and ſo continued the ſpace of eighty eight years, and eighty days, from the time that *Godfridus Bolonius* did firſt win it from the Infidels.

The King and Archbiſhop glad to agree with the Monks. The Monks got the upper hand over the Archbiſhop.

After the receiving of thoſe Letters of Pope *Urban* above ſpecified, both the King and Archbiſhop, with all the Biſhops of the Realm were marvellouſly quailed, glad now to pleaſe, and ſpeak fair to the Monks, promiſing all things to be done and reſtored to them after the beſt ſort. Neither was the King now and Archbiſhop ſo ſubmiſs, but the Monks on the other ſide were as brag and jocant, being fully aſſured that all now was their own. In the Narration of which Hiſtory (as it is ſet in *Gervaſius* at large) this we have to note by the way, in what fear and thraldom Kings in thoſe days were under the Pope, who could not be Maſters over their own ſubjects, but that every pild Monk, or pelting Prior, upon vertue of their appeal to the Court of *Rome*, and making their houſe Tributary to the Pope, was able not only to match, but to give Checkmate unto the beſt King Chriſtened, as not in this Story only may appear.

The miſerable ſubjection of Kings under the Pope to be noted.

*Calipha* is the High Prieſt of the *Saracens* ſitting in *Damaſcus*, unto whom all the Sultans were ſubject, as our Princes now are to the Pope.

It followeth then in the Story of theſe Monks, that as they were thus in the midſt of their joy and jollity, ſuddenly cometh news of the death of Pope *Urban* their great *Calipha*, and alſo how that *Gregory* the Eighth was placed in his room, who was a ſpecial friend and favourer of the Archbiſhop; which as it did greatly incourage the King and the Archbiſhop, ſo the Monks on the other ſide were as much diſcomforted, ſo that now all was turned upſide down. For whereas the King and the Archbiſhop before thought they had loſt all, and were glad to compound with the Monks, and to ſeek their favour, now were the Monks on the contrary ſide fain to crouch to the King, and glad to have a good countenance; who then reſorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and geſture, deſired he would confirm and grant that which of late before he had promiſed. To whom it was anſwered again by the King, that ſeeing the Archbiſhop had granted to them their Sacriſt, their Chamberlain, and their Cellerar, they ſhould have no more reſtored of him; neither would he ſuffer the Liberties and Priviledges of the Archbiſhop to be impaired, or take any wrong. And touching the new Chappel of St. *Thomas* (ſaid he) whereabout ye ſtrive ſo long, with the Canonſhips and other buildings belonging thereto, the ſame I receive into my hands, ſo that none ſhall have any thing to do therein but my ſelf, *&c.* In like manner of the Archbiſhop ſuch another like anſwer they received, and of Biſhops little better. So the Monks ſent away with a flea in their ear, went home again out of *Normandy* to their Cell.

The Kings anſwer to the Monks of *Canterbury*.

Now the Archbiſhop having the Monks where he would, wrought them much grievance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after, and leſs, died Pope *Gregory* the Eighth, about the ſixteenth day of *December* following. After whom ſucceeded Pope *Clement* the Third, who following the ſteps of *Urban*, bent all his power with the Monks againſt the Archbiſhop, ſending divers Precepts and Mandates in the next year following, which was the year One thouſand one hundred eighty eight, with an imperious Letter, willing and commanding him to deſiſt from his oppreſſion of the Monks, and to throw down his new Chappel. Whereupon the Archbiſhop made his appeal, and minded to go to *Rome*, but was called back of the King, being ready to ſail over. In the which year *Honorius* the Prior died at *Rome* of the Plague, which was ſome help and comfort to the Archbiſhop, for whom the Archbiſhop made *Roger Noris* Prior, againſt the wills of the Covent. After this, about the latter end of the ſame year, Pope *Clement* ſent down his Legate called *Radulphus* a Cardinal, to *Canterbury*, with another Letter more ſharply written to the ſame effect unto the Archbiſhop. *Ex Hiſt. Gervaſ.*

Pope *Clement* the 3.

Pope *Clements* Letters to the Archbiſhop.

*Honorius* the Prior of *Canterbury* died at *Rome*.

The ſecond Letter of Pope *Clement* to the Archbiſhop.

Furthermore, in the year next after, which was One thouſand one hundred eighty nine, he wrote alſo the third Letter to him. In the which year alſo died King *Henry* the Second, after whom ſucceeded King *Richard* his Son, who joyning likewiſe with the Archbiſhop, took his part ſtrongly againſt the ſaid Monks. At laſt, after much ado on both parts, and after great diſturbance, and impriſoning divers of the Monks, King *Richard* preparing his Voyage towards *Jeruſalem*, and ſtudying firſt to ſet peace between them, conſulted and agreed with the Biſhops and Abbots about a final concord in this matter, between the Archbiſhop and Monks of *Canterbury*; which at length on both parts was made, upon theſe Conventions which follow:

K. *Henry* the 2*d* death. K. *Rich.* the firſt joyned with the Archbiſhop.

1. That *Roger Noris* ſhould be depoſed, whom the Archbiſhop had made Prior againſt their wills: whom the King then at the requeſt of the Archbiſhop promoted to be Abbot of *Euſham*.

Agreement between the Archbiſhop and Monks of *Canterbury* upon what conditions.

2. *Item*, That the Archbiſhop ſhould pluck down his Chappel, which he builded in the ſuburbs of *Canterbury*, againſt the minds of the Monks.

3. *Item*, That the foreſaid Monks ſhould make profeſſion of their obedience and ſubjection to the Archbiſhop, as they had done to his other Predeceſſors before him.

4. *Item*, As touching all other complaints and injuries (except only the Chappel, and depoſition of *Roger Noris* the Prior) the Monks ſhould ſtand to the Arbitrement of the King, of the Archbiſhop, and the Prelates.

5. *Item*, That the Monks kneeling down before the King in the Chapter-houſe, ſhould ask the Archbiſhop forgiveneſs. Which being done, they went all together to the Church, and ſang *Te Deum* for this reformation of peace. *Ex veteri Chronico Manuſcripto, & ex Gervaſio.*

*Ex Lib. Anonymo, & ex Hiſt. Gervaſii Monachi Cantuarienſis.*

The next day after the Archbiſhop coming into the Chapter, reſtored to the Covent their Manors and Farms again; alſo he diſcharged the Prior which he had made before; deſiring them likewiſe, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made between the Archbiſhop and the Covent, then the Archbiſhop going about to diſſolve the building of his new Church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therefore making exchange of Lands with the Biſhop and Monks of *Rocheſter*, purchaſed of them their ground in *Lambeth*, Ann. 1191. Which done, he came to his Clerks whom he had placed to be Canons in his new Colledg of *Hakington*, and alſo willed them to remove all their Goods and Furniture to *Lambeth*, over againſt *Weſtminſter*, where he erected for them another Church, and there placed the ſaid Canons. About which Colledg of *Lambeth* afterwards much trouble likewiſe enſued, by the ſtirring of the ſaid Monks of *Canterbury*, in the time of *Hubert* the Archbiſhop in the reign of the ſaid King *Richard*, and in the year of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the depoſing of *Roger Noris* Prior of *Canterbury* aforeſaid, *Baldwin* the Archbiſhop, inforced to grant them another Prior by the aſſent of the King and of the Covent, aſſigned *Osbernus* to be their Prior, who had taken part before with the Archbiſhop; but the Monks not pleaſed with him, after the death of *Baldwin* the Archbiſhop removed him again.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* purchaſeth of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* Land in *Lambeth* to build his houſe upon. *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* buildeth his houſe at *Lambeth*.

Pope *Gregory* 8. dieth.

And

Three things to be obſerved in this ſtory of *Canterbury* Monks above rehearſed.

And thus have you the tedious Diſcourſe of this Catholick Tragedy between the Monks of *Canterbury* and their Archbiſhop, ſcarce worth the rehearſal; notwithſtanding, this I thought to give the Reader to ſee of purpoſe. Firſt to ſhew forth unto the world the ſtout ſturdineſs of this Monkiſh generation, who profeſſing profound humility in their coat, what little humility they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancy in their converſation, and what hypocriſie in their Religion, this one example among a thouſand others may give ſome experience. Secondly, That the poſterity now may ſee how little Kings could then do in their own Realms for the Pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriouſly appear to all Readers, what ſtrife and debate, what diſſention and diviſion, what little unity and concord hath always followed the Popes Catholick Church, whereſoever the corrupt Religion and uſurped ambition of the Pope prevailed. For not to ſpeak only of this Monkiſh houſe of *Canterbury*, What Church Cathedral, Collegiate, or Conventual; what See, Church, Monaſtery or Chappel was under all the Popes Government, but ever there happened ſome variance, either between the King and the Archbiſhop, as between King *William* and *Lanfranke*, King *Henry* the Firſt and *Anſelm*, King *Stephen* and *Richard*, King *Henry* the Second and *Becket*, King *John* and *Stephen Langton*, King *Henry* the Third and *Boniface*, &c. Or elſe between Archbiſhop and Archbiſhop, for making profeſſion, for carrying the Croſs, for ſitting on the right hand of the Popes Legate, *&c.* Or elſe between Archbiſhops and their Suffragans; or between Archbiſhops and their Covents; or between Biſhops and Monks, between Dean and Chapter, between Monks and Secular Prieſts, Monks of one ſort againſt another, Friers of one Order againſt another, Students againſt Friers, Townſmen againſt Scholars, *&c.* As for example: What diſcord was between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Richard* Archbiſhop of *York*, between *Lanfrancus* and Archbiſhop *Thomas*, between *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Sylveſter* Abbot of St. *Auſtins*, between *Walter* of Chriſts Church, and *Sylveſter* Abbot aforeſaid, between *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Jeremias* Prior of *Canterbury*, Anno 1144. between the Monks of *Canterbury* and *Odo* their Prior for tranſlating the Relicks of *Dunſtan*, between King *Stephen* and *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and *Roger* Biſhop of *Ely* his Son, *Anno* 1138, between Pope *Innocent* and *Anacletus* the ſpace of ſeven years; the Cardinals for money (ſaith *Gervaſius*) ſometime holding with the one, ſometime with the other; at laſt the Election was determined by a ſore battel between *Lotharius* Emperor, and *Rogerius* Duke of *Apulia*, Ann. 1137; alſo between Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, and *Frederick* Emperor the Second, between King *Henry* the Third and *William Rale* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, when the King bad the Gates of *Wincheſter* Town to be ſhut againſt him, *Anno* 1250, between *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Canons of St. *Paul: Item*, between the ſaid *Boniface* and Monks of St. *Bartholomew*, who ſat there in Harneſs in his Viſitation, *Anno* 1250; between the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* and Monks of the ſame houſe, *Anno* 1251. *Item*, Between the foreſaid *William Rale* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for a Prieſt of the Hoſpital in *Southwark*, *Anno* 1252; between the ſaid *Boniface* and Canons of *Lincoln* after the death of *Robert Groſthead*, for giving of Prebends, *Anno* 1253; between the Monks of *Coventry* and Canons of *Lichfield*, for chuſing their Biſhop in the time of King *Henry* the Third?

Hypocriſie in Monkery.

Kings made ſlaves under the Pope.

No concord nor unity in Popiſh Churches.

Examples proving what diſcord and how little unity is in the Popes Church.

*Ex Matth. Pariſ.*

And what ſhould I ſpeak of the diſcord which coſt ſo much money between *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Monks of *Rocheſter*, for chuſing *Richard Wandor* to be their Biſhop, *Anno* 1328; between *Robert Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln* and Canons of the ſame houſe, for which both he and they were driven to travel to *Rome*, *Anno* 1244; between *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Delegate to Archbiſhop *Baldwin*, and *Robert* the Popes Legate for ſitting on the right hand of the Legate in his Council at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno* 1190; between the Abbot of *Bardeny* and the ſaid *Groſthead* about the Viſitation of their Abbey, *Anno* 1242. *Item*, between the Covent of *Canterbury* and the ſaid *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Ann. 1243; between *Hugo* Biſhop of *Dunham*, and *Hubert* Biſhop of *Sarum*, and *Geffery* Archbiſhop of *York*, Ann. 1189; between *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, the Kings Chancellor, and the Canons of *York*, for not receiving him with Proceſſion, *Anno* 1190; between the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* and his Covent of Black Monks, whom King *Henry* the Third had much ado to ſtill and agree, *Anno* 1249. *Item*, Between the foreſaid Biſhop of *Lincoln* and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; likewiſe between *Nicolas* Biſhop of *Durham* and *John* Abbot of St. *Albans*, Ann. 1246; alſo between *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks there for the houſe of *Lambeth*, Ann. 1146. And what a ſtir was between the Preaching Friers and the Gray-Friers, mentioned in *Matthew Paris* for Superiority, *Anno* 1243. Alſo between the ſaid Gray-Friers, and the Prelates and Doctors of *Paris* about nine Concluſions, condemned of the Prelates to be erroneous?

No unity in the Popes Church.

Concluſions of the Friers condemned for erroneous by the Prelates of *Paris*. Ex *Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 167.

1. Concerning the Divine Eſſence, that it cannot be ſeen of the Angels or men glorified.
2. Concerning the Eſſence of the Holy Ghoſt.
3. Touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt, as he is love.
4. Whether men glorified ſhall be *In Cælo Empyreo*, or, *In Cælo Cryſtallino*.
5. That the evil Angel at his firſt creation was evil, and never good.
6. That there have been many Verities from the beginning which were not of God.
7. That an Angel in one inſtant may be in divers places.
8. That the evil Angel never had whereby he might ſtand, no more had *Adam* in his ſtate of innocency.
9. That he which hath *Meliora naturalia*, that is to ſay, *More perfect ſtrength of nature working in him, ſhall have more full meaſure of neceſſity to obtain grace and glory*. To the which Articles the Prelates anſwering, did excommunicate the ſame as erroneous, affirming, *that grace and glory ſhall be given according to that God hath elected and predeſtinate, &c.* Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 167.

Contention between Friers about the Conception of our Lady.

In like manner between the ſaid *Dominick* Friers, and the Gray Friers, what a brawl and tumult was about the conception of our Lady, *whether ſhe was without original ſin conceived or not*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, and King *Henry* the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1559. Add moreover to theſe, the four and twenty hainous Schiſms, and not ſo few, which happened between Pope and Pope in the Church and See of *Rome*. But what do I ſtand to recite the diviſions and diſſentions of the Popes Church, which is as much almoſt as to reckon the ſands of the Sea? For what Church, Chapter, or Covent, was in all that Religion, which either had not ſome variance with themſelves, or with others? Upon which continual ſtrife and variance among them, the Readers hereof may judge of them and their Religion as pleaſeth them: in the mean time, my judgment is this; that where ſuch diſſention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the ſpirit of Chriſt.

Continual variance in the Popes Church.

{Anno 1190.}

*K. Richard* taketh his journey toward the land of *Jeruſalem*.

Theſe things thus diſcourſed, touching the tragical diſſention between *Baldwin* the Archbiſhop, and the Monks of *Canterbury*; now let us proceed by the Lords aſſiſtance, in continuing our ſtory. After King *Richard* had thus, as is declared, ſet the Monks and the Archbiſhop in ſome agreement, and had compoſed ſuch things as were to be redreſſed within the Realm, he advanced forward his journey, and came unto *Turon* to meet with *Philip* the *French* King; and ſo after that went to *Vizeliace*; where the *French* King and he joyning together, for the more continuance of their journey, aſſured themſelves by ſolemn Oath, ſwearing fidelity one unto the other; the form of whoſe Oath was this: *That either of them ſhould defend and maintain the honour of the other, and bear true fidelity unto him of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them ſhould fail one the other in their affairs; but the* French *King ſhould aid the King of* England *in defending his Land and Dominions, as he would himſelf defend his own City of* Paris, *if it were beſieged; and that* Richard *King of* England *likewiſe ſhould aid the* French *King in defending his Land and Dominions, no otherwiſe than he would defend his own City of* Rone, *if it were beſieged*, &c.

The Oath and fidelity between *Philip* ſecond *French* King, and *K. Richard* the firſt, going to the Holy Land.

But how ſlenderly this Oath did hold between theſe two Kings and by whoſe chief occaſion firſt it fell aſunder, the

the ſequel of the Hiſtory (the Lord willing) ſhall declare hereafter.

Diſcipline and Orders ſet up by K. *Richard* for malefactors.

Furthermore, touching the Laws and Ordinances appointed by this King *Richard* for his Navy, the form thereof was this:

1. That whoſoever killed any perſon on Shipboard, ſhould be tyed with him that was ſlain, and thrown into the Sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he ſhould in like manner be tyed with the party ſlain, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that ſhall be convicted by lawful witneſs to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtricken any to the drawing of blood, ſhall loſe his hand.

4. Alſo, he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand, without effuſion of blood, ſhall be plunged three times in the Sea.

*Item*, Whoſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reviling or curſing one another, for ſo oftentimes as he hath ſo reviled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſilver.

*Item*, A thief or felon that hath ſtoln, being lawfully convicted, ſhall have his head ſhorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or downe ſtrowed upon the ſame, whereby he may be known; and ſo the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt up, *&c.*

The *French* K and King *Richard* come to *Lions.*

Theſe things thus ſet in a readineſs, King *Richard* ſending his Navy by the *Spaniſh* Seas, and by the ſtraits of *Jubaltary*, between *Spain* and *Africa*, to meet him at *Marſilia*, he himſelf went (as is ſaid) to *Vizeliace*, to the *French* King. Which two Kings, from thence went to *Lions*, where the Bridge over the Flood *Rhodanus*, with preſs of people, brake, and many, both Men and Women, were drowned. By reaſon whereof the two Kings, for the cumbrances of their trains, were conſtrained to diſſever themſelves for the time of their journy, appointing both to meet together in *Sicilia*; and ſo *Philip* the *French* King took his way to *Genua*, and King *Richard* to *Marſilia*, where he remained eight days, appointing there his Navy to meet him. From thence croſſing over to *Genua*, where the *French* King was, he paſſed forward by the Coaſt of *Italy*, and entred into *Tyber* not far from *Rome*, where meeting with *Ottomanus*, the Cardinal and Biſhop of *Hoſtia*, he did complain greatly of the filthy Simony of the Pope and the Popes Court, for receiving ſeven hundred Marks for Conſecrating the Biſhop *Cenomanenſis*; alſo a thouſand and five hundred Marks of *William* the Biſhop of *Ely* for his office Legantine; and likewiſe an infinite ſumm of mony of the Biſhop of *Burdeaux*, for acquitting him when he ſhould be depoſed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his Clergy, *&c.*

K. *Richard* cometh to *Marſilia.*

K. *Richard* complaineth of the filthy Simony of the Popes Court.

K. *Richard* departeth from *Marſilia.*

The ſeventh day of *Auguſt*, in the year aforeſaid, King *Richard* departed out of *Marſilia*, after he had there waited ſeven days for his Navy, which came not, and ſo hiring twenty Gallies, and ten great Barks, to ſhip over his Men, ſailed by the Sea Coaſt of *Italy*, and came to *Naples*, and ſo partly by Horſe and Wagon, partly by the Sea paſſing to *Falernum*, he came to *Calabria*; where after that he had heard his Ships were arrived at *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, he made the more ſpeed; and ſo the three and twentieth of *September* ſent to *Meſſana*, with ſuch a noiſe of Trumpets and Shalmes, with ſuch a rout and ſhew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the *Frenchmen*, and all others that did hear and behold the fight.

The Kings Ships arrive at *Meſſana.*

The coming of K. *Richard* to *Meſſana.*

The *French* K lodged in *Meſſana.*

To the ſaid Town of *Meſſana* the *French* King was come before the ſixteenth day of the ſame Month of *September*, and had taken up the Palace of *Tancredus* King of *Sicilia* for his lodging. To whom King *Richard* after his arrival, eftſoons reſorted; and when the two Kings had communed together, immediately the ſame day the *French* King took ſhipping, and entred the Seas, thinking to ſail toward the Land of *Jeruſalem*. But after he was out of the Haven, the Wind ariſing contrary againſt him, returned him back again to *Meſſana*. Then King *Richard* (whoſe lodging was prepard in the Suburbs without the City) after he had reſorted again, and talked with the *French* King, and alſo had ſent to *Tancredus* King of *Sicilia*, for deliverance of *Joan* his Siſter (who had been ſometimes Queen of *Sicilia*) and had obtained her to be ſent unto him, the laſt day of *September* paſſed over the ſloud of *Delfar*, and there getting a ſtrong Hold called *de la Bagmare*, or *le Bamre*, and placing therein his Siſter, with a ſufficient Garriſon, he returneth home again to *Meſſana*. The ſecond of *October* King *Richard* wan another certain ſtrong Hold, called *Monaſterium Griffonum*, ſituated in the midſt of the River of *Delfar*, between *Meſſana* and *Calabria*; from whence the Monks being expulſed, he repoſed there all his Store and Proviſion of Victuals, which came from *England*, or other places.

The Citizens of *Meſſana*, ſeeing that the King of *England* had won the Caſtle and Iſland in *de la Bagmare*, and alſo the Monaſtery of the *Griffons*, and doubting leſt the King would extend his power further to invade their City, and if he could, all the whole Iſle of *Sicilia*, began to ſtir againſt the Kings Army, and to ſhut the *Engliſhmen* out of the Gates, and keep their Walls againſt them. The *Engliſhmen* ſeeing that, made to the Gates, and by force would have broken them open; inſomuch that the King riding among them with his ſtaff, and breaking divers of their heads, could not aſſwage their fierceneſs; ſuch was the rage of the *Engliſhmen* againſt the Citizens of *Meſſana*. The King, ſeeing the fury of the People to be ſuch as he could not ſtay them, took Boat, and went to the Palace of King *Tancred*, to talk of the matter with the *French* King. In which time the matter was taken up by the wiſe handling of the ancient of the City, that both parties laying down their Armour went home in peace.

K. *Richard* getteth the Monaſtery of *Griffons.*

Diſcord between the Citizens of *Meſſana*, and the *Engliſh* Army.

The King could not ſtay the rage of the People.

The fourth day of the ſaid Month of *October*, came to King *Richard* the Archbiſhop of *Meſſana*, with two other Archbiſhops, alſo with the *French* King, and ſundry other Earls, Barons and Biſhops, for intreatance of peace. Who, as they were together conſulting, and had almoſt concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of *Meſſana* iſſuing out of the Town, ſome went up upon the Mountains, ſome with open force invaded the Manſion or Lodging of *Hugh Brun* an *Engliſh* Captain. The noiſe whereof coming to the ears of the King, he, ſuddenly breaking off talk with the *French* King and the reſt, departed from them, and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arm themſelves; who then with certain of his Souldiers, making up to the top of a Mountain (which ſeemed to paſs their power to climb) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them down the Mountain, unto the very Gates of the City; whom alſo certain of the Kings ſervants purſued within the City, of whom five valiant ſouldiers, and twenty of the Kings ſervants were ſlain, the *French* King looking on, and not once willing to reſcue them, contrary unto his Oath and League before made with the King of *England*. For the ſaid *French* King with his Men, being there preſent, rode in the midſt of them ſafely and without harm to and fro, and might well have eaſed the Kings party more than he, if it had ſo liked him.

Communication touching a perpetual peace among the Kings.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Citizens of *Meſſana* and the *Engliſhmen.*

The *French* K. a bearer with *Frang.* ers againſt the *Engliſhmen.*

This being known to the *Engliſh* Hoſt, how their fellows were ſlain, and the *Frenchmen* permitted in the City, and that they were excluded, and the Gates barred againſt them, being alſo ſtopped from buying of Victuals and other things; they upon great indignation, gathered themſelves in Arms, braſt open the Gates, and ſcaled the Walls, and ſo, winning the City, ſet up their Flags, with the *Engliſh* Arms upon the Walls. Which when the *French* King did ſee, he was mightily offended; requiring the King of *England*, that the Arms of *France* might alſo be ſet up and joyned with his; but King *Richard* to that in no caſe would agree. Notwithſtanding, to ſatisfie his mind, he was well contented to take down his Arms, and commit the cuſtody of the City to the *Hoſpetalares* and *Templars* of *Jeruſalem*, till the time that *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* and he, ſhould agree together upon conditions.

*Engliſhmen* win the City of *Meſſana* in *Sicilia.*

*Engliſh* Arms ſet up at *Meſſana.*

Theſe things being done the fifth and ſixth day of *October*, it followed then upon the eighth day of the ſame Month of *October*, that peace among the Kings was concluded. In which peace firſt King *Richard* and *Philip* the *French* King renewed again their Oath and League before made, concerning their mutual aid and ſociety, during all the time of that Peregrination. Secondly, peace

The League renewed between K. *Richard* and the *French* alſo King.

K. *Richard* obtaineth his ſiſter *Joan* Queen ſometime of *Sicilia* to be ſent unto him.

Peace concluded between King *Richard* and *Tancred* K. of *Sicilia*.

alſo was concluded between King *Richard* and *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* aforeſaid, with this condition, That the Daughter of *Tancred* (in caſe King *Richard* ſhould die without iſſue) ſhould marry to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, the Kings Nephew and next heir to this Crown, *&c.* Whereof a formal Chart was drawn, and Letters ſent thereof to Pope *Clement*, being dated the ninth day of *November*.

*Frederick* the firſt Emperor, with his Son *Conrade* come up toward the ſiege of *Achon*.

In this mean time as theſe two Kings of *France* and *England* were thus wintring at *Meſſana*, *Frederick* Emperor, firſt of that name (the ſame on whoſe neck Pope *Alexander* did tread in the Church of *Venice*, ſaying the verſe of the Pſalm, *Super Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulabis, &c.* whereof read before) and his Son *Conradus*, with a mighty Army of *Almans* and others, were coming up likewiſe toward the land of *Jeruſalem* to the ſiege of *Achon*; where by the way the good Emperor through a great miſchance, falling off his horſe into a river called *Salef*, was therein drowned. After whoſe deceaſe *Conradus* his Son taking the Government of his Army, came to the ſiege of *Achon*; in which ſiege alſo he died. Upon whoſe coming ſuch a dearth followed in the Camp, which laſted two months, that a loaf of bread, which before their coming was ſold for one peny, was afterward ſold for three pounds, by reaſon whereof many Chriſtian Soldiers did there periſh through famine. The chiefeſt food which the Princes there had to feed upon was horſe-fleſh. This famine being ſo miſerable, ſome good Biſhops there were in the Camp, namely *Hubert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, with certain other good Biſhops, who making a general Collection through the whole Camp for the poor, made ſuch a proviſion that in this penury of all things, yet no man was ſo deſtitute and needy, but ſomewhat he had for his relief; till within a few days after by the merciful Providence of God (who is the feeder of all Creatures) Ships came unto them with abundance of Corn, Wine, and Oyl.

*Frederick* the Emperor drowned in a river going to the ſiege of *Achon*.

A miſerable famine in the ſiege of *Achon*.

Gods Providence in time of need.

The ſiege of *Achon*.

*Ignis Græcus* much uſed of the *Saracens*.

The ſiege of this Town of *Achon* endured a long ſeaſon, which as it was mightily oppugned by the Chriſtians, ſo it was ſtrongly defended by the *Saracens*, ſpecially by the help of wild-fire, which the *Latins*, call *Græcum ignem*, ſo that great ſlaughter there was on both ſides. During the time of which ſiege, many Noble Perſonages, and alſo Biſhops died, among whom was *Conradus* the Emperors Son, *Radulph* Earl of *Fougiers*, the Earl of *Pericio*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with four Archbiſhops, and divers other Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, and alſo Barons, to the number of four and thirty, and not ſo few. All this while King *Richard*, and King *Philip* of *France* ſtill kept at *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, from the month of *September* till *April*, for lack (I ſuppoſe) of wind or weather, or elſe for neceſſity of repairing their Ships. In which mean time King *Richard* hearing of *Joachim* Abbot of *Curacio*, a learned man in *Calabria* (who was then thought to have the ſpirit of Propheſie, and told many things of a people that ſhould come) ſent for him, with whom he and his Biſhops had much conference about the coming and time of Antichriſt. This *Joachim* belike in his Book and Revelations uttered ſome things againſt the See and pride of *Rome*, for the which he was leſs favoured of the Popes, and judged an enemy to their See, and ſo by Pope *Innocent* the Third was condemned with his Books for an Heretick, in his Idolatrous General Council of *Lateran*, Ann. 1215, as ye may read in *Antoninus*.

K. *Richard* conferreth with *Joachim* Abbot about the coming of Antichriſt.

Abbot *Joachim* condemned in the Council of *Lateran*, by *Innocent* the third.

*Henricus* Son of *Frederick* ſtandeth to the Emperor.

After this *Henricus* King of *Almans*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor, hearing of the deceaſe of his Father, ſtanding now to be Emperor, firſt reſtoreth to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and to others, whatſoever his Father before had taken from them. That done he ſent unto *Clement* and his Cardinals, promiſing in all things to confirm the Laws and Dignities of the Church of *Rome*, if they would grant him their aſſent to be Emperor. Whereupon Pope *Clement* by advice of the *Romans*, aſſigned him the term of *Eaſter* in the next year inſuing for his Coronation. But before the *Eaſter* came, Pope *Clement* died, after he had ſit three years, and about four months; after whom ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* the Third, of whom more hereafter, God willing.

Pope *Clement* dieth. *Celeſtinus* the third Pope.

The time thus paſſing over in the month of *February*, the next year following, which was of the Lord 1191, King *Richard* ſent over his Gallies to *Naples* there to meet his Mother *Elenor*, and *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Sanctius* King of *Navar*, whom he was purpoſed to marry. Who by that time were come to *Brunduſium*, under the conduct of *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, and ſo proceeding unto *Naples*, there found the Kings Ships, wherein they ſailed to *Meſſana*. In this mean ſpace King *Richard* ſhewed himſelf exceeding bounteous and liberal unto all men. To the *French* King firſt he gave divers Ships; upon others likewiſe he beſtowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treaſure he diſtributed largely unto his Souldiers and ſervants about him. Of whom it was reported that he diſtributed more in one month, than ever any of his Predeceſſors did in a whole year; by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great love and favour, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular uſe and profit, as the ſequel afterward proved.

The bountiful liberality of King *Richard*.

To proceed then in the progreſs of King *Richard*, it followeth: In the firſt day of the month of *March*, he leaving the City of *Meſſana*, where the *French* King was, went to *Cathnienſium*, a City where *Tancredus* King of *Sicilia* then lay, where he was honourably received, and there remained with King *Tancredus* three days and three nights. On the fourth day when he ſhould depart, the foreſaid *Tancredus* offered him many rich Preſents in Gold and Silver, and precious Silks; whereof King *Richard* would receive nothing, but one little Ring for a token of his good will. For the which King *Richard* again gave him a rich ſword. At length when King *Richard* ſhould take his leave, King *Tancredus* would not ſo let him part, but needs would give him four great Ships, and fifteen Gallies; and furthermore, he himſelf would needs accompany him the ſpace of two days journey to a place called *Tavernium*.

K. *Richard* goeth from *Meſſana*, and cometh to *Cathnienſium*.

The honorable entertainment of R. *Richard* by *Tancredus*.

Then the next morning when they ſhould take their leave, *Tancredus* declared unto him the meſſage which the *French* King a little before had ſent unto him by the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Contents whereof was this: *That the King of* England *was a falſe Traytor, and would never keep the peace that was between them. And if the ſaid* Tancredus *would war againſt him, or ſecretly by night invade him, he with all his power would aſſiſt him, and joyn with him to the deſtruction of him and all his Army, &c.* To whom *Richard* the King proteſted again, that he was no Traytor, nor ever was; and as touching the peace begun between them, the ſame ſhould never be broken through him; neither could he believe that the *French* King, being his good Lord and his ſworn compartner in that Voyage, would utter any ſuch words by him. Which when *Tancredus* heard, he bringeth forth the Letters of the *French* King ſent to him by the Duke of *Burgundy*; affirming moreover, that if the Duke of *Burgundy* would deny the bringing of the ſaid Letters, he was ready to try with him by any of his Dukes. King *Richard* receiving the Letters, and muſing not a little upon the ſame, returneth again to *Meſſana*. The ſame day that King *Richard* departed, the *French* King cometh to *Tavernium* to ſpeak with *Tancredus*, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to *Meſſana* again.

*Philip* the *French* King traiterouſly ſeeketh the deſtruction of K. *Richard* by ſecret Letters ſent to the K. of *Sicilia*.

A faithful part of *Tancredus* K. of *Sicilia* towards K. *Richard*.

From that ſame time King *Richard* moved in ſtomack againſt King *Philip*, never ſhewed any gentle countenance of peace and amity, as he before was wont. Whereat the *French* King greatly marvelling, and inquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe thereof, word was ſent him again by *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, what words he had ſent to the King of *Sicilia*; and for the teſtimony thereof the Letters were ſhewed which he wrote by the Duke of *Burgundy* to the King of *Sicilia*. Which when the *French* King underſtood, firſt he held his peace, as guilty in his conſcience, not knowing well what to anſwer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrel with King *Richard*, pretending as though he ſought cauſes to break with him, and to malign him, and therefore he forged theſe lyes (ſaid he) upon him, and all becauſe he by that means would void to marry with *Alice* his Siſter, according as he had promiſed: adding moreover, that if he would ſo do, and would not marry the ſaid *Alice* his Siſter, according to his Oath, but would marry another, he would be an enemy to him and his while he lived.

The firſt occaſion of diſcord betweene the *French* King and King *Richard*.

K. *Richard* chargeth the *French* King with falſehood.

The *French* King quarreleth with King *Richard* about marrying his ſiſter.

To

Causes alledged why K. *Richard* could not marry with the *French* Kings ſiſter.

To this King *Richard* ſaid again, that he could by no means marry that Woman, forſomuch as his Father had carnal copulation with her, and alſo had by her a Son: for proof whereof he had there preſently to bring forth divers and ſundry witneſſes to the Kings face, to teſtifie with him. In concluſion, through counſel and perſwaſion of divers about the *French* King, agreement at laſt was made; ſo that King *Philip* did acquit King *Richard* from his bond of marrying his ſiſter; and King *Richard* again ſhould be bound to pay to him every year, for the ſpace of five years, two thouſand Marks, with certain other conditions beſides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphered. Thus peace being between them concluded, the eight and twentieth day of the ſaid month of *March*, the *French* King lanching out of the Haven of *Meſſana*, on the two and twentieth day after in *Eaſter* Week came with his Army to the Siege of *Achon*.

Agreement between the two Kings, with the conditions touching the ſame

The *French* K. cometh to *Achon*.

*Berengaria*, or as ſome do call *Bernegera* daughter to the K. of *Navar* brought to be married to K. *Rich.*

After the departure of the *French* King from *Meſſana* (King *Richard* with his Army yet remaining behind) arrived Queen *Elenor* the Kings Mother, bringing with her *Bernegera* the King of *Navar*'s Daughter, to be eſpouſed to King *Richard*. Which done, *Elenor*, leaving *Bernegera* behind her, departed, taking her journey toward *Rome*, to intreat the Pope for *Gaufridus* her other Son above mentioned, to be conſecrated in the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, being before elected by the procurement of King *Richard* his Brother, as ye heard. In which time, as Queen *Elenor* was travelling toward *Rome*, Pope *Clement* above mentioned, died about the ſixth day of *April*, in whoſe room ſucceeded Pope *Celeſtinus* the third. Who the next day after his Conſecration came from *Lateran* to Saint *Peter*'s Church, where in the way meeteth him *Henricus* the Emperor, and *Conſtantia* his Wife, with a great rout of armed Souldiers, but the *Romans* making faſt their Gates would not ſuffer them to enter their City. Then Pope *Celeſtine*, ſtanding upon the Stairs before the Church door of St. *Peter*, received an Oath of the ſaid *Henricus* King of the *Almains*, (his Army waiting without) that he ſhould defend the Church of God, and all the liberties thereof, and maintain juſtice; alſo that he ſhould reſtore again the patrimony of S. *Peter* full and whole, whatſoever hath been diminiſhed thereof; and finally, That he ſhould ſurrender to the Church of *Rome* again the City of *Tuſculanum*, *&c.* Upon theſe conditions and grants, then the Pope took him to the Church, and there anointed him for Emperor, and his Wife for Empreſs; who, there ſitting in his Chair Pontifical, held the Crown of Gold between his feet, and ſo the Emperor, bowing down his head to the Popes feet, received the Crown, and in like manner the Empreſs alſo. The Crown thus being ſet upon the Emperors head, the Pope eftſoons with his foot ſtruck it off again from his head unto the ground, declaring thereby that he had power to depoſe him again, in caſe he ſo deſerved. Then the Cardinals taking up the Crown, ſet it upon his head again. *Ex veteri Chronico manuſcripto anonymo, de geſtis Richardi Regis, cui initium: Anno gratiæ, &c. Item ex alio vetuſtatis Chronico manuſcripto, cui initium: Eneas cum Aſcanio, &c.*

Pope *Celeſtinus* the 3.

Conditions required of *Henricus* K. of *Almains*, before he ſhould be made Emperor by the Pope.

The Pope of *Rome* in the full top of his pride.

Pope *Celeſtine* crowneth *Henricus* the Emperor with his feet.

The Pope ſtriketh off the Emperors Crown with his foot.

Not long after the departure of King *Philip* from *Meſſana*, which was in the Month of *March*, King *Richard* in *April* following, about the twentieth day of the ſaid Month, ſayling from the Haven of *Meſſana* with an hundred and fifty great Ships, and three and fifty great Gallies well manned and appointed, took journey towards *Achon*; who being upon the Seas on *Good-friday*, about the ninth hour roſe a mighty South wind with a Tempeſt, which diſſevered and ſcattered all his Navy, ſome to one place, and ſome to another. The King with a few Ships, was driven to the Iſle of *Creta*, and there before the Haven of *Rhodes* caſt Anchor. The Ship that carried the Kings Siſter Queen of *Sicilia*, and *Bernegera* the King of *Navar*'s Daughter, with two other Ships, were driven to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. The King making great moan for the Ship of his Siſter, and *Bernegera* his Wife that ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the Tempeſt was overblown, ſent forth his Gallies diligently to ſearch the reſt of his Navy diſperſed, but eſpecially for the Ship wherein his Siſter was, and the Maiden whom he ſhould marry; who at length were found ſafe and merry at the Port of *Limſzem* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Notwithſtanding the two other Ships, which were in their company before in the ſame Haven, were drowned, with divers of the Kings ſervants, and Men of Worſhip, amongſt whom was *M. Roger*, called *Malus Catulus*, the Kings Vice-chancellor, who was found having the Kings Seal hanging about his Neck. The King of *Cyprus* was then *Iſakius* (called alſo the Emperor of the *Griffons*) who took and impriſoned all *Engliſhmen* which by Shipwrack were caſt upon his Land; alſo inveigling into his hands the goods and prizes of them which were found drowned about his Coaſts, neither would ſuffer the Ship wherein the two Ladies were to enter within the Port.

K. *Richard* cometh from *Meſſana* to *Achon*

K. *Richard* overtaken with a tempeſt on the Seas going to *Achon*.

*Iſakius* K. of *Cyprus* cruel enemy to *Engliſh* men.

The tidings of this being brought to King *Richard*, he in his great wrath, gathering his Gallies and Ships together, bordeth the Land of *Cyprus*, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to King *Iſakius*, how he with his *Engliſhmen*, coming as ſtrangers to the ſupportation of the Holy Land, were by diſtreſs of Weather, driven upon his bounds; and therefore with all humble petition beſought him in Gods behalf, and for reverence of the Holy-Croſs, to let go ſuch Priſoners of his which he had in Captivity, and to reſtore again the Goods of them which were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be imployed for the behoof of their ſouls, *&c.* And this the King, once, twice and thrice deſired of the Emperor. But he, proudly anſwering again, ſent the King word, that he would neither let the Captives go, nor render the Goods of them which were drowned, *&c.*

K. *Richard* maketh ſuit to the King of *Cyprus* for his ſouldiers in captivity.

The diſdainful and proud anſwer of *Iſakius* to K. *Richard*.

When King *Richard* heard this, how little the Emperor *Iſakius* made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force; eftſoons he giveth commandment through all his Hoſt, to put themſelves in armour, and to follow him, to revenge ſuch injuries received of that proud and cruel King of *Cyprus*; willing them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but the Lord would ſtand with them, and give them the full Victory. The Emperor in the mean time, with his people, ſtood warding the Sea Coaſts, where the *Engliſhmen* ſhould arrive, with Swords, Bills and Lances, and ſuch other Weapons as they had, ſetting Boards, Stools, and Cheſts before them inſtead of a Wall. Howbeit but few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all unexpert, and unskilful in the feats of War. Then King *Richard* with his Souldiers, iſſuing out of their Ships, firſt ſet his Bowmen before, who with their ſhot made a way for others to follow. The *Engliſhmen*, thus winning the land upon them, ſo fiercely preſſed upon the *Griffons*, that after long fighting, and many blows, at laſt the Emperor was put to flight; whom King *Richard* valiantly purſued, and ſlew many, and divers he took alive, and had gone near alſo to have had the Emperor, had not the Night come on and parted the Battel. And thus King *Richard* with much ſpoil and great victory returning to the Port Town of *Limſzem*, which the Townſmen had left for fear, found there great abundance of Corn, Wine, Oyl and Victuals.

K. *Richard* exhorteth his men to fight againſt *Iſakius*.

K. *Richard* ſetteth upon *Iſakius* K. of *Cyprus*.

The battel between the Emperor of *Cyprus* and K. *Richard*.

*Iſakius* Emperor of the *Griffons* put to flight.

The Town of *Limſzem* taken by K. *Richard*.

The ſame day after the Victory got, *Joan* the Kings Siſter, and *Bernegera* the Maiden entred the Port and Town of *Limſzem*, with fifty great Ships, and fourteen Galliots; ſo that all the whole Navy, there meeting together, were two hundred fifty four tall Ships, and above threeſcore Galliots. Then, *Iſakius* the Emperor, ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by the Sea, the ſame Night pitched his Tents five Miles off from the *Engliſh* Army, ſwearing that the third day after he would ſure give Battel to King *Richard*. But he preventing him before, ſuddenly, the ſame morning before the day of Battel ſhould be, fetteth upon the Tents of the *Griffons* early, they being unawares and aſleep, and made of them a great ſlaughter, inſomuch that the Emperor was fain naked to run away, leaving his Tents and Pavilions to the *Engliſhmen*, full of Horſes and rich Treaſure, alſo with the Imperial Standard, the lower part whereof, with a coſtly Streamer was covered and wrought all with Gold. King *Richard* then returning with Victory and Triumph to his Siſter, and *Bernegera*, ſhortly after in the Month of *May* next following, and the twelfth day of the ſame Month, married the ſaid *Bernegera* Daughter of *Rancon* King of *Navar*, in the Iſle of *Cyprus* at *Limſzem*.

The K. of *Cyprus* again put to flight.

K. *Richard* marrieth *Bernegera* Daughter of the K. of *Navar* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*.

The King of *Cyprus* ſeeing himſelf overmatched, was driven at length to yield himſelf with conditions, to give King *Richard* twenty thouſand Marks in Gold, for amends of ſuch ſpoils as he had gotten of them that

*Iſakius* K. of *Cyprus* yieldeth himſelf to King *Richard*.

Were

were drowned, alſo to reſtore all his Captives again to the King, and further more in his own perſon to attend upon the King to the Land of *Jeruſalem*, in Gods ſervice and his, with four hundred Horſmen, and five hundred Footmen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his Caſtles, and his only Daughter, and would hold his Kingdom of him. This done, and the Emperor ſwearing fidelity to King *Richard*, before *Guido* King of *Jeruſalem*, and the Prince of *Antioch* (who were come thither to King *Richard* a little before) Peace was taken, and *Iſakius* was committed to the Ward of certain Keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he, breaking from his Keepers, was again at defiance with the King. Whereupon King *Richard*, beſetting the Iſland of *Cyprus* round about with Ships and Gallies, did in ſuch ſort prevail, that the Subjects of the Land were conſtrained to yield themſelves to the King, and at length the Daughter alſo of the Emperor, and at laſt the Emperor himſelf, whom King *Richard* cauſed to be kept in Fetters of Silver and Gold, and to be ſent to the City of *Tripolis*.

The King of *Cyprus* breaketh conditions with King *Richard*.

King of *Cyprus* again ſubmitteth himſelf, and is kept in Golden Fetters.

King *Richard* taketh this journey to *Achon*.

These things thus done, and all ſet in order touching the poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the keeping whereof he committed unto *Radulph*, Son of *Godfrey*, Lord Chamberlain, being then the firſt day of *June*; upon the fifth of the ſaid month, King *Richard* departed from the Iſle of *Cyprus*, with his Ships and Gallies towards the ſiege of *Achon*, and on the next morrow came unto *Tyrus*; where, by procurement of the *French* King, he was conſtrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the ſixth day of *June*, croſſing the Seas, he met with a great Bark, fraught with Soldiers and Men of War, to the number of one thouſand and five hundred; which pretending to be *French* men, and ſetting forth their Flag with the *French* Arms, were indeed *Saracens*, ſecretly ſent with wild-fire and certain Barrels of unknown Serpents, to the defence of the Town of *Achon*. Which King *Richard* at length perceiving, eſtſoons ſet upon them, and ſo vanquiſhed them, of whom the moſt were drowned, and ſome taken alive. Which being once known in the City of *Achon*, as it was a great diſcomfort unto them, ſo it was a great help unto the Chriſtians for winning the City. The next day after, which was the ſeventh of *June*, King *Richard* came to *Achon*, which at that time had been long beſieged of the Chriſtians; after whoſe coming it was not long, but the *Pagans* within the City ſeeing their Walls to be undermined, and Towers overthrown, were driven by compoſition to eſcape with life and limb, to ſurrender the City unto the two Kings. Another great help to the Chriſtians in winning the City was this: In the ſaid City of *Achon* there was a ſecret Chriſtian among the *Saracens*, who in time of the ſiege there, uſed at ſundry times to caſt over the Walls, into the Camp of the Chriſtians, certain Bills written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, wherein he diſcloſed unto the Chriſtians, from time to time, the doings and counſels of the Enemies, Adverting them how and by what way they ſhould work, and what to beware: and always his Letters began thus: *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.* By reaſon whereof, the Chriſtians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heavineſs unto them, that neither he would utter his name not when the City was got, could they ever underſtand who he was. *Ex Chronico manuſcripto, de geſtis Richardi.*

A thouſand and five hundred *Saracens* ſent to the reſcue of *Achon*, vanquiſhed on the Sea by King *Richard*.

The City of *Achon* yielded to the Chriſtians.

An honeſt part of a ſecret Chriſtian in the City of *Achon*.

To make of a long Siege a ſhort Narration, upon the twelfth day of *July* in the year aforeſaid, the Princes and Captains of the *Pagans*, upon agreement, reſorted unto the Tent of the Templars, to commune with the two Kings touching Peace and giving up of their City: the form of which Peace was thus: That the Kings ſhould have the City of *Achon* freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was within: and five hundred Captives of the Chriſtians ſhould be reſtored unto them, which were in *Achon*; alſo the holy Croſs ſhould be to them rendred, and a thouſand Chriſtian Captives, with two hundred Horſmen, whoſoever they themſelves would chuſe out of all them which were in the power of *Saladine*; over and beſides they ſhould give to the Kings, two hundred thouſand Biſants, ſo that they themſelves would remain as pledges in the Kings hands for the performance hereof; that if in forty days theſe foreſaid Covenants were not accompliſhed, they would abide the Kings mercy touching life and limb. Theſe Covenants being agreed upon, the Kings ſent their Soldiers and Servants into the City, to take one hundred of the richeſt and beſt of the City, to cloſe them up in Towers under ſtrong keeping, and the reſidue they committed to be kept in Houſes and Streets, miniſtring unto them according to their neceſſities: to whom notwithſtanding this they permitted, that ſo many of them as would be Baptized, and receive the Faith of Chriſt, ſhould be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the *Pagans*, which for fear of Death pretended to be Baptized; but afterward, ſo ſoon as they could, revolted again to the *Saladine*. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the Kings, that none of them ſhould be Baptized againſt their wills.

The form of Peace concluded between the Kings and the Princes of *Achon*.

Covenants made in giving up the City of *Achon*.

Religion would be taught and not coacted

The thirteenth day of the ſaid Month of *July*, King *Philip* of *France*, and King *Richard*, after they had obtained the poſſeſſion of *Achon*, divided between them all things therein contained, as well the People, as Gold and Silver, with all other Furniture whatſoever was remaining in the City: who, in dividing the ſpoil, were ſo good carvers unto themſelves, that many Knights, and Barons, with other Soldiers, who had there ſuſtained the whole travel two years together about the ſiege, ſeeing the Kings to take all unto themſelves, and their part to be but little, retracted themſelves without the uttermoſt Trench, and there, after conſultation had together, ſent word to the Kings, that they would leave and forſake them, unleſs they were made partakers alſo of the gains for the which they had ſo long travelled. To whom anſwer was ſent again by the Kings, that their wills ſhould be ſatisfied. Howbeit, becauſe of long deferring of their promiſe, many conſtrained by poverty departed from them.

The two Kings divide the City of *Achon* with all the ſpoil thereof betweene themſelves.

Commonly ſeen, who ſo taketh moſt pains, their part to be the leaſt.

Many of the Chriſtian Soldiers for need were conſtrained to depart from *Achon*.

The twentieth day of *July*, King *Richard*, ſpeaking with the *French* King, deſired him that they two with their Armies would bind themſelves by Oath to remain there ſtill in the Land of *Jeruſalem* the ſpace of three years, for the winning and recovering again of thoſe Countries. But he would ſwear (he ſaid) no ſuch Oath: and ſo the next day after, King *Richard* with his Wife and Siſter entreth into the City of *Achon*, and placed there himſelf in the Kings Palace, the *French* King remaining in the Houſes of the Templars, where he continued till the end of the Month. So about the beginning of the month of *Auguſt*, *Philip* the *French* King, after that he and King *Richard* had made agreement between *Guido* and *Conradus* the Marqueſs, about the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, went from *Achon* to *Tyrus*; notwithſtanding King *Richard* and all the Princes of the Chriſtian Army with great intreaty deſired him to tarry; ſhewing what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo far, and now to leave undone that for which he came; and on the third of *Auguſt* from *Tyrus* he departed; leaving his half part of the City of *Achon* in the hands of the foreſaid *Conradus*, Marqueſs. After whoſe departure the *Pagans* refuſed to keep their Covenants made; who neither would reſtore the holy Croſs, nor the Mony, nor their Captives; ſending word to King *Richard*, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at *Achon*, they would chop off the heads of ſuch Captives of the Chriſtians, which were in their hands. Shortly after this, the *Saladine*, ſending great gifts to King *Richard*, requeſted the times limited for beheading of the Captives to be Prorogued; but the King refuſed to take his gifts, and to grant his requeſt. Whereupon the *Saladine* cauſed all the Chriſtian Captives within his poſſeſſion forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of *Auguſt*. Which albeit King *Richard* underſtood, yet would not he prevent the time afore limited for the Execution of his Priſoners, being the twentieth of *Auguſt*. Upon which day he cauſed the Priſoners of the *Saracens*, openly in the ſight of the *Saladines* Army, to loſe their heads: the number of whom came to 2500, ſave only that certain of the principal of them he reſerved for purpoſes and conſiderations, eſpecially to make exchange for the holy Croſs, and certain others of the Chriſtian Captives.

King *Richard* requireth of the *French* King to remain three years with his Army, but he would not.

Chriſtian Captives ſlain by the *Saladine*.

The *Saracen* Captives ſlain by K. *Richard*.

After this, King *Richard* purpoſed to beſiege the City of *Joppe*; where, by the way between *Achon* and *Joppe*, near to a Town called *Aſſur*, *Saladine* with a great multitude of his *Saracens* came fiercely againſt the Kings rearward: but through Gods Merciful Grace, in the ſame Battel the Kings Warriors acquitted them ſo well, that the *Saladine* was put to flight (whom the Chriſtians purſued the ſpace of three Miles) and loſt the ſame day many of

The *Saladine* put to flight.

A noble victory by Gods power gotten by King *Richard* againſt the *Saracens*.

his Nobles and Captives, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the *Saladine* was not put to ſuch confuſion forty years before: and but one Chriſtian Captain, called *James Avernus*, in that conflict was overthrown. From thence King *Richard*, proceeding further, went to *Joppe*, and then to *Aſcalon*, where he found firſt the City of *Joppe* forſaken of the *Saracens*, who durſt not abide the Kings coming. *Aſcalon* the *Saladine* threw down to the ground, and likewiſe forſook the whole Land of *Syria*; through all which Land the King had free paſſage without reſiſtance, neither durſt the *Saracen* Prince incounter after that with King *Richard*. Of all which his atchievances the ſaid King *Richard* ſent his Letters of Certificate as well into *England*, as alſo to the Abbot of *Clara Valle* in *France*; well hoping that he (God willing) ſhould be able to make his repair again to them by *Eaſter* next.

King *Richard* in poſſeſſion of *Syria*.

## *A brief Story of* William *Biſhop of* Ely, *the Kings Chancellor.*

The ſtory of *William* the proud Biſhop of *Ely*.

AND now to leave King *Richard* a while in the field, let us make a ſtep into *England*, and look a little what is done at home while the King was abroad, and ſo return to the King again. Ye heard before how King *Richard*, at his ſetting forth, committed the Government of the Realm to *Hugo* Biſhop of *Durham*, and to *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, ſo that to the Biſhop of *Durham* was committied the keeping of the Caſtle of *Windſor*. The other, which was the Biſhop of *Ely*, had the keeping of the Tower of *London*, about which he cauſed a great Ditch with a Rampire to be caſt, which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to theſe two Biſhops the King alſo aſſigned four other Chief Juſtices, which joyntly with them ſhould have the hearing and overſight of all cauſes, as well to the Clergy as to the Laity appertaining: to wit, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marſhal*, *Geofrey Peterſon*, and *William Bruer*. But the Biſhop of *Ely* was the principal, or at leaſt he that took moſt upon him: who both was the Kings Chancellor, and bought with his money to be the Popes Legate through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, as is before ſpecified. Touching the exceſſive pride and pomp of which Biſhop his rufflings outragious, and fall moſt ſhameful, it would make a long Tragedy to diſcourſe the whole circumſtances at full: only to demonſtrate certain ſpecialities thereof for our preſent purpoſe, it may ſuffice.

*Ut juſte judicarent clerum & populum, verba hiſt.*

Four Chief Juſtices with two Biſhops appointed overſeers of the Realm in the Kings abſence.

*William Longchamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, Lord Chancellor and the Popes Legate.

First, This *William* called *Longchamp*, being thus advanced by the King to be his High Chancellor, and Chief Juſtice of the Realm, and alſo the Popes Legate, to ſhew abroad the authority of his Legateſhip, began to ſuſpend the Canons, Clerks, and Vicars of the Church of S. *Peter* in *York*, becauſe they received him not with proceſſion: under which interdiction he held them, till they were fain at laſt both Canons, Clerks and Vicars to fall down at his feet, cauſing all their Bells to be let down out of the Steeple. After this cometh *Hugo* Biſhop of *Durham*, whom the King ſent home out of *Normandy* with his Letters; who, meeting with the aforeſaid *William* Biſhop of *Ely* in the Town of *Ely*, ſhewed him the Kings Letters, wherein was granted to him the keeping of *Windſor* Caſtle, and to be the Kings Juſtice from the River of *Humber* to the borders of *Scotland*. To the which Letters the Chancellor anſwered, That the Kings commandment ſhould be done, and ſo brought him with him to *Suwel*; where he took him and kept him faſt, till he was forced at laſt to ſurrender to him the Caſtle of *Windſor*, and other things which the King had committed to his cuſtody; and moreover he was conſtrained to leave with the ſaid Chancellor, *Henry de Puteaco* his own Son, and *Gilbert Leie*, for Pledges and Hoſtages of his fidelity, to be true to the King and Realm. And thus the biſhop of *Durham*, being ſet at liberty, went to his Town of *Howeden*; where after he had made his abode a few days, cometh thither *Osbert Longchamp* the Chancellors Brother, and *William Stutivil*, with a great Company of Armed Men ſent by the Chancellor to apprehend him. But the ſaid Biſhop of *Durham*, putting in Sureties not to depart that Town without licence of the King and of the Chancellor, there ſtill remained till he got Letters to be ſent to the King, ſignifying how he was uſed. Whereupon the King writing his Letters from *Marſilia* to the Biſhop of *Ely*, ſet the ſaid Biſhop of *Durham* free, and confirmed to him all the Poſſeſſions and Grants that he before had given him.

The Church and Bells of *York* ſuſpended, becauſe the Lord Legate was not ſet in with proceſſion.

Biſhop of *Ely* getteth the Caſtle of *Windſor* from the Biſhop of *Durham*.

Hugo Biſhop of *Durham* vexed *William* Biſhop of *Ely*.

It is almoſt incredible to think how intemperately this Biſhop and Chancellor miſuſed himſelf, after the Kings departure into *Syria*, in exceſs of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppreſſions of the Kings Subjects. Firſt his fellow Juſtices, whom the King joined with him for Government of the Realm, he utterly rejected and refuſed to hear their counſel, reputing none to be equal with him in all the Realm. Neither was he contented with the authority of a Prelate, but played both King and Prieſt in the Realm. All Caſtles, Lordſhips, Abbies, Churches, and all other Appropriations belonging to the right of the King, he claimed to himſelf. And by vertue of his Legateſhip, when he came to any Biſhops Houſe, Abby, Priory, or any other Religious Houſe, he brought with him ſuch a ſuperfluity of Men, Horſes, Dogs, and Hawks, that the Houſe was the worſe for it three years after. For commonly he rode never under 1500 Horſes, of Chaplains, Prieſts, and other Servingmen waiting upon him. From the Clergy and Laity he took away their Churches, their Vowſons, their livings and lands, to beſtow upon his Nephews and other waiting Chaplains to ſerve his vain glory; or elſe converted them to his own uſe, to maintain his pomp and vanity. In getting and gathering of Treaſures he had no meaſure; in miſ-pending the ſame he kept no order. And that no vice ſhould be wanting, where ſuch avarice taketh root, the money, which he wrongfully got, he committed to the Bank to be increaſed by uſury. What wantonneſs and laſciviouſneſs was uſed in that ſo riotous life, the ſtones do ſhame to declare it. All ruffianly Runagates, idle bellies, and light perſons, whereſoever he were, hanged upon his Court. To increaſe the vain jollity of this Royal Prelate, there was lacking no kind of muſical inſtruments and melodious noiſe, to refreſh belike his wearied ſenſes, too much beaten and macerated with continual labor and ſtudy of Hunting, Hawking and Gaming; of Preaching and Reading I ſhould have ſaid.

The exceſſive pride and enormities of *William* Biſhop of *Ely*.

Biſhop of *Ely* never rode and 1500 Horſ

His Vanit

His uſury

His rioto and delicate life.

Briefly, this foreſaid Prelate, bearing the authority both of the King and of the Pope, kept ſuch a ſtir in *England*, that the whole Realm was at his beck, with Cap and Knee crouching to him; neither durſt any Man, rich or poor diſpleaſe him, yea none in all the Realm ſo noble or worſhipful, but was glad to pleaſe him, accounting themſelves happy if they might ſtand in his favor. At his Table all Noble-mens Children did ſerve and wait upon him, with whom he coupled in Marriages his Nieces and Kinſwomen. And when any, that ſtood waiting before him, durſt once caſt up his eyes, or did not demurely look downward upon the ground, he had a ſtaff in his hand with a prick, wherewith he uſed to prick them; learning, belike, by the Carter his Father, which uſed at the Plough or Cart to drive his Oxen. Furthermore, as Kings uſe to have their Guard about them, ſo he becauſe he would not alſo be unguarded, refuſing Men of the *Engliſh* Nation, had his Waiters and Warders moſt of *Frenchmen* and *Flemmings*.

The Biſho of *Ely* pleeth both King and Prieſt.

*William* Biſhop of *E* guarded with *Frenc* men and *Flemings*.

It hapned after this, in the year 1191. that a great diſcord roſe between *John* Earl of *Morton* the Kings Brother, with other States of the Realm, and the ſaid *William* Biſhop of *Ely*; ſo that univerſally they all wrote over to the King concerning the miſgovernment and enormities of the ſaid Biſhop. Who, underſtanding of the caſe, ſent from *Meſſana* into *England*, *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Rone*, and *William Marſhal* Earl, unto the Biſhop of *Ely* with Letters, commanding him that in all his doings he ſhould aſſociate unto him the Archbiſhop of *Rone*, *William Marſhal*, *Geofrey Peterſon*, *William Bruer*, and *Hugo Bardolf* above mentioned. Who when they came into *England*, durſt not deliver their Letters, dreading the diſpleaſure of the Chancellor, for he deſpiſed all the commandments of the King, nor would ſuffer any fellow to joyn with him in his Kingdom.

Anno 1191 A generall complaint to the King of *William* Biſhop of *Ely*.

Hitherto have you heard of the glorious vanity of this Lordly Legate and Chancellor of the Realm: now ye ſhall hear of his ſhameful fall, after his ſhameleſs exaltation. For ſhortly after this followeth an other breach between the ſaid Earl *John* the Kings Brother and him, about the beſieging of the Caſtle of *Lincoln*. Concerning the which Caſtle the ſaid *John* ſent him word, that unleſs he raiſed his Siege the ſooner from thence, he would ſend him away by force of ſword. The Biſhop, either not able to make his party good, or not daring to reſiſt, thought beſt to fall to ſome compoſition with the Earl, and ſo did. In which compoſition,

Another diſſention between *John* the Kings Brother, and *William* Biſhop of *E*

compoſition, he was contented againſt his will, by mediation of divers Biſhops and others; to make ſurrender not only of the Caſtle of *Lincoln*, but alſo of *Nottingham*, of *Tickhil*, *Wallingford*, and many more, which were then committed to the cuſtody of ſundry Men of worſhip and honour. And thus was that Controverſie agreed; wherein the Biſhop of *Ely* began a little to be cut ſhorter.

If followed then not long after in the ſame year, that another like buſineſs began to kindle between *Geofrey* the Archbiſhop of *York* the Kings Brother, and the aforeſaid glorious Biſhop of *Ely* upon this occaſion. Ye heard before how the King, at his ſetting out, left order that Earl *John* and *Geofrey* his Brethren ſhould not enter into the Realm the ſpace of three years after his departure (howbeit his Brother *John* was ſhortly after releaſed of that bond) and alſo after that, how King *Richard*, being at *Meſſana*, ſent his Mother *Elenor* to the Pope for his Brother *Geofrey* (elected before to the Sea of *York*) to be conſecrated Archbiſhop. Whereupon the ſaid *Geofrey* being Conſecrated through licenſe of Pope *Celeſtine* by the Archbiſhop of *Turon*; the ſaid *Geofrey*, eſtſoons after his Conſecration, deferred no time, but would needs come into *England*. Whereof the Biſhop of *Ely* having intelligence, ſent him word being at *Wiſſand* in *Flanders*, not to preſume to adventure into the Realm, contrary to his oath made to King *Richard* before; commanding moreover, that if he came, he ſhould be apprehended. All which notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop letted not for all that, but needs would repair to his See, and ſo arrived at *Dover* in the month of *September*, where the Chancellors Men ſtood on the Sea ſide to apprehend him; but he by changing his Apparel, and ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, eſcaped their hands, and came to the Monks Houſe of *Dover*: But the Chancellors Men, whom he ſent to take him, beſet the Church of the Monks round about, ſo that in no wiſe he cold avoid their hands.

Another breach between the Chancellor and *Geofrey* Archbiſhop of *York* the Kings Brother.

To make the ſtory ſtort: as the Archbiſhop on a day, when he had ſaid Maſs, was ſtanding at the Altar, with his Garments yet about him, the rude Souldiers having little good manners, and leſs devotion, ſpared not boldly to ruſh into the Church, and there laid hands upon the Archbiſhop as he ſtood; took him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and mire, and (as we uſe to ſay) through thick and thin, and ſo committed him to *Matthew Clark* their Conſtable to be kept: whereat the people greatly diſdained, ſeeing him that was a Kings Son, and the Brother of a King, ſo to be intreated: The hearing whereof, when it came to the ears of Earl *John* his Brother, he being not a little offended therewith, ſent to know of the Chancellor, whether this was his doing or not. To whom when the Chancellor ſent anſwer again, and ſtoutly confeſſed the fact to be his; then the Earl ſent commandment that his Brother ſhould be delivered, and ſo he was. Who, then coming to *London*, made his complaint to the Earl his Brother, and to other Nobles of the Realm of the injuries done to him by the Chancellor. Whereupon the Earl ſent for the foreſaid Chancellor, and appointed a day peremptory for him to appear before the whole body of the Council, to make anſwer to ſuch injuries as he had done, both to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and alſo to the Biſhop of *Durham* above mentioned. But the Chancellor, driving off the time with delays, would neither come nor ſend. Then the Earl, with the Biſhops about him, made their journey towards *London*, to have the matter there handled in a great audience.

The cruel handling of *Geofrey* Archbiſhop of *York*, by the Biſhop of *Ely* the Popes Legate and Chancellor of *England*.

*Geofrey* Archbiſhop of *York* delivered out of priſon by commandment of Earl *John* his Brother.

The Chancellor ſeeing that, withdrew himſelf from *Windſor* to the City of *London*; where by the way it happned that the ſervants of the Earl and of the Chancellor meeting, did ſkirmiſh together. In which fray one of the Earls Family was ſlain, but yet his Men had the better; and the Chancellor with his Men were put to flight, and ſo fled to the Tower, where they did hide themſelves. The next day after (which was about the twelfth day of *October*) Earl *John* the Kings Brother, and the Archbiſhop of *Rone*, with all the Biſhops, Earls and Barons, and Citizens of *London* Aſſembled together in *Pauls* Church; where many and great accuſations were laid againſt the ſaid Chancellor; ſo that in fine it was agreed in that Aſſembly, That the ſaid Chancellor ſhould be depoſed; and in his place was ſubſtituted the Archbiſhop of *Rone*, according to the tenor of the Kings Letters ſent from *Meſſana*; which was, That certain other perſons ſhould be aſſociated with the Chancellor for the Government of the Realm; by woſe Counſel if he would not be directed, the Archbiſhop of *Rone* ſhould be ſet in his place, and he to be depoſed. The third day after this, the Chancellor firmly promiſed not to depart out of the Realm before he had delivered out of his hands all ſuch Caſtles, the keeping whereof he committed to certain Foreigners and ſtrangers: and for aſſurance thereof he gave his two Brethren and Chamberlain for Pledges, and ſo went to *Canterbury*; where he ſaid he would take the Croſs of a Pilgrim, and leave the Croſs of his Legateſhip.

A skirmiſh between the ſervants of the Biſhop of *Ely* and the ſervants of Earl *John*.

The Noble's aſſembled in Council againſt the Biſhop *Ely*.

The Biſhop of *Ely* Chancellor of the Realm and Legate, depoſed.

The Biſhop of *Ely* reſigneth his Caſtles.

Now when he was come to the Caſtle of *Dover*, and there had remained a few days, contrary to his promiſe made, his purpoſe was to take Ship, and to paſs over the Seas. And becauſe he durſt not do it openly, he deviſed a new kind of diſguiſing, decking himſelf in the apparel of a Woman; and ſo, as gowty as he was, he went to the Sea ſide in his Womans weed, having in his hand a Meet-yard, and on his arm a piece of linnen cloth. And thus as he was ſitting upon a rock, waiting for his Ship to come and convey him over, a certain Fiſher-man eſpying him, and ſuppoſing him to be an Harlot, came to him, and ſo, with ſtrugling with him, found him as he was indeed to be a Man, in likeneſs of a Woman: whereat he wondered and began to make an out-cry upon him. But the Biſhops ſervants being not far off, came running and ſtilled him as well as they could.

The Biſhop of *Ely* clotheth himſelf in Womans Apparel.

A Fiſherman taketh the Biſhop of *Ely* to be a Woman.

The Fiſher-man then going to the next Village, and there belike declaring what he had ſeen, to try out the matter further, came out certain Women, who ſeeing the linnen cloth hanging on his arm, began to queſtion with him of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it: but to this he would anſwer never a word, but ſmiled upon them. Whereat they muſing with themſelves, and whiſpering one with another, at laſt with their hands were ſo bold as to pluck down his muffler, and there by his beard new ſhaven found him indeed to be a Man; and ſo with a loud exclamation raiſed the Village upon him; and would have fallen upon him with ſtones. Then came running a great multitude both of Men and Women; who, wondering at him, as Birds are wont at an Owl, laid hands upon him, and pluckt him down to the ground, haling and drawing him by the ſleeves and collar of his Gown through ſtones and rocks, whereby he was ſhrewdly hurt. His Servants once or twice made out to reſcue their old Maſter, or new Miſtris, but could not for the preſs of the people; who, beating him with their fiſts, and ſpitting at him, drew him thorow the whole Town, and ſo with ſhame enough at length laid him in a dark Cellar inſtead of a priſon, at whom all the Country about wondred and cryed out. In concluſion, Earl *John*, hearing thereof, within eight days after ſent word, that they ſhould deliver him and let him go.

The Biſhop of *Ely* in womans apparel found to be a man.

Baited of women by the Sea ſide.

Caſt into a dark Cellar inſtead of a Priſon.

Set at liberty by *John* Earl of *Morton*.

The Biſhop, then ſet at liberty, ſailed over as he could to *Flanders*, where he had but cold welcoming: from thence he went to *Paris*, where he gave *Mauricius* their Biſhop threeſcore Marks of ſilver to be received in with Proceſſion, and ſo he was. Then returned he into *Normandy*. But the Archbiſhop of *Rone* there gave commandment that the Church doors ſhould be locked, and no Service ſaid ſo long as he there remained. The Biſhop ſeeing that, directed his Letters and Meſſengers to Pope *Celeſtine*, and alſo to King *Richard* into *Syria*, ſignifying to them how *John* the Earl of *Morton* and his complices had handled him, and expulſed him out of the Realm: requiring that he might be reſtored again to that was taken from him, and alſo offering himſelf to be tryed by the Law for that he had done; ſo that if the King ſhould diſlike in any thing that he had done, he was ready to ſatisfie the Kings contentation in all things wherein juſtly he could be charged.

The Biſhop of *Ely* giveth threeſcore marks to be received with Proceſſion.

The Biſhop of *Ely* complaineth to the King and the Pope.

Upon this, Pope *Celeſtine*, inflamed with an Apoſtolical zeal in the behalf of the ſaid Biſhop of *Ely* his Legate, wrote a ſharp and thundering Letter to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates of *England*; commanding them by his Authority Apoſtolical, That forſomuch as the injuries, done to his Legate, did redound to the contumely of the whole mother Church of *Rome*, they ſhould not fail therefore, but with ſevere Cenſures of the Church, that is, with Book, Bell, and Candle, proceed as well againſt the ſaid *John* Earl of *Morton*, as alſo all other whoſoever had, or

The Letter of Pope *Celeſtine* in the behalf of the Biſhop of *Ely* his Legate.

ſhould attempt any violence or injury againſt the ſaid his Legate the Biſhop of *Ely*, with no leſs ſeverity than if the ſaid injury ſhould be offered to the perſon of the Pope himſelf, or any other of his Brethren the Cardinals, *&c.*

The Biſhop of *Ely* bold upon the Popes favour.

The Biſhop of *Ely* the Popes Legate, bearing himſelf bold upon the favour and Letters of the Pope which took his part, writeth to *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, charging and requiring, That he in vertue of obedience ſhould execute the Popes Sentence and Mandat in Excommunicating all ſuch as were offendors in that behalf, and there exciteth the names of divers againſt whom he ſhould proceed, as the Archbiſhop of *Rone*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *W. Mareſchal*, *Geoffery Peterſon*, *Breuer*, and *Bardolf*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Mellent*, *Gilbert Baſſet*, the Archdeacon of *Oxford*, and eſpecially *Hugh* Biſhop of *Coventry*, alſo *M. Benet* and *Stephen Ridle* Chancellor to Earl *John* the Kings Brother; to the which Earl he reſerved a further day of reſpite before he ſhould be Excommunicate, with a number of other more beſide theſe. Howbeit the ſaid Biſhop of *Ely* could find none to excecute this commandment of the Pope. Then they with a general conſent wrote again to King *Richard*, complaining of the intolerable abuſes of the ſaid Biſhop his Chancellor. In like ſort the ſaid Chancellor alſo, complaining of them, wrote his Letters to the King, ſignifying how Earl *John* his Brother went about to uſurp his Kingdom, and would alſo ſhortly ſet the Crown upon his own head, unleſs he made the more ſpeed homeward. The King then was buſie in repulſing the *Saladine*, and prepared to lay Siege againſt *Jeruſalem*, and got *Sclavonia*, with divers other Towns from the *Saracens*, which was in the year 1192. having divers conflicts in the mean ſpace with the *Saladine*, and ever put him to the worſe. As the King was thus preparing to lay his Siege againſt *Hieruſalem*; the *Saladine*, glad to fall to ſome compoſition with the King, ſent unto him, that if he would reſtore to him again *Sclavonia* in as good ſtate as it was when he took it, he would grant to him and to all Chriſtians in the Land of *Hieruſalem* truce for three years, and offered himſelf thereunto to be ſworn. The King, ſeeing the Duke of *Burgundy* and the French-men to ſhrink from him, and his own Men to decay, and alſo his money and health to diminiſh; but eſpecially for that he underſtood by the Biſhop of *Ely* his Chancellor, that the French King intended to ſet up *John* his Brother to poſſeſs his Kingdom, being counſelled thereto by the Templars, took the truce offered of the *Saracens*, and ſo began to draw homeward.

The names of many which ſtood againſt the Biſhop of *Ely*, appointed to be Excommunicated.

The Biſhop of *Ely* complaineth to the King of the Earl of *Morton* his Brother.

{Anno 1192}

Strife between the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Archbiſhop of *Rone*. Pope *Celeſtine* ſtandeth in excuſe of the Biſhop of *Ely*.

In this mean while much grudge and ſtrife increaſed more and more between the Biſhop of *Ely* and the Archbiſhop of *Rone* above ſpecified; inſomuch that the Archbiſhop being Excommunicate, ſent up his Clerks to Pope *Celeſtine* to complain of the Biſhop: but the Pope ever ſtood in his Purgation. At laſt he ſent two of his Cardinals, to wit, *Ottomannus* Biſhop of *Hoſtia*, and *Jordanus De foſſa nova*, to break the ſtrife between the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Archbiſhop of *Rone*.

The Biſhop of *Ely* with the Kings Letters cometh again into *England*.

After this King *Richard* being taken, and in the cuſtody of *Henry* the Emperor; the Biſhop of *Ely*, reſorting to him, was ſent by him into *England* to *Elenor* his Mother, and other Nobles. Who then returning into *England* again, not as Chancellor, nor as Legate (as he ſaid) but as a ſimple plain Biſhop, ſo by that means was received. *Ex Matth. Pariſ. Et ex aliis incertis nominis manuſcriptis codicibus.*

But of this vain-glorious Prelate enough and too much. Now to return again to *Richard*; concerning whoſe worthy acts done abroad in getting of *Cyprus*, *Arhon*, and and *Ptolemaida*, in pacifying *Joppe*, *&c.* partly is ſpoken of before. Many other valiant and famous acts were by him and the French King atchieved, and more ſhould have been, had not thoſe two Kings falling into diſcord diſſevered themſelves: by reaſon whereof *Philip* the French King returned home again within ſhort ſpace. Who, being returned again, eſtſoons invaded the Country of *Normandy*, exciting alſo *John* the Brother of King *Richard*, to take on him the Kingdom of *England* in his Brothers abſence. Who then made League (upon the ſame) with the French King, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yea rof King *Richard*. Who then being in *Syria*, and hearing thereof, made peace with the *Turks* for three years. And not long after King *Richard*, the next Spring following, returned alſo. Who, in his return, driven by diſtreſs of weather about the parts of *Hiſtria*, in a Town called *Synaca*, was there taken by *Limpold* Duke of the ſame Country, and ſo ſold to the Emperor for 60000 Marks; who, for no ſmall joy thereof, writeth to *Philip* the French King theſe Letters following.

What diſcord doth.

The *French* King returneth from *Paleſtina*.

{Anno 1193} King *Richard* returneth from *Paleſtina*.

## The Letter of the Emperor to *Philip* the French King concerning the taking of King *Richard*.

HEnricus *Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper* Auguſtus, *dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo* Philippo, *illuſtri* Francorum *Regi, ſalutem, & ſinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoriæ Celſitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de univerſis, quibus omnipotentia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos & Romanum imperium honoraverit & exaltaverit, Nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus imperii noſtri, & turbator regni tui, Rex* Angliæ, *quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reverſurus, accidit ut ventus, rupta navi ſua in qua ipſe erat, induceret eum in partes* Hiſtriæ, *ad locum qui eſt inter* Aquileiam *&* Venetias. *Ubi Rex, Dei permiſſione, paſſus naufragium, cum paucis evaſit. Quidam itaq; fidelis noſter Comes* Mainardus de Gooxce, *& populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & conſiderato diligentius qualem nominatus Rex in terra promiſſionis proditionem & traditionem, & proditionis ſuæ cumulum exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captivare, Ipſo autem Rege in fugam converſo, ceperunt de ſuis octo milites. Poſtmodum proceſſit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiſcopatu* Salſeburgenſi, *qui vocatur Friſorum, ubi* Fredericus de Betefow, *Rege cum tribus tantum veſtis* Auſtriam *properante, noctu ſex milites de ſuis cepit. Dilectus autem conſanguineus noſter* Limpoldus, *Dux* Auſtriæ, *obſervata ſtrata, ſæpe dictum Regem juxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo deſpecta captivavit. Cum itaq; in noſtra nunc habeatur poteſtate, & ipſe ſemper tua moleſtavit & turbationis operam præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus Nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curavimus, ſcientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere, animo tuo uberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud* Ritheountem 5. *Calendas. Januar.*

King *Richard*, thus being traiterouſly taken and ſold to the Emperor by the Duke of *Auſtrige* for 60000 Marks, was there kept in cuſtody a year and three months. In ſome ſtories it is affirmed, That King *Richard*, returning out of *Aſia*, came to *Italy* with proſperous wind; where he deſired of the Pope to be abſolved from an Oath made againſt his will, and could not obtain it. And ſo ſetting out from thence towards *England*, paſſing by the Country of *Conradus* the Marqueſs, whoſe death (he being ſlain a little before) was falſly imputed by the *French* King to the King of *England*, was there traiterouſly taken, as is before ſaid by *Limpoldus* Duke of *Auſtrige*. Albeit in another ſtory I find the matter more credibly ſet forth, which ſaith thus; That King *Richard* ſlew the Brother of this *Limpoldus*, playing with him at Cheſs in the *French* Kings Court. And *Limpoldus*, taking his advantage, was the more cruel againſt him, and delivered him, as is ſaid, to the Emperor; in whoſe cuſtody he was detained during the time above mentioned, a year and three months. During the which time the Kings indurance, the *French* King in the mean ſeaſon ſtirred War in *Normandy*. And Earl *John* the Kings Brother made ſtir and invaded *England*, but the Barons and Biſhops of the Land mightily withſtood him, and beſieged him in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, where they took from him all the Caſtles and Munitions which before he had got. Thus the Earl ſeeing no hope to prevail in *England*, and ſuſpecting the deliverance of the King his Brother, made into *France*, and kept with the *French* King: at length it was ſo agreed and concluded with the Emperor, That King *Richard* ſhould be releaſed for an hundred thouſand pounds; of the which money, part ſhould remain to the Duke of *Auſtrige*, the reſt ſhould be the Emperors. The ſum of which money was here gathered and made in *England* of Chalices, Croſſes, Shrines, Candleſticks, and other Church Plate, alſo with publick contribution of Frieries, Abbies and other Subjects of the Realm. Whereof part was preſently paid, and for the reſidue remaining hoſtages and pledges were taken, which was about

Confederacy of the *French* King and Earl *John* againſt K. *Richard*.

Earl *John* beſieged at *Windſor*.

{Anno 1195} *Ex Chronico cui titulus, Eulogium.*

about the fifth year of his Reign. And then it was obtained of the Pope, that Prieſts might celebrate with Chalices of Latin and Tin, and ſo it was granted and continued long after, which, mine Author in his Chronicle intituled *Eulogium*, doth teſtifie himſelf to have ſeen. At what time this foreſaid money was paid, and the Hoſtages given for the ranſom of this King. I have an old ſtory that ſaith how the foreſaid Duke of *Auſtrige* ſhortly after was plagued by God with five ſundry plagues: Firſt, with burning of his cheif Towns; Secondly, with the drowning of ten thouſand of his Men in a great flood, hapning no Man could tell how; Thirdly, by turning all the ears of his Cornfield into Worms; Fourthly, by taking away almoſt all the Nobles of his Land by death; Fifthly, by breaking his own Leg falling from his Horſe, which Leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died upon the ſame: who then is ſaid at his death to forgive King *Richard* fifty thouſand marks, and ſent home the Hoſtages that were with him. *Ex variis Chron.* The Book intituled *Eulogium*, before mentioned, declareth thus, That the ſaid *Limpoldus* Duke of *Auſtrige* fell in diſpleaſure with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and died Excommunicate the next year after, being the year one thouſand one hundred ninety ſix.

The moſt puniſhment of God upon the Duke of *Auſtrige.*

{Anno 1196.}

Thus the ſaid King, *Richard* being ranſomed, as hath been declared, from the covetous Captivity of the Emperor, was reſtored again, and made his repair into *England*. At whoſe return Earl *John* his Brother, reſorting unto him with humble ſubmiſſion, deſired to be pardoned of his tranſgreſſions. To whom King *Richard* anſwered again, Would God (ſaith he) this your treſpaſs, as it dieth with me in oblivion, ſo it may remain with you in remembrance, and ſo gently forgave him. And after he had again recovered his Holds and Caſtles, he cauſed himſelf to be Crowned again. Which done, he made his power againſt the *French* King, and drave him out of *Normandy*. After that, he turned his voyage againſt the *Welch-men*, and ſubdued them.

The anſwer of King *Richard* to his Brother.

{Anno 1197}

The next year following, which was the year 1197. *Philip* the *French* King brake the Truce made between him and King *Richard*; whereupon the King was compelled to ſail over again to *Normandy* to withſtand the malice of his Enemy. About which time, my ſtory recordeth of one called of ſome *Fulco*; ſome ſay he was the Archbiſhop of *Rone*, called *Gualter*. This *Fulco* being then in *England*, and coming to the Kings preſence, ſaid unto him with great courage and boldneſs; Thou haſt, O mighty King, three Daughters very vicious and of evil diſpoſition; take good heed of them, and betimes provide for them good Husbands; leſt, by untimely beſtowing of the ſame, thou ſhalt not only incur great hurt and damage, but alſo utter ruin and deſtruction to thy ſelf. To whom the King in a rage ſaid, Thou lying and mocking Hypocrite, thou knoweſt not where thou art, or what thou ſayeſt: I think thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I have never a Daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou open lyer get thee out of our preſence. To whom *Fulco* anſwered, No, and like your Grace, I lye not, but ſay truth: for you have three Daughters which continually frequent your Court, and wholly poſſeſs your perſon, and ſuch three Whores and naughty Packs as never the like hath been heard of: I mean, miſchievous Pride, greedy Covetouſneſs, and filthy Luxury; and therefore again I ſay, O King, beware of them, and out of hand provide Marriages for them, leſt in not ſo doing, thou utterly undo both thy ſelf and all the whole Realm.

Three Daughters of the King noted.

The which his words the King took in good part, with correction of himſelf, and confeſſion of the ſame. Whereupon incontinently he called his Lords and Barons before him, unto whom he declared the communing and motion of *Fulco*, who had willed him to beware of his three Daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Luxury, with counſel out of hand to marry them, leſt further diſcommodity ſhould enſue both to him and to the whole Realm; whoſe good counſel (my Lords) I intend to follow, not doubting of all your conſents thereunto. Wherefore here before you all, I give my Daughter ſwelling Pride to wife unto the proud *Templars*; my greedy Daughter Avarice to the covetous order of the *Ciſtercian* Monks; and laſt of all, my filthy Daughter Luxury to the riotous Prelates of the Church, whom I think to be very meet Men for her; and ſo ſeverally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our Realm are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning *Fulco*.

Not long after this, it befel that a certain Noble perſonage (Lord of *Lemonice* in little *Britain*, *Widomarus* by name) found a great ſubſtance of Treaſure both of gold and ſilver hid in the ground, whereof a great part he ſent to King *Richard*, as chief Lord and Prince over the whole Country. Which the King refuſed; ſaying, *He would have all or none, for that he was the principal Chieftain over the Land.* But the finder would not condeſcend to that. Wherefore the King laid Siege to a Caſtle of his, called *Galuz*, thinking the Treaſure to lie there. But the Keepers and Warders of the Caſtle, ſeeing themſelves not ſufficient to withſtand the King, offered to him the Caſtle, deſiring to depart with life and armor. To this the King would in no wiſe grant, but bid them to re-enter the Caſtle again, and to defend it in all the forcible wiſe they could. It ſo befel, that as the King with the Duke of *Brabant* went about the Caſtle, viewing the places thereof; a Souldier within, named *Bertandus Cordoun*, ſtruck the King with an Arrow in the arm, whereupon the Iron remaining and feſtring in the wound, the King within nine days after dyed; who, becauſe he was not content with the half of the treaſure that another Man found, loſt all his own treaſure that he had. The King, being thus wounded, cauſed the Man that ſtrook him to be brought unto him, and asked the cauſe of him why he ſo wounded him? Who anſwered him again (as the ſtory ſaith) That he thought to kill rather than to be killed: and what puniſhment ſoever he ſhould ſuſtain, he was content, ſo that he might kill him which had before killed his Father and Brethren. The King, hearing his words, freely forgave him, and cauſed an hundred ſhillings to be given him. Albeit (as the ſtory addeth) after the death of the King, the Duke of *Brabant*, after great torments, cauſed him to be hanged. *Ex hiſtoria Regis Richardi ſecundi, cui initium, De patre iſtius Bruti*, &c. The ſtory of *Gisburn* ſaith, That the killer of King *Richard* coming to the *French* King, thinking to have a great reward, was commanded to be drawn aſunder with Horſes, and his quarters to be hanged up.

He that all would have ſhall all forgo.

Covetous greedineſs plagued.

The death of King *Richard* the Firſt.

King *Richard* forgiveth him that killed him.

*Ex Bibliotheca Carienſe.*

*Ex Gualtero Hemingford monacho Gisburnenſi.*

Another ſtory affirmeth, and *Gisburn* partly doth teſtifie the ſame, That a little before the death of King *Richard*, three Abbots of the Order *Ciſtertian* came to him, to whom he was confeſſed: And when he ſaw them ſomewhat ſtay at his abſolution, he had theſe words: *That he did willingly commit his body to be eaten of worms, and his ſoul to the fire of Purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgment, in the hope of God his mercy.* Ex Jornalenſ. Gisburn. & aliis.

Vain fear of Purgatory.

*Ex Jornal. Gisburnenſi & aliis.*

About the Reign of this King, the ſaid *Jornalenſis* maketh mention of *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York*, which put out of his Church the Monks, and placed for them ſecular Prieſts; ſaying, *That he would rather wiſh Eccleſiaſtical Benefices to be given to wanton Prieſts, than to abominable Monks; and that* Thurſtinus *did ſin never worſe in all his life, than in building that Houſe for Monks*, &c. Another ſtory I have, which ſaith, That this was the Biſhop not of *York*, but of *Coventry*.

Monks put out, and ſecular Prieſts received.

The King not long after departed without iſſue, and *John* his Brother Reigned after him: in whom although ſome vices may worthily be reprehended, eſpecially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he far from that deſerving, for the which he hath been ſo ill reported of divers writers: who, being led more with affection of Popery, than with true judgment and due conſideration, depraved his doings more than the ſincere truth of the Hiſtory will bear them. Concerning which Hiſtory, after ſo many writers, we thought alſo to beſtow a little labor, although in this matter we cannot be ſo long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

## *King* JOHN.

King *John.*

AFter the death of King *Richard*, called *Coeur de Lion*, Reigned his Brother *John* Earl of *Morton*. Afterward the Archbiſhop put the Crown on his head, and ſware him to defend the Church and to maintain the ſame in her good Laws, and to deſtroy the ill. And except he thought in his mind to do this, the Archbiſhop charged him not to preſume to take on him this dignity. And on S. *John* Baptiſts Day next following, King *John* ſailed into *Normandy* and came to *Rone*, where he

was royally received, and Truce concluded between him and the *French* King for a time. And thither came to him the Earl of *Flanders*, and all other Lords of *France* that were of King *Richard*'s band and friendſhip, and were Sworn unto him.

*Arthur* of *Britain.*

Not long after this, *Philip* the *French* King made *Arthur* Knight, and took his Homage for *Normandy*, *Britain*, and all other his poſſeſſions beyond the Sea, and promiſed him help againſt King *John*. After this, King *John* and the *French* King talked together with their Lords about one hours ſpace; and the *French* King asked ſo much Land for himſelf and Knight *Arthur*, that King *John* would grant him none, and ſo he departed in wrath.

A communication between the King of *England* and the *French* King.

The ſame Year a Legate came into *France*, and commanded the King, in pain of interdiction, to deliver one *Peter* out of Priſon, that was elect to a Biſhoprick; and thereupon he was delivered.

And after that the Legate came into *England*, and commanded King *John*, under pain of interdiction, to deliver the Archbiſhop whom he had kept as Priſoner two Years; which the King denied to do, till he had paid him ſix thouſand Marks; becauſe he took him in harneſs in a Field againſt him, and Sware him upon his deliverance, That he ſhould never wear Harneſs againſt any Chriſtian man.

This time Divorce was made between King *John* and his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, becauſe they were in the third degree of kindred. And after, by the counſel of the *French* King, King *John* wedded *Iſabel*, Daughter of the Earl of *Anguilla*: and then *Arthur* of *Britain* did homage to King *John* for *Britain* and others.

Mariage in the third degree forbidden by the Pope.

{Anno 1200}

At this time fell ſtrife between King *John* and *Geffery* the Archbiſhop of *York*, for divers cauſes: firſt, becauſe he would not ſuffer and permit the Sheriff of *York*, in ſuch affairs as he had to do for the King within his Dioceſs. Secondly, becauſe he did alſo excommunicate the ſaid Sheriff. Thirdly, becauſe he would not ſail with him into *Normandy*, to make the Marriage between *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, and his Neece, *&c.*

{Anno 1202}

After this, in the Year of our Lord 1202, *Philip* the *French* King (in a communication between King *John* and him) required that the ſaid King *John* ſhould part with all his Lands in *Normandy* and *Pictavia* which he had beyond the Sea, unto *Arthur* his Nephew, and that incontinent, or elſe he would War againſt him; and ſo he did. For when King *John* denied that requeſt, the next day following, the *French* King, with the ſaid *Arthur*, ſet upon certain of his Towns and Caſtles in *Normandy*, and put him to much diſquietneſs. But he (the Lord ſo providing, which is the giver of all victory) had ſuch repulſe at the *Engliſh* mens hands, that they, purſuing the *Frenchmen* in their flight, did ſo follow them in their hold, and ſo inforced upon them, that not only they took the ſaid *Arthur* Priſoner, with many other of the *French* men, but alſo gave ſuch an overthrow to the reſt, that none was there left to bear tidings home. This *Arthur* was Nephew to King *John*, and Son to *Geffrey* which was the elder Son to *John*. For King *Henry* the ſecond (to make the matter more evident) had eight Children: one *William*, which died in his childhood; the ſecond, *Henry*, which died alſo, his Father being yet alive; the third, *Geffrey*, Earl of *Britain*, which likewiſe deceaſed in his Fathers days, leaving behind him two Children, *Arthur* and *Brecca*; the fourth, *Richard Coeur de lion*, King; the fifth, *John*, now reigning; and three other Daughters beſides. The ſame *Arthur*, being thus taken in War, was brought before the King, at the Caſtle of *Faleſie* in *Normandy*; who, being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the *French* King, and to incline to his Uncle, anſwered again ſtoutly, and with great indignation; requiring the Kingdom of *England*, with all the other Dominions thereto belonging, to be reſtored to him, as to the Lawful Heir of the Crown. By reaſon whereof, he (provoking the Kings diſpleaſure againſt him) was ſent to the Tower of *Rome*, where at length (whether by leaping into the Ditch, thinking to make his eſcape, or whether by ſome other privy hand, or by what chance elſe it is not yet agreed upon in ſtories) he finiſhed his life. By occaſion whereof, the foreſaid King *John* was had after in great ſuſpition; whether juſtly or unjuſtly, the Lord knoweth.

*Nat. Parens in vita Joannis Regis.*

*Arthur.*

The Year following, Hiſtoriographers write, That King *John*, for lack of reſcue, loſt all his Holds and Poſſeſſions in *Normandy*, through the force of the *French* King.

{Anno 1203} *Normandy* loſt and gotten by the *French* men.

After theſe loſſes, came other troubles upon him, with other as great or more great enemies (that is, with the Pope and his popelings) by occaſion of chuſing of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; as in this Hiſtory following, by Chriſt his Grace is to be declared.

The Year of our Lord 1205, about the Month of *July*, *Hubert* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deceaſed; whoſe deceaſe after it was in *Canterbury* to the Monks known, and afore his Body was yet committed to the Earth; the younger ſort of the Monks there, gathered themſelves together at midnight, and elected their ſuperior *Reginald*, and without the Kings licenſe, or yet knowledge, privily placed him in the Metropoliticel Seat, ſinging *Te Deum* at midnight. And becauſe the King ſhould not make their election void, they charged him by vertue of his Oath to keep all ſecret by the way, and to ſhew nothing what was done before he came to the Pope: but he contrary to his Oath, ſo ſoon as he came into *Flanders*, opened abroad all the matter, and uttered their counſel: whereupon the Monks, being not a little grieved with him, ſent him privily unto the Court of *Rome* out of hand. The next day the elder Monks ſent to the King, deſiring him of his gracious licenſe Canonically to chuſe their Archbiſhop. The King moſt gently and favourably granted their Petition; requiring them inſtantly, and deſiring that for his ſake they would ſhew favour to *John Gray*, then Biſhop of *Norwich*, as they did indeed, erecting him into the See of their high Primacie. Moreover, becauſe the Authority of Kings and Princes was then but ſmall in their own Dominion, without the Popes conſent and confirmation to the ſame: he ſent alſo to *Rome* of his own charges to have the foreſaid election ratified by the Pope. The Suffragans of *Canterbury* then (being not a little offended at theſe two Elections) ſent ſpeedily to *Rome* to have them both ſtopped; for that they had not been of counſel with them. And hereupon at the laſt grew a moſt prodigious tumult.

{Anno 1205} Striving for the Election of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

¶ In this Year the Clergy grew ſo unruly, that they neglected their Charge, and thereby incenſed the Kings diſpleaſure ſo ſore againſt them, that he took order about the goods of ſuch as in that caſe were faulty: as ſhall appear more manifeſtly by that which followeth.

## A Letter of *King John*, touching the Lands and Goods of ſuch Clerks as refuſe to celebrate Divine Service.

*Rex omnibus de Epiſcopatu Lincolniæ clericis & laicis, ſalutem. Sciatis quod a die lunæ proxime ante Floridam paſchatis commiſimus*, &c.

*Turris Lond.* Some think that *Floridum paſchatis* is Palm-Sunday: but *Eaſter*, is rather thought to be meant thereby, ſith the *Spaniards*, at this day, call the ſame *Florida*.

In Engliſh:

*The King to all Clerks and Lay people within the Biſhoprick of* Lincoln, *Greeting: Know ye that from* Monday *next before the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *we have committed to* William *of* Cornhill, *Archdeacon of* Huntington, *and to* Joſeline *of* Canvil, *all the Lands and Goods of the Abbats and Priors, and of all the Religious Perſons; and alſo of all Clerks within the Biſhoprick of* Lincoln, *which will not from that time celebrate Divine Service. And we command you, that from thence you aſſiſt them as our Bailiffs; and believe them in thoſe things which they ſhall tell you privately on our behalf. Witneſs our ſelf at* Clarendon *the Eighteenth day of* March, *in the Ninth Year of our Reign.*

{Anno 1206} Prelates of the Church had then Money enough belike, that they could keep play at *Rome* againſt their Prince, which thing cauſed the Princes after to ſeek ſuch means to cut them ſhort.

The like was written to all within the Biſhoprick of *Ely*. So that hereby we ſee the diſſolutneſs and wilfulneſs of thoſe Popiſh Church-men, whom conſcience of diſcharging their duty did ſo little move, as that they thought upon nothing leſs, ſith the King was driven to uſe ſuch auſterity and ſharpneſs againſt them. But to proceed in this troubleſome Election you ſhall underſtand, that the next Year after, the Suffragans of the Province of *Canterbury* on the one ſide, and the Monks of *Canterbury* on the other ſide, came afore the Pope with their brawling matter. Firſt the Monks, preſenting *Reginald* their ſuperior, deſired

deſired that their Election might be confirmed. The Suffragans likewiſe complained that the Monks would preſume to chuſe the Archbiſhop without their conſent, and therefore deſired by divers reaſons the firſt Election to be of none effect. The Pope, deciding the matter between both, pronounced with the Monks, charging the Suffragans and Biſhops to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone. The Monks of *Canterbury*, now having the whole Election in their own hands, fell alſo at ſquare among themſelves, the younger ſort with the elder. The younger ſort, which had choſen *Reginald* their ſuperior, would that Election to ſtand. The elder ſort of the Monks replied again, ſaying, That the firſt Election was done by ſtealth, and by night, and by the younger part; alſo without the counſel of other Monks. Over and beſides, it was done without the Kings licenſe, and appointment, and without the due ſolemnity thereunto belonging.

Anno 1207. Diſſention amongſt the Monks of *Canterbury* about the Election of the Arch-biſhop.

And as concerning our Election (ſaid they) it was done in the clear light of the day, by which it had authority in preſence of our Liege Lord the King; and his Council being willing to the ſame.

This Allegation thus proponed, the Suffragans Proctor or man of Law ſtood forth, and proved the former Election to be good; and this later to be void and of no value, after this ſort. Whether the firſt Election (ſaith he) were juſt or unjuſt, ye ought firſt by the Law to have condemned it afore ye ſhould have preſumed to the ſecond; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your later doing no Election at all, and the firſt therefore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both ſides, with many frivolous allegations a long time, and could not agree upon one perſon; Pope *Innocent* condemned both their Elections, commanding them to chuſe *Stephen Langton*, then Cardinal of St. *Chryſogon*, for their Archbiſhop. The Monks then anſwered, That they durſt not ſo do without conſent of their King, and for that it was prejudicial to their ancient Liberties. The Pope by and by (ſaith the text) as one in a fury, taking the words out of their mouths, ſaid thus unto them: We will you to know, That we have full power and authority over the Church of *Canterbury*; neither are we wont to tarry the conſent of Princes, therefore we command you, in pain of our great curſe, that ye chuſe him only whom we have appointed.

The pride and tyranny of the Pope

The Monks at theſe words abaſhed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet conſented they all in one, and thereupon ſang *Te Deum*. Only Doctor *Helias Brantfield* withdrew himſelf from that Election; whom the King had ſent for the admiſſion of the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Thus was *Stephen Langton* (in the high Church of *Viterby*, by the Popes hand) made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Stephen Langton made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

¶ This Election thus paſt with the Popes grace and favour, the ſaid *Stephen* had in *England*, among others that ſolicited his cauſe to the King, a brother named Maſter *Simon Langton*, who in tract of time alſo became Archbiſhop of *York*, as appeareth in the courſe of this Story, in the Reign of *Henry* the third, *An.* 1228. In this behalf the King ſeemed tractable; ſo he might have his Sovereignty entire. Againſt the which, becauſe the ſaid *Stephen* had vowed to oppoſe himſelf, and the King miſliked ſuch demeanor; he ſent abroad his Letters certificatory about the Realm: therein giving intimation to all people of proud *Stephen Langton*'s countenance. The form of the ſaid Letters followeth:

## Letters certificatory of King *John*, touching the contumacy of *Stephen Langton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Popes Election.

*Wint. Lond.*

*Rex omnibus hominibus*, &c. *Sciatis quod magiſter Simon de Langton venit ad nos apud Winton die Mercurii proxime ante mediam quadrageſimæ*, &c.

In Engliſh.

*The King to all men*, &c. *Know ye that Maſter* Simon Langton *came to us at* Wincheſter, *on the* Wedneſday *next before* Mid-lent, *and in preſence of our Biſhops beſought us that we would receive his Brother, Maſter* Stephen Langton, *to be Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *And when we ſpake unto him touching the reſervation and ſaving of our Dignity unto us, he told us that he would do no ſuch thing for us, unleſs we would wholly rely our ſelves upon his courteſie and gentleneſs. This therefore we command, that you know evil and wrong to be done unto us in this behalf: and we charge you, that you believe thoſe things which* Reginald *of* Cornhil *ſhall tell you on our part touching the aforeſaid Deed between us and the Biſhops abovenamed*, &c. *Witneſs the King at* Wincheſter, *the fourteenth day of* March, *in the ninth year of his reign.*

Now, albeit the King took indignation at this proceeding in the Election of *Stephen*, yet from thenceforth (ſaith *Matthew Paris*) the Pope could do no leſs but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; conſidering that he was his own dear Darling, and a Child of his own creation.

Furthermore, upon this occaſion King *John* conceived an exceeding diſpleaſure againſt the Clergy and Monks of *Canterbury* (as he had good cauſe) they doing ſo many evils againſt his Princely Prerogative. Without his Licenſe they Elected their Archbiſhop, and put by the Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he had appointed. They waſted a great part of his Treaſure for the Wars; and, to bring all to the Divel, they made *Stephen Langton* their high Metropolitan, whom he took for a grievous Enemy to the whole Realm; being always ſo familiar with the *French* King. Wherefore in his anger he baniſhed them out of the Land, to the number of threeſcore and four, for this their contumacy, and contempt of his Regal Power.

The Monks of *Canterbury* thus being expulſed, the King forthwith ſendeth Meſſengers to the Pope with his Letters, wherein he doth ſharply and expreſly expoſtulate with the Pope. Firſt, for that ſo uncourteouſly he repulſed the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and ſet up one *Stephen Langton*, a man unknown to him, and brought up amongſt his Enemies a long time in the Kingdom of *France*, Conſecrating him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and letting the other go. Alſo (which is more) for that it redoundeth to the Subverſion and Derogation of the Liberties appertaining to his Crown: for notwithſtanding his conſent paſt (being before of the Monks, not made privy, which ſhould have ſo done) yet he raſhly preſumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot marvel (he ſaith) enough, that neither the ſaid Pope, nor the Court of *Rome*, doth conſider and revolve with themſelves, how neceſſary his love and favour hath been always hitherto to the See of *Rome*; and that they conſider not what great profit and revenews have proceeded hitherto to them out of the Realm of *England*; the like whereof hath not been received out of any other Country beſides on this ſide the *Alpes*. He addeth moreover, and ſaith, that for his Liberties he will ſtand (if need be) unto Death, neither can he be ſo removed and ſhaken off from the Election of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, which he ſeeth to be ſo commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, ſaying, That in caſe in this his requeſt he be not heard, he will ſo provide by the Seas that there ſhall be no ſuch gadding and courſing any more over to *Rome*, ſuffering the Riches of the Land no more to be tranſported over, whereby he ſhould be himſelf the leſs able to reſiſt his Enemies. And ſeeing he hath of his own at home, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church (both of *Engliſhmen* and of others) ſufficiently provided and inſtructed in all kind of knowledge: therefore he ſhall not need greatly to ſeek for judgment and juſtice further abroad.

The King doth expoſtulate with the Pope for Conſecrating *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

When theſe came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth Letters again to the King in this form:

The Popes Letters anſwering King *John*.

*INnocentius, Pope, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to our well-beloved Son in Chriſt, the King of* England, *health, and Apoſtolical bleſſing. Whereas we have written to you heretofore, exhorting and intreating you after an humble, diligent, and gentle ſort (concerning the Church of* Canterbury) *you have written to us again after a threatning ſort and upbraiding manner; both ſpitefully and alſo frowardly. And whereas we more, and above that our right and duty required, have born and given to you: you again for your part have given to us not ſo much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your Devotion, as you ſay, hath been to us very neceſſary,*

It is pity but this Pope ſhould be honoured of Kings and Princes.

yet

*yet conſider again that ours alſo is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in ſuch like caſes have not ſhewed at any time the like honour to any Prince as we have unto you; you again have ſo much derogated our honour, as no Prince elſe hath preſumed to do beſides you alone; pretending certain frivolous cauſes and occaſions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condeſcend to the Election of* Stephen Langton, *Cardinal of St.* Chryſogono, *choſen by the Monks of* Canterbury; *for that the ſaid* Stephen *(as you ſay) hath been converſant and brought up amongſt your Enemies, and his perſon is to you unknown. But you know what is the Proverb of* Solomon: The Net is caſt, but in vain in the ſight of the flying Birds, *&c.*

A craftful caſe that a King cannot conſtitute an Archbiſhop within his own Realm, whom he moſt liketh.

With much other matter in the ſame *Epiſtle*, wherein he falleth into the commendation of *Stephen Langton* his Cardinal, declaring how learned he was in the Liberal Arts, and in Divinity, in ſo much that he was Prebendated at *Paris*; alſo come of an honeſt ſtock, and an *Engliſh* man born, and not unknown to the King, ſeeing the King had written his Letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreover in the ſaid Letter, how the Meſſengers of the King had ſpecified to him another cauſe; which was, for that the Monks of *Canterbury*, which had to do in the Election, came not to him before for his conſent. Declaring moreover in the ſaid Letter, how the ſaid Meſſengers of the King intreated in the Kings behalf, that foraſmuch as the Popes Letters (wherein the King was commanded to ſend his Procters to *Rome* for the ſame matter) came not to the Kings hand, neither did the Monks direct any ſuch Letters or Meſſage to the King to have his conſent; therefore the Pope, conſidering the ſame, would grant ſo much for the regard of the Kings honour, that the Monks of *Canterbury* ſhould not proceed without the Kings aſſent therein. And foraſmuch as that hath not been done as yet, therefore they deſired ſome delay therein to be given, ſufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he ſaid, That he had granted and fulfilled their requeſt, in ſending his Letters and Meſſengers once or twice to the King for the ſame purpoſe, although he ſaid it was not the manner of the See Apoſtolick (who had the fulneſs of power over the Church of *Canterbury*) to wait for Princes conſents in ſuch Elections, who then could not be ſuffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting up his Letter, he thus concludeth in theſe words:

*And therefore ſeeing the matter ſo ſtandeth, we ſee no cauſe why we ſhould require or tarry for the Kings favour or conſent any more therein, but intend ſo to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the Canonical Ordinances of the holy Fathers ſhall direct us; that is (all impediments and delaies ſet aſide) ſo to provide that the Church of* Canterbury *be not any longer deſtitute of her Paſtor. Wherefore be it known to your diſcretion or kingly prudence, that for ſo much as this Election of* Stephen Langton *hath orderly and concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a perſon meet for the ſame; therefore we will for no mans pleaſure, neither may we without danger of ſame and of conſcience defer or protract any longer the conſummation of the ſaid Election. Wherefore my well-beloved Son, ſeeing we have had reſpect to your honour, above that our right and duty required, ſtudy to honour us ſo much as your duty requireth again, ſo that you may the more plentifully deſerve favour, both at Gods hand and ours; leſt that by doing the contrary, you bring your ſelf into ſuch a peck of troubles, as afterwards you ſhall ſcarce rid your ſelf of again. For this know for a certain, in the end it muſt needs fall out, that he ſhall have the better, unto whom every knee (of Heavenly, Earthly, and Infernal creatures) doth bow, whoſe turn I ſerve in Earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore ſettle not your ſelf to obey their perſwaſions, which always deſire your unquietneſs, whereby they may fiſh the better in the Water when it is troubled; but commit your ſelf to our pleaſure, which undoubtedly ſhall turn to your praiſe, glory, and honour. For it ſhould not be much for your ſafety in this cauſe to reſiſt God and the Church; in whoſe quarrel that bleſſed Martyr, and glorious Biſhop,* Thomas *hath of late ſhed his blood; eſpecially ſeeing your Father and your Brother of famous memory, then Kings of* England, *did give over thoſe three wicked cuſtoms into the hands of the Legates of the See Apoſtolick. But if you yield your ſelf humbly into our hands, we will look that you and yours ſhall be ſufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may ariſe hereupon to you-ward. Given at* Lateran *the tenth year of our Popedome.*

Princes muſt be ſubject to the Pope.

Note the proceedings of this ambitious Pope.

Tho. Becket he meaneth.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the glorious Letter of the proud Pope; I beſeech thee mark it well. Now to the Story.

After this Letter was ſent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandment ſent into *England*, unto certain Biſhops there, requiring them by authority Apoſtolical, That if the ſaid King would not receive the ſaid Prior of *Canterbury*, and his Monks, then they ſhould Interdict him throughout all his Realm. For the executing whereof four Biſhops were appointed by the uſurped Power of the Popes Bulls: namely, *William*, Biſhop of *London*; *Euſtace*, Biſhop of *Ely*; *Walter*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; and *Giles*, Biſhop of *Hereford*. Which ſaid four Biſhops went unto the King, and ſhewed their Commiſſion from the Pope, as is aforeſaid, willing him to conſent thereto, *&c.* But the ſaid King refuſed the ſame, and would by no means grant to their requeſt. Whereupon they, departing from his Grace, went the morrow after the Annuntiation of our Lady, and pronounced the ſaid general Interdiction throughout all *England*, ſo that the Church-doors were ſhut up with Keys, and other faſtenings, and with Walls, *&c.*

Four Biſhops appointed to interdict the Realm.

*England* interdicted by the Pope.

Now when the King heard of this, he began to be moved againſt them, and took all the poſſeſſions of the four Biſhops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the Livings of the Clergy throughout the Realm, and that they ſhould injoy no part thereof. Which being done, the Biſhops (ſeeing the ſame) curſed all them that kept, or ſhould meddle with Church Goods, againſt the will of them that ought them: and underſtanding, for all that, that the King nothing regarded their doings, they went over Sea to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the ſame, willed them again to return to *Canterbury*, and he would come thither to them, or elſe ſend certain perſons thither in his ſtead, that ſhould do as much as if he were there himſelf. Then when the Biſhops heard this, they returned again to *England*, to *Canterbury*; which tidings came ſhortly to the King, that they were come again thither. And becauſe he might not himſelf travel to them, he ſent thither Biſhops, Earls, and Abbats to intreat them, that the Archbiſhop, whom he had choſen, might be admitted; promiſing the Prior and all the Monks of *Canterbury* in his behalf, that he ſhould never take any thing of the Church Goods againſt the will of them that owe them; but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any ſuch Goods, and that the Church ſhould have all her Franchiſes in as ample manner as in St. *Edward*'s time, the Confeſſor it had.

Diſcipline of the Church abuſed for private revenge.

The inconſiderate ſtoutneſs of the Prelats againſt the King.

When the form of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingroſſed in a pair of Indentures; and the foreſaid four Biſhops, to the one part thereof, ſet their Seals: and the other part the ſaid Biſhops, Earls, and Abbats carried to ſhew the King. When the King ſaw the order thereof, he liked it well, ſaving he would not agree to make reſtitution of the Church Goods. So he ſent to the four Biſhops again that they ſhould put out that point of Reſtitution. But they anſwered ſtoutly that they would not put out one word. Then the King ſent word to the Archbiſhop, by the four Biſhops, that he ſhould come to *Canterbury* to ſpeak with him, and for his ſafe conduct to come and go again at his will, he ſent his Juſtices as Pledges, *Gilbert Peiteuin*, *William de la Bereuar*, and *John Letſitz*. Which thing thus done, the Archbiſhop *Stephen* came to *Canterbury*, and the King (hearing thereof) came to *Chilham*; from whence he ſent his Treaſurer the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to him, to have him put out of the Indentures the Clauſe of Reſtitution aforeſaid: who, denying to alter any word of the ſame, moved the King in ſuch ſort, that immediatly it was proclaimed throughout *England* at the Kings Commandment, that all thoſe that had any Church-Livings, and went over Sea, ſhould come again into *England* by a certain day, or elſe loſe their Livings for evermore. And further in that Proclamation, he charged all Sheriffs within the Realm, to inquire if any Biſhops, Abbats, Priors,

*Stephen Langton* ſtout againſt his King.

The King moved againſt the Archbiſhop *Langton.*

Priors, or any other Church man (from that day forward) received any commandment that came from the Pope, and that they ſhould take his or their body and bring it before him: and alſo that they ſhould take into their hands, for the Kings uſe, all the Church Lands that were given to any man through the Archbiſhop *Stephen*, or by the Priors of *Canterbury*, from the time of the Election of the Archbiſhop: and further charged that all the Woods, that were the Archbiſhops, ſhould be cut down and ſold.

Legats ſent from the Pope.

When tidings came to the Pope that the King had thus done, being moved thereby with fiery wrath, he ſent to the King two Legates (the one called *Pandulph*, and the other *Durant*) to warn him in the Popes name that he ſhould ceaſe his doings to the holy Church, and amend the wrong he had done to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to the Priors and the Monks of *Canterbury*, and to all the Clergy of *England*. And further, that he ſhould reſtore the Goods again that he had taken of them againſt their will, or elſe they ſhould curſe the King by name: and to do this, the Pope took them his Letters in Bulls Patent. Theſe two Legates, coming into *England*, reſorted to the King to *Northampton*, where he held his Parliament, and, ſaluting him, ſaid they came from the Pope of *Rome*, to reform the Peace of holy Church. And firſt, ſaid they, we admoniſh you in the Popes behalf, that ye make full reſtitution of the Goods, and of the Lands, that ye have raviſhed holy Church of; and that ye receive *Stephen* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* into his Dignity; and the Prior of *Canterbury* and his Monks; and that ye yield again unto the Archbiſhop all his Lands and Rents without any withholding. And, Sir, yet moreover, That ye ſhall make ſuch reſtitution to them, as the Church ſhall think ſufficient.

Reſtitution required of the King.

Then anſwered the King, As touching the Prior and his Monks of *Canterbury*, all that ye have ſaid I would gladly do, and all things elſe that you would Ordain; but as touching the Archbiſhop, I ſhall tell you as it lieth in my heart: Let the Archbiſhop leave his Biſhoprick; and if the Pope then ſhall intreat for him, peradventure I may like to give him ſome other Biſhoprick in *England*; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him.

Then ſaid *Pandulph* unto the King, holy Church was wont never to degrade Archbiſhop without cauſe reaſonable: but ever ſhe was wont to correct Princes that were diſobedient to her.

What? How now (quoth the King) threaten ye me? Nay, ſaid *Pandulph*, but ye have now openly told us as it ſtandeth in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the Popes will; and thus it ſtandeth: He hath wholly Interdicted and Curſed you, for the wrongs you have done unto the holy Church, and unto the Clergy. And for ſo much as ye will dwell ſtill in your malice, and will come to no amendment; you ſhall underſtand, that from this time forward the Sentences upon you given have force and ſtrength. And all thoſe that with you have communed before this time, whether that they be Earls, Barons, or Knights, (or any other whatſoever they be) we abſoil them ſafely from their ſins unto this day: And from this time forward (of what condition ſoever they be) we accurſe them openly, and ſpecially by this our Sentence, that do commune with you. And we abſoil moreover Earls, Barons, Knights, and all other manner of men of their Homages, Services, and Fealties that they ſhould do unto you. And this thing to confirm, we give plain power unto the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and the ſame power we give againſt *Scotland* unto the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and of *Salisbury*: and in *Wales* we give the ſame power to the Biſhops of St. *David*, and of *Landaff*, and of St. *Aſſe*.

Sentence of the Popes Curſe pronounced againſt the King.

The Pope Author of Rebellion and diſobedience of Subjects towards their Prince.

Alſo Sir King (quoth *Pandulph*) all the Kings, Princes, and the great Dukes Chriſtened, have laboured to the Pope to have Licenſe to Croſs themſelves, and to War againſt thee, as upon Gods great Enemy, and win thy Land, and to make King whom it pleaſeth the Pope. And we here now abſoil all thoſe of their ſins, that will riſe againſt thee here in thine own Land.

Then the King, hearing this, anſwered: What ſhame may ye do more to me than this?

*Pandulph* again: We ſay to you in *Verbo Dei*, that neither you, nor any Heir that you have, after this day ſhall be Crowned. So the King ſaid, By him that is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before ye came into this Land, and that ye had brought me ſuch news, I ſhould have made you tarry out theſe twelve months.

Then anſwered *Pandulph*, Full well we thought, at our firſt coming, that ye would have been obedient to God and to holy Church, and have fulfilled the Popes commandment, which we have ſhewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye ſay, that if ye had wiſt the cauſe of our coming, ye would have made us tarry out a whole year; who might as well ſay, that ye would have taken a whole years reſpite without the Popes leave: but for to ſuffer what death ye can ordain, we ſhall not ſpare to tell all the Popes meſſage and will, that he gave us in charge. Like maſter like man.

In another Chronicle I find the words between the King and *Pandulph* ſomething otherwiſe deſcribed, as though the King ſhould firſt threaten him with hanging, if he had fore-known of his coming. To whom *Pandulph* again ſhould anſwer, That he looked for nothing elſe at his hand, but to ſuffer for the Churches right. Whereupon the King, being mightily incenſed, departed. The King the ſame time being at *Northampton*, willed the Sheriffs and Bailiffs to bring forth all the Priſoners there, that ſuch as had deſerved ſhould be put to Death: to the intent (as ſome think) to make *Pandulphus* afraid. Among whom was a certain Clerk, who for counterfeiting the Kings Coin, was alſo condemned to be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered; and moreover, by the King was commanded (thereby to anger *Pandulphus* the more, as may be thought) to be Hanged up higheſt above the reſt. *Pandulphus* hearing thereof, notwithſtanding he ſomewhat began to fear leaſt he ſhould be Hanged himſelf; yet with ſuch courage as he had, he went to the Church to ſet out Book, Bell, and Candle, charging that no man, under pain of Accurſing, ſhould lay hands upon the Clerk. Upon this the King and the Cardinal departed in no little anger. And *Pandulph* went to *Rome*, and reported to the Pope and the Cardinals what had been done. *Pandulph* worſe afraid than hurt.

Then the Pope Summoned all the Biſhops, Abbats, and Clerks of *England*, to come and repair unto *Rome*, to conſult what was to be done therein. This Council began the firſt day of *October*. In the which Council it was Decreed by the Pope and his Aſſembly, That *John* King of *England* ſhould be Accurſed, with all ſuch as held with him, every day ſo long as that Council endured. Albeit this was not yet Granted, that the People ſhould be croſſed to fight againſt him, becauſe as yet he had ſhed no blood. But afterwards the ſaid Pope *Innocent*, ſeeing that King *John* by no means would ſtoop under his ſubjection, nor under the rule of his Popiſh See, he ſent unto the *French* King, upon remiſſion of all his ſins, and of all that went with him, That he ſhould take with him all the power he might, and ſo to invade the Realm of *England* to deſtroy King *John*.

This occaſion given, Pope *Innocent* yet once again commanded, in pain of his great Curſe, That no man ſhould obey King *John*, neither yet keep company with him: he forbad all perſons to Eat and Drink with him, or Talk with him, to Commune or Counſel with him; yea, his own familiar Houſhold to do him any kind of ſervice, either at Bed or at Board, in Church, Hall, or Stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them, which after ſuch ſort fled from him (by the Ordinance of God) of divers and ſundry Diſeaſes the ſame year died. And between both Nations (*Engliſh* and *French*) fell that year great amity; but ſecret, ſubtil, and falſe, to the bitter betraying of *England*. Neither was the Pope content only with this, but moreover, the ſaid Pope *Innocent* gave Sentence definitive (by Council of his Cardinals) that King *John* ſhould be put from his Seat Regal and Depoſed, and another put in his Room. And to the ſpeedy execution thereof he appointed the *French* King *Philip*, promiſing to give him full remiſſion of all his ſins, and the clear poſſeſſion of all the Realm of *England*, to him and his Heirs, if he did either kill him or expel him. The Popes great Curſe. The firſt puniſhment of God upon diſobedient Subjects. The Pope found a murtherer.

The next year the *French* King began his attempt, in hope of the Crown of *England*; being well-manned with Biſhops, Monks, Prelates, Prieſts, and their Servants, to maintain the ſame: bragging of the Letters which they had received from the great men there. But behold the work of God; the *Engliſh* Navy took three hundred of the *French* Kings Ships, well loaden with Wheat, Wine, Meal, Fleſh, Armor, and ſuch other like meet for the War: French Ships taken by Engliſh men.

{ Anno 1212.

and

and one hundred they burnt within the Haven, taking the ſpoils with them. In the mean time the Prieſts within *England* had provided them a certain falſe counterfeit Prophet, called *Peter Wakefield* of *Poiz*; who was an idle gadder about, and a prating merchant. This *Peter* they made to propheſie lyes, rumoring his propheſies abroad, to bring the King out of all credit with his people. They noiſed it daily among the Commons of the Realm, that Chriſt had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in ſhape of a Child between the Prieſts hands, once at *York*, another time at *Pomfret*; and that he had breathed on him thrice, ſaying, Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the Biſhops; and bid the people amend their naughty living. Being rapt alſo in ſpirit (they ſaid) he beheld the Joys of Heaven, and Sorrows of Hell. For ſcant were there three (ſaith the Chronicle) among a thouſand that lived Chriſtianly. This counterfeit ſoothſayer propheſied of King *John*, that he ſhould Reign no longer than *Aſcention-day*, within the year of our Lord 1213. which was the fourteenth from his Coronation; and this (he ſaid) he had by revelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether he ſhould be ſlain, or expelled, or ſhould of himſelf give over the Crown? He anſwered, That he could not tell. But of this he was ſure (he ſaid) that neither he, nor any of his ſtock or lineage ſhould Reign, that day once finiſhed. The King, hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a ſcoff thereof. Tuſh (ſaith he) it is but an Idiot Knave, and ſuch a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this fooliſh prophet had ſo eſcaped the danger of the Kings diſpleaſure, and that he made no more of it; he gat him abroad and prated thereof at large (as he was a very idle Vagabond) and uſed to tattle and talk more than enough: ſo that they which loved the King cauſed him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into Priſon, the King not knowing thereof.

*Peter* the falſe prophet.

The falſe prophet found a Lyer.

Anon after, the fame of this phantaſtical prophet went all the Realm over, and his name was known every where (as fooliſhneſs is much regarded of people, where wiſdom is not in place) ſpecially becauſe he was then Impriſoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wondrings were the wantoner, their practiſing the fooliſher, their buſie talks, and other idle occupyings the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old Goſſips Tales went abroad, new Tales were invented, Fables were added to Fables, and Lyes grew upon Lyes: ſo that every day new ſlanders were raiſed on the King, and not one of them true: rumors aroſe, blaſphemies were ſpread, the Enemies rejoyced, and Treaſons by the Prieſts were maintained, and what likewiſe was ſurmiſed, or other ſubtilty practiſed, all was then fathered upon this fooliſh prophet: As, thus ſaith *Peter Wakefield*, Thus hath he propheſied, and, This ſhall come to paſs; yea, many times when he thought nothing leſs. When the *Aſcenſion-day* was come, which was propheſied of before, King *John* commanded his Regal Tent to be ſpread abroad in the open field, paſſing that day with his Noble Council and men of Honour, in the greateſt Solemnity that ever he did afore, Solacing himſelf with Muſical Inſtruments and Songs, moſt in ſight amongſt his truſty Friends. When that day was paſt in all proſperity and mirth, his Enemies being confounded, turned all to an allegorical underſtanding, to make the propheſie good, and ſaid, He is no longer King, for the Pope Reigneth, and not he; yet Reigned he ſtill, and his Son after him, to prove that prophet a Lyer. Then was the King by his Council perſwaded that this falſe prophet had troubled all the Realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and raiſed the Commons againſt him. For his words went over the Sea by the help of his Prelates, and came to the *French* Kings Ear, and gave unto him a great incouragement to Invade the Land; he had not elſe done it ſo ſuddenly. But he was moſt foully deceived, as all they are and ſhall be that put their truſt in ſuch dark drowſie dreams of Hypocrites. The King therefore commanded that he ſhould be drawn and hanged like a Traytor.

The falſe prophet proved a Lyer by King *John*.

The falſe prophet hanged.

After that the Popiſh Prelates, Monks, Canons, Prieſts, &c. ſaw this their crafty jugling by their ſained prophet would not ſpeed, notwithſtanding they had done no little harm thereby; to help the matter more forward, they began to travel and practice with Pope *Innocent* of the one ſide, and alſo with the *French* King on the other ſide, beſides ubtil Treaſons which they wrought within the Realm, and by their confeſſions in the Ear, wherby they both blinded the Nobility and Commons. The King thus compaſſed about on every ſide with Enemies, and fearing the ſequel thereof, knowing the Conſpiracies that were in working againſt him, as well by the Pope (in all that ever he might) as alſo by *Philip* the *French* King by his procurement: and moreover his own People, eſpecially his Lords and Barons being rebelliouſly incited againſt him; as by the Popes Curſes and Interdictions againſt ſuch as took his part, and by his Abſolutions and Diſpenſations with all thoſe that would rebel againſt him, commanding them to detain from him ſuch Homage, Service, Duties, Debts, and all other Allegiance that godly Subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their Liege Lord and Prince: All which things conſidered, the King, I ſay, in the thirteenth year of his Reign, for that the *French* King began to make ſharp Invaſion upon him within his own Realm, ſent ſpeedy Ambaſſadors to the Pope (as to the Fountain of all this his miſchief, pretended to work and intreat his Peace and Reconciliation with him) promiſing to do whatſoever the Pope ſhould will him, and command him in the reformation of himſelf, and reſtitution of all wrongs done to holy Church, and to make due ſatisfaction therefore unto all men that could complain.

King *John* ſubmitteth himſelf to the Pope.

King *John* intreateth for Peace with the Pope.

Then ſent the Pope again into *England* his Legate *Pandulph*, with other Ambaſſadors: the King alſo at *Canterbury* (by Letters, as it ſhould ſeem, certified from his own Ambaſſadors) waited their coming. Where the thirteenth day of *May* the King received them, making unto them an Oath, That of and for all things wherein he ſtood Accurſed, he would make ample reſtitution and ſatisfaction. Unto whom alſo all the Lords and Barons of *England* (ſo many as there were with the King attending the Legates coming) ſware in like manner, That if the King would not accompliſh in every thing the Oath which he had taken, then they would cauſe him to hold and confirm the ſame whether he would or not (or by ſtrength) to uſe the Authors words.

Then ſubmitted the King himſelf unto the Court of *Rome*, and to the Pope, and reſigning gave up his Dominions and Realms of *England* and *Ireland* from him and from his Heirs for evermore that ſhould come of him. With this condition, that the King and his Heirs ſhould take again theſe two Dominions of the Pope to Farm, paying yearly therefore to the Court of *Rome* 1000 Marks of Silver. Then took the King the Crown from his Head, kneeling upon his Knees, in the preſence of all his Lords and Barons of *England*, to *Pandulph* the Popes chief Legate, ſaying in this wiſe, Here I reſign up the Crown of the Realm of *England* to the Popes hands, *Innocent* the third, and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance. Then took *Pandulph* the Crown of King *John*, and kept it five days as a poſſeſſion and ſeizin-taking of theſe two Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, confirming alſo all things promiſed by his Charter Obligatory as followeth:

King *John* ſubmitteth himſelf and reſigneth his Crown.

## The Copy of the Letter Obligatory that King *John* made to the Pope, concerning the yielding up of the Crown and Realm of *England* into the Popes hands, for a certain Sum of Mony yearly to be paid.

The Draught of the Inſtrument Obligatory, wherein King *John* reſigneth his Kingdom to the Popes hand Chriſt was offered a Kingdom and would none of it, but the Pope doth not refuſe it.

TO *all Chriſtian People throughout the World dwelling,* John *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *greeting: To your Univerſity known be it, That for ſo much as we have grived and offended God, and our Mother Church of* Rome, *and for ſo much as we have need of the Mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: and we may nothing ſo worthy offer, and competent ſatisfaction make to God and to holy Church (but if it were our own body) as with our Realms of* England *and of* Ireland; *then by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt we deſire to meek us for the Love of him, that meeked him to the Death upon the Croſs. And through Counſel of the Nobles, Earls, and Barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the Apoſtles St.* Peter *and* Paul, *and to our mother Church of* Rome, *and to our holy father Pope* Innocent *the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the Realm, Patronages of Churches of* England *and of* Ireland, *with all the appurtenances, for remiſſion of ſins, and help and health of our Kings ſouls, and*

of

*of all Chriſtian ſouls. So that from this time afterward, we will receive and hold of our mother Church of* Rome *as in Farm, doing fealty to our holy father the Pope,* Innocent *the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, in the manner above-ſaid. And in the preſence of the wiſe man* Pandulph *the Popes ſooth-deacon, we make Liege Homage, as if it were in the Popes preſence and we before him were, and as if he himſelf ſhould have done all manner of things above-ſaid; and thereto we bind us, and all that come after us, and our Heirs for evermore, without any gain-ſaying to the Pope, and eke the ward of the Church vacant. And in token of this thing ever for to laſt, we will, confirm, and ordain, That he be our ſpecial renter of the fore-ſaid Realms (ſaving St.* Peter-pence) *in all things. To the mother Church of* Rome, *paying by the year* 1000 *Marks of Silver at two times of the year for all manner cuſtoms that we ſhould do for the ſaid Realms; that is to ſay, at* Michaelmas *and at* Eaſter; *that is, for* England 700 *Marks, and* 300 *Marks for* Ireland; *ſaving to us and to our Heirs, our Juſtices and our other Franchiſes. And all theſe things that before been ſaid, we will that they be firm and ſtable without end, and to that Obligation we and all our Succeſſors, and our Heirs in this manner been bound, That if we or any of our Heirs through any preſumption fall in any point again of theſe things above-ſaid (and be been warned and will not right amend him) he ſhall then loſe the fore-ſaid Realms for evermore: and this Charter of Obligation and our Warrant for evermore be firm and ſtable without gain-ſaying. We ſhall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother Church of* Rome, *and to thee,* Innocent *the third, and to all that commen after thee, and the Realms of* England *and of* Ireland *we ſhall maintain true lich in all manner points, againſt all manner of men, by our power through Gods help.*

Upon this Obligation the King was diſcharged, the ſecond day of *July*; from that tyrannical Interdiction, under which he continued ſix years and three months. But before the releaſement thereof, firſt he was miſerably compelled (as hath been declared) to give over both his Crown and Scepter to that Antichriſt of *Rome* for the ſpace of five days, and as his Client, Vaſſal, Feudary, and Tenant, to receive it again of him at the hands of another Cardinal; being bound Obligatory, both for himſelf, and for his Succeſſors to pay yearly (for acknowledgment thereof) 1000 Marks for *England* and *Ireland*: Then came they thither from all parts of the Realm, ſo many as had their Conſciences wounded for obeying their Liege King, as blind Idiots, and there they were Abſolved, every one of his own Biſhop, except the Spiritual Fathers, and Eccleſiaſtical Soldiers, for they were compelled to ſeek to *Rome*, as Captives reſerved to the Popes own fatherhood. In this new ruffling the King eaſily granted, that Abbats, Deans, and Curates ſhould be Elected freely every where, ſo that the Laws of the Realm were truly obſerved. But againſt that were the Biſhops, alledging their Canonical Decrees and Rules Synodal, determining the King therein to have nothing to do, but only to give his conſent after they had once Elected. But among this ſhaven Rabble, ſome there were which conſented not to this wicked error: a ſort alſo there were of the Prelates at that time, which were not pleaſed that the Lands Interdiction ſhould ceaſe, till the King had paid all that which their Clergy in all quarters of the Realm had demanded, without reaſon: yea, what every ſawcy Sir *John* for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their Hedges, the ſtealing of their Apples, and their other occaſional damages, which grew to an incredible ſum, and impoſſible to be anſwered. Such was the outragious cruel noiſe of that miſchievous progeny of Antichriſt, againſt their natural King.

*The unreaſonableneſs of the Clergy againſt their natural Prince.*

Notwithſtanding that which is uttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the Clergy againſt their Prince, yet did the Popes Legate and Cardinal *Nicolaus Tuſculanus* much favour his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him that he was exceeding partial, and regarded not their matters Eccleſiaſtical, as he ſhould have done. For leaving the account of their Reſtitutions, he went with the Kings Officers, as the Kings pleaſure was, to the Cathedral Miniſters, Abbies, Priories, Deanries, and great Churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent always he appointed two; one for the King, another for the Parties. But upon him only whom the King nominated, he compelled moſt commonly the Election to paſs: which vexed them wonderfully. Upon this therefore they raiſed a new Conſpiracy againſt the Kings Perſon by help of their Biſhops, ſeditious Prelates, and ſuch Noble men as they had drawn to their Parties. We beheld (ſaith *Hoveden*) about the ſame time many noble Houſes and Aſſemblies divided in many places. The Fathers and the Aged men ſtood upon the Kings part, but the younger ſort contrary. And ſome there were that for the love of their kindred, and in other ſundry reſpects forſook the King again. Yea, the ſame went that time, ſaith he, That they were confederated with *Alexander* the *Scotiſh* King; and *Leolin* the Prince of *Wales*, to work him an utter miſchief. A Council at *Oxford* the Archbiſhop called; whereat ſome would not tarry, conſidering the confuſion thereof; the other ſort, having very obſtinate hearts, reviled the King moſt ſpitefully behind his back, and ſaid, That from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no Governor of theirs. Their outragious and frantick clamors ſo much prevailed in thoſe days, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a moſt perillous commotion.

In the year of our Lord 1215, as witneſſeth *Paulus Æmilius* and other Hiſtories, Pope *Innocent* the third held a General Synod at *Rome*, called the Council *Lateran*. The chief cauſes of that Council were theſe: In the days of this *Innocent*, Hereſie (as he calleth the Truth of God, or the Doctrine that rebuketh ſin) began to riſe up very high, and to ſpread forth his branches abroad; by reaſon whereof many Princes were Excommunicated, as *Otho* the Emperor, *John* the King of *England*, *Peter* King of *Aragon*, *Raimund* the Earl of *Tholouſe*, *Aquitania*, *Sataloni*, and ſuch other like, as is aforeſaid. So that it could be no otherwiſe, ſaith *Hoveden*, but with the ſharp Ax of the Goſpel (ſo called he the Popes Excommunications) they ought of neceſſity to have been cut off from the Church. Therefore was this Council provided, proclaimed, and Prelates from all Nations thereunto called. And to colour thoſe miſchiefs which he then went about, he cauſed it by his Legates and Cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noiſed abroad, that his intent therein was only to have the Church univerſally reformed, and the Holy Land from the *Turks* hands recovered. But all this was craft and falſhood; as the ſequel thereof hath manifeſtly declared. For his purpoſe thereby was to ſubdue all Princes, and to make himſelf Rich and Wealthy. For there he made this Antichriſtian Act, and Eſtabliſhed it by publick Decree, That the Pope ſhould have from thenceforth the Correction of all Chriſtian Princes, and that no Emperor ſhould be admitted, except he were ſworn before, and were alſo Crowned of him. He Ordained moreover, That whoſoever he were that ſhould ſpeak evil of the Pope, he ſhould be puniſhed in Hell with Eternal Damnation: *Conradus, Urſpergenſis, Hieronymus, Marius.* He provided Confeſſion to help theſe matters; he allowed their Bread a Pix to cover him; and a Bell when he goeth abroad; and made the Maſs equal with Chriſts Goſpel.

Anno 1215

*The Council of Lateran holden by Pope Innocent.*

*The Pope to have juriſdiction of all Churches.*

In this Council was firſt invented and brought in Tranſubſtantiation: of which *Johannes Scotus*, whom we call *Duns*, maketh mention in his fourth Book, writing in theſe words: *The words of the Scripture might be expounded more eaſily and more plainly without Tranſubſtantiation. But the Church did chuſe this ſenſe, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it ſeemeth, chiefly, becauſe that of the Sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of* Rome *holdeth*, &c. And in the ſame place he maketh mention of *Innocentius* the third.

*Johannes Scotus.*

*Tranſubſtantiation firſt brought in.*

Moreover, in the ſaid Council was Eſtabliſhed and Ratified the wretched and Impious Act, compelling Prieſts to abjure Lawful Matrimony. Whereupon theſe Meeters or Verſes were made the ſame time againſt him, which here follow under-written.

*Marriage of Prieſts forbidden by Pope Innocent.*

*Non eſt* Innocentius, *imo nocens vere,*
*Qui, quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere:*
*Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,*
*Modo vetus Pontifex ſtudet prohibere:*
*Zacharias habuit prolem & uxorem,*
*Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem;*
*Baptizavit etenim mundi Salvatorem:*
*Pereat qui tenet novum hunc errorem.*
Paulus *cœlos rapitur ad ſuperiores,*
*Ubi multas didicit res ſecretiores;*

*Ad nos tandem rediens inſtruenſque mores,*
*Suas, inquit, habeant, quilibet uxores.*
*Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,*
*Reor eſſe melius & magis decorum,*
*Quiſque ſuam habeat & non proximorum,*
*Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.*
*Proximorum fœminas, filias, & neptes*
*Violare nefas eſt, quare nil deceptes,*
*Were tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,*
*Diem ut ſic ultimum tutius expectes.*

*Nocent, not innocent he is, that ſeeketh to deface,*
*By word the thing, that he by deed hath taught Men to imbrace;*
*Which being now a Biſhop old, doth ſtudy to deſtroy*
*The thing, which he a young Man once did covet to injoy.*
*Prieſt Zachary both had a Wife, and had a Child alſo,*
*By means of whom there did to him great praiſe and honour grow.*
*For he did Baptize him which was the ſaver of mankind:*
*Ill him befal that holdeth this new error in his mind.*
*Into the higher Heavens good Paul was lifted from below,*
*And many ſecret hidden things he learned there to know:*
*Return'd at length from them to us, and teaching rules of life,*
*He ſaid, Let each Man have his own and only wedded Wife.*
*For this and other documents of them that learned be,*
*Much better and more comly eke it ſeemeth unto me,*
*That each ſhould have his own alone, and not his Neighbours Wife,*
*Leſt with his Neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathful ſtrife.*
*Thy Neighbour's Daughters or their Wives, or Neeces to defile,*
*Unlawful is, therefore beware do not thy ſelf beguile.*
*Have thou thine own true wedded Wife, delight in her alway,*
*With ſafer mind that thou mayſt look to ſee the later day.*

Now let us return to King *John* again, and mark how the Prieſts and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his Majeſties will. In the foreſaid Council of *Lateran*, and the ſame year, was *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Excommunicated of Pope *Innocent*, with all thoſe Biſhops, Prelates, Prieſts, Barons, and Commons, which had been of counſel with him in the former Rebellion. And when the ſaid Archbiſhop had made inſtant ſute of him to be Abſolved, anon he made him this anſwer with great indignation: Brother mine, I ſwear by Saint *Peter*, thou ſhalt not ſo ſoon at my hand obtain the benefit of Abſolution: for why? thou haſt not only done harm to the King of *England*, but alſo thou haſt in a great many of things injured the Church of *Rome* here, and therefore thou ſhalt tarry my leaſure. The Archbiſhop was alſo at that time ſuſpended out of the Church, and commanded to ſay no Maſs at all, neither yet to exerciſe any other Eccleſiaſtical Office; becauſe he would not at time convenient execute the Popes Curſe upon the Rebellious Barons. With them the ſaid Pope had been ſo deeply offended and angred a little before, that the great Charter of the Liberties of *England* (with great indignation and countenance moſt terrible) he rent and deſtroyed, by ſentence definitive condemning it for ever; and by and by thereupon Curſed all the other Rebels, with Book, Bell, and Candle. The greater Captains of them (with the Citizens of *London*) for that aſſay were pronouced Excommunicate by name, and remained ſtill Interdicted. They appealed then to the council general.

*Stephen Langton ſuſpended out of the Church.*

*Appeal to the general council.*

In the ſame year 1215. were thoſe great men alſo ſummoned to appear at *Rome* in that general Synod, which would not conſent to their Kings expulſion, nor yet tyrannical depoſing. Though they were called (they ſaid) thereunto by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and others, and required by oath to ſubſcribe unto the ſame: yet could they not of their conſcience do it, becauſe he had humbled himſelf, and alſo granted to keep peace with all Men. Thus was the whole Realm miſerably then divided into two factions through malice of the Clergy: ſo ſtriſes increaſed in the Land every where. Yet were there of the Lords and Gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the King and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other ſide (not a little ſuſpecting the ſtate that they were in) fled ſpeedily to the *French* King *Philip*: deſiring him that he would grant to them his eldeſt Son *Ludovick*, and they would Elect him to be their King, and that without much tarriance. They beſought him moreover, that he would ſend with him a ſtrong and mighty power, ſuch as were able to ſubdue him utterly, that they mighty (they ſay) be delivered of ſuch a wicked Tyrant. Such was the report that thoſe moſt wicked Papiſts gave their Chriſtian Governour, appointed to them of God: whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had been evil, even for very conſcience ſake, *Rom.* 13. And as certain of the Lords and Barons were buſie to chuſe the ſaid *Ludovick* for their King, the Pope ſent thither one *Gualo* the Cardinal of S. *Martin* to ſtay thoſe raſh and cruel attempts; charging the *French* King upon his Allagiance, That he with all power poſſible ſhould favour, maintain, and defend King *John* of *England*, his Feudary or Tenant. The *French* King thereto made anſwer, as one not content with that arrogant precept; *The Realm of* England (ſaid he) *was never yet any part of Saint* Peter's *Patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time ſhall be hereafter.* Thus ſpake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his Son by treaſon of the Barons.

*Gualo* Cardinal ſent into *England.*

No Prince or Potentate (ſaid *Philip* the *French* King) may pledge or give away his Kingdom, which is (beſide the Realm) the Government of his whole Common-wealth, without the lawful conſent of his Barons, which are bound to defend the ſame. If the Pope ſhall introduce or ſet up ſuch a preſident in Chriſtianity, he ſhall at his pleaſure bring all Chriſtian Kings and their Kingdoms to nought. I like not this example in theſe days begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of King *John* of *England*: though he be my utter adverſary, yet I much lament that he hath ſo indammaged his Realm, and hath brought that noble ground and Queen of Provinces under miſerable tribute. The chief Lords and Men of his Nobility ſtanding by, when he uttered theſe words, (being as it were in a fury) cryed with one voyce: By the blood of God, in whom we truſt to be ſaved, we will ſtick in this Article to the loſing of our heads. Let the King of *England* do therein what him liketh: no King may put his Land under Tribute, and ſo make his Nobility Captive Servants. With that came in *Ludovick* the Kings eldeſt Son, and ſaid unto them all there preſent; I beſeech you, let not my purpoſed journey: the Barons of *England* have Elected me for their Lord and King, and I will not ſurely loſe my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea ſo long as heart ſhall ſtir within my breſt: and I doubt not but I ſhall well obtain it, for I have friends among them. His Father the King ſtood ſtill as if he had been in a dump, and anſwered never a word, but fared as though he had diſſembled the matter. Belike he miſtruſted ſomething therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the Prieſts, that they might live licentiouſly in all wealth and freedom from the Kings yoke.

*The French King and his Son reaſoning about England.*

About the ſame time were ſuch Treaſons and Conſpiracies wrought by the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Monks throughout all the Realm, that the King knew not where to become or find truſty friends; he was then compelled, by the uncertainty of his Subjects, to travel from place to place, but not without a great Army of Men, looking every day when his Barons and their Confederates would cruelly ſet upon him. At laſt he came to *Dover*, and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loved him better than did his own people. And thither reſorted to him from *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Holland*, on one ſide, and from *Guian*, *Gaſcoin*, and *Poitiers*, on the other ſide, and from other Countries more, a wonderful number of Men. The report then went, That the Pope had written unto thoſe Countries, mightily to aſſiſt him for divers conſiderations: one was, for that he had both ſubmitted himſelf and his Dominions unto his protection; another was, Becauſe he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the Croſs, to win again *Jeruſalem*; the third was, For that he had gotten by him the Dominion of *England* and *Ireland*, and feared to loſe both, if he ſhould chance to decay. For the ſpace of three months he remained in the *Iſle of Wight*, abroad in the Air to quiet himſelf for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a ſolitary life among Rivers and Water-men; whereas he rather coveted to dye than to live, being ſo traiterouſly handled of his Biſhops and Barons, and not knowing how to be juſtly avenged of them. Upon the Purification day of our Lady, therefore he took upon him the Croſs or Voyage againſt the *Turks*, for recovery of *Hieruſalem*, moved thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, than for any other Devotion elſe. And thus he ſaid to his familiar Servants: Since I ſubmitted my ſelf and my Lands (*England* and *Ireland*)

*Prelates and Prieſts conſpiring againſt the King.*

*The diſcord between the Nobles and the King.*

to

to the Church of *Rome* (ſorrow come to it) never thing proſpered with me, but all hath gone againſt me.

Anno 1216. In the next year after 1216. was *Simon Langton* choſen Archbiſhop of *York*; but that Election anon after was diſſolved; for information was given to the Pope, that the ſaid *Simon* was Brother to *Stephen Langton* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which had been the occaſion of all the Tumults which were at that time in *England*. And the Pope had the more hate unto him, for that he had brought him up of nought, and did find him at that time ſo ſtubborn: wherefore he placed in his Brothers place *Walter Gray*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

*Walter Gray Archbiſhop of York.*

*Gualo* the Popes Legate.

In the ſame year *Gualo* the Popes Legate renewed his great curſe upon *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, for uſurping upon King *John*: Likewiſe upon *Simon Langton*, and *Gervais Hobruge*, for provoking him to the ſame, and that with a wonderful Solemnity: For in that doing he made all the Bells to be Rung, the Candles to be light, the Doors to be opened, and the Book of Excommunications or Interdictions publickly to be read, committing them wholly to the Devil for their contumacy and contempt. He alſo commanded the Biſhops and Curates to publiſh it abroad over all the whole Realm, to the terror of all his ſubjects. The ſaid *Simon* and *Gervais* laughed him to ſcorn, and derided much his doings in that behalf, ſaying, that for the juſt title of *Ludovike*, they had appealled to the general Council at *Rome*.

*Radul. Niger cap. 43. 44.*

The Magiſtrates of *London*, and Citizens of the ſame, did likewiſe vilipend and diſdainfully mock all that the Pope had there commanded and done. And in ſpight both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were Excommunicated, both at Table and at Church, ſhewing themſelves thereby as open contemners both of him and his Laws. *Ludovike* at *London*, taking himſelf for King, conſtituted *Simon Langton* for his high Chancellor, and *Gervais Hobruge* for his chief Preacher; by whoſe dayly Preachings (as well the Barons as the Citizens themſelves being Excommunicated) he cauſed all the Church doors to be opened, and the ſervice to be ſung, and the ſaid *Ludovike* was in all points fit for their hands.

*The Popes curſe laught to ſcorn.*

*Pandulphus the Popes collector made Biſhop of Norwich.*

About this time was *Pandulphus* (then Cardinal) collecting the *Peter*-pence, and old pillage of the Pope, taking great pains therein. And for his great labours in thoſe the affairs of holy Church, and for other great miracles beſides, he was then made Biſhop of *Norwich*, to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

*Mat. Pariſ. Radul. Niger cap. 47.*

It chanced about this time, that the Vicount of *Melun* (a very Noble Man of the Realm of *France*, which came thither with the Prince *Ludovike*) fell deadly ſick at *London*, and alſo moved in conſcience to call certain of the *Engliſh* Barons unto him, ſuch as were there appointed to the cuſtody of that City, ſaid unto them: I lament your ſorrowful caſe, and pity with my heart the deſtruction that is coming towards you and your Country. The dangerous ſnares which are prepared for your utter confuſion are hidden from you; you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince *Ludovike* hath Sworn a great Oath, and ſixteen of his Earls and Noble Men are of Counſel with him, that if he obtain the Crown of *England*, he will baniſh all them from ſervice, and deprive them of Lands and Goods, as many as he findeth now to go againſt their Liege King, and are Traytors to his Noble Perſon. And becauſe you ſhall not take this Tale for a Fable, I aſſure you on my faith, lying now at the mercy of God, that I was one of them which was Sworn to the ſame. I have great conſcience thereof, and, therefore I give you this warning. I pity poor *England* which hath been ſo Noble a Region, that now it is come to ſo extreme miſery. And when he with tears had lamented it a ſpace, he returned again unto them and ſaid: My friends I Counſel you Earneſtly to look to your ſelves, and to provide the remedy in time, leſt it come upon you unawars, Your King for a ſeaſon hath kept you under, but if *Ludovike* prevail, he will put you from all. Of two extreme evils chuſe the more eaſie, and keep that ſecret which I have told you of good will. With that he gave over and departed this life.

*The great providence of God for the help of England.*

When this was once noiſed among the Barons, they were in great heavineſs, for they ſaw themſelves intrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that fear which then came upon the Barons. They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, and every week came upon them new Excommunications. Daily detriments they had beſides in their poſſeſſions and goods, in their Lands and Houſes, Corn and Cattel, Wives and Children: So that ſome of them were driven to ſuch need, that they were enforced to ſeek preys and booties for ſuſtaining their miſerable lives. For look whatſoever Prince *Ludovike* obtained by his Wars, either Territories or Caſtles, he gave them all to his *French*-men in ſpight of their heads, and ſaid that they were but Traytors, like as they had warning afore, which grieved them worſt of all. At the laſt they perceiving that they in ſeeking to avoid one miſchief, were ready to fall into another much worſe: they began to lay their heads together, conſenting to ſubmit themſelves wholly with all Humility unto the mercy of their late Sovereign and natural Liege Lord King *John*. And for that they were ſomewhat in doubt of their lives for the Treaſon afore committed, many of the friends of them which were of moſt credit with him, made ſute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after inſtant and great ſute made for them. I here omit his recovery of *Rocheſter* Caſtle and City, with many other dangerous adventures againſt the foreſaid *Ludovike*, both at *London*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Wincheſter*, *Norwich*, and other places elſe, as things not pertaining to my purpoſe. And now I return to my matter again.

Into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* he conſequently journeyed, with a very ſtrong Army of Men, and there with great miſchief he afflicted them, becauſe they had given place and were Sworn to his Enemies. After that, he deſtroyed the Abbies of *Peterborough* and *Crowland*, for the great Treaſons which they alſo had wrought againſt him, and ſo he departed from thence into *Lincolnſhire*.

In this year, about the ſeventeenth day of *July*, died Pope *Innocent* the third, and was buried in a City called *Peruſium* in *Italy*: whereas he had traveled to make a peace between the *Genovaies* and *Piſes*, for his own commodity and advantage. After him anon ſucceeded one *Cintius*, otherwiſe called *Honorius tertius*, a man of very great age: yet lived he in the Papacy ten years and an half, and more. When this was once known in *England*, greatly rejoyced all they which were King *Johns* enemies, ſpecially the Prieſts: yet had they ſmall cauſe, as will appear hereafter. They noiſed it all the Realm over, that this new Pope would ſet a new order, and not rule all things as the other Pope did; thinking thereby that he would have done all things to their commodity, but they found it otherwiſe. For he made all them, which were Excommunicated, to pay double and treble, ere they could be reſtored again to their former livings.

*Pope Innocent the third dieth.*

And in the ſelf ſame year, as King *John* was come to *Swinſtead* Abbey, not far from *Lincoln*, he reſted there two days: where (as moſt writers teſtifie) he was moſt Traiterouſly poiſoned by a Monk of that Abbey, of the Sect of the Ciſtercians or S. *Bernards* Brethren, called *Simon* of *Swinſtead*. As concerning the Noble Perſonage of this Prince, this witneſs giveth *Roger Hoveden* therein, *Princeps quidem magnus erat, ſed minus fœlix, atque, ut Marius, utramque fortunam expertus.* Doubtleſs (ſaith he) King *John* was a mighty Prince, but not ſo fortunate as many were; not altogether unlike to *Marius* the Noble *Roman*, he taſted of Fortune both ways, bountiful in mercy; in wars ſometime he wan, ſometime again he loſt. *Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, ſed proditionis cauſa ſuorum deprædator, plus advenis quam ſuis confidens.* He was alſo very bounteous and liberal unto ſtrangers, but of his own people (for their daily Treaſons ſake) he was a great oppreſſor, ſo that he truſted more to forreiners than to them.

*King John poiſoned by a Monk.*

*Ex Chronica cui titulus Eulogium.*

Among other divers and ſundry conditions belonging to this King, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: For that being far from the ſuperſtition which Kings at that time were commonly ſubject to, he regarded not the Popiſh Maſs, as in certain Chronicles writing of him may be collected: for ſo I find teſtified of him by *Matth. Pariſien.* that the King upon a time in his Hunting, coming where a very fat Stag was cut up and opened (or how the Hunters tearme it I cannot tell) the King beholding the

*Ex Matth. Pariſienſi.*

The ſaying of King *John* deriding the Maſs.

fatneſs and the liking of the Stag: See, ſaith he, how eaſily and happily he hath lived, and yet for all that he never heard any Maſs.

*Ex Caxtono lib. 7.*

It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of *William Caxton* called *Fructus temporum*, and in the ſeventh Book: The foreſaid Monk *Simon* being much offended with certain talk that the King had at his Table, concerning *Ludovike* the *French* Kings Son (which then had entred and uſurped upon him) did caſt in his wicked heart how he moſt ſpeedily might bring him to his end. And firſt of all he Counſelled with his Abbots, ſhewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alledged for himſelf the prophelie of *Caiaphas*, *Joh.* 11. ſaying; *It is better that one man die, than all the people ſhould periſh.* I am well contented (ſaith he) to loſe my life, and ſo become a Martyr, that I may utterly deſtroy this Tyrant. With that the Abbot did weep for gladneſs, and much commended his Fervent Zeal, as he took it. The Monk then being abſolved of his Abbot for doing this Act (aforehand) went ſecretly into a Garden upon the backſide, and finding there a moſt venemous Toad, he ſo pricked him and preſſed him with his Pen-knife, that he made him vomit all the poiſon that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of Wine, and with a ſmiling and flattering countenance he ſaid thus to the King, *If it ſhall like your Princely Majeſty, here is ſuch a Cup of Wine as ye never drank better before in all your life time; I truſt this Waſſail ſhall make all* England *glad*: and with that he drank a great draught thereof, the King pledging him. The Monk anon after went to the Farmary, and there died (his Guts guſhing out of his Belly) and had continually from thenceforth three Monks to ſing Maſs for his Soul, confirmed by their general Chapter. What became after that of King *John*, ye ſhall know right well in the proceſs following. I would ye did mark well the wholeſome proceedings of theſe holy votaries, how vertuouſly they obey their King, whom God hath appointed, and how religiouſly they beſtow their confeſſions, abſolutions, and Maſſes.

Wo be to you that call good evil, and evil good.

*Simon* the Monk abſolved of his Abbot for poiſoning his King.

The Monk dieth of his own poiſon.

The King within a ſhort ſpace after (feeling great grief in his body) asked for *Simon* the Monk; and anſwer was made that he was departed this life. Then God have mercy upon me (ſaid he) I ſuſpected as much, after he had ſaid that all *England* ſhould thereof be glad; he meant now I perceive then of his own Generation. With that he commanded his Chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to *Slaford* Caſtle, and from thence to *Newark* on *Trent*, and there within leſs than three days he died. Upon his death bed he much repented his former life, and forgave all them with a pitiful heart that had done him injury; deſiring that his Elder Son *Henry* might be admoniſhed by his example, and learn by his misfortunes to be natural, favourable, gently, and loving to his natural people. When his body was imbalmed and ſpiced (as the manner is of Kings) his bowels or intrals were buried at *Croxton* Abbey, which was of the ſect of Premonſtratenſes or Canons of S. *Norbert*. His hired ſouldiers both *Engliſh*-men and ſtrangers were ſtill about him, and followed his Corps Triumphantly in their Armor, till they came to the Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*, and there Honourably was he buried by *Silveſter* the Biſhop betwixt S. *Oſwald* and Saint *Wolſtan*, two Biſhops of that Church. He died in the year of our Lord 1216. the ninteenth day of *October*, after he had Reigned in ſuch calamity, by the ſubtil conveyance of his Clergy, eighteen years and ſix months and odd days. Now ſo ſoon as King *John* was dead and buried (as is ſaid before) the Princes, Lords and Barons, ſo many as were of his part (as well of ſtrangers as of them that were born here) by Counſel of the Legate *Gualdo*, gathered themſelves together, and all with one conſent proclaimed *Henry* his Son for their King. Of whom more ſhall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The death of King *John*.

A Prince to be loving to his ſubjects.

King *John* buried at *Worceſter*.

Anno 1216.

Many opinions are among the Chroniclers of the death of King *John*. Some of them do write that he died of ſorrow and heavineſs of Heart, as *Polydorus*: ſome of ſurfeiting in the night, as *Radulphus Niger*: ſome of a bloody flux, as *Roger Hoveden*: ſome of a burning ague, ſome of a could ſweat, ſome of eating Apples, ſome of eating Pears, ſome of Plums, &c.

The death of King *John*.

Thus you ſee what variety is among the writers concerning the death of this King *John*. Of which writers, although the moſt agree in this, that he was poiſoned by the Monk above named, yet *Matthew Paris* (ſomething differing from the others) writeth thus concerning his death, That he going from *Linn* to *Lincolnſhire*, and there hearing of the loſs of his carriage and of his Treaſures upon the Waſhes, fell in great heavineſs of mind, inſomuch that he fell thereby into a fervent Fever, being at the Abbey of *Swinſted*. This Ague he alſo increaſed through evil ſurfeiting and naughty diet, by eating Peaches and drinking of new Ciſer, or as we call it Sider. Thus being ſick, he was carried from thence to the Caſtle of *Slaford*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Newark*; where calling for *Henry* his Son, he gave to him the ſucceſſion of his Crown and Kingdom, writing to all his Lords and Nobles to receive him for their King; and ſhortly after, upon S. *Lucies* Even, departed this life, being buried at *Worceſter*, &c.

*Mat. Paris in vita Johannis regis.*

Another deſcription of King *Johns* death.

*Ex hiſt. Gualt. Hemingford. Gisburnenſis.*

In *Gisburne* I find otherwiſe, who, diſſenting from others, ſaith; that he was poiſoned with a diſh of Pears, which the Monk had prepared for the King therewith to poiſon him. Who asking the King whether he would taſte of his Fruit, and being bid to bring them in; according to the Kings bidding, ſo he did. At the bringing in whereof (ſaith the ſtory) the precious ſtones about the King began to ſweat; inſomuch that the King misdoubting ſome poiſon, demanded of the Monk what he had brought. He ſaid, of his Fruit, and that very good, the beſt that ever he did taſte. Eat, ſaid the King. And he took one of the Pears which he did know, and did eat. Alſo being bid to take another, he did eat likewiſe ſavourly, and ſo likewiſe the third. Then the King refraining no longer, took one of the poiſoned Pears, and was therewith poiſoned, as is before, &c.

The firſt Maior of *London*.

In the Reign of this King *John*, the Citizens of *London* firſt obtained of the King to chuſe yearly a Maior. In whoſe time alſo the Bridge of *London* was firſt builded of ſtone, which before was of Wood. *Raſtal.*

## *King* Henry *the Third.*

King *Henry* the third.

AFter this King *John* had Reigned (as ſome ſay) ſeventeen years, or as ſome ſay, though falſely, nineteen years; he was (as is above ſaid) poiſoned and died. This King left behind him four Sons and three Daughters, firſt *Henry*, the ſecond *Richard*, and he was Earl of *Cornwal*, the third *William* of *Valentia*, the fourth *Guido Diſenaie*: he had alſo another Son, who afterward was made Biſhop. Of his Daughters, the firſt was *Iſabel*, married afterward to *Fredrick* the Emperor; the ſecond named *Elenor*, married to *William* Earl Marſhal; the third to *Mountford* the Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. Another Story ſaith that he had but two Daughters, *Iſabel* and *Elenor*, or as another calleth her *Joan*, which was after Queen of *Scotland*. *Ex chronico vetuſto Angliæ.*

The iſſue of King *John*.

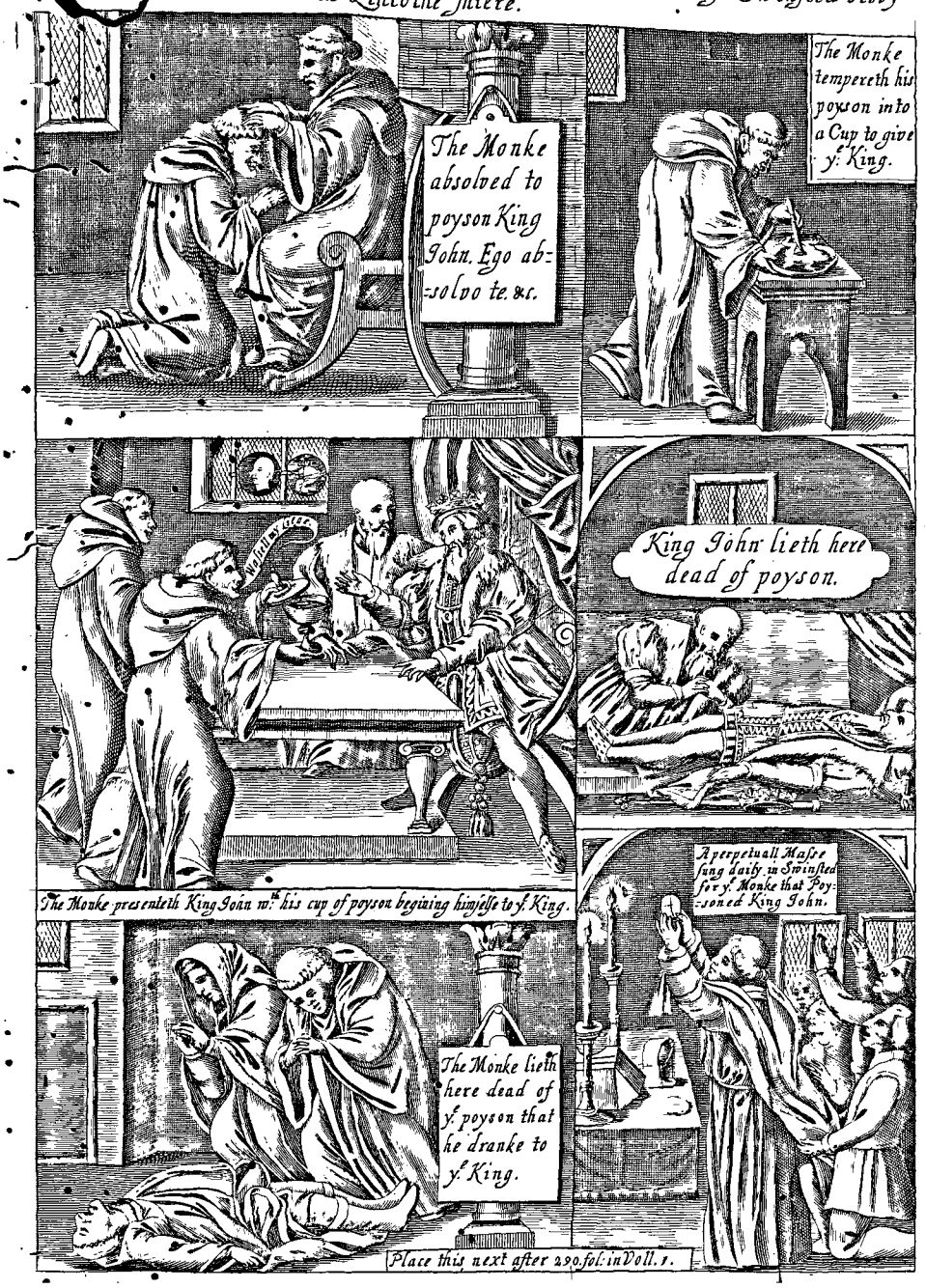
This King *John* being deceaſed, which had many Enemies both of Earls, Barons, and eſpecially of the Popiſh Clergy; *Henry* the Eldeſt Son was then of the age of nine years, at what time the moſt of the Lords of *England* did adhere to *Ludovike* or *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, whom they had ſent for before, in diſpleaſure of King *John*, to be their King, and had ſworn to him their allegiance. Then *William*, Earl Marſhal, a Noble Man, and of great Authority, and a grave and ſound Counſellor, friendly and quietly called unto him divers Earls and Barons, and taking this *Henry* the young Prince, Son of King *John*, ſetteth him before them, uſing theſe Words, *Behold* (ſaith he) *Right Honorable and well Beloved, although we have perſecuted the Father of this young Prince for his evil demeanor, and worthily; yet this young child whom here ye ſee before you, as he is in years tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from theſe his Fathers doings: wherefore in as much as every man is charged only with the burthen of his own works and tranſgreſſions, neither ſhall the child (as the Scripture teacheth us) bear the iniquity of his Father: we ought therefore of duty and conſcience to pardon this young and tender Prince, and take compaſſion of his age as ye ſee. And now for ſo much as he is the Kings natural and Eldeſt Son, and muſt be our Soveraign and King, and ſucceſſor of this Kingdom; come and let us appoint him*

An example of a worthy and faithful Counſellor.

The oration of the Earl Marſhal for young King *Henry*.

Truly ſaid, that you perſecuted him for perſecutors ye were of a true man, and your own natural King. But well might ſing and cry out of your blind guids and ſetters on.

The description of y.e poysoning of King John by a Monke of Swinsted Abby in Lincolne Shiere.




Place this next after 290 fol: in Voll. 1.

*him our King and Governour, and let us remove from us this* Lewis *the* French *Kings Son, and ſuppreſs his people, which is a confuſion and a ſhame to our nation, and the yoke of our ſervitude let us caſt off from our ſhoulders.* To theſe words ſpake and anſwered the Earl of *Gloceſter*: And by what reaſon or right (ſaid he) can we ſo do, ſeeing we have called him hither, and have ſworn to him our fealty?

Whereunto the Earl Marſhal inferred again, and ſaid, *Good right and reaſon we have, and ought of duty to do no leſs; for that he contrary to our mind and calling hath abuſed our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our Chieftain and Governor; but he eftſoons, ſurpriſed in pride, hath contemned and deſpiſed us: And if we ſhall ſo ſuffer him, he will ſubvert and overthrow both us and our nation, and ſo ſhall we remain a ſpectacle of ſhame to all men, and be as out caſts of all the world.*

At theſe words all they, as inſpired from above, cryed all together with one voice, Be it ſo, he ſhall be our King. And ſo the day was appointed for his Coronation, which was the day of *Simon* and *Jude*. This Coronation was kept, not at *Weſtminſter*, forſomuch as *Weſtminſter* the ſame time was holden of the *French-men*, but at *Gloceſter*, the ſafeſt place (as was thought) at that time in the Realm, *Anno* 1216. by *Swalo* the Popes Legate, through Counſel of all the Lords and Barons that held with his Father King *John*, to wit, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Biſhop of *Bath*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Earl *Radulph* of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl Marſhal, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William Tren* Earl of *Feres*, *William de Brues*, *Serle* or *Samarike de Mal* Baron. Theſe were at the Crowning of the King at *Gloceſter*. Many other Lords and Barons there were, which as yet held with *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, to whom they had done their Homage before. And immediatly after the Crowning of this King, he held his Council at *Briſtow* at S. *Martins* feaſt; where were aſſembled eleven Biſhops of *England* and *Wales*, with divers Earls and Barons and Knights of *England*, all which did ſwear Fealty to the King. After which Homage thus done to the King, the Legate *Swalo* interdicted *Wales*, becauſe they held with the foreſaid *Lewis*; and alſo the Barons and all others, as many as gave help or Counſel to *Lewis*, or any other that moved or ſtirred any War againſt King *Henry* the new King, he accurſed them. All which notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Lewis* did not ceaſe, but firſt laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Dover* fifteen days. When he could not prevail there, he took the Caſtle *Berkhamſted*, and alſo the Caſtle of *Hertford*, doing much harm in the Countries, in ſpoiling and robbing the people where he went: by reaſon whereof the Lords and Commons, which held with the King, aſſembled themſelves together to drive *Lewis* and his men out of the Land. But ſome of the Barons with the *French-men* in the mean ſeaſon went to *Lincoln* and took the City, and held it to the uſe of *Lewis*. Which being known, eftſoons a great power of the Kings part made thither, as Earl *Ranulph* of *Cheſter*, *William* Earl Marſhal, and *William de la Brues* Earl of *Feres*, with many other Lords, and gave battel unto *Lewis* and his party; ſo that in concluſion *Lewis* loſt the field, and of his ſide were ſlain the Earl of *Parchis*, *Saer de Quincie* Earl of *Wincheſter*, *Henry de la Bohun* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Robert le Fitzwater*, with divers other more. Whereupon *Lewis* for ſuccor fled to *London*, cauſing the Gates there to be ſhut and kept, waiting there for more ſuccor out of *France*. Which as ſoon as the King had knowledge of, immediatly he ſent to the Maior and Burgeſſes of the City, willing them to render them and their City to him as their chief Lord and King, promiſing to grant tot hem again all their Franchiſes and liberties as in times paſt, and to confirm the ſame by his great Charter and Seal. In this mean time on *Bartholomew* Even, *Euſtace* a *French* Lord, accompanied with many other Lords and Nobles of *France*, come with a grand power, to the number of a 100 Ships to aid and aſſiſt the ſaid *Lewis*; who before they arrived, were encountred upon the Seas by *Richard*, King *Johns* Baſtard Son; who, having no more but eighteen Ships to keep the Cinque ports, ſet eagerly upon them, and through Gods Grace overcame them, where preſently he ſmote off the Head of *Euſtace*: the reſt of the *French* Lords, to the number of ten, he brought with him to the Land, where he impriſoned them in the Caſtle of *Dover*, and ſlew almoſt all their men that came with them, and ſunk their Ships in the Sea, only fifteen Ships (ſaith ſome of my ſtories) eſcaped away. *Ludovike* or *Lewis* hearing this loſs of his Ships and Men, and misdoubting his own life for the great miſchief he had done to the Realm, ſought means by *Swalo* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and by other Lords, to be at accord with the King. With whom at length it was ſo concluded and agreed, that for his coſts and expenſes, he ſhould have a Thouſand pound of Silver given. *Pariſienſis* ſpeaketh of fifteen thouſand Marks (which he borrowed of the *Londoners*) that he ſhould depart the Realm never to return into *England* again, neither he nor none of his.

This done, upon the ſame he, with all the other Barons that took his part, was aſſoiled of *Swalo* the Legate. And thus peace being confirmed at *Merton*, *Lewis* took his leave, and being brought Honourably to the Sea with the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and other Biſhops, Earls and Barons, he returned home into *France*.

And here, ſaith *Gisburn*, it was truly verified that was before ſpoken of the *French* King, Father of *Lewis*. At what time the ſaid *Lewis* was in *England*, his Father the *French* King demanded of his Meſſengers coming into *France*, where his Son was? And they ſaid at *Stamford*. And he asking again whether he had got the Caſtle of *Dover*? And they ſaid no. Then the Father ſwearing by the Arm of Saint *James*: My Son (quoth he) hath not one foot in *England*, as afterward well proved true. *Ex Gisburn.*

But the chiefeſt help that repelled *Lewis* and the *French* men out of the Realm, and that moſt preferred King *Johns* Son to the Crown, was the ſingular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confeſſion of a certain Gentleman of the *French* Hoſt (as *Florilegus* doth teſtifie) who lying ſore ſick at the point of death, and ſeeing no hope to eſcape, was touched in conſcience for danger of his ſouls health, openly to confeſs and utter to the Barons of *England*, what was the purpoſe of the *French-men* to do; who were conſpired and ſworn together among themſelves, with a privy compaction, that ſo ſoon as they ſubdued the Land, they ſhould thruſt all the chief and Nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the Realm, whereout they ſhould never return again. This coming to the ears of the Barons, as is ſaid, gave them to conſider more with themſelves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leave *Lewis*, and apply to their natural King and Prince. Which no leſs may alſo be an admonition to all times and ages for *Engliſh-men* to take heed, and not to admit or to place foreign Rulers into the Realm, leſt perhaps it follow that they be diſplaced themſelves.

After the happy departure of this *Lewis* and his *French-men* out of the Land, whereby the State of this Realm, long vexed before, was now ſomewhat more quieted; immediatly *Swalo* the Legate, looking to his Harveſt, directeth fourth Inquiſitors through every Shire, to ſearch out all ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, Proirs, Canons, and ſecular Prieſts, of what order or degree ſoever they were, that with any ſuccor or counſel did either help, or elſe conſented to *Lewis*. For all theſe were exempted out of the Charter of pardon and abſolution made before, between the King and *Lewis*. By reaſon whereof no ſmall gain grew to the Pope and the Cardinal; for all ſuch were either put out of their livings and ſent up to the Pope; or elſe were fain to fine ſweetly for them. Among whom (beſides a great number of other Clerks, both Religious and Secular) was *Hugo* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who, for the recovery of his Biſhoprick, diſburſed 1000. Marks to the Pope, and 100. Marks to the foreſaid *Swalo* the Legate, who now (as *Paris* recordeth) by this time had gathered in a fair crop of that which he did never ſow. *Ex Mat. Paris, &c.*

About this ſeaſon, or not much before, died Pope *Innocentius* the third, in the nineteenth year of his Popedom, to whoſe cuſtody *Fredricus* the Nephew of *Fredrick Barbaroſſa*, being yet young, was committed by the Empreſs his Mother; of whom more ſhall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this *Innocent*, next ſucceeded Pope *Honorius* the third, who writing to young King *Henry*

*Ex chron monach. Gisburn.*

*King Henry the third Crowned.*

*Berkhamſted and Hertford taken by Lewis.*

*Lincoln taken by Lewis.*

Anno 1217.

*This Euſtace ſome ſay he was a Spaniard.*

*A noble Victory by Gods grace given to King Johns Son.*

*Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.*

*Lewis the French Kings Son driven out of England.*

*The anſwer of the French King concerning his Son Lewis.*

*An admonition to Engliſh-men not to admit foreign rulers into the Realm.*

*It is a bad wind that bloweth no man profit.*

*Money coming unto the Pope and Cardinal.*

*Hugo Biſhop of Lincoln redeemeth his Biſhoprick for 1000. Marks. Ex Mat. Paris in vita reg. Henr. 3.*

*Pope Innocent the third.*

*Pope Honorius the third.*

The effect of the Letter of Pope *Honorius* the third to King *Henry* the third. *Ex Pariſienſ.*

in a ſpecial Letter, exhorteth him to the love of Vertue, and to the fear of God, namely to be circumſpect with what Familiars and reſort he acquainted himſelf; but principally above all other things he moniſheth him to reverence the Church which is the Spouſe of Chriſt, and to honour the Miniſters thereof, in whom Chriſt himſelf (ſaith he) is both honoured and deſpiſed. And this ſeemeth the chiefeſt Article of that his writing to him.

A ſtrange tale of Pope *Honorius*, if it be true.

Of this Pope *Honorius*, *Abbas Urſpergenſis* (who lived in the ſame time) reporteth a ſtrange wonder, more ſtrange peradventure than credible; which is this, *Honorius* being Prieſt in *Rome* (whoſe name was then *Centius*) and Procurator to *Jacinthus* a Cardinal: ſo it befel, that his Maſter ſent him abroad about *Rome*, to borrow and procure money for him againſt his Journey into *Spain*: for Pope *Clement* then intended to ſend this *Jacinthus* his Legate into *Spain*. As this *Centius* was walking by himſelf all ſad and ſollicitous to ſpeed his Maſters Meſſage, there cometh to him a certain aged and reverend Father, and asketh him, *What cauſe he had to walk ſo heavy and careful?* To whom he anſwered again, and ſignified the occaſion of his buſineſs that then he had to do. Then the old Father ſaid to him, *Go and return home again, for thy Maſter* (ſaith he) *ſhall not at this time go to* Spain. *How ſo* (quoth the other) *how is that true? As true* (ſaith he) *as it is certain that the Pope ſhall die, and thy ſaid Maſter ſhall be Pope after him. Centius*, thinking that to be unlikely, ſaid, *He could not believe that to be true.* To whom the other inferreth again, *So know this* (ſaid he) *to be as certain, as it is true that the City of* Hieruſalem *this day is taken of the* Saracens, *and ſhall not be recovered again from them, before the time of thy Papacy.* And thus ſpeaking (ſaith *Urſperg.*) he vaded ſuddenly away. *Ex Abbate Urſperg.* All which (ſaith the ſaid Author) came afterwards to paſs, and were teſtified of the ſame *Honorius*, being Pope afterward, in his publick Sermons at *Rome*. All which I grant may be, and yet notwithſtanding this fabulous Narration may be a piece of the Popes old Practiſes, ſubtily invented to drive men forth to *Hieruſalem* to fight, &c. Again, after *Honorius* (when he had governed ten years) followed *Gregorius* the Ninth, which two Popes were in the time of this King *Henry* the Third, and of *Frederick* the Emperor; of whom we mind (Chriſt willing) further to touch, after that we ſhall have proſecuted more concerning the Hiſtory of King *Henry*, and matters of *England*.

*Ex Abbate Urſperg. in Chronico.*

After that it ſo pleaſed the merciful Providence of Almighty God, to work this great mercy upon the ſtock of King *John* (which notwithſtanding the unkind Prelates with their falſe Prophets had declared before, That never any of them ſhould ſucceed in the Throne after that King) and alſo unto the whole Common-wealth of the Realm, in delivering them from the dangerous Service of *Ludovick* and the foreſaid *Frenchmen*. After their departure, the next year following, *Anno* 1218. which was the third of this Kings Reign, the Archbiſhop S. *Langton*, and the Biſhops, Earls and Barons reſorted to *London* unto the King at *Michaelmas* next following, and there held a great Parliament, wherein were confirmed and granted by the King all the Franchiſes which were made and given by King *John* his Father at *Ronemedow*, and them he confirmed and ratified by his Charter; which long time after (ſaith mine Author) unto his days did continue, and were holden in *England*. For the which cauſe, by the Nobles and Commons was given and granted again unto the King two ſhillings for every plow-land through *England*. And *Hubert Burgh* was made Chief Juſtice of *England*, of whoſe Troubles more is to be ſaid hereafter. And this was the third year of King *Henry*, and the fiftieth year after the death of *Thomas Becket*: wherefore the ſaid *Becket* the ſame year next following was taken up and ſhrined for a new Saint made of an old Rebel. Thither came ſuch reſort of people of *England* and of *France*, that the Country of *Kent* was not ſufficient to ſuſtain them. *Ex Hiſtoria D. Scales.* About the ſame time *Iſabel* the Kings Mother was married to the Earl of *March*. And *William Marſhall* the good Earl died, which was the Governor of the King and the Realm, not without great lamentation of the people of *England*. Then was the King committed

{Anno 1218.}

King *Henry* confirmed the Liberties granted by King *John*.

Two ſhillings of every plow-land granted to King *Henry*.

*Thomas Becket* ſhrined.

*Ex Hiſtoria D. Scales. William* Earl *Marſhall* dieth and was buried at the Temple.

to the Government of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. This noble Earl left behind him five Sons, and five Daughters.

The year next enſuing, *Anno* 1219. it was ordained and proclaimed through all the Land, that all Aliens and Foreigners ſhould depart the Realm, and not return to the ſame again, only ſuch excepted as uſed Traffick or Trade of Merchandize under the Kings ſafe Conduct. This Proclamation was thought chiefly to be ſet forth for this cauſe, to avoid out of the Land *Foukes de Brent*, *Philip de Marks*, *Egelardus de Ciconia*, *William* Earl *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veteri ponte*, *Brihenne de Inſula*, *Hugo de Bailluell*, *Roger de Gaugi*, with divers other ſtrangers more, which kept Caſtles and Holds of the Kings againſt his will. Of whom the forenamed *Foukes* was the Principal, who fortified and held the Caſtle of *Bedford*, which he had by the Gift of King *John*, with might and ſtrength againſt the King and his Power, near the ſpace of three months. Moreover he went about to apprehend the Kings Juſtices at *Dunſtable*; but they, being warned thereof, eſcaped all, except *Henry Braibroke*, whom he impriſoned in the ſaid Caſtle. The King hearing hereof, and conſulting with his Clergy and Nobles, made his Power againſt the ſame. Which after long Siege and ſome ſlaughter at length he obtained, and hanged almoſt all that were within, to the number of ninety and ſeven, which was (as *Paris* writeth) about the ſeventh or eighth year of his Reign. *Foukes* the ſame time was in *Wales*; who, hearing of the taking of the Caſtle, conveyed himſelf to the Church of *Coventry*. At length ſubmitting himſelf to the Kings mercy, upon conſideration of his Service done before to the Kings Father, he was committed to the Cuſtody of *Euſtace* Biſhop of *London*, and afterwards being deprived of all his Goods, Poſſeſſions and Tenements within the Realm, was forced to perpetual baniſhment, never to return to *England* again.

{Anno 1219} Aliens commanded out of *England*.

*Foukes de Brent* rebelled againſt King *Henry*.

Here (by the way) I find it noted in *Paris*, that after this aforeſaid *Foukes* had ſpoiled and razed the Church of Saint *Paul* in *Bedford*, for the building up of his Caſtle; the Abbeſs of *Helveſtue*, hearing thereof, cauſed the Sword to be taken from the Image of S. *Paul* ſtanding in the Church, ſo long as he remained unpuniſhed. Afterward ſhe, hearing him to be committed to the cuſtody of S. *Paul* in *London*, cauſed the Sword to be put into the hands of the Image again. *Matth. Pariſienſ. in vita Henr.* 3.

*Ex Pariſienſ.*

{Anno 1220.}

About this year the young King the ſecond time was crowned again at *Weſtminſter*, about which time began the new building of our Lady Church at *Weſtminſter*. Shortly after *Gualo* the Legate was called home again to *Rome*. For the holy Father (as *Matth. Paris* reporteth) being ſick of a Spiritual Dropſie, thought this *Gualo* (having ſo large occupying in *England*) to be able ſomewhat to cure his diſeaſe. And ſo that Legate returned with all his bags well ſtuffed, leaving *Pandulph* behind him to ſupply that Bayliwick of his great Grandfather the Pope.

King *Henry* crowned the ſecond time at *Weſtminſter*.

The life and acts of Pope *Innocentius* the Third are partly deſcribed before, how he intruded *Stephen Langton* againſt the Kings will into the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, ſtirring up alſo ſixty and four Monks of the ſame Church of *Canterbury* privily to work againſt the King. Moreover how he did Excommunicate the ſaid King as a publick Enemy of the Church, ſo long as the ſaid King withſtood his tyrannical doings, putting him and his whole Kingdom under interdiction, for the ſpace of five years and three months, and at length depoſed and deprived him from his Scepter, keeping it in his own hands for five days. How he abſolved his Subjects from their due Obedience and Subjection unto him. How he gave away his Kingdoms and Poſſeſſions to *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son, commanding the ſaid *Lewis* to ſpoil him both of lands and life. Whereupon the King (being forſaken of his Nobles, Prelates, and Commons) was inforced againſt his will to ſubmit himſelf, and ſware Obedience unto the Pope, paying unto him a yearly Tribute of 1000 Marks by year, for receiving his Kingdom again, whereby both he and his Succeſſors after him were Vaſſals afterwards unto the Pope. And theſe were the Apoſtolical Acts of this holy

Pope *Innocentius*.

The Deeds and Decrees of Pope *Innocent* the third.

Vicar

*Almericus* condemned *Joachim Abbas* condemned.

Vicar in the Realm of *England*. Moreover, he condemned *Almericus* a worthy learned man and a Biſhop, for an Heretick, for teaching and holding againſt Images. Alſo he condemned the Doctrine of *Joachim Abbas* (whom we ſpake of before) for Heretical. This Pope

Private Tythes brought in.

brought firſt into the Church the paying of private Tythes. He ordained the receiving once a year at *Eaſter*. Unto the Papal decretals he added the Decree, *Omnes utriuſque ſexus, &c.* Alſo the reſervation of the Sacrament, and the going with the Bell and light before the Sacrament was by him appointed. In the ſaid Council of *Lateran* he alſo ordained that the Canon of the Maſs ſhould be received with equal Authority, as though it had proceeded from the Apoſtles themſelves. He brought in Tranſubſtantiation. Look in the decrets, *Titulo* 1. *De ſumma Trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.*

Bell, Candle before the Sacrament. Canon of the Maſs authoriſed. Tranſubſtantion.

Marriage in the third degree forbidden.

*Item*, the ſaid *Innocentius* the Third ordained that none ſhould marry in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and ſo under.

The ſaid Pope ſtirred up *Otho* againſt *Philip* the Emperor, becauſe the ſaid *Philip* was elected Emperor againſt his will; upon the occaſion whereof followed much war and ſlaughter in *Germany*. And afterward againſt the ſaid *Otho*, whom he had made Emperor, he ſet up *Frederick* King of *Cicile*, and cauſed the Archbiſhop of *Maience* to pronounce him Excommunicate in all his Titles, and to be depoſed of his Empire. For the which cauſe the Princes of *Germany* did invade his Biſhoprick, ſpoiling and burning his Poſſeſſions. The cauſe why the Pope ſo did accurſe and depoſe him, was, for that the ſaid *Otho* did take and occupy Cities, Towns and Caſtles, which the Pope ſaid appertained to him.

The Pope erreth Kings and Emperors together by the ears. *Philip* the Emperor depoſed. *Otho* the Emperor depoſed.

*Item*, the ſaid Pope Ordained, That if any Princes offended one another, the correction ſhould appertain unto the Pope. In this Council of *Lateran* were Archbiſhops and Primates 61, Biſhops 400, Abbots 12, Priors and Conventuals 800, beſides other Ambaſſadors, Legates, Doctors and Lawyers an innumerable ſort, &c.

The Council of *Lateran*.

In the Hiſtory of *Hermanus Mutius*, we read how in the year of our Lord, 1212. in this Popes time divers Noblemen, and others in the Country of *Alſatia*, contrary to the tradition of the *Romiſh* Popes, did hold that every day was free for eating of fleſh, ſo it be done ſoberly. Alſo that they did wickedly, which reſtrained Prieſts and Miniſters from their lawful Wives, for the which cauſe (as is in the foreſaid Author) by this Pope *Innocentius* the Third and his Biſhops, an hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Martyrs of *Alſatia* to the number of one hundred burned in one day. *Ex Hermann Mutio.*

Some other Hiſtory (as *Nauclerus*) recordeth alſo, that at the ſame time many were in the City of *Millain* of the ſaid Doctrine, which uſed to ſend *Collects* unto the foreſaid Saints of *Alſatia*. *Ex Nauclero.*

*Collects* ſent from the Brethren of *Millain* to them of *Alſatia*.

In the Chronicle of *Gualter Hemingford*, otherwiſe called *Gisburnenſis*, it is recorded, that in the days of this King *John* and Pope *Innocent*, began the two Sects, or Orders of Fryers, one called *The Preachers Order*, and *black Fryers of S.* Dominick; the other called *The Minorits of S.* Francis. The Preachers of black Fryers Order began of one *Dominick* a *Spaniard*, about the parts of *Tholouſe*, who after he had laboured ten years in preaching againſt the *Albingenſes*, and ſuch other as did hold againſt the Church of *Rome*, afterward coming up to the Council of *Lateran* with *Fulco* Biſhop of *Tholouſe*, deſired of the foreſaid *Innocent* the Third, to have his order of preaching Fryers confirmed, which the Pope a great while refuſed to grant: at length he had a dream, that the Church of *Lateran* was ready to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing and much ſorrowing thereat, cometh in this *Dominick*, who with his ſhoulders underproped the Church, and ſo preſerved the building thereof from falling, &c. And right well this dream may ſeem verified, for the Fryers have been always the chief Pillars and Upholders of the Popes Church. Upon this the Pope (waking out of his dream) called *Dominick* to him, and granted his petition: and ſo came up this wolviſh Order of the *Dominicks*. I call it wolviſh, for that his Mother when ſhe was great with this *Dominick*, dreamed that ſhe had in her womb a *Woolf*, which had a burning Torch in his mouth. The which dream the Preachers of that Order do greatly advance, and expound to their Orders glory, as well as they can. Nevertheleſs, howſoever they expound it, they can make a *Woolf* but a *Woolf*, and this a wolviſh Order. The rule which they follow ſeemeth to be taken out of S. *Auguſtine*, as who ſhould ſay, That Chriſts Rule were not enough to make a Chriſtian man. Their profeſſion ſtandeth upon three principal Points, as thus deſcribed, *Charitatem habentes, humilitatem ſervantes, & paupertatem voluntariam poſſidentes*; That is, *Having Charity, holding Humility, and poſſeſſing wilful Poverty*. Their habit and clothing is black.

Obſervant Fryers began.

*Dominick.*

Fryers upholders of the Popes Church.

The Order of the *Minors* or *Minorit-Fryers* deſcended from one *Francis* an *Italian* of the City of *Aſſiſium*. This *Aſſiſian-Aſs*, who I ſuppoſe was ſome ſimple and rude Idiot, hearing upon a time how Chriſt ſent forth his Diſciples to preach, thought to imitate the ſame in himſelf and his Diſciples, and ſo left off his ſhooes: he had but one Coat, and that of courſe Cloth. In ſtead of a latchet to his ſhooe, and of a Girdle, he took about him an hempen Cord, and ſo he apparelled his Diſciples, teaching them to fulfill (for ſo he ſpeaketh) the perfection of the Goſpel, to apprehend poverty, and to walk in the way of holy ſimplicity. He left in writing, to his Diſciples and Followers, his Rule, which he called *Regulam Evangelicam*, *The Rule of the Goſpel*. As though the Goſpel of Chriſt were not a ſufficient Rule to all Chriſtian men, but it muſt take his perfection of frantick *Francis*. And yet for all that great preſumption of this *Francis*, and notwithanding this his rule, ſounding to the derogation of Chriſts Goſpel, he was confirmed by this Pope *Innocent*. Yea, and ſuch Fools this *Francis* found abroad, that not only he had Followers of his doltiſh Religion (both of the Nobles and unnobles of *Rome*) but alſo ſome there were, which builded Manſions for him and his Fryers. This *Francis*, as he was ſuperſtitious in caſting all things from him, as his Girdle, girding a Cord about him; ſo in outward chaſtiſing of himſelf, ſo ſtrait he was to his fleſh (leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by God) that in Winter ſeaſon he covered his body with Ice and Snow. He called poverty his Lady, he kept nothing over night. So deſirous he was of Martyrdom, that he went to *Syria* to the *Soldan*, which received him honourably. Whereby it may be thought, that (ſurely) he told not the truth, as S. *John Baptiſt* did in *Herods* houſe. For truth is ſeldom welcome in Courts, and in the world. But it is hard to make a Martyr of him which is no true Confeſſor. I will here paſs over the Fable, how Chriſt and his Saints did mark him with five wounds. Theſe *Franciſcan* or begging Fryers, although they were all under one Rule and clothing of S. *Francis*, yet they be divided into many Sects and Orders, ſome go on treen ſhooes or pattins, ſome barefooted, ſome regular *Franciſcans* or *Obſervants*, ſome *Minors* or *Minorits*, others be called *Minimi*, others of the Goſpel, others *De Caputio*. They all differ in many things, but accord in Superſtition and Hypocriſie. And for ſo much as we have here entred into the matter of theſe two Orders of Fryers, by the occaſion hereof I thought a little by the way to digreſs from our ſtory, in reciting the whole Catalogue or Rabblement of Monks, Fryers and Nuns of all Sects, Rules and Orders, ſet up and confirmed by the Pope. The names of whom here in order of the Alphabet follows.

The *Minorite-Fryers* deſcended from S. *Francis*.

Divers Sects of *Franciſcans*.

# The Rabblement of Religious Orders.

The Rabble of all religious Orders.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Auguſtinians*, the firſt Order. | |
| *Ambroſians* two ſorts. | 409 |
| *Antonies Heremits.* | 324 |
| *Auſtins Heremits.* | 498 |
| *Auſtins Obſervants.* | 490 |
| *Armenians Sect.* | |
| *Ammonits* and *Moabits.* | |
| *Baſilius* Order. | 384 |
| *Benets* Order. | 524 |
| *Bernardus* Order. | 1120 |
| *Barefooted-Fryers.* | 1222 |
| *Bridgets* Order. | 1370 |
| *Beghearts* or *white Spirits.* | 1399 |
| *Brethren of* Hieruſalem. | 1103 |
| *Brethren of* Saint John de civitate *Black Fryers.* | 1220 |
| *Brethren of wilful Poverty.* | |
| *Cluniacenſis* Order. | 913 |
| *Canons of S.* Auguſtine. | 1080 |
| *Charter-houſe* Order. | 1086 |
| *Ciſtercienſis* Order. | 1098 |
| *Croſs-bearers* or *croſſed Fryers.* | 1216 |
| *Carmelits* or *White Fryers.* | 1212 |
| *Clares* Order. | 1225 |
| *Celeſtines* Order. | 1297 |
| *Camaldulenſis* Order. | 950 |
| *Croſs-ſtarred Brethren.* | |
| *Conſtantinopolitaniſh* Order. | |
| *Croſs-bearers.* | |
| *Chapter-Monks.* | |
| *Dutch* Order. | 2216 |
| *Dominick Black Fryers.* | 1220 |
| *Franciſcans.* | 1224 |
| *Grandmontenſis* Order. | 1076 |
| *Gregorian* Order. | 594 |
| *Georges* Order. | 1407 |
| *Gulielmits.* | 1246 |
| *Gerundinenſis* Order. | |
| *Galilei* or *Galileans.* | |
| *Heremits.* | |
| *Helens* Brethren. *Humiliati.* | 1166 |
| *Hoſpital Brethren.* | |
| *Holy Ghoſt* Order. | |
| *Jeroms* Orders two ſorts. | 1412 |
| *Johns Heremits.* | |
| *Juſtins* Order. | 1432 |
| *Johns* Order *Joannits.* | 380 |
| *Otherwiſe Knights of the* Rhodes. | 1308 |
| *Inieſuati.* | 1365 |
| *Jeroms Heremits.* | 490 |
| *Joſephs* Order. | |
| *Jacobits* Sect. | |
| *James Brethren* Order. | |
| *James Brethren with the Sword.* | |
| *Indians* Order. | |
| *Katharine* of *Senes* Order. | 1455 |
| *Keiedmonks* Knights of *Rhodes.* | |
| *Lazarits* of *Mary Magdalens* our Lady Brethren. | 1034 |
| *Lords* of *Hungary.* | |
| *Minorits* which be divided into: *Conventuals.* *Obſervants.* *Reformat.* *Collectan.* *De Caputio.* *De Evangelio.* *Amedet.* *Clarini* and others. | |
| *Minors* or *Minorits.* | 1224 |
| *Maries Servants.* | 1304 |
| *Monks* of *Mount Olivet.* | 1046 |
| *Marovinies Sect.* | |
| *Minorits* Sect. | |
| *Monachi* and *Monachæ.* | |
| *Morbonei* and *Mereſti.* | |
| *Menelaiſh* and *Jaſoniſh Sect.* | |
| *New Canons* of S. *Auſtin.* | 1430 |
| *Neſtorini.* | |
| *Nalheart Brethren.* | |
| *New Order of our Lady.* | |
| *Nazaræi.* | |
| *Pauls Heremits.* | 45 |
| *Præmonſtratenſis* Order. | 1119 |
| *Preacher-Order* or *Black Fryers.* | |
| *Peter the Apoſtles Order.* | 1409 |
| *Purgatory Brethren.* | |
| *Rechabits.* | |
| *Sarrabits.* | |
| *Sambonits.* | 1199 |
| *Scourgers* the firſt Sect. | 1266 |
| *Souldiers* of *Jeſus Chriſt.* | 1323 |
| *Scopenits*, or S. *Salvators* Order. | 1367 |
| *Specularii* or the *Glaſs-Order.* | |
| *Sepulchers* Order. | |
| *Sheer* Order. | |
| *Swerds* Order. | |
| *Starred Monks.* | |
| *Starred Fryers.* | |
| *Sclavoni* Order. | |
| *Scourgers* the *ſecond Sect*, called *Ninivits.* | |
| *Stool-Brethren.* | |
| *Scotland Brethren* Order. | |
| *Sicarli.* | |
| *S. Sophies* Order. | |
| *Templar Lords.* | 1110 |
| *Templar Knights.* | 1120 |
| *The Vale of* Joſaphat *his Order.* | |
| *Vallis umbroſa.* | 1490 |
| *Waldenſis* Sect. | |
| *Wentzelaus* Order. | |
| *Wilhelmer* Order. | |
| *White Monks* of *mount Olivet.* | 1406 |
| *Zelotes* Order. | |

Thus haſt thou, if thou pleaſe (gentle Reader) to know what Orders and what Sects of Religion have been ſet up by the Pope, the Catalogue and number of them all, ſo far as we could ſearch them out, not only in Books printed of late in *Germany*, namely by the reverend Father *Martin Luther*: but alſo conferred with another *Engliſh* Book which came to our hands, containing the ſame likes Notes of ancient Antiquity, the number of which Rabblement of religious perſons came to 101. Now as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of theſe prodigious Sects, it cometh to mind conſequently to infer the Propheſie of *Hildegardis*, as well againſt the whole rout of *Romiſh* Prelates, and the fall of that Church, as eſpecially againſt the begging Fryers, and ſuch other unprofitable bellies of the Church. This *Hildegardis* is holden of the *Papiſts* themſelves to be a great Propheteſs: whoſe Propheſie proceedeth in this manner, firſt againſt the Prieſts and Prelates of the *Romiſh* Church, as followeth.

## *The Propheſie of* Hildegardis *of the ruine of* Rome, *and againſt the begging Fryers.*

*Hildegardis* a Nun, and (as many judged) a Propheteſs, lived in the year 1146. In her propheſies ſhe doth moſt grievouſly reprehend not only the wicked and abominable life of the ſpiritual *Papiſts*, but alſo the contempt of the Eccleſiaſtical Office, and alſo the horrible deſtruction of the Church of *Rome*. In a certain place ſhe hath theſe words, *And now is the Law neglected among the ſpiritual people, which neglect to teach and to do good things; the Maſter likewiſe and the Prelates do ſleep, deſpiſing Juſtice and laying it aſide.* In a certain Viſion the Church appeared to her in the ſhape of a woman, complaining that the Prieſts had berayed her face with duſt, and rent her coat, &c. and that they did not ſhine over the people, neither in Doctrine, neither in example of life; but rather contrariwiſe, that they have driven the innocent *Lamb* from them. She ſaid moreover, *That all Eccleſiaſtical Order did every day become worſe and worſe, and that Prieſts did not teach but deſtroy the Law of God: and for theſe horrible Crimes and Impieties, ſhe threatneth and propheſieth unto them Gods moſt heavy wrath and diſpleaſure, and doleful puniſhments.* There is no cauſe why the ſpiritual *Papiſts* ſhould flatter themſelves upon this, that ſhe promiſed again to the Miniſters of the Church thoſe goods things to follow, like as *Johannes de Rupe ſciſſa* doth, and other ſuch like Prophets; for they ſay, it will come to paſs, that they muſt repent before the times be amended. By which thing (undoubtedly) they mean the godly Miniſters in the reformed Churches, which for the moſt part were of the ſpiritual number, and yet did forſake the dihoneſt life and thoſe wicked Idolatries. Now, whereas the Prieſts and Monks; that is, the whole Rabble and Spiritualty do account *Hildegard* for a true Propheteſs; they ought to conſider that by her they are more ſeverely accurſed, not as by a woman, but as by God himſelf. And I pray you, what Abomination, Impiety, and Idolatry hath been committed ſince that time by the ſpiritualty? I will note here a certain Propheſie of hers, taken out of the common places of *Henry Token*, becauſe we ſee it manifeſtly fulfilled in our time. She propheſieth of the reformation of Religion, and ſaith that it ſhall be moſt godly.

A Proph for the eay of Romiſh Church.

Then ſhall the Crown of Apoſtolical Honour be divided, becauſe there ſhall be found no Religion among the Apoſtolical Order, and for that cauſe ſhall they deſpiſe the dignity of that Name, and ſhall ſet over them other men and other

other Archbiſhops. Inſomuch that the Apoſtolick See of that time (by the diminution of his Honour) ſhall ſcarce have *Rome*, and a few other Countries thereabout under his Crown. And theſe things ſhall partly come to paſs by incurſion of Wars, and partly alſo by a Common Council and conſent of the ſpiritual and ſecular perſons. Then ſhall Juſtice flouriſh, ſo that in thoſe days men ſhall honeſtly apply themſelves to the ancient cuſtoms and diſcipline of ancient men, and ſhall obſerve them as ancient men did.

*The gloſs agreeth, &c.*

Theſe things thus premiſed, now will we come to the Propheſie of the foreſaid *Hildegard*, concerning the foreſaid Begging Fryers above mentioned, reciting her words, not only as they are printed in a Book printed of late in *Germany*; but alſo as my ſelf have ſeen and read, agreeing to the ſame Book word for word, and yet have the ſame to ſhew, written in old parchment leaves, in ſuch ſort, as the thing it ſelf moſt evidently declareth a great iniquity of time. The words of her Propheſie be theſe:

Hildegardis propheſying of Fryers and Monks.

*In thoſe days ſhall ariſe a ſenſeleſs people, proud, greedy, without faith, and ſubtil, the which ſhall eat the ſins of the people, holding a certain Order of fooliſh devotion under the feigned Cloke of beggery, preferring themſelves above all others by their feigned devotion, arrogant in underſtanding, and pretending holineſs, walking without ſhamefaſtneſs or the fear of God, in inventing many new miſchiefs ſtrong and ſtout. But this Order ſhall be accurſed of all wiſe men and faithful Chriſtians. They ſhall ceaſe from all labour, and give themſelves over unto idleneſs, chooſing rather to live through flattery and begging. Moreover they ſhall together ſtudy how they may perverſly reſiſt the Teachers of the Truth, and ſlay them together with the Noblemen; how to ſeduce and deceive the Nobility, for the neceſſity of their living, and pleaſures of this world: for the Devil will graft in them four principal Vices, (that is to ſay) flattery, envy, hypocriſie, and ſlander. Flattery, that they may have large Gifts given them. Envy, when they ſee Gifts given to others, and not to them. Hypocriſie, that by falſe diſſimulation they may pleaſe men. Detraction, that they may extol and commend themſelves, and backbite others, for the praiſe of men, and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo they ſhall inſtantly preach, but without devotion or example of the Martyrs, and ſhall detract the ſecular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true Paſtors, receiving Alms of the poor, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating themſelves with the common people, having familiarity with women, inſtructing them how they ſhall deceive their Husbands and Friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and to rob their Husbands to give it unto them, for they will take all theſe ſtollen and evil gotten goods, and ſay,* Give it unto us, and we will pray for you; *ſo that they being curious to hide other mens faults, do utterly forget their own. And alas, they will receive all things of Rovers, Pickers, Spoilers, Thieves and Robbers, of Sacrilegious perſons, Uſurers and Adulterers, Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Apoſtates, Whores and Bawds, of Noble men, Perjurers, Merchants, falſe Judges, Souldiers, Tyrants, Princes, of ſuch as live contrary to the Law, and of many perverſe and wicked men, following the perſwaſion of the Devil, the ſweetneſs of ſin, a delicate and tranſitory life, and fulneſs; even unto eternal damnation.*

All theſe things ſhall manifeſtly appear in them unto all people, and they (day by day) ſhall wax more wicked and hard hearted: and when as their wickedneſs and deceits ſhall be found out, then ſhall their gifts ceaſe, and then ſhall they go about their houſes hungry, and as mad dogs looking down upon the Earth, and drawing in their necks as Doves, that they might be ſatisfied with bread. Then ſhall the people cry out upon them: *Woe be unto you ye miſerable children of ſorrow, the world hath ſeduced you, and the Devil hath bridled your mouths, your fleſh is frail, and your hearts without ſavour, your minds have been unſtedfaſt, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly, your dainty bellies deſire delicate meats, your feet are ſwift to run unto miſchief. Remember when you were apparently Bleſſed, yet envious; poor in ſight, but rich; ſimple to ſee to, but mighty flatterers, unfaithful betrayers, perverſe detractors, holy hypocrites, ſubverters of the truth, overmuch upright, proud, unſhamefaſt, unſtedfaſt teachers, delicate martyrs, confeſſors for gain; meek, but ſlanderers; religious, but covetous; humble, but proud; pitiful, hard hearted liers; pleaſant flatterers, perſecutors, oppreſſors of the poor, bringing in new ſects newly invented of your ſelves; merciful thought, but found wicked; lovers of the world, ſellers of pardons, ſpoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, ſeditious conſpirators, drunkards, deſirers of honours, maintainers of miſchief, robbers of the world, unſatiable preachers, menpleaſers, ſeducers of women, and ſowers of diſcord, of whom* Moſes *the glorious Prophet ſpake very well in his ſong,* A people without counſel or underſtanding: would to God they did know and underſtand and foreſee the end. *You have builded up on high, and when you could aſcend no higher, then did you fall even as* Simon Magus, *whom God overthrew, and did ſtrike with a cruel plague; ſo you likewiſe through your falſe Doctrine, naughtineſs, lies, detractions, and wickedneſs, are come to ruine. And the people ſhall ſay unto them,* Go ye Teachers of wickedneſs, Subverters of the Truth, Brethren of the *Sunamite*, Fathers of Hereſies, falſe Apoſtles, which have fained your ſelves to follow the life of the Apoſtles, and yet have not fulfilled it in part: ye Sons of Iniquity, we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for Pride and Preſumption hath deceived you, and inſatiable Concupiſcence hath ſubverted your erroneous hearts. And when as you would aſcend higher than was meet or comely for you (by the juſt Judgment of God) you are fallen back into perpetual opprobry and ſhame.

This *Hildegardis* (whoſe Propheſie we have mentioned) lived about the year of our Lord 1146. as we read in *Chronico Martini*.

About the ſame time that theſe *Franciſcans* and *Dominick* Fryers began (which are above mentioned) ſprang up alſo the Croſs-bearers, or Crouched-Fryers, taking their Original and occaſion of *Innocent* the Third, which *Innocent* raiſed up an Army (ſigned with a croſs on their Breaſt) to fight againſt the *Albingenſes*, whom the Pope and his Sect accounted for Hereticks about the parts of *Tholouſe*. What theſe *Albingenſes* were, it cannot be well gathered by the old Popiſh Hiſtories: for if there were any that did hold, teach or maintain againſt the Pope or his Papal pride, or withſtand and gainſay his beggerly Traditions, Rites, and Religions, &c. the Hiſtorians of that time (for the moſt part in writing of them) do ſo deprave and miſreport them (ſuppreſſing the truth of their Articles) that they make them and paint them forth to be worſe than *Turks* and *Infidels*. And that, as I ſuppoſe, cauſed *Matth. Pariſienſis* and others of that ſort, to write ſo of them as they did: otherwiſe it is to be thought (and ſo I find in ſome Records) that the Opinions of the ſaid *Albingenſes* were ſound enough, holding and profeſſing nothing elſe but only againſt the wanton Wealth, Pride and Tyranny of the Prelates, denying the Popes Authority to have ground of the Scriptures: neither could they away with their Ceremonies and Traditions, as Images, Pardons, Purgatory of the *Romiſh* Church, calling them (as ſome ſay) blaſphemous Occupyings, &c. Of theſe *Albingenſes* were ſlain (at times) and burned a great multitude by the means of the Pope, and *Simon Eccleſiaſticus*, with others more. It ſeemeth, that theſe *Albingenſes* were chiefly abhorred of the Pope, becauſe they ſet up a contrary Pope againſt him about the coaſts of *Burgarorum*: for the which cauſe the Biſhop called *Portinenſis*, being the Popes Legate in thoſe quarters, writeth to the Archbiſhop of *Rone* and other Biſhops in this wiſe:

Croſs-bearer Fryers.

Albigenſes.

A Letter of the Biſhop *Portinenſis* concerning the *Albingenſes*.

*VEnerabilibus patribus, Dei gratia* Rothomagenſi *Archiepiſcopo & ejus ſuffraganeis Epiſcopis, ſalutem in Domino Jeſu Chriſto. Dum pro ſponſa veri Crucifixi veſtrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari ſingultibus & plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, & quod ſcimus teſtificamur. Ille homo perditus, qui extollitur ſuper omne quod colitur aut dicitur Deus, jam habet perfidiæ ſuæ preambulum hæreſiarchum, quem hæretici Albingenſes Papam ſuum nominant, habitantem finibus* Burgaforum *&* Croatiæ, *&* Dalmatiæ, *juxta* Hungarorum *Nationem. Ad eum confluunt hæretici* Albingenſes, *ut ad eorum conſulta reſpondeat. Et enim de* Carcaſona *oriundus vices illius antipapæ gerens* Bartholomæus, *hæreticorum Epiſcopus, funeſtam ei exhibendo reverentiam, ſedem & locum conceſſit in villa quæ* Porlos *appellatur, & ſeipſum tranſtulit*

in

*in partes Tholoſanas. Iſte Bartholomæus, in literarum ſuarum undique diſcurrentium tenore, ſe in primo ſalutationis alloquio intitulat in hunc modum: Bartholomæus ſervus ſervorum, M. ſanctæ fidei ſalutem. Ipſe etiam inter alias enormitates creat Epiſcopos, & Eccleſias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius, & per aſperſionem ſanguinis Jeſu Chriſti, & propenſius obſecramus, authoritate domini Papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte diſtrictè præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in oct. Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli proximè futuris, ubi & alii Prælati Franciæ, favente Domino congregabuntur, parate conſilium dare in negotio prædicto, & cum aliis qui ibidem aderunt providere ſuper negotio Albingenſi. Alioqui inobedientiam veſtram domino Papæ curabimus ſignificari. Datum apud Plawvium 6. nonas Julii.*

For ſo much as mention is here made of theſe ſuperſtitious Sects of theſe Friers, and ſuch other beggerly Religions, it might ſeem not much impertinent, being moved by the occaſion hereof, as I have done in *Hildegardis* before, ſo now to annexe alſo to the ſame a certain other ancient Treatiſe compiled by *Geoffery Chaucer*, by the way of a Dialogue or Queſtions, moved in the perſon of a certain uplandiſh and ſimple Ploughman of the country. Which Treatiſe, for the ſame, the Author intituled *Jack Upland*, wherein is to be ſeen and noted to all the world, the blind ignorance and variable diſcord of theſe irreligious Religions, how rude and unskilful they are in matters and principles of our Chriſtian inſtitution, as by the contents of this preſent Dialogue appeareth, the words whereof in the ſame old Engliſh wherein firſt it was ſet forth in this wiſe do proceed. Wherein alſo thou mayeſt ſee, that it is no new thing that their blaſphemous doings have by divers good men in old time been detected, as there are many and divers other old Books to ſhew.

The blind ignorance of Friers deſcribed.

## *A Treatiſe of* Geoffery Chaucer, *intituled,* Jack Upland.

The Fruits of Anti-chriſt.

I *Jack Upland* make my mone to very God and to all true in Chriſt, that Antichriſt and his Diſciples (by colour of holineſs) walking and deceiving Chriſts Church by many falſe figures, where through (by Antichriſt and his) many vertues been tranſpoſed to vices.

Antichriſt his brood.

But the felleſt folk, that ever Antichriſt found, been laſt brought into the Church and in a wonder wiſe, for they been of divers Sects of Antichriſt, ſown of divers countries and kindreds. And all men known well, that they be not obedient to Biſhops, ne Leegemen to Kings: neither the tillen, ne ſowen, weeden, ne repen, wood, corn, ne graſs, neither nothing that man ſhould help: But only themſelves their lives to ſuſtain. And theſe men han all manner power of God as they ſeein in Heaven and in Yearth, to ſell Heaven and Hell to whom that them liketh, and theſe wretches weet never were to been themſelfs.

Patience proveth maſter trier.

And therefore (*Freer*) in thine orders and rules been grounded on Goddis Law, tell thou me *Jack Upland*, that I aske of thee, and if thou be or thinkeſt to be on Chriſts ſide keep thy paciens.

The Frier muſt anſwer according to Gods word.

SAint *Paul* teacheth, that all our deeds ſhould be doo in charity, and elſe it is nought worth, but diſpleaſing to God and harme to our own ſouls. And for that Freers challenge to be greateſt Clerks of the Church, and next following Chriſt in living: Men ſhould for charity âx them ſome Queſtions, and pray them to ground their anſwers in reaſon and holy writ, for elſe their anſwer would nought be worth, be it floriſhed never ſo fair: and as mee think men might skilully ask thus of a Freer.

Friers may better break Gods Law then Mans Law.

1. ℭ *Freer*, how many orders be in Earth, and which is the perfecteſt order? Of what order art thou? who made thine order? What is thy rule? Is there any perfecter rule then Chriſt himſelf made? If Chriſts rule be moſt perfect, why ruleſt thou thee not thereafter? Without more, why ſhall a Freer be more puniſhed if he break the rule that his patron made, then if he break the heſts that God himſelf made?

There is but one Religion.

2. Approoveth Chriſt any more religions then one, that S. *James* ſpeaketh of? If he approoveth no more, why haſt thou left his rule and takeſt another? Why is a Freer Apoſtata that leaveth his order and taketh another Sect, ſith there is but one Religion of Chriſt?

The Frier more bound to his habit then the Man to his Wife.

3. Why be you wedded faſter to your habits then a man is to his wife? For a man may leave his wife for a year or two as many men done: and if you leave your habit a quarter of a year, ye ſhould be holden Apoſtatas.

The habit make the Frier religious, as his habit weareth, ſo doth his religion.

4. Maketh your habit you men of religion or no? If it do, then ever as it weareth, your Religion weareth, and after that your habit is better, your religion is better, and when you have liggen it beſide, then lig ye your religion beſide you, and bin Apoſtatas: why bie you ſo pretious clothes? ſith no man ſeeketh ſuch but for vain glory, as S. *Gregory* ſaith.

Holineſs of all Hypocrites conſiſteth in clothing and outward appearance.

What betokeneth your great hood, your ſcalpery, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5. Why uſe ye all one colour, more then other Chriſtian Men doo? What betokeneth that ye been clothed all in one manner of clothing?

If ye ſay, it betokeneth love and charity, Certes then ye be oft Hypocrits, when any of you hateth another, and in that that ye wooll be ſaid holy by your clothing.

Why may not a Freer wear clothing of another Sect of Friers, ſith holineſs ſtondeth not in the cloths?

6. Why hold ye ſilence in one Houſe more then another, ſith men ought over all to ſpeak the good and leave the evil?

Why eat you fleſh in one Houſe more then in another, if your rule and your order be perfect, and the Patron that made it?

All Friers fond liers.

7. Why get you your diſpenſations to have it more eaſie? Certes, either it ſeemeth that ye be unperfect, or he that made it ſo hard, that ye may not hold it, And ſiker, if ye hold not the rule of your Patrons, ye be not then her Freers, and ſo ye lie upon your ſelves.

Friers be dead Men and quick beggers.

8. Why make you as dead Men when ye be profeſſed, and yet ye be not dead, but more quick beggers then ye were before? And it ſeemeth evil a dead Man to go about and beg.

Graves beat dead men and not courts Houſes.

9. Why will yee not ſuffer your noviſes hear your Councels in your Chapter Houſe ere that they have been profeſſed, if your Councels been true and after Gods Law?

10. Why make ye you ſo coſtly Houſes to dwell in? ſith Chriſt did not ſo, and dead Men ſhould have but graves, as falleth it to dead Men, and yet ye have more Courts then many Lords of *England*: For ye now wenden through the Realm, and each night will lig in your own Courts, and ſo mow but few right Lords do.

11. Why heire you to ferth your limitors, giving therefore eᵭh year a certain rent, and will not ſuffer one in anothers limitation, right as yee were your ſelves Lords of Countries?

Friers not the Kings Liegemen.

Why be ye not under your Biſhops Viſitations, and leege men to our King?

Friers need no mens prayers.

Why axe ye no letters of bretherheds of other men prayers, as ye deſire that other men ſhould axe letters of you?

If your letters be good, why grant ye them not generally to all manner of men for the more charity?

Friers greater and better then God.

12. Mow ye make any man more perfect brether for your prayers then God hath by our believe? By our baptiſm and his own grant? If ye mow, Certes then ye be above God.

O uncharitable Friers.

Why make ye men believe that your golden trental ſong of you, to take therefore ten ſhillings, or at leaſt five ſhillings, wool bring Souls out of Hell, or out of Purgatory? If this be ſooth, Certes ye might bring all Souls out of pain, and that wool ye nought, and then ye be out of charity.

13. Why make ye men believe that he that is buried in your habit ſhall never come in Hell, and ye weet not of your ſelf whether ye ſhall to Hell or no? and if this were ſooth, ye ſhould ſell your high Houſes to make many habits for to ſave many mens Souls.

Friers ſtealers of mens children.

14. Why ſteal ye mens children for to make hem of your Sect, ſith that theft is againſt Gods heſts, and ſith your Sect is not perfect? ye know not whether the rule, that ye bind him to, be beſt for him or worſt.

15. Why

15. Why undermene ye not your brethren for their treſpaſs after the Law of the Goſpel, ſith that undermening is the beſt that may be? But ye put them in priſon oft when they do after Gods Law, and by S. *Auguſtines* rule, If any do amiſs and would not amend him, ye ſhould put him from you.

Shrift and burials were more gainful than the miniſtring of the Sacraments.

16. Why covet ye ſhrifts and burying of other mens pariſhens, and none other Sacrament that falleth to Chriſtian folk.

Why buſſy ye not to hear to ſhrift of poor folk as well as of rich Lords and Ladies, ſith they mow have more plenty of ſhrift Fathers than poor folk mow.

Why ſay ye not the Goſpel in houſes of bedred men, as ye do in rich mens that mow go to Church and hear the Goſpel?

Poor men have no meals, ſaith my fellow frier.

Why covet you not to bury poor folk among you? ſith that they bin moſt holy (as ye ſaine that ye been for your poverty?)

17. Why will ye not be at hir dirges as ye have bin at rich mens? ſith God praiſeth him more then he doth other men.

Theſe be they that will not enter themſelves, nor ſuffer other men that would.

What is thy Prayer worth? ſith thou wilt take therefore, for all Chapriſts ye need be moſt wiſe for dread of Simony.

What cauſe haſt thou that thou wilt not Preach the Goſpel, as God ſaith that thou ſhouldeſt? ſith it is the beſt lore and alſo our believe.

Why be ye evil apaid that ſecular Prieſts ſhould Preach the Goſpel? ſith God himſelf hath bodden hem.

The Frier getteth by *In Principio*, and yet hateth the Goſpel.

18. Why hate ye the Goſpel to be Preached, ſith ye be ſo much hold thereto? For ye win more by year with *In Principio*, then with all the rules that ever your patrons made, and in this minſtrels bin better then ye, for they contrarien not to the mirths that they maken, but ye contrarien the Goſpel both in word and deed.

*Judas* for thirty pence but the Prieſt and Frier for four pence ſelleth Chriſt. A compariſon betweed *Judas* and the Frier.

19. Freer, when thou receiveſt a penny for to ſay a Maſs, whether ſelleſt thou Gods body for that penny, or thy prayer, or elſe thy travel? If thou ſaieſt thou wolt not travel for to ſay the Maſs, but for the penny, that certes if this be ſooth, then thou loveſt too little meed for thy ſoul: and if thou ſelleſt Gods body, other thy prayer, then it is very Simony, and art become a Chapman worſe then *Judas* that ſold it for thirty pence.

The Frier writeth becauſe God forgetteth.

20. Why writeſt thou her names in thy Tables that yeveth thee money? ſith God knoweth all things: For it ſeemeth by thy writing that God would not reward him, but thou writeſt in thy Tables, God would els forgotten it.

Why beareſt thou God in hand and ſlandereſt him that he begged for his meat? ſith he was Lord over all, for then had he bin unwiſe to have begged, and have no need thereto.

Freer, after what law ruleſt thou thee? where findeſt thou in Gods law that thou ſhouldeſt thus beg?

21. What manner men needeth for to beg?

For whom oweth ſuch men to beg?

Why beggeſt thou ſo for thy Brethren?

If thou ſaiſt, for they have need, then thou doſt it for the more perfection, or els for the leaſt, or els for the mean. If it be the moſt perfection of all, then ſhould all thy brethren do ſo, and then no man needed to beg but for himſelf, for ſo ſhould no man beg but him needed. And if it be the leaſt perfection, why loveſt thou then other men more then thy ſelf? For ſo thou art not well in charity, ſith thou ſhouldeſt ſeek the more perfection after thy power, living thy ſelf moſt after God. And thus leaving that imperfection thou ſhouldeſt not ſo beg for them. And if it is a good mean thus to beg as thou doeſt, then ſhould no man do ſo, but they bin in this good mean, and yet ſuch a mean granted to you may never be grounded on Gods law; for then both lerid and leaud that bin in mean degree of this world, ſhould go about and beg as ye do. And if all ſhould do ſo, certes well nigh all the world ſhould go about and beg as ye done, and ſo ſhould there be ten beggers againſt one yever.

It is better to labour and give, then to loiter and beg. Maiſter frier.

Why procureſt thou men to yeve thee their Alms, and ſaieſt it is ſo needful, and thou wilt not thy ſelf win thee that meed?

22. Why wilt not thou beg for poor bedred men that bin poorer then any of your ſect? That liggen and mow not go about to help himſelfes, ſith we be all brethren in God, and that bretherhed paſſeth any other that ye or any man could make, and where moſt need were, there were moſt perfection, either els ye hold them not your pure brethren, but worſe, but then ye be unperfect in your begging?

Why make ye ſo many maſters among you? ſith it is againſt the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles?

23. Whoſe been all your rich Courts that ye han, and all your rich Jewels? ſith ye ſaine that ye han nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye ſaine they been the Popes, why gether ye then of poor Men and Lords ſo much out of the Kings hand to make your Pope rich? And ſith ye ſaine that it is great perfection tō have nought in proper ne in common, why be ye ſo faſt about to make the Pope that is your Father rich, and put on him imperfection? ſithen ye ſaine that your goods been all his, and he ſhould by reaſon be the moſt perfect man, it ſeemeth openlich that ye been curſed children ſo to ſlander your Father and make him imperfect. And if ye ſaine that the goods be yours, then do ye aienſt your rule, and if it be not aienſt your rule, then might ye have both Plough and Cart, and labor as other good men done, and not ſo to beg by loſengery, and idle as ye doone. If ye ſay that it is more perfection to beg, then to travel or to worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to do ſo? ſith it is the beſt and moſt perfect life to the help of their Souls, as ye make children to beg that might have been rich heirs.

Friers beg from all men to make the Pope rich.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why do the friers deſire to make the Pope unperfect.

Why make ye not your feaſts to poor men and yeveth him yefts, as ye done to the rich? ſith poor man han more need then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go twain and twain together? If ye be out of charity, ye accord not in ſoul.

Why beg ye and take ſalaries thereto more then other Prieſts? ſith he that moſt taketh, moſt charge hath.

If *Francis* order be contrary to Chriſt his teſtament then is *Francis* accurſed.

24. Why hold ye not S. *Francis* rule and his teſtament? ſith *Francis* ſaith, that God ſhewed him this living and this rule: and Certes if it were Gods will, the Pope might not fordo it; or elſe *Francis* was a lier that ſaid on this wiſe. And but this teſtament that he made accord with Gods will, or elſe erred he as a lier that were out of charity: and as the Law ſaith, he is accurſed that letteth the rightful laſt will of a dead man. And this teſtament is the laſt will of *Francis* that is a dead man; it ſeemeth therefore that all his Freers been curſed.

He that is more holy in hand then in heart, is falſe to God.

25. Why will you not touch no coined money with the croſs, ne with the Kings head, as ye done other Jewels both of Gold and Silver? Certes if ye deſpiſe the Croſs or the Kings Head, then ye be worthy to be deſpiſed of God and the King; and ſith you will receive money in your hearts, and not with your hands, and it ſeemeth that ye hold more holines in your hands then in your hearts, and then be falſe to God.

A ſubject to exempt himſelf from the Laws of his Prince ſmelleth of Treaſon.

26 Why have ye exempt you from our Kings Laws and viſiting of our Biſhops more then other Chriſten men that liven in this Realm, if ye be not guilt of Traitory to our Realm, or treſpaſſers to our Biſhops? But ye will have the Kings Laws for the treſpaſs do to you, and ye will have power of other Biſhops more then other Prieſts, and alſo have leave to priſon your brethren, as Lords in your Courts, more then other folks han that been the Kings leege men.

Friers are forced to be thieves.

27. Why ſhall ſome ſect of your Freers pay ech a year a certain to her general Provincial or Miniſter, or elſe to her Sovereigns? but if he ſteal a certain number of children (as ſome men ſaine) and certain if this been ſooth, then ye be conſtrained upon a certain pain to doe theft againſt Gods commandment, *Non furtum facies.*

Works of ſuperogation.

28. Why be ye ſo hardy to grant by Letters of Fraternity to men and women, that they ſhall have part and merit of all your good deeds, and ye weeten never whether God be apaid with your deeds becauſe of your ſin? Alſo ye witten never whether that man or woman be in ſtate to be ſaved or damned, then ſhall he have no merit in Heaven for his own deeds ne for none other mans. And all were it ſo, that he ſhould have part of your good deeds: yet ſhould he have no more then God would give him after that he were worthy, and ſo much ſhall each man have of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will ſay that ye been Gods fellows, and that he may not do without your aſſent, then be ye blaſphemers to God.

God is the limiter of meed and reward, and not the Frier.

29. What

Fryers will not pray, but for them that be of their Fraternity.

29. What betokeneth that ye have ordained, that when ſuch one as ye have made your Brother or Siſter, and hath a Letter of your Seal, that Letter mought be brought in your holy Chapter and there be read, or elſe ye will not pray for him. And but ye willen pray eſpecially for all other that were not made your brethren or ſiſtren, then were we not in right charity, for that ought to be commen, and namely in ghoſtly things.

Fryers do make Apoſtates.

30. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to overcharge the people by mighty begging under colour of preaching or praying, or Maſſes ſinging? ſith holy Write biddeth not thus, but even the contrary: for all ſuch ghoſtly deeds ſhould be done freely, as God yeveth them freely?

31. *Freer*, What Charity is this to beguile Children or the commen to diſcretion, and bind hem to your Orders that bin not grounded in Gods Law againſt her Friends will? ſithen by this folly bin many Apoſtatas both in will and deed, and many bin Apoſtatas in her will during all her life, that would gladly be diſcharged if they wiſt how, and ſo many bin Apoſtatas that ſhoulden in other States have bin true men.

The number of Fryers ſuperfluous, and as needſary as ten fingers on one hand.

32. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to make ſo many *Freers* in every Country to the charge of the people? ſith Parſons and Vicars alone, yea ſecular Prieſts alone, yea Monks and Canons alone, with Biſhops above them were inough to the Church to do the Prieſts Office. And to add more then inough is a foul error, and great charge to the people, and this openly againſt Gods will that ordained all things to be done in weight, number and meaſure. And Chriſt himſelf was apaid with twelve Apoſtles and a few Diſciples, to preach and to do Prieſts Office to all the whole world, then was it better done then is now at this time by a thouſand dele. And right ſo as four fingers with a thumb in a mans hand helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hand ſhould let him more, and ſo the more number that there were paſſing the meaſure of Gods Ordinance, the more were a man letted to worch: right ſo (as it ſeemeth) it is of theſe new Orders that bin added to the Church without ground of holy Write and Gods Ordinance.

See, ſo faſt the Fryer followeth Chriſt in his Poverty.

33. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to the people to lye, and ſay that ye follow Chriſt in poverty more than other men done? and yet in curious and coſtly houſing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in Treaſure and Jewels, and rich Ornaments, *Freers* paſſen Lords and other rich wordly men, and ſooneſt they ſhould bring her cauſe about (be it never ſo coſtly) though Gods Law be put back.

Fryers are the letters of preaching the Goſpel.

34. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to gather up the Books of holy write, and put hem in treaſory, and ſo empriſon them from ſecular Prieſts and Curates, and by this cautel let hem to preach the Goſpel freely to the people without wordly meed, and alſo to defame good Prieſts of Hereſie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to ſhew Gods Law by the holy Goſpel to the Chriſtian people?

What holineſs is in a Fryers coat.

35. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to fain ſo much holineſs in your bodily clothing (that you clepe your habit) that many blind Fools deſiren to die therein more than in another? and alſo that a *Freer*, that leaveth his habit late founden of men, may not be aſſoiled till he take again, but is Apoſtata as ye ſain, and curſed of God and man both? The *Freer* believeth truth, and patience, chaſtity, meekneſs and ſobriety, yet for the more part of his life he may ſoon be aſſoiled of his Prior, and if he bring home to his houſe much good by the year (be it never ſo falſely begged and pilled of the poor and needy people in Countries about) he ſhall be hold a noble *Freer*. O Lord whether this be Charity?

The ſtouter begger the nobler Fryer.

Why Fryers ſo much deſire to have rich men buried in their Fryeries.

36. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to preaſe upon a rich man, and to intice him to be buried among you from his Pariſh-Church, and to ſuch rich men give Letters of Fraternity confirmed by your general Seal, and thereby to bear him in hand that he ſhall have part of all your Maſſes, Mattens, Preachings, Faſtings, Wakings, and all other good deeds done by your Brethren of your Order (both whilſt he liveth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten never whether your deeds be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that Letter be able by good living to receive any part of your deeds, and yet a poor man (that ye wite well or ſuppoſen in certen to have no good of) ye ne given no ſuch Letters, though he be a better man to God than ſuch a rich man: nevertheleſs, this poor man doth not retch thereof. For as men ſuppoſen ſuch Letters and many other that *Freers* behotten to men, be full falſe deceits of *Freers*, out of all reaſon, and Gods Law and Chriſtian mens faith.

Fryers beheſts are falſe deceits.

Fryers deſire to be Lords and Ladies Confeſſors.

37. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to be Confeſſors of Lords and Ladies, and to other mighty men, and not amend hem in her living? but rather as it ſeemeth, to be the bolder to pill her poor Tenants, and to live in lechery, and there to dwell in your Office of Confeſſor for winning of worldly goods, and to be hold great by colour of ſuch ghoſtly Offices? this ſeemeth rather pride of *Freers*, than charity of God.

Fryers and Phariſees ſay one thing and do another.

38. *Freer*, What Charity is this, to ſain that who ſo liveth after your Order, liveth more perfectly, and next followeth the ſtate of Apoſtles in poverty and penitance, and yet the wiſeſt and greateſt Clerks of you wend or ſend, or procure to the Court of *Rome* to be made Cardinals or Biſhops of the Popes Chaplains, and to be aſſoiled of the vow of Poverty and Obedience to your Miniſters, in the which (as ye ſain) ſtandeth more perfection and merit of your Orders, and thus ye farren as Phariſees that ſain one and do another to the contrary.

Why name ye more the Patron of your Order in your *Confiteor* when ye begin Maſs, then other Saints, Apoſtles, or Martyrs, that holy Church hold more glorious then hem, and clepe hem your Patrons and your Avowries?

Dilemma.

*Freer*, Whether was S. *Francis* in making of his rule that he ſet thine Order in, a Fool and a Lyar, or elſe wiſe and true? If ye ſain that he was not a Fool, but wiſe ne a Lyar but true: why ſhew you contrary by your doing, when by your ſuggeſtion to the Pope ye ſaid, That your Rule that *Francis* made was ſo hard that ye mow not live to hold it without Declaration and Diſpenſation of the Pope, and ſo by your deed? Ne let your Patron be a Fool that made a Rule ſo hard that no man may well keep, and eke your deed proveth him a Lyar, where he ſaith in his Rule, *That he took and learned it of the Holy Ghoſt*. For how might ye for ſhame pray the Pope undo that the Holy Ghoſt bit, as when ye prayed him to diſpence with the hardneſs of your Order?

Which is the beſt Order of Fryers.

*Freer*, Which of the four Orders of *Freers* is beſt to a man that knoweth not which is the beſt, but would fain enter into the beſt, and none other? If thou ſayeſt that thine is the beſt, then ſaieſt thou that none of the other is as good as thine, and in this each *Freer* in the three other Orders wooll ſay that thou lyeſt, for in the ſelf manner each other *Freer* wooll ſay that his Order is beſt. And thus to each of the four Orders bin the other three contrary in this point: in the which if any ſay ſooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the beſt of four. So followeth it that if each of theſe Orders anſwered to this queſtion as thou doſt, three were falſe, and but one true, and yet no man ſhould wite who that were. And thus it ſeemeth, that the moſt part of *Freers* bin or ſhould be Lyers in this point, and they ſhould anſwer thereto. If you ſay that another Order of the *Freers* is better than thine, or as good; why took ye not rather thereto as to the better, when thou mightſt have choſe at the beginning? And eke why ſhouldſt thou be an Apoſtata to leave thine Order and take thee to that is better, and ſo why goeſt thou not from thine Order in that?

Fryers never agree one with another.

*Freer*, Is there any perfecter rule of Religion than Chriſt Gods Son gave in his Goſpel to his Brethren? Or then that Religion that S. *James* in his Epiſtle maketh mention of? If you ſay Yes, then putteſt thou on Chriſt (that is the Wiſdome of God the Father) unkunning, unpower, or evil will: for then he could not make his Rule ſo good as another did his. And ſo he had unkunning, that he might not ſo make his Rule ſo good as another man might, and ſo were he unmighty, and not God, as he would not make his Rule ſo perfect as another did his, and ſo he had bin evil willed, namely to himſelf.

The Fryer thinketh his Rule perfecter than Chriſts, becauſe he leaveth the one and followeth the other.

For if he might and could, and would have made a Rule perfect without default, and did not, he was not Gods Son Almighty. For if any other Rule be perfecter than Chriſts, then muſt Chriſts Rule lack of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfecter, and ſo were default, and Chriſt had failed in making of his Rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blaſphemy. If thou

ſay

ſay that Chriſts Rule, and that Religion which S. *James* maketh mention of, is perfecteſt; why holdeſt thou not thilk Rule without more? And why clepeſt thou the rather of S. *Francis* or S. *Dominicks* Rule or Religion or Order, than of Chriſts Rule or Chriſts Order?

*Freer*, Canſt thou aſſign any default in Chriſts Rule of the Goſpel (with the which he taught all men ſikerly to be ſaved) if they kept it to her ending? If thou ſay it was too hard, then ſayſt thou Chriſt lyed; for he ſaid of his Rule, *My Yoke is ſoft, and my Burthen light.* If thou ſay Chriſts Rule was too light, that may be aſſigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou ſayſt that there is no default in Chriſts Rule of the Goſpel, ſith Chriſt himſelf ſaith *it is light and eaſie:* what need was it to Patrons of *Freers* to add more thereto? and ſo to make an harder Religion to ſave *Freers*, than was the Religion of Chriſts Apoſtles and his Diſciples helden and were ſaved by? But if they wonlden that her *Freers* ſaten above the Apoſtles in Heaven for the harder Religion that they keepen here, ſo would they ſitten in Heaven above Chriſt himſelf, for their more and ſtrict Obſervations, then ſo ſhould they be better than Chriſt himſelf with miſchance.

*Freers would ſit in Heaven above the Apoſtles.*

Go now forth and frain your Clerks, and ground ye you in Gods Law, and gif *Jack* an anſwer, and when ye han aſſoiled me that I have ſaid ſadly in truth, I ſhall ſoil thee of thine Orders, and ſave thee to Heaven.

If *Freers* kun not or mow not excuſe hem of theſe queſtions asked of hem, it ſeemeth that they be horrible guilty againſt God, and her even Chriſtian; for which guilts and defaults it were worthy that the Order that they call their Order were foredone. And it is wonder that men ſuſtain hem or ſuffer her live in ſuch manner. For holy write biddeth, *That thou do well to the meek, and give not to the wicked, but forbed to give hem bread, leaſt they be made thereby mightier through you.*

After theſe Digreſſions, now to return to the courſe of our ſtory again. As *Henry* this King ſucceeded King *John* his Father, ſo after *Innocent* the Pope came *Honorius* the Third, then *Gregory* the Ninth, &c. And after *Otho* the Emperor (whom the Pope had once ſet up, and after deprived again) ſucceeded *Frederick* the Second, as it is partly before touched. In the days of theſe Kings, Popes, and Emperors, it were too long to recite all that happened in *England*, but eſpecially in *Germany*, betwixt Pope *Honorius*, *Gregorius* and *Frederick* the Emperor: the horrible Tragedy whereof were enough to fill a whole Book by it ſelf. But yet we mean (God willing) ſomewhat to touch concerning theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters, firſt beginning with this Realm of *England*.

*Otho* the Emperor ſet up and depoſed again by the Pope.

After that the Kingdom of *England* had been ſubjected by King *John* (as hath been ſaid) and made Tributary to the Pope and the *Romiſh* Church, it is incredible how the inſatiable avarice and greedineſs of the *Romans* did oppreſs and wring the Commons and all Eſtates and Degrees of the Realm, eſpecially beneficed men, and ſuch as had any thing of the Church. Who, what for their domeſtical Charges within the Realm, what for the Pope, what for the Legates, what for contributing to the holy Land, what for Relaxations, and other ſubtil ſleights to get away their money, were brought into ſuch ſlavery, captivity, and penury, that whereas the King neither durſt nor might remedy their Exclamations by himſelf: yet notwithſtanding by his advice, *Simon Montfort* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with other Noble men (not forgetting what great grievances and diſtreſſes the Realm was brought into by the *Romans*) thought to work ſome way how to bridle and reſtrain the inſatiable ravening of theſe greedy Wolves. Wherefore they deviſed their Letter, giving ſtrait commandment to the religious men, and to ſuch as had their Churches to farm, that henceforth they ſhould not anſwer the *Romans* of ſuch Farms and Rents any more, but ſhould pay the ſaid Farms or Rents unto their own Proctors appointed for the ſame purpoſe, as by their writings ſent abroad to Biſhops or Chapters, and other Eccleſiaſtical Houſes, may appear, in this form and effect as followeth.

## A complaint of the Nobles of *England* againſt the intolerable Covetouſneſs of the Pope and Prelates of *Rome*.

A Complaint of the Nobles of *England* againſt the covetouſneſs of *Rome*.

*TO ſuch and ſuch a Biſhop, and ſuch a Chapter; all the Univerſity and Company of them, that had rather die than to be confounded of the* Romans, *wiſheth health. How the* Romans *and their Legates have hitherto behaved themſelves toward you and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of this Realm of* England, *it is not unknown to your diſcretions, in diſpoſing and giving away the Benefices of the Realm after their own luſt, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Engliſhmen. For whereas the collation of Benefices ſhould and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow-Biſhops (Eccleſiaſtical Perſons) they, thundering againſt you the Sentence of Excommunication, ordain that you ſhould not beſtow them upon any perſon of this Realm, until in every Dioceſs and Cathedral-Church within the Realm, five* Romans *(ſuch as the Pope ſhall name) be provided for, to the value of every man an hundred pounds by year. Beſides theſe, many other grievances the ſaid* Romaniſts *do inflict and infer, both to the Laity and Nobles of the Realm, for the Patronages and Alms beſtowed by them and their Anceſtors, for the ſuſtentation of the poor of the Realm, and alſo to the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of the Realm touching their Livings and Benefices. And yet the ſaid* Romaniſts, *not contented with the premiſſes, do alſo take from the Clergy of this Realm the Benefices which they have, to beſtow them on men of their own Country, &c.*

*Wherefore, we conſidering the rigorous auſterity of theſe foreſaid* Romaniſts, *which, once coming in but as ſtrangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but alſo to condemn us, laying upon us importable burthens, whereunto they will not put to one of their own fingers to move; and laying our heads together upon a general and full advice had among our ſelves concerning the ſame, have thought good (although very late) to withſtand them, rather than to be ſubject to their intolerable Oppreſſions, and greater ſlavery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cauſe we ſtraitly charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliver you, the Church, the King, and the Kingdom from that miſerable yoke of Servitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning ſuch Exactions or Rents to be required or given to the ſaid* Romans. *Letting you to underſtand for truth, that in caſe you ſhall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your Goods and Poſſeſſions ſhall be in danger of brnuing, but you alſo in your perſons ſhall incur the ſame peril and puniſhment as ſhall the ſaid* Romiſh *Oppreſſors themſelves.*

Thus fare ye well.

Example teaching never to take part againſt their King with foreign Power.

¶ Thus much I thought here to inſert and notifie concerning this matter, for that not only the foul and avaricious greedineſs of the *Romiſh* Church might the more evidently unto all *Engliſh-men* appear: but that they may learn by this example how worthy they be ſo to be ſerved and plagued with their own Rod, which before would take no part with their natural King againſt foreign Power, of whom now they are ſcourged.

To make the ſtory more plain: in the Reign of this *Henry* the third (who ſucceeding, as is ſaid, after King *John* his Father reigned ſix and fifty years) came divers Legates from *Rome* to *England*. Firſt Cardinal *Otho* ſent from the Pope with Letters to the King, like as other Letters alſo were ſent to other places for exactions of money.

Cardinal *Otho* Legate.

The King opening the Letters, and perceiving the contents, anſwered, *That he alone could ſay nothing in the matter which concerned all the Clergy and Commons of the whole Realm.* Not long after a Council was called at *Weſtminſter*, where the Letters being opened, the form was this, *Petimus imprimis ab omnibus Eccleſiis Cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, unam de portione Epiſcopi, & alteram de capitulo: & ſimiliter de cœnobiis ubi diverſæ ſunt portiones Abbatis & Conventus; a conventibus quantum pertinet ad unum Monachum, æquali;*

The Pope requireth two Prebendſhips in every Cathedral Church.

*facta*

*facta diſtributione bonorum ſuorum, & ab Abbate tantundem*; That is, We require to be given unto us, firſt, of all Cathedral-Churches two Prebends, one for the Biſhops part, the other for the Chapter: and likewiſe of Monaſteries where be divers portions, one for the Abbot, another for the Covent: of the Covent ſo much as appertaineth to one Monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided; of the Abbot likewiſe as much. The cauſe why he required theſe Prebends was this, It hath been (ſaith he) an old ſlander, and a great complaint againſt the Church of *Rome*, and it hath been charged with inſatiable covetouſneſs, which as ye know is the root of all miſchief, and all by reaſon that Cauſes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceed in the Church of *Rome* without great gifts and expence of money. Whereof ſeeing the poverty of the Church is the cauſe, and the only reaſon why it is ſo ſlandered and evil ſpoken of: it is therefore convenient that you (as natural Children) ſhould ſuccour your Mother. For unleſs we ſhould receive of you and of other good men as you are, we ſhould then lack neceſſaries for our life, which were a great diſhonour to our Dignity, &c.

Note the cauſe why the Pope is compelled to crave money of other Countries.

When thoſe Petitions and Cauſes of the Legate were propounded in the foreſaid Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter* on the Popes behalf (the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm being preſent) anſwer was made by the mouth of Maſter *John Bedford* on this wiſe: that the matter there proponed by the Lord Legate in eſpecial concerned the King of *England*, but in general it touched all the Archbiſhops with their Suffragans, the Biſhops, and all the Prelates of the Realm. Wherefore, ſeeing both the King by reaſon of his ſickneſs was abſent, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* with divers other Biſhops alſo were not there, therefore in the abſence of them they had nothing to ſay in the matter, neither could they ſo do without prejudice of them which were lacking. And ſo the Aſſembly for that time brake up.

A Council at *London* called.

Not long after, the ſaid *Otho*, Cardinal *De carcere Tulliano*, coming again from *Rome*, *Cum autentico plenariæ poteſtatis*, indicted another Council at *London*, and cauſed all Prelates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other of the Clergy to be warned unto the ſame Council, to be had in the Church of S. *Pauls* at *London* about the Feaſt of S. *Martin*. The pretence of which Council was for redreſs of matters concerning Benefices and Religion; but the chief and principal was to hunt for money: for putting them in fear and in hope, ſome to loſe, ſome to obtain Spiritual Promotions at his hand, he thought gain would riſe thereby, and ſo it did. For in the mean time (as *Pariſienſis in vita Henrici tertii* writeth) divers precious Rewards were offered him in Palfries, in rich Plate and Jewels, in coſtly and ſumptuous Garments ſo richly furred, in Coin, in Victuals, and ſuch like things of value well worthy of acceptation. Wherein one indeavoured to go beyond another in Munificence (not conſidering, by means of the ſervility wherewith they were oppreſſed of thoſe Popiſh ſhavelings and ſhameleſs ſhifters, that all was meer Pillage and Extortion.) Inſomuch that only the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (as the ſtory reporteth) hearing that he would winter at *London*, ſent him fifty fat Oxen, an hundred Coome of pure Wheat, eight Tun of choſen Wine toward his houſe keeping. Likewiſe other Biſhops alſo for their part offered unto the Cardinals Box after their ability.

Great Rewards given to the Cardinal.

The time of the Council drawing nigh, the Cardinal commanded at the Weſt end of *Pauls* Church an high and ſolemn Throne to be prepared, riſing up with a glorious Scaffold upon mighty and ſubſtantial Stages ſtrongly builded, and of great height. Thus againſt the day aſſigned, came the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other of the Prelacy, both far and near throughout all *England*, wearied and vexed with the Winters journey, bringing their Letters Procuratory. Who being together aſſembled, the Cardinal beginneth his Sermon. But before we come to the Sermon, there hapned a great diſcord between the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for ſitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious Cardinal, for the which the one appealed againſt the other. The Cardinal to pacifie the ſtrife between them both, ſo that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certain Bull of the Pope: in the midſt of which Bull was pictured the figure of the Croſs. On the right ſide of the Croſs ſtood the Image of S. *Paul*, and on the left ſide S. *Peter*: *Lo*, ſaith the Cardinal (holding open the Bull with the Croſs) *here you ſee S.* Peter *on the left hand of the Croſs, and S.* Paul *on the right ſide, and yet is there between theſe two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet S.* Peter *for the prerogative of his Keys, and for the preheminence of his Apoſtleſhip and Cathedral dignity, ſeemeth moſt worthy to be placed on the right ſide. But yet becauſe S.* Paul *believed on Chriſt when he ſaw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the Croſs: For bleſſed be they* (ſaith Chriſt) *which believe and ſee not, &c.* And from that time forth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* injoyed the right hand, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, the left. Wherein yet this Cardinal is more to be commended than the other Cardinal *Hugo* mentioned a little before, which in the like contention between theſe Archbiſhops ran away.

Contention for ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinal.

Why S. *Paul* ſtandeth on the right hand of the Popes Croſs. Why the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath the right hand and the Archbiſhop of *York* the left hand.

Thus the Controverſie ceaſed and compoſed between theſe two, *Otho* the Cardinal, ſitting aloft between theſe two Archbiſhops, beginneth his Sermon, taking this Theme of the Prophet; *In medio ſedis & in circuitu ejus quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro, &c.* that is, In the midſt of the Seat, and in the circuit about the Seat, were four Beaſts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this Theme the Cardinal proceeded in his Sermon, ſitting like a god in the midſt. He compared them about him to the four Beaſts about the Seat, declaring how they ought to have eyes both before and behind (that is) that they muſt be provident in diſpoſing of ſecular things, and circumſpect in ſpiritual matters, continuing and joyning wiſely things paſt with things to come; and this was the greateſt effect of his Clerkly Sermon. That done, he giveth forth certain Statutes for ordering of Churches, as for the dedication of Temples, for ſeven Sacraments, for giving of Orders, for framing of Benefices, collations and reſignations of Benefices and Vicariges, Prieſts Apparrel, and ſingle life, for eating of fleſh in religious Houſes, or Archdeacons, Biſhops, Proctors, and ſuch other like matters. But the chiefeſt intent of all his proceeding was this, That they ſhould be vigilant, provident, and circumſpect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the Popes Pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other travels beſides. Inſomuch that the King, dreading the diſpleaſure of his Commons for the doings of the Legate, willed him to repair home to *Rome* again, but yet could not ſo be rid of him; for he, receiving new Commandments from the Pope, applied his Harveſt, ſtill gleaning and raking whatſoever he might ſcrape, writing and ſending to Biſhops and Archdeacons in this form and tenor,

Note the Theme of the Cardinal applied to God, how he appleth it to himſelf. Scripture Clerkly applied.

A letter of the Cardinal to Biſhops and Archdeacons. Cenſure of the Church well applied.

*OTto miſeratione divina, &c. Diſcreto viro* N. *Epiſcopo vel* N. *Archidiacono ſalutem. Cum neceſſe habeamus de mandato ſummi Pontificis moram trahere in* Anglia *longiorem, nec poſſimus propriis ſtipendiis militare, diſcretionem veſtram qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, ut procurationes nobis debitas in Epiſcopatu, vel Archidiaconatu veſtro colligi faciatis noſtro nomine diligenter, eas quam citius poteritis, nobis tranſmiſſuri, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam compeſcendo. Proviſo, quod quælibet procuratio ſummam* 4. *marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, & ubi una Eccleſia non ſufficiet ad procurationem hujuſmodi habendam, duæ pariter unam ſolvant. Datum* Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Gregor. Papæ 9.

Four Marks to be paid to the Pope of every Procuration

And moreover, note again the wicked and curſed trains of theſe *Romiſh* Rakehels, who, to pick ſimple mens purſes, firſt ſend out their Fryers and Preachers to ſtir up in all Places and Countries, men to go fight againſt the *Turks*: whom when they have once bound with a Vow, and ſigned them with the Croſs, then ſend they their Bulls to releaſe them both of their labour, and their Vow for money, as by their own ſtile of writing is here to be ſeen, thus proceeding.

Note the crafty practiſe of Romiſh Pontificates to pro[fit] for money.

*N. Epiſcopus dilectis in Chriſto filiis omnibus Archidiaconis per Diœceſim ſuam conſtitutis, ſalutem. Literas Domini Legati ſuſcepimus in hæc verba; Otto miſeratione divina, &c. Cum ſicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce ſignati Regni* Angliæ, *qui ſunt inhabiles ad pugnandum,*

*ad*

*ad ſedem Apoſtolicam accedant, ut ibidem a voto crucis abſolvi valeant, & nos nuper recepimus à ſummo Pontifice in mandatis, ut tales non ſolum abſolvere, verum & ad redimenda vota ſua * compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expenſis, fraternitatem veſtram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus, partem prædictam a ſummo Pontifice nobis conceſſam faciatis in noſtris diœceſibus ſine mora qualibet publicari, ut præfati cruce ſignati ad nos accedere valeant, * beneficium ſuper his juxta formam nobis traditam accepturi, Datum Londini 5. Kal. Mart. Pont. D. N. Papæ Gregor. 9*

* Note the ſtile of Rome.

* Imo malefficium & ſacrilegium pecunia.

The cauſe why the Pope was ſo greedy and needy of Money, was this; becauſe he had mortal hatred, and waged continual battel the ſame time againſt the good Emperor, *Fredrick* the ſecond, who had to Wife King *Johns* Daughter, and Siſter to King *Henry* the third, whoſe name was *Iſabel*. And therefore becauſe the Popes war could not be ſuſtained without charges, that made the Pope the more importunate to take money in all places, but eſpecially in *England*. Inſomuch that he ſhamed not to require the fifth part of every Eccleſiaſtical mans living, as *Pariſienſis* writeth. And not only that, but alſo the ſaid Pope *Gregory* (conferring with the Citizens of *Rome*) ſo agreed with them, that if they would joyn with him in vanquiſhing the foreſaid *Frederick*, he would (and ſo did) grant unto them, that all the Benefices in *England* which were or ſhould be vacant (namely pertaining to religious Houſes) ſhould be beſtowed at their own will and commandment to their children and kinſfolks. Whereupon it followed in the forenamed Hiſtory, *Unde infra paucos dies miſit D. Papa ſacra præcepta ſua domino Cant. Archiep. Elienſi & Lincol. & Salisb. Epiſcopis, ut trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficiis vacantibus, providerent, ſcientes ſe ſuſpenſos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter provideretur*, That is, the Pope ſent in commandment to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and four other Biſhops, that proviſion ſhould be made for three hundred *Romans* in the chiefeſt and beſt Benefices in all *England* at the next voidance: So that the foreſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops ſhould be ſuſpended in the mean time from all collation or gift of Benefices, until the foreſaid three hundred were provided for. Whereupon the Archbiſhop the ſame time ſeeing the unreaſonable oppreſſion of the Church of *England*, left the Realm and went into *France*.

*Fredrick* the Emperor married King *Johns* Daughter.

The fifth part of every ſpiritual mans living given to the Pope.

Three hundred Romans to be placed in the beſt benefices of *England*.

Again, mark another as much or more eaſie ſleight of the Pope in procuring money. He ſent one *Petrus Rubeus* the ſame time with a new device, which was this, Not to work any thing openly, but privily to go betwixt Biſhop and Biſhop, Abbot and Abbot, &c. Telling in their ears, ſuch a Biſhop, ſuch an Abbot hath given ſo much and ſo much unto the Popes Holineſs, truſting that you alſo will not be behind for your part, &c. By the means whereof it is incredible to think what a Maſs of Money was made out of the Realm unto the Pope.

*Petrus Rubeus* the Popes Agent.

A *Romiſh* ſleight of the Pope to get Engliſh money.

At length the foreſaid Biſhops, Abbots, and Archdeacons feeling their own ſmart, came to the King (whoſe Father before they did reſiſt) with their humble ſute, lamentably complaining of the unmeaſurable exactions of the Pope, and eſpecially againſt *Petrus Rubeus* and his fellow *Otto* the Legate; deſiring the King, that ſeeing the matter toucheth not themſelves alone, but the whole Church, and ſeeing the valuation of Churches was known better to their Archdeacons than to themſelves, therefore there might be a general calling and talk had in the matter. In the octaves of S. *John* the Baptiſt, the day and place was aſſigned where they ſhould talk; at which day and place the Prelates of *England*, conventing together, durſt not give any direct denial of that contribution, but after a modeſt ſort did inſinuate certain exceptions againſt the ſame.

Exceptions alledged for not contributing to the Pope.

1. Firſt they ſay, that for ſo much as the contribution is demanded to war againſt him, who was joyned in Matrimony with their Prince, they were not bound ſo to do.

2. Secondly, for that the ſaid contribution tended to the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood; for ſo the form of the bill pretended to fight againſt the Emperor.

3. Thirdly, becauſe it was againſt the liberty of the Church; for ſo it is in the bill, that they that would not ſhould be Excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, becauſe that when of late they gave the tenth part of their goods, it was with this proteſtation, that they ſhould contribut to the Pope no more heteafter.

5. *Item*, becauſe they had contributed before; if they ſhould now contribute again, it were to be feared leſt an Action twice done ſhould grow into a cuſtom, as is in the Law, *Lege nem, &c.*

6. *Item*, for ſo much as they ſhall have cauſes continually to ſeek to *Rome* through the Emperors Land; it were to be feared leſt the ſaid Emperor by the way would work their Annoyance.

7. *Item*, becauſe the King hath many Enemies abroad, and for his wars hath need of much money at home, it is not convenient that the goods of the Realm ſhould be alienated out of the Realm.

8. *Item*, becauſe that could not be done without prejudice to the Patrons of their Churches, not knowing whether their Patrons did or would agree unto the ſame.

9. Laſtly, becauſe they hear ſay, that the general State of the Church is in danger, for the which they underſtand there ſhall be ſhortly a general Council, wherein ſuch matters ſhall be determined: and therefore if they ſhould contribute now, it ſhould be to the hinderance and damage of the Church.

The Legate and his fellow hearing theſe Allegations, ſeeing their own confuſion, were the leſs importunate.

Not long after this followed a general Council at *Lions*, called by Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, in the which Council the *Engliſh* Nation did exhibit certain Articles of their grievances not unworthy to be known. *Gravatur regnum Angliæ, eo quod D. Papa non eſt contentus ſubſidio illo, quod vocatur denarius beati Petri, &c.*

In Engliſh thus.

Articles exhibited in the Councell of *Lugdune* for the grievances ſuſtained by the Pope.

1. The Kingdom of *England* is grieved that the Pope, being not contented with his *Peter*-pence, requireth and extorteth from the Clergy great exactions (and more is like) both without the conſent of the King, and againſt the Cuſtoms of the Realm. The firſt grievance.

2. *Item*, the Church and Kingdom of *England* is grieved, that the Patrons of the ſame cannot preſent as they were wont, unto their Churches, for the Popes Letters: But the Churches are given to *Romans*, which know neither the Realm nor the Tongue thereof, both to the great peril of ſouls and robbing away the money out of the Realm. The ſecond.

3. *Item*, it is grieved, for that the Pope premiſing by the Tenor of his Letters, that in requiring of penſions and proviſions in the Realm of *England* he would require but only twelve Benefices, now contrary to the Tenor thereof many more Benefices and proviſions are beſtowed away by him. The third.

4. *Item*, the Realm is grieved and complaineth, that in the Benefices in *England*, one *Italian* ſucceedeth another, the Engliſh-men being not only excluded, but alſo compelled (for the dertermining of their matters) to ſeek to *Rome*, contrary both to the Cuſtoms of the Realm, and alſo to the priviledges granted by the Popes predeceſſors to the King and Kingdom of *England*, The fourth.

5. The fifth grievance is for the oft recourſe of that infamous Legate, by whom both faith and fidelity, the ancient Cuſtoms of the Realm, the Authorities of old Grants, Statutes, Laws and Priviledges, are imbecilled and abrogate, whereby an infinite number in *England* be grievouſly afflicted and oppreſſed. The fifth, He meaneth perchaſe *Otho* or maſter *Martinus*.

6. The ſaid Realm is alſo grieved in general Tallages, Collections, and Aſſeſes, made without the Kings conſent, the appellation and contradiction of the Kings Proctors to the contrary notwithſtanding. The ſixth.

7. Seventhly, the foreſaid Realm complaineth and is grieved, that in the Benefices given to *Italians*, neither the old Ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor Hoſpitality, nor any Preaching of Gods Word, nor care of Men Souls, nor ſervice in the Church, nor yet the walls of the Churches be kept up and maintained, as the manner and Cuſtom of the ſame Realm requireth. Over and above theſe foreſaid grievances, there came moreover from the Pope other freſh Letters, charging and commanding the Prelates of *England* to find of their proper coſts and charges for one whole year, ſome ten armed ſouldiers, ſome five, ſome fifteen, to be ready at the Popes commandment there where he ſhould appoint. The ſeventh. The Babylonical captivity and ſlavery of *England* under the Pope.

After theſe and other grievances and enormities of *Rome*, the States of *England* conſulting together direct their Letters to the Pope, for reformation thereof. Firſt the Abbots and Priors, then the Biſhops and Suffragans, after the Nobles and Barons, laſt of all the King himſelf. But as the proverb is, *Venter non habet aures*; ſo the Popes purſe had no ears to hear. And as our common ſaying goeth; *As good never a whit as never the better*: ſo went it with the Pope, who not long after the ſame ſent for new Tallages and exactions to be collected. Which thing when it came to the Kings ear, he being moved and diſturbed vehemently withal, writeth in this wiſe to the Biſhops, ſeverally to every one in his Dioceſs.

The Letter of King *Henry* the third to the Biſhops.

HEnricus tertius Dei gratia, *&c.* Venerabili in Chriſto, *N.* Epiſcopo ſalutem. Licet alias vobis, *&c.*

In Engliſh thus.

Henry *the Third by the Grace of God, to the Reverend in Chriſt Biſhop of* N. *Whereas we have heretofore Written unto you, once, twice, thrice, as well by our privy ſeals, as by our Letters Patents, that you ſhould not exact or collect, for the Popes behalf, any Tallage or other help of our Subjects, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity, for that no ſuch Tallage nor help either can or is uſed to be exacted in our Realm without the great prejudice of our Princely Dignity, which we neither will nor can ſuffer or ſuſtain: yet you contemning and vilipending our commandment, and contrary to the proviſion made in our laſt Council at* London *(granted and agreed upon by our Prelates, Earls, and Barons) have that notwithſtanding proceeded in collecting the ſaid your Taxes and Tallages. Whereupon we do greatly marvel and are moved (eſpecially ſeeing you are not aſhamed to do contrary unto your own Decrees) whereas you and other Prelates in the ſaid Council in this did all agree and grant, that no ſuch exactions ſhould be hereafter, until the return of our and your Ambaſſadors from the Court of* Rome, *ſent thither purpoſely of us, and in the name of the whole Realm for the ſame, to provide redreſs againſt thoſe oppreſſions. Wherefore we ſtraitly will and command you, that from henceforth you do not proceed any more in collecting and exacting ſuch Tallages or helps, as you will injoy our favour and ſuch poſſeſſions of yours as within this our Kingdom you have and hold. And if you have already procured or gather any ſuch thing, yet that you ſuffer not the ſame to be tranſported out of our Realm, but cauſe it to be kept in ſafe cuſtody till the return of the ſaid Ambaſſadors, under the pain of our diſpleaſure in doing of the contrary, and alſo of provoking us to extend our hand upon your poſſeſſions, further than you will think or believe. Moreover, willing and charging you that you participate and make common this our inhibition, with your Archdeacons and Officials, which we have have ſet forth for the liberties of the Clergy and of the people, as knoweth God, &c.*

King *Henry* the third commandeth no tax nor tallage to be ſent to the Pope.

At length the Ambaſſadors which were at *Rome* came home about the later end of *December*, bringing word that the Pope, hearing what was done in the Council of *Wincheſter*, and of the King, was greatly diſpleaſed with him and the Realm, ſaying, *Rex Anglorum, qui jam recalcitrat & frederiſat, ſuum habet conſilium, ego vero & meum habeo, quod & ſequar, &c.* Whereupon when the Ambaſſadors began to ſpeak in the Kings behalf, from that time they were half counted for Schiſmaticks, and could no more be heard in the Court of *Rome*. The King hearing this was marveloſly incenſed therewith, commanding by general Proclamation through all his Realm, that no man ſhould hereafter conſent to any Tax or ſubſidy of money for the Court of *Rome*. When this came to the Popes ear, upon a cruel rage he directed his Letters to the Prelates of *England*, charging that under pain of ſuſpence or interdiction, they ſhould provide the ſame ſum of money to be collected againſt the Feaſt of Aſſumption, the charge being given to the Biſhop of *Worceſter* to be executer of the ſaid Curſe. The King lately intended to ſtand to the liberties of the Church, now for fear of the Pope, and partly for perſwaſions of the ſaid Biſhop of *Worceſter* and other Prelates, durſt not ſtand to it, but gave over. Moreover the greedy gulf of the *Romiſh* avarice waxed ſo un meaſurable, that at length the Pope ſhamed not, upon the cenſure of his Curſe, to ask the third part of the Church goods, and the yearly Fruit of all vacant Benefices. The chief Doers and Legates in *England*, were *Otho*, *Stephanus Capellanus*, *Petrus Rubeus Nuncius*, *Mag. Martin*, and *Mag. Marinus*, *Johannes Anglicus Epiſcopus Sabinenſis*. Of whom to ſpeak further (for that I have matter much more to write) for this preſent time I think beſt to furceaſe, leſt in opening all the deteſtable doings and peſtilent workings of thoſe men, I might perhaps, not only moleſt good ears, but alſo infect the Air. Yet one thing concerning the ſaid *Otho* I cannot well overpaſs.

The Popes ſaying againſt King *Henry*.

King *Henry* againſt reſtraineth the Popes taxes.

The Pope taketh one againſt the King.

The King compelled for fear to give over to the Pope.

The Pope asketh the third part of the Church goods.

This *Otho*, as he left no place unſought, where any vantage might be got: ſo amongſt all others he came to *Oxford*, where lying in the Houſe of *Oſney*, he was received with great honour; the Scholars preſenting him Honourably with ſuch Diſhes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratifie the Cardinal after the beſt manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reverently to ſee and welcome him, ſuppoſing that they alſo ſhould with like courteſie again of him be entertained. As they came to the Gate, the Porter (being an *Italian*) with a loud voice asketh what they would have? They ſaid they came to ſee the Lord Legate. But *Cerberus* the Porter, holding the door half open, with proud and contumelious language thruſt them out, and would not ſuffer them to enter. The Scholars ſeeing that, by force thruſt open the Gate and came in; whom when the *Romans* which were within would have repelled with their Fiſts, and ſuch Staves as they had in their Hands, they fell to Alarum and by the ears together, with much heaving and ſhooving, and many blows on both ſides. In the mean time, while ſome of the Scholars ran home for their Weapons, there chanced a poor Scholar (an *Iriſh*-man) to ſtand at the Gate waiting for his Alms. Whom when the Maſter ſaw at the Gate, he, taking hot ſkalding water out of the pan where the meat was ſodden, did caſt it in his Face. One of the Scholars a *Welſh*-man, that came with his Bow and ſhafts, ſeeing that, letteth drive an arrow, and ſhooteth this *Nabuzardan* (that Maſter of Cooks) clean thorow the body, and ſlaieth him out of hand. The Cook falling dead, there was a mighty broil and a great clamour throughout all the Houſe. The Cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noiſe about him, like a Valiant *Roman* runneth as faſt as he could into the Steeple, and there locketh the doors faſt unto him, where he remained till midnight. The Scholars in the mean while, not yet all pacified, ſought all corners about for the Legate, exclaiming and crying out; Where is that Uſurer, that Simoniack, that piller and poller of our livings, that proller and extortioner of our Money, which perverteth our King, and ſubverteth his Kingdom, inriching himſelf with our ſpoils? &c. All this heard the Cardinal, and held his peace. When the night approaching had broken up the field, the Cardinal coming out of his Fort, and taking his Horſe (in ſilence of the night) was privily conveied over the River toward the King, conveying himſelf away as faſt as he could. After the King heard this, he ſendeth to *Oxford* a garriſon of armed Men, to deliver the *Romans* which were there hidden for fear of Scholars. Then was Maſter *Otho* a Lawyer, with thirty other Scholars apprehended, and carried to *Walingford* Caſtle, and from thence had in Carts to *London*, where at length (through much intreaty of the Biſhops) they, being brought barefoot to the Legates door, had their pardon, and the Univerſity releaſed of interdiction. And thus much concerning the Popes Legate in *England*.

A ſtory of Cardinal *Otho* at *Oxford*.

A skirmiſh between the Scholars of *Oxford* and the Cardinals men.

The Cardinal runneth away.

Thirty Scholars taken and had to priſon.

Thus partly you have heard, and do underſtand the miſerable Thraldom and Captivity of this Realm of *England*, and the Clergy of the ſame, who before refuſed to take part with King *John* their natural Prince, againſt the foreign power of the Pope; and now how miſerably they are oppreſſed and ſcourged of the ſame Pope; whoſe inſatiable extortion and rapacity did ſo exceed in pilling and polling of this Realm long after this, that neither the King now could help them, neither could the Pope with any reaſonable meaſure be content. Inſomuch (as writers record) in the days of *Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *An.* 1360. the Pope by his Proctors gat from the Clergy, in leſs than one year, more than forty Thouſand Florens, of meer contribution: beſides his other avails and common revenues out of Benefices, Prebendaries, firſt Fruits,

Three ſcore Thouſand Florens contributed to the Pope, in one year, of the Clergy.

Tributes,

Tributes, *Peter*-pence, Collations, Reſervations, Relaxations, and ſuch Merchandiſe, &c.

Mention was made a little before of *Albingenſes* keeping about the City of *Tholouſe*. Theſe *Albingenſes* becauſe they began to ſmell the Pope, and to contro[l] the inordinate proceedings and diſcipline of the See of *Rome*, the Pope therefore recounting them as a people heretical, excited and ſtirred up about this preſent time and year, *Anno* 1220. *Ludovike* the young *French* King, through the inſtance of *Philip* his Father, to lay ſiege againſt the ſaid City of *Tholouſe* to expugne and extinguiſh theſe *Albingenſes* his Enemies. Whereupon *Ludovike* (according to his Fathers commandment) reared a puiſſant and mighty Army to compaſs about and beſet the forenamed City, and ſo did. Here were the men of *Tholouſe* in great danger. But ſee how the mighty Protection of God fighteth for his people againſt the might of Man: For after that *Ludovike* (as *Matth. Paris* teſtifieth) had long wearied himſelf and his men in waſte, and could do no good with all their Engins and Artillery againſt the City, there fell moreover upon the *French* Hoſt, by the hand of God, ſuch famine and peſtilence both of Men and Horſes, beſides the other daily ſlaughter of the Souldiers, that *Ludovike* was inforced to retire, and with ſuch as were left to return again home to *France* from whence he came. In the ſlaughter of which Souldiers, beſides many others, was Earl *Simon de monte forti*, General of the Army, to whom the lands of the Earl of *Tholouſe* were given by the Pope; who was ſlain before the Gate of the City with a ſtone, and ſo was alſo the Brother of the ſaid *Simon* the ſame time, in beſieging a Caſtle near to *Tholouſe*, ſlain with a ſtone in like manner. And ſo was the ſiege of the *French*-men againſt *Tholouſe* broke up. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi.*

*Ludovike* the *French* King.

*Ludovike* fighteth againſt *Albingenſes.*

*Ludovike* beſiegeth *Tholouſe.*

The hand of God fighting for his people.

*Ex Matth. Pariſienſi in vita Henrici 3.*

The general of the army ſlain.

The ſiege againſt *Albingenſes* broke up.

As the ſiege of theſe *French*-men could do no good againſt the City of *Tholouſe*; ſo it happened the ſame time that the Chriſtians, marching towards the Holy land, had better ſucceſs in laying their ſiege to a certain Tower or Caſtle in *Egypt* near to the City *Damieta*, which ſeemed by nature for the ſituation and difficulty of the place inexpugnable: which being ſituate in the midſt of the great flood *Nilus* (hard by the City called *Damieta*) could neither be come to by land, nor be undermined for the water, nor by famine ſubdued, for the neerneſs of the City; yet notwithſtanding through the help of God and Policy of Man, Erecting Scaffolds and Caſtles upon tops of Maſts, the Chriſtians at laſt conquered it, and after that alſo the City *Damieta*, albeit not without great loſs of Chriſtian people. In the expugnation of this City or fort, among others that there died, was the Lantgrave of *Thuring*, named *Ludovike* the Husband of *Elizabeth*, whom we uſe to call S. *Elizabeth*. This *Elizabeth* (as my Story recordeth) was the Daughter of the King of *Hungary*, and married in *Almain*, where ſhe lived with the forenamed *Ludovike* Lantgrave of *Thuring*, whom ſhe through her perſwaſions provoked and incenſed to take that voyage to fight for the Holy land, where he in the ſame voyage was ſlain. After whoſe death *Elizabeth* (remaining a widow) entred the profeſſion of cloyſterly religion, and made her ſelf a Nun; ſo growing and increaſing from vertue to vertue, that after her death all *Almain* did ſound with the fame of her worthy doings. *Matthew Paris* addeth this more, that ſhe was the Daughter of that Queen, who, being accuſed to be naught with a certain Archbiſhop, was therefore condemned with this ſentence pronounced againſt her; *Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum eſt, & ſi omnes conſenſerint non ego contradico*, That is (although it be hard in Engliſh to be tranſlated as it ſtandeth in Latin) To kill the Queen will ye not to fear, that is good, and if all men conſent thereunto, not I my ſelf do ſtand againſt it, &c. The which ſentence being brought to Pope *Innocent*, thus in pointing the ſentence, which otherwiſe ſeemeth to have a double underſtanding, he ſo ſaved the Queen, thus interpreting and pointing the ſame, *Reginam interficere nolite, timere bonum eſt, et ſi omnes conſenſerint, non ego, contradico.* That is, To kill the Queen will ye not, to fear, that is good: And if all do conſent thereto, yet not I, I my ſelf do ſtand againſt it, and ſo eſcaped ſhe the danger. This Queen was the Mother (as is ſaid) of *Elizabeth* the Nun, who for her holy nunniſhneſs was Canonized of the Popes Church for a Saint in *Almain*, about the year of our Lord 1220. *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi.*

The expugnation of a certain ſtrong Caſtle of *Damieta* in *Egypt* by the Chriſtians.

*Damieta* taken by the Chriſtians.

The Story of S. *Elizabeth.*

*Elizabeth* Daughter of the King of *Hungary*.

S. *Elizabeth* provoketh her husband to go and fight for the Holy land.

The Mother of S. *Elizabeth* accuſed of adultery.

The ſentence of a double meaning.

The Queen ſaved by favorable interpretation of a double ſentence.

*Elizabeth* Canonized a Saint in *Almain.*

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the years and life of this King *Henry*. The next year following, which was *Anno.* 1221. the King went to *Oxford*, where he had ſomething to do with *William* Earl *de Albemarlia*, who had taken the Caſtle of *Biham*: but at laſt, for his good ſervice he had done in the Realm before, he was releaſed of the King with all his men, by the interceſſion of *Walter* Archbiſhop of *York*, and of *Pandulph* the Legate. About which preſent year entred firſt the Frier *Minorits*, or Gray-Friers into *England*, and had their firſt Houſe at *Canterbury*, whoſe firſt Patron was *Franciſcus*, which died *Anno* 1127. and his Order was confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third, *Anno* 1224.

{Anno 1221.}

*Ex tabula penſili in æde divi Pauli.*

The Gray-Friers firſt entred into *England.*

The order of Gray-Friers firſt confirmed.

About the firſt coming of theſe *Dominick* and Gray-Friers *Franciſcan* into the Realm (as is in *Nicol. Trivet* teſtified) many Engliſhmen the ſame time entred into their orders. Among whom was *Johannes de ſancto Egidio*, a man famouſly expert in the ſcience of Phyſick and Aſtronomy, and *Alexander de Hales*, both Engliſhmen and great Divines. This *Johannes* making his Sermon *Ad clerum*, in the Houſe of the *Dominick* Friers, exhorted his Auditory with great perſwaſions unto wilful poverty. And to confirm his words the more by his own example, in the midſt of his Sermon he came down from the Pulpit and put on his Friers habit; and ſo, returning into Pulpit again, made an end of his Sermon. Likewiſe *Alexander Hales* entred the order of the *Franciſcans*, of whom remaineth yet the Book intituled *De ſumma theologiæ* in old Libraries.

*Johannes de S. Egidio. Alexander de Hales.*

Moreover, not long after by *William de longa ſpata*, which was the baſtard Son of King *Henry* the ſecond, and Earl of *Salisbury*, was firſt founded the Houſe of the *Carthuſian* Monks at *Heitrope*, *Anno* 1222. After whoſe death his Wife *Ela* was tranſlated to the Houſe of *Henton* in *Barkeſhire*, *An.* 1227. which *Ela* alſo founded the Houſe of Nuns at *Lacocks*, and there continued her ſelf Abbeſs of the place. The Biſhop of *London*, named *William*, the ſame time gave over his Biſhoprick, after whom ſucceeded *Euſtace* in that See. *Flor. hiſt.*

Charterhouſe Monks founded by *William Longſpey.*

*Ela* foundreſs of the Houſe of *Lacock.*

In the Town of *Oxford* above mentioned, where the King kept his Court, *Simon Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* held a Council, where was condemned and burned a certain Deacon, as *Nicol. Trivet* ſaith, for Apoſtaſie. Alſo another rude Country-man, who had crucified himſelf, and ſuperſtitiouſly bare about the wounds in his feet and hands, was condemned to be cloſed up perpetually within walls. *Ex Nicol. Trivet.* About which year alſo *Alexander* King of *Scots* married *Joan* Siſter to King *Henry*.

Two condemned at a Council in *Oxford.*

*Ex Nicol. Trivet.*

Not long after began the new building of the Minſter of *Salisbury*, whereof *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate laid the five firſt ſtones; one for the Pope (ſuch was the Fortune of that Church to have the Popes ſtone in his Foundation) the ſecond for the young King *Henry*; the third, for the good Earl of *Salisbury*; the fourth, for the Counteſs; the fifth, for the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, &c. Which was about the ſame year above mentioned, *Anno.* 1221. *Ex Chron. de Sal.*

In the ſame year about S. *James* tide fell a diſſention between the Citizens of *London*, and the men of *Weſtminſter*; the occaſion whereof was this. A certain gain between theſe two parties was appointed, to try whether part in wreſtling could overcome the other. Thus in ſtriving for maſtery, each part contending againſt the other (as the manner is in ſuch paſtime) it happened that the *Londoners* got the Victory, and the other ſide was put to foile, but eſpecially the Steward of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; who, being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethink in his mind how to be revenged again of the *Londoners*. Whereupon another day was ſet, which was at *Lammas*, that the *Londoners* ſhould come again to wreſtle; and who ſo had the Victory ſhould have the Belwether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their Play, the Steward ſuddenly bringeth upon the *Londoners* unawares, a company of harneſſed men prepared for the ſame before, and letteth drive at the *Londoners*; who, at length being wounded and grievouſly hurt, after much bloodſhed were driven back again into the City. This contumely thus being received, the Citizens, eagerly ſtrucken with ire and impatience, ran to the common Bell, and by ringing thereof aſſem-

Diſſention between the Citizens of *London* and of *Weſtminſter.*

aſſembled their Commons together, to conſult with themſelves what was to be done in that caſe ſo contumelious. Wherein when divers ſentences were given diverſly, *Serle* the ſame time Maior of *London* (a wiſe and diſcreet Man) gave this Counſel, that the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* ſhould be talked withal, who if he would rectifie the injury done, and ſatisfie for the harm received, it ſhould be to them ſufficient. But contrary, one *Conſtantine* a great Man then in the City of *London*, in much heat exciting the people, gave this ſentence, that all the Houſes of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, but eſpecially the Houſe of the Steward ſhould be caſt down to the ground. In fine, that, which he ſo unadviſedly Counſelled, was as madly performed: For the furious people according to his Counſel ſo did. This tumultuous outrage, as it could not be privy, coming to the knowledge of *Hubert de Burgo*, Lord chief Juſtice of *England* above mentioned, he coming with a ſufficient ſtrength of armed ſouldiers to the City of *London*, ſent to the Maior and Aldermen of the City to will them to come unto him. Who ſo obeying his commandment, he required of them the principal beginners of the Riot. To whom *Conſtantine* there being preſent anſwered, that he would warrant that which was done; ſorrowing moreover that they had not done more than they did in the matter. The Juſtice, upon the ſame his confeſſion, commanded him with two others, without any further tumult, to be taken; and ſo with the ſame two he was hanged, he offering for his life 1500. Marks, &c.

Wholeſome Counſel of the Maior of *London* refuſed of wild heads.

*Conſtantine* executed at *London* for Riot.

The ſaid *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, and Lord chief Juſtice, although he was a faithful and truſty officer to his Prince, and had the whole guiding of the Realm in his own hands, the King as yet being in his Minority: yet afterward, what indignation he ſuſtained for this his ſeverity and other things, both of the Nobles and of the Commons, and how ſharply he was toſſed and trounſed of his Prince, wonder it is to ſee, as in his due place and time (by the Lords leave) hereafter ſhall appear. *Hæc ex Matth. Pariſienſi.*

*Hubert* Lord chief Juſtice of *England.*

*Ex Matth. Pariſienſi.*

And forſomuch as mention hath been made of the wrangling between the Commoners of *London* and of *Weſtminſter*, both time and occaſion bringeth me in remembrance ſomething to ſpeak likewiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical conflicts among Church-men, nothing inferior in my mind, nor leſs worthy to be noted than the other. For ſo I read in *Matth. Paris*, and in *Flores Hiſt.* that at what time this wreſtling was among the Citizens for the ſheep, the like contention kindled and enflamed between *Euſtace* Biſhop of *London* and the Chapter of *Pauls* on the one ſide, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* with his Covent on the other ſide, about ſpiritual juriſdiction and ſubjection: to wit, whether the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter* were exempted from the ſubjection and juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London* or not. Which controverſie at laſt coming into compromiſe, was committed to the Arbitrement of *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Philip* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas* of *Merton*, and *Richard* Prior of *Dunſtable*; and at length it was thus agreed, that the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter* ſhould be utterly exempted from the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *London*, and that *Stanes*, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, ſhould appertain to the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter*. Alſo, that the manner of *Sunbury* ſhould be due and proper to the Church of S. *Paul*, and alſo that the Church of S. *Margaret* with all the Lands belonging to the ſame ſhould be exempted from all other juriſdiction, but only of the Biſhop of *Rome*: and ſo was this matter decided, *An.* 1222. *Ibidem Flor. Hiſtoriarum.*

Discord and contention among Church-men.

*Ex Matth. Paris & ex Florilego.*

Whether the Monaſtery of *Weſtminſter* be exempted from the ſubjection of the Biſhop of *London* or not.

{Anno 1222.} Horrible Tempeſt in *England.*

The ſame year (as writeth *Mat. Paris*) horrible tempeſts with thundring and lightning, and whirlewinds, went through all the Land, that much harm was done, Churches, Steeples, Towers, Houſes, and divers Trees with the voilence of Winds were blown up by the Roots. In *Warwickſhire* a certain Wife with eight others in her Houſe were ſlain. In *Grantham* the Church was ſet on fire by Lightning moſt terrible, with ſuch a ſtink left there behind, that no Man could after a long time abide it. The Author addeth, that manifeſt Marks of the Tempeſt did remain long after in that Monaſtery to be ſeen. Some alſo write that fiery Dragons and Spirits were ſeen then flying in the Air.

A woman with eight of her ſhouſhold ſlain with Thunder. *Grantham* Church burned with Lightning.

{Anno 1223.} *Anno* 1223. *Philip* the *French* King died, after whom his Son *Ludovick* ſucceeded in the Crown. To whom King *Henry* ſending his Meſſage, and deſiring him to remember his Promiſe and Covenant made in rendring again the Lands loſt in *Normandy*, could obtain nothing at his hands. Whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, alſo *William* the Kings Uncle Earl of *Saliſbury*, with divers other Nobles made over into *France*, where they recovered *Poictiers*, and kept *Gaſcoin* under the Kings obedience. *Ex Matth. Paris. Trivet. Flor. Hiſt.*

*Lewis* King of *France.* The *French* King falſe of his Promiſe.

In the ſame year, or as *Fabian* giveth, the next following, which was 1224. By the vertue of a certain Parliament, it was granted of the Lords and Barony of the Land, that the King and his Heirs, ſhould have the ward and marriage of their Heirs, which then was called, and after ſo proved to be, *Initium malorum*, the beginning of harms.

{Anno 1224.} Wardſhip firſt granted to the King.

In the ſame year, by the account of *Gisburn* and other Writers, the ſaid King holding another Parliament at *Oxford*, by the advice of his Council and of his Clergy, did grant and confirm, under his great Seal, two Charts of the old Liberties and Cuſtoms of this Realm, for ever to be kept and obſerved, the one called *Magna Charta*, the other *Charta de foreſta*. The Contents whereof fully in the forenamed Author be expreſſed. For the which cauſe was granted again by the whole Parliament a Quindecim, or a Fifteen of all his Subjects, as well of Lay-men as alſo of the Clergy.

*Ex Gisburnenſi & aliis.* *Magna Charta.* *Charta de foreſta.*

¶ Where is to be noted, that theſe Liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed again by the ſaid King, *Anno* 1236.

*Anno* 1226. died Pope *Honorius* a great Adverſary againſt *Fredrick* the Emperor, after whom ſucceeded *Gregory* the ninth, more grievous than his Predeceſſor. In which year alſo died *Ludovick* the perjured *French* King at the ſiege of *Avinion*; whom the Pope now the ſecond or third time had ſet up to fight againſt *Reimund* the good Earl of *Tholouſe*, and the Hereticks *Albingenſes* of that Country: For ſo the Pope calleth all them, which hold not in all points with his glorious pride, and uſurped power and ungodly proceedings. The Origin whereof was this, as in *Matth. Paris* appeareth. In the days of *Philip* the *French* King, this *Reimundus* Earl of *Tholouſe* was diſdained of the Pope for holding with the *Albingenſes*, and therefore, by the inſtigation of the Pope, the Lands of the Earl were taken from him and given to *Simon Montfort*; and inſtruments made upon the ſame: But when the ſaid Earl *Reimundus* would not be removed from the right of his poſſeſſions by unrighteous dealing; then the Pope ſeeketh *Philip* the *French* King to make open War againſt him. Whereupon *Lewis* the *French* King was ſent with a great power (as is above declared) to beſiege the City of *Tholouſe*; but being repulſed from thence by the marvellous hand of God fighting for his people, he could not prevail, and ſo returned home, after he had loſt the moſt part of his Army by peſtilence and other calamity, as hath been before deſcribed. And thus continued the good Earl ſtill in quiet poſſeſſion till this preſent time, *Anno* 1226. In the which year the Pope not forgetting his old Malice againſt the Earl, and no leſs enflamed with inſatiable avarice, directeth down his Legate Maſter *Romanus* to the parts of *France* for two ſeveral purpoſes; one to extripe the Earl, the other to inlarge his Revenues. Thus the Legate, being entred into *France*, beginneth to ſummon a Council, willing the *French* King with the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy of *France* to appear before him at *Bitures*; to whom eftſoons repaired ſix Archbiſhops with the Biſhops and Suffragans of nine Provinces, to the number of an Hundred, beſides the Abbots, Priors, and Proctors of all the Covents of *France*, to hear the Popes will and commandment. But becauſe there was a diſcord feared to riſe (ſaith *Matthæus*) about Preheminence of ſitting, for that the Archbiſhop of *Lions* challenged the Superior place above the Archbiſhop of *Sene*, alſo the Archbiſhop of *Rone* above the Archbiſhop of *Bitures*, and above the Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, &c. Therefore the Seſſion was holden there not in manner and form of a Council, but of a certain parly or conſultation. Thus the meek and holy Council being ſet, and the Popes Majeſties Letters read and declared, appeareth before them *Reimund* Earl of *Tholouſe* of the one party and *Simon Montfort* on the other part: which *Simon* required to be reſtored

*Lewis* King of *France.* The *French* King falſe of his Promiſe.

The Pope raiſeth war.

{Anno 1226} The Popes wicked malice againſt the Chriſtian Earl of *Tholouſe.*

Mark Reader the right nature of Phariſees ſtriving for the chief place.

The Pope giveth the right poſſeſſion away from the owners.

unto

unto him the Lands and poſſeſſions of the ſaid *Reimund*, which the Pope and *Philip* the *French* King had given to him and to his Father before, having good evidences to ſhew for the ſame, confirmed by the donation of the Pope and of the King. Adding moreover, that the Earl *Reimund* was deprived and diſherited in the general Council at *Rome* for Hereſie, which is called the Hereſie of *Albingenſes*. At leaſt, if he might not have the whole yielded unto him, yet the moſt part of his Lordſhips he required to be granted him.

*Reimundus* wrongfully diſherited by the Pope.

To this the Earl *Reimund* anſwered again, offering himſelf ready to all duty and office both toward the *French* King, and to the Church of *Rome*, whatſoever duly to him did appertain. And moreover, touching the Hereſie wherewith he was there charged; he did not only there offer himſelf in that Council before the Legate, but moſt humbly did crave of him, that he would take the pains to come into every City within his Precinct to inquire of every perſon there the Articles of his Belief; and if he found any perſon or perſons holding that which was not Catholick, he would ſee the ſame to be corrected and amended according to the cenſure of holy Church to the uttermoſt. Or if he ſhould find any City rebelling againſt him, he, to the uttermoſt of his might with the inhabitants thereof, would compel them to do ſatisfaction therefore. And as touching himſelf, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembreth not that he had done) he offered there full ſatisfaction to God and Church, as becomed any faithful Chriſtian Man to do; requiring moreover there before the Legate to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (ſaith *Matthæus*) the Legate deſpiſed; neither could the Catholick Earl (ſaith he) there find any grace, unleſs he would depart from his Heritage; both from himſelf and from his Heirs for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that he ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of twelve Peers of *France*: To that *Reimundus* anſwered, that if the *French* King would receive his Homage which he was ready at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For elſe they would not, ſaid he, take him as one of their ſociety and fellow Subjects.

*Reimundus* the good Earl of *Tholouſe* anſwereth for himſelf.

*Albingenſes* wilfully ſuſpected for Hereſie.

After much altercation on both ſides about the matter, the Legate willeth every Archbiſhop to call aſide his Suffragans, to deliberate with them upon the cauſe, and to give up in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly, the Legate denounceth Excommunication to all ſuch as did reveal any piece of that which was there concluded, before the Pope and the King had intelligence thereof.

Theſe things thus in hudder mutter among themſelves concluded, the Legate gave leave to all Proctors of Covents and Chapters to return home, only retaining with him the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, and certain ſimple Prelates, ſuch as he might be more bold withal, to open, and of them to obtain the other part of his Commiſſion, which was indeed to obtain of every Cathedral Church two Prebendſhips; one for the Biſhop, the other for the Chapter. And in Monaſteries alſo after the like ſort, where the Abbot and Covent had divers and ſeveral portions, to require two Churches; one for the Abbot, the other for the Covent, keeping this proportion; that how much ſhould ſuffice for the living of one Monk, ſo much the whole Covent ſhould find for their part; and as much the Abbot likewiſe for his. And forſomuch as he would not ſeem to demand this without ſome colour of cauſe, his reaſon was this; that becauſe the Court of *Rome* had long been blotted with the note of avarice, which is Mother of all evil, for that no man could come to *Rome* for any buſineſs, but he muſt pay for the expedition of the ſame; therefore for the removing away of the occaſion of that ſlander, the publick help of the Church muſt neceſſarily be required, &c.

Mark Reader the practiſe here of Prelates, for thy learning.

The Proctors and Parties thus ſent home by the Legates, marvelling with themſelves why the Biſhops and Abbots ſhould be ſtaid and they ſent whom, and ſuſpecting no leſs but as the matter was indeed, conferred their Counſels together, and deviſed with themſelves to ſend certain unto him in the behalf of all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches in *France*; and ſent to the ſaid Legate his Meſſage, to ſignifie to him, that they were credibly informed he came with ſpecial Letters from the Court of *Rome* for the obtaining of certain Prebendaries in every Cathedral and Conventual Church. Which being ſo, they much marvelled that he would not in the publick Council make manifeſt to them thoſe Letters which ſpecially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their requeſt was to him in the Lord, that no ſuch offenſive matter might riſe by him in the *French* Church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriſeth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and ineſtimable damage to the Church of *France*. *For grant (ſaid they) that certain will aſſent unto you, yet their aſſent ſtandeth in no effect concerning ſuch matters as touch the whole: eſpecially, ſeeing both the States of the Realm, with all the inferior Subjects, yea, and the King himſelf they are ſure will withſtand the ſame, to the venture not only of their honour, but of their life alſo, conſidering the caſe to be ſuch, as upon the offence whereof ſtandeth the ſubverſion both of the Realm publick, and of the whole Church in general.* Declaring Moreover the cauſe of this fear to riſe hereof, for that in other Realms ſuch communication hath been with Biſhops and Prelates for the procuring of ſuch Prebendſhips, whereas neither the Prince nor the Subjects were made any thing privy thereto.

The Clergy of *France* anſwering to the Legate.

In concluſion, when the matter came to debating with the Legate, the objections of the inferior parties againſt the cruel exaction were theſe in brief effect, as is in *Pariſienſis* noted.

Inferiors ever more bold to ſpeak in difficult cauſes of truth, than the rich.

The objections of the Clergy of *France* againſt the Popes exaction.

Firſt, They alledged their great damages and expenſes which they were like to ſuſtain thereby, by reaſon of the continual Procurators of the Pope, which in every Dioceſs muſt live not of their own, but muſt be ſuſtained upon the charges of the Cathedral Churches, and other Churches alſo; and many times they being but Procurators, will be found as Legates.

*Item*, By that means they ſaid great perturbations might inſue to the Covents and Chapters of Cathedral Churches in their elections: forſomuch as the Popes Agents and Factors being in every Cathedral Church and Chapter houſe, percaſe the Pope would command him in his perſon to be preſent at their Elections, and ſo might trouble the ſame, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the Court of *Rome* to give; and ſo ſhould be placed more of the Popes Clientel in the Churches of *France*, than of the proper inhabitants of the Land.

*Item*, By this means they affirmed, that all they in the Court of *Rome* ſhould be richer, and ſhould receive more for their proportion than the King of the Realm: by reaſon of which aboundance of riches it was like to come to paſs that as the Worm of rich Men is pride; ſo by the means of this their riches, the Court of *Rome* would delay and drive off great Sutes, and ſcarce would take any pains with ſmall cauſes. The experiment whereof is evident, for that now alſo they uſe to delay their matters, when they come, with their gifts, and being in aſſurance to receive. And thus ſhould Juſtice ſtand aſide, and poor Sutors die at the Gates of the Court of *Rome*, thus flowing and triumphing in full aboundance of all Treaſure and Riches.

*Item*, Forſomuch as it is meet and convenient to have friends in the Court of *Rome*, for the better ſpeeding of their cauſes; therefore they thought to keep them needy, whereby their gifts may be the ſweeter, and their cauſes ſooner diſpatched.

*Item*, When as it is impoſſible the fountain of greedy deſire to be ſtopped, it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by themſelves, or elſe they ſhould be inforced to give greater rewards than before; for ſmall gifts in the ſight of great rich men are not looked upon.

*Item*, Where he alledged the removing away of the ſlander which goeth on the Court of *Rome*: by this means rather the contrary were to be feared, wherein they alledged the ſentence of the verſe, that great riches ſtop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia ſufficientem,*
*Et non paupertas ſed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Further, they alledged that great riches would make the *Romans* mad, and ſo might kindle among them ſides and parts taking; ſo that by great poſſeſſions ſedition might follow to the ruine and deſtruction of the City, whereof ſome experiment they had already.

*Item*, they added, that although they would condeſcend and oblige themſelves to that Contribution, yet their Succeſſors would not ſo be bound, nor yet ratifie the Bond of theirs.

Laſtly, thus they conclude the matter, deſiring him that the Zeal of the Univerſal Church, and of the Church of *Rome* would move him: for if this Oppreſſion of the Church ſhould be univerſal, it were to be doubted leſt an univerſal departing might follow from the Church of *Rome*, which God forbid (ſay they) ſhould happen.

God grant, ſay we.

The Legate hearing theſe words, being therewith ſomething moved (as ſeemed) excuſed himſelf, that he being in the Court, never agreed to this Exaction; and that the Letters hereof came not to him before he was in *France*, whereat he ſaid he was greatly ſorry, adding this withall, that the words of his Precept included this ſecret meaning in them, thus to be underſtood and taken: ſo far forth as the Empire and other Realms would agree unto the ſame. And as for him, he would ſtir no more in the matter, before it were proved what other Countries would ſay and do therein.

The Cardinal repulſed and defeated of his purpoſe in *France*.

And thus much concerning the ſecond part of the blind Commiſſion of this Legate, touching his Exaction of Prebendſhips in every Cathedral and Conventual Church, wherein, as ye hear, he was repulſed: *Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag.* 62.

*Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag.* 62.

Now to return to the firſt part of his Commiſſion again, which was concerning *Reimundus* the godly Earl of *Tholouſe*, thus the ſtory proceedeth, that while the Legate was in hand with this matter of the Popes money, in the mean ſeaſon certain preaching Fryers were directed by the ſaid *Romanus* the Popes Legate into all *France*, to incite and ſtir up the *French-men* to take the Croſs upon them, and to war againſt the Earl of *Thoulouſe* and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for *Hereticks*. At the preaching whereof, a great number of Prelates and Lay-men ſigned themſelves with the Croſs, to fight againſt the *Tholoſſians*, being thereto induced, as the ſtory ſaith, more for fear of the *French* King or favour of the Legate, than for any true zeal of Juſtice. For ſo it followeth in the words of *Paris*, *Videbatur enim multis abuſio, ut hominem fidelem Chriſtianum infeſtarent, præcipue cum conſtaret cunctis, eum, in concilio nuper Biturienſi, multis precibus perſuaſiſſe Legato, ut veniret ad ſingulas terræ ſuæ civitates, inquirens a ſingulis articulos fidei: & ſi quempiam contra fidem inveniret, &c. For to many (ſaith he) it ſeemed an abuſe, to move War againſt a faithful Chriſtian man, eſpecially ſeeing in the Council of* Bitures, *(before all men) he intreated the Legate with great inſtance that he would come into every City within his Dominions, and there to inquire of every perſon the Articles of his Faith; where if he found any man to hold any thing contrary to the Catholick Faith, he promiſed a full ſatisfaction to be had thereof, according to the Cenſure of the Church, to the uttermoſt, &c.*

The Popes raiſeth War againſt the Earl and the people of *Tholouſe*.

Teſtimony of the Author for the clearing of *Reimundus* and of the *Albingenſes*

Yet all this notwithſtanding, the proud Legate, contemning this ſo honeſt and reaſonable purgation of the Earl *Reimundus*, ceaſed not by all manner of means to proſecute the Popes fury againſt him and his Subjects, ſtirring up the King and the *Frenchmen*, under pain of Excommunication, to war againſt them. *Ludovick* the *French* King, thus being inforced by the Legate, anſwered again, *That he for his own ſafety would not atchieve that Expedition, or adventure againſt the Earl, unleſs it were firſt obtained of the Pope to write to the King of* England: *commanding him, that, during the time of that Expedition, he ſhould invade and moleſt no piece of his Lands and Poſſeſſions which he the ſame preſent time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howſoever they were holden, while the time of the ſaid War againſt the* Hereticks *(as they were then termed) did indure, but rather ſhould aid and aſſiſt him with counſel and money in that Enterpriſe.* All this being done and accomplished, the *French* King and the Legate (croſſing themſelves to the field) appointed a day peremptory for the *French* Army to meet together at *Lions*, under pain of the Popes Excommunication, and with Horſe and Harneſs to ſet upon the *Tholoſſians*, againſt the *Aſcenſion-day* next inſuing.

The unreaſonable tyranny of the Pope againſt the *Tholoſſians*.

Excommunication abuſed.

When the *Aſcenſion-day* was come, which was the day peremptory appointed, the *French* King, having prepared at *Lions* all things neceſſary for his Army, marcheth forward with a great and mighty Hoſt; after whom alſo cometh the Legate, with his Biſhops, and Prelates. The number of fighting-men in his Army, beſides the Victuallers and Waggoners, were 50000 men. The Legate by the way openly Excommunicated the Earl of *Tholouſe*, and all that took his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole Land. Thus the King came marching forward, till he came into the Province of *Tholouſe*, and the firſt City which he came unto there of the Earls, was *Avinion*: which City they thought firſt to have beſieged, and ſo in order after, as they went, to have deſtroyed and waſted all the whole Province belonging to the Earl. And firſt the King demanded of them to have his paſſage through the City; ſaining himſelf in peaceable wiſe (for the expedition of his Journey) but to paſs through the ſame. The Citizens, conſulting with themſelves what was to be done, at length gave anſwer, *That they miſtruſted their coming, and ſuppoſed that in deceit they required the entrance of their City, and for no neceſſity of their journey.*

Lewis the *French* King and *Romanus* the Popes Legate marching againſt the *Albingenſes*.

*Reimundus* Earl of *Thoulouſe* Excommunicated.

The City of *Avinion* beſieged.

The King, hereat being much offended, ſware an Oath, *That he would not depart thence till he had taken the City*; and immediately in thoſe places, where he thought moſt meet, he began to make ſharp aſſaults with all manner of faultable means; the Citizens again within manfully defended themſelves, caſting ſtone for ſtone, and ſhooting ſhot for ſhot, and ſlew and wounded many of the *French-men*. Thus when they had long beſieged the City, and could not win the ſame: at length Victuals in the *French* Camp began to fail, and many of them died for hunger. For the Earl of *Tholouſe* as a wiſe man of war, hearing before of their coming, took into the Town all the proviſion that was abroad, and left nothing without to ſerve for their defence and ſuccour, he plowed up the fields, that there ſhould no ſtover be found to ſerve their Horſes; he put out of the Town all the old people and young children, leſt they ſhould want victuals that kept the Town, and before their coming ſent them far away, ſo that within the Town, they had plenty, and without they died for Famine. And beſides in ſeeking far for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the City, who ſecretly lay in wait for them abroad and ſlew many of them: beſides a great number of cattel and horſes died for want of forage: and poor Souldiers, that had no great ſtore of money, died for want of Victuals. By which mortality and ſtink both of men and cattel grew great Infection and Peſtilence among them; inſomuch that the King himſelf and alſo the Legate were greatly diſmayed, thinking it to be no little ſhame, as well to the Realm of *France*, as alſo to *Rome*, that they ſhould ſo depart and break up their Siege. Thus again thought the Souldiers, that much better it were for them to end their lives by battel, than ſo to die like dogs and ſtarve. Wherefore with one conſent they purpoſed to give a new aſſault at the Bridge that goeth over the flood *Rhodanus* into the Town; to which place they came in ſuch number, that either by the debility of the Bridge or ſubtilty of the Souldiers that kept the Town, three thouſand of them, with Bridge and all, fell armed into the violent ſtream, and were drowned. What was there then but joy and gladneſs of the Citizens part, and much lamentation and havineſs on the other part? Then ſhortly after, the Citizens of *Avinion* (when they ſaw a convenient time, whilſt their enemies were eating meat) came ſuddenly upon them out of the Town, and ſlew of them two thouſand, and took the Town again with ſafety. But the Legate with his company of Prelates (like good men of War) practiſed none other Martial feats, but all to be curſed the Earl of *Tholouſe*, his Cities, and his people. *Ludovicus* the King, to avoid the Peſtilence that was in the Camp, went into an Abbey not far off, where ſhortly after he died; of whoſe death are ſundry Opinions, ſome ſaying, *That he was poiſoned*; ſome, *That he died of a Bloody-flux.*

Polley of War.

Famine and Peſtilence, in the *French* Camp.

The *French* Souldiers deſtroyed at the ſiege of *Avinion*.

*Lewis* the *French* King dieth at the ſiege of *Avinion*.

Whoſe death notwithſtanding the Legate thought to keep ſecret and conceal, till that the Town might be rendred and given up: for he thought himſelf ſhamed for ever, if he ſhould depart before the Town were won. Wherefore after he had incouraged the Souldiers afreſh, and yet after many ſharp aſſaults could not prevail; he bethought him how by falſehood he might betray them, and ſent unto them certain Heralds, to will them that they ſhould amongſt themſelves conſult upon Articles of Peace, and bring

The falſe dealing of the Popes Legate in betraying the City of *Avinion*.

bring the ſame to their Camp, whoſe ſafe Conduct they faithfully promiſed and warranted both of coming and going. And when they had given their pledges for the ſame, the Meſſengers from the Citizens talked with the Legate: who promiſed them, if they would deliver up their City, they ſhould have their Lives, Goods, and Poſſeſſions in as ample manner as now they injoyed the ſame. But the Citizens and Souldiers refuſed to be under the Servitude of the *French* King, neither would ſo deliver up their City to thoſe, of whoſe inſolent pride they had ſo good experiment. After much talk on both ſides, and none like to take effect, the Legate requeſted them, and friendly laboured, that he, and his Prelates which were about him, might come into their City to examine what Faith and Belief they were of, and that he neither ſought nor meant any other thing thereby, but their own ſafeties as well of Body as Soul, which thing he faithfully ſware unto: *For* (ſaith he) *the bruit of your great Infidelity hath come to the Lord Popes ear, and therefore deſired he to make true Certificate thereof.* Whereupon the Citizens, not miſtruſting his faithful Oath and Promiſe made unto them, granted entrance to him and the reſidue of the Clergy, bringing with them no weapon into the Town. The Souldiers of the Camp, as it was agreed before, made them ready; ſo that at the entrance of the Prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their Oath and Fidelity, the other ſuddenly were ready, and with violence ruſhed in, ſlew the Porter and Warders, and at length won the City and deſtroyed the ſame, and ſlew many of them that were within. Thus by falſehood and policy when they had gotten this noble City, they carried the Kings Corps unto *Paris*, where they buried the ſame. Of the whole number of the *French* Souldiers which in this Siege were deſtroyed by Famine, Peſtilence, and drowning, be recounted more than two and twenty thouſand: Whereby, ſaith the ſtory of *Mat. Pariſienſis*, it may evidently appear the War was unjuſtly taken in hand, &c. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi.*

The Popes Legate wickedly perjured.

Perjury of the Papiſts.

The City of *Avinion* taken by treaſon and perjury of the Popes Legate.

The number of the *French* Souldiers in this ſiege deſtroyed.

After theſe things finiſhed, and after the Funeral of the King celebrated at *Paris*, it followeth more in the ſaid Hiſtory of *Pariſienſis*, that the ſaid Legate *Romanus* was vehemently ſuſpected, and grievouſly infamed to abuſe himſelf with *Blanca* the Kings Mother: *Sed impium eſt* (ſaith he) *hoc credere, quia æmuli ejus hoc diſſeminaverunt, benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur*; that is, But it is ungodly to ſuſpect any ſuch thing of him, becauſe his enemies ſo rumoured the ſame abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtful in the better part.

The inconſtant life of theſe *Romiſh* Prelates to be noted.

To paſs further to the year next following, which was 1227. of the Lord, firſt it is to be noted, that in this year King *Henry*, beginning to ſhoot up unto the twentieth year of his age, came from *Reading* to *London*, where he began to charge the Citizens of *London*, for old reckonings; namely, for giving or lending one thouſand Marks to *Lewis* the *French* King, at his departing out of the Realm, to the great prejudice of him and of his Kingdom. For the recompence whereof they were conſtrained to yield to the King the full ſum of the like money. That done, he removed to *Oxford*, where he aſſembled a great Council, there denouncing and proteſting before them all that he was come to ſufficient age, no more to be under Tutors and Governors; but to be his own man; requiring to be freed from the cuſtody of others. Which thing being proteſted, and contraried forthwith: he by the counſel of *Hubert* the Chief Juſtice (whom he made then the Earl of *Kent*) removed from his company the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and others, under whom he was moderated. And immediately in the ſame Council by the ſiniſter perſwaſion of ſome, he doth annihilate and make void the Charters and Liberties before by him granted, pretending this colour, for that they had been granted and ſealed in the time of his minority, at what time he had the rule neither of himſelf, nor of his Seal. Whereupon much muttering and murmuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cauſe to *Hubert* the Juſtice. Moreover, it was the ſame time proclaimed, that whoſoever had any Charter, or Gift ſealed in the time of the Kings minority, they ſhould come and renew the ſame again under the new Seal of the King, knowing otherwiſe that the thing ſhould ſtand in no effect. And finally, for renewing of their Seals, they were taxed not according to their ability, but according as it pleaſed the Juſtice and other to levy them.

Anno 1227.

The King claimeth to be freed from Governors, and to be his own man.

*Hubert* the Juſtice made Earl of *Kent*.

The King undoeth and diſſolveth the Liberties which before he granted.

Practiſes of Princes to fetch in money.

Moreover, beſide this general Subſidy of the fifteenth granted to the King through the whole Realm, and beſides all the Contribution of the *Londoners*, divers other parcels and payments he gathered through ſeveral places: as of the Burgeſſes of *Northampton* he required a thouſand and two hundred Marks, for his helping of them, and ſo of others likewiſe. All this preparation of money was made toward the furniſhing of his Voyage to recover *Normandy*. And yet becauſe he would gratifie the City of *London* again with ſome pleaſure; he granted the Citizens thereof ſhould paſs Toll-free (ſaith *Fabian*) throughout all *England*. And if of any City, Borough, or Town they were conſtrained at any time to pay their Toll, then the Sheriffs of *London* to attach every man coming to *London* of the ſaid City, Borough or Town, and him with his goods to withhold, till the *Londoners* were again reſtored of all ſuch money paid for the ſaid Toll, with all coſts and damages ſuſtained for the ſame. *Ex Fabiano.*

The Citizens of *London* freed from Toll through all *England*.

Anno 1228.

I declared before, how after the death of *Honorius* ſucceeded Pope *Gregory* the Tenth, between the which *Gregory* and the people of *Rome*, this year fell a great Sedition. Inſomuch that about the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, they thruſt the Pope out of the City, purſuing him unto his Caſtle at *Viterbium*. Where alſo they invaded him ſo valiantly, that they chaſed him to *Peruſium*. Then having no other remedy wherewith to revenge his Perſecutors, fiercely he did Excommunicate them. *Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 69.*

*Ex Fab. par. 7.*

Sedition between the *Romans* and the Pope.

Here, by the way, is to be obſerved and conſidered, Chriſtian Reader, not only by this Sedition, but by ſo many other Schiſms, Diviſions, Tumults, Fightings, Brawls and Contentions in the Church of *Rome* from the firſt beginning of the Popes uſurped Power, and that not only within the City of *Rome*, but univerſally almoſt in all Popiſh Monaſteries, Colledges, Churches, and Covents under the Popes ſubjected, continually reigning amongſt them, what is to be thought of their Religion and Holineſs, having ſo little peace, ſo great diſquietneſs, diſſentions, and wrangling amongſt them, as in ſtories both manifeſt it is to behold, and wondrous to conſider.

The Popes Church may be judged by their diſſentions and ſchiſms.

No peace in the Popes Church.

And for ſo much as I have here entred into the mention of this Schiſmatical Commotion between the Pope and his Citizens; it followeth moreover in the Hiſtory of *Pariſienſis*, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befel the ſame year, and time, *An.* 1228. between the Prior and Covent of *Durham*, and this King *Henry* the Third, upon this occaſion: after the death of *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham*, the Prior and Chapter of the ſaid Church came to the King, to obtain licence for the electing of their Biſhop. The King offered to them one *Lucas* a Chaplain of his, requiring them inſtantly to elect him for their Biſhop. To this the Monks anſwered, *That they would receive no man, but by their Order of Canonical Election.* Meaning belike, by their Canonical Election, thus much, when as they elect either ſome Monk out of their own company, or elſe ſome Monkiſh Prieſt after their own liking. Contrary, the King again ſendeth word unto them, and bound it with an Oath, *That they ſhould tarry ſeven years without a Biſhop, unleſs they would admit the foreſaid Lucas to that place of that Dignity.* All which notwithſtanding, the Monks, proceeding in their Election, refuſed the ſaid *Lucas*; and preferred another Clerk of theirs, named *William* Archdeacon of *Worceſter*, and him they preſented to the King: but the King, bringing in exceptions and cauſes againſt the party, would not admit him. Then the Monks in all haſty ſpeed ſend up to *Rome* certain of their Covent, to have their Election ratified by the Authority Apoſtolical. On the other ſide the King, likewiſe hearing, ſendeth alſo to *Rome* againſt the Monks, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and the Prior of *Lentony* on his behalf, to withſtand the purpoſe of the Monks. And ſo the matter, being traverſed with great altercation on both ſides, did hang in ſuſpence (ſaith mine Author) till at length thus it was concluded between both, that neither Maſter *William*, nor yet *Lucas* ſhould be taken, but that *Richard* Biſhop of *Sarum* ſhould be tranſlated to *Durham*, and be Biſhop there, *Anno* 1228. *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi.*

Diſſention between the Prior and Covent of *Durham* and the King.

Canonical Election.

The Monks of *Durham* ſend to *Rome* againſt their King.

The like ſtir alſo happened both the ſame year, and for the like matter, between the Monks of *Coventry* and the Canons of *Lichfield*, about chooſing of their Biſhop, which of them ſhould have the ſuperior voice in the Election of their Prelate. After much ado, the cauſe, at length being

Another contention between the Monks of *Coventry* and the Canons of *Lichfield*.

being hoiſted up to *Rome*, had this determination; that the Monks of *Coventry* and the Church of *Lichfield* ſhould chuſe their Biſhop by courſe, each part keeping his turn the one after the other: provided notwithſtanding, that the Prior of *Coventry* ſhould always have the firſt voice in every Election, whereas the old cuſtom was, ſaith nine Author, that the Covent with the Prior of *Coventry* was wont to have the whole Election of the Biſhop without the Canons, this was *Anno* 1228. *Ex Pariſienſi, pag.* 68.

*Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag.* 68.

*Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop died.

In the which year died *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by whom (as is recorded by *Nic. Trivet*) the Chapters of the *Bible*, in that order and number as we now uſe them, were firſt diſtinguiſhed. The ſaid *Langton* alſo made *Poſtils* upon the whole *Bible*. The ſame moreover builded the *New Hall* in the Palace of *Canterbury*.

The Chapters of the Bible firſt diſtinguiſhed by *Stephen Langton*.

Another contentious diſſention between the Monks of *Canterbury* and King *Henry* the third.

After the death of this *Langton* inſued another variance about the Election of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the King. The perturbation whereof as it was no leſs ſeditious, ſo the determination of the ſame was much more coſtly. After the death of *Stephen Langton*, the Monks of *Canterbury*, obtaining licence of the King to proceed in the Election of a new Archbiſhop, did chooſe one of their own Society, named Maſter *Walter Hemeſham*. Whom when the Monks had preſented unto the King, he, after long deliberation, began to object againſt that Election, ſaying, Firſt, *That the Monks had elected ſuch a one as neither was profitable to him nor his Kingdom.* Secondly, *He objected againſt the party elect, that his Father was convict of Felony, and hanged for the ſame.* Thirdly, *That he ſtood in Cauſes againſt his Father King* John *in the time of the Interdict.* Moreover, the Biſhops his Suffragans charged the party elect, *That he had lien with a certain Nun, and had Children by her*; adding further, *That the Election of the Archbiſhop was without their preſence, which ought not to be, &c.* But the Archbiſhop again, ſtoutly ſtanding unto the Election, appealed up to *Rome*, and eftſoons, taking with him certain Monks, preſented himſelf to the Popes own proper perſon, there to ſue his Appeal; inſtantly intreating, that his Election might ſtand confirmed by his Authority pontifical. But the Pope underſtanding that the ſaid Election was reſiſted by the King and the Biſhops, deferred the matter until he did hear further of the certainty thereof. The King and the Biſhops, having intelligence that the Archbiſhop with his Monks were gone to *Rome*, thought good to articulate the foreſaid Objections above alledged, in writing; and ſealing the ſame with the Seals both of the King and of the Biſhops, to exhibit them to the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Meſſengers of theſe Letters were the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, of *Cheſter*, and the Archdeacon of *Bedford*, Maſter *John*, *&c.* Who coming to *Rome*, and exhibiting their Meſſage with their Letters unto the Pope (conſideration being had upon the ſame) were commanded to waite attendance againſt the next day after *Aſh-Wedneſday*: then to have a reſolute anſwer concerning the Cauſe, which was the ſecond day of *March* the next year following; that is, in the year of our Lord, 1229. In the mean ſeaſon, the Kings Proctors ceaſed not with all inſtance to labour the Pope and his Cardinals to be favourable to the Kings ſide. But finding them ſomewhat hard and ſtrict in the matter (as is the guiſe of that Court) they began to miſdoubt their ſpeeding. Wherefore conſulting together with themſelves upon the premiſſes, they came to the Pope, promiſing in the Kings behalf to be given and granted to him, out of the Realms both of *England* and *Ireland*, the tythe or tenth part of all the goods within the ſaid Realms moveable, to ſuſtain his Wars againſt the Emperor, ſo that he would incline favourably to the Kings Suit and Petition herein. *At dominus Papa* (ſaith *Paris*) *qui rebellem Imperatorem ſuper omnia æſtuabat dejicere, tantis promiſſionibus exhilaratus, trahitur ad conſenſum*: That is, But the Pope (ſaith the Author) which boiled with deſire above all meaſure, to have the Emperor his Enemy caſt down, being cheared with ſo great promiſes, granted his conſent to them, who, ſitting then in his Conſiſtory, had theſe words, which here follow.

Appeal ſued to *Rome*.

King *Henry* ſendeth to the Pope.

Tythe of all moveable goods in *England* and *Ireland* promiſed to the Pope for granting the Kings Suit.

*O auri ſacra fames.*

It is pity the Pope will take no bribes.

*There hath come of late to our Intelligence the Election of a certain Monk named* Walter, *to be Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *whereupon after that we heard and adviſed as well thoſe things which the ſaid Monk hath ſaid for himſelf and for his Election; as alſo on the contrary ſide, the Objections and Exceptions of the Biſhops of* England *alledging againſt him and againſt his Election; namely, of the Biſhop of* Cheſter, *the Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and* John *Archdeacon of* Bedford: *We upon the ſame committed the Examination touching the perſon of the man, unto our reverend Brethren Lords Cardinal* Albany, *Lord Cardinal* Thomas de Sabina, *and Maſter* Peter. *And when the foreſaid Elect, coming before them, was asked of them, firſt concerning the Lords deſcending into Hell, Whether deſcended in fleſh, or without his fleſh, he anſwered not well.* Item, *being asked touching the making of the body of Chriſt on the Altar, he anſwered likewiſe not ſoundly. Being asked moreover how* Rachel *wept for her Children, ſhe being dead before, he anſwered not well.* Item, *being asked concerning the Sentence of Excommunication denounced againſt the Order of Law, he anſwered not well. Again, being required of Matrimony, if one of the married parties be an Infidel, and do depart, he anſwered thereto not well. Upon theſe Articles he was (as is ſaid) diligently examined of the Cardinals; to the which we ſay he anſwered not only not well, but alſo very ill. For ſo much therefore, as the Church of* Canterbury *is a noble Church, and requireth a noble Prelate, a man diſcreet and modeſt, and ſuch as ought to be taken out of the boſome of the Church of* Rome; *and for ſo much as this new Elect (whom not only here we pronounce to be unworthy, but alſo ſhould ſay more of him, if we would proceed with him by the rigor of the Law) is ſo inſufficient, that he ought not to be admitted to ſuch a room: we do utterly infringe, annihilate, and evacuate his Election, always reſerving to our ſelves the proviſion of the ſaid Church.* Hæc ex Mat. Pariſienſi ad verbum.

No, but when your darling *Thomas Becket* came he was heard without ſuch excommunication.

The Election of *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* diſſolved by the Pope for the Kings money.

Thus the Election of *Walter* being fruſtrate and diſſolved, the Kings Procurators bringing forth the Letters of the King, and of the Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, preſented the ſame unto the Pope for the Ratification of *Richard* Chancellor of *Lincoln*, to be appointed Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom they with great commendation of words did ſet forth to be a man of profound Learning and Knowledge, of an honeſt Converſation; and which was greateſt of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the Church of *Rome*, as alſo for the Realm of *England*. And thus the ſaid *Richard* being commended to the Pope by the Letters Procuratory of the King and of the Biſhops, had the conſent of the Pope and of the Cardinals, and ſo was made Biſhop of *Canterbury* before he was elected. Whereupon the ſaid Pope *Gregory* in his behalf directeth down his Letters to all and ſingular Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, declaring thus, and beginning firſt with a lye, that for ſo much as by the fulneſs of Eccleſiaſtical Power the charge of Paſtoral Office is committed to him in general upon all Churches, he therefore for the ſollicitude he beareth, as well to all other Churches in general, as in ſpecial to the Metropolitan-Church of *Canterbury*, repudiating and diſannulling the former Election of *Walter* the Monk upon juſt cauſes, hath provided for that See a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, ſo for that Function very fit and commodious; and willeth and commandeth them, and all others, by his Authority Apoſtolical, with all devout reverence to receive him, and humbly to obey him, &c. which was *Anno* 1229. *Ex Pariſ.*

*Richard* Chancellor of *Lincoln* commended to the Pope for be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Richard* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by the Pope without Election.

The effect of the Popes Letters to the Suffragans of *Canterbury*.

The Pope beginneth firſt with a lye.

*Ex Mat. Pariſienſi.*

These things thus finiſhed at *Rome*, the Pope not forgetting the ſweet promiſes made of the *Engliſh* Silver which he ſo greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all ſpeedy wiſe ſendeth unto the King of *England* M. *Stephen* his own Chaplain and truſty Legate, to require and collect the foreſaid Tythes of all the moveable goods both of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, which were promiſed to him before, therewith to maintain his War againſt *Frederick* the Emperor. And to the intent he might inflame all Chriſtian Realms with the like hatred which he bare againſt *Frederick* the Emperor, he ſendeth alſo with the ſaid *Stephen* ſpecial Letters full of manifold Complaints, and grievous Accuſations againſt the ſaid Emperor, whereof more (Chriſt granting) ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. Upon the coming of this *Stephen* the Legate, the King aſſembled all his Earls and Barons, with the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots,

This was dear Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, bought wit the tythes of all *England*.

The Popes anſwer to the Election of *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

bots, Priors, Templars, Hoſpitalers, Parſons and Vicars, and other ſuch as held of him *In Capite*, to appear before him at *Weſtminſter*, to hear and to commune of the matter. In the Aſſembly of whom, the Popes Patent Letters were brought forth and read, wherein he required the Tenths of all the moveables in *England*, *Wales* and *Ireland*, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, to maintain his Expedition againſt the foreſaid *Frederick* the Emperor. The which Expedition as he pretended to atchieve and to take in hand for the cauſe of the Univerſal Church, and happily had begun the matter already; and for ſo much as the Riches of the Apoſtolick See did not ſuffice for the accomplishing of ſo great an enterpriſe: he therefore, inforced by meer neceſſity, did implore the aid and help of all the true obedient and natural Chickens of the Church of *Rome*, leſt the Members thereof together with the Head ſhould be ſubverted. These Letters of the Pope to this effect being openly recited and explained by the Popes Chaplain, which he with much more allegation and perſwaſion of words did amplifie to his uttermoſt; the King (ſaith mine Author) in whom all men did hope for help to their defence, became then as a ſtaffe of Reed. For ſo much as he had obliged himſelf to the ſame before, for the Election of his Archbiſhop, now could he ſay nothing againſt it, but held his peace. The Earls, Barons, and all the Laity utterly refuſed ſo to bind their Baronies to the Church of *Rome:* but the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, with other Prelates of the Church, firſt requiring ſpace and reſpite to deliberate for three or four days; at length for fear of the Popes Curſe (although they durſt not utterly withſtand) had brought to paſs to have concluded for a ſum of money much leſs, had not *Stephen Segrave*, one of the Kings Counſellors, craftily conventid with the Legate, and by ſubtil means brought it ſo to paſs, that the whole Tenths were gathered and paid, to the ineſtimable damage (ſaith *Pariſienſis* both of the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal State. The means whereof (ſaith the Author) was this, The Legate ſhewing to the Prelates his Procuratory Letters, to collect and gather up all the foreſaid Tenths in the name and authority of the Pope, declared moreover the full Authority to him granted by the vertue of his Commiſſion, to Excommunicate all ſuch, and to interdict their Churches, whoſoever did gainſtand or go contrary to the ſaid Collection. Whereupon by the ſaid vertue Legantine, he ſendeth to every Shire his Proctors to gather the Popes money, or elſe to Excommunicate them which denied to pay. And for ſo much as the preſent need of the Pope required preſent help without delay, he ſendeth moreover to the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm, in pain of interdiction, forthwith to procure and ſend to him either of their own, or by loan, or uſance, or by what means ſoever, ſo much money in all poſt ſpeed for the preſent uſe of the Pope; and after to take up again the ſaid money of the Tenths of every ſingular perſon, by the right taxing of their goods. Upon this, the Prelates to avoid the danger (having no other remedy) were driven to ſell their Challices, Cruets, Copes, Jewels, and other Church-Plate, and ſome to lay to morgage ſuch things as they had, ſome alſo to borrow upon uſance to make the money which was required. Moreover, the ſaid *Stephen* the Popes Chaplain (as reporteth *Paris*) brought with him into *England*, for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch Bankers and Uſurers, who lending out their money upon great uſury, did unreaſonably pinch the *Engliſh* people, which Merchant-Uſurers were then called *Caurſini*. Briefly, ſuch ſtrict Exaction was then upon the poor *Engliſh-men*, that not only their preſent goods were valued and taxed, but alſo the Corn, yet growing in the field, againſt the next Harveſt was tythed, &c. Only the Earl of *Cheſter*, named *Ranulphus*, ſtood ſtoutly againſt the Pope, ſuffering none within his Dominion either Lay-man or Clerk to yield any Tenths to the Popes Proctors. *Ex Matth. Paris, pag.* 74. And this was the end of the ſtrife between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the King for the Election of their Archbiſhop, which was about the year of our Lord, 1229. in the which year was finiſhed the new Church of *Coventry*, by *Alexander* Biſhop of the ſaid City, and partly by the help of the King: which Church *Richard* his Predeceſſor Biſhop before him of *Coventry* had begun.

The *French-men* about this time again prepared themſelves towards *Provans*, to war againſt the foreſaid *Reimundus* Earl of *Tholouſe*, and to expulſe him out of his Poſſeſſions. And hearing that he was in his Caſtle of *Saracene*, they made thither all their Power, thinking there to incloſe and compaſs him about: but the Earl being privy of their conſpired purpoſe, ſet for them by the way, appointing certain ambuſhments in woods, not ſo ſecretly as ſtrongly, there to wait and receive the coming of the *French-men*, and to give them their welcome. Thus when the *French* were entred the wood, the Earl with his train of well armed and able Warriors, ſuddenly did fly upon them unawares, and gave them a bitter meeting, ſo that in that Conflict five hundred of the *French* Souldiers were taken and many ſlain. Of their Servitors to the number of Two thouſand men with their armor were taken, of whom ſome loſt their Eyes, ſome their Noſes, ſome their Ears, ſome their Legs, and ſo were ſent home; the reſt were carried away Priſoners into the Caſtle. And to be brief (ſaith the Hiſtory) thrice the ſame Summer were the *French-men* diſcomfited, put to flight, taken and impriſoned by the foreſaid *Reimundus* the godly Earl. *Ex Pariſ. pag.* 69. Wherein is to be ſeen and to be praiſed the gracious Protection of the Lord our God againſt the furious *Papiſts*, which is glorious always in his Saints.

The ſame year the King, being at *Portſmouth*, had aſſembled together all his Nobility, Earls, Barons, and Knights of *England*, with ſuch an Army of Horſemen and Footmen, as hath not been lightly ſeen, thinking to recover again the Country of *Normandy*, of *Gant*, and other Poſſeſſions which King *John* his Father before had loſt. But when the Captains and Marſhals of the field ſhould take ſhipping, there were not half Ships enough to receive the Hoſt. Whereupon the King was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault in *Hubert* the Lord Chief Juſtice (who under the King had all the Government of the Realm) calling him *old Traytor*, charging him that he ſhould be the let of his Voyage, as he was before when he took of the *French* Queen five thouſand Marks to ſtay the Kings Journey into *Normandy*. Inſomuch that the rage of the King was ſo kindled againſt him, that drawing his Sword, he made at him to run him through, had not the Earl of *Cheſter*, *Ranulph* ſtopt the King. *Hubert* withdrew himſelf away till the Kings rage was paſt. This was about the time of *Michaelmas*, at which time arrived *Henry* Earl of *Normandy* in the Haven of *Portſmouth* in the month of *October*; who ſhould have conducted the King upon his Allegiance and Oath into *Normandy*. But he with other of the Kings Army counſelled the King not to take that Voyage towards *Winter*, but rather to defer it to the *Eaſter* next following: wherewith the King was ſtayed and well contented, and pacified again with *Hubert* the Juſtice, &c. *Ex Pariſienſi.*

*Fabian* recordeth this year the Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of *London* to be confirmed by the King, and to every of the Sheriffs to be granted two Clerks, and two Officers without any more. *Ex Fabian.*

Then followed the year 1230. in which upon the day of the Converſion of S. *Paul* (as ſaith *Paris*) as a great multitude of people for the ſolemnity of the day were congregate in the Temple of S. *Paul*, the Biſhop then being at his Maſs, a ſudden darkneſs with ſuch thickneſs of Clouds fell in the Air, that unneth one man might ſee another in the Church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning ſo terrible, leaving ſuch a ſcent in the Church, that the people, looking for *Doomeſ-day*, thought no leſs but that the Steeple and whole Church would have fallen upon their heads: inſomuch that they running out of the Church, as people amazed, fell down together by thouſands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were; only the Biſhop and his Deacon ſtood ſtill at their Mats, holding the Altar faſt. *Ex Pariſienſi.*

Of the death of *Stephen Langton*, and of the troubleſome Election of the next Archbiſhop, alſo of the coſtly and chargeable bringing in of *Richard* to ſucceed in the room, which did coſt the whole Realm of *England* the tenths of all their moveables, ſufficient hath been declared before. This *Richard*, being now confirmed in his Seat, came to the King complaining of *Hubert* the Lord Chief Juſtice, oft mentioned before, for withholding from him the Caſtle and Town of *Tunbridge* with the appurtenances to the ſame belonging, and other Lands of the Earl of *Clare* late deceaſed. Which Lands appertain to the right of his Seat, and to the Church of *Canterbury*; for the which the

ſaid

The Pope requireth the tenths of all the moveables in *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*.

The contents of the Popes Letters to the King.

The falſe pretence of the Pope, under the name of the Church ſeeking his own cankered malice.

The Kings mouth ſtopped.

Excommunication abuſed.

The Popes Extortion.

Uſurers brought into *England* by the Pope to ſerve him with money.

Corn upon the ground tythed to the Pope.

*Ranulphus* Earl of *Cheſter* denied to pay the Popes Tenths.

{Anno 1229} The Church of *Coventry* finiſhed.

The Popes *French* Army, thinking to deſtroy *Reimund*, is deſtroyed by the way.

The Incontinent love of Princes towards them that be chief about them.

{Anno 1230.}

A ſudden terrour among the people in *Pauls* Church by thunder and lightning.

*Ex Pariſienſi, pag.* 75.

{Anno 1231.} *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The complaint of *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* againſt *Hubert* Lord Chief Juſtice.

ſaid Earl with his Anceſtors were bound to do Homage to him and to his Predeceſſors; and therefore he required the keeping of the foreſaid Caſtle, with the demains thereof to be reſtored to him. To this the King anſwered again, That the ſaid Earl did hold of him *in Capite*, and that the Caſtles being vacant of Earls and Barons, with their Heirs, did belong to his Crown, till the lawful age of the ſaid Heirs. The Archbiſhop, when he could get no other anſwer of the King, did Excommunicate all ſuch as invaded the foreſaid Poſſeſſions, with all others that took their part, the King only excepted. Which done, eſtſoons he ſpeedeth himſelf to *Rome*, there to proſecute his Suit before the Pope. The King hearing thereof, not long after ſendeth up Maſter *Roger Cantelu*, with certain other Meſſengers, unto *Rome* againſt the Archbiſhop.

The Kings Anſwer to *Richard* the Archbiſhop.

Excommunication abuſed.

*Richard* the Archbiſhop complaineth to the Pope of his King and other matters more.

This *Richard* the Archbiſhop, coming before the Popes preſence, beginneth firſt to complain of his King, for that he committed all the Affairs of his Realm to the diſpoſition and government of *Hubert* his Juſtice, uſing only his counſel, all his other Nobles deſpiſed.

Againſt the ſaid Juſtice, moreover he complained, laying to his Charge; firſt, that he had married a wife, being the Kinſwoman of her whom he had married before; alſo that the ſaid *Hubert* the Juſtice did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain ſuch Poſſeſſions as belonged to the See and Church of *Canterbury*.

As touching the Wife of this *Hubert*, here is to be noted, that he married the elder Siſter of the King of *Scots*: which, as it ſeemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complaineth of certain Biſhops his Suffragans, who, neglecting their Paſtoral Function, did ſit on Chequer-matter belonging to the King, and exerciſed Seſſions and Judgments of blood.

Plurality of Benefices complained of by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Over and beſides, he complaineth of beneficed Perſons, and Clerks within Orders, for having many Benefices joyned with cure of Soul: and that they alſo, taking example of the Biſhops, did intermeddle in Secular matters, and in Judgments of Lay-men.

Of theſe and ſuch other defaults he required redreſs to be had. The Pope weighing and conſidering the cauſe of the Archbiſhop to ſtand upon right and reaſon (at leaſtwiſe ſeeming ſo to his purpoſe) commanded incontinent his Petitions and Requeſts to be diſpatched according to Juſtice.

The Kings Attorneys could not ſpeed with the Pope. Reſpect of perſons doth much with the Pope.

Againſt theſe Complaints of the Archbiſhop, the Kings Attorneys alledged and defended, in as much favour of the King as they might, but could do no good. Such favour found the Archbiſhop in the Popes ſight, being (as the ſtory reporteth) of a comely Perſonage, and of an eloquent Tongue, that he obtained whatſoever he asked. Thus the Archbiſhop, with all favourable ſpeed being diſpatched at *Rome* after his own will and deſire, returned homeward; who in his Journey, within three days of his ſetting forth, departed in the houſe of *Gray-Fryers* at S. *Gemmes*, and ſo his cauſe departed with him: who, winning his Suit, loſt his life; for whom it had been better, I ſuppoſe, to have tarried at home. And here of him an end, with all his Complaints alſo. *Ex Pariſienſi.*

*Richard* the Archbiſhop in his journey from *Rome* dieth.

*Ralph Nevil* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The King inveſteth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Ex Mat. Paris.*

After the death of this *Richard*, the Monks of *Canterbury* (according to the manner) addreſs themſelves to a new Election: at which was choſen *Ralph Nevil*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who was the Kings Chancellor, much commended in ſtories, to be a man faithful, upright, and conſtant: which from the way of Juſtice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was upright and ſincere both in word and deed. This *Ralph* (thus choſen of the Monks) was preſented unto the King to be their Archbiſhop, wherewith the King was right well contented, and glad alſo of his Election: and forthwith inveſted him for Archbiſhop of the Church of *Canterbury*. But this inveſting of the King was not enough, unleſs he ſhould alſo be confirmed by the Pope. Wherefore the Monks, ready to take their journey unto *Rome*, came to the new Archbiſhop, requiring his help for their expences by the way, and to know what Service he would command them to the Court of *Rome*. But he, fearing in his mind the ſame not to be without ſome ſcruple of ſimony and ambition, ſaid, *He would not give an half-peny*, and, holding up his hands to heaven, thus prayed, ſaying, *O Lord God, if I ſhall be thought worthy to be called (although indeed unworthy) to the Seat and Office of this Church; ſo be it as thou ſhalt diſpoſe it. But if otherwiſe in this troubleſome Office of Chancery, and this my inferior Miniſtry, whereunto I have been aſſigned, I ſhall ſeem more neceſſary for this thy Kingdom and People I refuſe not my labour, thy will be done.*

A rare example of a good Archbiſhop.

The prayer of the Archbiſhop elect.

The Monks beholding the conſtancy of the man, notwithſtanding they had of him no money, yet refuſed not their travel and journey to *Rome*, to have their Election confirmed by the Popes Authority. The Pope inquiring of *Simon Langton* (Brother of *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* before mentioned) of the perſon of this man, it was reported again to him by the ſaid *Simon* (maliciouſly depraving the good man behind his back) declaring to the Pope, that he was a Courtier, unlearned, haſty, and fervent in his doings, and ſuch a one, who, if he ſhould be promoted to that Dignity, would go about, with the help of the King and of the whole Realm, to remove and bring the Realm of *England* from under the Yoke of the Pope and of the Church of *Rome*: and ſo to bereave the See of *Rome* of the Tribute, under which King *John* had once ſubjected himſelf and his Realm, at what time he yielded his Crown to the hands of *Pandulphus* the Legate, &c. With theſe and ſuch other words *Simon Langton* falſly and maliciouſly depraved the godly Biſhop. The Pope hearing with one ear, and crediting what he heard, without further inquiſition made of the other party accuſed, ſendeth incontinent to the Monks of *Canterbury* to proceed in a new Election, and to chooſe them another Archbiſhop, ſuch as were an wholeſome Paſtor of Souls, profitable unto the Church of *England*, and devote to the Church of *Rome*: and thus was the lawful Election of this good Archbiſhop made fruſtrate; too good peradventure to ſerve in that place whereunto he was elected.

*Simon Langton* Archbiſhop of *York*, a malicious ſtickler of *Radulphus* Archbiſhop elect.

The raſh judgment of the Pope

The Election of *Radulph* Archbiſhop elect, defeated by the Pope.

After the repulſe of this *Radulph*, the *Canterbury* Monks, entring a new Election, agreed upon *John* their Prior, to be their Metropolitan; who, going up to *Rome* to have his Election confirmed by the Pope, was three days together examined of the Cardinals. And when they could find no inſufficiency in him, touching thoſe things wherein they tried him: yet notwithſtanding the Pope finding fault with his age (he peradventure being more aged himſelf) repelled him, for that he ſaid he was too old and ſimple to ſuſtain that Dignity. *Ex Paris.*

*John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* elected and refuſed of the Pope.

What was the age of this perſon, I find it not in the Author expreſſed; yet it is to be ſuppoſed, that he, which was able to take that Journey to *Rome* and home again, was not ſo greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able ſufficiently to take pains in keeping the Chair of *Canterbury*.

The Popes intolerable Exactions upon *England*.

In the former parts of this ſtory preceding, partly before hath been declared, partly hereafter more ſhall appear (Chriſt willing) how the Church of *England* and Commons of the ſame was grieved and miſerably afflicted by the intolerable Oppreſſion of the Pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the beſt Benefices to be given unto his *Romans*, and the chief fruits of them to be reſerved to his own Coffers. And what complaints thereof have been made, ye heard before; but yet no redreſs could be had. Such was the inſatiable avarice of theſe *Roman* Rakehels, prolling, and polling, whereſoever they came, with their proviſions and exactions out of meaſure, and never ſatisfied. Inſomuch that here in *England*, whoſoever lacked, their Barns were always full of Corn; and what penury ſoever pinched the people, they were ſure to have enough. And theſe importunate Exactions and Contributions of theſe *Italian* Harpies, beſides the *Peter-pence*, beſides the common Tribute, daily more and more increaſed, to the great grievance of the Realm, inſomuch that the wealth of this Land was almoſt clean ſucked up, and tranſlated to the Court of *Rome*. Neither was the King ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherefore it was deviſed by ſome of the Nobles (as appeareth in the ſtory of *Pariſienſis*) this foreſaid year, *An.* 1231. that certain Letters, under the pretenſed colour of the Kings Authority, ſhould be ſent abroad, willing and commanding, that ſuch Corn and Grain with other Revenues, as were taken up for the Pope, ſhould be ſtaid and forth coming by a certain day in the ſaid Letters appointed; the which Letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the means of *Hubert* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, who then, next under the King, ruled the moſt Affairs of the Realm. The words and contents of the Letters be theſe:

*Ex Matt Paſſ. pag. 79*

*Hubert* Lord Chief Juſtice a worker againſt the Pope.

*After*

The Copy of the Letter written under the Kings Authority to reſtrain the Benefices of the *Romans* within the Realm.

*AFter divers and ſundry Griefs and Oppreſſions which this Realm, as you know, hath ſuſtained by the* Romaniſts, *and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the King himſelf, as alſo of the Nobility of the ſame, concerning the Advowſons of their Churches, and about their Tythes: who alſo go about to take from the Clerks and ſpiritual men their Benefices, and to beſtow them upon their own Nation and Country-men, to the ſpoil and confuſion both of us and our Realm: we therefore by our common conſents have thought good (although very late) now yet rather, than any longer to ſuffer their intollerable Oppreſſions and Extortions, to reſiſt and withſtand the ſame. And by the taking from them their Benefices through all* England, *in like manner to cut ſhort and bridle them, as they had thought to have kept under and bridled others: whereby they may deſiſt any longer to moleſt the Realm. Wherefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, that as touching the farming of their Churches, or elſe the rents belonging to them, which either you have preſently in your hands, or elſe do owe unto the ſaid* Romaniſts, *that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or elſe pay to them from henceforth the ſame. But that you have the ſaid your Rents and Revenues ready by ſuch a day, to pay and deliver unto our Procurators thereunto by our Letters aſſigned; and that all Abbots and Priors have the ſame in a readineſs at the time appointed, in their own Monaſteries: and all other Prieſts, Clerks and Lay-men, at the Churches of the* Romaniſts, *there ready to pay. And further, know ye for certainty, that if ye refuſe thus to do, all that you have beſides ſhall be by us burnt and ſpoiled. And beſides, look what danger we purpoſe ſhall fall upon them, the ſame ſhall light upon your Necks if you refuſe thus to do.*

Farewell.

When this was done, they ſent their Letters abroad by certain Souldiers thereunto appointed, to the which Letters they had deviſed a new Seal with two Swords ingraved, and between the Swords was written, *Ecce gladii duo, &c.* Behold theſe two Swords, ready to take vengeance of all thoſe that ſhall withſtand the form and order in theſe Letters contained.

{Anno 1232.} A Roman Prieſt, Canon of *Pauls*, taken and robbed by Souldiers.

At that time the ſixteenth day before the *Kalends* of *January*, about the beginning of the year 1232, there was kept at S. *Albans* a great Conſiſtory of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, with divers both of the Nobility and Clergy by the Popes Commandment, for the Celebration of a Divorce between the Counteſs of *Eſſex* and her Husband. At the breaking up of which Conſiſtory, when every man was about to depart thence, there was a certain Clerk, whoſe name was *Cincius* a *Roman*, and alſo a Canon of *Pauls* in *London*, taken by ſome of the ſaid Univerſity not far off from Saint *Albans*, and was carried away from his company by the Souldiers. But Maſter *John*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, a *Florentine*, hardly eſcaping from that company, got to *London*, where he hid himſelf, and durſt not be ſeen. *Cincius* after five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was ſafely ſent again without any more hurt to *London*.

The Barns of a *Roman* Parſon broke up, and the corn diſtributed to the poor.

Not long after this, about the beginning of *January*, the Barns of a certain beneficed man a *Roman*, and Parſon of *Wingham*, being full of Corn, were broke up by a like company of armed Souldiers, and the Corn brought out to be ſold and given away to the poor people. The Farmer ſeeing this, and not able to reſiſt, complaineth to the Sheriff of the Shire of this injury done to his Maſter, and of breaking the Kings peace: whereupon the Sheriff ſent certain of his men to ſee what was dome. Who coming to the empty Barns, and there finding the foreſaid Souldiers to them unknown, who had ſold away the moſt part of the Corn upon eaſie price, and ſome for charity had given to the poverty of the Country about, required of them what they were, that ſo durſt preſume to break the Kings peace. Whom the other then called ſecretly apart, and ſhewed them the Kings Letters Patents (pretending at leaſt the Kings Name and Seal) wherein was forbidden that no man ſhould preſume to ſtop or let them in that purpoſe. Whereof the Sheriffs Servants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

The *Roman* and *Italian* Parſons in *England* robbed of their rents and corn.

This coming to the knowledge of *Roger* Biſhop of *London*, he (with the aſſiſtance of other Biſhops) proceedeth in ſolemn Excommunication, firſt againſt them that robbed *Cincius* the *Roman*; then of them which ſpoiled the Barns of the Parſon of *Wingham* another *Roman*; thirdly, he Excommunicated them that forged the Letters and Seal of the King above ſpecified.

A general ſpoil of the *Roman* Parſons in *England*.

Neither yet, for all this, did that ſo ceaſe, but the ſame year about *Eaſter* next following, all the Barns in *England*, which were in the hands of any *Roman* or *Italian*, were likewiſe waſted, and the Corn ſold to the beſt Commodity of the poor Commons. Of the which, great Alms were diſtributed, and many times Money alſo with Corn together was ſparſed for the needy people to gather up. Neither was there any that would or durſt ſtand againſt them. As for the *Romans* and *Italians* themſelves, they were ſtricken in ſuch fear, that they hid themſelves in Monaſteries and Cells, not daring to complain of their Injuries received; but held it better to loſe rather their goods, than to loſe their lives. The Authors and Workers of this feat were to the number of fourſcore armed Souldiers; of whom the principal Captain was one naming himſelf *William Withers*, ſurnamed *Twing*.

This coming to the Popes knowledge, he was not a little ſtirred therewith, and ſendeth his Letters immediately to the King upon the ſame, with ſharp Threatnings, and imperious Commandments, charging him for ſuffering ſuch Villany within his Realm, ſtraitly injoyning him, under pain of Excommunication, to ſearch out the doers hereof with all diligence, and ſo to puniſh them that all others by them may take Example. Likewiſe he ſendeth the ſame Charge to *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to the Abbot of Saint *Edmund*, to inquire in the South parts. Alſo to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and to the Biſhop of *Durham*, and to Maſter *John*, Canon of *York*, a *Roman*, to inquire in the North parts for the ſaid Malefactors, and after diligent Inquiſition made, to ſend up the ſame to *Rome*, there needs to appear before him, &c.

A ſumiſh Vicar of mild Chriſt.

Inquiſition made for the ſpoiling of the Popes corn.

Thus after earneſt Inquiſition made of all Parties, and Witneſſes ſworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, ſome that were Factors, ſome that were Conſenters, of whom ſome were Biſhops and Chaplains unto the King, ſome Archdeacons and Deans, with other Souldiers and Lay-men. Amongſt whom, certain Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs, with their Servitors under them, were apprehended and caſt into priſon by the King. Many for fear fled and eſcaped away, who being ſought for, could not be found: but the principal of this number (as is aforeſaid) was ſuppoſed to be *Hubertus* Lord Chief Juſtice; who, both with the Kings Letters and his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durſt interrupt them. Moreover, in the ſame Society of them which were noted in theſe doings, was the ſame *Robert Twing* above mentioned, a comely young man and a tall Souldier: who of his own voluntary accord with five other Servitors, whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, came unto the King, openly proteſting himſelf to be the Author of that deed doing, and ſaid he did it for hatred of the Pope and the *Romans*, becauſe that by the Sentence of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and fraudulent Circumvention of the *Italians* he was bereaved of the Patronage of his Benefice, having no more to give but that one: wherefore to be revenged of that injury, he enterpriſed that which was done; preferring rather juſtly to be Excommunicated for a ſeaſon, than to be ſpoiled of his Benefice for ever. Then the King, and other Executers of the Popes commandment, gave him counſel, that ſeeing he had ſo incurred the danger of the Popes Sentence, he ſhould offer himſelf to the Pope to be abſolved of him again, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he juſtly and canonically was poſſeſſed of that Church. The King moreover with him ſent his Letters Teſtimonial unto the Pope, witneſſing with the ſaid Souldier, and inſtantly deſiring the Pope in his behalf, that he might with favour be heard. At the requeſt whereof, Pope *Gregory* afterwards both releaſed him of the Sentence, and reſtored unto him his Patronage, writing unto the Archbiſhop of *York*, that he might again injoy the right of his Benefice, in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

*Hubert de Burgo*.

Robert *Twing* ſpoiled of his Benefice by the *Romans*.

*Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chief Juſtice, being one of them which held againſt the *Romiſh* Prieſts, as is afore ſignified, was therefore not a little noted of the Biſhops; who to requite him with the like deſpite again (after their

The Biſhops go about to bring *Hubert* out of the Kings favour.

their accustomed manner of practice) went about by subtil working to shake him out of the Kings favour. And first cometh *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* to the King, grievously complaining of certain about the King; but especially of the foresaid *Hubert* the Kings Justice: insomuch that he caused him to be removed from his Office, notwithstanding he had the Kings Seal and writing for the perpetuity of the same, and procured *Stephen Segrave* to be placed in his Function. And after a few days, the King more and more incensed against him, called him unto account of all the Treasure which he was accountable for by his Exchequer-Office: also of all such debts by him due from the time of his Father, till his time: also of all the Lordships which were in the possession of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Chief Justice before him. *Item*, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in Forests, Warrens, Shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of prizes likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of wastes made contrary to the Kings profit, of his liberties how he did use them. *Item*, of Injuries and Damages wrought against the Clerks of *Rome* and other *Italians*, and the Popes Legates; for the redress whereof he would never adjoyn his counsel, according as pertained to his Office, being then Chief Justice of *England*. Also of Scutages, Gifts, Presents, scapes of Prisoners. *Item*, of *Maritages* which King *John* committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these *Hubert* answered, *That he had King* John's *own hand to shew for his discharge, whoso approved his fidelity, that he never called him to any, but clearly discharged him from all such Counts.* Whereunto answered again the Bishop of *Winchester*, saying, *The Charter of King* John *hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this King for the same.*

Objections laid against *Hubert* by the King.

Note, that in *Winchester* the Kings Charter is no longer in force than whilst he liveth.

Over and besides these, other greater Objections were laid to his charge by the King, as for sending and writing unto the Duke of *Austria*, that he might marry his Daughter, to the prejudice of the King, and of the Realm, disswading that she might not be given him. *Item*, for counselling the King not to enter into *Normandy* with his Army, which he had prepared for the recovery of Lands there belonging to his right, whereby great Treasure was there consumed in vain. *Item*, for corrupting the Daughter of the King of *Scots*, whom King *John* his Father committed unto his custody for him to marry. *Item*, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in War, and for sending the same unto *Leolin*, Prince of *Wales*: and that by his Letters sent to the said *Leolin*, *William Brues* a Nobleman was caused there trayterously to be hanged, &c. These with other Crimes (whether true or false) were suggested to the King against the said *Hubert* by his Adversaries: whereunto he was required to answer by order of Law. *Hubert* then, seeing himself in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the King objected to him, which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of *September*: but in the mean time, *Hubert*, being in fear of the King, fled from *London* to the Priory of *Merton*. And thus *Hubert*, who before for the love of the King, and defence of the Realm (saith mine Author) had got the hatred of all the Nobles of *England*, now being out of the Kings favour, was destitute of comfort on every side; save only that *Lucas* Archbishop of *Dublin*, with instant prayers and tears laboured to the King for him. By this example, and many like, is to be seen, how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortal and mutable Princes is: to teach all such as have to do about Princes, how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find help in Christ the true Prince of all Princes, which never faileth. By like example was *Clito* Servant of King *Alexander*, *Joab* of King *David*, *Belisarius* of *Justinian*, *Harpagus* of *Astiages*, *Cromwel* of King *Henry*, with innumerable more, which in Histories are to be found.

Other Crimes objected to *Hubert* by the King.

Princes Favours not to be trusted unto.

When the day was come that this *Hubert* should answer, keeping amongst the Monks of *Merton*, he durst not appear. Then was it signified unto him from the King, that he should come up and appear in the Court, there to answer to his Charge. Whereunto he answered again, *That he misdoubted the Kings anger, and therefore he did fly to the Church, as the uttermost Refuge to all such as suffer wrong; from whence he would not stir, till he heard the Kings wrath to be mitigated towards him.* With this the King, moved and sore displeased, directed his Letters, in all hast to the Major of *London*, commanding him at the sight thereof to muster and take up all the Citizens that could bear Harness in the City, and to bring to him by force of Arms the foresaid *Hubert* either quick or dead out of *Merton*. Whereupon, the Major immediately, causing the great Bell to be rung, assembled together the people of *London*, and opening before them the Kings Letters, commanded them to prepare and arm themselves in all readiness to the executing of the Kings Will and Message.

Kings ·easure ·ainst Hu-

The Kings Message to the Major of *London*.

The Citizens hearing this were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with *Hubert*, because of the Execution of *Constantine* their Citizen afore-mentioned. Notwithstanding, certain of the Citizens; namely, *Andrew Buckerell*, *John Travers*, and others more, men of more grave and sage discretion (wisely pondering with themselves, what inconvenience might rise hereof) went in haste to the Bishop of *Winchester*, lying then in *Southwark*, and, waking him out of his sleep, desired of him his counsel in that so sudden and dangerous distress, declaring unto him what peril might thereby insue as well to the Church of *Merton*, as also to the City, by the fury of the unordinate and fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and spoiling, neither will spare shedding of blood, &c. Unto whom again the bloody Bishop gave this bloody counsel (saith *Parisiensis*) *Dangerous it is* (quoth he) *both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the Precept of the King, I counsel you plainly.* At the which counsel of the Bishop, they, being amazed, went with an ill will about the business injoyned. But the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly coveted to be revenged, and to shed the blood of the said *Hubert*.

Old grudge born in mind.

Some wiser than some.

Good advisement of discreet Citizens.

Cruel counsel of Peter Bishop of *Winchester*.

¶ The cause, why *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* was so cruelly set against the Justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the *Roman* Priests, as before is touched; partly also for the old grudge, because the King coming to his lawful age before (through the counsel of this *Hubert*) loosed himself from the government of the said Bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this Bishop towards him.

The cause of displeasure between *Hubert* and the Bishop of *Winchester*.

On the next morrow, the *Londoners* issuing out of the City, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the Abbey of *Merton*, where *Hubert* was lying prostrate before the Altar, commending himself to God.

*Hubert* prostrate upon the ground commendeth himself to God.

In the mean season, while the Citizens were in their Journey, raging against the poor Earl of *Kent*, it was suggested to the King by *Radulph* Bishop of *Chichester*, and Lord Chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite up the vulgar and unruly multitude, for fear of Sedition; lest peradventure the rude and heady people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought down again, when the King would have them. Moreover, what shall be said (quoth he) among the *Frenchmen* and other Nations, which of great things love to make them greater, and of evil things to make them worse than they are? but thus jestingly and mockingly: See what a kind Bird is the young King of *England*, which seeketh to devour his old Nurse, under whose wings he had been brought up and nourished in his youth. And thus the King, by the perswasion hereof, changing his counsel, sent in all hasty wise after the Army again, willing them to retract their Journey, and to retire. And thus the *Londoners* (although much against their wills) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be observed another notable example of Gods working Providence. For when the King (saith the History) had sent by two Messengers or Pursivants to revoke and call back again the Army of the *Londoners*, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent Justice: one of the Messengers posting with all speed possible, with the Kings Letters, overtook the Army; and coming to the fore-ward where the Captains were, by vertue of the Kings Letters staid their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other Messenger crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said *Hubert*, and rather wishing him to be slain than to be delivered, lingred by the way of purpose

Sage counsel of an Earl given to the King.

The marvelous working of the Lords help at time of need.

*Juxta versum*, saith the story. *Alis ales, alis alium ne longius ales.*

*Ex additamentis Mat. Pariensis, pag.* 81.

A notable example of Gods juſt puniſhment, ſtriking with death, him that ſeeketh the death of another.

purpoſe (although being commanded to make haſte) and when he came, went only but to the middle ſort; more like a Meſſenger meet to ſerve a dead mans arrant, than to ſerve the turn of them which be alive. And ſo in like manner, by the juſt hand of God it fell upon him. For the ſame Meſſenger ſtumbling with his Horſe, riding but a ſoft or foot paſe, and rather walking than riding, fell down backward from his Horſe back, and there brake his neck and died. This merciful meſſage of the King was (as is ſaid) ſent by the inſtigation of *Radulph* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord Chancellor (a vertuous and a faithful man) and one that could skill to have compaſſion on the miſeries of Men. Of whom was declared before, that he, being elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, would not give one half-penny to their expences by the way, to get his Election confirmed by the Pope: and afterward by the ſaid Pope was defeated and fruſtrated of his Election, as relation was made afore. And thus through Gods Providence, by the means of the Kings Letters, the Army returned, and *Hubert*'s life (contrary to his expectation) was preſerved.

Commendation of *Radulph* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*

The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* again maketh intercеſſion for *Hubert*.

After this, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, with much labour and great ſute, intreated and obtained of the King to grant unto the ſaid *Hubert*, reſpite till the twelfth day of *January*, to provide himſelf of his anſwer to ſuch things as were commenſed againſt him. Then *Hubert*, truſting to enjoy ſome ſafety by the Kings permiſſion to him granted, to breath himſelf a little, and to walk abroad, took his journey towards S. *Edmundsbury*, where his Wife was; and, paſſing through the Country of *Eſſex*, was inned there in a certain Town belonging to the Biſhop of *Norwich*. Whereof when the King was certified, fearing leſt he would raiſe up ſome commotion in the Realm, ſendeth in haſty anger after him Sir *Godfride Crancombe* Knight, with three hundred Men; commanding under pain of Hanging, that they ſhould apprehend him, and bring him to the Tower of *London*: which commandment to accompliſh, there lacked no haſte. *Hubert* having intelligence of their coming (riſing out of his Bed, naked as he was) ran unto the Chappel ſtanding near unto the Inn, where he holdeth with the one hand the Croſs, with the other hand the Sacrament of the Lords Body. Then *Godfrid* with his foreſaid armed Souldiers, entring into the Chappel, willed him to come out. Which when he would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the Chappel, and taking the Croſs and the Sacrament out of his hands, faſt bound him with Fetters and Gives under the Horſe belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the Tower. And ſo certifying the King what they had done (who then tarried up waking for them) he rejoiced not a little thereat, and went merry to his Bed.

*Hubert* flyeth to the Church for his refuge.

*Hubert* violently drawn out of the Church. *Hubert* caſt into the Tower of *London*.

The next morrow following after, *Roger* Biſhop of *London*, having knowledge how and in what order he was taken violently out of the Chappel, cometh unto the King, blaming him boldly, for violating the peace of holy Church, and proteſted, that unleſs the party were looſed again, and ſent to the Chappel from whence he was drawn, he would enter Sentence of Excommunication againſt all the deed doers.

The King blamed for breaking the peace of holy Church

The King as he did not deny his tranſgreſſion herein, ſo he ſendeth him (albeit againſt his will) out of the Tower unto the ſaid Chappel again, and by the ſame Souldiers which brought him out before. Which done, he giveth in ſtraight charge and commandment under pain of hanging, to the Sheriffs of *Herford* and *Eſſex*, that they in their own perſons, with the ſtrength of both Shires ſhould watch and compaſs about the Chappel, and ſee that the ſaid *Hubert* no ways might eſcape. Which commandment of the King was accompliſhed with all diligence. But *Hubert* took all this patiently, and continued in the Chappel praying both night and day, and commending his cauſe unto the Lord, whom he deſired ſo to deliver him from that inſtant danger, as he always ſought the Kings Honour by his faithful and truſty ſervice. And as he continued in his prayer, ſo the King continuing in his rage, commanded that no Man ſhould intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his preſence. Notwithſtanding yet, *Lucas* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, his true and almoſt only friend, ceaſed not to pray and weep to the King for him, deſiring the King at leaſt to intimate to him what he purpoſed ſhould be done with *Hubert*. Whereunto the King anſwering, ſaid, *That of theſe three things one he ſhould chuſe, Whether he would abjure the Realm of* England *for ever, or be condemned unto perpetual Priſon, or elſe confeſs himſelf openly to be a Traitor?* But *Hubert* hereunto ſaid, that he would chuſe none of theſe Articles, as who knew himſelf neither guilty nor worthy of any ſuch confuſion: but, to ſatisfie ſomewhat the mind of the King, he would be contented to depart the Realm for a ſeaſon, but to abjure the Realm he would not ſo do.

The King compelled to ſend *Hubert* again to his Sanctuary.

Example of a conſtant friend in the time of need.

Three things put to *Hubert* to chooſe.

In this mean time it befel that *Ranulphus* Earl of *Cheſter* and of *Lincoln*, one of his ſoreſt enemies died. *Hubert* all this while remained in the Chappel incloſed and guarded about with the power (as is ſaid) of two Shires, and ſo continued, till at length, by the commandment of the King, his two Serviters, which miniſtred unto him within the Chappel, were taken from him. Then *Hubert* ſeeing no other remedy, but there to ſtarve for famine, offered himſelf of his own accord to the Sheriffs, ſaying, *That he would put himſelf rather in the Kings mercy, than there deſperately to periſh for hunger.* And ſo was he taken, and being faſt bound in Fetters, was brought again and clapped, by the Kings commandment, in the Tower of *London*.

*Hubert* yieldeth himſelf to the Sheriffs.

*Hubert* reduced again to the Tower.

Not long after this, word was brought unto the King by certain, that the ſaid *Hubert* had much Treaſure lying in the Houſe of the new Templars in *London*. Whereupon the King, to try out the truth thereof, ſendeth for the Prior or Maſter of the Houſe; who, not daring to deny, confeſſed that there was indeed Treaſure brought into the Houſe, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The King, deſirous to ſeize upon the Treaſure, required and charged the Maſter with his Brethren, with threatning words, to bring forth the Treaſure to him, ſaying, *that it was taken and ſtoln out of his Treaſury.* But they anſwered again, *That the Treaſure was committed with truſt and faith unto their hands, and therefore they neither would nor ought to let it go out of their hands, being truſted withal, without the aſſent of him which committed the ſame unto them.* When the King could get no other anſwer, at their hands, neither durſt ſhew any further violence againſt them, he ſendeth unto *Hubert* in the Tower, requiring of him the foreſaid Treaſures. To whom he, anſwering again mildly, yielded both himſelf, his Treaſures, and all that ever he had, unto the Kings will and pleaſure; and ſo, ſending word unto the Maſter and Brethren of the Temple, willeth them to take all the Keies, and deliver the Goods, with all that there was, unto the King, who receiving the ſame, and taking an Inventory of that which was received, cauſed it to be brought unto his Treaſury; whereof the number both of the Plate, of Coin, and of the Jewels, was of Price unknown. The enemies of *Hubert*, ſuppoſing thereby to take advantage againſt him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the King, crying out againſt *Hubert*, *That he was a Thief, a Traitor, and a robber of the Kings treaſure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged*, and thus cried his accuſers daily in the Kings ear. But the hearts of Kings (ſaith the wiſe Man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after Mans will, but as it pleaſeth God to direct them. And ſo this King having now his will and fill upon poor *Hubert*, and ſomewhat coming more unto himſelf, anſwered again in this wiſe, *That there was no ſuch need to deal ſo ſtraitly with him, who from the time of his youth firſt ſerved mine Uncle King* Richard, *then my Father King* John, *in whoſe ſervice (as I heard ſay) beyond the Seas,* Parisienſis, pag. 81. *he was driven to eat his Horſe. And in my time hath ſtood ſo conſtantly in defence of the Realm againſt foreign Nations, who kept the Caſtle of* Dover *againſt King* Lewis, *and vanquiſhed the* Frenchmen *upon the Seas, alſo at* Bedford *and at* Lincoln *hath done ſuch ſervice. And though againſt me he hath dealt any thing untruly, which yet is not evidently proved; yet he ſhall never be put by me to ſo villanous a death. I had rather be counted a King fooliſh and ſimple, than to be judged a Tyrant or ſeeker of bloud, eſpecially of ſuch as have ſerved me and mine Anceſters, in many perils ſo dangerouſly, weighing more the few evils which yet be not proved, than ſo many good deſerts of his evident and manifeſt ſervice done both to me and to the whole Realm, &c.* And thus the King, ſomewhat relenting to poor *Hubert* his old Servant, granted un-

*Hubert* bereft of all his Treaſures. { Anno 1232.

God ruleth the hearts of Kings.

The Kings anſwer in defence of *Hubert*.

A worthy word of a King.

to him all ſuch Lands as he had given by King *John* his Father, and whatſoever elſe he had by his own purchaſe.

The Kings mind relenteth toward *Hubert*.

Thus *Hubert* after long trouble, a little cheered with ſome piece of comfort, ſet *Lawrence* his truſty friend that never left him, one that belonged to *St. Albans*, to be his Steward and Overſeer of thoſe poſſeſſions granted unto him by the King. And ſhortly upon the ſame, after the Kings mind was ſeen thus ſomething to relent, the envy alſo of the Nobles, being now partly ſatisfied, began to turn to mercy; inſomuch that four Earls, to wit, Earl *Richard* the Kings Brother, *William* Earl of *Warreine*, *Richard* Earl Marſhal, and *William* Earl of *Ferris*, became ſureties to the King for him. Upon whoſe ſurety he was transferred to the Caſtle of *Devizes*, where he was under the keeping of four Souldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of that Caſtle. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who always hunted after the life of *Hubert*, craftily cometh unto the King, and delireth the cuſtody of the Caſtle, making no mention of *Hubert*, to the intent that by the keeping thereof he might the ſooner diſpatch him. *Hubert* having thereof ſome inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his ſervants; who with compaſſion tendring his miſery, watched their time (the Keepers being aſleep) and conveyed him by night on their backs, fettered as he was, into the Pariſh-Church of the Town, and there remained with him. The Keepers when they miſt their priſoner, were in great perplexity, and after diligent ſearch finding him at length where he was in the Church, with violent force drew him from thence to the Caſtle again. For the which injury to the Church, the Biſhop of *Sarum*, underſtanding the order of the matter, cometh to the Caſtle where the Keepers were, and required that *Hubert* ſhould be brought again into the Church from whence he was taken. Which when the Keepers denied to do, ſaying, they would rather he ſhould hang than they; then the Biſhop gave ſentence of Excommunication againſt them. Which done, he with the Biſhop of *London*, and other Biſhops, goeth immediately unto the King, complaining of the injury done unto *Hubert*, and eſpecially of the contumely againſt Holy Church; neither would they leave the King before they had obtained that he ſhould be reduced again into the Church, and ſo he was. It was not long after, but the King in great diſpleaſure ſendeth to the Sheriff of the Shire to keep him well watched in the Church, till either he came forth, or there periſhed with famine.

Four Earls ſureties for *Hubert*.

*Hubert* put in the Caſtle of *Devizes*.

{Anno 1233.}

*Hubert* conveyed out of the Caſtle into the Pariſh Church.

*Hubert* again taken out of the Church, and brought back to the Caſtle.

*Hubert* delivered out of priſon and carried into *Wales*.

It befell in the mean ſeaſon that great diſſention roſe between the King and the Nobles of the Realm; by reaſon whereof *Hubert* was taken and carried away by *Richard* Earl Marſhal into *Wales*, and there remained until the King at length was reconciled with his Nobles, and ſo received (with the reſt) the ſaid *Hubert* again into his favour. *Ex Matthæo Pariſienſi, & ex Floribus Hiſtoriarum.* Of the which diſſention more ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

Roger Biſhop of *London* goeth to *Rome* to purge himſelf before the Pope.

As the beginning of this trouble of *Hubert* firſt ſprang of vexing the Popes Barns; ſo likewiſe *Roger* Biſhop of *London*, ſuſpected for the ſame cauſe, was enforced to travel up to *Rome*, there to purge himſelf before the Pope. Where after much money conſumed, and robbed alſo by the way, he got nothing elſe but loſt his labour, and ſo came home again. Who then doing the part of a good Biſhop, after his return from *Rome* attempted to expell and exclude out of his Dioceſs all thoſe *Italian* Uſurers called, as before ſaid, *Caurſini*. Theſe *Caurſinites* coming with the Popes Legates into *England*, and lending their money to Religious Houſes, to Colledges and Churches, had their Debters bound unto them in ſuch ſort as was much vantageable to them, and much injurious to the other, as in the form of their Obligations in the Story of *M. Pariſienſis* is largely expreſſed, *fol.* 65. Againſt theſe *Caurſinites* the Biſhop of *London* being worthily inflamed with zeal of juſtice, firſt with loving admonition went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their ſouls, afterward with ſharp words began to charge them. But they diſregarding Chriſtian counſel, and deſpiſing the Biſhops threatnings, would not leave the ſweetneſs of their occupation. Wherefore the Biſhop proceeding unto the ſentence of Excommunication, preciſely and diſtrictly charged them to depart his Dioceſs. But they again being confident and imboldened upon the Popes defence, not only ſet at light his Excommunication, but alſo wrought ſuch ways with the Pope that they cauſed the ſaid Biſhop of *London*, being both aged and ſickly, to be cited peremptorily to appear beyond the Seas, there to anſwer to ſuch objections as they ſhould infer againſt him. And thus the Biſhop minding rather to cover than to open the faults of the Church, and partly being let with infirmity and age, was compelled to let the cauſe fall.

Againſt Uſurers.

Uſurers Excommunicated and expelled by the Biſhop of *London*.

Excommunication well uſed againſt Uſurers.

And thus much of the Popes Merchants here in *England*, which were not ſo buſie here for their part, but the Pope, the great Maſter of theſe Merchant Uſurers, was as buſie for his. And although his Barns here in *England* were deſtroyed, and his bank ſomething decayed, yet he thought to win it up another way; for he proclaimed the ſame year a general Viſitation through all the Religious Houſes, exempt or not exempt, univerſally pertaining to his juriſdiction; where by the cruel dealing of the Viſitors, many were compelled to appeal and to travel up to *Rome*, to the great expences of their money, and filling the Popes Coffers. But as touching this Viſitation, to make ſhort (ſaith the Story) it tended not to any reformation ſo much as to the deformation of univerſal order. *Et Pariſi.*

The general Viſitation of the Pope through all Religious Houſes.

*Dum omnes, qui in diverſis orbis partibus uſicam Benedicti ſecuti fuerant regulam, per novas conſtitutiones ita inveniantur ubique diſcordes, quod ex omnibus cœnobiis, vel aliis religioſorum Eccleſiis vix duo habeantur in norma vivendi concordes:* that is, While all they which before through all parts of the world followed only the rule of *Benedict*, now through new deviſed conſtitutions are found in all places ſo divided and divers, that of all Monaſteries, and other Churches of Religion, ſcarce may two be found, which do agree in one rule and inſtitution of life.

The great diverſity among Religious Orders noted.

All this while that *Hubert* above mentioned was ſecluded from the King, *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* bare all the rule, and above all other alone was accepted. This Biſhop being in ſuch principal favour with the King, as by whoſe counſel all things were adminiſtred, removed the natural Servitors, that were *Engliſhmen*, out of their Offices, and placed other ſtrangers, namely, of *Pictavia*, and of other Countries in their rooms. Among whom was thruſt out *William* Under-marſhal, which ſupplied the room of *Richard* Great Lord Marſhal of *England*; for the which cauſe the ſaid Lord *Richard* was migfitily offended. Alſo *Walter*, Treaſurer of the Kings houſe was not only expelled, but alſo mercet at an hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the Kings Patent granted to him.

Old Servitors of the King put out and diſcharged.

Moreover by the counſel of the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, all the old Counſellers, as well Biſhops, as other Earls and Barons, and all the Nobles were rejected from the King in ſuch ſort, that he would hear and follow no mans counſel, but only the ſaid *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Couſin *Peter de Rivallis*. Whereby it came to paſs, that all the greateſt holds and munitions in the Realm were taken from the old Keepers, and committed to the cuſtody of the ſaid *Peter*. Then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to plant and pitch himſelf more ſtrongly in the Kings favour, adjoyned to his fellowſhip *Stephen Seagrave* ſucceeding in the place of *Hubert* the Juſtice: alſo *Robert Paſlew*, who had the keeping of the Treaſure under the foreſaid *Peter Rivall*. So by theſe three all the affairs of the Realm were ordered. Moreover, to make their party more ſure, by them it was provided, that Souldiers and Servitors from beyond the Sea, as *Pictavians* and *Britains* were ſent for, to the number of two thouſand, which were placed partly about the King, partly were ſet in Caſtles and Holds within the Realm, and had the overſight and Government of Shires and Baronies, who then oppreſſed the Nobles of the Land, accuſing them to the King for Traytors; whom the ſimple King did lightly believe, committing to them the cuſtody of his Treaſures, the ſitting in Judgments, and the doing in all things. And when the Nobles, thus oppreſſed came to complain of their injuries to the King, by the means of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their cauſe was nothing regarded; inſomuch that the ſaid *Wincheſter* moreover accuſed certain Biſhops alſo to the King, ſo that he did fly and ſhun them as open Traytors and Rebels.

The King forſaketh his Nobles and flicketh to ſtrangers.

Theſe

KING 2 Hen. 3

*Richard* Earl Marſhal admoniſheth the King.

Theſe things ſtanding thus out of order, *Richard* the Noble Marſhal of *England*, with others of the Nobles joining with him, ſeeing theſe oppreſſions and injuries daily growing contrary to the Laws and Wealth of the Realm, came to the King, and blamed him for retaining ſuch perverſe Counſel about him of the *Pictavians* and other Foreigners, to the great prejudice of his natural Subjects, and of the liberties of the Realm; humbly deſiring and beſeeching him, that he, with as much ſpeed as might be, would reform and redreſs ſuch exceſſes, whereby the whole Realm ſeemed to lie in danger of ſubverſion. Otherwiſe, if he refuſed to ſee correction thereof, he with other Peers and Nobles, would withdraw themſelves from his Counſel, ſo long as he maintained the ſociety of thoſe foreigners and ſtrangers about him.

The diſdainful anſwer of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Nobles.

To this *Peter Wincheſter*, anſwering again, ſaid, *That the King right well might call unto him what foreigners and ſtrangers him liſted, for the defence both of his Kingdom, and of his Crown; and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious Subjects, and ſo to keep them in awe and good order.* When the Earl and the Nobles could get no other anſwer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promiſing among themſelves, in this caſe, which ſo touched the ſtate of the whole Realm, they would conſtantly joyn together, to the parting of their life.

Wicked Council about a K.

After this, the foreſaid *Petrus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with his complices, ceaſed not by all means to inflame the Kings heart to hatred and contempt of his natural People, whom they ſo vehemently perverted, that he counting them no other than his enemies, ſought by all diligence the utter deſtruction of them, ſending daily for more Garriſons of the *Pictavians*, that in ſhort ſpace, they repleniſhed well-near the whole Land, whoſe defence the King only truſted unto; neither was any thing diſpoſed in the Realm, but through the guiding of this *Peter*, and of the *Pictavians*.

*Petrus de Rupibus*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* perverter of the King.

The King, thus guarded and ſtrengthened with theſe foreign aliens and ſtrangers, proclaimed a Parliament to be holden at *Oxford*, where the Nobles were warned to be preſent. They conſidering the indignation of the King conceived, would not appear. Again they were required the firſt, ſecond and third time to preſent themſelves. The Aſſembly proceeded, but they came not, for whom the King looked. In this Aſſembly or Parliament, it was plainly told the King by a *Dominick* Frier preaching before him, *that unleſs he removed from him the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Peter Rival *his Kinſman, he ſhould not, neither could long enjoy peace in his Kingdom.* This although it was bluntly ſpoken of the Frier againſt the Biſhop, yet this remedy he had; the Frier had nothing to loſe. Yet was there another Chaplain of the Court, who perceiving the King ſomewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a Courtlike dexterity handling his matter, being a pleaſant conceited man, thus merrily came to the King asking a queſtion, *What was the thing moſt pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that travel by the Seas? That*, ſaid the King, *is beſt known to ſuch as travel in that kind of Traffick. Nay* (ſaith he) *this is eaſie to be told.* The King demanding what it was, *Forſooth* (quoth he) *Stones and Rocks*; alluding merrily (but yet truly) to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* whoſe name and ſirname was *Petrus de Rupibus*, for ſo *Petræ* in *Latin* ſignifieth *Stones* and *Rupes Rocks*. Notwithſtanding, the King either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, again ſendeth to his Nobles, to have them come and ſpeak with him at *Weſtminſter*. But they fearing ſome train to be laid for them, refuſed to appear, ſending plain words to the King by ſolemn Meſſage, *That his Grace without all delay ſhould ſeclude from him* Peter *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and other Aliens of* Pictavia, *or if he would not, they with the common aſſent of the Realm, would diſplace him with his wicked Counſellors from his Kingdom, and have within themſelves tractation for chuſing a new King.*

A merry Apothegme of the Kings Chaplain.

The meſſage of the Nobles to the King.

The King at the hearing of this Meſſage being mightily moved, partly to fear, partly to indignation, eſpecially having the late example of King *John* his Father before his eies, was caſt in great perplexity, doubting what was beſt to be done. But *Wincheſter* with his wicked counſel, ſo wrought with the King, that he proceeded with all ſeverity againſt them; inſomuch that in that time, the ſparkles of poiſoned counſel, kindling more and more, grew to a ſharp Battel between the King and *Richard* Earl Marſhal, with other Nobles, to the great diſquietneſs of the whole Realm. The which War was preſignified by terrible thundring and lightning heard all *England* over in the Month of *March*, with ſuch abundance of Rain and Flouds growing upon the ſame, as caſt down Mills, overcovered the Fields, threw down Houſes, and did much harm through the whole Realm.

War raiſed by the King againſt his Nobles.

Great Thunders and Flouds in *England*.

To proſecute here at large the whole diſcourſe of this War between the King and the Earl Marſhal, which continued near the ſpace of two years, to declare all the parts and circumſtances thereof; what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought unto the whole Realm, what truces were laid, what ſlaughter of men, what waſte of whole Countries inſued from *Wales* unto *Shrewsbury*, how the Marſhal joyned himſelf with *Leolin* Prince of *Wales*, how the *Pictavians* were almoſt all ſlain and deſtroyed, how the King was diſtreſſed, what forgery wily *Wincheſter* wrought by the Kings Letters to intrap the Marſhal, and to betray him to the *Iriſhmen*, amongſt whom he was at length ſlain; all this I refer to other Authors, who at large do intreat of the ſame, as *Matth. Pariſienſ. Florilegus*, and ſuch others. This is to be noted and obſerved (which rather pertaineth to our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory) to ſee what ſedition and continual diſquietneſs was in thoſe days among all Chriſtian People almoſt, being under the Popes Catholick obedience: but eſpecially to mark the corrupt Doctrine then reigning; it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to ſee the King and the People then ſo blinded in the principal Point and Article of their Salvation, as we find in Stories, which making mention of a Houſe or Monaſtery of Converts, builded the ſame year by the King at *London*, do expreſs in plain words, that he then did it, *Pro redemptione animæ ſuæ & Regis Johannis patris ſui, & omnium anteceſſorum ſuorum:* that is, *For the redemption of his ſoul, of the ſoul of King* John *his Father, and for the ſouls of all his anceſtors, &c.* Whereby may be underſtood in what palpable darkneſs of blind ignorance the ſilly ſouls redeemed by Chriſt were then inwrapped, which did not know, nor yet were taught the right Doctrine and firſt Principles of their Redemption. *Ex Matthæo Pariſienſi, pag.* 86.

Monaſteries builded. *Pro redemptione animæ*

Mention was made a little before of diſſolving the election of *John* Prior of *Canterbury*, which was choſen by the Monks to be Archbiſhop of the ſaid Church of *Canterbury*, but by the Pope was defeated. After whom one *John Blund* was elected, who travelling up to *Rome* this year, *Anno* 1233. to be confirmed of the Pope, was alſo repealed and unelected again, for that it was thought in *England*, and ſo complained of to the Pope, that he had received of *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* a thouſand Marks, and had another thouſand promiſed him of the ſaid *Wincheſter*. Who by his Mony thought to make him of his ſide, and alſo wrote unto the Emperor to help forward his promotion in the Court of *Rome*. Notwithſtanding, both he with his giving, and the other with his taking of Bribes, were both detected and diſappointed of their purpoſe. For the Pope hating then the Emperor, for the ſame cauſe, admitted not the Election; pretending the cauſe, for that he was proved to hold two Benefices without his diſpenſation. After whom, by the commandment of the Pope, one *Edmund* Canon of *Salisbury* was ordained Archbiſhop, and had his Pall ſent to him from the Pope. Which *Edmund* after, for his vertues, was canonized of the *Popiſh* Monks there for a Saint, and was called S. *Edmund*. About which time alſo *Robert Groſthead* was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

*John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* elected by the Chapter, again unelected by the Pope.

Corruption of Bribes.

*Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* & S. *Edmund* canonized. *R. Lert Groſthead* made Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

This *Edmund* accompanied with other Biſhops, during this trouble between the King and his Nobles, being in Council at *Weſtminſter*, in the year next inſuing, which was 1234. came uttering their minds boldly in the name of the Lords, and declaring unto the King as became his faithful ſervants, that his Counſel, which then he followed, was not ſound nor ſafe, but cruel and dangerous, both to him, and to the ſtate of the Realm, meaning the counſel of *Peter Wincheſter*, and of *Peter Rival*, with other adherents.

Anno 1234.

Faithful counſel of the Biſhop given to the King.

The counſel of *Wincheſter* and ſuch other Biſhops about the K. diſproved for certain cauſes.

1. FIrſt and Imprimis, *For that they hate and contemn the* Engliſh *Nation, calling them Traitors and Rebels, and turning the Kings heart from the love of his natural Subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the Earl Marſhal and others, ſowing diſcord among them.*

2. Item, *By the ſaid counſel, to wit, by the foreſaid Biſhop and his fellows, King* John *the Kings Father, loſt firſt the hearts of his Barons, after that loſt* Normandy, *and afterwards, other Lands alſo, and in the end waſted all his Treaſure, ſo that ſince that time the regiment of* England *had never any quiet after.*

3. *By the ſaid counſel alſo, in their time and memory, the Kingdom of* England *had been troubled and ſuſpended, and in concluſion, ſhe that was before the Prince of Provinces, became Tributary; and ſo War inſuing upon the ſame, the ſaid King* John *his Father incurred great danger of death, and at laſt was extinguiſhed, lacking both peace of his Kingdom and of his own heart.*

4. Item, *By the ſaid counſel the Caſtle of* Bedford *was kept long time againſt the King, to the great loſs both of Men and Treaſure, beſide the loſs of* Rupella, *to the ſhame of the Realm of* England.

5. *Moreover, Through their wicked counſel, at this preſent, great perturbation ſeemed to hang over the whole Realm; for elſe if it had not been for their counſel, and if that true juſtice and judgment might have been miniſtred unto the Kings Subjects, theſe tumults had never been ſtirred, and the King might have had his Land unwaſted, and his treaſure unconſumed.*

6. Item, *In that Faith and Allegiance, wherewith they were obliged unto him, they proteſted unto him, that the ſaid his Council, was not a Council of peace, but of diviſion and diſquietneſs, to the end that they which otherwiſe by peace could not aſpire, by diſturbing and diſheriting others, might be exalted.*

7. Item, *For that all the Caſtles, Forts, Munitions, alſo all the Officers of the Exchequer, with all other the greateſt Eſcheats of the Realm, were in their hands, of the which if the King would demand account, he ſhould prove how true they were.*

8. Item, *For that neither by the Kings Seal, nor Commandment, except it bare withal the Seal of* Peter Rival, *almoſt any buſineſs of any weight could be diſpatched in the Realm, as though they counted their King for no King.*

9. *Furthermore, by the foreſaid Counſel, the natural Subjects and Nobles of the Realm, were baniſhed the Court, which was to be feared would grow to ſome inconvenience both to the King and to the Realm; forſomuch as the King ſeemed more to be on their ſide, than they of his, as by many evident conjectures may appear.*

10. Item, *It was not well to be taken and liked, the ſaid Council ſtanding of Strangers and Aliens, that they ſhould have in their power both the Kings Siſter, and many other Noblemens Daughters, and other Women marriageable, with the Kings Wards and Marriages, which they beſtowed and divided among themſelves, and Men of their affinity.*

11. *Alſo, The ſaid Council regarding neither the Laws, nor Liberties of the Realm, confirmed and corroborated by Excommunication, did confound and pervert all Juſtice: wherefore it was to be feared, that they would run under Excommunication, and the King alſo, in communicating with them.*

12. Item, *Becauſe they kept neither Promiſe nor Faith, nor Oath with any perſon, neither did obſerve any Inſtrument made never ſo formal by Law, nor yet did fear any Excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for People deſperate, as which were departed from all truth and honeſty.*

*Theſe things* (ſaid the Biſhops) *we as your faithful Subjects before God and Men, do tell and advertiſe your Grace, deſiring and beſeeching you, that you will remove and ſeclude from you ſuch counſel: and as the cuſtom is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will ſo govern in like manner your Kingdom by your own natural Liege People, and ſuch as be ſworn unto you of your own Realm. For thus* (ſaid they) *in verity we denounce unto you, that unleſs in ſhort time you will ſee theſe things reformed, we, according to our duty, will proceed by the cenſure of the Church againſt you, and all others that gainſtand the ſame, tarrying no other thing, but only the conſecration of this our reverend Archbiſhop.*

Excommunication denounced by the Biſhops againſt the King.

Theſe words of the Biſhops thus ſaid and finiſhed, the King required a little time of reſpite, wherein to adviſe with himſelf about the matter, ſaying, *That he could not in ſuch a ſudden, remove from him his Council, before he had entred with them account of his Treaſure committed to them*; and ſo that Aſſembly brake up.

The Kings anſwer to the Biſhops.

It followed then after this communication ſo broken up, that the King reſorted to the parts of *Northfolk*, where coming by Saint *Edmundsbury*, where the Wife of *Hubert* the Juſtice was, he being moved with zeal of pity toward the Woman, who very humbly behaved her ſelf to the King, did grant her eight Mannors, which her Husband before with his Mony had purchaſed, being then in the cuſtody and poſſeſſion of *Robert Paſſew*, one of the Kings new Counſellors aboye ſpecified. It was not long after this, but *Edmund* the Archbiſhop was inveſted and conſecrated in the Church of *Canterbury*; who ſhortly after his Conſecration, about the Month of *April*, coming with his Suffragans to the place of Council, where the King with his Earls and Barons was aſſembled, opened to him the cauſe and purpoſe of his coming, and of the other Prelats, which was, to put him in remembrance of their former talk had with him at *Weſtminſter*; denouncing moreover to him expreſly, that unleſs with ſpeed he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithful Nobles of his Realm, he incontinently, with the other Prelats there preſent, would paſs with the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, and againſt all them that would be enemies to the ſame peace, and maintainers of diſcord.

The pity of the K. toward the Wife of *Hubert*.

*Edmund* conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which was afterward canonized by Pope the 4th for a Saint.

Excommunication rightly practiſed.

The King, after he heard the meaning of the Biſhops, with humble and gentle language anſwered them again, promiſing to condeſcend to them in all things. Whereupon within few days after, the King, coming to ſome better remembrance of himſelf, commanded the forenamed Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to leave the Court, and to return home to his Biſhoprick, there to attend unto the ſpiritual charge and care of his Flock committed to him. Moreover, he commanded *Peter Rival* the Biſhops Coſin, (ſome Stories ſay his Son) who had then the diſpoſing of all the affairs of the Realm, to render unto him his Caſtles, and to give account of all his Treaſures, whereof he had the keeping, and ſo to void the Realm, ſwearing moreover unto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within Orders of the Church, elſe he would have cauſed both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

The Kings promiſe to the Biſhops.

*Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* diſcharged out of the Court.

*Peter Rival* called to account of the Kings Treaſures.

He expelled likewiſe the *Pictavians* out of the Court, and from the cuſtody of his munitions, ſending them home into their Country, and bidding they ſhould no more ſee his face. And thus the King, wiſely diſpatching himſelf of his wicked Counſellors, firſt did ſend *Edmund* the Archbiſhop with the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and of *Rocheſter*, into *Wales* to *Leolin*, and to *Richard* Earl Marſhal and others, to intreat with them of peace. Alſo he received to his ſervice again Men of his natural Country, to attend about him, offering himſelf willing to be ruled by the counſel of the Archbiſhop and the Biſhops, by whoſe prudence he truſted his Realm ſhould be reduced again to a better quietneſs.

*Pictavians* and Strangers, ſent home by the King unto their Country.

Reconciliation fought betweeen the K. and the Nobles.

But in the mean time, while theſe things were doing in *England*, the foreſaid *Richard* Earl Marſhal, by the falſhood of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Peter Rival*, forging the Kings Letters to the *Iriſhmen* againſt him, and partly by the conſpiracy of *Gilbert de Mariſco*, being circumvented by the *Iriſhmen* in War, and there taken and wounded, was by them, through the means of this Surgeon ſlain.

*Richard* Earl Marſhal fraudulently circumvented and ſlain in *Ireland*.

Great ſlaughter the ſame time was of them which were called *Catini*, about the parts of *Almain*. Theſe *Catini* were eſteemed of Pope *Gregory* and the *Papiſts* to be Hereticks; but what their opinions were, I find it not expreſſed, *In Pariſ.*

*Catini* ſlain about *Almain*, judged of the *Papiſts* for Hereticks.

In

*Albingenſes* ſlain in *Spain* by the Pope's ſetting on.

In like ſort the *Albingenſes* afore mentioned, recounted alſo of the Popes flock to be Hereticks, with their Biſhops, and a great number and company of them were ſlain by the commandment of Pope *Gregory* at the ſame time, in a certain Plain in *Spain*, *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi, fol.* 87.

The King lamenteth the death of *Richard* Earl Marſhal.

How the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with other two Biſhops, were ſent into *Wales*, for intreaty of peace, ye heard before. At whoſe return again, after the time of *Eaſter*, the King going toward *Gloceſter* to meet them by the way, as he was in his journey at *Woodſtock*, there came Meſſengers of *Ireland*, declaring to the King, the death of *Richard* Earl Marſhal, and the order thereof, through the forged Letters of *Wincheſter*, and others: whereat the King made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, ſaying and complaining, that he left not his like in all the Realm again.

The ſaying of Leolin King of *Wales*.

After this the King proceeding in his journey came to *Gloceſter*, where the Archbiſhop with the other Biſhops, coming to the King, declared to him the form and condition of peace, which they had concluded with *Leolin*, which was this: *If the King would be reconciled before with the other Nobles with whom he was confederate, ſuch as the King had baniſhed out of his Realm, to the end that the concord might be the more firm between them. Thus* (ſaid they) *was* Leolin *contented, although with much ado and great difficulty, to receive the League of Peace, ſaying and proteſting this unto them,* That he feared more the Kings Alms, than all the Puiſſance both of him, and of all his Clergy within *England*.

The fear of K. Henry more feared than his [illegible].

Peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.

This done, the King there remaining with the Biſhops, directed his Letters to all the Exiles and baniſhed Lords, and to all his Nobles, that they ſhould repair to him about the beginning of *June*, at *Gloceſter*; promiſing to them his full favour, and reconcilement to them and to their heirs, and that they ſhould ſuſpect no fraud therein, they ſhould have their ſafe conduct by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

*Hubert* Earl of *Kent* reſtored again to the King's favour.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the ſaid Archbiſhop and the Biſhops, firſt cometh to the King, *Hubert* Earl of *Kent*, offering himſelf to the Kings good will and favour. Whom the King, with chearful countenance, received and embraced, reſtoring him, not only to his favour, but alſo to his Houſhold and Counſel, with his Livings and Poſſeſſions, from which he had been diſſeized before. Then *Hubert*, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, gave praiſe and glory to God, by whoſe gracious Providence he, being ſo marvelouſly preſerved from ſo great diſtreſſes and tribulations, was again ſo happily reconciled to the King and his faithful friends. After him, in like ſort, came in *Gilbert Baſſet* a Nobleman, *Richard Sward*, alſo *Gilbert* the Brother of *Richard Marſhal* that was ſlain; which *Gilbert* recovered again his whole inheritance, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, doing his Homage to the King, and his ſervice due for the ſame; to whom alſo was granted the office of the high Marſhal Court, belonging before to his Brother *Richard*.

*Hubert* giveth thanks to God.

Falſhood & Murther cometh out.

In the ſame counſel or communication continuing then at *Gloceſter*, the ſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, bringing the forged Letters, wherein was betrayed the life of *Richard* Earl Marſhal, ſealed with the Kings Seal, and ſent to the Great Men of *Ireland*, read the ſame openly, in the preſence of the King and all the Nobles. At the hearing whereof, the King, greatly ſorrowing and weeping, confeſſed there in truth, that being forced by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Peter de Rivallis*, he commanded his Seal to be ſet to certain Letters preſented unto him, but the tenor thereof, he ſaid and ſwore he never heard. Whereunto the Archbiſhop anſwering again, deſired the King to ſearch well his Conſcience; and ſaid, *That all they which were procurers, or of knowledge of thoſe Letters, were guilty of the death of the Earl Marſhal, no leſs than if they had murthered him with their own hands.*

Kings many times abuſed by wicked counſel.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* called to his anſwer.

Then the King, calling a Councel, ſent his Letters for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for *Peter Rival*, *Stephen Segrave*, and *Robert Paſſelew*, to appear and yield account for his treaſures unto them committed, and for his Seal by them abuſed. But the Biſhop and *Rival*, keeping themſelves in the Sanctuary of the Minſter Church of *Wincheſter*, neither durſt nor would appear. *Stephen Segrave*, who ſucceeded after *Hubert* the Juſtice, and was of the Clergy before, after became a Lay-man, and now hiding himſelf in Saint *Mary's* Church in the Abby of *Leiceſter*, was turned to a Clerk again. *Robert Paſſelew* covertly hid himſelf in a certain Cellar of the New Temple, ſo ſecretly, that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to *Rome*. At length, through the foreſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, means was made, that a dilatory day was granted by the King for them to anſwer. At which day, firſt appeared *Peter de Rivallis*, then *Stephen Segrave*, after him *Robert Paſſelew*, each of them ſeverally, one after another, ſhewed themſelves; but not able to anſwer for themſelves, like Traitors they were reproved, and like Villains were ſent away. *Ex Matth. Pariſ. fol.* 91.

*Peter Rival Stephen Segrave, Robert Paſſelew,* called to their anſwers.

## *Variance between Pope* Gregory *the Ninth, and the* Romans.

Variance between the Pope & and the Citizens of *Rome*.

WHILE peace thus between the King and the Nobles was reconciled in *England*, diſſention and variance the ſame time and year began in *Rome*, between the Pope and the Citizens of *Rome*. The cauſe was, for that the Citizens claimed by old cuſtome and law, that the Biſhop of *Rome* might not excommunicate any Citizen of the City, nor ſuſpend the ſaid City with any interdiction for any manner exceſs.

The alledgation of the *Romans*.

To this the Pope anſwered again, *Quod minor Deo eſt, ſed quolibet homine major* (to uſe the very words of mine Author) *Ergo, major quolibet cive, næ etiam Rege, vel Imperatore, &c.* That is, *that he is leſs than God, but greater than any Man:* Ergo, *Greater than any Citizen, yea alſo, greater than King or Emperor.* And forſomuch as he is their ſpiritual Father, he both ought, and lawfully may chaſtiſe his children when they offend, as being ſubjected to him in the Faith of Chriſt, and reduce them into the way again when they ſtray out of courſe.

The Popes Anſwer.

Moreover, The Citizens alledge again for themſelves, that the Poteſtates of the City, and Senators do receive of the Church of *Rome* yearly Tribute, which the Biſhops of *Rome* were bound to pay to them, both by new and alſo ancient Laws. Of the which yearly Tribute they have been ever in poſſeſſion before this preſent time of this Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

The ſecond allegation of the *Romans*.

The Pope bound to pay to Rome yearly Tribute.

Hereunto the Pope anſwered and ſaid, that although the Church of *Rome* in time of Perſecution, for their defence and cauſe of peace, was wont to reſpect the head Rulers of the City with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a cuſtome; for that cuſtome only ought to ſtand, which conſiſteth not upon examples, but upon right and reaſon.

The Pope repleth.

Further and beſides, the Citizens ſaid that they, at the commandment of the Senators, would appropriate their Country with new and larger limits, and intranchiſe the ſame, being inlarged with fines and borders.

The third cauſe and allegation of the *Romans*.

To this the Pope again made anſwer, that certain Lordſhips, and Cities and Caſtles, be contained within the compaſs of the ſaid limits, as the City *Viterbium* and *Montcaſter*, which they preſume to appropriate within their Precinct; but to aſcribe to them, and uſurp that which pertaineth to others, is againſt right and juſtice.

The Popes anſwer.

For theſe and ſuch other controverſies riſing between the Pope and the *Romans*, ſuch diſſention kindled, that the Pope with his Cardinals, leaving the City of *Rome*, removed to *Perusium* (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remain and to plant themſelves; but the *Romans* prevailing againſt him, overthrew divers of his Houſes in the City, for the which he did excommunicate them. The *Romans* then flying to the Emperor, deſired his aid and ſuccour; but he, belike to pleaſure the Pope, gathering an Army, went rather againſt the *Romans*. Then the Popes Army, whoſe Captains were the Earl of *Tholouſe* (to purchaſe the Popes favour) and *Peter* the foreſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, (whom the Pope for the ſame end had ſent for from *England*, partly for his Treaſure, partly for his practice and ſkill in feats of War) and the Empe-

The Pope flieth the City of *Rome*.

Excommunication abuſed.

The Pope warreth againſt the *Romans*.

rors Hoſt joyned together, and bordering about the City of *Rome*, caſt down the Caſtles or Manſions belonging to the Citizens round about the Suburbs, to the number of eighteen, and deſtroyed all their Vines and Vineyards about the City. Whereat the *Romans* being not a little offended, braſt out of the City with more heat than order, to the number of 100000 (as the ſtory reporteth) to deſtroy *Viterbium* the Popes City with Sword and Fire. But the multitude, being un-ordered, and out of Battel-ray, and unprovided for jeopardies which by the way might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them deſtroyed a great number; ſo that on both parts were ſlain to the view of 30000; but the moſt part was of the Citizens. And this diſſention thus begun, was not ſoon ended, but continued long after.

A great ſlaughter of the *Romans* by the Pope. *Ex Pariſi. pag.* 92.

By theſe and ſuch other ſtories, who ſeeth not how far the Church of *Rome* hath degenerated from the true image of the right Church of Chriſt, which by the rule and example of the Goſpel, ought to be a Daughter of peace, not a Mother of debate, not a revenger of her ſelf, nor a ſeeker of Wars; but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of ſouls; not contending for worldly maſterſhip, but humbling themſelves as ſervants; and not Vicars of the Lord, but jointly like Brethren ſerving together, Biſhops with Biſhops, Miniſters with Miniſters, Deacons with Deacons; and not as Maſters, ſeparating themſelves by ſuperiority one from another; but briefly communicating together in Doctrine and Counſel, one particular Church with another; not as a Mother, one over another, but rather as a Siſter Church one with another, ſeeking together the glory of Chriſt, and not their own. And ſuch was the Church of *Rome* firſt in the old ancient beginning of her primitive ſtate, eſpecially while the croſs of perſecution yet kept the Biſhops and Miniſters under in humility of heart, and fervent calling upon the Lord for help; ſo that happy was that Chriſtian then, which with liberty of Conſcience only might hold his life, how barely ſoever he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the World, as ſtriving for Patrimonies, buying of Biſhopricks, gaping for Benefices, ſo far was this off from them, that then they had little leiſure, and leſs luſt ſo much as once to think upon them. Neither did the Biſhops then of *Rome* fight to be Conſuls of the City, but ſought how to bring the Conſuls unto Chriſt, being glad if the Conſuls would permit them to dwell by them in the City. Neither did they then preſume ſo high, to bring the Emperors necks under their Girdles, but were glad to ſave their own Necks in any corner from the Sword of the Emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward conſolation, Gods Holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then was one Catholick unity of truth and doctrine amongſt all Churches againſt Errors and Sects. Neither did the Eaſt and Weſt, nor diſtance of place divide the Church; but both the *Eaſt*-Church and *Weſt*-Church, the *Greeks* and *Latins* made all one Church. And albeit there were then five Patriarchal Sees appointed for order ſake, differing in Regions, and peradventure alſo, in ſome Rites one from another; yet all theſe conſenting together in one unity of Catholick Doctrine, having one God, one Chriſt, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one Spirit, one Head, and linked together in one bond of Charity, and in one equality of Honour, they made altogether one Body, one Church, one Communion, called one Catholick Univerſal and Apoſtolick Church. And ſo long as this knot of charity and equality did joyn them in one unity together, ſo long the Church of Chriſt flouriſhed and increaſed, one ready to help and harbour another, in time of diſtreſs, as *Agapetus* and *Vigilius* flying to *Conſtantinople*, were there aided by the Patriarch, *&c.* So that all this while, neither foreign enemy, neither *Saracen*, nor *Soldan*, nor *Sultan*, nor *Caliphа*, nor *Coraſmine*, nor *Turk*, had any power greatly to harm it.

The Church of *Rome* degenerated from the image of the true Church.

Difference between the Church of *Rome* that was, and the Church of *Rome* that now is.

*Eaſt*-Church *Weſt*-Church

Catholick.

The ſchiſm betvveen the *Greek* Church and the Church of *Rome*.

Equality Mother of concord.

But through the malice of the enemy, this Catholick unity did not long continue, and all by reaſon of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who not contented to be like his Brethren, began to extend himſelf, and to claim ſuperiority above the other four Patriarchal Sees, and all other Churches in the world. And thus as equality amongſt Chriſtian Biſhops was by pride and ſingularity oppreſſed, ſo unity began by little and little to be diſſolved, and the Lords Coat, which the Souldiers left whole, to be divided. Which Coat of Chriſtian unity, albeit of long time it hath bin now ſeamript before by the occaſion aforeſaid; yet notwithſtanding, in ſome piece it held together in ſome mean agreement, under ſubjection to the See of *Rome*, till the time of this Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, *Anno* 1230. at which time this rupture and ſchiſm of the Church brake out into a plain diviſion, utterly diſſevering the Eaſt Church from the Weſt Church upon this occaſion.

The cauſe and occaſion why the *Greek* Church utterly brake from the *Romish*.

There was a certain Archbiſhop elected to an Archbiſhoprick among the *Grecians*; who, coming to *Rome* to be confirmed, could not be admitted unleſs he promiſed a great ſumm of Mony. Which when he refuſed to do, and deteſted the execrable Simony of the Court of *Rome*, he made his repair home again to his own Country unconfirmed, declaring there to the whole Nobility of that Land, the caſe how it ſtood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others alſo, which coming lately from *Rome*, and there had proved the ſame or worſe, came in and gave teſtimony to his ſaying. Whereupon all the Churches of the *Grecians*, the ſame time hearing this, departed utterly away from the Church of *Rome*, which was in the days of this Pope *Gregory* the Ninth. Inſomuch that the Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, coming afterward to the General Council at *Lions*, there openly declared, that whereas before time he had under him above thirty Biſhopricks and Suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreover that all the *Grecians*, and certain others, with *Antioch* and the whole Empire of *Romania*, even to the Gates almoſt of *Conſtantinople*, were gone from the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, *&c.* *Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 112. *& fol.* 186.

*Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 112. All *Grecia* gone from the obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

*Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 188.

By the occaſion of which ſeparation aforeſaid of the *Grecians* from Pope *Gregory*, it happened ſhortly after, being the year of our Lord 1237. that *Germanus* Archbiſhop and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* wrote to the ſaid Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, humbly deſiring him to ſtudy and ſeek ſome means of unity, how the ſeamleſs Coat of the Lord Jeſus thus lamentably rent, not with hands of Souldiers, but by diſcord of Prelats, may be healed again; offering this moreover, that if he will take the pains to ſtir out, he for his part, notwithſtanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuſe to meet him in the mid-way, to the intent that the truth on both ſides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the ſlander ſtopped, and unity reformed between them.

*Germanus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* writeth to Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

This requeſt of the Patriarch, as it was both godly and reaſonable, ſo it had been the Biſhops part again with like humility to have condeſcended to the ſame, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of Chriſtian unity in the Church of Chriſt, and ſo to have ſhewed himſelf the ſon of peace: but the proud Biſhop of *Rome*, more like the ſon of diſcord and diſſention, ſtanding ſtill upon his Majeſty, refuſed thus to do: but writing again anſwer to his Letters, with great diſdain, ſeeking nothing elſe, but only how to advance his See above all other Churches; and not only that, but alſo ſhortly after ſent forth his Preaching Friers, to move all Chriſtians to take the ſign of the Croſs, and to fight againſt the *Grecians* no otherwiſe than againſt the *Turks* and *Saracens*: Inſomuch that in the Iſle of *Cyprus* many good Men and Martyrs were ſlain for the ſame, as by the Letters of the ſaid *Germanus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* is to be ſeen.

The Pope ſetteth the *Weſt* Church to fight againſt the *Eaſt* Church. *Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 112.

The tenor of the which Letter to the Pope, with the Popes anſwer again to him, being long and tedious to read, are extant in the Hiſtory of *Mat. Pariſienſis*, there to be ſeen and found. The ſummary effect whereof, notwithſtanding, I thought here briefly to notifie for the ſimple and unlearned multitude, which, underſtanding not the *Latin*, may hereby perceive the fault of this Schiſm, not ſo much to reſt in the *Greek* Church, as in the Church of *Rome*, as by the Contents of his Letter may appear.

*Ex libro Mat. Pariſ. manuſcripto fo.* 3. *&* 11.

The

## *The effect of the* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* his Letter to Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

The Letter of *Germanus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, *An.* 1237.

*IN the which Letter the ſaid* Germanus *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, *writing to Pope* Gregory, *firſt after his reverend Salutation and Preamble following upon the ſame, entring then towards the matter, ſheweth the occaſion of his writing, which was by five obſervant Friers repairing that ways; whom he gently receiving into his houſe, had conference with them touching this diſcord between the two Churches, how it might be reduced again to unity; and afterwards perceiving the ſaid Friers to make their journey towards* Rome, *he thought therefore by them to write his Letters. Wherein he firſt lamenting this diviſion in the houſe of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of* Judah *and* Iſrael, Jeruſalem *and* Samaria, Cain *and* Abel, Eſau *and* Jacob, *alſo of other ſuch like, both private and publick Societies, where Brother fighteth againſt Brother, like as amongſt fiſhes the greater devoureth the leſſer; he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope* Gregory *to the ſtudy of unity.*

He ſheweth the inconvenience of diſcord.

*And forſomuch as the Pope had accurſed (belike) thoſe Churches of the* Greeks *before, he therefore taking his ground upon the words of St.* Paul, (Gal. 1.) *where he accurſeth every ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoever they be, either Man or Angel of Heaven that ſhall preach any other Goſpel than hath been preached,* &c. *willeth the Pope to ſtand with him upon the ſame ground of the Apoſtles curſe; ſo that if the ſtroke of that curſe have light upon him or his Churches, he deſireth him to ſhew the wound, and to help to wipe away the blood, to miniſter ſome ſpiritual implaiſter, to bind up the ſore, and to ſave his Brethren from periſhing which lay in danger, according to the ſaying of the wiſe man,* A brotherly friend is tried in adverſity, *&c.*

*Solomon.*

Whether the Church of the Greeks or the Popes Church lyeth more under the danger of Gods curſe.

*But if we (ſaith he) of the* Greek *Church be free from the ſtripe of this curſe of the Apoſtle, and that you* Italians *and of the* Latin *Church be ſtricken therewith, and lye thereby in danger of deſtruction, I truſt that you through ignorance and wilful obſtinacy will not ſo ſuffer your ſelves to be ſeparated from the Lord, but rather will ſuffer a thouſand deaths before, if it were poſſible for a man ſo often to die.*

*And as touching this great diſcord between us, if either contrariety of Doctrine, or ſwerving from the ancient Canons, or diverſity of Rites received of our forefathers be any cauſe thereof, we here take Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that we for our parts are ready, and deſire alſo, upon due trial of profound truth by Gods Word, and invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, to joyn hands with you, or you to joyn with us. But to ſay the very truth, and to tell you plain, this we ſuppoſe, that many mighty and noble Potentates would ſooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjuſt oppreſſions, your inſatiable exactions, and inordinate proviſions wherewith you wring your ſubjects. By reaſon whereof have riſen amongſt us cruel wars, one fighting againſt another, deſolation of Cities, Bulls and Interdictions ſet upon Church-doors, diviſion of Brethren, and Churches of the* Grecians *left without ſervice, where God ſhould be praiſed. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I believe to be predefined and appointed from above long before to us* Grecians, *the time I mean of Martyrdom, which alſo now haſteneth faſt upon us, that the Tribunal of Tyrants ſhould be opened, and the ſeats of torments be ſet, that the blood of Martyrs ſhould be ſpilled, and we brought to the ſtage of Martyrdom, to fight for the Crown of Glory.*

The *Greeks* afraid of the Popes oppreſſions.

The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* propheſieth of the Martyrdom and ſlaughter of the *Grecians*

*This that I do ſpeak, and wherefore I ſpeak it, the noble Iſland of* Cyprus *doth already know and feel which hath made many new Martyrs, and hath ſeen valiant Souldiers of Chriſt, which of long time before, paſſing by water and teare of ſorrow, now at laſt have alſo paſſed through fire, and ſo entred into the Heavenly reſt. How ſay you, be theſe good and ſeemly, O holy Pope, the ſucceſſor of Saint* Peter *the Apoſtle? Is this the bidding of that good* Peter, *the meek and humble Diſciple of Chriſt? Doth he thus inſtruct the Seniors and Elders in his Epiſtle, where he writeth in this wiſe?* The Elders which are among you, I beſeech, which am alſo a fellow Elder with them, and witneſs of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory that ſhall be opened: Feed the flock of God which is amongſt you, having care and overſight of it, not of coaction as compelled againſt your wills, but willingly of your own accord; not for filthy lucre ſake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing Dominion and Lordſhip over the Church, but ſhewing your ſelves as an example to the flock: and when the chief Paſtor ſhall appear, you ſhall receive an incorruptible Crown of eternal glory, *&c. And this is the Doctrine of* Peter, *as they ſhall ſee, which do not obey it. As for us, the other part of the ſaid Epiſtle is ſufficient: wherein he willeth them to rejoice* which are in heavineſs through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith being much more precious than gold that periſheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glory, at the appearing of the Lord Jeſus, *&c. But bear with me I pray you (O holy Father, and of all your Predeceſſors moſt meek) and ſuffer my words though they be ſomething ſharp, for they be ſighings of a ſorrowful heart.*

The tyranny and avarice of the Pope chaſtened by the words of St. Peter.

1 Pet. 5.

1 Pet. 1.

*Wherefore gird about your loyns with fortitude, and light up the candle of your diſcretion, and ſeek the Groat that is loſt, of the unity I mean, of faith. And we will alſo with like compaſſion joyn with your Holineſs, and I will not ſpare this weak body of mine, in pretending any excuſe either of age or length of the way: for the more laborious the travel is, the more Crowns it bringeth. And St.* Paul *ſaith,* Every man ſhall receive reward according to his travel, *&c.*

He exhorteth the Pope to come and meet with him, that they might confer together about the unity of faith.

*Neither are we ignorant (if it pleaſe your Holineſs) that like as we* Grecians *for our parts, do labour in all reſpects to keep and obſerve the ſincerity of true faith and doctrine, not to err, ne ſwerve in any part or point from the ſtatutes of the bleſſed Apoſtles and ancient Fathers: ſo the Church likewiſe of old* Rome *doth for her part labour alſo (we know well) to follow the ſincere verity of Chriſtian Doctrine, and thinketh her ſelf to err in nothing, nor to need any remedy or reformation. And this we know is the judgment and ſaying of both the Churches, as well of the* Greeks, *as of the* Latins. *For no man can ſee any ſpot in his own face, without he ſtoop down to the glaſs, or elſe be admoniſhed by ſome other, whether his face be blotted or no. Even ſo have we many great and fair glaſſes ſet before us: Firſt, the clear Goſpel of Chriſt, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, and Divinity-Books of ancient Writers. Let us therefore look in them well; they will ſhew every mans mind and judgment, whether he go right or wrong. The God of Peace tread down Satan ſpeedily under our feet. The Author of Peace confound the ſower of Diſcord. He that is the cauſe of all goodneſs deſtroy the hater of all that which is good, and which giveth cauſe of offence and ſlander. And he which is God of all joy and peace, ſend to us, which are the ſhepherds of his ſheep reaſonable, the Angel of Peace, and the Meſſenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the Nativity of Chriſt, to the ſhepherds of brute ſheep and unreaſonable, and make us worthy to ſing that joyful ſong of Gods praiſe,* Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas; *and to receive one another with an holy kiſs. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you always:* Amen.

The *Greek* Church found and ſincere in Doctrine.

He exhorteth the Church of *Rome* to look her face in Gods Glaſs, that is, to try their Doctrine by Gods Word.

*Another*

## *Another Epiſtle of the ſaid* Germanus *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, *and Primate of the* Greek *Church, to the Cardinals of* Rome.

Another Letter of *Germanus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* to the Cardinals.

ANother Letter the ſaid *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, wrote alſo the ſame time to the Popes Cardinals, wherein he firſt commendeth them for their wiſdom and counſel, and ſheweth what utility cometh by good counſel giving. Forſomuch as God (ſaith he) many times, that which he hideth from one, inſpireth to another, ſo that that good thing which by the Almighty God is ſunderly diſpenſed to divers, through common counſel and conference ſpreadeth to the publick utility of many, *&c.* After this eftſoons he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable Miniſters, and diſcreet Counſellors, will take in hand the Spiritual armor of God, to caſt down the ſtop and partition-wall of the old diſcord between the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, and that they will be a means to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that they which ſo long have been diſſevered by diſſention, may now be conjoyned in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter I have (ſaith he) already written to his Holineſs. And now I beſeech the King of Heaven, which took the ſhape of a ſervant to help his miſerable ſervants, and was exalted upon the Croſs, to raiſe them up which were fallen into the profundity of deſolation, that he will vouchſafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling it ſelf over and above the unity of your brethren and fellow ſervants, and to lighten your conſciences with the true light of underſtanding, that we may altogether agree in one, and that there be no ſchiſm amongſt us. Let us therefore, as we are inſtructed, ſo abide in one mind, that it be not ſaid of us, as it was of the *Corinthians* before us, *I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Chriſt*: but that all we, as we hold the name of Chriſt, and are all called Chriſtians, ſo may alſo abide in that wherein we are inſtructed, in one mind, that is, to follow love and charity in Chriſt Jeſus, having always in our hearts the words of the Apoſtle, ſaying, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm.*

1 *Cor.* 1.

And now to be plain with you in that I have to ſay, I ſhall deſire you not to be offended with me in uttering the truth as a friend unto you. *The words* (ſaith *Solomon*) *of a wiſe man telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deep:* And truth for the moſt part breedeth enemies. And therefore though I am partly afraid, yet will I ſimply confeſs the truth unto you. Certes this diviſion of Chriſtian unity amongſt us, proceedeth of no other cauſe but only of the tyranny, oppreſſion, and exactions of the Church of *Rome*, which of a mother is become a ſtepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time ſhe nouriſhed (after the manner of a ravening bird, which driveth her young from her) which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the leſs ſhe eſteemeth them, and treadeth them under foot, not regarding the ſaying of the Goſpel, *Whoſo humbleth himſelf ſhall be exalted.*

The tyranny and oppreſſion of the Church of *Rome* is the only cauſe of breaking unity betweeen the *Greek* Church and the *Latin*.

Let modeſty therefore ſomething temper you, and let the avarice of the Court of *Rome*, although it cannot wel out of the fleſh which is bred in the bone, yet ſurceaſe a while, and let us together condeſcend to the trial of the truth; which truth being found out on both ſides, let us conſtantly embrace the ſame.

Luk. 18.

For why we have been altogether ſometimes both *Italians* and *Grecians* in one faith, and under the ſame Canons, having peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the Church. At what time many flying out of the Weſt parts (whileſt that the tyranny of the Hereticks indured) made their concourſe to us, and were received; and part fled unto you, that is, old *Rome*, as to a ſtrong tower of refuge, and ſo received they comfort in both places, and one Brother was thus received into the boſom of another, by mutual love for their defence.

The old amity and concord betweeen the Eaſt Church and the Weſt.

Then after when *Rome* had been often diſtreſſed by the barbarous and heathen Nations, the *Grecians* were ever ready to reſcue and deliver them. Did not *Agapetus* and *Vigilius* flee unto *Conſtantinople* by reaſon of the diſſentious then at *Rome*, and being honourably received, were here defended under our protection? althoughthe like kindneſs was never yet ſhewed of your part to us again in our like neceſſities. Notwithſtanding, we ought to do good to them alſo that be ungrateful; for ſo doth the Sea participate her ſmooth and calm tides even unto the Pirates. And ſo God cauſeth the Sun to ſhine upon the juſt and unjuſt. But (alas for ſorrow) what bitter diviſion is this, that hath thus ſequeſtred us aſunder? One of us detracteth another, ſhunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his ſoul. What a mortal hatred is this come among us? If you think we are fallen, then do you help to lift us up, and be not to us a ſtumbling block to our bodily ruin, but helpers unto the Spiritual reſurrection of our ſouls. So ſhall we acknowledg our ſelves bound unto you to give you condign thanks accordingly.

*Agapetus* and *Vigilius* fled to *Conſtantinople* for ſuccour.

But if the blame and firſt original of this offence proceedeth from *Rome*, and the Succeſſors of *Peter* the Apoſtle; then read ye the words of St. *Paul* to the *Galathians*, ſaying, *When Peter came to Antioch I withſtood him in the face, becauſe he was to be rebuked, &c.* Howbeit this reſiſtance was no cauſe of any diſcord, or breach between them, but the cauſe father of further ſearch and profounder diſputations, provoking temporal agreement. For they were faſt joyned together in the bond of charity in Chriſt, agreeing in faith and conformity of Doctrine, ſeparated by no ambition or avarice. In which points would God we alſo were like unto them! This to us in our minds gendreth a great offence, that you gaping ſo greedily after terrene poſſeſſions, ſcrape together all that you can ſcratch and rake. You heap up gold and ſilver, and yet pretend that you be the Diſciples of him which ſaid, *Gold and ſilver I have none, &c.* You make whole Kingdoms Tributary to you, and Kings and Princes your vaſſals. You augment your money by uſury, and by feats of Merchandize. You unteach by your deeds that which you teach in words.

Paul rebuketh Peter. *Gal.* 2.

*Act.* 3.

The miſery of the Kingdom of *England*, and other more which were made Tributary to the See of *Rome*.

The immoderate avarice of the Court of *Rome*.

Moderate your ſelves therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to us and to all the world. You ſee how good a thing it is one Brother to help another. Only God alone needeth no help or counſel, but men need to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I do reverence the bleſſed Apoſtle *Peter*, the chief of Chriſts Apoſtles, the Rock of our faith; I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this Rock was ſhaken and removed from the foundation at the ſight of a ſilly woman; and Chriſt of his ſecret purpoſe permitted the ſame, which by the crowing of the Cock brought him again to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raiſed him from the ſlumber of deſperation. Then he being thus waked, waſhed his face with tears, confeſſing himſelf before God and all the world, to be a true pattern of repentance, which before bare the Keys of the Kingdom, as ſaying thus unto us, May not he which falleth, riſe again? Oh you which are fallen, riſe up and behold me, and hearken unto me, travelling towards Paradiſe; the Gate whereof to open, I have received power.

Peters faith ſhaken.

Peter an example of repentance.

And thus do I write unto you, not for any inſtruction, but only to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath indued you with all wiſdom and knowledg, as *Solomon* ſaith, *Give only occaſion to the wiſe, and he will learn wiſdom: Teach the juſt man, and he will be glad to take inſtruction,*

This one thing more I will ſay, and ſo make an end: There be great and mighty Nations that are of like mind and opinion with us. Firſt, the *Ethiopians* that inhabit the chiefeſt part of the Eaſt. After that the *Syrians*, and other more of greater number than they, and more diſpoſed to vertue, as the *Hiberi Alani, Gothi, Charari*, with innumerable people of *Ruſſia*, and the Kingdom of great Victory of the *Vulgarians*. And all theſe are obedient unto us as their Mother-Church, perſiſting hitherto conſtantly in the ancient and true Orthodox faith immoveable.

Chriſtian Countries and Nations in the Eaſt parts which are not under the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The God of all holineſs which for our ſakes became Man, and which only is the Head of his Church and Congregation, vouchſafe to gather us again together in unity, and grant that the *Grecian* Church together with her ſiſter-Church of old *Rome*, may glorifie the ſame Chriſt, the Prince of Peace, by the unity of faith, to the reſtitution of ſound and wholſome Doctrine, wherein many years agone they have agreed and were united. God grant unto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the moſt mighty God govern

Chriſt only Head of the Church.

govern you all (holy Cardinals) till that joyfully ye arrive in the haven of everlaſting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all, Amen. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.* fol. 111.

The Pope proclaimeth war againſt the Greek Church. The Archbiſhop of *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople* Excommunicate the Pope.

Shortly after the ſending of theſe Letters, Pope *Gregory* prepared to ſend men of War, ſigned with the Croſs, to fight againſt the *Grecians*; whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Antioch*, with the ſaid *Germanus* ſolemnly Excommunicated the Pope, after he firſt had Excommunicated them: *Pariſ. fol.* 118. In the mean time by the tenor of theſe Letters of the Patriarch ſent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is evident to all men that have eyes in their heads to ſee? Firſt, how the whole Univerſal Church of Chriſt from the Eaſt parts to the Weſt, in ancient times were altogether united in one conſent of Doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one Church brotherly to help another, both with temporal aid and ſpiritual counſel, as caſe required. Neither was then any one Mother-Church above other Churches, but the whole Univerſal Church was the Mother-Church and Spouſe of the Lord to every faithful believer. Under which Univerſal Church in general were comprehended all other particular Churches in ſpecial, as ſiſter Churches together, not one greater than another, but all in like equality, as God gave his gifts ſo ſerving one another, ever holding together the unity of faith and ſiſterly love. And ſo long was it and rightly might ſo be called the Catholick Church, having in it true unity, univerſality, and free conſent. Unity in Doctrine, univerſality in communicating and joyning together of voices, conſent in ſpirit and judgment. For whatſoever was taught at *Rome* touching Faith and Salvation, it was no other than was taught at *Antioch*, *Syria*, &c.

Five Notes to be conſidered.

The firſt Note.

The true Catholick Church what it was, and what.

Unity, Univerſality, Conſent.

Secondly, How in proceſs of time, through occaſion of the Biſhops of *Romes* tyranny and violent oppreſſion, this ring of Equality being broken, all flew in pieces, the Eaſt Church from the Weſt, the *Greeks* from the *Latins*, and that which was one before, now was made two; unity turned to diviſion, univerſality to ſingularity, and free conſent to diſſention.

The ſecond Note.

Thirdly, Here is alſo to be noted after this pitiful breach of Equality, how many and what great Nations departed from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and eſpecially about this time above ſpecified of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, *Anno* 1230, ſo that both before and after that time many Councils were holden, and many things concluded in the Weſt Church, whereunto the one half of Chriſtendom lying in the Eaſt parts, did never agree; and contrary, many Councils holden with them, which in the *Latin* Church were not received. So that the Church now as ſhe loſt the benefit of univerſal conſent, ſo alſo ſhe loſt the name Catholick. Whereupon this queſtion is to be asked, that when the Council of *Lateran*, under Pope *Innocent* the Third, ordained the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and Auricular Confeſſion here in the Weſt Church, without the free conſent of the Eaſt Church, whether the ſame Doctrine is to be counted Catholick or not?

The third Note.

The Church hath her name of Catholick, whereby and when. Whether the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, made without the free conſent of the Eaſt Churches, be Catholick or no?

Fourthly, In the departing of theſe Churches from the Biſhop of *Rome*, here alſo is to be noted that the ſame Churches of the *Greeks*, notwithſtanding they ſequeſtred themſelves, and fell out with the Church of *Rome*, and that juſtly, yet they kept their unity ſtill with their God, and received ſtill the true ὀρθοδοξίαν, that is, The true and ſincere Doctrine of Faith, ready to debate and try the truth of their Religion by the Scriptures, as they here in their own writings deſire to have the truth examined, according as ye have heard. Wherefore the Church of *Rome* hath done them open wrong, which being offered ſo gently to try and to be tried by the truth of Gods Word, not only would ſtand to no trial, nor abide conference, but alſo hath Excommunicated them as Hereticks, which appear here to be more orthodox Chriſtians than they themſelves.

The fourth Note.

Fifthly, Theſe things thus ſtanding, then have we to conclude that the Church of *Rome* falſly pretendeth it ſelf Catholick: For if the name of Catholick muſt needs import an univerſal conſent of the whole, how can that be Catholick where the conſent of ſo many famous and true Chriſtian Churches hath been lacking; and furthermore, where the conſent that hath been amongſt themſelves hath rather been coacted than any true or free conſent? Which is eaſie to be proved: for let theſe Fires and Fagots ceaſe, let Kings and Princes leave to preſs their Subjects with the Popes obedience; let the Scripture and the Biſhops alone every one in his own Dioceſs to govern their flock after the rule of Gods Word, and how few be there in this Weſt end of the world (trow you) that would not do the ſame that theſe *Grecians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Syrians*, have done before us? And thus much by the occaſion of this Patriarchs Letters ſent to Pope *Gregory* concerning the *Grecians*.

The Church of *Rome* proved not to be Catholick.

The proceedings of *Rome* ſtand upon no free conſent but are coacted.

The fifth Note.

The miſerable ſtate of the Weſt parts of Chriſtendom under the Pope.

Whoſe doings when I conſider, as I cannot but commend their wiſdom, and judg their ſtate happy and bleſſed, in ſhaking off from their necks the miſerable yoke of the Popes tyranny; ſo on the other ſide conſidering with my ſelf the wretched thraldom of theſe our Churches here in the Weſt part of the world under the Biſhop of *Rome*, I cannot tell whether more to marvel or to lament their pitiful ſtate, who were brought into ſuch oppreſſion and ſlavery under him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durſt caſt him off. So untolerable were his exactions, ſo terrible was his tyranny, his Suſpenſions and Excommunications much like to a mad mans Dagger, drawn at every triſle, that no Chriſtian patience could ſuffer it, nor Nation abide it. Again, ſo deep did he ſit in their conſciences, they falſly believing him to have the authority of St. *Peter*, that for conſcience ſake neither King nor *Ceſar* durſt withſtand him, much leſs poor ſubjects once mute againſt him. And although his takings and ſpoilings, namely in this Realm of *England*, were ſuch that neither the Laity nor Spiritualty could bear them; yet was there no remedy, bear them they muſt, or elſe the Popes ſentence was upon them, to curſe them as black as pitch.

The Popes Excommunications like to a fools Dagger. The falſe perſvaſion of the Popes Supremacy cauſe of much wret chedneſs.

In reading the Hiſtories of theſe times, any good heart would lament and rue, to ſee the miſerable captivity of the people what they ſuffered under this thraldom of the Biſhop of *Rome*, whereof part hath been ſhewed before, more (God willing) ſhall follow hereafter, and ſome part preſently I mind to expreſs.

## *A brief Table or Declaration of the Popes unreaſonable Gatherings, Exactions, and oppreſſions in the Realm of* England.

A brief Table of the Popes ſpoiling and getting of Benefices in the day of K. Henry the third.

AND firſt to begin with the Elections of the Biſhops, Abbots, Deans, and Priors within this Realm, it cannot be told what maſs of money grew to the Popes Coffers thereby, eſpecially in this Kings days; forſomuch as in his time lightly no Election happened either of Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Abbot, or any room of Dignity, but when the Covent or Chapter had choſen one to their mind, the King who had married a ſtranger, and ſought therefore to prefer ſtrangers, would ſet up another. By reaſon whereof when the other part was fain to appeal to *Rome*, and there to plead the caſe, no ſmall rivers of *Engliſh* money, beſides expences and travel by the way, went flowing to the Popes Sea. And although the Election went never ſo clear, yet the new Elect muſt needs reſpect the holy Father with ſome gentle reward, and further by his Oath was bound every three years, either in his own perſon or by another, to viſit *Limina Apoſtolorum*.

Money coming to the Pope by the Election of Hereford, and Abbot of S. Albans.

So in the houſe of St. *Albans* when *John Herford* was elected Abbot, their publick Election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the ſame, the Monks were fain to ſend *Reinold* the Phyſician, and *Nicholas* a Monk, to *Rome* with a ſufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the Election might ſtand, and the new Abbot was ſworn every third year by himſelf or another, to viſit the Doorſels of the Apoſtles.

8000 Marks given out of the Biſhoprick of Winchester to the Pope about the Election of *William Rale*, A. 1243.

Another ſuch like contention happened between the King and the Monks of *Wincheſter*, about the Election of *William Rale*, whom the Monks had choſen, but the King refuſed, willing to place a ſtranger, and therefore ſent to *Rome* his meſſengers, *Theobald* a Monk of *Weſtminſter* and Maſter *Alexander* a Lawyer, with no ſmall ſum of money to evacuate the Election of the foreſaid *William Rale*; commanding moreover, that the Gates of *Wincheſter* ſhould be ſhut againſt him, and that no man ſhould be ſo hardy there to receive him in the houſe. Whereupon the ſaid *William* being excluded, after he had laid his curſe upon the whole City of *Wincheſter*, made his repair to

*Rome*,

*Rome*, where for eight hundred Marks being promiſed to the Pope, his Biſhoprick (ſpite of the Kings heart) was confirmed, and he received. *Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 164. & 240.

After the death of *Stephen Langton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ye heard before how the Monks had elected *Walter* a Monk of *Canterbury*. But the King to ſtop that Election, ſent up his Proctors Mr. *Alexander Stanes*, and Mr. *Henry Sandford* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* to the Pope, to evacuate that Election, and to place *Richard* Chancellor of *Lincoln*. Which Proctors perceiving at firſt how hard and unwilling the Pope and Cardinals were thereunto, and conſidering how all things might be bought for money; rather than the King ſhould fail of his purpoſe, they promiſed on the Kings behalf to the Pope, for maintaining his Wars againſt *Frederick* the Emperor, a Diſm or tenth part of all the Moveables in the Realm of *England* and of *Ireland*. At the contemplation of which money the Pope eſtſoons thinking to paſs with the King, began to pick quarrels with the foreſaid *Walter*, for not anſwering rightly to his Queſtions about Chriſts deſcending to Hell, making of Chriſts Body on the Altar, the weeping of *Rachel* for her Children, ſhe being dead before; about the ſentence of Excommunication, and certain cauſes of Matrimony. His anſwers whereunto when they were not to the Popes mind, he was therefore put back, and the Kings man preferred, which coſt the whole Realm of *England* and *Ireland* the tenth part of their Moveable Goods, by reaſon whereof, what money was raiſed to the Popes *Gazophylacium*, I leave to the eſtimation of the Reader, *An.* 1229. *Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 71.

The tenth part of all Moveables in *England* and *Ireland* given to the Pope. 1229

*Ex Mat. Pa. fol.* 71. b.

And yet for all this the ſaid *Richard*, the coſtly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, within leſs than two years after, falling out with the King about the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Tunbridge*, went and complained of him to the Pope. In the traverſe whereof it coſt the King a great piece of money beſides, and yet miſt he his purpoſe. In the which journey the ſaid Archbiſhop in his return homeward, by the way departed, *Ann.* 1231.

Money ſpent at *Rome* between the King and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Of the like diſſention ye heard before between the King and the Covent of *Durham*, for not chuſing *Mr. Lucas* the Kings Chaplain, whom the King offred to be their Biſhop. About the ſute whereof, when much money was beſtowed on both ſides welfavouredly, the Pope defeating them both, admitted neither *M. William*, nor *M. Lucas*, but Ordained the Biſhop of *Sarum* to be their Biſhop, *An.* 1228. *Ex Pariſ.*

The coſtly Election of the Biſhop of *Durham*.

Between the Monks of *Coventry*, and the Canons of *Lichfield* roſe another like quarrel, which of them ſhould have the ſuperior voice in chuſing their Biſhop. In which ſute after much money beſtowed in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope to requalifie again each part with ſome retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently between them, that each part by courſe ſhould have the chuſing of their Biſhop. *An.* 1228. *Ex Pariſ. fol.* 68.

Money coming to the Pope for the Election of the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*.

What buſineſs fell likewiſe between *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Monks of *Rocheſter*, about the Election of *Richard Wendour*, to be their Biſhop? And what was the end? Firſt, the Archbiſhop was fain to travel himſelf to the Pope, and ſo did the Covent alſo ſend their Proctors. Who belike being better monied, weighed down the cauſe, ſo that the good Archbiſhop in that cauſe againſt the Monks, and partly in another cauſe againſt the Earl of *Arundel*, was condemned of the Pope in a thouſand Marks. Whereof the greateſt part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes Coffers, *An.* 1238. *Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 114.

*Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* condemned at *Rome* in a 1000 Marks.

After the returning of the ſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* again from *Rome*, it chanced that the Monks of *Canterbury* had elected their Prior without his aſſent; for the which he did Excommunicate the Monks, and evacuate their Election. Not long after this, the Popes Exactors went about to extort from the Churchmen the fifth part of their Goods to the Popes uſe, fighting then againſt the Emperor. This cruel exaction being a great while reſiſted by the Prelates and Clergy, at length the foreſaid Archbiſhop, thinking thereby to get the victory againſt the Monks, was contented to grant to the ſaid exaction, adding moreover of his own for an overplus 800 Marks; whereupon the reſt of the Clergy was fain to follow after, and contribute to the Popes Exactors, *Ann.* 1240. *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi, fol.* 132. b.

The fifth part of all the clergy granted to the Pope.

In the Church of *Lincoln* (whoſe See before the Conqueſt was in *Dorceſter*, and afterwards by *William Rufus* tranſlated from thence to *Lincoln*) roſe a grievous contention between *Robert Groſthead* then Biſhop, and the Canons of the Cathedral Church about their Viſitation, whether the Biſhop ſhould viſit them, or the Dean; which matter being put unto Arbitrators, could not ſo be compoſed, before the Biſhop and the Chapter, after their Appeal made unto the Pope, went both unto *Rome*, and there after they had well waſted their purſes, they received at length their anſwer, but paid full ſweetly for it, *An.* 1239. *Par. fol.* 119.

Great expence of money in the Court of *Rome* between the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and the Cathedral Church.

At what time the Canons of *Chicheſter* had elected *Robert Paſſelew* to their Biſhop, at the Kings requeſt the Archbiſhop with certain other Biſhops, taking part againſt the Kings Chaplain, repelled him, and ſet up *Richard Wetch*. Upon this, what ſending and going there was [illegible] and what money beſtowed about the matter, as well of the Kings part as of the Biſhops; read the Story thereof in *Mat. Pariſ.* 182, 184, 186.

Money coming to the Pope between the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and [illegible] within his Dioceſs.

*Robert Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln* (of whom relation was made before) having a great care how to bring the priviledg Orders of Religious Houſes within his Precinct, under his ſubjection and diſcipline, went unto *Rome*, and there with great labour and [illegible] money (as the Story ſaith) procured of the Pope a Mandate, whereby all ſuch Religious Orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after the Monks not abiding that (who could ſoon weigh down the Biſhop with money) ſent their Factors to the Pope, who with their golden eloquence ſo perſwaded him, and ſtirred his affections in ſuch ſort, that ſoon they purchaſed to themſelves freedom from their ordinary Biſhop. Whereof *Robert Groſthead* having intelligence, made up to *Rome*, and there complaining to the Pope, declared how he was diſappointed and confounded in his purpoſe, contrary to promiſes and aſſurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope *Innocent* looking with a ſtern countenance, made this anſwer again, Brother (ſaid he) what is that to thee? Thou haſt delivered and diſcharged thine own ſoul. It hath pleaſed us to ſhew favour unto them. Is thine eye ill, for that I am good? And thus was the Biſhop ſent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himſelf, yet not ſo ſoftly, but that the Pope heard him ſay theſe words: O money, money, what canſt not thou do in the Court of *Rome*? Wherewith the Pope being ſomewhat pinched, gave this anſwer again, O ye *Engliſhmen*, *Engliſhmen*, of all men moſt wretched, for all your ſeeking is how ye may conſume and devour one another, *&c.* Ann. 1250. *Ex Pariſ. fol.* 230.

How pretily the Pope can take with both hands.

*Money* may do much at *Rome*.

The Popes anſwer to *Robert Groſthead*.

It happened moreover the ſame year that the ſaid *Robert Groſthead* Excommunicated and deprived one *Ranulphus*, a beneficed perſon in his Dioceſs, being accuſed of incontinency, who after the term of forty days, refuſing to ſubmit himſelf, the Biſhop wrote to the Sheriff of *Rutland* to apprehend him as Contumax. Which Sheriff, becauſe he deferred or refuſed ſo to do (bearing favour to the party) and being therefore ſolemnly Excommunicate by the Biſhop, uttered his complaint to the King. Whereat the King taking great diſpleaſure with the Biſhop for Excommunicating his Sheriff, and not firſt making his complaint to him, ſendeth forth with a ſubſtantial meſſenger (*M. Moneta*) ſuch as he was ſure would ſpeed, unto Pope *Innocent*, by virtue of whoſe words the Pope, eaſie to be intreated, ſendeth down a Proviſo to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, charging that no Prelate nor Biſhop in the Realm of *England*, ſhould moleſt or enter action againſt any of the Kings Bailiffs or Officers, in ſuch matters as to the Kings juriſdiction appertained. And thus was the ſtrife ended, not without ſome help and heap of *Engliſh* money; ſo that no wind of any controverſie here ſtirred in *England*, were it never ſo ſmall, but it blew ſome profit for the Popes advantage, *Ann.* 1250. *Ex Pariſ. fol.* 231.

Juſtice perverted by the Popes authority for money.

In like manner no little treaſure grew to the Popes Coffers by the Election of *Boniface*, the Queens Uncle, a *Frenchman*, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1243, and of *Ethelmare*, the Queens Brother to be Biſhop of *Wincheſter* againſt the wills of the Prior and Covent there, *Anno* 1250, beſides many ſuch other Eſcheats, which made *England* poor, and the Pope rich.

Money coming to the Pope by the Election of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of *Ethelmare* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, both ſtrangers and *Frenchmen*.

I come now ſomething likewiſe to touch briefly of the Popes Diſpenſations, Proviſions, Exactions, Contributions and

{KING Hen. 3.} and Extortions in *England* in this Kings days; for to diſcourſe all, it is not one Book will hold it.

Marriage with Elenor the Kings ſiſter, a Nun, diſpenſed by the Pope for money.

*Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* had married *Elenor* the Kings Siſter, and Daughter of King *John*, who by report of Stories had taken the Mantel and Ring. Wherefore the King, and his Brother *Richard* Earl of *Exceſter*, were greatly offended with the marriage; which the Earl *Simon* ſeeing, made a hand of money, and poſting over to *Rome*, after he had talked a few words in Pope *Innocents* ear, the marriage was good enough; and Letters were ſent to *Otho* the Popes Legate here, to give ſentence ſolemnly with the Earl. Notwithſtanding the *Dominick* Friers, and other of the like Religious fraternity, withſtood that ſentence of the Pope ſtoutly, ſaying, that the Popes Holineſs was therein deceived, and ſouls in danger; that Chriſt was jealous over his wife; and that it could not be any wiſe poſſible that a woman which had vowed Marriage with Chriſt, could afterward marry with any other, &c. *Anno* 1238. *Ex Pariſi. fol.* 114.

What inconvenience cometh by the Popes Diſpenſations.

As there was nothing ſo hard in the wide world, wherewith the Pope would not diſpenſe for money; ſo by the ſaid Diſpenſations much miſchief was wrought abroad. For by reaſon thereof the people truſting upon the Popes Diſpenſation, little regarded what they did, what they promiſed, or what they ſware. As well appeared by this King *Henry* the Third; who being a great exactor of the poor Commons, as ever was any King before him or ſince, and thinking thereby to win the people ſooner to his devotion, moſt faithfully promiſed them once or twice, and thereto bound himſelf with a ſolemn Oath, both before the Clergy and Laity, to grant unto them the old Liberties and Cuſtoms as well of *Magna Charta*, as *Charta de Foreſta*, perpetually to be obſerved. Whereupon a *Quindecim* was granted to the King. But after the payment was ſure, the King truſting by the Popes Diſpenſation for a little money to be diſcharged of his Oath and Covenant, went from that he had promiſed and ſworn before.

Wilful perjury maintained by the Popes Diſpenſations.

In like manner the ſaid King another time, being in need of money, ſigned himſelf with the Croſs, pretending and ſwearing deeply in the face of the whole Parliament, that he would himſelf perſonally fight in the Holy Land againſt the *Saracens*. But as ſoon as the money was taken, ſmall care was had for performance of his Oath, being ſo put in the head by certain about him, that he needed not to paſs of that perjury, forſomuch as the Pope for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly diſcharge him thereof. *Ex Pariſ. fol.* 273.

Enormities which ſpring out of the Popes Diſpenſations.

Out of the ſame corrupt ſpring of theſe Popiſh Diſpenſations, have proceeded alſo many other foul abſurdities. For where many young men were in thoſe days which enjoyed Benefices, and were no Prieſts, and when by the procurement of *Robert Groſthead*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the ſaid young men ſhould be forced, whether they would or not, to enter Orders, they laying their purſes together, ſent to *Rome*, and obtained of the Pope a Diſpenſation to remain ſtill as they were, that is, to have the fruits of Benefices to find them at School or Univerſity, and yet themſelves neither Miniſters to take charge, nor yielding any ſervice for their profits taken. *Ex Matth. Pariſienſ. fol.* 256. Beſides innumerable heaps of enormities more, proceeding of the Popes Diſpenſations, as diſpenſing one man to have ſundry Biſhopricks, to incroach Pluralities of Benefices, to make children Parſons, to legitimate Baſtards, with ſuch other like; the particulars whereof for brevity ſake, I do omit to further opportunity.

## *The intolerable oppreſſion of the Realm of* England *by the Popes Exactions and Contributions, and other ſleights uſed in the time of King* Henry *the Third.*

The miſerable impoveriſhing of the Realm by the Popes proviſions and contributions.

ALthough theſe emoluments, thus riſing daily to the Popes purſe by Simony and Bribery, by Elections and Diſpenſations, might ſeem ſufficient to ſatisfie his greedy appetite; yet ſo inſatiable was the avarice of that See, that he not yet contented herewith, over and beſides all this, ſent every where almoſt ſome Legate or other into this Realm to take for his advantage. Inſomuch that during all this Kings time, the Realm was never lightly without ſome of the Popes Ligiers, with all violence exacting and extorting continual proviſions, contributions, and ſums of money to be levied out of Cels, Abbies, Priories, fruits of Benefices, and Biſhopricks, and alſo Laymens purſes, to the miſerable impoveriſhing both of the Clergy and Temporality, as hereunder followeth.

Cardinal *Otho* Legate in *England*. The receiving of *Otho* the Popes Legate into the Realm.

Firſt, after *Pandulphus* was ſent into this Realm Cardinal *Otho*, procured by the King without the aſſent of his Nobles, to the intent to aſſiſt him in certain affairs he had to do. At receiving of which Legate, great preparation was made; many rich and precious gifts in Scarlet, in Plate, in Jewels, in Money and Palfrys, were given him. Whom the King alſo himſelf went as far as the Sea-ſide to to receive, bowing down his head in low courteſie to the Cardinals knees. To whom alſo the Biſhop of *Winche-ſter* for his part gave towards keeping of his houſe, fifty fat Oxen, an hundred ſemes of Wheat, and eight great veſſels of pure Wine. This Legate at his firſt coming, beginneth firſt to beſtow ſuch Benefices, as he found vacant, upon them whom he brought with him, without reſpect whether they were meet or unmeet. *Ex Pariſienſi, fol.* 103. {Anno 1237.}

After this the Pope hearing how the Nobles and Commons of the Realm began to ſtomack the Cardinal for his exceſſive Procurations and Exactions, ſent for him home; but the King by reaſon he ſtood in fear of his Nobles, and thought to have a ſtay by the Cardinal againſt all occurrents, intreated him to ſtay while he wrote to the Pope to obtain further licenſe for him to tarry; and ſo he did, not without ſome *Engliſh* money ye may be ſure.

*Otho* the Legate ſeeketh to come into *Scotland*.

In this mean time of vacation, *Otho* thinking to loſe no time, but to gather alſo ſome crums in *Scotland*, made as though he would ſet things there in order, which were in the Church of *Scotland*, to be reformed, and ſo cometh to the King of *Scots*, being then in *York* with King *Henry*, to have leave to enter. Unto whom the King thus made anſwer, that he never ſaw to his remembrance, any Popes Legate in his Land, neither was there any ſuch need (God be praiſed) for ſuch to be ſent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could never learn neither in the days of his Father, or any his Predeceſſors, that any ſuch entrance to any Legate was granted; ſo he for his part would not now begin. But yet notwithſtanding forſomuch as I hear (ſaid he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if you will needs adventure in, do it warily, and take heed to your ſelf, leſt it happen to you otherwiſe than I would wiſh; for they be a ſavage and unruly people, given much to murther, and ſhedding blood, whom I my ſelf am ſcarce able to bridle; ſo that if they fall upon you, I ſhall not be able to help you. And how they alſo invaded me, and ſought to expell me from my Kingdom, ye heard of late. And therefore I warn you before, take heed betime what you think beſt to do. After the Cardinal heard the King ſpeak theſe words, he pluckt in his horns, and durſt proceed no further, but kept him ſtill by the ſide of King *Henry*. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after, the ſame Legate coming to the borders of *Scotland*, there called the Biſhops to him, and ſo when he had well filled his Bags, came back again, *Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 106. 123. b.

The King of *Scots* his anſwer to Cardinal *Otho*.

The Realm of *Scotland* hitherto never troubled with any Popes Legate.

Cardinal *Otho* ſtopped from going into *Scotland*.

It was not long after but licenſe came from Pope *Gregory* to his Legate *Otho*, for his longer abode here in the Realm (as welcome as water in the Ship) with new authority alſo to proceed in the Popes affairs. Who firſt ſhewing to the Biſhops and the Clergy his Letters of longer tarrying, required of them, forſomuch as no man (ſaid he) warreth of his own charges, to be ſupported with new procurations; which was to have of every able Church four Marks; and where one Church was not able to reach thereto, that other Churches ſhould joyn with to make the ſaid money. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops a great while ſtood in the denial thereof. *Pariſ. fol.* 123, 128, 132.

Oppreſſions of the Cardinal *Otho* the Popes Legate.

Beſides he aſſembled together all the Black Monks of St. *Benedicts* Order, giving to them ſtrict Orders, which ſhortly after for money he releaſed to them again. *Pariſ. fol.* 116, 119. {Anno 1238.}

More-

Moreover, by the ſaid *Otho*,and other the Popes Exactions,with ſpecial Bulls directed down for the ſame,collation of Benefices being taken out of the hands of the Patrons, were give to light and vile Runnagates, coming from *Italy* and other places, ſuch as pleaſed the Pope and his Legate to beſtow them upon, to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true Patrons thereof. Whereupon the Earls, and Barons, and Nobles of the Realm, addreſſed Letters unto Pope *Gregory* by Sir *Robert Twing* Knight, for redreſs of ſuch wrongs and injuries; who otherwiſe ſhould be forced (they ſaid) to invocate the ſuccour of their King, who both was able, and was no leſs willing, according to his duty (they truſted) to reform ſuch enormities, and to defend the liberties of his Realm. The tenor of whoſe writing is to be read in *Matt.Pariſ. fol.*128.*a.*

The Nobles of *England* write to Pope *Gregory* for collation of Benefices wreſted out of their hands.

Not long after the ſame, in the Year of our Lord 1240. came a new precept from Pope *Gregory*, by *Petrus Rubeus* the Popes *Nuncio*, to the foreſaid *Otho*, that all Beneficed Men of the Clergy, as well in *England* as in *France*, ſhould pay to the Pope the fifth part of their Revenues. Whereupon when the Clergy Men made their complaint to the King, ſeeking to be relieved by him; the King anſwered them again, that he neither would, nor durſt ſtand againſt the Pope in any caſe, and ſo without all hope of ſuccour ſent them away, *Pariſ. fol.* 132. Then were the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Prelates of the Church commanded to aſſemble together at *Reading*, there to hear the Popes pleaſure and commandment concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end, thus the matter concluded; that the Prelates deſired a further time to be given them to adviſe upon the matter; and for that ſeaſon the Aſſembly brake up, *Pariſ.*122. Notwithſtanding at laſt, after many excuſes and exceptions laid in by the Clergy; Firſt, *That becauſe the mony was gathered to fight againſt the Emperor, they ought not to contribute their mony, contrary to the liberties of the Church.* Item, *Forſomuch as they had paid a tenth not long before unto the Pope, upon condition that no more ſuch payments ſhould be required of them, much leſs now the fifth part ſhould be exacted of them, becauſe an action twice done, maketh a cuſtom.* Item, *Seeing they had oftentimes to repair unto the Court of* Rome, *if they ſhould give this mony againſt the Emperor, it would turn to their danger coming through his Land.* Item, *Seeing their King had many enemies, againſt whom they muſt needs relieve the King with their mony, they could not ſo do if the Realm were thus impoveriſhed, &c.* All which excuſes, with divers other more notwithſtanding, they were compelled at length to conform themſelves to the Popes good pleaſure, through the example given of *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who to obtain his purpoſe againſt the Monks of *Canterbury* (with whom he was then in ſtrife) began firſt to yield to the Legates 800 Marks for his part, whereby the reſt alſo were fain to follow after. *Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 132,136.

*Petrus Rubeus* the Popes carrier.
All beneficed Men in *England* compelled to give the fifth part of their Revenues to the Pope.
Anno 1240.
Excuſes of the Clergy, why they would not contribute to the Pope.

Furthermore, the ſame year, the Pope agreed ſo with the People of *Rome*, that if they would aid him againſt *Frederick* the Emperor, look what Benefices were to be given in *England*, the ſame ſhould be at their arbitrement to be beſtowed upon their Children. Whereupon commandment was ſent to the foreſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop, to the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Sarum*, that all the Collations of Benefices within the Realm ſhould be ſuſpended, till proviſion were made for three hundred Children of the Citizens of *Rome* to be firſt ſerved. Upon the which ſo miſerable requeſt, the ſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for ſorrow to ſee the Church ſo oppreſſed, departed the Realm, and ſo continued in *France*, and died at *Pontiniac*: *Ex Mat.Par.fol.*134.*b.* Which *Edmund* was afterward made a Saint, and canonized by Pope *Innocent* the fourth.

Three hundred Children of *Rome* placed in Benefices in *England*.
*Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* departeth the Realm, and dieth in Exile.

This done, then went *Petrus Rubeus* the Popes Nuncio, and *Ruffinus* into *Scotland*, from whence they brought with them three thouſand Pounds to the Popes uſe about *Alhollontide* the ſame year. At which time moreover, cometh another *Harpax* from the Pope to *England*, named *Mumelius*, bringing with him three and twenty *Romans* here into the Realm to be beneficed. Thus, what by the King on the one ſide, and what by the Cardinal *Otho*, *Petrus Rubeus*, *Ruffinus* and *Mumelius* on the other ſide, poor *England* was in a wretched caſe. *Matth. Pariſienſ. fol.* 137.

Three thouſand pounds to the Popes uſe.
*Romans* 23 brought to *England* to be beneficed.

Another pretty practice of the Pope to prol for mony, was this: The foreſaid *Petrus Rubeus*, coming into Religious Houſes, and into their Chapters, cauſed them to contribute to the Popes Holineſs, by the example of this Biſhop and that Abbot, pretending that he and he, of their own voluntary devotion, had given ſo much and ſo much, and ſo ſeduced them. *Pariſ.fol.*134. Alſo the Pope craftily ſuborned certain Friers, authorized with full Indulgence, that whoſoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was diſpoſed to be releaſed of his Vow, needed not to repair to *Rome* for Abſolution, but paying ſo much mony as his charges would come to going thither, he reſorting to the ſaid Friers, might be aſſoiled at home.

The Pope for mony releaſeth Chriſtians of their Vow.

This paſſed in the year 1240. Now all theſe troubles laid together, were enough to vex the meekeſt Prince in the World; whereto by way of acceſs to the Kings further moleſtation, he had much ado with the Prelates and Clergy Men of his Realm, who were always tampering with his Title, eſpecially in their Aſſemblies and Councils; to whom the King, to reſtrain them from that preſumption, did both ſend and write, as appeareth by this evidence of Record, *Rex miſit Galfridum de Langley, &c.* That is, The King ſent *Geoffry Langley* to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and to other Biſhops purpoſed to meet at *Oxford*, to appeal for him, leſt, in the ſaid Council there called, they ſhould preſume to ordain ſomething againſt his Crown and Dignity. This was done in the year of our Lord 1241. In which year alſo came a commandment Apoſtolical to the Houſe of *Peterborough*, that they at the Popes contemplation muſt needs grant him ſome Benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof were worth at leaſt an hundred Pounds, and if it were more it ſhould be the better welcome; ſo that they ſhould be as the Farmers, and he to receive the profits. In fine, the Covent excuſed themſelves by the Abbot, being then not at home. The Abbot, when he came home, excuſed himſelf by the King, being the Patron and Founder of the Houſe. The King being grieved with the unreaſonable ravening of theſe *Romaniſts*, utterly forbad any ſuch example to be given. *Ex Pariſienſ. fol.*143. But what happened? The Abbot being therefore accuſed to the Pope by one of the Legates, and coming up about four years after, in the time of Pope *Innocent*, to the Council of *Lions*, was ſo rated and reviled, and ſo ſhamefully thruſt out of the Popes Court, that for ſorrow he fell ſick upon the ſame, and there died. *Pariſ. fol.*184.

The Archbiſhop of *York* ſhould ordain nothing againſt the K. *Turris Lond.*
*Mumelius* another meſſenger of the Pope.
Abbot of *Peterborough* thruſt out of the Popes Court.

In the time of which Council of *Lions*, Pope *Innocent* the fourth (forſomuch as the inſtrument or obligation, whereby the Realm of *England* ſtood Tributary to the Pope, was thought to be burned in the Popes Chamber a little before) brought forth either the ſame, or another Chart like unto it, whereunto he ſtraitly charged and commanded every *Engliſh* Biſhop, being there preſent at the Council, ſeverally to ſet to his Hand and Seal. Which unreaſonable petition of the Pope, albeit it went ſore againſt the hearts of the Biſhops, yet (ſee in what miſerable ſubjection the Pope had all the Biſhops under him) none of them durſt otherwiſe do, but accompliſh the Popes requeſt therein, both to their own ſhame, and prejudice to the publick freedom of the Realm. Amongſt which Biſhops, the longeſt that held out, and laſt that put to his Seal, was the Biſhop of *London*. Which act when the King and the Nobility underſtood, they were mightily and worthily therewithall offended. *Ex Pariſ. fol.* 192. *Anno* 1245.

The obligation of K. *John's* Tribute to the Pope burned.
The Biſhops of *England* put their Hands and Seals to the Popes Bill.

After what time Cardinal *Otho* was ſent for by Pope *Gregory* in all haſte to come to the General Council, two other in his room here remained, whoſe Names were *Petrus Rubeus*, and *Petrus de Supino*. Of whom the one, bearing himſelf for the Popes Kinſman, brought out his Bills and Bulls under the Popes Authority, to ſuch an Abbot, or to ſuch a Prior, or to ſuch and ſuch a Biſhop, and ſo extorted from them a great quantity of Gold and Silver. The other, to wit, *Petrus de Supino* ſailed to *Ireland*, from whence he brought with him a thouſand and five hundred Marks to the Popes uſe, *An.* 1241. *Ex Par.fol.*247.*b.* All which mony notwithſtanding, gotten by both the

*Petrus Rubeus*, *Petrus de Supino* the Popes Collectors in *England*.
A thouſand five hundred Marks brought out of *Ireland* for the Pope.

Col-

KING Hen. 3

Collectors, in the carriage of it up to *Rome*, about the death of Pope *Gregory*, happned into the hands of *Frederick* the Emperor; who cauſed it again to be reſtored, as near as he could, to them of whom it was taken. *Pariſ. fol.* 151.

*M. Martinus* another Meſſenger for the Popes money. *An.* 1244.

After theſe came in then *M. Martinus* a new Merchant from the new Pope *Innocent* the fourth, *An.* 1244. armed with full power to ſuſpend all Prelates in *England* from giving Benefices, till the Popes Kinſmen were firſt preferred. Neither would he take the fruits of any Benefice, unleſs it were above the value of thirty Marks. At his firſt coming, he required of Prelates and eſpecially of Religious Houſes to furniſh him with Horſes and Palfraies, ſuch as were convenient for the Popes eſpecial Chaplain and Legate to ſit upon; alſo with Plate, Raiment, Proviſion for his Kitchen and Cellar, *&c.* and ſuch as denied, or excuſed, he ſuſpended; as the Abbot of *Malmesbury*, and the Prior of *Merton*. All Prebends that were void he ſought out and reſerved them for the Popes behoof; among which was the golden Prebend of *Sarum*, belonging to the Chancellor of the Quire, whom he preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Bath*, and ſo ſeized upon the Prebend being void, againſt the wills both of the Biſhop and the Chapter. *Pariſ. fol.* 167, 180. Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, ſigned in the Popes Chamber with his ſtamp and Seal; wherein he might afterward write to whom, and to what he would, *Pariſ. fol.* 178. *b.* requiring furthermore of the King, in the Popes behalf, to help his Holineſs with a contribution to be taxed amongſt his Clergy, at leaſt of 10000 Marks, *Ibid.* And to the end that the Pope might win the King ſooner to his devotion, he writeth in the Kings behoof to the Nobles and Commons of the Realm, that they ſhould not fail, upon pain of his great Curſe, to confer ſuch Subſidy of money to the ſubvention of the King, as he then had demanded of them; but they ſtood ſtiff in not granting to him.

Exaction of the Popes Legate upon the Clergy of England.

Contribution of 10000 Marks for the Pope.

The Pope craftily holdeth with the King, that the King might hold with him.

While the inſatiable avarice of the Pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in *England*; the Nobles and Barons, with the community as well of the Clergy as the Laity, weighing the miſerable ſtate of the Realm, and namely, of the Church, which now neither had liberty left them to chuſe their own Miniſters, nor yet could enjoy their own Livings, laid their heads together, and ſo exhibited an earneſt intimation to the King; beſeeching him to conſider the pitiful affliction and profeſſion of his Subjects under the Popes extortion, living in more thraldom than ever did the people of *Iſrael* under *Pharoah*. Whereupon the King beginning at laſt to look up, and to conſider the injuries and wrongs received in this Realm, through the avarice of the Court of *Rome*, directeth to Pope *Innocent* the fourth this Letter, in tenor as followeth.

Intimation given to the King, touching the Importable oppreſſion of the Realm by the Pope.

## *The Kings Letter to Pope* Innocent *the fourth.*

King Hen. 3's Letter to the Pope. The King offereth to kiſs the Popes feet.

SAnctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, ac Domino, *Innocentio, Dei* gratia ſummo Pontifici, *Henricus* eadem gratia Rex *Angliæ*, &c. Salutem & pedum oſcula beatorum, *&c.*

*To the moſt Holy Father in Chriſt, and Lord,* Innocent, *by the Grace of God chief Biſhop,* Henry *by the ſame Grace King of* England, &c. *Greeting, and kiſſings of his bleſſed feet. The more devout and obſequious the Son ſheweth himſelf in obeying the Fathers will, the more favour and ſupportation doth he deſerve to find at his Fathers hands again. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our Realm have ever and in all things been hitherto at the devotion and commandment of your Fatherhood; and that although, in ſome certain affairs of ours and of our Kingdom, we have found your Fatherly favour and grace ſometimes propitious unto us, yet in ſome things again, as in proviſions given and granted to your Clerks of Foreign Nations, both we and our Kingdom have felt no ſmall detriment. By reaſon of which proviſions, the Church of* England *is ſo ſore charged and burthened, that not only the Patrons of Churches, to whom the Donations thereof do appertain, are defrauded of their right, but alſo many other good works of Charity thereby do decay; for that ſuch Benefices, which have been mercifully beſtowed upon Religious Houſes to their ſuſtentation, are now waſted and conſumed by your proviſions.*

Meſſage received by the Pope in the Realm of *England.*

The Popes proviſions.

*Wherefore forſomuch as your See Apoſtolick ought to be favourable to all that be petitioners to the ſame, ſo that no perſon be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therefore to be ſuters to your Fatherhood, moſt humbly beſeeching your Holineſs, that you will deſiſt and ſurceaſe for a time from ſuch proviſions to be exacted. In the mean ſeaſon, it may pleaſe your Fatherhood, we beſeech you, that our Laws and Liberties (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receive to your tuition, to be conſerved whole and ſound, nor to ſuffer the ſame by any ſiniſter ſuggeſtion in your Court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your Holineſs be any whit moved therefore with us, if in ſome ſuch caſes as theſe be, we do or ſhall hereafter reſiſt the tenor of your commandments; forſomuch as the complaints of ſuch, which daily call upon us, do neceſſarily inforce us thereunto; which ought, by the charge of this our Office and Kingly dignity committed to us of Almighty God, to foreſee that no Man in that which is their right be injured, but truly to miniſter juſtice to every one, in that which duly to him appertaineth. This Letter was ſent the eight and twentieth year of the Kings Reign.* Ex Pariſienſi, fol. 172.

The Kings too much ſubjection to the Pope.

A Man would think that this ſo gentle and obedient Letter of the King to the Pope would have wrought ſome good effect in his Apoſtolical breaſt, to withdraw his proviſions, and to have tendered the Kings ſo reaſonable and honeſt requeſt: but how little all this prevailed to ſtop his inſatiable greedineſs and intolerable extortions and oppreſſions, the ſequel well declareth. For beſides that, ſhortly after the Pope ſent *M. Martin* with blanks, being bulled for contribution of 10000 Marks, in all haſte to be paid alſo, even immediately upon the receiving of this Letter. It followeth in mine author, that the ſaid Pope *Innocent* the fourth, after all this great ſubmiſſion of the King, and ſo manifold benefits, and payments yearly out of his Realm received, was not aſhamed to take of *David*, Prince of North *Wales*, five hundred Marks by year, to ſet him againſt the King of *England*, and exempted him from his fealty and obedience due to his own Liege Lord and King, to whom both he and all other *Welch-men* had ſworn their ſubjection before, as by the ſeals and obligations as well of that *David* himſelf, as other *Welch* Lords in this be half doth appear: *In Matth. Pariſienſi, fol.* 172.

*Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 172.

The Pope ſetteth *Welchmen* againſt the King of *England.*

Neither did *M. Martinus* in the mean while ſlip his buſineſs, in making up his market for the Popes money of ten thouſand Marks, but ſtill was calling upon the Prelates and Clergy. Who, firſt excuſing themſelves by the abſence of the King and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, afterward being called again by new Letters, made their anſwer by the Dean of *Pauls* their Prolocutor:

Contribution required of the Pope with their excuſes and reaſons againſt the ſame.

*Firſt*, That the poverty of the Realm would not ſuffer them to conſent thereto.

*Item*, Whereas they had given before a contribution to Cardinal *Otho*, for paying of the Popes Debts, and knew the ſaid money to be imployed to no ſuch end as it was demanded for, more cauſe they had now to miſdoubt, leſt this contribution in his hands, which was a much more inferior meſſenger than the Cardinal, would come to the ſame or a worſe effect.

*Item*, If they ſhould now agree to a new contribution, they feared leſt it would grow to a cuſtom, ſeeing that one action, twice done, maketh a cuſtom.

*Item*, Forſomuch as a general Council is ſhortly looked for, where every Prelate of the Realm muſt needs beſtow both his travel and expences, and alſo his preſent to the Pope, if the Prelates now ſhould be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide this burthen.

*Item*, Seeing it is alledged, That the Mother Church of *Rome* is ſo far in debt, reaſon and right it were, that the Mother ſo oppreſſed ſhould be ſuſtained of all her devout Children meeting together in the general Council; where as by helps of many, more relief might come than by one Nation alone.

*Item*, Laſt of all, they alledged, That for fear of the Emperor and his threatnings, they durſt not conſent to the ſaid contribution.

While theſe things were thus in talk between the Popes Prieſts and the Clergy of *England*, cometh in

*John Mariſcal* and other Meſſengers from the King, commanding in the Kings name, that no Biſhop, that held his Baronage of the King, ſhould infeft his Lay-fee to the Court of *Rome*, which they ought only to him, *&c. Pariſ. fol.* 139. *An.* 1243.

The Ports of *England* laid to ſtop the Popes Letters, yet all would not ſerve.

Not long after this, in the year of our Lord 1245. the whole Nobility of the Realm by general conſent, and not without the Kings knowledge alſo, cauſed all the Ports by the Sea ſide to be laid, that no Meſſenger with the Popes Letters and Bulls from *Rome* ſhould be permitted to enter the Realm, whereunto ſome were taken at *Dover* and there ſtayed. Notwithſtanding when complaint thereof was brought to the King by *M. Martinus* the Popes Legate, there was no remedy but the King muſt needs cauſe theſe Letters to be reſtored again and executed to the full effect, *Pariſ.*

Sixty thouſand Marks yearly going out of *England* to the Pope and his *Italian* Clerks.

Then the King upon advice cauſed a view to be taken through every ſhire in *England*, to what ſum the whole reveneues of the *Romans* and *Italians* amounted, which by the Popes Authority went out of *England*: the whole ſum whereof was found yearly to be threeſcore thouſand Marks, to the which ſum the revenues of the whole Crown of *England* did not extend, *Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 185. *a.*

The Nobles then underſtanding the miſerable oppreſſion of the Realm, being aſſembled together at *Dunſtable* for certain cauſes, ſent one *Fulco* in the name of the whole Nobility, unto *M. Martinus* the Popes Merchant with this Meſſage; That he indelaiedly upon the ſame warning ſhould prepare himſelf to be gone out of the Realm, under pain of being cut all to pieces. At which Meſſage the Legate being ſore agaſt, went ſtraight to the King, to know whether his conſent was to the ſame or not. Of whom when he found little better comfort, he took his leave of the King, who bad him adieu in the Divels name (ſaith *Matth. Pariſ.*) and thus was the Realm rid of *M. Martinus. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol.* 185. *b. An.* 1245.

*M. Martin* the Popes Legate ſent out of *England* in the divels name.

The Pope in diſpleaſure with the King of *England.*

As ſoon as Pope *Innocent* had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his Legate, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembring how the *French* King and the King of *Arragon* not long before had denyed him entrance into their Land, and being therefore in diſpleaſure with them likewiſe, he began in great anger to knit his brows, and ſaid, *It is beſt that we fall in agreement with our Prince, whereby we may the ſooner bring under theſe little petty Kings; and ſo the great Dragon being pacified, theſe little Serpents we ſhall handle at own own pleaſures as we liſt.*

*Iſtos regulos* The proud words of the Pope againſt the *French* King and the King of *England.*

After this, immediately then followed the General Council of *Lions*, to the which Council the Lords and States of the Realm, with the conſent of the Commonalty, ſent two Bills: one containing a general ſupplication to the Pope and the Council; the other with the Articles of ſuch grievances which they deſired to be redreſſed, whereof relation is made ſufficiently before. The other Bill of the ſupplication, becauſe it is not before expreſſed, I thought here to exhibite for two cauſes: Firſt, That Men now in theſe days may ſee the pitiful blindneſs of thoſe ignorant days, wherein our *Engliſh* Nation here did ſo blindly humble themſelves and ſtand to the Popes courteſie, whom rather they ſhould have ſhaken off, as the *Grecians* did. Secondly, That the pride of the Pope might the better appear in his colours, who ſo diſdainfully rejected the humble ſute of our Lords and Nobles, when they had much more cauſe to diſdain rather, and to ſtamp him under their feet. The tenor of the ſupplication was this.

{Anno 1245} *The Copy of the Supplication written in the names of all the Nobles and Commons of* England, *to Pope* Innocent *the fourth, in the General Council at* Lions, Anno. 1245.

To the Reverend Father in Chriſt Pope *Innocent*, Chief Biſhop, the Nobles, with the whole Commonalty of the Realm of *England* ſendeth commendation with kiſſing of his bleſſed feet.

The ſupplication of the Lords and Commons of *England* to the Pope.

OUR *Mother the Church of* Rome *we love with all our hearts, as our duty is, and covet the increaſe of her honour with ſo much affection as we may, as to whom we ought always to flie for refuge, whereby the grief, lying upon the Child, may find comfort at the Mothers hand, Which ſuccor the Mother is bound ſo much the rather to impart to her Child, how much more kind and beneficial ſhe findeth him in relieving her neceſſity. Neither is it to be ſaid our Mother unknown, how beneficial and bountiful a giver the Realm of* England *hath been now of long time for the more anfolifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yearly Subſidy, which we term by the name of* Peter-pence. *Now the ſaid Church not contented with this yearly Subſidy, hath ſent divers Legates for other contributions, at divers and ſundry times to be taxed and levied out of the ſame Realm: all which contributions and taxes notwithſtanding have been lovingly and liberally granted.* {KING Hen. 3}

*Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your Fatherhood, how our fore-fathers, like good Catholicks both loving and fearing their Maker, for the ſouls health as well of themſelves, as of their Progenitors and Succeſſors alſo, have founded Monaſteries, and largely have indowed the ſame, both with their own proper Lands, and alſo Patronages of Benefices, whereby ſuch Religious perſons, profeſſing the firſt and chiefeſt perfection of Holy Religion in their Monaſteries, might with more peace and tranquility occupy themſelves devoutly in Gods Service, as to the Order appertained: and alſo the Clerks, preſented by them into their Benefices, might ſuſtain the other exterior labours for them in that ſecond Order of Religion, and ſo diſcharge and defend them from all hazards: ſo that the ſaid Religious Monaſteries cannot be defrauded of thoſe their Patronages and Collations of Benefices, but the ſame muſt touch us alſo very near, and work intolerable griefs unto our hearts.*

The ſuperſtitious founding of Monaſteries in *England*, &c.

*And now ſee, we beſeech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries we ſuſtain by you and your predeceſſors, who not conſidering thoſe our Subſidies and Contributions above remembred, do ſuffer alſo your* Italians, *and Foreigners (which be out of number) to be poſſeſſed of our Churches and Benefices in* England, *pertaining to the right and Patronage of thoſe Monaſteries aforeſaid: which Foreigners, neither defending the ſaid Religious perſons, whom they ought to ſee to, nor yet having the language, whereby they may inſtruct the flock, take no regard of their ſouls, but utterly leave them of wild Wolves to be devoured. Wherefore it may truly be ſaid of them, that they are no good ſheepherds, whereas neither they know their ſheep, nor the ſheep do know the voyce of their ſheepherds, neither do they keep any Hoſpitality, but only take up the rents of thoſe Benefices, carrying them out of the Realm, wherewith our Brethren our Nephews, and our Kinſfolks might be ſuſtained, who could and would dwell upon them, and imploy ſuch exerciſes of mercy and Hoſpitality as their duty required. Whereof a great number now for meer neceſſity are Laymen, and fain to flie out of the Realm.*

Injuries received in *England* by the Pope.

Benefices in *England* wickedly given away to *Italians.*

*And now to the intent more fully to certifie you of the truth, ye ſhall underſtand that the ſaid* Italians *and ſtrangers receiving of yearly rents out of* England *not ſo little as threeſcore thouſand Marks, by year, beſides other Avails and Exciſes deducted, do reap in the ſaid our Kingdom of* England *more emolluments of meer rents, than doth the King himſelf being both tutor of the Church, and governour of the Land.*

Threeſcore thouſand Marks yearly given to *Italians* out of the Church of *England.*

*Furthermore, whereas at the firſt Creation of your Papacy we were in good hope and yet are, that by means of your Fatherly goodneſs we ſhould enjoy our Franchiſes, and free Collation of our Benifices and Donatives, to be reduced again to the former ſtate, now cometh another grievance which we cannot but ſignifie unto you, preſſing us above meaſure, which we receive by* M. Martin; *who entring late into our Land without leave of our King, with greater power than ever was ſeen before in any Legate, although he beareth not the ſtate and ſhew of a Legate, yet he hath doubled the doings of a Legate, charging us every day with new Mandates, and ſo moſt extreamly hath oppreſſed us: firſt, in beſtowing and giving away our Benefices, if any were above thirty Marks, as ſoon as they were vacant, to* Italian *perſons.*

Italians received more in this Land of meer rents, than did the Kings Crown is.

Deteſtable dealings of the Popes Legate in *England.*

*Secondly, after the deceaſe of the ſaid* Italians, *unknowing to the Patrons, he hath intruded other* Italians *therein, whereby the true Patrons have been ſpoiled and defrauded of their right.*

*Thirdly,*

KING Hen. 3

*Thirdly, The ſaid* M. Martinus, *yet alſo ceaſeth not to aſſign and confer ſuch Benefices ſtill unto the like Perſons; and ſome he reſerveth to the Donation of the Apoſtolical See; and extorteth moreover from Religious Houſes immoderate Penſions; Excommunicating and Interdicting whoſoever dare gain-ſtand him.*

Complaint of *M. Martin* the Popes Legate.

*Wherefore, foraſmuch as the ſaid* M. Martin *hath ſo far extended his Juriſdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole Realm, and no leſs derogation to our Kings Privilege, to whom it hath been fully Granted by the See Apoſtolick, that no Legate ſhould have to do in his Land, but ſuch as he by ſpecial Letters did ſend for: with moſt humble Devotion we beſeech you, That as a good Father will always be ready to ſupport his Child, ſo your Fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compaſſion to relieve us your humble Children from theſe grievous Oppreſſions.*

King Henry the third uſed every day to hear three Maſſes by note.

*And although our Lord and King, being a Catholick Prince, and wholly given to his Devotions and Service of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, ſo that he reſpecteth not the health of his own Body, will fear and reverence the See Apoſtolick, and, as a Devout Son of the Church of* Rome, *deſireth nothing more than to advance the Eſtate and Honour of the ſame: yet we which travel in his Affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whoſe duty, together with him, is to tender the preſervation of the publick Wealth, neither can patiently ſuffer ſuch Oppreſſions, ſo deteſtable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by Gods Grace will ſuffer them, through the means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and truſt of you ſpeedily to obtain. And thus may it pleaſe your Fatherhood, we beſeech you to accept this our Supplication, who in ſo doing ſhall worthily deſerve of all the Lords and Nobles, with the whole Commonalty of the Realm of* England, *condigne and ſpecial thanks accordingly.* An. 1245. Ex Mat. Pariſ. *Fol.* 388.

The ſtout words of the Lords to the Pope.

The Supplication of the *Engliſh* Nation took no place with the Pope.

This Supplication being ſent by the hands of Sir *R. Bigot*, Knight, and *W. de Powick*, Eſq; *Henry de la Mare*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope *Innocent*, firſt keeping ſilence, deferred to make anſwer thereunto, making haſt to proceed in his deteſtable Excommunication and Curſe againſt the good Emperor *Frederick*. The which Curſe being done, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors waiting ſtill for their anſwer; the Pope told them flat they ſhould not have their requeſt fulfilled. Whereat the *Engliſh*-men, departing in great anger, Sware with terrible Oaths, That they would never more ſuffer any Tribute, or Fruits of any Benefices, namely, whereof the Noble men were Patrons, to be paied to that inſatiable and greedy Court of *Rome*, worthy to be deteſted in all Words. *Ex. Mat. Pariſ.* fol. 193.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors grieved with the Pope.

The Pope in an anger with England.

The Biſhops of *England* ſet their Seals to the Popes Tribute.

The Pope hearing theſe words, albeit making then no Anſwer, thought to watch his time, and did. Firſt, incontinent upon the ſame, during the ſaid Council, he cauſed every Biſhop of *England* to put his Hand and Seal to the Obligation made by King *John* for the Popes Tribute, as is above ſpecified; Threatning moreover, and ſaying, That if he had once brought down the Emperor *Frederick*, he would bridle the inſolent Pride of *England* well enough.

¶ But here by occaſion of this Council at *Lions*, that the Reader may ſee upon what ſlippery uncertainty and variableneſs the ſtate of the King did depend; it is material here to interlace the form of a Letter ſent by *Henry* the third to the Prelates of his Land, before they were tranſported over Sea to *Lions*; wherein may be gathered, that the King doubted they would be ſhoving and heaving at his Royalty; and therefore directed theſe Letters unto them, otherwiſe to prepare their affections: the tenor whereof followeth:

## A Letter of charge to the Prelates of *England*, purpoſed to Aſſemble in the Council at *Lions*, that they ſhould ordain nothing, *&c.* to their Kings prejudice.

Paris. Lond.

*REX Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & omnibus aliis Prælatis terræ ſuæ Angliæ, conventuris ad concilium Lugdunenſe, ſalutem. Vinculo juramenti nobis (ut noſtis) adſtricti,* &c.

In Engliſh thus:

*The King to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and to all other Prelates of his Land of* England, *appointed to meet at a Council at* Lions, *Greeting: You are (as you know) bound unto us by Oath, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can unto us in all things, concerning our Royal Dignity and Crown. Wherefore we command you upon the fealty and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound unto us, injoyning that you do your uttermoſt endeavour, as well to get as to keep, and alſo to defend the right of us and our Kingdom. And that neither to the prejudice of us, or of the ſame Kingdom, nor yet againſt us or our rights, which our predeceſſors and we by ancient and approved cuſtom have uſed, you preſume to procure or attempt any thing in your Council at* Lions: *nor that you give aſſent to any that ſhall procure or ordain ought in this caſe, upon your Oath aforeſaid, and the loſs of your Temporalities, which you hold of us. Wherefore in this behalf ſo behave your ſelves, that for your good dealing and vertue of thankfulneſs, we may rather ſpecially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reprove your unthankfulneſs, and reſerve vengeance for you in due time. Witneſs my ſelf,* &c. *the nine and twentieth year of our Reign.*

¶ In like ſort wrote he to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* of *Ireland* and *Gaſcoigne.*

Anno 1246

After this Council ended, in the beginning of the next year following, *Anno* 1246, Pope *Innocent* came to *Cluniack*, where was then appointed a ſecret meeting or colloquie between the Pope and *Lewis* the *French* King (who was then preparing his Voyage to *Jeruſalem*) in which colloquie the Pope ſought all means to perſwade the *French* King, in revengement of his injury, to War *Contra regulum*, (as he termed him) that is, againſt the weak and feeble King of *England*, either to drive him utterly from his Kingdom, or elſe to damnify him, whereby he ſhould be conſtrained, whether he would or no, to ſtoop to the Popes will and obedience; wherein he alſo would aſſiſt him with all the Authority he could. Nevertheleſs, the *French* King to this would not agree. Firſt, for the conſanguinity that was between them (for their two Queens were Siſters.) Alſo for the Truce that they had taken. Thirdly for fear of the Emperor, leſt he ſhould take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much ſpilling of Chriſtian blood. And laſtly, becauſe he was preparing his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, where his coming was already looked for. And thus the *French* King, denying the Popes bloody requeſt, refuſed not only to enter War againſt the King and the Realm of *England*, but alſo ſhortly after concluded with him longer Truce, *Anno* 1246. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi*, fol. 196. b.

The Pope ſtirreth *Lewis* the *French* King to War againſt the King of *England.*

*Lewis* the *French* King refuſeth to War againſt *England.*

Straight upon the neck of this followed then the exaction of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that he had bought of the Pope; which was to have the firſt years Fruits of all Benefices and Spiritual Livings in *England* for the ſpace of ſeven years together, until the Sum ſhould come to Ten thouſand Marks. Whereat the King firſt was greatly grieved. But in concluſion, he was fain at laſt to agree with the Archbiſhop; and ſo the mony was gathered. *Pariſ.* Fol. 197.

The firſt years Fruits for ſeven years gathered of all Benefices for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

Over and beſides all other exactions wherewith the Pope miſerably oppreſſed the Church of *England*, this alſo is not to be ſilenced, how the Pope, ſending down his Letters from the See Apoſtolick, charged and commanded the Prelates to find him ſome ten, ſome five, and ſome fifteen able men well furniſhed with Horſe and Harneſs for one whole year, to fight in the Popes Wars. And leſt the King ſhould have knowledge thereof, it was injoyned them under pain of Excommunication, that they ſhould reveal it to none, but to keep it in ſecret only to themſelves: *Ex. Pariſienſi*, Fol. 200.

The Prelates of *England* charged to find Horſe and Harneſs for the Popes War.

A ſubtil practice of the Pope.

The Pope yet notwithſtanding, partly being laboured by Suters, partly of his own mind thinking good ſomewhat to give to the King and People of *England*, as Fathers are wont to give ſomething to their Babes to play withal to keep them ſtill, ſent down this releaſement to the King, that hereafter whenſoever any of the Popes Nephews, or of his Cardinals were to be Beneficed in any Church of *England*, either he or the Cardinals ſhould firſt

The Popes ſlie laid for more money.

make the King privy thereto, and inſtantly crave his good will in obtaining the procuration, or elſe the ſame to ſtand in no effect, *Pariſ.* 202. Howbeit all this ſeemed to be done but of a policy, to get the Kings favour, whereby he might be ſuffered more freely to paſs with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

A new Law of the Pope to ſriſe upon all the goods of Clergy men that dye inteſtate.

For when the foreſaid Pope *Innocent* the fourth had knowledge at the ſame time of certain rich Clerks leaving great ſubſtance of money, which dyed inteſtate, as of one *Robert Hailes*, Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, which dyed leaving thouſands of Marks and much Plate behind him, all which, becauſe no Will was made, came to Temporal mens hands: alſo of M. *Almarike*, Archdeacon of *Bedford*, being found worth a great ſubſtance when he dyed; and likewiſe of another, M. *John Hotoſp*, Archdeacon of *Northampton*, who dyed ſuddenly inteſtate, leaving behind him five thouſand Marks, and thirty ſtanding pieces of Plate, with other infinite Jewels beſides: he ſent forth upon the ſame a Statute to be proclaimed in *England*, that whatſoever Eccleſiaſtical perſon henceforth ſhould deceaſe in *England* inteſtate, that is, without making his Will, all his goods ſhould redound to the Popes uſe. *Pariſ. fol.* 203.

A note of certain Eccleſiaſtical perſons dying in *England* worth great ſubſtance.

Furthermore, the Pope, not yet ſatisfied with all this, addreſſeth new Letters to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to *W.* Biſhop of *Norwich*, for gathering up amongſt the Clergy, and Religious Houſes in *England*, ſix thouſand Marks to the behoof of the Holy Mother Church, without any excuſe or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the Clergy, when it came to the Kings ear, he eftſoons directeth contrary Letters to all the Prelates and every one of them, commanding them upon forfeiting their Temporalities to the King, that no ſuch Subſidy-money ſhould be gathered or tranſported out of the Realm. But the Pope again hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the Prelates of *England*, that this collection of money, upon pain of Excommunication and ſuſpenſion, ſhould be provided, and brought to the new Temple in *London*, by the Feaſt of the Aſſumption next enſuing.

Six thouſand marks to be gathered of the Clergy of *England* for the Pope.

The King beginneth to withſtand the Pope, but durſt not hold out.

The Pope in a chafe.

And furthermore, forſomuch as he perceived the King to go about to gainſtand his proceedings, taking thereat great diſdain, he was about the ſame time to interdict the whole Land. To whom then one of his Cardinals called *Johan. Anglicus*, an *Engliſh*-man born, ſpeaking for the Realm of *England*, deſired his Fatherhood for Gods cauſe to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperanee to aſſwage the paſſion of his mind: which (ſaid he) to tell you plain, is here ſtirred up too much without cauſe. Your Fatherhood (quoth he) may conſider that theſe days be evil. Firſt, the Holy Land lyeth in great perils to be loſt. All the *Greek* Church is departed from us. *Frederick* the Emperor is againſt us, the mightieſt Prince this day in all Chriſtendom. Both you and we which are the Peers of the Church, are baniſhed from the Papal See, thruſt out of *Rome*, yea, excluded out of all *Italy*. *Hungary*, with all Coaſts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter ſubverſion by the *Tartarians*. *Germany* is waſted and afflicted with inward Wars and tumults. *Spain* is fierce and cruel againſt us, even to the cutting out of the Biſhops Tongues. *France* by us is ſo impoveriſhed, that it is brought to beggery, which alſo conſpireth againſt us. Miſerable *England* being ſo often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to *Balaams* Aſs, beaten and bounſt with ſpurs and ſtaves, beginneth at length to ſpeak and complain of her intolerable griefs and burthens, being ſo wearied and damnified, that ſhe may ſeem paſt all recovery; and we after the manner of *Iſmael*, hating of Men, provoke all Men to hate us, &c. *Ex Pariſienſi, fol.* 207.

The words *Johannes Anglicus* Cardinal to the Pope.

The miſerable troubles of Chriſtendom.

Of *Spain* he meaneth, becauſe the King of *Aragon* a little before had cut off the tongue of a certain Biſhop that did reprehend him.

*Pariſ. fol.* 207.

For all theſe words of *Johannes Anglicus* his Cardinal, the Popes Cholerick Paſſion could not yet be appeaſed, but forthwith he ſendeth commandment with full authority to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, That in caſe the King would not ſpeedily ſurceaſe his Rebellion againſt his Apoſtolical proceedings, he would interdict his Land. So that in concluſion, the King, for all his ſtout enterpriſe, was fain to relent at laſt, and the Pope had his money, *Anno.* 1246. *Ex Pariſienſi. fol.* 204.

Power given to the Biſhop of *Worceſter* to interdict the Land

The King fain to relent to the Pope.

Ye heard before of the *Greek* Churches, under the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, how they ſequeſtred themſelves from the company of the *Romiſh* Church. Inſomuch that *Germanus* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and the Archbiſhop of *Antioch* did Excommunicate the Biſhop of *Rome*. And after the ſaid *Germanus* another Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, at the Council of *Lions*, proteſted, That whereas before were thirty Suffragans belonging to that Province, now there were not three that held with the Church of *Rome*. And this breach, albeit it chiefly braſt out in the time of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, *Anno.* 1230. to open War and bloodſhed, yet the ſame had begun, and ſo continued long before in ſuch ſort as in the time of Pope *Innocent* the third, if any Prieſt had ſaid Maſs in their Churches, they would waſh the Altar afterwards; as appeareth by the Acts of the *Lateran* Council, *Capit.* 4. Wherefore Pope *Innocent* now (as his other predeceſſors had done before) bearing an old grudge againſt thoſe Churches of the *Greeks*, and neither willing by Conference to try with them, nor able by Learning to match with them, thought by force of Arms to ſubdue them, and ſent the Provincial of the Gray-Friers, with other Aſſociates of the ſame Order, into *England* with his Precept Authentical, containing in it theſe Articles.

Of this diviſion read before.

KING Hen. 3

The *Grecians* uſed to waſh their Altars, if any Latin Maſs had been ſaid upon them. *Ex ill. concil. Lateranenſi*, &c.

1. FIrſt, *That the ſaid Provincial, or his Friers, ſhould inquire upon all Uſurers being alive; and of all ſuch evil gotten goods, gained* per uſurariam pravitatem, *ſhould make attachment for the uſe and preparation for this War againſt the* Greeks, *Excommunicating all them by diſtrict cenſures of the Church that repugned againſt it.*

Goods gotten by Uſury, attached for the Pope.

Excommunication abuſed.

2. *That all they which took the badge of the Croſs, for the recovery of the ſaid Empire of the* Greeks, *or with Goods and Cattel would help ſufficiently unto the ſame, ſhould be abſolved of all their ſins.*

Falſe Abſolution of ſins.

3. Item, *That all the goods left in the Teſtaments of them that were departed, being gotten by Uſury, ſhould be taken up to the Subſidy of the Empire aforeſaid, and whoſoever repugned againſt the ſame, ſhould be Excommunicated.*

*Uſuraria pravitas.*

4. Item, *That ſuch goods as in the Teſtaments of the dead were left, or which ſhould be left three next years to come, for reſtitution of ſuch goods as the dead had evil gotten, they ſhould take up for the Subſidy of the Empire aforeſaid, Excommunicating*, &c.

Goods left in dead Mens Wills for reſtitution, converted to the Pope.

5. Item, *Such goods as were left to be diſtributed in godly uſes, after the arbitriment of Executors, by the Wills of the dead, or were not in their Wills deputed to any certain places or perſons named, nor yet were beſtowed by the ſaid Executors to the foreſaid uſes, they ſhould collect to the uſe and Subſidy aforeſaid, and give Certificate to the See Apoſtolick of the quantity thereof, Excommunicating all repugners and rebellers againſt the ſame.*

Goods bequeathed in dead Mens Wills converted to a War againſt the *Grecians*

6. Item, *That they ſhould diligently inquire of ſuch Mens goods evilly gotten or evilly come by, as were alive, and them they ſhould attach for the Subſidy aforeſaid, in caſe the party, which ought to be ſatisfied for thoſe goods evilly gotten, could not be found, giving Certificate thereof, and Excommunicating*, &c.

Goods ill gotten given to the Pope.

7. Item, *That the ſaid Provincial, or his Friers, ſhould have full power to abſolve thoſe that were Excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the Collection aforeſaid, ſo that the ſaid perſons did make due ſatisfaction to the deputies aforeſaid*, Ex Matth. Pariſienſi, fol. 205.

Abſolution for money.

What Man having eyes is ſo blind which ſeeth not theſe execrable dealings of the Pope to be ſuch, as would cauſe any Nation in the world to do as the wiſe *Grecians* did, and perpetually to abrenounce the Pope, and well to conſider the uſurped authority of that See not to be of God? But ſuch was the rude dulneſs then of miſerable *England*, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that they feeling what burthens were laid upon them, yet would play ſtill the Aſs of *Balaam*, or elſe the Horſe of *Eſop*, which receiving the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his own miſery, nor yet recover liberty. And ſo it fared with *England* under the Popes thraldom: as partly by theſe ſtories above hath been declared, partly by other in like caſe following is to be ſeen.

For ſo it followeth in the Hiſtory of the ſaid *Mat. Pariſ.* how the Pope taking more courage by his former abuſed boldneſs, and perceiving what a tame Aſs he had to ride upon, ceaſed not thus, but directed a new Precept the ſame year,

An unreaſonable exaction of the Pope.

KING Hen. 3 year, 1246. to the Prelates of *England*, commanding by the Authority Apoſtolick, That all Beneficed Men in the Realm of *England*, which were reſident upon their Benefices, ſhould yield to the Pope the third part of their goods, and they which were not reſident ſhould give the one half of their goods, and that for the ſpace of three years together; with terrible comminations to all them that did reſiſt: and ever with this clauſe withal, *Non obſtante*, which was like a Key that opened all Locks. Which ſum caſt together, was found to amount to 60000 pounds; which ſum of mony could ſcarce be found in all *England* to pay for King *Richards* Ranſom, *Pariſ. fol.* 207. The execution of this Precept was committed to the Biſhop of *London*, who conferring about the matter with his Brethren in the Church of *Pauls*, as they were buſily conſulting together, and bewailing the importable burthen of this contribution, which was impoſſible for them to ſuſtain, ſuddenly cometh in certain Meſſengers from the King, Sir *John Lexinton* Knight, and M. *Lawrence Martin* the Kings Chaplain, ſtraitly in the Kings name forbidding them in any caſe to conſent to this contribution, which ſhould be greatly to the prejudice and deſolation of the whole Realm, *Pariſ. fol.* 207.

*Non obſtante*

Threeſcore thouſand pound exacted of the Clergy to be paid to the Pope.

This being done, about the firſt day of *December* in the year above ſaid, ſhortly after in the beginning of the year 1247. about *February* the King called a Parliament, where by common advice it was agreed, That certain Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, to make manifeſt to the Court of *Rome* the exceeding grievances of the Realm, delivering moreover theſe Letters to the Pope in the name both of the Temporalty and alſo of the Clergy, as here followeth.

A Parliament.

## *Another Letter ſent to Pope* Innocent *the fourth, in the names of the whole Clergy and Commonalty of* England, Anno 1247.

A Letter ſent to the Pope in the name of all the Eſtates and Commonalty of the Realm.

SAnctiſſimo Patri in Chriſto, ac Domino *Innocentio*, Dei providentia ſummo Pontifici; univerſitas cleri & populi per Provintiam *Cant.* conſtituti devota pedum oſcula beatorum. Cum *Anglicana* Eccleſia, *&c. To the moſt holy Father in Chriſt, and Lord* Innocent, *by Gods Providence Chief Biſhop; the whole Commonalty both of the Clergy and Laity within the Province of* Canterbury *ſendeth devout kiſſings of his bleſſed feet. Like as the Church of* England, *ſince it hath firſt received the Catholick Faith, hath always ſhewed her ſelf faithful and devout in adhering to God, and to our Holy Mother the Church of* Rome, *ſtudying with all kind of ſervice to pleaſe and to ſerve the ſame, and thinking never otherwiſe to do, but rather to continue and increaſe as ſhe hath begun: even ſo now the ſame Church, moſt humbly proſtrate before the feet of your Holineſs, intirely beſeecheth your Clemency to accept her petition, in ſparing this impoſition of money, which ſo manifold ways for the ſubvertion of other Nations, by the commandment of your Holineſs, is laid upon us: conſidering that not only it is importable, but alſo impoſſible which is injoyned us. For although our Country ſometimes yieldeth forth fruit for the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor ſilver, neither were able to bring forth of long time ſo much as now adays is required. Which alſo being burdened and overcharged of late days with another ſuch like impoſition, but not ſo great as this, is not able any whit to anſwer unto that which is exacted.*

More Gold given in giving to the Church ſo much.

*Furthermore, beſides this commandment of your Holineſs, there is required of the Clergy a ſubſidy for our temporal King, whoſe neceſſities neither poſſibly we can, nor honeſtly we ought to forſake, whereby he may both withſtand the Invaſion of the Enemy, and maintain the right of his patrimony, and alſo recover again that hath been loſt. In conſideration whereof, we have directed the bearers hereof to the preſence of your Holineſs with our humble ſupplication, to explain to you the dangers and inconveniencies which are like to inſue upon the premiſſes, which by no means we are able to ſuſtain, although notwithſtanding we know our ſelves by all bonds of Charity to be obliged to your devotion and obedience. And becauſe our general Community hath no Seal proper, we have ſigned therefore theſe preſents with the publick Seal of the City of* London, *&c.* Ex Pariſienſi, *fol.* 209.

The like Letters were ſent alſo unto the Cardinals to the ſame effect. The Pope underſtanding theſe things, and perceiving that there was no thriving againſt ſuch a general conſent, and yet loth to forgo his ſweet harveſt, which he was wont to reap in *England*, craftily deviſed to ſend this anſwer again unto the King, much like to the ſame which he ſent before, which was, That although the Pope in time paſt, upon his own will and pleaſure to the importable grievance of the Realm of *England*, hath every where, and without reſpect, through the whole land made his proviſions in giving their Benefices unto his *Italians*, yet now, the Lord be praiſed, that tempeſt, ſaid he, is overblown: ſo that hereafter, if the Pope ſhall grant his proviſion for any of his Nephews or of his Cardinals, they ſhall come firſt and make their inſtant ſuit unto the King, without all inforcement, ſo that it ſhall ſtand wholly in the Kings free arbitriment to do herein what he thinketh good, *&c. Mat. Pariſ. fol.* 209. *b.*

The Popes anſwer again to the King of *England*.

This anſwer of the Pope albeit it was but a ſubtil ſhift for the time, yet neither did he long ſtand to that he had thus promiſed to the King. For ſhortly after, and within few days upon the ſame, and in the time alſo of the ſaid Parliament holden at *Wincheſter*, the Pope ſent two *Engliſh* Friers into the Realm, whoſe names were *John* and *Alexander*, with full authority, after the largeſt ſort, for new contributions. Who firſt pretending lowly ſubmiſſion to the King, while they had leave granted to range about the Realm, afterward, coming to the Biſhops and rich Abbots, ſhewed themſelves forth in their full authority, in ſuch ſort as they became rather Tyrants than Extortioners.

The Pope falſe of his promiſe.

Note the ſubtil practices of the Pope to get money.

Among others, coming to *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who of all other bare a ſpecial mind to the Order of Obſervants, theſe two Friers as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible Mandate with the Popes Bulls, required and eke commanded under the Popes mighty Curſe, to have the gathering in his Dioceſs of ſix thouſand marks. Likewiſe of the Abbot of Saint *Albans* they required four hundred marks, under great penalty, and that in ſhort time to be paid.

The Biſhop, although well liking before that Order of thoſe Friers, yet ſeeing the impudent behaviour, and more impudent requeſt of thoſe Merchants, thus anſwered to them again, That this exaction (ſaving, ſaith he, the Popes authority) was never heard of before, and neither was honeſt, nor yet poſſible to be performed; and moreover, was ſuch as did not only concern him, but the whole publick ſtate of the Clergy, and of the whole Realm in general; and therefore it ſhould be abſurdly and raſhly done of him to give them anſwer herein, before the King and the reſt of the Council, with others to whom the matter generally did appertain, were made privy thereunto, *&c.* and ſo for that time he ſhook them off, *Pariſ. fol.* 210.

The Biſhop of *Lincolne* anſwer to the Friers the Popes Meſſengers.

Furthermore, as touching the Abbot of S. *Albans*, when he alſo alledged the ſame cauſes, he pretended moreover that he would appeal, and ſo did, to the Pope and his Cardinals. Whereupon immediately was ſent down from Pope *Innocent* another Legate called *Johannes Anglicus*, an *Engliſh* Frier and Cardinal, who, bringing down a new ſpecial precept to the foreſaid Abbot, cited him either to appear at *London* the morrow after S. *Giles* day, or to diſburſe to the uſe of the Pope the foreſaid four hundred marks. By reaſon whereof the Abbot was driven to ſend his Proctors again, with a new ſupplication, to the Pope at *Lions*; who in the end, through great inſtance of moneyed friends, agreed with the Abbot for two hundred marks, beſides his other charges born, and ſo was that matter compounded little to the Abbots profit, *Pariſ. fol.* 213.

The Abbot of S. *Albans* maketh great ſute to the Pope for the 400 marks that he ſhould pay.

This *Johannes Anglicus* was the more fierce againſt the Abbot, becauſe he received him not with ſuch reverence as he thought meet for the Popes Legate.

To recite all damages and grievances received by the Biſhop of *Rome* in this Realm of *England*, neither is any Hiſtory ſufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, unneth is there any that would believe it. Notwithſtanding to thoſe above declared, this own I thought to commit likewiſe to memory, to the intent that they which now live in this age may behold and wonder in themſelves to ſee into what miſerable ſlavery, paſſing all meaſure, not only the Subjects, but Kings alſo of this Realm were

brought under the intolerable yoke of the Popes tyranny, which in thoſe days neither durſt any Man caſt off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example inſuing, with infinite others like to the ſame may appear.

Example how this Realm of *England* was oppreſſed miſerably by the Pope.

In the year of our Lord 1248. after that Pope *Innocent* the fourth had taken ſuch order in the Realm, that all Prelates of the Church were ſuſpended from collation of any Benefice, before the Popes Kinſfolks and Clerks of *Italy* had been firſt provided for; it happned upon the ſame, that the *Abbot* of *Abington* had a commandment from the Pope, to beſtow ſome Benefice of his Church in all haſte to a certain Prieſt of *Rome*, which the Abbot, as an obedient Child unto his Father the Pope, was preſt and ready to accompliſh accordingly. But the *Roman* Prieſt, not contented with ſuch as fell next hand, would tarry his time, to have ſuch as were principal and for his own appetite, having a ſpecial eye to the Benefice of the Church of S. *Helen* in *Abington*, which was then eſteemed worth an hundred marks by year, beſides other vales and commodities belonging to the ſame: the Collation whereof the Prieſt required by the authority Apoſtolical to be granted unto him.

As this paſt on, it chanced at laſt the Incumbent to dye and the Benefice to be empty. Which eſtſoons being known, the ſame day cometh à commandment, with great charge from the King to the Abbot, to give the Benefice to one *Aethelmare* the Kings Brother by the Mothers ſide, who at the ſame time was poſſeſſed with ſo many Benefices, as the number and value thereof was unknown. The Abbot here being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to do, whether to gratifie his King or to obey the Pope, took counſel with his friends: who, well adviſing of the matter, gave him counſel to prefer the Brother of his Prince and Patron, ſo that the King would undertake to ſtand in his defence againſt the Pope, rather than the *Romiſh* Prieſt, whom always he ſhould have lying there as a ſpie and watcher of him, and like a thorne ever in his eye: and ſo the King aſſuring the Abbot of his undoubted protection, and indemnity againſt all harms, the Benefice was conferred forthwith to the Kings Brother.

The *Roman* Prieſt, not a little grieved thereat, ſpeedeth himſelf in all haſte to the Biſhop of *Rome*, certifying him what was done, and partly alſo (as the manner is of Men) making it worſe than it was. Upon whoſe complaint the Pope eſtſoons in great anger cited up the Abbot perſonally to appear before him, to anſwer to the crime of diſobedience. The Abbot truſting upon the Kings promiſe and protection (which neither could help him in that caſe, niether durſt oppoſe himſelf againſt the Pope) being both aged and ſickly, was driven to travel up to the Court of *Rome*, in great heavineſs and bitterneſs of mind. Where in concluſion, after much vexation and bitter rebukes, beſides great expences, he was fain to ſatiſfie the Pope after his own will, compounding to give him yearly fifty marks in part of making him amends for his treſpaſs of diſobedience, *Ex Matt. Pariſ. fol.* 222.

The Abbot of *Abington* cited to appear before the Pope.

The Abbot of *Abington* condemned in 50 marks for denying of an *Engliſh* Benefice to an *Italian* the Popes Nephew.

To this alſo may be added another like fact of the Pope, as outragious as this, againſt the Houſe of *Binham*. For when the Benefice of *Weſtle* in the Dioceſs of *Ely* was void by the death of the Incumbent, who was an *Italian* and one of the Popes Chamber, the Donation of which Benefice belonged to the Priory of *Binham*; another *Italian* which was a Baſtard and unlearned, born in the City of *Genoa*, called *Heriggetto de Malchano de Valta*, brought down the Popes Letters to M. *Berardo de Nympha*, the Popes Agent here in *England*, with ſtrict charge and full authority, commanding him to ſee the ſaid Benefice to be conferred in any caſe to *Heriggetto*. Yea, and though the Benefice had been given already, yet notwithſtanding the poſſeſſor thereof ſhould be diſplaced, and the ſaid *Heriggetto* preferred: Yea alſo *Non obſtante*, that the ſaid Pope himſelf had before given his grant to the King and Realm of *England*, That one *Italian* ſhould not ſucceed another in any Benefice there; yet for all that the ſaid *Heriggetto* upon pain of Excommunication to be placed therein, *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi, fol.* 240.

A deteſtable extortion of the Pope uſed againſt the Priory of *Binham*.

And thus much hitherto of theſe matters, through the occaſion of the Eaſt Churches and the *Grecians*, to the intent all Men that read theſe Stories, and ſee the doings of this Weſtern Biſhop, may conſider what juſt cauſe theſe *Grecians* had to ſeclude themſelves from his ſubjection, and Communion. For what Chriſtian Communion is to be joyned with him which ſo contrary to Chriſt and his Goſpel ſeeketh for worldly Dominion, ſo cruelly perſecuteth his Brethren, ſo given to avarice, ſo greedy in getting, ſo injurious in oppreſſing, ſo inſatiable in his exactions, ſo malicious in revenging, ſtirring up Wars, depriving Kings, depoſing Emperors, playing *Rex* in the Church of Chriſt, ſo erronious in Doctrine, ſo abominably abuſing Excommunication, ſo falſe of promiſe, ſo corrupt in life, ſo void of Gods fear: and briefly, ſo far from all the parts of a true Evangelical Biſhop? For what ſeemeth he to care for the ſouls of Men, which ſetteth in Benefices Boys and outlandiſh *Italians:* and further, one *Italian* to ſucceed another, which neither did know the language of the flock, nor once would abide to ſee their faces? And who can blame the *Grecians* then for diſſevering themſelves from ſuch an oppreſſor and giant againſt Chriſt?

The miſeries that have riſen in *England* through ſubjection under the Church of *Rome*.

*England* plagued by the Pope when it needed not.

Whoſe wiſe example if this Realm had then followed, as they might, certes our predeceſſors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppreſſions, wars, commotions, great travels and charges, beſides the ſaving of innumerable thouſands of pounds, which the ſaid Biſhop full falſly had raked and tranſported out of this Realm of ours. But not to exceed the bounds of my Hiſtory, becauſe my purpoſe is not to ſtand upon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will paſs this over, leaving the judgment thereof to the further examination of the Reader. For elſe if I liſted to proſecute this Argument ſo far as matter would lead me, and truth peradventure would require me to ſay, I durſt not only ſay, but could well prove the Pope and Court of *Rome* to be the only fountain and principal cauſe, I ſay not only of much miſery here in *England*, but of all the publick calamities and notorious miſchiefs which have happned theſe many years through all theſe Weſt parts of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially of all the lamentable ruine of the Church, which not only we, but the *Grecians* alſo this day do ſuffer by the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As whoſoever well conſidereth by reading of Hiſtories the courſe of times, and vieweth withal the doings and acts paſſed by the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, together with the blind leading of his Doctrine, ſhall ſee good cauſe not only to think, but alſo to witneſs the ſame. Only one Narration touching this Argument, and yet not tranſgreſſing the Office of my Hiſtory, I mind (the Lord willing) to ſet before the Readers eyes, which happned even about this preſent time of this King *Henry*'s Reign, in the year of our Lord, 1244.

The Pope and Court of *Rome* the principal cauſe of all the publick calamities through Chriſtendom.

In the which year it chanced, that *Lewis* the *French* King, Son to Queen *Blanch*, fell very ſore ſick, lying in a ſwound or in a trance for certain days, in ſuch ſort as few thought he would have lived, and ſome ſaid he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his Mother, who ſorrowing bitterly for her Son, and given ſomewhat (as commonly the manner of Women is) to ſuperſtition, went and brought forth a piece of the Holy Croſs, with the Crown and the Spear; which piece of the Holy Croſs *Baldwinus* Emperor of *Conſtantinople* (whom the *Grecians* had depoſed a little before for holding with the Biſhop of *Rome*) had ſold unto the *French* King for a great ſum of money, and bleſſing him with the ſame, alſo laid the Crown and the Spear to his body, making a Vow withal in the perſon of her Son, That if the Lord would viſit him with health, and releaſe him of that infirmity, he ſhould be croſſed or marked with the Croſs, to viſit his Sepulchre, and there ſolemnly to render thanks in the Land which he had ſanctified with his blood. Thus as ſhe, with the Biſhop of *Paris*, and others there preſent were praying, behold the King, which was ſuppoſed of ſome to be dead, began with a ſigh to pluck to his arms and legs, and ſo ſtretching himſelf began to ſpeak, giving thanks to God, who from on high had viſited him, and called him from the danger of death. Which as the Kings Mother with others there took to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the Holy Croſs: ſo the King amending more and more, as ſoon as he was well recovered, received ſolemnly the badge of the Croſs, vowing for a Freewill Sacrifice unto God, that he, if the Counſel of his Realm would ſuffer him, would in his own perſon viſit the Holy Land: forgetting belike the rule of true Chriſtianity, where Chriſt teacheth us otherwiſe in the Goſpel,

The ſickneſs of *Lewis* the *French* King

The ſuperſtition of the Kings Mother.

The King recovereth his ſickneſs.

The people of *France* blinded with a falſe miracle.

The vain vow of *Lewis* the *French* King

The *Grecians* excuſed and purged in parting from the Church of *Rome*.

KING Hen. 3

Goſpel, ſaying, *That neither in this Mount nor in Samaria, nor at Jeruſalem the Lord will be worſhipped, but ſeeketh true worſhippers, which ſhall worſhip him in truth and verity*, &c. An. 1244. Pariſienſi, *fol.* 182.

The *French* King croſſed to go to the *Holy Land*. Great preparation in *France* toward that Voyage.

After this was great preparation and much ado in *France* toward the ſetting forth to the *Holy Land*. For after the King firſt began to be croſſed, the moſt part of the Nobles of *France*, with divers Archbiſhops and Biſhops, with Earls, and Barons, and Gentlemen to a mighty number, received alſo the Croſs upon their Sleeves. Amongſt whom was the Earl *Atrebacenſis* the Kings Brother, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Counteſs of *Flanders* with her two Sons, the *Earl* of *Britain* with his Son, the Earl of *Barenſis*, Earl of *Sweſſon*, Earl of St. *Paul*, Earl of *Druis*, Earl of *Retel*, with many Noble perſons more. Neither lacked here whatſoever the Pope could do, to ſet forward this holy buſineſs, in ſending his Legates and Friers into *France*, to ſtir the People to follow the King, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the King, to gather of the Univerſal Church of *France*, by the Popes Authority, the tenth part of all their Goods for three years ſpace together, upon this condition, that the King likewiſe would grant to the Pope the twentieth part for ſo many years after, to be gathered of the ſaid Church of *France*. Which was agreed, *An.* 1246. *Ex Matt. Pariſienſi*, fol. 204. b.

Contribution in *France* to the King's Voyage. The Pope maketh proviſion for his contribution alſo in *France*.

ANNO 1247

Shortly after this, in the year of our Lord one thouſand two hundred forty and ſeven, followed a Parliament in *France*, where the King with his Nobles being preſent, there was declared how the King of *Tartarians* or *Turks*, hearing of the Voyage of the *French* King, writeth a Letter to him, requiring that he will become his ſubject. In the which Parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which ſhould be after the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* the very next year enſuing. Alſo they that were croſſed were ſworn to perſiſt in their purpoſe, and ſentence of the Popes great Curſe denounced to all them that went from the ſame: *Matth. Pariſ.* Fol. 211. Furthermore, for the better ſpeed in his journey, the King through all his Realm cauſed it to be Proclaimed, That if any Merchant or other had been injured at any time by the Kings Exactors, either by oppreſſion, or borrowing of Mony, let him bring forth his Bill, ſhewing how or wherein, and he ſhould be recompenced. At which time *William Longſpath* a worthy Warrier, with the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and certain other great men in the Realm of *England*, moved with the example of the *French* men, prepared themſelves likewiſe to the ſame journey.

The time of the King's Voyage appointed.

The *French* King ready to recompence all injuries done to his Subjects. *William Longſpath* with other Noble *Engliſh*-men prepared to the ſame Voyage.

Perſwaſions given to the *French* King to turn his Voyage.

The next year after this inſuing, which was 1248, the *French* King yet ſtill remaining in his purpoſed journey, Lady *Blanch* his Mother, alſo the Biſhop of *Paris* his Brother, with the Lords of his Council, and other Nobles, and his ſpecial Friends, advertiſed him with great perſwaſions to alter his mind, touching that ſo adventurous and ſo dangerous a journey, for that his Vow (ſaid they) was unadviſedly made, and in time of his ſickneſs, when his mind was not perfectly ſtabliſhed: and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertain; the King of *England* being on the one ſide, the Emperor on the other ſide, and the *Pictavians* in the midſt, ſo fugitive and unſtable: and as concerning his Vow, the Pope ſhould friendly diſpence with him, conſidering the neceſſity of his Realm, and weakneſs of his Body. Beſides all this, his Mother upon her bleſſing required him, his Brethren of all love deſired him to ſtay at home, and not in his Perſon to adventure; others might be ſent in his room, with no leſs Furniture to atchieve that Enterprize, and to diſcharge him of his Vow, eſpecially ſeeing at the making thereof his Senſes were feeble, his Body weak, and Reaſon, through ſickneſs and very death almoſt decaied.

The Kings Anſwer to his Lords saying downe and taking up his Croſs again.

ANNO 1248

To whom the King again, Forſomuch (ſaid he) as you ſay, that for feebleneſs of my Senſes I took this Vow upon me: Io therefore as you here will me, I lay down the Croſs that I took. And putting his hand to his Shoulder, he tare off the Badges of the Croſs, ſaying to the Biſhop, Here I reſign to you the Croſs wherewith I was ſigned. At the ſight whereof there was no ſmall rejoycing of all that were there preſent. To whom the King then, both altering his Countenance and his Speech, thus ſpake: My Friends (ſaid he) whatſoever I was then in my ſickneſs, now I thank God I am of perfect Senſe, and Reaſon ſound, and now I require my Croſs again to be reſtored unto me: ſaying moreover, That no Bread ſhould come in his Head, before he were Recognized again with the ſame Croſs, as he was before. At the hearing whereof all there preſent were attonied, ſuppoſing that God had ſome great matter to work, and ſo moved no more Queſtions unto him.

The *French* King ſetteth forth on his journey.

Upon this drew nigh the Feaſt of *John Baptiſt*, which was the time ſet for the ſetting forth. And now being in a readineſs, the King in few days after was entring his journey: but yet one thing lacked. For the King, perceiving the mortal variance between the Pope and good *Frederick* the Emperor, thought beſt firſt before his going to have that matter appeaſed, whereby his way both might be ſafer through the Emperors Countries, and alſo leſs jeopardy at home after his departure; and therefore upon the ſame, he took firſt his way to *Lions*, where the Pope was, partly to take his leave; but moſt eſpecially to make reconcilement between the Emperor and the Pope.

The *French* King deſireth to reconcile the Pope and the Emperor.

The Emperor *Frederick* purgeth himſelf to the Pope and Council.

Where is to be noted by the way, That as touching the good Emperor there was no let nor ſtay. Who rather ſought all means how to compaſs the Popes favour, and never could obtain it: inſomuch that before he ſhould be Excommunicated in the Council of *Lions*, he not only anſwered ſufficiently by *Thadeus* his Atturney, diſcharging himſelf againſt whatſoever Crimes or Objections could be brought againſt him; but ſo far humbled himſelf to the Pope and the Council, that for all detriments, damages, loſſes, or wrongs done of his part, what amends ſoever the Pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the uttermoſt. This would not be taken.

The ſubmiſſion of the Emperor.

The worthy offer of the noble Emperor.

Furthermore, if the Pope (he ſaid) could not abide his tarrying in his own Dominions and Empire, he would go fight againſt the *Saracens* and *Turks*, never to return into *Europe* again, offering there to recover the Lands and Kingdoms whatſoever did at any time belong to Chriſtendom, ſo that the Pope only would be contented that *Henry* his Son (which was then Nephew to King *Henry* here in *England*) ſhould be Emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

The Emperor offereth to put in the *French* King and King of *England* to be his Sureties.

Then he offered for truth of his Promiſe, to put in the *French* King and the King of *England* to be his Sureties, or elſe for trial of his cauſe to ſtand to their Award and Arbitrement. Neither would that be granted.

The Emperor deſireth to Anſwer for himſelf in the Council.

At laſt he deſired, that he might come himſelf and anſwer before the Council. But the proud Pope in no caſe would abide that, ſaying, That he did not yet find himſelf ſo ready and meet for Martyrdom, to have him to come thither to the Council; for if he did, he would depart himſelf, *&c. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi*, Fol. 187.

The beginning of the *Turks* Victories over Chriſtendom.

This obſtinate rancor and diveliſh malice of Pope *Innocent* and his predeceſſor, againſt that valiant Emperor, and againſt the *Grecians*, what diſturbance and miſchief it wrought to the whole Church, what ſtrength it gave to the *Saracens* and *Tartarians*, how it impaired Chriſtian Concord, and weakned all Chriſtian Lands, not only the Hoſt of the *French* King did find ſhortly after, but Chriſtendom even to this day may and doth feel and rue. Neither can in Stories be found any greater cauſe which firſt made the *Turks* ſo ſtrong, to get ſo much ground over Chriſtendom as they have, than the Peſtilent working of this Pope, in Depoſing and Excommunicating this worthy Emperor. For as there was never Emperor of long time, which more Victorioully prevailed in bridling and keeping under theſe enemies of Chriſt, or would have done more againſt them; than the ſaid *Frederick* if he might have been ſuffered: ſo after the Depoſing and Excommunicating of him, when the *French* King neither would abide at home, as he was Counſelled, neither was yet able, without the help of others, to withſtand the force and multitude of the ſaid *Saracens* and *Tartarians* being now joyned together, neither yet could the Emperor be ſuffered by the Pope to reſcue the King: it followed thereof, that the good King being taken Priſoner, and all his Army deſtroyed, the *Turks* thereupon got ſuch a hand, and ſuch a courage againſt the Chriſtians, that ever ſince they have burſt in further upon us, and now have prevailed ſo far, as neither the power of the Pope, nor of all Chriſtendom is able to drive them out; as hereafter by ſequel of Stories is further to be declared.

In

Pope Innocent the fourth would not be reconciled with the Emperor.

In the mean time, to return where before we left, when the *French* King coming thus unto the Pope at *Lions* to intreat for the Emperor, could find no favour, he took his leave, and with great heavineſs departed, ſetting forward on his journey unto *Marſilia*, and ſo Sailed to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, where he remained all that Winter, ſo that falling into penury and lack of Victuals, he was fain to ſend to the *Venetians* and other Iſlands by, for help of Proviſion. The *Venetians* gently ſent unto him ſix great Ships laden with Corn, Wine, and other Victuals requiſite, beſides the relief of other Iſlands more. But eſpecially *Frederick* the Emperor, underſtanding of their want, ſo furniſhed the *French* Camp with all plenty of neceſſaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the *French* King, moved with the kindneſs of the Emperor, wrote his ſpecial Letters to the Pope in the Emperors behalf, but the hard heart of the Pope would not relent. *Blanchia* the Kings Mother in *France*, hearing what the Emperor had done to her Son, ſent him moſt hearty thanks, with preſents and rewards manifold: *Mat. Pariſ.* Pag. 226.

The *French* Army relieved by the Emperor *Frederick*.

The *French* King again intreateth the Pope for the Emperor.

*Damiata* gotten again by *French* men.

In this mean time, about the beginning of *October*, the *French* men got *Damiata*, being the principal Fort or Hold of the *Saracens* in all *Egypt*, in the year one thouſand two hundred forty and nine. After the winning of *Damiata*, the Prince and People of the *Saracens*, being aſtonied at the loſs thereof, offered to the Chriſtians great ground and poſſeſſions more than ever belonged to Chriſtendom before, ſo that they might have *Damiata* to them reſtored again. But the pride of the Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother, would in no caſe accept the offers of the *Saracens*, but requireth both *Damiata* and *Alexandria* the chief Metropolitan City of all *Egypt*, to be delivered unto them. The *Saracens*, ſeeing the pride and greedineſs of the *French* men, in no caſe would abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Chriſtians, as in the end it proved. *Ex Mat. Pariſ.* Fol. 229.

The Pride of the Earl of *Artois*.

Death of certain of the *French* Captains in the way.

Firſt, in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and in the journey before, died the Earl of *Palatin*, and one of the twelve Peers of *France*, alſo the Earl of St. *Paul* and *Bleſſe*, who had under him fifty Enſigns, which were all after his Death ſcattered abroad and diſperſed; alſo died *Johannes de Denis* a valiant Captain, with many other Noble Perſonages both Men and Women, which, by altering the Air and Diet, there deceaſed.

Anno 1250 Victory of the *French* men over the *Saracens*

The next year inſuing, which was 1250, about *Aſhwedneſday*, the *French* men, iſſuing out of their Tents by the City of *Damiata*, flew upon the *Saracens* which beſiged them, and ſo after a great number of the Enemies ſlain, with Victory and great Spoils, returned to their Tents again. Now within the City of *Damiata* was the Queen with her Ladies, the Popes Legate, and Biſhops, with a Gariſon of Horſmen and Footmen for the Defence of the City ſtrongly appointed. The next day, the *French*-men ſuppoſing to have the like hand of the *Saracens*, as they had the day before, gave a freſh aſſault upon them, but in that conflict the *Saracens* had ſo ſtrongly appointed themſelves, that the *Frenchmen* loſt ten times more than they got the day before, and ſo, after a great ſlaughter of their men, retired unto their Tents again. Whereupon the *Saracens* began to take great hearts and courage againſt our men, ſtopping alſo the paſſages round about the City of *Damiata*, that no Victuals could paſs unto them. In like manner the *Soldan* alſo, gathering all the Gallies about *Alexandria* and all the Land of *Egypt*, ſo incloſed the Seas, that no intercourſe ſhould be to them by Water.

*French* men diſcomfited by the *Saracens*.

The *French* men again well offered by the *Soldan*.

At length after long Talk and Conſultation between them on both ſides, the *Soldan* adviſed them betimes to reſign unto him the City of *Damiata*, with the Furniture which they found therein, and they ſhould have all the Country about *Jeruſalem*, with all the Captives of the Chriſtians, friendly reſtored unto them: wherewith the Chriſtians (ſaid he) ought to be contented, and to ſeek no further, but only to have the Land of *Jeruſalem*; which being granted to them, they ſhould not incroach into their Lands and Kingdoms, whereto they had no right. This form of Peace, as it liked well the meaner ſort of the poor Soldiers, and divers others of the ſaid Council and Nobility; ſo the proud Earl of *Artois*, the Kings Brother, in no caſe would aſſent thereto, but ſtill required the City of *Alexandria* to be yielded unto them. Which the *Egyptians* by no means would agree unto.

The Earl of *Artois* and the Popes Legate again refuſe the Form of Peace offered.

KING Hen. 3

From that time the *French* Army, being compaſſed by Sea and by Land, began every day more and more to be diſtreſſed for lack of Victuals and with Famine, being driven to that miſery, that they were fain to eat their own Horſes in the Lent-time, which ſhould have ſerved them unto other uſes. Neither could any Chriſtian, nor *Frederick* being Depoſed by the Pope, be able to ſend them any ſuccor. Furthermore, the more miſery the Chriſtians were in, the more fiercely did the *Saracens* preſs upon them on every ſide, deteſting their forward wilfulneſs. Inſomuch that divers of the Chriſtian Soldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privily conveyed themſelves, as they could, out of the Camp to the *Saracens*, who were gladly received and relieved, and ſome ſuffered ſtill to keep their Faith, ſome Marrying Wives amongſt them, and for hope of honour did Apoſtate to their Law, and ſo wrought ſo little harm to the Chriſtians. The *Soldan*, being perfectly inſtructed by theſe fugitives of all things belonging to the Kings Army, ſent him word in deriſion, asking where were all his Mattocks, Forks, and Rakes, his Scithes, Plowes and Harrows, which he brought over with him, or why he did not occupy them, but let them lie by him to ruſt and canker? All this and much more the King with his *French*-men were fain to take well in worth. It happened ſhortly after that this *Soldan* died, being Poyſoned of his own Servants; which was to the Chriſtians a more heaping of their miſeries. For albeit the ſaid *Soldan* had been a cruel Tyrant to the Chriſtians, yet was he hated of his own people, wherby his ſtrength was the leſs: after whom ſucceeded another much more cruel. Who as he was better loved, ſo he became much ſtronger, by a general confederacy of all the *Saracens* which were in the Eaſt parts, joyning now together. So that when the Chriſtians deſired now to have the form of Peace before proffered, he preciſely denied them. And ſo the *French* Hoſt, which at firſt began to be feared, by their pride and over-much greedineſs grew more and more in contempt amongſt their Enemies, and now was utterly deſpiſed.

Famine and miſery in the *French* Camp.

The *French* men Eat their Horſes in Lent-time.

The *Soldan*'s Meſſage deriding the *French* men.

The *Soldan* dieth, a worſe followeth.

The *French*-men deſire again the Peace offered before and could not have it.

The Chriſtians, thus ſeeing all things to go backward with them, and how the Infidel *Saracens* daily did prevail, began to murmur againſt God, and ſome alſo, which were well ſetled before, to ſtagger in their Religion, caſting out theſe words of Infidelity: How is this (ſaid they) that the Lord hath left us, in whoſe cauſe we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we been confounded by theſe *Saracens* and Infidels, who with ſhedding of our blood have injoyed great ſpoils and victories? Firſt this City of *Damiata*, which we Chriſtians had gotten dearly with effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood, afterwards we were conſtrained for nought to reſign up again. After that, the Army of the Templars, fighting for the Holy Temple againſt the *Saracens*, near to *Antioch*, was vanquiſhed, and the Standard-bearer ſlain in the fields. Again, within theſe few years, our *French* men, fighting in like manner againſt the *Saracens* at the City of *Gazara*, were put to the worſt, and many afterward out of Captivity Ranſomed, by *Richard*, Duke of *Exceſter*, Brother to the King of *England*, *Henry* the third. Then came in the *Choſmorins* ſent by the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, which by a wile Invaded the Chriſtians in the City of *Jeruſalem*, where almoſt all the Chriſtian Army being in the Holy Land, were deſtroyed. And now here our moſt Chriſtian King, together with the whole Nobility, is like to be in danger, utterly to be overthrown. And how is it that the Lord thus ſtandeth againſt us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them, than of us, *&c?* *Matthæus Pariſ. fol.* 231. Such murmuring words of an unſtable Faith many there began to caſt out, as taking diſpleaſure for their ſufferings: but not conſidering on the other ſide what Idolaters they were, what Pride and Diſcord was amongſt them, what Cruelty and Murther they had ſhewed at home in Perſecuting the poor *Albingenſes*, what Superſtition they firſt brought out with them, with what Idolatry they proceeded, putting their truſt in Maſſes, in the Popes Indulgences, in worſhipping of Images, and praying to Saints. And what helps then could they look for at Gods hand, which had Images in their Temples, to fight againſt them which had none? Or what marvel, if the Lord of Hoſts went not with their Army, committing ſuch Idolatry every day in their

Victories over the Templars and Keepers of *Jeruſalem*.

Cauſes debated why the Lord did not proſper the Chriſtians fighting againſt the *Saracens*.

their Pavilions to their Sacramental Bread and Wine as they did, and fighting with the ſtrength of their own merits, and not only by the power of their Faith in Chriſt, which is only the Victory that overcometh the World? *John* 1. Finally, having in their Camp the Legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his Enemy: as by example of *Frederick* the Emperor may be well perceived; who, after he was accurſed by Pope *Gregory* a little before, coming the ſame time in War againſt the *Saracens* in *Paleſtina*, Gods Bleſſing wrought ſo mightily with him, that without any blood-ſhed he recovered *Jeruſalem*, and ſet all the Country about it in great quietneſs, till at laſt the Popiſh Templars, which at the Popes ſetting on went about to betray him to the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, and ſo loſt all again by their own malicious miſchief, that the Emperor before had gotten. *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi.*

But let us proceed further in this holy progreſs: The *French* King with his Army ſeeing himſelf diſtreſſed, and no good there to be done againſt the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, after he had ſufficiently Fortified the City of *Damiata*, with an able Gariſon left with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he removed his Tents from thence to go Eaſtward. In whoſe Army alſo followed *William Longſpath* (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied with a picked number of *Engliſh* Warriers retaining unto him: But ſuch was the diſdain of the *French* men againſt this *William Longſpath* and the *Engliſh* men, that they could not abide them, but flouted them after opprobrious manner, with *Engliſh* Tails, inſomuch that the good King himſelf had much ado to keep peace between them.

The original cauſe of this grudge between them began thus: There was, not far from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, a ſtrong Fort or Caſtle, repleniſhed with great Ladies, and rich Treaſure of the *Saracens*: the which Hold it chanced the ſaid *William Longſpath* with his Company of *Engliſh* Soldiers to get, more by good luck and politick dexterity, than by open force of Arms, whereby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the *French* men had knowledge hereof, they, being not made privy thereto, began to conceive an heart-burning againſt the *Engliſh* Soldiers, and could not ſpeak well of them after that. It happened again, not long after, that the ſaid *William* had intelligence of a company of rich Merchants among the *Saracens*, going to a certain Fair about the parts of *Alexandria*, having their Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, richly Laden with Silks, precious Jewels, Spices, Gold and Silver, with Cart-loads of other Wares, beſides Victuals and other Furniture, whereof the Soldiers then ſtood in great need. He having ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of *Engliſh* men unto him that he could, and ſo by Night falling upon the Merchants, ſome he ſlew with their Guids and Conductors, ſome he took, ſome he put to flight. The Carts with the Drivers and with the Oxen, and the Camels, Aſſes and Mules, with the whole Carriage and Victuals he took and brought with him, loſing in all the Skirmiſh but one Soldier, and eight of his Servitors: of whom notwithſtanding ſome he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being known in the Camp, forth came the *French* men, which all this while loitered in their Pavilions, and meeting their Carriage by the way, took all the foreſaid Prey whole unto themſelves, rating the ſaid *William* and the *Engliſh* men, for ſo adventuring and iſſuing out of the Camp without leave or knowledge of their General, contrary to the Diſcipline of War. *William*, ſaid again, he had done nothing but he would anſwer to it, whoſe purpoſe was to have the ſpoil divided to the behoof of the whole Army: when this would not ſerve, he being ſore grieved in his mind, ſo cowardly to be ſpoiled of that, for the which he ſo adventurouſly had travelled, went to the King to complain. But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerve, by reaſon of the proud Earl of *Artois* the Kings Brother, which upon deſpite and diſdain ſtood againſt him, he bidding the King farewell, ſaid he would ſerve him no longer. And ſo *William de Longſpath* with the reſt of his company, breaking from the *French* Hoſt, went to *Achon*. Upon whoſe departure then ſaid the Earl of *Artois*: Now is the Army of *French* men well rid of theſe tailed people. Which words, ſpoken in great deſpite, were evil taken of many good men that heard him: *Ex Mat. Pariſienſi*, fol. 233, 234.

Before the arriving of the *French* Army in the Land of *Egypt*, the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, having before intelligence of their coming, committed the cuſtody of *Damiata* unto a certain Prince of his whom he ſpecially truſted, committing alſo to his Brother the keeping of *Kaira* and *Babylonia*. It followed now after the taking of *Damiata*, that the *Soldan* of *Babylon* accuſed the Prince which had the cuſtody thereof, before his Nobles, of prodition, as giving the City unto the Chriſtians. Who notwithſtanding in judgment did ſufficiently clear himſelf, declaring how he was certified that the King would Land at *Alexandria*, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the Kings arrival there. But by diſtreſs of weather, he miſſing of his purpoſe, and the King Landing about *Damiata*, by reaſon thereof the City was taken unprovided, he notwithſtanding with his Company reſiſting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and ſo departed out, curſing (ſaid he) *Mahomet* and his Law. At which words the *Soldan*, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a Traytor and Blaſphemer, and to be Hanged, albeit he had ſufficiently purged himſelf by the judgment of the Court. His Brother which was the Keeper of *Kaira* and *Babylonia*, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good mind to the Chriſtian Religion, deviſed in himſelf how to give the ſaid City of *Kaira* and *Babylonia* to the *French* King, and ſo in moſt ſecret wiſe ſent to the King, ſhewing his full purpoſe and what had happened: and furthermore inſtructing the King in all things how and what he ſhould do, and moreover requiring the Sacrament of Baptiſm, meaning indeed good Faith, and ſending alſo away all the Chriſtian Captives which he had with him in Priſon. The King, being glad hereof, ſent in all haſt for *William Longſpath*, promiſing a full redreſs of all injuries paſt; who, upon hope of ſome good luck towards, came at the Kings requeſt, and ſo joyned with the *French* power again.

*Babylon in Egypt.*

*How Damiata was taken of the Chriſtians.*

*The Keeper or Tribune of Damiata wrongfully put to death by the Soldan.*

*The Tribune of Kaira deſireth to be chriſtened.*

*William Longſpath ſent for again, and cometh.*

## The lamentable overthrow and ſlaughter of the *French* Army fighting againſt the Infidels, through the ſiniſter counſel of the Popes Legate.

TO make the Story ſhort, the King, ſetting forward from *Damiata*, directed his journey towards *Kaira*, ſlaying by the way ſuch *Saracens* as there were ſet to ſtop the Victuals from *Damiata*. The *Soldan* in the mean time hearing of the couragious coming of the *French* Hoſt, as being in great hope to Conquer all; ſent unto the King by certain that were next about him, offering to the Chriſtians the quiet and full poſſeſſion of the *Holy Land*, with all the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and more; beſides other infinite Treaſure of Gold and Silver, or what elſe might pleaſure them, only upon this condition, they would reſtore again *Damiata*, with the Captives there, and ſo would joyn together in mutual Peace and Amity. Alſo they ſhould have all their Chriſtian Captives delivered home, and ſo both Countries ſhould freely paſs one to another with their Wares and Traffick, ſuch as they luſted to adventure. Furthermore, it was alſo firmly affirmed and ſpoken, that the *Soldan* with moſt of his Nobles were minded no leſs than to leave the filthy Law of *Mahomet*, and receive the Faith of Chriſt, ſo that they might quietly enjoy their Lands and Poſſeſſions. The ſame day great quietneſs had entred (no doubt) in all Chriſtendom, with the end of much bloodſhed and miſery, had it not been for the Pope and his Legate, who (having commandment from the Pope, that if any ſuch offers ſhould come, he ſhould not take them) ſtoutly *& frontoſe* (as the words be of the Story) *contradicens*, in no wiſe would receive the conditions offered: *Pariſ.* fol. 233.

*The Story how the French Army was overthrown fighting againſt the Saracens.*

*The fare offers of the Soldan to the French men, if they had had grace to take it.*

*The Pope and his Legate cauſe of all this miſchief.*

Thus, while the Chriſtians unprofitably lingered the time in debating this matter, the *Soldan* in the mean time got intelligence of the compact between the Tribune of *Kaira* and the *French* King; whereupon he ſent in all haſt to the City of *Kaira* to apprehend the Tribune till the truth were fully tried, which ſeemed to him more apparent, for that the Chriſtian Priſoners were already delivered. Hereupon the *Soldan* being in ſome better hope, and leſs fear, refuſed that which before he had offered to the Chriſtians; albeit they with great inſtance afterward ſued to the

*The Chriſtians refuſing good offers could not have them when they would.*

A cruel Proclamation of the *Saracens* againſt the Chriſtians.

the *Soldan*, and could not obtain it. Then the *Soldan*, being wholly bent to try the matter by the ſword, ſent to the Eaſt parts for an infinite multitude of *Souldiers*, giving out by Proclamation, that whoſoever could bring in any Chriſtian Mans head, ſhould have ten talents, beſides his ſtanding wages. And whoſoever brought his right hand ſhould have five. He that brought his foot ſhould have two talents for his reward.

The Earl of *Artois* with the third part of the Chriſtian Army paſſeth over the River *Nilus*.

After theſe things thus prepared on both ſides to the neceſſity of War, the King cometh to the great River *Nilus*, having gotten together many Botes, thinking by them to paſs over, as upon a ſure Bridge. On the other ſide the *Soldan* pitched himſelf to withſtand his coming over. In the mean time happned a certain Feaſt amongſt the *Saracens*, in which the *Soldan* was abſent, leaving his Tents by the water ſide. Which being foreſeen by a certain *Saracen* lately converted to Chriſt, ſerving with Earl *Robert* the Kings Brother, and ſhewing them withal a certain ſhallow Ford in the River of *Nilus*, where they might more eaſily paſs over; The ſaid Earl *Robert* and the Maſter of the Temple with a great power, eſteemed to the third part of the Army, iſſued over the River, after whom alſo followed *William Longſpath* with his band of *Engliſh* Souldiers. Theſe, being together joyned on the other ſide the water, incountered the ſame day with the *Saracens* remaining in the Tents, and put them to the worſe. After this Victory gotten, the *French* Earl ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole Earth, would needs forward, dividing himſelf from the main Hoſt, thinking to win the ſpurs alone. To whom certain ſage Men of the Temple giving contrary counſel, adviſed him not ſo to do, but rather to return and take their whole Company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure againſt all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid privily for them. The manner of that people (they ſaid) they better knew, and had more experience thereof than he: alledging moreover, their wearied bodies, their tired Horſes, their famiſhed Souldiers, and the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitudes of the Enemies, eſpecially at this preſent brunt, in which the adverſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt either in winning all, or loſing all: with other ſuch like words of perſwaſion. Which when the proud Earl did hear, being inflamed with no leſs arrogancy than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts he reviled them, called them cowardly daſtards, and betrayers of the whole Country, objecting unto them the common report of many, which ſaid, That the Land of the Holy Croſs might be won to Chriſtendom, were it not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hoſpitalars and their fellows, *&c.*

*William Longſpath.*

Victory of the Chriſtians againſt the *Saracens*.

Good counſel given, but not followed.

The deſpiteful rebukes of Earl *Robert* to them that gave him good counſel.

To theſe contumelious rebukes when the Maſter of the Temple anſwered again for him and his fellows, bidding him diſplay his Enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to follow him, as he to go before them. Then began *William de Longſpath* the worthy Knight to ſpeak, deſiring the Earl to give ear to thoſe Men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe Countries and people than he had, commending alſo their counſel to be diſcreet and wholeſome, and ſo turning to the Maſter of the Temple began with gentle words to mitigate him likewiſe. The Knight had not half ended his talk, when the Earl, taking the words out of his mouth, began to fume and ſwear, crying out of theſe cowardly *Engliſh*-men with tails. What a pure Army (ſaid he) ſhould we have here, if theſe tails, and tailed people were purged from it? With other like words of great villany and much diſdain. Whereunto the *Engliſh* Knight anſwering again, Well, Earl *Robert*, ſaid he, whereſoever you dare ſet your foot, my ſtep ſhall go as far as yours; and as I believe, we go this day where you ſhall not dare to come near the tail of my Horſe: as in the event it proved true, *Ex Matth. Pariſ. fol.* 236.

The worthy anſwer of the *Engliſh* Knight to Earl *Robert* the Kings Brother.

In this mean time the *French* King, intending to advance forward his Army, thought beſt to ſend away ſuch as were feeble and lacked Armor, unto *Damiatia* by Boats. The *Soldan*, hearing thereof prepared a great number of Boats to be carried by Wain and Cart to the water ſide; which meeting them by the way, drowned and deſtroyed by wild-fire every one, ſo that of all that company of our Chriſtians, of whom ſome were burned, ſome ſlain, ſome drowned, not one eſcaped alive, ſave one only *Engliſh*-man, named *Alexander Giffard*; who, although he was ſore wounded in the chace in five places in his body, yet eſcaped to the *French* Camp, bringing word unto the King what was done. And this was upon the water.

A number of *French* Souldiers ſent to *Damiata*, drowned and ſlain by the way.

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Now upon the Land, ſeeing Earl *Robert* would needs ſet forward, weening to get all the glory unto himſelf before the coming of the Hoſt; firſt they invaded a little Village or Caſtle which was not far off, called *Manſor*. The Country Boors, and Pagans in the Villages by, ſeeing the Chriſtians come, ran out with ſuch a main cry and ſhout, that it came to the *Soldans* hearing, which was nearer than our Men did think. In the mean while the Chriſtians, invading and entring into the Munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtood above, whereby a great number of our Men were loſt, and the Army ſore maimed; and almoſt in diſpair. Then immediately upon the ſame cometh the *Soldan* with all his main power; who ſeeing the Chriſtians Army to be divided, and the Brother ſeparated from the Brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruel fight. Then the Earl began to repent him of his heady raſhneſs, but it was too late: who, then ſeeing *William* the *Engliſh* Knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the Enemies, cryed unto him moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſaid he) doth fight againſt us. To whom the Knight anſwering again, God forbid (ſaith he) that my Fathers Son ſhould run away from the face of a *Saracen*: The Earl then turning his Horſe fled away, thinking to avoid by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and ſo taking the River of *Thafnis*, oppreſſed with Harneſs, was there ſunken and drowned. Thus the Earl being gone, the *French* Men began to deſpair and ſcatter. Then *William de Longſpath*, bearing all the force of the Enemies, ſtood againſt them as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a *Saracen*, until at length his Horſe being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer ſtand, who yet notwithſtanding, as he was down, mangled their feet and legs, and did the *Saracens* much ſorrow, till at the laſt after many blows and wounds, being ſtoned of the *Saracens*, he yielded his life. After the death of him, then the *Saracens* ſetting upon the reſidue of the Army, whom they had compaſſed on every ſide, devoured and deſtroyed them all, inſomuch that ſcarce one Man eſcaped alive, ſaving two Templars, one Hoſpitular, and one poor raſcal Souldier, which brought tydings hereof to the King.

The Village and Caſtle of *Manſor* aſſaulted by the *French* men.

The *French* men diſcomfited at the Siege of *Manſor*.

Earl *Roberts* Army incloſed by the *Soldan* of *Babylon*.

The cowardly flying away of the Earl *Robert*.

Earl *Robert* the Kings Brother drowned.

The manly courage of *William Longſpath*.

*William Longſpath* ſlain in Battel.

The *French* men overthrown.

Theſe things being known in the *French* Camp unto the King and his Souldiers; firſt of their drowning which were ſent to *Damiata*, then of their ruine and ſlaughter of the Army, with the Kings Brother by the Town of *Manſor*, there was no little ſorrow and heavineſs on every ſide, with great fear and doubt in themſelves what was beſt to do. At laſt, when they ſaw no remedy, but they muſt ſtand manfully to revenge the blood of their Brethren, then the King with his Hoſt paſt over the flood of *Nilus*, and coming to the place where the Battel had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the *Saracens* for the reward before promiſed by the *Soldan* or *Sultan*, unto them that could bring the head or hand of any Chriſtian, had ſo mangled the Chriſtians, leaving their bodies unto the wild Beaſts. Thus as they were ſorrowing and lamenting the ruful caſe of their Chriſtian fellows, ſuddenly appeareth the coming of the *Soldan*, with a multitude of innumerable thouſands. Againſt whom the *French*-men eſtſoons prepare themſelves to incounter, and ſo the Battel being ſtruck up, the Armies began to joyn. But alack for pity, what could the *French*-men here do, their number firſt ſo maimed, their hearts wounded already with fear and ſorrow, their bodies conſumed with penury and Famine, their Horſes for feebleneſs not able to ſerve them? In concluſion, the *French*-men were overthrown, ſlain, and diſpatched; and ſeeing there was no flying, happy was he that firſt could yield himſelf. In which miſerable conflict, the King with his two Brethren, and a few that clave unto him, were taken Captives, to the confuſion of all Chriſtian Realms, and preſented to the *Soldan*. All the reſidue were put to the Sword, or elſe ſtood to the mercy of the *Saracens*, whether to be ſlain or to remain in woful Captivity. And this was the end of that ſorrowful

The forrows in the *French* Camp for loſs of their brethren.

The heads and hands of the Chriſtians cut off.

The battel between the *French*-King and the *Soldan*. The *French* Army overthrown.

The pitiful ſlaughter of the *French* men.

The *French* King with his two brethren, taken Captive by the *Soldan*.

Battel,

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Battel, wherein almoſt all the Nobility of *France* was ſlain, neither was there one man well-near in the multitude which eſcaped free, but either was ſlain, or taken Priſoner. Furthermore, they that were ſlain or left half alive, had every one his Head and Hand cut off, upon the *Soldans* Proclamation above-mentioned.

The *Sultan* or *Soldan*, after the taking of the *French* King, fraudulently Suborning an Army of *Saracens* to the number of the *French* Army, with the Arms and Enſigns of them that were ſlain, made toward *Damiata*, where the Duke of *Burgundy*, with the *French* Queen, and *Otho* the Popes Legate, and other Biſhops and their Gariſons were remaining; ſuppoſing under the ſhew of *French*-men to be let in: but the Captains miſtruſting their haſty coming, and miſdoubting their Viſages, not like to the *French*-men, ſhut the Gates againſt them, and ſo prevented their fruſtrate of their intent.

The purpoſe of the *Soldan* was, if he might have gotten *Damiata*, to ſend the *French* King up higher in the Eaſt-Countries to *Califha*, the chief Pope of *Damaſcus*, to increaſe the Titles of *Mahomet*, and to be a ſpectacle or gazing-ſtock to all thoſe quarters of the World. The manner of which *Califha* was, never to let any Chriſtian Priſoner come out, whoſoever came once in his hand. But forſomuch as the *Soldan* miſſed his purpoſe, he thought by advice of Council, to uſe the Kings life for his own advantage in recovering the City of *Damiata*, as in the end it came to paſs. For although the King at the firſt was greatly unwilling, and had rather die than ſurrender *Damiata* again to the *Saracens*, yet the concluſion fell out, that the King was put to his Ranſom, and the City of *Damiata* was alſo reſigned; which City being twice won, and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, the *Soldan* or *Saladine* afterward cauſed it utterly to be raced down to the ground. The Ranſom of the King, upon condition that the *Soldan* ſhould ſee him ſafely conducted to *Achon* (which I take to be *Ceſarea*) came to 60000 Marks. The number of *French*-men, and others which miſcarried in that War by Water and by Land, come to 80000 perſons. *Hæc Mat. Pariſ.* fol. 237, 238.

*Damiata reſigned to the Saracens.*

The ſum of the Kings Ranſom.

The number of the *French* men ſlain.

And thus have ye the brief Narration of this lamentable peregrination of *Lewis* the *French* King: In which when the *French*-men were once or twice well offered by the *Soldan*, to have all the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and much more in free poſſeſſion; they not contented with that which was reaſonable and ſufficient, for greedineſs to have all, loſt all, having at length no more than their naked bodies could cover lying dead upon the ground, and all through the original cauſe of the Pope and *Otho* his Legate. By whoſe ſiniſter means and peſtilent pride, not only the lives of ſo many Chriſtians were then loſt, but alſo to the ſaid Pope is to be imputed all the loſs of other Cities and Chriſtian Regions bordering in the ſame quarters: forſomuch as by the occaſion hereof the hearts of the *Saracens* on the one ſide were ſo incouraged, and the Courage of the Chriſtians on the other ſide ſo much diſcomfited, that in ſhort ſpace after, both the Dominion of *Antioch* and of *Achon*, with all other Poſſeſſions belonging to the Chriſtians, were loſt, to the great diminiſhing of Chriſts Church.

The two *Soldans* at variance about the *French* King.

During the time of this good King lying at *Achon* or *Ceſarea*: Almighty God ſent ſuch Diſcord betwixt the *Soldan* of *Halaphia*, and the *Soldan* of *Babylon* for letting the King ſo eſcape, that the ſaid *Soldan* or *Saladine* of *Babylon*, to win the King unto his ſide, entred League with him (whom both his Brethren, and all his Nobles almoſt at home had forſaken) and remitted his Ranſom, and alſo reſtored unto him ſuch Priſoners as were in the ſaid Battel found to be alive. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forſaketh. *Matth. Pariſienſi*, fol. 261.

What miſchief hath come to Chriſtendom and by what means. How *Frederick* the Emperor might have ſerved ill good ſtead againſt the *Saracens*, but the Pope would not ſuffer him.

Another cauſe moreover, why the ruine of this *French* Army may worthily be imputed to the Pope, is this, For that when *Lewis* the *French* King perceiving what a neceſſary friend and helper *Frederick* the Emperor might be to him in theſe his Affairs againſt the *Saracens*, and therefore was an earneſt ſuitor for him to the Pope to have him releaſed; yet neither he, nor the King of *England* by any means could obtain it. And although the Emperor himſelf offered to Pope *Innocent* with all humble ſubmiſſion to make ſatisfaction in the Council of *Lions*, promiſing alſo to expugne all the Dominions of the *Saracens*, and never to return into *Europe* again, and there to recover whatſoever the Chriſtians had loſt, ſo that the Pope would only grant his Son *Henry* to be Emperor after him: yet the proud Pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceed againſt him with both Swords, that is, firſt, with the Spiritual Sword, to Accurſe him, and then with the Temporal Sword to Depoſe him from his Imperial Throne. Through the occaſion whereof, not only the *French* Kings power went to wrack, but alſo ſuch a fire of miſchief was kindled againſt Chriſtendom, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this overthrow of the *French* King and his Army, the Chriſtians of *Antioch* and of other Chriſtian Regions thereabouts, being utterly diſcouraged, gave over their Holds and Cities. Whereupon the *Saracens*, and after them the *Turks*, got ſuch an hand over Chriſtendom, as to this day we all have great cauſe to rue and lament. Beſides this, where divers Chriſtians were croſſed to go over and help the *French* King, the Pope for mony diſpenſed with them to tarry ſtill at home.

The Tyranny and diveliſh miſchief of the Pope againſt the Emperor.

But as I ſaid, the greateſt cauſe was, that the Emperor which could have done moſt, was Depoſed by the Popes tyranny, whereby all thoſe Churches in *Aſia* were left deſolate. As touching the which Emperor *Frederick*, becauſe we have divers and ſundry times made mention of him before, and for that his ſtory is ſtrange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragical, which he ſuſtained againſt four or five Popes one after another, I thought (not out of ſtory) in a whole Narration to ſet forth the ſame, for the Reader to conſider, what is to be judged of this Cathedral See of *Rome*, which had wrought ſuch abominable miſchief in the World, as in the ſequel of the ſtory following, faithfully Tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, is to be ſeen.

## *The whole Tragical Hiſtory of* Frederick *the Second, Emperor, Tranſlated out of the* Latin *Book of* Nich. Ciſnerus.

What houſe *Frederick* came of.

FRederick the ſecond, came out of the ancient Houſe of the *Beblins* or *Gibillins*; which *Gibillins* came of the moſt famous ſtock of the *French* Kings and Emperors.

What Father and Mother.

He had *Frederick Barbaroſſa* to his Grand-father, whoſe Son *Henricus* the ſixth was Emperor after him; who of *Conſtantia*, the Daughter (or as ſome write, the Niece) of *Roger* the firſt, King of *Sicily*, begat this *Frederick* the ſecond.

The time and manner of his birth.

This *Conſtantia* was fifty years of Age before ſhe was conceived with him; whom the Emperor *Henry* the ſixth, to avoid all doubt and ſurmiſe that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the peril of the Empire enſue, cauſed his Regal Tent to be pitched abroad in place where every man might reſort. And when the time of his Queens travel approached, *Conſtantia* (in preſence of divers Ladies and Matrons, and other Gentlewomen of the Empire, a great number) was brought abed and delivered of this *Frederick*, the ſeventh day before the Kalends of *January*, in the year of Chriſts Incarnation 1193. who by Inheritance was King of *Naples*, *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicilia*.

What Patrons he had.

*Henricus* his Father, ſhortly after he was born, obtained of the Princes Electors, that by their Oath unto him given, they would chuſe his Son *Frederick* for their Emperor after his deceaſe, and ſo did, and immediately called him *Ceſar*, being yet but in his Cradle.

This *Henry* when he died (which was ſhortly after the birth of *Frederick*) committed the protection of him to *Conſtantia* his Wife, to *Philip* his Brother chief Governor of *Hetruria*, and to the Biſhop of *Rome*, then *Innocentius* the third.

*Conſtantia*, not long after the death of *Henry* her Huſband, being ſickly and growing into Age, and thereby not ſo well able to govern the troubles and unquiet ſtate of the Empire, reſigned, and willed by her Teſtament the ſafety both of her Son *Frederick*, and alſo of his Dominions, to the Protection and Government of *Innocent* the third, thinking thereby ſafely to have provided, *&c.*

This Pope *Innocent*, as ſoon as he had the Protection of the young Emperor and his Seigniories, became, inſtead of a Patron and Protector to him and his Dominions, both an Enemy and Conſpirator. The examples are many: One is, he perſwaded *Sibylla* the late Wife of *Tancredus* (whom *Henry* put from the Kingdom of *Sicily*) to recover the ſame again, and that ſhe ſhould thereunto require *Philip* the *French* Kings aid. Whereupon one *Walterus* being of the Noble Houſe of the Earls of *Brenno*, which in the Province of *Barrencecis* had great Living, and Marrying with *Ate-*

The Conſpiracies of Pope *Innocent* againſt *Frederick* during his minority. The firſt Conſpiracy.

*ria*

*ria* the eldeſt Daughter of *Tancredus* once King of *Sicilia* (as is ſaid) now by the inſtigation, counſel, and aid of the *French* King with the Pope (well-hoping to recover the Kingdom) entred and invaded with great power *Campania* and *Apulia*. At which time alſo, the ſame worthy Protector *Innocentius* the third, ſent his Legates with Letters of Excommunication againſt all thoſe that would not admit and take the ſaid *Waltherus* for their King.

The ſecond Conſpiracy.

Another was, that where the Princes, Electors, and other Nobles, as before is ſaid, had promiſed by their Oath to *Henricus*, that they would make *Frederick* his Son Emperor after his deceaſe (whom the Pope ſaw to put their endeavour thereunto to bring it to paſs) abſolved them all from the Oath which they had taken and given for the Election of *Frederick* the Emperor, as one not content he ſhould obtain the ſame. And further, he raiſed ſlanders and defamations againſt *Philip*, whom the Electors had choſen to govern the Empire, during the minority of *Frederick* his Nephew. He wrote his Epiſtle (which is yet extant) to the Duke *Barthold* of *Zaringia* to be Emperor. Who for that he gave place to *Philip*, he went about to procure that *Otho* the Son of *Henry Leo* ſhould be made Emperor,

The third Conſpiracy.

The fourth Conſpiracy.

and that the Princes and Lords, Electors of *Germany* would Crown him forthwith after the manner of *Aquiſgrane*. He deprived all ſuch Biſhops as he knew to favour *Philip* as Emperor, in the defence of his Nephews right. But *Philip* whoſe cauſe was better, his skill in Martial Affairs greater, and in power and ſtrength mightier, after divers and great conflicts, the marvellous diſturbance and vaſtation of the whole Empire, by Gods help put the other to the worſe. All which calamities and miſchiefs *Conradus Lichtenanus*, at that time living, in his *Annals*, moſt pitifully complaineth of, and accuſeth the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Adherents to be the chief Authors and deviſers of this great and lamentable miſchief, as ſuch that, for to make themſelves rich by the ſpoil thereof, ſought by all means and deſired the ſame.

The fifth Conſpiracy.

Not long after, a Peace was concluded between *Philip* and *Otho*, and *Philip* reconciled again to the Pope; who within a while after, between *Otho* and him, was murthered in his Chamber and ſlain. And then was *Otho* again brought to the Imperial Seat, and new Elected for Emperor, with the counſel and conſent of this *Innocent* the third, and ſo continued until that a great variance and diſcord chanced to ariſe between the ſaid *Otho* and the Pope. Whereupon *Innocentius* ſought by all means, how againſt him likewiſe he might work miſchief, and bring him unto his end. The occaſion of this ſudden change and alteration my Author maketh no mention of, but that *Otho* (now being of great power) invaded and deſtroyed the Dominions of *Frederick*, as *Flaminia*, *Picenum*, *Umbria*, *Hetruria*, but chiefly *Campania*, and *Apulia*, for that thoſe properly appertained to the Inheritance of *Frederick*.

*Philip* ſlain.

Variance betwen *Otho* and the Pope.

Thus you ſee, how firſt by the counſel and conſent of Pope *Innocentius*, and by his inſtigation, beſides his ſecret Conſpiracies, this good *Frederick* and his Dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then again through his default what damage he ſuſtained by *Otho*, who by him and his means was made ſo ſtrong as he was: notwithſtanding the great truſt he was put in for the Protection both of *Frederick* and his Dominions.

What Learning and Knowledge he was of.

At this time *Frederick* was come unto the age of twenty years; who in his youth, by the proviſion of *Conſtantia* his Mother, was ſo well inſtructed in Letters, and with other arts and vertues ſo indued, that at theſe years there appeared and did ſhine in him excellent gifts both of wiſdom and knowledge.

What Vertue he was indued with.

He was excellently well ſeen in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, although at that time Learning began to decay, and barbarouſneſs to increaſe. He had alſo the *German* Tongue, the *Italian* Tongue, and the *Saracen* Tongue. He daily exerciſed and put in practiſe thoſe vertues which Nature had planted in him, as Piety, Wiſdom, Juſtice and Fortitude: inſomuch that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthieſt and moſt renowned Emperors his predeceſſors.

*Frederick* ſuſpected for his Grand-fathers ſake.

*Fazellus* (the Hiſtorician of *Sicilia* in this time) writeth, That *Fredericus* was again after this had in great honor and eſtimation with *Innocentius*; but yet notwithſtanding he had no ſure confidence in him, for that he had the ſuſpected name of *Frederick* his Grand-father often in remembrance, and for that occaſion was much deſirous to have him far from *Italy*.

{KING Hen. 3}

When *Frederick* had gathered his power, he purpoſed to ſet upon *Otho* his Enemy; of which thing *Otho* hearing (as he was painful in travel) came out of *Italy* with his Army into *Germany*, thinking to have met *Frederick* at the river of *Rhine*, and to have ſtopped his paſſage; but he was deceived of his expectation, and *Fredericus* was Crowned, as the manner of *Aquiſgrane* is, before he came. And after that *Frederick* in the Winter-time took his journey to *Franckford*, and after many meetings in *Norico* had, and after that *Otho* was dead, he ſet the Empire in a ſtay, and the whole Country of *Germany* he in a manner appeaſed. And then with all his Nobles and Princes he returned to *Rome*, and of *Honorius* the third was with great Solemnity Conſecrated and called *Auguſtus*. Which *Honorius* ſucceeded. *Innocentius* the third in the Papal See, and was a great help to *Frederick* (although he loved him not) in this behalf, to revenge himſelf upon *Otho*.

The Coronation of *Frederick*.

The death of *Otho*.

The Conſecration of *Frederick* the Emperor.

After the Conſecration of *Frederick* the ſecond, he gave many great and liberal gifts, as well unto the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, as alſo unto the Court of *Rome* beſides. Alſo he gave and aſſured by his Charter, to the Church of *Rome*, the Dukedom of *Fundanum*. For by the unſatiable covetouſneſs of the Romiſh Biſhops, this wicked uſe and cuſtom grew, that unleſs the Emperors Elect and Crowned would give unto them ſuch like great and large gifts, they could not obtain of them their Conſecration or Confirmation, which for that intent they deviſed.

The liberal munificence of *Frederick* to the Pope and Church of *Rome*.

Furthermore, *Frederick* the Emperor willing to ſhew himſelf more bountiful and liberal unto the Church, neither yet to reſtrain any priviledge that might benefit the ſame, gave and admitted thoſe conſtitutions which the Pope himſelf would deſire, and are yet extant in their Civil Law: by which his doings he delivered to their hands a Sword (as it were) to cut his own Throat: for the Biſhops of *Rome* now having even what they liſted, and all in their own hands, might by the pain of proſcription, bring what Emperor or King they liſted under *Coram nobis*, and keep them by their own Laws, as if they were bound in certain bands, out of which they might not ſtart. For whatſoever he were which for the diminution of the Liberties of the Church were Excommunicated, and ſo continued a years ſpace, then he ſhould be within the danger of this Proſcript, and ſhould not be releaſed before he had made ſatisfaction, and were admitted by the Pope to the Church and Congregation of good men again. Whereby it came to paſs, that whatſoever Emperor, in the Government of his Dominions, ſhould in any point diſpleaſe, or do contrary to the luſt of the Biſhop of *Rome*, he then as Enemy to the Church was Excommunicate. And unleſs within a year he were reconciled to them again (by this their Principal Law) he was in the Proſcript. And often it chanced that Princes, to avoid the pain of this Proſcript, were ready to do whatſoever the Pope would have them, and commanded them to do.

*Frederick* gave through his liberality a Sword to cut his own Throat.

The Canon of Proſcription granted and confirmed by *Frederick*.

After the Conſecration of *Frederick* was with great Solemnity finiſhed, and that the Pope and Church of *Rome* in all ample manner (as is partly deſcribed) were gratified, and yet larger conſtitutions to them confirmed, he departed from *Rome*, and went into *Italy*, there to ſet in order and ſtay the Cities and great Towns, for the better Tranquility of himſelf, and ſafety of his Subjects, and from thence into his own Provinces and Dominions: where he heard of certain that began to raiſe and make new Factions againſt him. Amongſt whom were found *Thomas* and *Richard*, the Brethren of *Innocentius* the third, Earl of *Anaquinos*, that held certain Caſtles in the Kingdom of *Neopolitans* from him by force: which Caſtles he beſieged and beat down, and took from them all that he in them found. *Richard*, he took and ſent as a Priſoner into *Sicilia*; but *Thomas* eſcaped and came ſpeedily to *Rome*; whither alſo repaired certain Biſhops and others that were Conſpirators againſt *Frederick*, as alſo ſuch others as the fear of the Emperors Laws, and their own guilty Conſciences cauſed to fly, and were (that notwithſtanding) of this Biſhop of *Rome*, *Honorius* the third (to gratify again the liberality of the Emperor beſtowed upon him) under his Noſe ſuccoured, maintained and defended. Which thing when *Frederick* underſtood, he began to expoſtulate with the Biſhop, conſidering the unſeemlineſs of that his Fact. Againſt whom

*Frederick* after his Conſecration to his Provinces and Dominions.

The liberality of *Frederick* well recompenced of *Honorius* the third.

*Frederick* expoſtulateth, the Pope excuſeth.

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whom the Pope on the other ſide was ſo chafed and vexed, that immediately, without further delay, he thundereth out againſt him, like a Tyrant, his Curſes and Excommunications.

*Tho. Fazellus* declareth the deteſtation or defiance to happen between them ſomewhat otherwiſe. There were (ſaith he) amongſt thoſe which were found Traitors to the Emperor, certain Biſhops, which lying to the Pope, requeſted his aid: whereupon the Pope ſent his Legates to the Emperor, and requeſted him, that he would admit and receive to favour thoſe Biſhops which he had baniſhed and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any Eccleſiaſtical charge wherewith he had not to do: and ſaid further, that the correction and puniſhment of ſuch matters pertained to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and not to him. And moreover, that the overſight of thoſe Churches in that Kingdom, from the which he had expelled the Biſhops, pertained and belonged unto him.

The Emperor repleith to the Popes demands.

Whereunto *Fredesick* thus replieth, *That forſomuch as now four hundred years and more (from the time of* Carolus Magnus*) all Emperors and Kings in their Dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the ſame ſuch Eccleſiaſtical functions and charges as within their Territories and Kingdoms fell; that he looked to have the like privilege and authority alſo, that other his Predeceſſors before him had.* And further ſaid, *That he had the ſame and like authority in the Empire that his Father* Henry, *and* Frederick *his Grandfather, and other his Predeceſſors before them had; neither had he ſo deſerved at the hands of the Church of* Rome, *either of* Honorius *himſelf, to be deprived of thoſe privileges which his anceſtors before him had and kept.*

The Emperor ſpeaketh but reaſon, howſoever it pleaſeth the Pope to take it.

And further, *Frederick* being chafed and moved with theſe demands of the Pope, breaketh forth and ſaith, *How long will the Biſhop of* Rome *abuſe my patience? When will his covetous heart be ſatisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious deſire grow?* With ſuch like words more, repeating certain injuries and conſpiracies, both againſt him and his Dominions, as well by *Honorius* as *Innocentius* the third his Predeceſſor, as alſo other like injuries of Popes to his anceſtors practiſed. *What man* (ſaith he) *is able to ſuffer and bear this ſo incredible boldneſs and intolerable inſolency of ſo proud a Biſhop? Go,* (ſaith he, unto the Legates) *and tell* Honorius, *that I will hazard both the Seignory of my Empire, and Crown of my Kingdom, rather than I will ſuffer him thus to diminiſh the authority of our Majeſty.* Tho. Fazellus lib. 8.

The ſtrife between the Pope and the Emperor for the election and deprivation of Biſhops.

Now becauſe much diſquietneſs and controverſie hath ariſen (for the moſt part through all *Chriſtendom* in every Kingdom and Realm ſeverally) for and about the authority of chuſing and depriving of Biſhops (as may be ſeen by the example of this *Frederick*) which the Pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himſelf, and ſaith it doth not appertain to another: I thought good not with ſilence to overpaſs, but ſomewhat to ſay, and to prove the authority of Chriſtian Kings and Princes in this behalf to be both ſufficient and good. Which thing not only by the holy Scriptures is right eaſie to be done; but alſo that it is by Synodal Decrees and Councils (divers and ſundry) eſtabliſhed and confirmed, may eaſily be proved; as alſo by the ancient cuſtome and manner of the Primitive Church may further be corroborated and made good.

Authority for the election of Biſhops to be in the Princes and their Subjects.

Whereunto appertain certain places collected and gathered out of the Decrees of *Gratianus*, and eſpecially in theſe Canons, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63 Diſtinctions. Furthermore, when Chriſtian Kings and Princes began to embrace Chriſt his Religion, both for honour and orders ſake it was granted, that when the people deſired ſuch miniſters as were convenient, and by them thought meet; that they which were then in the Eccleſiaſtical function, and chieſeſt in authority, ſhould either confirm ſuch as were preſented, or elſe themſelves ſhould place fit men in their Churches as need required. So did the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* (receiving the order and manner from *Conſtantine* the Great) uſe and give the right of Eccleſiaſtical function with the conſent both of the people and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and long ſo retained the ſame. As *Honorius* the Emperor unto *Boniface*, *can. 8. diſt. 79.* and *can. 2. diſt. 97.* Alſo by the example of *Pelagius* and *Gregorius Magnus*; of which one in the Reign of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, and *Totila* governing *Italy*; the other in the time of *Mauritius* the Emperor (when the *Lombards* poſſeſſed *Italy*) were appointed Biſhops to the Church of *Rome*, *Chap. 15. 21. 24.*

Authorities of the election of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be in the Emperor.

And whereas *Gratianus* in the beginning of the 96 and 97 Diſtinction doth declare, that the Reſcript of *Honorius* the Emperor is void and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to the authority of the holy Canons, when as yet neither to the Civil Magiſtrate, nor to any of the Eccleſiaſtical order, can there be read of any licence given them to diſpence it withal: each man may plainly ſee and diſcern his great folly and want of underſtanding. As though at that time any Decrees were made which ſhould debar Emperors from the conſtituting of the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters. Or that it were doubtful whether the Emperors at that time had paſt any conſtitutions touching the cauſes of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the ſame laws then put in ure; when the contrary moſt manifeſtly (both by the Laws and Hiſtories of that age and time, as well of the Church as of the Empire) may appear. And that we need not ſeek far for the matter, this thing is ſufficiently proved by theſe Titles; *De ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis, Epiſcopis, Clericis*, beſides other Eccleſiaſtical Chapters and matters touching Religion. All which are to be ſeen in the Books of the principal and chieſeſt conſtitutions, collected and ſet forth by *Juſtinian*. Amongſt the which, many of the Chapters are ſaid to be accepted and allowed of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*: ſo in like caſe, the 21 Can. in the 63 diſtinction doth declare, that the *Grecian* Emperors, that next enſued after *Juſtinian*, did obſerve that manner of ordaining and election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, although then at that time *Interpellatum erat*, it was ſomewhat ſpurned at. Amongſt whom mention is made of *Conſtantinus* the 4th. which was ſirnamed *Pogonatus*.

*Gratianus* in his diſtinction reproved for the election of Biſhops to be in the Pope.

The titles of *Juſtinian* for the election.

The *Grecian* Emperors electors of Biſhops.

*Carolus Magnus* in like manner followed their ſteps and manner in the ſame, as in the 22d Canon, and the ſame Diſtinction is declared. And further, it was at a Synodal Council in *Lateran* (*Adrian* being high Biſhop, where were convented and aſſembled 153 other Biſhops) decreed, *That the power and authority of creating the Biſhop of* Rome, *and ordaining of all other Prelates and Eccleſiaſtical Orders, ſhould be in the power and will of* Carolus Magnus, *as well in* Italy *as other his Dominions and Provinces, and that whoſoever was not promoted and allowed by him, ſhould not be conſecrated of any; and that thoſe which repugned and diſobeyed this Decree, ſhould incur the moſt ſharp pain of proſcription and publication of law.* The worthy example hereof is extant in the 18 Can. and 18 Title. Yet notwithſtanding, *Stephanus* the fourth, author of this Reſcript againſt the ſaid Decree, without the Emperors conſent, was made Biſhop of *Rome*; who, to the intent he might delude the decreed and ſolemnized penalty, thereby to excuſe himſelf, went into *France* to *Ludovicus Pius*, the Son of *Carolus Magnus*, and at *Rheims* Crowned he him with the Imperial Diadem. Neither could this Biſhop here ſtay himſelf, but ſpying the great lenity of the Emperor, aſſailed to make fruſtrate the foreſaid Conſtitution. For his purpoſe was, and ſo he brought it to paſs, as in the 27 Can. and the ſame Diſtinction appeareth, that it might be lawful for the Eccleſiaſtical order, with the People and Senate of *Rome* (without the authority of the Emperor) to chuſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, reſerving that he ſhould not be conſecrated without the will and conſent of the Emperor. Thus it is manifeſt, that the Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves, not regarding, but deſpiſing the ſtrict penalty and ſanction of the foreſaid Decree of the *Lateran* Council, were not only the firſt that brake the ſame, but alſo, by contrary reſcripts and conſtitutions, laboured and indeavoured to extol and ſet up themſelves above all others.

The election decreed by 153 Biſhops in the council of *Lateran* to be in the Emperor.

*Stephen* the 4th. firſt alterer of this election.

The Biſhop of *Rome* the firſt breaker of the Decrees of the Council.

Whereupon *Lotharius*, afterward being Emperor, and Nephew to *Carolus Magnus*, coming into *Italy*, there to diſſolve the conſpiracy and confederacy of *Leo* the fourth about the tranſlation of the Empire, renewed and eſtabliſhed again the Synodal Decree of *Lateran* touching the Juriſdiction of the Emperor for the election of the Biſhop of *Rome* and Other Eccleſiaſtical perſons. And hereof it came, that thoſe Epiſtles were written of *Leo* in the 16 and 17 Can. and the ſame diſtinction, which alſo, as in the 9 Can. and 10 diſt. made a profeſſion, that the ſame imperial precepts ſhould be kept in all ages. This *Leo*, when he was reproved of treaſon and other evils, pleaded his cauſe before *Ludovicus* the ſecond, Emperor of *Rome*, and Son of *Lotharius* above recited: 2 queſt. 7. Can. 40.

*Lotharius* renewеth the Lateran decree for election of Biſhops.

*Otho* depoſeth *John* the 14th. and ratifieth a new Decree of election.

But after this, as time grew on, the Biſhops of *Rome* nothing relinquiſhing their ambitious deſires; *Otho* the firſt Emperor of that name, deprived and put from the See of *Rome* that moſt filthy and wicked Biſhop *John* the thirteenth, both for divers and ſundry wicked and heinous acts by him committed, as alſo for his great Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt his Royal Perſon, and did ſubſtitute in his place *Leo* the fifth; who, calling a Synod at *Lateran* in the ſame Temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new Conſtitution with conſent of the Senate and People of *Rome*, concerning the Emperors Juriſdiction in the foreſaid Election; which in the 23 Canon is contained and 63 diſtinction. Whereby the old right and power of the Emperor in the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Prelates, was again with ſharper and ſtricter ſanction confirmed and ratified. Again, *John* the eighteenth, whom *Creſcentius* the *Roman* (uſurping the Imperial Crown) had made Biſhop by the conſent of the people of *Rome* and the Eccleſiaſtical Order, having his Noſe cut off, and his Eies put out, and ſo thruſt out of the Capitol, was again of *Otho* the third eſtabliſhed and made Biſhop. But when as yet notwithſtanding, the Biſhops of *Rome* would not alter their old accuſtomed diſpoſition, but with all their induſtry indeavoured to abrogate that Juriſdiction of the Emperor over the Biſhop of *Rome* (as people loth to be under ſubjection) *Henry* the third (then *Leo* the ninth being conſtituted Biſhop) did once again ratifie the ſame, and cauſed the Biſhop (which extolled himſelf before all his fellow Biſhops) to ſtoop and give place to *Moguntius*.

*Leo* the 5th. was inſtituted by *Otho* the Emperor.

The election once again ratified to be in the Emperors juriſdiction.

*Henry* the 3d. and *Leo* the 9th.

So after the death of *Henry* the third Emperor, *Nicholas* the ſecond, although in his Decree (which in the 1 Canon, and 23 diſtinction is recited) he gave the primacy for the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome* by the means of the Prieſts and People of *Rome*, unto the Cardinals; yet he would after that, that the Prerogative therein ſhould be reſerved to *Henry* the fourth the young Emperor, from whom the Empire afterwards was for a time wreſted and taken.

*Henry* the 4th. and *Nicholas* the ſecond.

But now after this, when *Hildebrand*, which was called *Gregory* the ſeventh, was Pope, this prerogative of the Emperors in their Election, which before in the creation of *Alexander* the Biſhop, was neglected and broken; the Biſhops of *Rome* not only did ſeek to diminiſh the authority thereof, but alſo to evacuate and quite undo the ſame. For he not only aſpired to that dignity without the conſent and appointment of the Emperor, but alſo made reſtraint, that no Emperor, King, Duke, Marqueſs, Earl or any Civil Magiſtrate, ſhould aſſign and appoint to any, any Eccleſiaſtical function and charge; neither that any of his Prelates ſhould be ſo hardy, as to take them at any of their hands: as *queſt.* 16. *can.* 7. 9. and 10. may be ſeen.

The election hitherto in the Emperors, and now beginneth to fail by *Hildebrand*.

Yet notwithſtanding, after that this horrible Monſter *Hildebrand* was proſcript and thruſt out of the Papal Seat, and *Clement* the third put in his ſtead, *Henry* again challenged his Imperial Prerogative of Election. But yet, when the Biſhops which ſucceeded after this *Hildebrand*, and led by his example, began to derogate from the Imperial Prerogative of Election; and *Henry* on the other ſide, by all the means poſſible, ſought to defend and maintain the ſame; by the ſubtil fraud and miſchievous policy of the Biſhops, which ſet the Son againſt the Father, and found means to ſteal from him the hearts of his Nobles and Subjects, and to ſet them all againſt him, and eſpecially the Princes of *Germany*, he was depoſed and diſappointed of his purpoſe.

*Henry* the 4th. again challengeth the election.

And although *Henry* the fifth (coming to *Rome*) brought *Paſchalis* the ſecond to that point, that he both in publick concion, and in writing ſealed, and alſo by Oath confirmed, reſtored again to the Emperors of *Rome* the Prerogative of Election, and of giving Eccleſiaſtical Dignities: yet notwithſtanding, after that *Henry* the Emperor was gone from *Rome*, *Paſchalis* the Pope, greatly repenting and ſorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming the priviledges of Emperors through fear) touching the giving and diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical functions, excommunicated the Emperor, and in a Synodal Council at *Lateran*, ordained and decreed that he ſhould be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any Eccleſiaſtical function or preferment at the hands of a civil Magiſtrate; whereupon were made theſe Decrees, *qu.* 16. *chap.* 7, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

*Henry* the 5th. also ſtriveth for the election and faileth.

Prieſts accurſed that take any Benefice at the hands of a Layman.

Therefore when theſe Decrees touching the deſignation of Biſhops, in ſpight and contempt of the Emperor, were practiſed and put in ure; and when that now (eſpecially by the means and procurement of the Biſhops) inteſtine and Civil Wars began to riſe in the Empire; the Imperial Juriſdiction in this matter was not only weakned and much debilitate, but alſo in manner utterly broken and loſt. For when *Henry* the fifth Emperor was ſharply of *Lotharius* and his Vaſſals the Biſhops beſet, and laid unto by the provocation of the Pope, and was mightily, by the Biſhops that took his part on the other ſide, requeſted and intreated (in hope of publick peace and tranquility) that he would condeſcend and ſomewhat yield to the Popes demands: he at length (the more was the pity) that he might be reconciled and have peace with Pope *Calixtus* the ſecond, in the City of *Vangio*, departed from and with that his Prerogative or Juriſdiction of giving Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, to the Pope and his Prelates, now more than three hundred years (from the time of *Carolus Magnus*) in the hands of the Emperors of *Rome*, and until this time with great fortitude and Princely courage conſerved and kept; which reſignation turned to no ſmall detriment both of the Church of Chriſt, and Chriſtian Commonwealth.

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*Henry* the 5th. compaſſed by civil diſſention for the prerogative of election as his Father had.

*Henry* the 5th. reſigneth his prerogative of election.

Then firſt, and never before, obtained the Biſhop of *Rome*, and quietly enjoyed that Prerogative of Election, and beſtowing of Benefices, which he ſo long before with ſuch great policies (now ſecretly, now openly, and now with force) had ſought for. And with what ſufficient and good authority *Gratianus* will prove, that before this time the ſame authority was given to the City of *Rome* for the Election of the Pope without the conſent of the Emperor, he ſheweth, as in the 29 and 30 Canon, and what good ſtuff he putteth in the later, and how ſubtily that Papiſtical flatterer or Pontifical Paraſite hath forged the ſame, both *Carolus Molineus* ſufficiently in divers places hath noted, and by the obſervaon of times may of a mean Hiſtoriographer, that hath read the *French* and *German* Hiſtories, ſoon be eſpied and diſcerned. For firſt, five Biſhops one after another ſucceeded this *Gregory* the 4th. upon whom 29th. Canon is intituled or fathered; that is, *Sergius* the 2d. *John* the 8th. *Adrian* the 2d. *John* the 9th. and *Adrian* the third. Which *Adrian* by force, wreſting the authority of the Election from the People, was made Pope; when as *Gregory* (ſpecially to be noted) would not take on him the Papacy, before that the Emperor had conſented to his Election. After this, *Molineus* compareth *Raphael Volateranus* with the 30 Canon, which again is ſuſpected. For why? When *Eugenius* was Biſhop, who was the ſucceſſor of this *Paſchalis*, with whom *Ludovicus Pius* is ſaid to have made a League or paction, the ſame *Ludovicus Pius* with his Son *Lotharius*, together with the help of the King of *Romans*, at *Rome* made Laws both to all his Subjects in the Empire, as alſo to the *Romans* themſelves; ſpeaking nothing of the renewing of the Decree made by *Lotharius*. Then again, how could *Leo* the fourth write to *Lotharius* and *Ludovicus* Emperors, that counterfeit or forged Decree beginning with *Conſtitutio. &c.* when in the ſame, mention is made of *Henricus Aucupes*, and *Otho* the firſt, which reigned more than fourſcore years after them, and *Leo* the fourth Biſhop of *Rome*.

The election gotten to the Biſhops of *Rome*.

*Gratianus* found a forger of the Canons.

*Sergius* the ſecond. *John* the ſixth, and *Adrian* 3d.

The ſecond fault found with *Gratianus*.

The third fault found with *Gratianus*.

Now with what face dare this fond fellow *Gratianus* make *Otho* the firſt to be Authour of the 31 Canon, when as *Otho* deprived the ſame *John* the twelfth of the Papacy, and not only took nothing from the Imperial Juriſdiction concerning the Election, nor from the City of *Rome*, nor any other Biſhops ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, but added ſomewhat more thereunto, as was ſaid before. And yet notwithſtanding, ſo ſhameleſs and ſenſeleſs was this *Gratian*, that he durſt obtrude and lay before the Reader ſo manifeſt fraud and evident Legerdemaine (ſained and made of his own Brains in the compiling of this Decree) being ſo neceſſary, as he thought for the Dominion and Primacy of the *Roman* Biſhops, in the head of good and true laws; neither fearing that the ſame might be after his days reprehended, neither to his great ſhame and diſcredit to him attributed. Where alſo by the way is to be noted; that as this graceleſs *Gratianus* to pleaſe theſe Holy Fathers, and to erect their Kingdom, would give ſo impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiving of all Poſterities, inſerting for grounded Truths, and holy

How ſhameleſs and impudent *Gratianus* is in forging the Decrees.

Decrees

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The corrupting of many good Works to be feared.

Decrees ſuch loud lies and deteſtable Doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the reſt of Writers in thoſe days, what attempts might hope of gain cauſe them to work, by whom and ſuch like is to be feared the falſifying of divers other good works now extant, in thoſe perilous times written?

The Election wreſted from the Emperor.

Thus when the Biſhops had once wreſted this authority out of the Emperors hands, they then ſo fortified and armed themſelves and their dominion, that although afterwards *Frederick* the firſt, Grandfather unto this good Emperor *Frederick* the ſecond, as alſo *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Henricus Lucelburgenſis* (as men moſt ſtudious and careful for the Dignities of the Empire, unfaigned lovers and maintainers of the utility of the Commonweal, and moſt deſirous of the preſervation and proſperity of the Church) did all their endeavours, with ſingular wiſdom and ſtrength, as much as in them lay, to recover again from the Biſhop of *Rome* this authority of the Imperial Juriſdiction ſoft moſt cruelly and wickedly abuſing the ſame, to the deſtruction both of the Empire, undoing of the Commonwealth, and utter ſubverſion of the Church of God, yet could they not be able to bring the ſame to paſs in thoſe dark and ſhadowed times of perverſe Doctrine and Errors of the People, and moſt miſerable ſervitude of Civil Magiſtrates.

Rome once catcheth that ſhe keepeth.

Not without good cauſe deſired they to muzzle the people in ignorance.

The ſame and like priviledge alſo in the Election of their Biſhops and Prelates, and diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Offices, as the Emperor of *Rome* had, every Prince and King in their ſeveral Dominions had the like. For by the Decree of the Council of *Toletan*, which in the 25 Canon and 63 Diſtinction is mentioned, the authority of creating and chuſing Biſhops and Prelates in *Spain*, was in the power of the King of *Spain*. The like alſo by the Hiſtories of *Clodoveus*, *Carolus Magnus*, *Ludovicus nonus*, *Philippus Auguſtus*, *Philippus Pulcher*, *Carolus quintus*, *Carolus ſextus*, *Carolus ſeptimus*, Kings of *France*, is apparent and well known; for all theſe Kings had the chief charge and government of the *French* Church, and not the Biſhops of *Rome*.

Every King and Prince in their ſeveral Kingdoms, had alſo till that time the Prerogative of Election.

*Spain* had the ſame.

*France* had the ſame.

*England* had the election.

And by our *Engliſh* Hiſtories alſo, as you heard, it is manifeſt, that the authority of chuſing Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters and Biſhops was always in the Kings of *England*, till the Reign of King *Henry* the firſt; who by the labour and procurement of *Anſelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was deprived and put from the ſame.

*Germany* had the election.

Alſo the Princes of *Germany* and Electors of the Emperor, till the time of *Henry* the fifth, had all (every Prince ſeverally in his own Dition and Province) the ſame Juriſdiction and Prerogative, to give and diſpoſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions to their Prelates at their pleaſure, and after that it appertained to the People and Prelates together. And how in the Reign of *Frederick* the Prelates gat unto themſelves alone this immunity, *Johannes Aventinus* in his 7th. Book of the Annals of the *Boiores* doth deſcribe.

*Sicilia* had the election.

Alſo it is probable, that the Kings of *Sicilia* had the ſame faculty in giving and diſpoſing their Eccleſiaſtical promotions and charge of Churches: *Andræas de Iſthmia ad* 1. *conſtit. Neap. nu.* 12. And that becauſe *Frederick* defended himſelf againſt the tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, therefore (as *Fazellus* ſaith) he was excommunicated of *Honorius*; but that *Platina* and *Blondus* alledge other cauſes, wherefore he was excommunicate of *Honorius*, I am not ignorant; howbeit, he that will compare their Writings with others, that write more indifferently between *Honorius* and him, ſhall eaſily find, that they more ſought the favour of the *Roman* Biſhops, than to write a verity. But now again to the Hiſtory of *Frederick*.

The death of Conſtantia Wife of Frederick.

*Nicolaus Ciſnerus* affirmeth, that whilſt *Frederick* the Emperor was in *Sicilia*, his Wife *Conſtantia* died at *Catiana* or *Catana*. In the mean time the Chriſtians which with a great Navy ſailed into *Egypt*, and took the City *Heliopolis*, commonly called *Dalmatia*, and long ago named *Peluſinum*, being in good hope to have driven *Sultanus* the Soldan out of *Egypt*, had a great and marvelous overthrow by the conveying of the Water of the Floud *Nilus* (which then overflowed into their Camp) and were fain to accord an unprofitable Truce with the Soldan for certain years, and ſo deliver the City again; and ſo departing out of *Egypt*, were fain to come to *Achon* and *Tyrus*, to the no ſmall detriment and loſs of the Chriſtian Army. Whereupon King *John* ſirnamed *Brennus* (being King of *Jeruſalem*) arrived in *Italy*, and prayed aid of the Emperor againſt his enemies, in whom he had great hope to find remedy of the evils and calamities before declared; and from thence he went to *Rome* to the Pope, declaring unto him the great diſcomfiture and overthrow paſt, as alſo the preſent peril and calamity that they were in, deſiring alſo his aid therein. By whoſe means (as *Ciſnerus* ſaith) the Emperor was reconciled again to the Pope, and made friends together; to whom alſo King *John* gave *Joel* his Daughter in Marriage, which came of the Daughter of *Conradus* King of *Jeruſalem*, and Marqueſs of *Montferrat*; with whom he had for Dowry the inheritance of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, as right Heir thereunto by her Mother. By whom alſo he after obtained the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and promiſed, that, with as much expedient ſpeed as he might, he would prepare a power for the recovery again of *Jeruſalem*, and be there himſelf in proper perſon; which thing to do, for that upon divers occaſions he deferred (whereof ſome think one, ſome another) *Honorius*, unto whom he was lately reconciled, purpoſed to have made againſt him ſome great and ſecret attempt, had he not been by death before prevented, upon whom were made theſe Verſes:

Frederick & the Pope made friends.

Honorius the Pope dieth before he put his practice in ure againſt Frederick.

*O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,*
*Eſt tibi decori vivere, vade mori.*

After whom ſucceeded *Gregorius* the Ninth, as great an enemy of *Frederick*, as was *Honorius*; which *Gregory* came of the race whom the Emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of Treaſon which they wrought againſt him. This *Gregory* was ſcarcely ſettled in his Papacy, when that he threatned him greatly with Excommunication, unleſs he would prepare himſelf into *Aſia* according to his promiſe as ye heard before, to King *John*; and what the cauſe was why the Pope ſo haſtened the journey of *Frederick* into *Aſia*, you ſhall hear hereafter: In effect, he could not well bring that to paſs, which in his miſchievous mind he had deviſed, unleſs the Emperor were further from him. Notwithſtanding, *Frederick* it ſhould ſeem ſmelling a Rat, or miſtruſting ſomewhat (as well he might) alledged divers cauſes and lets, as lately and truly he did to *Honorius*.

Gregory the 9th. as great an enemy to Frederick as Honorius.

Frederick refuſeth to go into *Aſia* at the Popes bidding: The Pope is angry.

*Fazellus* a *Sicilian* Writer ſaith, that the ſpecial cauſe of the Emperors ſtay was, for the Oath of Truce and Peace during certain years, which was made between the *Saracens* and Chriſtians as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

The cauſe of the ſtay of the Emperors journey into *Aſia*.

The ſame *Fazellus* alſo writeth thus of King *John* of *Jeruſalem*, that when his Daughter was brought to *Rome*, the Emperor and the Pope were reconciled together. And being called up to *Rome* to celebrate the Marriage, Pope *Gregory* (as the manner of thoſe proud Prelates is) offered his right foot unto the Emperor to kiſs. But the Emperor, not ſtooping ſo low, ſcarcely with his Lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kiſs his foot; which thing the Pope took in very evil part, and was therewith marvelouſly offended. But for that no opportunity at that time ſerved to revenge his conceived grudge and old malice, he diſſembled the ſame, as he might for that time, thinking to recompence it at the full, as time would ſerve, and fall out therefore.

The Pope diſſembleth his grudge.

After this, it fortuned that the Emperor hearing how the Chriſtians were oppreſſed by the Soldan in *Syria*, and that from *Arſacida*, there came a great power againſt the Chriſtian Princes; he made the more haſte, and was with more deſire incouraged to ſet forward his journey into *Aſia*. Wherefore, aſſembling the Nobility of the Empire at *Ravenna* and *Cremona*, he gave in commandment to *Henry* his Son (whom not long before he cauſed to be created *Ceſar*) that he ſhould perſwade the Nobles and Princes of the Empire, that they all would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterpriſe. This writeth *Fazellus*; howbeit, ſome others affirm that theſe things were done in the time of *Honorius*. But howſoever the matter is, this thing is manifeſt; that *Frederick* to ſatisfie the Popes deſire, which never would lin, but by all means ſought to provoke him forward, gave him at length his promiſe, that by a certain

The preparation of the Voyage of Frederick to *Jeruſalem*, and ſtay thereof.

A great overthrow of the Chriſtians in *Egypt*.

time he would prepare an Army, and fight himſelf againſt thoſe which kept from him the City of *Jeruſalem* (which thing he alſo confeſſeth himſelf in his Epiſtles, and alſo how he deſired and obtained of the Peers and Nobility of the Empire, their aid thereunto) and alſo appointed a convenient time when they ſhould be at *Brunduſium*.

The preparation of the Emperors War againſt the *Turk*.

In the mean ſeaſon, he with all his power and indeavour, made ſpeedy and haſty preparation for the Wars: he rigged and manned a puiſſant Navy; he had the pickedſt Men and beſt Souldiers that were in every Country, and made warlike provition and furniture for every thing that to ſuch a Voyage and Expedition appertained. Neither was the matter ſlacked, but at the time appointed great Bands aſſembled and muſtred both of *German* Soldiers and others, and under their Captains appointed, ſet forth and marched to *Brunduſium*: (Their Generals were *Thuringus* and *Sigibertus*, and *Auguſtinus* the Biſhop) where they long time lying, and attending the Emperors coming, being let by infirmity and ſickneſs, great Peſtilence and ſundry Diſeaſes moleſted them, by reaſon of the great heat and intemperance of that Country; and many a Souldier there loſt his life; among whom alſo died *Thuringus*, one of their Generals. The Emperor when he had ſomewhat recovered his health, with all his Navy lanched out, and ſet forward to *Brunduſium*. And when he came to the Straits of *Peloponeſus* and *Creta*, being Iſlands lying in the Sea, and there for lack of convenient Wind was ſtayd, ſuddenly the Emperor (his Diſeaſes growing upon him again) fell ſick; and ſending before all or the moſt part of his Bands and Ships into *Paleſtina*, promiſing them moſt aſſuredly to come after and follow them ſo ſoon as he might recover and get never ſo little health; he himſelf with a few Ships returned and came to *Brunduſium*, and from thence for want of health, went into *Apulia*.

Great ſickneſs in the Emperors Army.

The Emperor himſelf ſick.

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperor for ſtaying his Voyage. He layeth falſe accuſations to his charge.

When tydings hereof came to the Popes ear, he ſent out his thundring Curſes and new Excommunications againſt the Emperor. The cauſes whereof I find noted and mentioned by his own Letters, that is, How that when he had robbed and taken from *Brunduſius*, Prince of *Thuring*, his Horſes, his Mony and other rich furniture of his houſe at the time of his death, he ſailed into *Italy*; not for the intent to make War againſt the *Turk*. but to convey his prey that he had ſtoln and taken awa- from *Brunduſius*; and ſo neglecting his Oath and promiſe which he had made, and faigning himſelf to be ſick, came home again: And that by his default alſo, *Damiata* was loſt, and the Hoſt of the Chriſtians ſore afflicted. *Fazellus*, beſides theſe cauſes ſpoken of before, doth write that the Pope alledged theſe alſo; that he defiled a certain Damſel which was in the Queens Nurſery; and that he ſlew his Wife when he had whipped her in the Priſon, for declaring the miſchievous act to her Father King *John*. But all the Writers, and alſo *Blondus* himſelf doth declare, that this *Joel* died after the publication of the Proſcript and Excommunication; wherefore the Pope could not without great ſhame allege the cauſe upon the death of *Joel*; for undoubtedly the truth is, that ſhe of her Son *Conradus* died in Childbed. Then *Frederick*, to refel and avoid the foreſaid ſlanders, ſendeth the Biſhop of *Brundis* and other Legates to *Rome*, whom the Pope would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, neither yet to the Councils of the Cardinals to make his purgation. Wherefore the Emperor, to purge himſelf of the crimes which the Pope did ſo falſly accuſe him of, both to all Chriſtian Kings, and eſpecially to the Princes of *Germany*, and all the Nobles of the Empire, writeth his Letters (which are to be ſeen) that thoſe things are both falſe and alſo fained, and of the Popes own head invented; and ſheweth, how that his Embaſſadors with his purgation could not be ſuffered to come to the Popes preſence; alſo doth largely intreat, how unthankful and ungrateful the Biſhops of *Rome* were towards him for the great benefits, which both he and alſo his Predeceſſors had beſtowed upon them and the *Roman* Church: which Letter, for that it is over tedious here to place, conſidering the diſcourſe of the Hiſtory is ſomewhat long, the ſum of the purgation is this:

The Emperor purgeth himſelf of thoſe crimes the Pope laid againſt him, by his Letters dedicated to all Chriſtian Princes.

He proteſteth and declareth univerſally, that he had always great care for the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and that he had determined even from his youth to fight againſt the *Turk* and *Saracens*. And for that occaſion he made a promiſe to the Princes Electors of *Aquiſgrane*, how that he would take the War upon him. Afterward he renewed his promiſe at *Rome* when he was conſecrated of *Honorius*; then when he married the Daughter of the King of *Jeruſalem*, which was an Heir of the ſame. And for becauſe that Kingdom might be defended and kept from the injuries of the enemies, and becauſe he favoured it even as he did his own, he prepared an huge Navy, and gathered together a ſtrong Army of Men, neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the War. But when the time was come, and his Band was gathered together, his ſickneſs would not ſuffer him to be there. And afterward when he had recovered the ſame, and came to *Brunduſium*, and from thence without any diſturbance went forthwith to Sea, he fell into the ſame ſickneſs again, by the which he was let of his purpoſe, which thing (ſaith he) he is able to prove by ſufficient teſtimony. How the Pope alſo doth lay the loſing of *Damiata*, and other things which proſpered not well with him, unjuſtly to his charge, when as he had made great proviſion for the ſame journey, both of Soldiers and other neceſſary things. But he that will underſtand theſe things more plainly, among other Epiſtles of *Petrus de Vineis*, written in the name of *Frederick*, let him read theſe eſpecially which begin thus: *In admirationem, & juſticiam, & innocentiam, & Levate oculos.* And truly, even as *Fredericus* the Emperor declareth in his Letters concerning this matter, all the old Writers of *Germany* do accord and agree in the ſame.

The Emperors purgation.

The Emperors Epiſtle beginning thus: *In admirationem & juſticiam, and again, Levate oculos.*

*Matth. Pariſienſis* alſo briefly collecteth the effect of another Letter which he wrote to the King of *England*, complaining unto him of the Excommunication of the Pope againſt him, whoſe words are theſe: *And amongſt other Catholick Princes* (ſaith he) *he alſo wrote his Letters unto the King of* England, *embulled with Gold*; *Declaring in the ſame, that the Biſhop of* Rome *was ſo inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifeſt concupiſcence, that he was not contented with the Goods of the Church which were innumerable, but alſo that he ſhamed not to bring Princes, Kings and Emperors to be ſubjects and contributors to him, and ſo to diſherit them, and put them from their Kingly dignities: And that the King of* England *himſelf had good experiment thereof, whoſe Father (that is to ſay, King* John*) they ſo long held excommunicate, till they had brought both him and his Dominions under ſervitude, and to pay unto him tribute. Alſo that many have experience of the ſame by the Earl of* Tholouſe *and divers other Princes, which ſo long held their Perſons and Lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like ſervitude. I pretermit (ſaith he) the Simonies and ſundry ſorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which daily are uſed amongſt the Eccleſiaſtical perſons, beſides their manifeſt Uſury (yet ſo cloaked and coloured to the ſimple ſort, that therewithal they infect the whole world) They be ſugard and embalmed Simoniſts, the inſatiable Horſe-leaches or blood-ſuckers, ſaying, that the Church of* Rome *is our Mother and Nurſe, whereas it is indeed the moſt polling Court in the univerſal World, the root and right Mother of all miſchief, uſing and exerciſing no motherly doings or deeds, but bringing forth the right exerciſes of a wicked Step-dame, making ſufficient proof thereof by her manifeſt fruits to all the world apparent. Let the Barons of* England *conſider whether this be true or not, whom Pope* Innocent *by his Bulls with one conſent encouraged to riſe and rebel againſt their Soveraign Lord and Prince King* John *your Father, as an obſtinate enemy to the Church of* Rome. *But after that the King (far out of ſquare) remembring himſelf had crouched unto him, and obliged both himſelf and Kingdom to the Church of* Rome, *more like a Woman than a Man; and that the wiſe Barons, whom the Pope had firſt maintained and ſtirred up, without all ſhame, either of the World, or fear of God, had done the ſame, he ſought how he might with gaping mouth devour and conſume the ſweet fat from them, whom he had miſerably to death betraied and diſherited, as the manner of the* Roman *Biſhops is. By whoſe greedy avarice it came to paſs, that* England *the Prince of Provinces was brought under miſerable ſubjection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our* Roman *Biſhops: behold the ſnares wherewith theſe Prelates do ſeek to intangle men withal, to wipe their noſes of their money, to make their children bond-*

A Letter of the Emperor to the K. of England abſtracted by Mat. Paris.

Many Kingdoms have experience of the Popes practices.

The Church of Rome the mother of miſchief.

King Johns ſubmiſſion to the Pope blamed by the Emperor.

The effect of the Emperors Letters.

KING Hen. 3

*bondmen, to diſquiet ſuch as ſeek to live in peace, being clothed with Sheeps clothing, when indeed they be but ravening Wolves, ſending their Legates hither and thither to excommunicate and ſuſpend; as having power to puniſh whom they liſt, not ſowing the Seed, that is the Word of God, to fructifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens perſons, and reap that which they never did ſow. Thus cometh it to paſs, that they ſpoil the holy Churches and Houſes of God, which ſhould be the refuge for the poor, and the Manſion-Houſes of Saints, which our devout and ſimple Parents to that purpoſe builded and ordained to the refection of poor Men and Pilgrims, and to the ſuſtentation of ſuch as were well diſpoſed and religious. But theſe degenerate Varlets, whom only Letters have made both mad and malepert, do ſtrive and gape to be both Kings and Emperors.*

Who be the ravening Wolves in Sheeps clothing.

The Treaſure of the Church belongeth to the Pope.

*Doubtleſs the Primitive Church was builded and laid in poverty and ſimplicity of life, and then as a fruitful mother begat the thoſe her holy Children, whom the catalogue of Saints now maketh mention of; and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other Church, than that which is laid by Jeſus Chriſt. But this Church as it ſwimmeth and wallowеth in all ſuperfluity of riches, and doth build and raiſe the frame in all ſuperfluous wealth and glory; ſo is it to be feared leſt the Walls thereof fall to decay, and when the Walls be down, utter ruine and ſubverſion follow after. Againſt us, he knoweth that is the ſearcher of all hearts, how furiouſly theſe Catholicks rage and go to work, ſaying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take upon me the journey I have promiſed beyond the Seas, whereas inevitable and moſt urgent cauſes and perils, as well to the Church of God, as alſo to the Empire, beſides the annoyance of mine infirmity and ſickneſs, do detain me at home, and ſtay the ſame, but ſpecially the inſolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? neither do we think it ſafety to our Empire, nor expedient to the Chriſtian State, that we ſhould now take our journey into Aſia, leaving behind us at home ſuch inteſtine and Civil Wars; no more than for a good Surgeon to lay a healing Plaiſter to a grievous wound new made and ſtricken with the Sword. In concluſion alſo this he addeth, admoniſhing all the Princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their avaricious iniquity) of like peril and danger to themſelves, becauſe that, as the Proverb is, It behoveth him to look about, that ſeeth his neighbours houſe on fire.* Thus much out of *Pariſ. pag. 69.*

Chriſts Church was builded in humility: the Popes Church is all ſuperfluity. Ergo, the Popes Church is not Chriſts Church.

But now, that *Frederick* the Emperor might in very deed ſtop the mouth of the cruel Pope, which did perſiſt and go forward ſtill in his Excommunication againſt him: and that he might declare to the whole World, how that the laſt year he forefollowed not his journey by his own voluntary will, but by neceſſity; when he had deviſed and prepared all things meet for the War, and that he had gathered together, and levied a great Army of Men, he departed from thence to *Brunduſium*, committing the government of his Kingdom to *Reinaldus* the Son of Duke *Spoletus*, and to *Anſelmus* a Baron of *Inſtigenſis*, and came by Sea to *Cyprus* with his Hoſt.

Another journey of the Emperor to *Jeruſalem.*

From *Cyprus* the Emperor with his whole Navy, ſailed into *Joppa*, which City he fortified, for that the paſſages by Land were ſtopped and kept of the enemies; and by Sea he might not paſs nor travel, by means of the extream Weather and Tempeſt; whereby it came to paſs, that within ſhort ſpace they lacked Victuals, and were ſore afflicted with Famine. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble ſupplication to God; with whoſe tears his wrath being appeaſed, the great Tempeſt, and long continued foul Weather ceaſed, whereby (the Seas being now calm) they had both Victuals great plenty, and all other neceſſary things for their need brought unto them, whereby immediately it came to paſs, that both the Emperor and his Army, as alſo the Inhabitants of *Joppa* were greatly refreſhed and animated; and on the other ſide, their enemies being diſappointed of their purpoſe, were greatly diſcouraged; inſomuch that the King of *Egypt*, who with great power (accompanied with *Scarapho* his Brother, Prince of *Gaza*, and the Prince of *Damaſcus* their Nephew, with many other Dukes and Nobles) had incamped themſelves within one days journey of *Joppa*, thinking to have beſieged the ſame, were contented upon the coming of the Emperors Heralds unto them, to intreat of a peace. Whereupon Embaſſadors were ſent unto them with the Emperors demands, right profitable to the Chriſtian Commonweal. The *Saracens* (immediately conſulting upon the ſame) granted thereunto; ſo that a peace for ten years was concluded, and was confirmed by ſolemn Oath on the behalf of both Princes, according to their ſeveral uſages and manner: the form and condition of which Articles of Peace briefly collected, are theſe:

The Emperor oppreſſed by famine, and by prayer miraculouſly relieved.

A concluſion of a profitable peace during ten years, between the *Turks* & the Chriſtians.

*Firſt*, That Frederick *the Emperor ſhould be crowned and anointed King of* Jeruſalem, *according to the manner of the Kings of* Jeruſalem *before him.*

The Articles of the Peace agreed upon.

*Secondly, That all the Lands and Poſſeſſions which were ſituate betwixt* Jeruſalem *and* Ptolomaida, *and the greateſt part of* Paleſtina, *and Cities of* Tyrus *and* Sidon, *which were in* Syria, *and all other Territories which* Baldwinus *the fourth at any time had and did occupy there, ſhould be delivered unto him, only certain Caſtles reſerved.*

*Thirdly, That he might fortifie and build what Fortreſſes and Caſtles, Cities and Towns he thought good in all* Syria *and* Paleſtina.

*Fourthly, That all the Priſoners which were in the* Saracens *hands, ſhould be ranſomed freely and ſent home: And again, That the* Saracens *might have leave without Armour, to come into the Temple where the Lords Sepulcher is, to pray; and that they ſhould hold and keep ſtill* Chratum, *and the Kings Mount.*

*Frederick* now, for that he thought the concluſion of this peace to be both neceſſary, and alſo profitable for all Chriſtians, and had alſo gotten as much thereby, as if the Wars had continued, he ſhould; ſent his Legates with Letters unto the Weſt to all Chriſtian Kings, Princes and Potentates, as alſo to the Biſhop of *Rome*, declaring unto them the circumſtance and ſucceſs of his Journey and Wars, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they alſo would praiſe and give God thanks for his good ſucceſs and profitable peace concluded: And deſireth the Pope, that forſomuch as he had now accompliſhed his promiſe, neither was there now any cauſe wherefore he ſhould be with him diſpleaſed, that he might be reconciled and obtain his favour.

The Letters of *Frederick*, to the Princes & Pope of his ſucceſs.

In the mean ſeaſon the Emperor with all his Army marcheth to *Jeruſalem*; where, upon *Eaſter* day, in the year one thouſand two hundred twenty and nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his Nobles, and alſo the Magiſtrates of that Kingdom (only the Patriarch of *Cyprus* the Kings Legate, and *Oliver* the Maſter or Captain of the Temple with his company excepted) ſolemnly and with great applauſe crowned King.

The Emperor crowned King of *Jeruſalem.*

After this, he re-edifieth the City and Walls thereof, which by the *Saracens* were beaten down and battered. After that, he furniſheth it with munition, he buildeth up the Churches and Temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth *Nazarethum* and *Joppen* with ſtrong Gariſons, Victuals, and all other things neceſſary.

Now ſee and behold I pray you, whilſt *Frederick* was thus occupied in the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, what practices the Pope had in *Italy*; not I warrant you, any whit at all careful in the affairs of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, but ſtudying and labouring what miſchief and ſpight he might work againſt the Emperor, whom of ſet purpoſe he had ſo occupied (partly for hate, and partly to inrich himſelf) in *Aſia* and *Jeruſalem*, ſo far out of *Italy* ye may be ſure. Firſt, he cauſed the Souldiers, which the Emperor ſent for out of *Germany* to the maintenance of the holy wars, to be ſtaied as they paſſed through *Italy*, letting them of their journey, and took from them, and ſpoiled them of all ſuch proviſion as they had. And not only this, but he ſent ſecretly alſo his Letters into *Aſia* to thoſe that were of his own faction, that is, to the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and Souldiers that kept the Temple and the Hoſpital, inticing and inciting them to rebel againſt the Emperor; which thing *Blondus* himſelf, that *Popiſh* Paraſite, or Hiſtoriographer, diſſembleth not nor hideth not. But furthermore, he diſſwaded the Princes of the *Saracens*, that they ſhould make no League nor take any Truce with *Frederick*, neither deliver up unto him the Crown and Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*. Which Letters, as they were manifeſt

The firſt and ſecret practice of Pope Gregory the Ninth.

niſeſt teſtimonies of his Treachery and Treaſon towards him, whom God had inſtituted and made his Liege Lord and Sovereign, and mightieſt Potentate upon the Earth; ſo was it his will that he ſhould come to the knowledge thereof, and that thoſe Letters ſhould fall into his hands. And that he kept the ſame Letters for the more credible teſtimony thereof, in the ſame his laſt Epiſtle unto the Chriſtian Princes he proteſteth. The Copy of which Letters amongſt his other Epiſtles you ſhall have expreſſed.

The Emperor withſtandeth the ſecret treaſon which the Pope had wrought againſt him at *Jeruſalem.*

Neither were the Popes Letters written to that leavened and factious Sect in vain; for the Patriarch and his Collegioners, which took their name of the *Temple*, did mightily repugne againſt *Frederick*. They raiſed a Tumult in *Ptolomaida* againſt him; they accuſed him and his Legates openly of Treaſon, and did malapertly and boldly withſtand the right worthy and good order he made amongſt them. But as God would, by the help of the inhabitants of *Piſa* and the *Genoways*, and the *Dutch* Soldiers, both their falſe accuſations were refelled, and alſo their ſeditious purpoſe and tumult repreſſed. And this was the cauſe that when all other Men rejoiced and were glad of the Emperors Coronation, they, as wicked confederators, were heavy therefore, and obtrectors of his worthy laud and fame.

The ſecond and manifeſt treaſon of the Pope againſt *Frederick.*

The Pope, when he had thus conſpired againſt *Frederick*, and had betrayed him to the publick Enemy of all Chriſtian Men, the *Turk*, he could not diſſemble this his miſchievous fact, nor content himſelf therewith, but he would deviſe and practice yet another. For, by reaſon of thoſe ſlanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and ſlaughter of his Wife *Joel*, he incited *John Brennus* his Father-in-law to make War againſt him, who cauſed the Subjects of his Empire to withdraw from him their Allegiance, as alſo the inhabitants of *Picenum*, and inhabitants of *Lombardy*. And thus joyning themſelves together, they craved further aid of the *French* King, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their Hoſt in two Armies, invading with the one the Empire, and with the other the proper Territories and Ditions belonging to the inheritance of *Frederick*; *John Brennus* and *Pandolph Savellanus* leading the one (as Generals) into *Campania* and the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the other (with *John Columma* Cardinal, his Legate, and that *Thomas* before convicted of Treaſon, being his Lieutenant) he ſendeth into *Picenum*.

*Brennus, Pandolphus, Johannes Columna, & Thomas* the Traitor, the Popes Generals and Leaders of his Hoſt.

Of this Treaſon of the Pope againſt *Fredericus* doth alſo *Matthæus Pariſienſis* make mention, during his Wars in *Aſia*, who (ſaith he) purpoſed to have depoſed him, and to have placed *Alium quemlibet filium pacis & obedientiæ loco ejus ſubrogare*; That is, any other, he cared not whom (ſo that he were the child of peace and obedience) in his ſtead. And for the more certainty thereof, the ſaid *Matth. Pariſienſis, pag.* 71. repeateth the Letter which a certain Earl of *Syria* wrote unto him concerning the ſame, which Letter hereunder enſueth word for word.

*TO the High and Mighty Prince,* Fredericus, *by the grace of God Emperor of* Rome, *and ever* Auguſtus, *and moſt puiſſant King of* Sicilia, Thomas *Earl of* Actran, *his faithful and truſty Subject in all things, humble ſalutation. After your departure, moſt excellent Prince,* Gregory *the Biſhop of* Rome, *and publick enemy to your magnificence, gabering together a great power and Hoſt of Men by* Johannes Brennus, *late King of* Jeruſalem, *and other ſtout Captains, whom he hath made Generals of the ſame his Hoſt, as a foreign enemy invading your Dominions and Poſſeſſions of your Highneſs Subjects, againſt the Law of Chriſtianity, hath purpoſed and determined to vanquiſh and ſubdue you with the material or temporal Sword, whom he cannot maſter and overcome with the ſpiritual Sword he ſaith. For he foreſaid* John Brennus *gathering out of* France, *and other Provinces near adjoyning, a great Army, giveth unto them of the Treaſure he hath gotten together (by what means I cannot tell) great Wages, in hope to recover and get from you the Empire. And furthermore, the ſame* John *and others (the Captains of the See Apoſtolical) invading your Land, burn and deſtroy all as they go, driving away, and taking for their booties all that they can come by, as well Cattel as other things, and ſuch as they take priſoners, they conſtrain, by afflicting them with grievous puniſhments, to ranſom themſelves for great Summs of Mony: neither ſpare Man, Woman nor Child, but take and keep your Towns and Caſtles, having no regard that you be in the ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt. And further, if any make mention of your Majeſty unto him, he ſaith, there is none other Emperor but himſelf. Your friends and ſubjects, moſt excellent Prince, much marvel hereupon; yea, and alſo the Clergy themſelves of the Empire, do marvel with what Conſcience, or upon what conſideration the Biſhop of* Rome *can do the ſame, making ſuch bloudy Wars and ſlaughter upon Chriſtian men; eſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt commanded* Peter, *when he ſtrook with the material Sword, to put up the ſame into the Scabbard, ſaying*; All that ſtrike with the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword, *Or elſe, by what Law he daily can excommunicate ſuch Pirats, burners of Mens Houſes, and Robbers, when he is the patron and maintainer of ſuch himſelf: hereat they greatly muſe and marvel. Wherefore moſt mighty and renowned Emperor, I beſeech your Highneſs to conſider your own ſafety, for that the ſaid* John Brennus *hath laid and fortified all the Ports and Havens with no ſmall company of Men and Souldiers; that if (not knowing thereof) your Grace ſhould arrive in any of them, the ſame Garriſons of his may apprehend and take you as a Priſoner, which thing to chance God forefend.*

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Thus whilſt the Hoſt of this Hoſtile enemy the Pope was incamped in the Dominions of *Frederick*, he received the Letters which *Frederick* by his Legates ſent into *Europa*, as you heard, whereby he underſtood the good ſucceſs he had in *Aſia*; who not only took no delectation at all therein, but was alſo in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifeſtly it may appear, what was the cauſe and meaning of the Pope, that he was ſo ſolicitous and urgent to have *Frederick* the Emperor make a Voyage into *Aſia*. Doubtleſs even the ſame that *Pelias* had, when by his inſtigation, he procured *Jaſon*, with all the choſen youth and flower of *Grecia*, to ſail into *Colchus* to fetch away the golden Fleece; and that by the opportunity of his abſence he might uſe, or rather abuſe his power and tyranny; and that *Frederick* might either be long afflicted and moleſted in the *Aſian* War, or that he might periſh and loſe his life therein, was that he ſought, and all that he deſired.

What meaning the Pope had to ſend *Frederick* to fight againſt the *Turk.*

And when he ſaw, that Fortune neither favoured his fetches, nor ſerved to his longing luſt, he was as a Man bereft of his wits, ſpecially at theſe tidings of the proſperous ſucceſs of the Emperor. He tore and threw all his Letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reviled the Legates for the Emperor their Maſters ſake; which thing alſo *Blondus* himſelf denieth not, though he write altogether in favour of the Pope. And to the intent that he might cover this his rage, and unbridled fury with ſome cloak and colour of juſt deſerved dolor, he fained himſelf therefore ſo much to miſlike therewith, as though the Emperor therein had only reſpected his own private commodity, not regarding the utility of the Chriſtians; for that the *Saracens* had licence (although without armour and weapon to have repared unto the Sepulchre of Chriſt, and had left for them ſomewhat near the ſame an Hoſtery or lodging place; *for which occaſion* (ſaith *Blondus*) *his Lord Pope rebuked the Emperors Legates, by the name of Traitors and ſuch like other opprobrious words.* Now go to, friend *Blondus*, by what ſtrong arguments prove you and your Lord Pope, either that the peace which the Emperor hath concluded, was againſt the Chriſtian Common-wealth, or that the Emperor was a Traitor? But who is it that ſeeth not theſe things either by reading of old and ancient Writers, or elſe partly by me that have gathered and collected the ſame out of divers Monuments and Hiſtories, and plainly perceiveth not the conſpiracies and treaſons of your good Lord the Pope, ſo notable and filthy, as alſo his manifeſt ſhame and infamy? What? there be divers that write how the Pope commanded theſe Legates of *Frederick* to be made ſecretly out of the way, and alſo how he commanded divers Soldiers, returning out of *Aſia*, to be ſlain, to the end that none ſhould hear the report of thoſe good News which were in *Aſia*, nor any go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more than of thoſe thing which all the Writers with moſt conſent agree upon. This is moſt certain, that

How the Pope chafeth and fretteth at the proſperous ſucceſs of the Emperor.

*Blondus* reproved, that wrote ſo greatly in the Popes favour.

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that the Pope cauſed this rumour to be ſpread of the death and taking of the Emperor upon this conſideration, that he might allure unto him the fidelity of thoſe Cities in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which yet kept their Allegiance unto *Frederick*, of whom they ſhould now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the Emperor, in his Epiſtle Intituled *Levate oculos*, greatly againſt him complain.

The third practice of Pope Gregory againſt the Emperor.

Great are theſe injuries of the Pope againſt *Frederick*, and moſt wicked Treaſons. But herewith could not the cruel and tyrannical mind of him be contented, nor his luſt ſatisfied, but it ſo far exceeded, as ſcarce is credible that it could: for he preſumed not only to ſet variance between *Henry* (whom *Frederick* his Father had cauſed to be made King of *Germany*) and him, but alſo by his allurements, he cauſed him to become an enemy unto him. To whom when his Father had aſſigned the Duke of *Boioria* (named *Ludovicus*) to be his Overſeer and Counſellor; neither knew he amongſt all the Princes of *Germany*, a Man more faithful to him in his office and duty, or elſe more vertuous, or elſe more grave and apt to be in authority: *Henry* fearing leſt he ſhould underſtand and know of theſe ſecret counſels, which he with his Conſpirators had in hand againſt his Father, or that he ſhould utter the ſame unto him, or that he ſhould go about to diſſwade him from that he was purpoſed to do by authority of the Court and Senate of *Rome*, he put him out of Office. And this was the fetch of all their policy, that together and at one inſtant (but in divers and ſundry places far one from another) ſharp and cruel War might be made againſt the Emperor, ſo that, his power being diſtract to the appeaſing of variable contention, he might himſelf be the eaſier oppreſſed of a few.

The Pope ſetteth the Son againſt the Father, as a good father of peace.

*Henry Ceſar* at the Popes inticement, putteth from him his true Counſellor *Ludovicus*.

When the Emperor now underſtood what ſtir the Pope kept in all his dominions in his abſence, and when he had ſomewhat reformed and appeaſed the troubles which he ſecretly had wrought him in the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, thinking to prevent the Popes purpoſe in that he went about, and alſo to confirm the friendſhip towards him of them whom in his abſence he found his truſty Subjects: he left in *Aſia Renaldus* with his Garriſons, commanding all the other bands to be under his appointment; and with all ſpeed he came forth in certain Gallies to *Calabria*. During the time of his there being, which unlooked for came thither, he aſſembled his power, and made with his friends all the ſpeedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to *Berleta*, where he tarried twenty days, to whom came the Duke of *Spoletanum* with all his Garriſons; and ſo from thence with all his power he came into *Apulia*, and removed *John Brennus* his Father-in-law from the Siege of *Calatia*, and within ſhort time by Gods help recovereth again all his Holds and Dominions there. And from thence going into *Campania*, he winneth *Beneventum*, and as many othere Towns and Holds as the Pope had there, even almoſt to *Rome*, and ſo after that *Umbria* and *Picena*. And now although the Emperor (being moved thereunto upon good occaſion, and upon the Popes worthy deſert) had gotten and recovered this ſo likely an entrance upon the Popes Dominions, whereby he might have revenged him of all the injuries done to him: yet notwithſtanding, for that he preferred nothing before the Chriſtian and publick tranquility (for the love of which he reſtraining his wrath ſo vehemently urged and kindled) he ſendeth unto him his Legates to intreat a peace, declaring unto him, that if no other conceived grudge towards him were than that he diſſembled and pretended, he promiſeth that he would make to him an account voluntarily, of all things that ever he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to ſubmit himſelf unto the Church; and alſo that for this cauſe he willingly offered unto him both duty and obſervance. Furthermore, to the intreating of this peace, and deciding of all controverſies, he ſent to the Pope eight or ten of the nobleſt and chiefeſt about him that were Princes and Dukes of the Empire; as *Bartolduſt* the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and his Brother *Otho* Prince of *Dalmatia* and *Hiſtria*, *Eberhardus*, *Juvanenſis*, *Sigifridus*, *Reginoburgenſis*, *Sibbotus*, *Auguſtanus* a worthy Prelat, *Leopaldus* of *Auſtria* and *Styria*, and *Bernhardus*, being all Dukes; beſides others of the Nobility to accompany them.

The Emperor hearing of the Popes practices, returneth ſecretly out of *Aſia*.

*John Brennus* removed from the Siege of *Calatia*.

God proſpereth *Frederick* in all his affairs.

*Frederick* intreateth for the Popes favour, although he have no need.

But yet ſo great was the inſolency and pride of the ſtubborn Pope, that by no gentleneſs or beneficence he could of thoſe Princes be brought that year to the profitable concord of the Church and Chriſtian Commonweal. O worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himſelf in the Church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of his own wilful revenge, ſetteth nothing by the health and utility of all *Chriſtendom!* Then therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the moſt part of theſe Noblemen departed from *Rome*, the next year after (with much ado) a peace was made and concluded them, by the help and induſtry of *Leopaldus* of *Auſtria*, *Hermanus* Captain of the *Dutch* Souldiers, and the Prelident of *Meſſania*. The Pope then abſolving the Emperor *Fredericus* of his Excommunication, took therefore of him 120000 ounces of Gold, reſtoring unto him again the Titles both of his Empire, and alſo of his Kingdoms. Now conſidering the uncourteous dealing of the Pope with *Frederick* the Emperor herein, who can ſufficiently muſe and marvel at the unſhamefaſtneſs of *Blondus*, which hath the face to write, that the Poe (yet notwithſtanding) had dealt more gently and courteouſly with *Frederick* than was meet, or beſeemed him to do? Who is it that doth not ſee his manifeſt flattery, coloured neither with reaſon nor ſecret diſſimulation? But much more truly and better writeth *Cuſpinianus* concerning this matter, which ſaith, that the Pope doth occupy very profitable Merchandize. which for ſo much mony ſelleth that he received freely paying nothing therefore, if he had received it of Chriſt indeed, as he ſaith he had.

The Pope refuſeth a peace with the Emperor.

The price of the Emperors abſolution.

Unſhameful *Blondus*.

*Cuſpinianus* pretily girdeth the Pope.

And yet although the Emperor *Frederick* concluded with the Pope this unprofitable peace for himſelf, yet he performed thoſe things that were agreed upon faithfully and diligently. But the Pope which thought it but a triffle to break his promiſe, would not ſtand to the conditions of that peace he made. For by the way, to paſs over other things, neither had he reſtored, as he promiſed, the Cuſtoms of the Land of *Sicily*, neither yet the City *Caſtellana*, which he before the peace concluded between them, did occupy and enjoy. And that do both *Frederick* in his Epiſtles teſtifie, and alſo *Fazellus* in his eighth Book, writing of the affairs of *Sicilia*. Yet notwithſtanding *Frederick*, for the quieteneſs and utility of the Commonwealth, purpoſed with himſelf to bear and ſuffer theſe ſmall injuries, and further ſtudied in all that he might, as well by liberal gifts as otherwiſe, to have the Pope to be to him a truſty friend. As when the *Romans* and others of the Eccleſiaſtical number made War againſt the Pope for certain poſſeſſions which he kept of theirs, he coming to him at *Reat*, and as one that tendered the unity of the Church, and thinking to help the Pope at his earneſt requeſt in theſe matters, ſent his Legates unto them, willing them to lay down their armour which againſt the Pope they bare. And when that would not ſerve, at the Popes further requeſt and deſire, he levied an Army againſt them at his own charge, and drave them from the Siege of *Viterbium*; with other ſuch like aſſured tokens of amity and friendſhip which he ſhewed him. Who notwithſtanding, ſo ſoon as the Emperor was departed with a ſmall company which he took with him into *Sicilia*, leaving with him the greater and moſt part of his Army for the maintenance of his Wars, concluded a peace with the *Romans* (unknown to the Emperor) whom he had procured to travel and labour therein with great expences; affirming, that without his will and commandment, the Emperor had expelled them, and driven them out of the Territories of *Viterbium*. And hereof doth *Frederick* alſo himſelf make mention in his ſecond and third Epiſtle, where he complaineth of the injuries of the Pope towards him.

What beneficence the Emperor uſeth to have the Popes friendſhip, which he ſhall never get.

A well recompenced good turn of the Pope to the Emperor.

Therefore greater commendation had *Blondus* deſerved, if he had written of theſe treacheries of the Pope, than forgetting himſelf (as unto liers often it chanceth) in writing both contrary to himſelf in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of *Fredericus* his ſtory; which ſaith, that the *Romans* were incited to theſe new tumults by his inticing and ſetting on. Although ſimple men of underſtanding could not both by the offering of his Son in Hoſtage, by the great preparation of the Wars, and by the event ſpecially of the thing it ſelf gather the contrary. But too too impudent will *Blondus* needs ſhew himſelf.

*Blondus* taken with untruth.

The Emperors Sons no longer ſuborned, make manifeſt rebellion againſt their Father.

Whilſt that theſe things were done in *Italy* and *Sicilia*, great rebellions were moved in *Germany* againſt the Emperor by *Henricus Ceſar*, and *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, his Sons being the chief Authors thereof. For *Henry* being diſappointed and ſhaken off from his Lord Pope, and other Conſpirators, by reaſon of the peace between his Father and him (as ye heard) began now to make open challenge to the Empire. And for that cauſe he (as before is ſaid) put from him *Ludovicus*, whom he knew to be unto the Emperor his Father ſo loving and aſſured a friend; who as willingly (perceiving and ſmelling what miſchief he went about) forſook his Court, and came to *Boioria*; who had not there remained a year, but was, as he walked abroad at a certain time, ſtabbed in with a Dagger of one *Kelhemius*, and preſently died, his ſervants not being far from him, of whoſe death divers diverſly write. Notwithſtanding the ſequel doth ſhew them to write truleſt, that affirm the ſaid ſtriker to be ſuborned by *Henry Ceſar*; who coming unto him in the habit of a Meſſenger, delivered unto him certain Letters, which he fained to be ſent from the Emperor; And whileſt *Ludovicus* was in reading the ſame, he ſtrake him in with a Dagger, and gave him his mortal wound, and with ſpeed fled upon the ſame. After whoſe death ſucceeded in that Dukedom his Son *Otho*, who when ſolemnly according to the manner of the *Boiores* he ſhould have been created, was alſo let by the ſame *Henry Ceſar*; who forbad the Aſſembly of the Magiſtrates and Citizens the ſame. They notwithſtanding, neglecting his unjuſt reſtraint, created him; wherefore he firſt beſieged *Reginoburgh*, and with another company ſacked, burnt, and waſted *Boioria*; with many more ſuch great outrages and rebellions.

A wicked murther by *Henry Ceſar*, for true and faithful ſervice.

The outrage of *Henry Ceſar* againſt the Emperor his Father.

When intelligence was brought of theſe things to the Emperor, he ſent his Legates, and commanded that both the *Ceſar* his Son, and other Princes of *Germany*, which had aſſembled their Armies, ſhould break up and diſperſe the ſame. And becauſe he ſaw and perceived now manifeſtly that his Son made ſo apparent rebellion againſt him, and fearing greater inſurrections to inſue in *Germany*, he thought good to prevent the ſame with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to go in all haſte to *Germany* with his Army, from whence he had now been abſent fourteen years, and hereunto he maketh the Pope privy. The Pope promiſed the Emperor hereupon, that he would write his Letters in his behalf to all the Princes of *Germany*; but perſwaded him to the uttermoſt of his power, that he ſhould in no caſe go into *Germany* himſelf. For why? his conſcience accuſed him that he had written to the Nobles in *Germany*, even from the beginning of his Papacy (for the hate and grudg he had againſt the Emperor) that they ſhould not ſuffer him, nor any of his heirs to enjoy the Empire; and further, had ſtirred them all up to rebel againſt him; and had moved *Henry* the Emperors Son, by his bribes and fair promiſes to conſpire againſt his Father. And to conclude, he was the Author and procurer of the Conſpiracy which the *Lombards* made then againſt him; and fearing leſt theſe things ſhould come now to the Emperors ear, he was greatly troubled and careful. But the Emperor not thinking it good at ſo needful a time to be abſent, he (all doubt ſet apart) with his ſecond Son *Conradus*, went ſpeedily into *Germany*. And aſſembling there a Council in the City of *Nurenburgh*, *Henry Ceſar* his Son, after his Conſpiracy was manifeſtly detected, which he had in practice with the *Longobards* (whereof the Pope was chief Author) was by judgment and ſentence of ſeventy Princes condemned of High Treaſon: And being commanded by his Father to be bound, was as priſoner brought to *Apulia*, where not long after in priſon he died. In whoſe ſtead he ordained *Conradus* his ſecond Son *Ceſar*, by conſent of all the Peers and Princes. Furthermore, by publick commandment he renounced *Frederick Auſtriacus* for his Son, and he cauſed him to be proclaimed an enemy to the publick weal. And further, when he ſaw that neither that puniſhment could cauſe him to remember himſelf, and acknowledg his abuſe, the Emperor with a great Army (accompanied with divers of the Noblemen of *Germany*) took from him all *Auſtria* and *Stiria*, and brought them again under his own obedience and fidelity.

The Emperor 14 years out of *Germany*.

The Pope feareth that his treaſon ſhould be ſpied by the Emperor going into *Germany*.

*Henry Ceſar* condemned of treaſon, and dieth in priſon.

*Fredericus Auſtriacus* proclaimed an open enemy to his Father, and diſherited.

The Emperor marrieth King *John's* Daughter of England.

The ſame year married he with his third Wife named *Iſabel*, the Daughter of King *John* of *England*. Then when he had ſet *Germany* in a ſtay and quietneſs, he left there *Conradus Ceſar* his Son; and with his Hoſt returneth again into *Italy*, there to puniſh ſuch as had with *Henry* his Eldeſt Son conſpired againſt him; whoſe Treaſons were all detected at the condemnation of *Henry Ceſar* his Son, chiefly ſet on by the Pope. When the Pope had underſtanding that the Emperor with Warlike Furniture marched toward *Italy*; although he fained himſelf reconciled, and to be a friend to *Frederick*, yet was he notwithſtanding to him a moſt ſecret and infeſtive enemy. And underſtanding that he brought with him ſuch a power both of Horſemen and Footmen, to do execution of ſuch as he underſtood to be Conſpirators againſt him in the late tumult and rebellion; thoſe which were faulty herein and guilty (and all other that took their parts) he admoniſhed to joyn themſelves together, and that they ſhould furniſh ſtrongly their Cities with Garriſons, that they ſhould ſend for aid to their friends, and that with all the force they were able, they ſhould prepare them for the war. The reſt of the Cities alſo in *Italy*, whether they were the Emperors or his own, he endeavoureth to make them all his, and proper to himſelf.

{KING Hen. 3.}

The Pope again beginneth to play his part.

The Popes Ambaſſage to the Emperor.

Furthermore, unto the Emperor he ſendeth his Ambaſſadors; to whom, under the pretence of nouriſhing a peace, he had given a ſecret commandment that they ſhould Interdict him and his Hoſt, ſo ſoon as he came within the borders of *Italy*. To the preſervation of which peace ſaith he, he had (but late ſince) promulgate a Subſidy to be gathered amongſt the Chriſtians, when he began the Holy War. And alſo to ſay (not by way of intreaty, but commandingly) that what cauſe of controverſie he had with the *Longobards*, the ſame he ſhould commit to him, and ſtand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the Emperor replying maketh his Legate this anſwer:

The Emperors again unto the Pope.

Shortly after, ſaith he, the peace was made between the Pope and me, he called me for a chief defence both of the Church and himſelf, againſt the *Romans* which made war with him; and at his requeſt, with mine own proper charge I maintained that his War, and gave his enemies the overthrow. And further ſaid, that he ſhould not do well, through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by Law and right he might and ought to do; but rather he ought to diſpoſe himſelf, with force to reſtrain and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themſelves from the ſubjection both of him and the Empire; and that ſuch rebels as both had reſtrained the Souldiers which the Emperor ſent for when he was in *Aſia*, and divers others alſo (which for neceſſary cauſes he had called to him) which they had ſo wickedly dealt with and abuſed, he (as they had deſerved) ſhould rather deſire to ſee puniſhed and reformed, than to maintain them (under colour of peace) being ſo wicked and manifeſt evil doers. And touching that he demandeth of him, that he ſhould commit and defer ſo great a cauſe, wherein the wealth and ſafety of the Empire conſiſteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either aſſignment of any time when, or adding thereunto any condition or exception for not doing the ſame, neither the diminiſhing and impairing the Dignity and Regality of his Empire conſidered, he could not but marvel; ſeeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculty, nor to the benefit or commodity of the Empire. To this effect alſo writeth *Frederick* in his laſt Epiſtle unto the Pope: the effect whereof amongſt other Epiſtles you may read.

A ſecret Conſpiracy of the Pope againſt the Emperors

And in the ſame his Letters he ſheweth that, when the Emperor at a certain time had been with the Pope, at his going away he requeſted, that when he came again, he would come into *Italy* but with his houſhold-band and family; for that if he ſhould come as before he did accuſtom with his Army, he ſhould terrifie them over-much; amongſt whom (ſaith he) you may aſſure your ſelf to be in great ſafety, and find all things in reſt and quiet; where quite contrary (as the Emperor for a certainty had tried) he had there all things ready and prepared for his deſtruction; ſo that when he pretended unto him greateſt friendſhip, he was buſieſt in conſpiring his death. The certain time when the Pope had this exerciſe in hand againſt the Emperor, I cannot ſearch out, neither may it be in his Epiſtles undated eaſily found out; but that of the certainty thereof no man need to doubt, I have aſſigned you to the

Empe-

{KING Hen. 3.}

Emperors Epiſtle, where he maketh mention of the ſame.

The Emperor marcheth into *Italy*, notwithſtanding the Popes forbidding.

The Emperor then as he had determined, proſecuted his purpoſe, and marcheth into *Italy*, where he brought under his ſubjection thoſe Cities that againſt him rebelled, as *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Terniſium*, *Patavium*, and others. And then he afterward ſet upon the great Hoſt of the *Mediolanenſes*, the *Brixians*, the *Placentines*, and other Confederators, unto whom the Popes Legate *Georgius Longomontanus* had joyned himſelf, of whom he took one thouſand priſoners, and alſo their General, being the chief Magiſtrate in the City of *Mediolanum*, and *Petrus Tenopolus* the Dukes Son of *Venice*, and ſlew divers Captains more, and took all their Enſigns. And in this Battel, eſpecially at the recovering of *Marchie* and *Terniſſana*, he uſed the friendly aid of *Actiolinus*.

The Emperor loth to break the peace of late concluded.

The Pope now ſomewhat diſmaid at this overthrow of his Confederates and Mates (though not much) began yet ſomewhat to fear the Emperor; and whereas before, that which he did he wrought ſecretly and by others, now he goeth to work with might and main to ſubdue and deprive the Emperor. And although the Emperor ſaw and perceived what inward hate and mortal malice he bare towards him, not only by that he ſo apertly ſtood with his Conſpirators againſt him, but alſo that on every ſide he heard, and from all parts was brought him certain word how greatly he laboured againſt him, as with opprobrious words, naughty reports and ſlanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his ſubjects, and make thoſe that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take up and ceaſe from ſuch evil and wicked practices; yet notwithſtanding, for that there ſhould be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace between them a little before concluded, he ſendeth four Legates to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which ſhould anſwer unto and refute thoſe criminous objections which he laid unto him, as alſo make him privy unto his purpoſe, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocency towards him (in ſuch cauſes) and ſimplicity.

The Pope refuſeth to ſpeak with the Emperors Legate.

The Biſhop when he underſtood theſe Ambaſſadors to be not far off from *Rome*, and knew the cauſe of their coming, he thought with himſelf that in hearing the excuſe and reaſonable anſwer of the Emperor, perhaps he might be provoked to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and ſo degenerate from others of his Predeceſſors, he refuſeth to ſpeak with them, and at the day appointed pronounceth the ſentence of Proſcription againſt him, depriving him of all his Dignities, Honours, Titles, Prerogatives, Kingdoms, and whole Empire. And that he had no occaſion hereunto, as well *Pandulphus* and *Colonucius*, as the Letters of the Emperor himſelf, do both right well declare. For it may appear he dedicated as it were himſelf to his utter ruin and deſtruction, when he did ſolicite againſt *Frederick*. *Jacobus Tenopolus* the *Venetian* Duke, whom for the diſpleaſure he took with the Emperor in the impriſoning of his Son, he was in good hope he ſhould allure unto him, he being in ſo troublous time ſuch a comforter and aider unto him, that as *Blondus* writeth, in a certain Epiſtle Gratulatory, he calleth him Lord of the fourth part of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and Lord of half of the *Roman* Empire. And calling unto him the *Venetian* and *Genowetian* Legates, he made a peace betwixt them (which for certain cauſes about their Sea-coaſts were at variance) and Covenanted with them upon this condition, that at their publick charges they ſhould rig and man five and thirty Gallies, which ſhould ſpoil and burn all alongſt the Sea-coaſts of the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Frederick*.

The new ſentence of proſcription againſt the Emperor.

The Pope wageth and hireth 35 Gallies to ſpoil the Coaſts of the Emperor.

But the Pope when he ſaw the good will and fidelity which the Duke of *Venice* bare unto the Emperor, and ſaw alſo what aid the Emperor had of him, neither that he was like to win him to his purpoſe; then had he recourſe again to his old crafty practices and ſubtilties. And further, he deviſed to put forth an Edict at *Rome* to the Univerſal Church and people, the beginning whereof is, *Aſcendit de mari bellica beſtia*; wherein he declareth the cauſes wherefore he cunſeth and giveth the Emperor to the Devil of Hell, and hath dejected him from all his Princely dignity. He in the ſame accuſeth him of ſo many and ſo huge a heap of miſchiefs, as to nominate them my heart deteſteth. And beſide that he reſtraineth his Sove-

The Popes Edict againſt the Emperor.

*Aſcendit de mari bellica beſtia.*

raign Lord and Emperor of the Appellation, which every private man by law may have. He ſlandereth him of Treaſon, Perjury, Cruelty, Sacriledg, killing of his kindred, and all impiety; he accuſeth him for an Heretick, a Schiſmatick and a Miſcreant: and to be brief, what miſchief ſoever the Pope can deviſe, with that doth he charge him and burthen him. All this doth he, ſaith the Pope, that when he hath brought our Holineſs and all the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate to beggery, he might ſcoff at, and deride the Religion of Chriſt, which as a miſcreant he deteſteth. And now for that the Pope had a great and ſpecial truſt in *Albertus Behavus* of the noble houſe called *Equeſtri* (as crafty an Apoſtle as the beſt) as one whom he ſaw ready to lean to his luſt; to him the Pope delivered two other Mandates in ſeveral Letters ſealed, in which he commanded all Biſhops, Prelates, and other of the Clergy, that they ſhould ſolemnly recite the ſame in their Churches inſtead of their Sermon, that by his Decree he had Excommunicated *Frederick* out of the fellowſhip of Chriſtian men, put him from the procuration or Government of the Empire, and that he had releaſed all his ſubjects of their Allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them; and all other Chriſtian men, under pain of curſing and damnation, that neither they ſuccour the Emperor, nor yet ſo much as wiſh him well. Thus he, being the Popes ſpecial and truſty Servitor, and made to his hand, cauſed a moſt horrible confuſion and chaos of publick unquietneſs, as ſhall after appear.

*Albertus Behavus* the Popes one hand.

The Pope threateneth to curſe all thoſe that wiſh well to the Emperor.

Amongſt all other Noblemen of *Germany* at that time, was *Otho* the Governour of *Rhenus*, and Duke of *Boiora*, towards the Emperor both moſt ſerviceable, and alſo a Prince of great honour, riches, and eſtimation. This Prince both with fair promiſes and alſo rewards, he enticed from him; for that he was made by him to believe, that *Ludovicus* his Father, of whom we ſpake before, was by the Emperor murthered and ſlain. And the ſame *Otho* again cauſed three other Princes and Dukes to revolt from the Emperor to the Pope, which were neighbours, and near adjoyning unto him, *Urvenceſlaus*, and *Belus*, Princes of the *Hungarians*, and *Henry* Duke of *Polonia*. To whom came alſo *Fredericus Auſtriacus* his Son; who becauſe he was proſcript or out-lawed of his Father, and had his Dukedom waſted and burnt, as you heard, was eaſily won unto the Pope. Theſe gathering a Council (when they had thought to have tranſlated the Empire unto the Kings Son of *Denmark*) deſired to have the Popes Legates to be ſent from him, to the effect of that Election.

*Otho* with divers other Princes of Germany, by the Popes means, do forſake the Emperor.

The Emperor was at *Patavium* when theſe news were brought unto him, what the Pope had done at *Rome*. Therefore he commanded *Peter de Vineis* his Secretary (upon *Eaſter*-day) to make a Narration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the Biſhops and Church of *Rome*, and again, of the injuries of them toward him in recompence thereof; of his innocency alſo in that whereof he had accuſed him, and of the unſeemlineſs of ſuch an act or deed, of the right uſe of the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, and of the errors and abuſe of the Church of *Rome*. By which Oration of his, he ſo removed the cloud from many mens hearts of blind ſuperſtition, and the conceived opinion of holineſs of the Church of *Rome*, and Biſhops of the ſame, and alſo of their uſurped power, and ſubtil perſwaſion, that both they plainly ſaw, and perceived the vices and filthineſs of the Church of *Rome*, and Biſhops of that See, as alſo their fraudulent deceits, and flagitious doings, moſt vehemently lamenting and complaining of the ſame. *Albertus* maketh mention of certain verſes which were ſent and written between the Biſhop of *Rome* and the Emperor. The which verſes in the later end of this preſent Hiſtory of *Frederick* you ſhall find.

What great good the Oration of *Peter de Vineis* did in the Emperors behalf.

The Emperor moreover both by his Letters and Legates, giveth intelligence unto all Chriſtian Kings, to the Princes of his own Empire, to the Colledg of Cardinals, and people of *Rome*; as well of the ſained crimes wherewith he was charged, as alſo of the cruelty of the Biſhop of *Rome* againſt him. The Copy of which Letter or Epiſtle follows here under inſerted.

The

## The Emperor to the Prelates of the World.

The Emperors Letter to all Prelates to bridle the Pope and reſtrain him of his will.

*IN the beginning and creation of the World, the ineſtimable foreknowledg and providence of God (who asketh counſel of none) created in the Firmament of Heaven two Lights (a greater and a leſs) the greater he created to govern the Day, and the leſs to govern the Night: which two ſo do their proper offices and duties in the Zodiack, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique aſpect unto the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other; but rather doth the Superior communicate his light with the inferior. Even ſo the ſame eternal foreknowledg hath appointed upon the earth two Regiments, that is to ſay, Prieſthood and Kingly power; the one for knowledg and wiſdom, the other for defence; that man which is made of two parts (over-wanton and diſſolute) might have two reins to govern and bridle him withal, that peace thereby, and love might dwell upon the face of the earth. But alas, the Biſhop of* Rome *ſitting in the Chair of perverſe Doctrine or peſtilence, that Phariſee anointed with the oyl of iniquity above the reſt of his conſorts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from Heaven, endeavoureth with his power to deſtroy and undo all, and thinketh (I believe) to ſtellifie again himſelf there, from whence he fell. His purpoſe is to darken and to ſhadow the light of our unſpotted life, whilſt that (altering the verity into lies) his Papal Letters, ſtuft with all untruths, are ſent into ſundry parts of the world; of his own corrupt humor, and upon no reaſonable cauſe, blemiſhing the ſincerity of our Religion. The Lord Pope hath compared us unto the Beaſt riſing out of the Sea, full of names of blaſphemy, and ſpotted like a Leopard. But we ſay, that he is that monſtrous Beaſt of whom it is ſaid, and of whom we thus read:* And there ſhall come another red horſe out of the Sea, and he that ſhall ſit on him ſhall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell upon the earth deſtroy him. *For ſince the time of his promotion he hath not been the father of mercy, but of diſcord; a diligent ſteward of deſolation, inſtead of conſolation, and hath inticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right ſenſe and interpretation, he is that great Dragon that hath deceived the whole world; he is that Antichriſt, of whom he hath called us the forerunner; he is that other Balaam hired for money to curſe us; the Prince of darkneſs, which hath abuſed the Prophets. This is the Angel leaping out of the Sea, having his Vials filled with bitterneſs, that he may both hurt the Sea and the land; the counterfeit Vicar of Chriſt, that ſetteth forth his own imaginations. He ſaith, that we do not rightly believe in the Chriſtian faith, and that the world is deceived with three manner of deceivers, which to name, God forbid we ſhould open our mouth; ſeeing that openly we confeſs only Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour to be the everlaſting Son of God, coequal with his Father and the Holy Ghoſt, begotten before all worlds, and in proceſs of time ſent down upon the earth for the ſalvation of mankind; conceived, not by the ſeed of man, but by the Holy Ghoſt; which was born of the Glorious Virgin* Mary, *and after that ſuffered and died, as touching the fleſh; and by his Godhead the third day he raiſed from death that other nature which he aſſumed in the womb of his mother. But we have learned that the body of* Mahomet *hangeth in the air, and his ſoul is buried in Hell: whoſe works are damnable and contrary to the Law of the moſt High. We affirm alſo, that* Moſes *was the faithful ſervant of God, and a true Teacher of the Law; and that he talked with God in mount* Sinai, *unto whom the Lord ſaid,* Rubum, *&c. By whom alſo God wrought miracles in* Egypt, *and delivered the Law written to the* Iſraelites, *and that afterwards with the Elect he was called to Glory. In theſe and other things our enemy and envier of our ſtate, cauſing our Mother the Church accuſe her Son, hath written againſt us venemous and lying ſlanders, and ſent the ſame to the whole world. If he had rightly underſtood the Apoſtles meaning, he would not have preferred his violent will, which beareth ſuch ſway with him, before reaſon; neither would he have ſent out his Mandates to the ſuggeſtion of thoſe which call light darkneſs, and evil good; which ſuſpect honey to be gall, for the great good opinion they had conceived of that holy place, which indeed is both weak and infirm, and converteth all truth into falſhood, and affirmeth that to be which is not.*

Man being made of two parts hath two ſeveral Regiments, Gods word and the materiall ſword.

The Apology of the Emperor to the Popes Edict. *Aſcendit de mari, &c.*

Antichriſt long agone deſcried to the world by the Emperor.

The confeſſion of the Emperors faith, whereof he was accuſed by the Pope.

The Pope under pretence of his holineſs deceiveth ſimple ſouls and ignorant men.

{KING Hen. 3.}

*Truly my opinion (ſo indifferent on every ſide) ought not in any caſe to be infringed and averted from the Faith, to ſuch enemies of ſo corrupt a conſcience. Wherefore we greatly are inforced not a little to marvel, which thing alſo doth much diſquiet us to ſee; that you, which be the pillars and aſſiſtants in office of righteous dealing, the Senators of* Peters City, *and the principal beams in Gods building, have not qualified the perturbation of ſo fierce a Judg; as do the Planets of Heaven in their kind, which to mitigate the paſſing ſwift courſe of the great Orb or Sphere of Heaven, draw a contrary way by their oppoſite movings. In very deed our Imperial felicity hath been (almoſt even from the beginning) ſpurned againſt, and envied at of the Papal See and dignity: As* Simonides *being demanded why he had no more enemies and enviers of his ſtate, anſwered and ſaid,* Quia nihil feliciter geſſi: *Becauſe (ſaith he) I have had no good ſucceſs in any thing that ever I took in hand. And ſo for that we have had proſperous ſucceſs in all our enterprizes (the Lords name be bleſſed therefore) eſpecially in the overthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies, the* Lombards, *to whom in their good quarrel he promiſed life and abſolution, with remiſſion of their ſins, is the cauſe wherefore this Apoſtolical Biſhop mourneth and lamenteth. And now not by your counſels (I ſuppoſe) he laboureth to impugn this our felicity, but out of his own power of binding and looſing, whereof he glorieth ſo much, he impugneth it. But preſently where power and ability wanteth to redreſs, there doth abuſe take place. We ſee in him which was ſo mighty a King, and the worthieſt Prince amongſt all the Prophets, to deſire and crave the reſtitution of Gods holy Spirit, when he had polluted the dignity of his Office. But the Proverb is,* Uti indiſſolubilia non ſolvuntur, ita inligabilia non ligantur: *As things indiſſoluble are not to be looſed, ſo things that cannot be bound, are not to be bound. Which thing manifeſtly is proved in him. For why, the Scriptures of God do inſtruct men how to live, they mortifie our ſouls which are immortal, and quicken the ſame which are dead for want of life. And doubtleſs he is able to humble and bring down thoſe that are unworthy of dignity, as much as him pleaſeth, and when him pleaſeth. Doubtleſs if the Biſhop of* Rome *were a true Biſhop indeed, innocent, impollute, and not aſſociate with wicked livers and evil men, his life ſhould declare him ſo to be. He would not then be an offerer of diſſentious ſacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of love and charity, and would cenſe, not with the incenſe of grief and hatred, but with the ſweet ſmelling incenſe of concord and unity, neither yet would alter* Suum Pontificium in maleficium: *that is, make of a ſanctified Office an execrable abuſe. If he were ſuch a Biſhop as he ought to be, he woud not wreſt or abuſe the preaching of the Word into the fruit and gain of his own diſſention, neither ſhould we be accuſed for ſuch an enemy of our Mother the true Church, as is laid unto her Sons charge by ſuch a Biſhop. Which true and Mother-Church with all reverence we honour, and benignity embrace, ſo beautified and adorned with Gods holy Sacraments. Some ſingular perſons notwithſtanding, faining themſelves to be our Brethren by that Mother, and yet are not, but of a ſtrumpet begot; ſuch, I ſay, as are ſubject and ſlaves to corruptible things (putting them from amongſt us) we utterly reject: eſpecially for that injuries by them done are not only tranſitory and mundane, wherewith our Majeſty is ſo moleſted, vexed and grieved. Wherefore we cannot ſo eaſily mitigate our mood, neither otherwiſe very deed ſo to do, and therefore are we inforced the more to take the greater revenge of them. You therefore that are men of grave and deliberate counſel, having the excellent gift (as from God) of wiſdom and underſtanding; refuſe you that roaring enemy of ours in theſe his proceedings, whoſe beginnings are ſo wicked and deteſtable, wiſely comparing things paſt, with thoſe to come. Otherwiſe you that are under our ſubjection, as well of our Empire as other our Dominions, ſhall feel and perceive (both of my chief enemy and perſecutor, as alſo of the Princes that are his favors and adherents) what revenge by ſword* Fredericus Auguſtus *ſhall take upon them, God ſo permitting.*

The anſwer of Simonides applied.

The Emperor prophecieth of the Popes fall.

The Emperor utterly rejecteth the Pope and Church of Rome.

This

{KING Hen. 3.}

The Emperor calleth a Parliament or Council to expreſs the Popes malice.

This done he denounceth a ſolemn Parliament or Council of all the Princes and other Nobility of the Empire at *Aegra*; whither came *Conradus Ceſar*, *Moguntinus Preſul*, the *Saxon* Dukes, the Lords of *Brandeburgh*, *Miſna*, *Thuringus*, and the Legates of all the Nobles of *Brabant* to aid the Emperor. But the Princes *Boiemus* and *Palatinus*, being diſſwaded by the Legates, unto whom the *Auſtrians* had joyned themſelves, refuſed to come to the Council holden at *Aegra*. And being at their wits end, not knowing well what they might do, forſook at laſt the Emperor, and took part with the Pope and the other Conſpirators. Then *Fredericus Auſtriacus* the Emperors ſecond Son (whom he diſherited as ye heard) by the aid of the *Boiors* and *Bohemians* recovered again the Dukedoms of *Auſtria* and *Stiria*, putting to flight and diſcomfiting the Emperors Bands and Garriſons which he had there. And although the Cardinals (eſpecially that honeſt man *Albertus Boiemus*) had allured to the Pope *Otho* the Duke of *Boiora*, as ye heard, and divers other Noblemen of *Germany*; yet notwithſtanding certain Biſhops in *Boiora* (as *Eberhardus Juvanenſis*, and *Sigrefridus Reginoburgenſis*, being at that time the Emperors Chancellor, *Rudicenus Rathevienſis*, *Conradus Friſingenſis*, and others) left not nor yet forſook the Emperor. All which the foreſaid *Albertus* not only did excommunicate, but alſo by proceſs ſought to bring them up to *Rome* before the Pope, giving commandment to their Collegioners and Cloyſterers, that they ſhould deprive them of their offices, and chuſe ſuch others in their ſtead as would obey the Pope. All which things the Pope underſtanding by *Albertus*, and of this their fidelity to the Emperor, corroborated and confirmed the ſame his doings, commanding them to chuſe other Biſhops in their ſteads.

The godly Biſhops of *Germany* are obedient to their King and Prince.

But the Biſhops and Prelates with one conſent contemning the Popes Mandates and Writs, and alſo the curſes and threatnings of *Albertus*, accuſed, reproved, and greatly blamed his temerity, and alſo tyranny which he uſurped againſt the Churches of *Germany*, and eſpecially againſt the good Emperor; that without his conſent he durſt be ſo bold as to meddle in Churches committed to the Emperors Government againſt the old and ancient cuſtoms; and that he had Excommunicated the Emperor without juſt cauſe; that he had condemned the Emperors faithful ſubjects as enemies to the Church, for ſtanding with their Liege and Soveraign Prince (which Allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquity they might not) and ſo had ſought to diſquiet them likewiſe in their charges and adminiſtrations; and had alſo in that quarrel given ſuch defiance to the Emperor. They accuſed and condemned the ſame *Albertus* alſo for a moſt impudent impoſtor and wicked varlet, and for a moſt peſtiferous botch and ſore of the Chriſtian Commonweal; and they do give him to the Devil as a ruinous enemy, as well of the Church as of his own natural Country, and further think him worthy to have his reward with the reſt of the Popes Purſevants, being the moſt wicked inventers and deviſers of miſchief that were in all *Germany*. This done they make relation hereof to the Emperor by their Letters; and further, they advertiſe all the Princes of *Germany* (eſpecially thoſe which were of the Popes faction or rebellion, and were the favourers of *Albertus*) that they ſhould take heed and beware in any caſe of his ſubtil deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they ſhould not aſſiſt the Pope for all his words againſt the Emperor. And doubtleſs by the counſel of the high Prelate or Archbiſhop of *Boiora* (whoſe name was *Juvanenſis*) and by his induſtry and perſwaſion, *Fredericus Auſtriacus* was again reconciled unto the Emperor his Father, from whoſe aid and obedience after that, by no promiſes, threatning, bribes, nor pains, no nor for the execrable curſes of the Popes own holy mouth, he would be induced or removed. But *Albertus* proſecuteth ſtill his purpoſed miſchief, alluring and inticing by all means poſſible (and that not amongſt the worſt but the beſt) friends to the Pope, and enemies to the Emperor. Unto ſome he gave their Tythes to fight againſt the Emperor, to otherſome he gave the Glebe-lands of Benefices, and to otherſome he gave the ſpoil of ſuch Colledges and Monaſteries as took not part with the Pope; and to ſome other alſo he gave the Colledges and Monaſteries themſelves. And aſſuredly I find by *Johannes Aventinus*, *Lib. 7. Annalium Boiorum*, that there were certain of the Popes own birds, that had their Eccleſiaſtical Tythes taken from them; and otherſome had the rents and revenues of their Colledges pluckt away by force to the maintenance of the Popes quarrel againſt the Emperor. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they luſted (every man according to his ravening and deteſtable luſt) and all things lay open unto their greedy and inſatiable deſires. Who liſteth to hear more hereof, let him read *Aventinus* in his Book before noted, and there ſhall he ſee what vaſtation grew thereby to the whole ſtate of *Germany*, who largely intreateth of the ſame.

The Biſhops of *Germany* Excommunicate the Popes Legate and Cardinal.

*Juvanenſis* the Biſhop a true ſubject to his Prince.

The paſſage of the Pope to maintain the War againſt his Lord and Maſter.

While theſe things were thus in working in *Germany*, *Frederick* leaving in *Lombardy* *Actiolinus* with a great part of his Hoſt (he paſſing with the reſt by *Apeninum*) came to *Hetruria* and ſet the ſame in a ſtay, after that he had allayed certain inſurrections there, and from thence to *Piſas*, where he was with great amity and honour received and welcomed. This City was always aſſured and faithful to the Emperors of *Germany*. The Pope underſtanding of the Emperors coming into *Hetruria*, and knowing what power the Emperor had alſo left in *Lombardy*, with a great Army beſieged the City *Ferraria*, that always loved the Emperor full well; which City when the Popes Legate had aſſaulted ſharply the ſpace of five months, and could not win the ſame; he deviſed with himſelf to ſend for *Salingwerra* out of the Town by way of a parlee, promiſing his faith and truth to him for his ſafe return. Who by the perſwaſion of *Hugo Rambartus*, that ſaid without peril he might do the ſame (being but by way of parlee) was coming to the Legate; who preventing him in his journey, took him as priſoner, contrary to his truth and fidelity. And thus gat he *Ferraria*, and delivered the keeping thereof to *Azones Aſtenſis*. And that the Popes Legate thus falſified his truth, and circumvented the Captain and old man *Salingwerra*, the ſame is confeſſed of the Popes friendly Hiſtoriographers, to be but a ſtratagem or warlike policy. But to return again. About the ſame time alſo the *Venetian* Navy, at the *Mount Garganum*, chaſed twelve Gallies of the Emperors, which were appointed to the keeping of that Coaſt, and ſpoiled, burnt, and waſted all the region; and further took one of the Emperors great Ships, being driven by tempeſt and weather into the Haven *Sipontium*, fraught with men and munition.

The Pope beſiegeth *Ferraria*.

The fidelity of *Papiſts* learned by this example.

The Emperors Gallies chaſed, and one of his Ships taken by the Pope.

*Fredericus* again getting on his ſide the *Lucenſes*, the *Volaterans*, the *Genenſes*, the *Aretines*, and divers Cities beſides in *Hetruria* to help that Country, came to *Piſas* and *Viterbium*, which took part with him. Some ſay, that the names and factions of *Gibellins* and *Guelphs* ſprang from *Frederick*, that by them he might ſpie and know (having recourſe to all the Towns and Cities in *Italy*) which took part with, and favoured the Pope, and which the Emperor; and called the one by the name of *Gibellins*, and the other by the name of *Guelphs*. But for that both *Blondus* and *Platina*, and ſome others, bring no ſufficient proof thereof, but only ſlender conjecture, I rather cleave to the opinion of *Nauclerus*, *Hermanus*, *Antonimus*, *Florentinus*, and other ſuch writers, which ſay, that theſe *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy* took their beginning of *Conradus* the Third, *Fredericus* his great Uncle being Emperor, and that theſe *Guelphs* were dedicated to the Pope, of *Guelphs* the younger Brother of *Henry* the Proud; and that thoſe which were called the *Gibellins*, were appointed either of *Conradus* himſelf, or elſe of his Son, being brought up in the Lordſhip of *Vaiblingen*. But to our purpoſe.

The *Gibellins* and *Guelphs* from whence they came.

The Pope when he underſtood that *Frederick* was come to *Viterbium*, he was very heavy; for that he feared he would come to *Rome*, the good will of which City the Pope much miſtruſted. He therefore cauſed a ſupplication to be drawn, portraying about the ſame the Heads of *Peter* and *Paul*, and with a ſharp and contumelious Oration he much defaced the Emperor; promiſing them everlaſting life, and gave the badg of the Croſs to as many as would arm themſelves and fight againſt the Emperor, as againſt the moſt wicked enemy of God and the Church. Now when the Emperor, marching ſomewhat near to *Rome*-Gates, beheld thoſe whom the Pope had, with his goodly ſpectacle of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and with his alluring Oration, ſtirred up againſt him, and marked with the badg of the Croſs to come forth in battel againſt him; diſdaining to be accounted for the enemy

The Pope afraid of the Emperors coming into *Italy*.

{KING Hen. 3.}

The Emperor hangeth all the Croſſed Souldiers.

my of the Church, who had been thereunto ſo beneficial, giving a fierce charge upon them, he put them ſoon to flight, and as many as he took (cutting off that badg from them) he cauſed to be hanged. From thence he marching into *Campania*, and his own Kingdoms, levied a great maſs of money, and muſtered the new bands, and augmented his Army; and in theſe bands he retained the *Saracens* alſo. And to the intent he might find the *Saracens* the more truſty to him, he appointed them to inhabit in a City named *Luceria*. For which thing, although the Papiſtical writers do greatly blame and opprobriouſly write of *Frederick*, yet notwithſtanding *Nicholaus Machiavellus* doth write, that therefore he retained them, leſt that through the Popes execrable curſes he ſhould be quite deſtitute of Soldiers, as was *Fredericus Barbaroſſa* his Grandfather, a little before, when that of *Alexander* the Pope he was Excommunicated, as ye have heard.

The Emperor retaineth the *Saracens* in his Wars againſt the Pope.

After this when the Emperor had greatly afflicted by battel the Popes Eccleſiaſtical conſorts, ſuch as conſpired with the Pope againſt him, and that he had waſted and deſtroyed *Beneventum*, the *Mount Caſenum* and *Sora*, for that they took part with the Pope againſt him; *Frederick* when he had manned the City of *Aquilia*, marched forth with a great Hoſt both of Horſemen and Footmen to *Picenum*, that he might vanquiſh his enemies in *Italy*. And by the way he beſieged the ſtrong Town of War named *Aſculinum*, which was alſo converted to the Popes faction and rebellion. He there having underſtanding what the Popes aſſiſtants had done with the Princes Electors, and other Princes of *Germany*, eſpecially with *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Otho Palatinus*, writeth his Letters unto them. In the which, firſt he ſhewed how that thoſe contumelies and ſpightful words, which the Pope bluſtred out againſt him, are lighted upon himſelf; and how the Biſhops of *Rome* have taken to them of late ſuch heart of grace, and are become ſo lofty, that not only they ſeek to bring Emperors, Kings, and Princes under their obedience, but alſo ſeek how to be honoured as Gods, and ſay that they cannot err, neither yet be ſubject or bound to any Religion; and that it is lawful for them to do all things what they liſt, neither that any account is to be ſought or demanded of their doings, or elſe to be made of them to any; ſo impudent are they in theſe their affirmations. And further, as Princes they command (and that under pain of curſing) that men believe every thing they ſay, how great a lye ſoever it be. Inſomuch that by this covetouſneſs of his all things go backward, and the whole ſtate of the Commonweal is ſubverted, neither can there any enemy be found more hurtful or perillous to the Church of God than he. He wrote unto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greateſt charge and dignity was in the whole Commonweal appointed and committed) ſeeing and perceiving to his great peril, their good hearts, wills and practices towards him, would with all the power and ability that God had given him, do his endeavour that he which in the likeneſs of the ſhepherd of the flock, and the ſervant of Chriſt, and chief Prelate in the Church, ſheweth himſelf ſo very a Wolf, Perſecuter and Tyrant, may be removed from that place, and that a true and careful ſhepherd of Gods flock may be appointed in the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, if they deſire the ſafety and preſervation of the whole ſtate of the Commonweal and Empire, that they be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpoſe and proceedings; leſt otherwiſe they alſo ſhould happen to fall into the ſame ſnare of ſervitude with the Biſhop of *Rome*. And further, he gave them to wit, that if he ſhould aſpire to that he ſought for, (that is, to be an Emperor, and King over Kings) yet ſhould that be no ſtay of his inſatiable deſire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is. Therefore if they be wiſe, to withſtand him betimes, leſt hereafter when they would, it ſhould be too late, neither were able to withſtand his tyranny. The effect of this Epiſtle I took out of *Aventine*, which more largely dilateth it, who alſo writeth that the Emperor (by his Legates) ſent the ſame to *Wenceſlaus*.

The effect of a Letter ſent by the Emperor to the Princes of *Germany*.

No enemy more hurtful to the Church of God than is the Pope.

The Emperor moveth to remove the Pope, and put another more careful ſhepherd into the Church of God.

*Boiemus* ſomewhat relenting at this Letter, promiſeth to accompliſh the Emperors biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the aſſembly of Princes and Nobles at *Ægra*; where by common conſent they think to renovate with the Emperor a new League and Covenant. And furthermore, they find *Otho Boius* (which was abſent, and would not be at this their aſſembly to be the Author of this defection, and an enemy to the Commonweal. *Otho* then ſeeing himſelf not able to ſtand againſt *Ceſar* and the other Princes with whom he was aſſociate, deſiring aid of the Pope by his Letters, came with all ſpeed to *Beiomus* his Kinſman; whom when he could not perſwade unto him again, neither would he to their parts alſo be won, he obtaineth notwithſtanding yet thus much at their hands, that the League and Covenant (which they were in hand to make with the Emperor) might for a time be deferred, and that another aſſembly might be made, whereat he alſo would be, and joyn himſelf with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his Father, bewitched alſo his Son, and brought him to be both a Rebel and a Traytor. In the mean ſeaſon the Pope ſent his reſcript unto the King of *Bohemia* and to *Otho*, tending to this effect; that in no caſe they ſhould either forſake him, or elſe the Church, to take the Emperors part. And ſo much prevailed he by the means of *Bohuſlaus* and *Budiſlaus* (which were the chiefeſt of the Senate Regal) and by his fair promiſes and bribes to ſuch as he before had made to him, that again at *Libuſſa* by *Boiemus* and *Boius* new aſſemblies were gathered for the Creation of a new Emperor, in deſpite of *Auguſtus* the Emperor, and *Ceſar* his Son. And whilſt that this was thus in hand, *Conradus Ceſar* eſpouſeth *Landſhuta* the Wife of *Otho* (being abſent) in the teeth for great benefits and poſſeſſions which her Husband had, and poſſeſſed by the anceſtors of him, and that unleſs her Husband took a better way with himſelf, and ſhewed his obedience to the Emperor his Father, that he ſhould not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his predeceſſors. The promotion and dignities which *Otho* had by the anceſtors of *Conradus Ceſar* came thus: *Fredericus Barbaroſſa* in the year of our Lord 1180, at a Parliament holden at *Reginoburgh*, condemned *Henricus Leo* of High Treaſon, and deprived him of his Dominions of *Boiora* and *Saxony*, and gave *Boiora* to *Otho Wiltaſpachius*, for that he had done him ſo faithful ſervice in his *Italian* Wars. After that, *Ludovicus* the Son of this *Otho*, obtained of this Emperor *Frederick* the Second, in recompence of his aſſured and truſty fidelity, the dition of *Palatinatum Rheni* ſo called, which gave alſo *Agnetes* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Palatine*, to *Otho* his Son in marriage. This *Henry* was the Son of *Henry Leo* the Traytor, unto whom *Henry* the Sixth, the Father of *Frederick*, gave in marriage *Clementia* his Brothers Daughter, *Conradus Palatine* of *Rhenus*, and gave unto him the keeping of the Palace of the ſame. And as touching the inheritance of *Boiora*, that he had alſo now long poſſeſſed by the heirs of *Otho Wiltaſpachius*. But to our purpoſe again.

The practice of *Otho* with the Pope againſt the Emperor.

The Emperor Reſcript diſſuadeth all the matter again.

By what means *Otho* attained to great poſſeſſion by the Emperor and his anceſtors.

At the ſame time alſo the Governour of *Colonia Agrippina* revolted to the Pope; who not long after, in a skirmiſh between *Brabantinus* and him, was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner. And doubtleſs, *Fredericus Auſtriacus*, after he was received into favour again with the Emperor (keeping moſt conſtantly his promiſe and fidelity renewed) during this time made ſharp war upon the *Hungarians*, which took part with the Pope, and greatly annoyed them. As theſe things thus paſſed in *Germany*, the Emperor when he had gotten *Aſcalum*, and led his Hoſt into *Flamminia*, having *Ravenna* at his Commandment, from thence came to *Faventia*, which City never loved the Emperor; the circuit of whoſe walls is five miles in compaſs, and pitched his Camp round about the ſame. And although the ſiege was much hindered by auſterity of the time and weather (being in the very cold time of Winter) yet notwithſtanding through his great fortitude and courage, ſo animating his Soldiers in the painfulneſs of the laborious ſiege, he indured out the ſame, who thought it no little ſhame, having once made that enterpriſe, to come from thence without any aſſault given. And therefore when now the Winter (ſo extream cold and hard) was well near ended, and the Spring-time now hard at hand, and by long battery he had made the ſame in divers places faultable; the Citizens (being greatly diſcouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof) ſent their Legates to the Emperor, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant unto them their lives, and ſo yielded themſelves unto his mercy.

The Governour of *Agrippina* revolteth to the Pope.

*Boiemus* relenteth at the Emperors Letter.

KING Hen 3. The Emperors great lenity and clemency, but yet marvelouſly inforced.

The Emperor inforced to make his Money of leather.

The Pope fendeth for foreign aid which is prevented.

The Emperor riggeth forth a Navy to the Sea.

A great Victory on the Sea againſt the Popes confederats by the Emperors Navy.

The Emperor obtaineth another Victory by Land at *Ticinum* againſt the Pope and his confederates.

The Emperor thinketh to make the Pope afraid.

The Turk invadeth Chriſtendom with a great and mighty power.

The unmerciful cruelty and ſlaughter of Chriſtian Men by the Turk.

The King of Hungary craveth aid of the Emperor, for the which he offereth him his Land.

The Emperor, having againſt them good and ſufficient cauſe of revenge, yet for that his noble Heart thought it to be the beſt revenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquiſhed men: He thought it better to grant them their requeſts, to ſave the City and Citizens thereof, with innumerable people, than by Arms to make the ſame his Souldiers prey, to the deſtruction both of the City, and great number of People therein. So doth this good Emperor in one of his Epiſtles, *Adacta nobis*, confeſs himſelf. Which Epiſtle, to declare the Lenity and thereiful Heart of ſo worthy a Prince, if that with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the midſt of the Hiſtory here to have placed. But thus I have kept you long herein, and yet not finiſhed the ſame.

In this ſiege the Emperor, having ſpent and conſumed almoſt all his Treaſure both gold and ſilver, cauſed other Money to be made of Leather, which on the one ſide had his Image, and on the other ſide the ſpread Eagle (the arms of the Empire) and made a proclamation, that the ſame ſhould paſs from man to man for all neceſſaries in ſtead of other money; and therewithal promiſed, that whoſoever brought the ſame Money unto his Exchequer when the wars were ended, he would give them gold for the ſame, according to the value of every Coin limited: which thing afterward truly and faithfully he performed, as all the Hiſtoriographers do accord.

Thus when the Pope, as before is ſaid, had ſtopped his ears, and would not hear the Emperors Legates that came to intreat for peace, but rejected and deſpiſed his moſt courteous and equal demands; neither yet had he left any wily policy unattempted or force unpractiſed, that with his confederates he thought himſelf either able to revenge or elſe reſiſt: he by his Legates calleth to a Council at *Rome*, all ſuch Prelates out of *Italy*, *France*, and *England*, as he thought to favor him and his proceedings, that hereby, as his laſt ſhift and only refuge, he by their helps might deprive *Fredrick* of his Empire, as an utter enemy to God and to the Church. All which things *Fredricus* having underſtanding of, and knowing that theſe aſſemblies ſhould be but to the deſtruction and ſupplanting of him, determined to ſtop and let their paſſages to *Rome*, as well by Sea as by Land, in all that ever he might. So that all the paſſages by Land being now ſtopped and prevented, he commanded his Son *Henry* with certain Gallies to go and keep the Coaſts of *Sardinia*, which Kingdom the *Italians* call *Entimum*: and from thence to go to *Piſas*, and with the *Piſans* to rig out a Navy to meet with (if it were poſſible) ſuch as ſhould come to aid the Pope at *Rome*. The Popes Champions underſtanding that by Land they could not ſafely repair to *Rome*: they procured of Gallies and Ships out of *Genoa* (having *Gulielmus Braccius* for their chief Captain or Admiral) Forty ſail for their defence; thinking hereby, that if they ſhould Fortune to meet with any of the Emperors Ships or Gallies, which ſhould lye for them in wait, they ſhould be able to make their part good, and give them alſo the repulſe. *Encius* in like manner and *Huglinus* (being Captain and Admiral of the *Piſan* Navy for the Emperor) Lanched forth to Sea with Forty Ships and Gallies: and betwixt the Iſles of *Lilium* and *Mons Chriſti*, which lye between *Liburnium* and *Corſica*, they met with the *Genowaies* Ships; and ſtraightways fiercely began to grapple with them and board them, in which fight at length were three of the *Genowayes* Ships both boulged and ſunk, with all the riches and Treaſure in them. In theſe were taken three Legates of the Popes, whereof were two Cardinals, *Jacobus Columna*, *Otho Marchio*, and *Gregorius de Romania* (all cruel enemies againſt the Emperor) and many other Prelates more; beſides a great number of Legates and Procurators of Cities, with an infinite number of Monks and Prieſts, beſides of *Genowayes* Souldiers 6000, with divers others.

*Pandolphus Colonutius*, in deſcribing the Circumſtances of the great loſs and misfortune of theſe Champions of the Pope by Sea, amongſt the reſt declareth, that beſides the great prey and booty which the takers had from them, they alſo found many Writings and Letters againſt *Fredrick*, which much helpt them in the defence of thoſe cauſes, wherein they had labored againſt him. The like miſchance alſo almoſt about that time happened on the Popes ſide, by the Emperors Souldiers which lay in the gariſon at *Ticinum*, thus: There went forth upon a time out of *Ticinum* into the borders of *Genowaies*, certain bands to give them Larums in the Country: which bands the ſcuriers of *Mediolanum* (where lay a great Gariſon of the Popes) deſcrying, told the Captain of the Town, that now a very Opportune and fit time was to give an aſſault to *Ticinum*; for that (ſay they) the greateſt part are now gone a Foraging. Whereupon they immediatly calling together the Captains and ſuch as had charge, ſet their Souldiers in Array, and marched forward to *Ticinum*. And now when they were come almoſt thither, the *Ticinian* bands (whom they thought to have been far a Foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gave a full charge upon them: Who being diſmayed at the ſuddenneſs of the matter, fought not long, but gave over and fled. In which skirmiſh were taken (beſides thoſe that were ſlain) three hundred and fifty Captains, and brought priſoners into *Ticinum* with all their Enſignes with them.

News hereof was brought to the Emperor not long after, who then was removing from the ſiege of *Faventia* (as ye heard) to the City of *Benonium*, thinking to have deſtroyed the ſame. But upon the hearing of theſe good News, he altereth his purpoſe, and thinking to have hereafter a more convenient time thereunto, leadeth his Army towards *Rome*: and in the way he reconciled to him the City of *Piſarum*. But *Fanum*, for that the Townſmen ſhut their Gates and would not ſuffer the Emperor to come in, he took by force and deſtroyed. For the Emperor, ſeeing that neither by Petition made to the Pope, nor yet by his Lawful excuſation, he could do any good with him, thought, that by his ſudden coming thither, and with fear of the peril imminent, he might be brought to ſome uniformity, and cauſed to leave off his accuſtomed pertinacy. And although the Emperor was too ſtrong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more than the publick tranquiſity of the Empire, and that he might then take the *Tartarian* wars in hand, if he could by any means conclude, he refuſed not ſo to intreat a peace with him, as though he had been both in force and Fortune much his inferior.

Whileſt that this ruffle was betwixt the Emperor and the Pope *Ochodarius* the Emperor of the *Tartarians* his Son, with a great power and proviſion made, invaded the borders next adjoyning unto him, and there wan *Roxolanum*, *Bodolium*, *Mudanum*, with divers other Cities, Towns, and Villages, deſtroying, waſting, and burning the Countries all about, killing and ſlaying Man, Woman, and Child, ſparing none of any Sex or Age. At whoſe ſudden invaſion, the people being in ſuch fear and perplexity (having no City, no refuge, nor aid to ſtand in defence for them) were fain to leave all that ever they had, and diſperſe themſelves, into Woods, and fly into Mariſhes and Mountains, or whereſoever any ſuccour elſe did offer it ſelf to them. And by this time the *Tartarian* Hoſt was come as far as *Uratiſlavia*, where *Henricus* of *Polonia* and the Duke of *Sileſia* with their Armies met with them; who, for the inequality of the number and ſmall ſtrength they were of, had ſoon an overthrow, and almoſt all their Souldiers being ſlain, they themſelves were taken and put to the Sword. From thence they came to *Moravia*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which Country, while the King kept himſelf in ſtrong defenced Forts, and durſt not come abroad, he invaded, and deſtroyed all *Hungary*, putting to flight and vanquiſhing *Colmannus* the Brother of *Belus*, the fourth King of *Hungary*, by whom alſo was great ſpoil made in both the *Pannonias*, *Miſiaxum*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*. When *Belus* the King of *Hungary* had gotten to *Pola* (which is a City of *Hiſtria*) unto *Otho* the Duke of *Dalmatia*, he ſent his Legates to *Fredrick* the Emperor, promiſing that if he would ſend him aid that the *Tartarians* might be expelled, then *Hungary* ſhould ever after be under the juriſdiction of the Emperor: which thing if he refuſed to do, that then the ſame were in great danger to be ſubject to the *Tartarians*, to the no little peril of the whole Empire. And he ſaid further, that the cauſe wherof he with more inſtance required the ſame, was, that ſo many Chriſtian Men and Countries made ſuch pitiful Lamentation in this their great calamity and miſery,

and that there was none able to help them; which (ſaith he) is as great ſhame as may be to the whole Chriſtian State and Empire. And alſo he ſaid, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not ſuppreſſed, then he thought they would make invaſion upon the Empire and Provinces of the ſame.

The Pope will grant to have no peace.

The Emperor although he thought it very requiſite, that with all convenient ſpeed this miſchief ſhould be remedied and prevented: Yet notwithſtanding, his great Enemy the Pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he ſaw and perceived that he himſelf could do no good, and only labored in vain in ſeeking peace with the Pope, he gave commandment to *Bojemus* and *Bojus*, to intreat and perſwade with him. And (conſidering the imminent peril like to inſue by reaſon of ſuch civil diſſention to the whole State of Chriſtendom) that he would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate ſomewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. Wherefore when he ſaw further, that neither by that means of intreaty, nor any other, the Pope would deſiſt from his ſtubborn and malicious froward purpoſe, he writeth again to the King of *Hungary*, that he was right ſorry and greatly lamented their miſerable State, and that he much deſired to relieve the need and neceſſity that he and all the reſt ſtood in. But why that he could not redreſs the ſame, nor ſtand him then in any ſtead, he blamed greatly the Biſhop of *Rome*; who refuſing all intreaty of peace, he could not without great peril to himſelf depart out of *Italy*, leſt that when he ſhould come to the aid of him (by the Popes miſchievous Imaginations) he ſhould be in peril of loſing all at home. Notwithſtanding, he ſent *Conradus Ceſar* King of *Bohemia*, and other Princes more of *Germany* to reſiſt and withſtand the Enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The great Army and number of ſuch Souldiers, as wore the Croſs by the Popes aſſignement, deferred their journey againſt the *Tartarians*, and had commandment given unto them by one *Albertus* (the Popes Procurator) to tarry and abide at Home, until they ſhould be called for in battel to fight againſt the Emperor. This was the loving zeal and affection of the Pope and his adherents: (To conclude) in this time of Calamity towards the Chriſtian State and Commonwealth; that he had rather bend his force and revenge his malice upon the Chriſtian and good Emperor, than either he himſelf to withſtand, or ſuffer and permit, by concluſion of any profitable peace, that this moſt bloody and cruel *Tartarian* ſhould be let and reſtrained from ſo great havock, ſpoil and ſlaughter of the Chriſtian Men: and yet forſooth theſe men will ſeem to have the greateſt regard of all others to the Chriſtian preſervation, and think to have the ſupremacy given therein: what thing elſe is this, but manifeſt mockery and deceiving of the people? But notwithſtanding, even in the midſt of this ſpoil and havock of *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungaria*, was it determined, that at *Libuſſa*, the Princes confederate ſhould be aſſembled about the depoſing of the Emperor, and creation of another.

The Popes fault that the Turk is not reſiſted.

The Pope had rather fight againſt the Emperor than againſt the Turk.

But now notwithſtanding, the provident foreſight and wiſe policy of the Emperor (as you heard before) in reſtraining the paſſages both by the Sea and Land, who had ſpecial regard thereunto, and gave moſt ſtrict charge that none ſhould paſs without privy ſearch and examination, as one having ſufficient tryal, as wellin his own perſon as by the example of his Predeceſſors, what great miſchief and deſſention by their Legates every way ſent out, they had procured, both to the Imperial State and Dignity, and to the whole Country of *Germany*: yet found they ſuch means, and wrought ſuch policies, that they had not only ſecret paſſage and repaſſage with their Letters and ſpials into all Chriſtendom where they liſted, but alſo ſo laboured the matter and handled the ſame, That the long continued league of amity between the *French* King and the Emperor, whoſe Predeceſſors, as alſo they themſelves, had many years reverently obſerved it in Chriſtian concord and unity, was, by this ſeditious Prelate and arrogant Vicar of *Satan*, now either utterly infringed, or elſe in varaible ſuſpence: as by their Letters each to other, and hereunder inſuing, is to be read and ſeen: which for the more probability of this Hiſtory of *Fredrick* (not being long or greatly tedious) I thought meet here to intext and place.

The Emperor as well in his own perſon, as his Predeceſſors have tryal of the Popes ſubtil practiſes.

{KING Hen. 3}

## The Epiſtle of the *French* King to *Fredrick* the Emperor, touching the impriſoning of certain Cardinals of *France*.

*HItherto (Noble Emperor) haſh the good opinion and great confidence (many years in mutual love eſtabliſhed betwixt us) laſted and continued well, hoping that no ſuch cauſe ſhould riſe betwixt us to hatch either hatred or other occaſion offenſive between your Highneſs Empire, and our Kingdom. Eſpecially, ſeeing that all our Predeceſſors, King of* France, *late of moſt worthy memory (till theſe our days) have been ſo zealouſly affected to the moſt high and regal State of your Empire; and alſo that we, whom God hath placed ſucceſſively to Reign as King, have been no otherwiſe minded nor affected towards the ſame. None otherwiſe alſo on their behalf have the Anoient and renowned Emperors of* Rome, *our Neighbours and your Predeceſſors, ſhewed themſelves towards us (each other eſteeming the Empire and Kingdom of* France *as one) and faithfully conſerving together the unity of peace and concord. Inſomuch that there hath not chanced between them theſe many years ſo much as one ſpark of Diſcord and Diſſention. But this notwithſtanding, we for our part cannot but greatly marvel, and not without good cauſe are troubled and vexed; that, without deſert or any offence, you have taken the Prelates of our Realm upon the Sea, making their repair to the See Apoſtolical; to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience they ſtand bound and are obedient, neither could they withſtand the Pope his commandment: Theſe have you impriſoned, and ſo ſtill detain the ſame. Whereat (we do your Majeſty to wit) we are not well pleaſed, neither yet take in ſo good part, as you peradventure think we do. For by their own Letters we underſtand, they had excogitate nothing prejudicial to your Imperial Eſtate and celſitude, although the Pope had proſecuted therein more than became him to do. Wherefore, ſeeing that there is no cauſe why you ſhould detain them; it is meet and becometh no leſs your magnificence, but that you reſtore unto us and ſet at liberty the ſaid Prelates of our Realm: wherein alſo you ſhall appeaſe our Grudge, and keep us your friend; which account the diſpleaſure you do to them as our own and proper injury. For why? It were a great diſhonour to our Realm and Kingly Eſtate, if we would wink hereat and overpaſs the ſame with ſilence. Wherefore if you will conſider and reſpect the thing that we have ſaid, we doubt not but that you will releaſe the Biſhop of* Peneſtrum, *with the other Legates and Prelates of the Church, which you to our prejudice do detain. In deſiring of our aid doubtleſs we gave unto them a manifeſt nay: neither could they obtain in our Kingdom any thing at all which ſeemed to be againſt or prejudicial to your Majeſty. Let therefore your Imperial Providence ponder in the Ballance of Juſtice, thoſe things which we write unto you, neither let our lawful requeſt unto you be fruſtrate or made in vain. For our Realm and Kingdom of* France *is not ſo debilitate or impoveriſhed that it will be ſpurned at, or troden under your feet: Fare ye well.*

The great amity and long continued league between the Empire and Kingdom of *France*.

The King without great allurement of the Pope, would not ſo have written to the Emperor.

Here it ſhould ſeem the Emperor found the fault of contradiction.

## The Reſcript of the Emperor to the ſame Letter of the King of *France*.

*OUr Imperial magnificence hath peruſed your Kingly Letters; wherein if we had not found manifeſt contradiction, they might peradventure have obtained at our hands all that they required. But even as with a little leven a whole lump of dow is ſowred; ſo a manifeſt untruth alledged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faulty and unſavoury. It is apparent that you wanted the vertue of mediocrity in the concluſion of the ſame your Graces letter: For that they themſelves bewray no leſs than we give you manifeſtly to underſtand, and many more beſides do know. It is notorious alſo, and to all the world revealed, in what ſort that Apoſtolical Father hath impugned our innocency, as well with the one Sword, as with the other; and how that whileſt we at his commandment took our Journey beyond the Seas, the ſame our great enemy and hoſtile adverſary invaded our King-*

The *French* Kings letters contrary to themſelves.

A good Apoſtolical Father with a two-handed Sword.

{KING Hen. 3}

*Kingdom of* Sicilia: *and the ſame, not in one place or two, but in divers and ſundry parts thereof hath waſted, ſpoiled, and deſtroyed. After this, when with great intreaty at our return from* Aſia, *we had concluded a Peace with him, which with us at his own pleaſure he made, and had taken and received our devotion for the ſame, which in ſerviceable manner we granted him; the ſaid Apoſtolical Father (that notwithſtanding) hath ſince that time rather aggravated his diſpleaſure toward us, than any thing at all qualified the ſame; and further hath to our deprivation and ſubverſion, excogitate and deviſed againſt us all the miſchief he might or hath been able, no cauſe in all the world given of us to provoke the ſame; and further hath promulgated to our great defamation and ſhame (as well by his Letters as Legates) the Sentence of Excommunication againſt us unto all Nations. Laſtly, he aſpiring to our Imperial State, and conſpiring our ſupplantation, hath made War againſt us, as againſt King* David, *Gods anointed; and hath unto a private Counſel for that purpoſe called all the Prelates he can get, as one that meaneth to ſet all the whole world together by the ears. But ſuch is the marvelous Wiſdom of God, by whom we live and reign; who beholding the wicked purpoſe he went about (confounding the Crafty in their craftineſs) hath given into our hands as well your Prelates of the Realm of* France, *as alſo of other Regions and Provinces; all which we impriſon and detain, as Enemies and Adverſaries to our Imperial Crown and Perſon. For where there deſiſted not to be a Perſecutor, there hath not wanted alſo a ſufficient Withſtander and Defender. Let not therefore your kingly Highneſs marvel, although* Auguſtus *detaineth in priſon your* French *Prelates, which have endeavoured themſelves to Conſpire, and ſo to diſturb our Imperial Eſtate and Regiment.* Fare ye well.

120000 ounces of gold, as before you heard.

The crafty compaſſed in their craftineſs.

When *Frederick* now ſaw there was none other remedy, and that in vain he laboured to have peace with the Pope, he proſecuteth this War to the uttermoſt: and when he had gotten *Tudertum* and reconciled the ſame, he deſtroyed the Town of *Geminum* and *Narvia*, and giveth the ſpoil of them unto his Souldiers: he gently received the yielding up of *Siburnium*, and waſteth all the Country round about *Rome*. The Pope herewith diſmayed and troubled with ſuch as otherwiſe diſſwaded and counſelled him, and ſeeing that things proſpered not ſo well with him and againſt the Emperor as he wiſhed and deſired, being in deſpair of obtaining his purpoſe, died for very anger and thought.

*Gregory* the Ninth dieth for thought and cruſt heart.

What Opinion the Prelates of *Germany* at that time had of this *Gregory* is extant, and to be ſeen by the Oration of *Eberhardus* Biſhop of *Juvavence*, that he made to the Nobility of *Boioria* in the Parliament at *Reginoburgh*, written by *Johannes Aventius* in his ſeventh Book. Doubtleſs he not only brought great and ruinous Calamities to the whole Chriſtian Common-wealth and alſo the Empire, whilſt he ſought thus to depreſs and bridle the Emperour, and advance his Papal See and Dignity, but alſo brought into the Church of God much horrible Impiety, Blaſphemy and Wickedneſs, whereof both *Blondus*, *Platina*, *Balæus*, and others make mention: and amongſt others that moſt deteſtable *Cantilena*, *Salve Regina*, in the which he attributeth the Honour and Worſhip proper only to Chriſt, unto the Virgin his Mother. This is he in whoſe name the Book of the Decretals was ſet out, which (to omit the opinion of divers other learned men) *Johannes Balæus* calleth it *The ſink or puddle of Looliſhneſs and Impiety*. Doubtleſs *Carolus Molinæus*, a man both of ſingular judgment in that Law, which in Tribunal Courts and Judgments is uſed, as alſo in this, painted forth the Decree of this *Gregory* in his Book of *Annotations* unto *Platina*, whoſe words whereof are theſe, *Certum eſt, multa capita in iis mutila & decurtata eſſe, ut invidioſum argumentum lateret, &c.* That is, Doubtleſs divers Chapters in the ſame Book of *Decretals* be mangled and unperfect, that many contentious Arguments therein might lurk. For when the ambitious deſire of reigning like Kings took them, they ſtudied nothing elſe but how to inlarge and advance their See and Dominion with the Empire it ſelf and other Kingdoms (oft ſhaken and weakned through Contention:) and this purpoſe and end had they and now other in all their Conſtitutions.

*Molinæus* upon the Decretals of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth.

The proof whereof *Molinæus* declareth in his Book *De regibus Galliæ & Angliæ*. But many more Examples by the Emperors, Princes, and Lords Electors of the Empire may be gathered, whereof to ſpeak, more convenient place ſhall ſerve hereafter.

In the ſtead of this *Gregory* was placed *Celeſtine*, born in *Mediolanum* amongſt the *Caſtellians*: who, as *Blondus* declareth, by fained promiſes offered a League with *Fredericus*, and the eighteenth day after he was created Pope, he alſo died.

The creation and death of Pope *Celeſtinus*.

Thus when the Author of all this Conſpiracy was gone, *Fredericus* now thinking himſelf free and void of that fear which before he had, and not daring to be abſent out of *Italy*, with all his indeavour levieth an Army, and prepareth his furniture and other neceſſaries for the delivery of the *Chriſtians*, ſo mightily oppreſſed as ye heard by the *Turk* or *Tartarians*. Who, hearing of the coming of the Emperor, left the ſtraight way through *Hungary*, which they came, and returned by the River of *Danubium* to *Taurica*, and ſo through the Fens of *Meotida*, and by the River *Tanaum*, into *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. When the Cardinals had now a long time protracted the creation of the Pope, and would not agree upon the ſame, the Emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their diſagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more careful for the *Chriſtian* Common-wealth. His two Epiſtles touching this matter are extant; whereby appeareth, that only for the care and deſire he had of peace and of the Chriſtian unity and ſtate, he did the ſame: and for that (peradventure) the Cardinals refuſed to make peace with him before they had created a new Pope: the one for more brevity I have omitted, and here inſerted the other.

The Emperor prepareth an Army to fight with the *Tartars*, the *Tartarians* fly.

## An Epiſtle Invective of the Emperor unto the Cardinals, for that they cannot agree upon the creation of the Pope.

*Frederick* againſt the Cardinals.

*UNto you I write, Oh you Children of* Ephraim, *which evil have bent your Bows, and worſe have ſhot your Arrows, filthily turning your backs in the day of battel; unto you I ſpeak, O you Children of* Belial, *and diſharkled Flock, you inſenſible people and aſſiſtants of the great Judge, unto you I write, O you diſſentious Cardinals, whom the world for your deſerts doth hate; for whoſe cauſes the whole world being at variance is evil ſpoken of. Doubtleſs, I cannot ſpeak unto you, but to your detraction, becauſe I am wordly and you ſpiritual. I am unperfect, wherefore I muſt do as the unperfect world doth: neither can the part be diſſonant to the whole, nor I contrary to my ſelf that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude Epiſtle, wanting the dignity of rhetorical ſtile. My provoked Tongue burſteth forth into words, before my conceiving ſpirit hath delivered the ſame; and ſo not attending to the higher Regiment, hath haſtned to expreſs my words not fully conceived or premeditate. Thus, I ſay, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget diſordered talk, and untimely uttereth the ſame. This therefore it is that our heart hath conceived, that we believe and all men confeſs, that Jeſus Chriſt the Mediator between God and man, which came from Heaven to make peace upon the Earth, is not divided and at variance, being alſo the Maſter and Lord of the Apoſtles. But Satan, being divided in himſelf, that bluſtering Prince is amongſt you, as thoſe to whom he miniſtreth; he, even he, the Perſwader of Diſcord and diſſention, that Man-killer, Father of Lyes, and Spirit of Darkneſs, that hath divided your Tongues, and ſet Diſſention amongſt your ſelves; neither do ye good one to another, nor yet to the World, being by you into ſo perilous a ſtate brought; and the little Ship of* Peter, *which is toſſed upon the Sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard; which Ship, though it need not indeed utterly to fear drowning, yet ſuffereth it by your negligence many great ſtorms and perilous tempeſts. Doubtleſs, if ye would diligently conſider how the Nations and People whom ye were wont to judge, in ſcorn ſhake their heads at you; every one of you would be aſhamed of another. And to ſay the truth, they cannot do too much to deteſt your ſo deteſtable Opprobry: for whilſt every one of you aſpireth to the Chair, every one is at variance with*

Peters Ship by the diſſention of the Cardinals greatly afflicted.

*with his Fellow, and whilſt one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilſt none is promoted, the Cathedral Dignity vaniſheth. And thus by your diſcord, the peaceable ſtate and concord of the Church is confounded, and the perfection of the Faith and Religion, whereby ye ſhould live, periſheth. And ſurely, through your default it periſheth; ſo that, whereas nature hath placed the ſenſe and underſtanding to be, that part, like a Monſter, remaineth with you both ſenſeleſs and headleſs. And no marvel, for why, your hearing is impaired, and that ſound of the mouth which ſtrilly was heard throughout the whole Earth, is utterly dumb, and become a ſcoffing Eccho. For why, the thundrings of* Peter *and* Paul *are now no more heard, the Preachers are become dumb Dogs, and are commanded to ſilence. Perhaps you have hands ready to receive, but there be no bribes; for why, thoſe that were wont to come from* Saba, *and bring gold with them, now come no more, ſeeing the Lord is not in the Manger, and the Celeſtial ſhining Star refuſing to be their guid. Moreover, ye want feet to walk withall, for ſeeing there is no man to give you ought, you will not remove one foot for any mans pleaſure. Fie ſhameleſs people, the leaſt and ſimpleſt Beaſt may learn you Obedience, for the Birds have their Captain, and the ſilly Bees their King, but you will come under no Government, &c.*

Peters ſhrill voice turned into a ſcoffing eccho.

The Emperor releaſeth the Cardinals out of priſon.

The Emperor yet after this, at the requeſt of *Baldwinus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who came to *Frederick* to *Parma*, releaſed the Cardinals out of priſon, thinking thereby not only to gratifie the Emperor *Baldwinus*, but alſo thinking that thereby things would have the better grown to publick tranquility on every ſide. When the Cardinals were all aſſembled at *Avignia*, they made *Sinibaldus*, a *Genoway*, Pope, whom by a contrary name, for that he had determined (as I ſuppoſe) to be hurtful to the Commonwealth, they called *Innocentius* the Fourth. Of which Election when *Fredrick* underſtood, he was well pleaſed therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, he well hoped that the Chriſtian Commonwealth ſhould by him have been brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he ſent both his Legates and Letters gratulatory unto him, letting him to underſtand how well it contented and pleaſed him that he was made Pope; and what peace and quietneſs thereby he promiſed (as it were to himſelf) he maketh full relation thereof; offering again unto him obſervance, help and aid in all things, commending his Dignity to the publick State and quietneſs of the Chriſtian Commonwealth and Empire, &c.

*Innocentius* the fourth created Pope.

The Emperor rejoyceth of the Popes election, but without cauſe why.

He alſo wrote his Letters to *Otho* Duke of *Bojoria*, who a little before was reconciled to the Emperor, that he which was elected Pope was a good Man, a lover of peace, and ſtudious as well for the tranquility of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, as of the Empire.

The Legates of *Fredrick* alſo, with the furtherance of *Baldwinus* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, laboured very diligently for the concluſion of the promiſe of peace. And to be brief, every Man was in good hope and looked for no leſs. But far otherwiſe fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectation. For the Pope (ſet on and incouraged by the Cardinals and others againſt *Fredrick*) ſecretly and amongſt themſelves wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little diſappointed both *Fredrick* and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the Popes holineſs. For whileſt the Emperors Legates attended the anſwer of their peace before promiſed, *Raineras* the Cardinal went ſecretly to *Viterbium* with a certain number of Souldiers, and took the Town which before was on the Emperors part.

The Pope taketh *Viterbium* while the Emperor hoped for peace.

The Emperor having underſtanding hereof, muſtereth his bands, and with ſufficient power entreth the Popes dition, again to recover *Viterbium*: But yet, taking this war ſo in hand (not thinking thereby to expel all conditions of peace) at the requeſt of certain of the Cardinals he was contented to leave *Viterbium*, being furniſhed by the Emperor of war-like proviſion before, and came to *Aqua*. From thence he ſent again other Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and with them alſo the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, with the Earl of *Tholouſe*, who he thought were able to do much with the Pope in the proſecuting of this peace.

And although at the time of *Eaſter* the matter ſeemed to have been through, and peace concluded, for that his Legates had Sworn in the behalf of the Emperor (and as he willed them) that he would ſubmit himſelf to the Pope. And again, for that the Cardinals and others, commonly called and named him *Fredricus* the Chriſtian Prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpoſe. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to go through therewithal, but that through this diſſimulation and likelihood of peace, which they underſtood the Emperor much deſired, he ſhould ſet free and open the paſſages which he ſtraitly kept, that no man could paſs and come to *Rome*, whether a great multitude daily reſorted and flocked for Religion ſake. But when all came to all, and that the Legates perceived no concluſion of peace was ſimply purpoſed on their behalf, they began to deſpair of the matter; letting the Emperor ſo to underſtand. The Emperor yet notwithſtanding doubted not, but if he might himſelf ſpeak with the Pope, he upon reaſonable conditions ſhould well enough accord with him; wherefore he by his Legates and Letters deſired him to appoint a place where the Emperor might reſort to him. The Pope ſeemed to be contented herewithal, and appointed a day at *Feſcennia*, where they would talk together; and the Pope promiſed that he would be there before him, and expect the Emperors coming. But the Pope in this while had made a confederacy with the *French* King againſt *Fredricus*; who when he knew thoſe three Gallies to be ready and brought unto *Centumcellas*, which he before had ſpoken for unto the *Genowaies*, ſecretly in the night with his company (haſtening thither in Poſt ſpeed) took ſhip, and firſt came to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Lions* in *France*; where he (calling a Council) with a loud voice ſummoneth *Fredrick*, and appointing him a day, commanded him there perſonally to plead his cauſe.

The Emperor hath too much confidence in the Pope.

The Pope mocketh the Emperor and goeth to *Lions*, where he proſcribeth the Emperor.

And yet although he underſtood that the ſudden departing of him out of *Italy*, made plain demonſtration of no concluſion or meaning of a peace; and alſo knew the Council which the Pope had called, wherein he was himſelf both Plaintiff and Judge, and at the ſame Council thoſe, which he had by bribes allured, pretended the deſtruction of the Emperor; with many other ſuch evident Demonſtrations, both of his envious and hateful heart towards him: yet the moſt modeſt Emperor, uſing the innocency and uprightneſs of his cauſe, and as one moſt deſirous of peace and Chriſtian Concord, ſent the Patriarch of *Antioch*, which lately was come out of *Syria*, the Biſhop of *Panormia* and *Thadeus Sueſſanus* the Preſident of his Court (a moſt skilful and prudent Civilian) to the Council at *Lions*; which ſignified unto them that the Emperor would be there for the defence of his own cauſe; And, for that the day was very ſhort, required a time more convenient for him thither to make his repair. The Emperor alſo being onward on his way, and come as far as *Taurinum*, ſent before other Meſſengers, as the Maſter of the *Flewiſh* order, and *Peter de Vineis*, to give them underſtanding of the Emperors coming, and to intreat that he would Prorogue the day of hearing, till that he might conveniently travel thither. But for any thing that could be either ſaid or done, or upon how juſt cauſe ſoever required, the Pope would not give ſo much as three days ſpace, in the which time the Ambaſſadors aſſured them of the Emperors preſence; as though there had been no common proviſo for every man in that caſe by the law to have uſed upon any reaſonable let. What would I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the Pope with his confederates (whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that Council) againſt Gods law, againſt Chriſtian Doctrine, againſt both the Preſcript of the Law of nature and reaſon, againſt the rule of equity, againſt the order of law appointed, againſt the conſtitutions of Emperors, and alſo the Decrees of the Empire, without any obſervation of the Law, or granting dilatory days, without probation of any Crime, or his cauſe ſuffered to be pleaded unto, or heard what might be anſwered therein, taking upon him to be both adverſary and judge, condemned the Emperor being abſent. What more wicked ſentence was ever pronounced? What more cruel fact, conſidering the perſon, might be committed? Or what thing more brutiſh and beaſtly could have been imagined or deviſed?

The Emperor coming to make his appearance before the Pope.

The extremity of the Pope to the Emperor.

{KING Hen. 3}

vised? And yet hereat were those Bishops nothing ashamed; but meaning to leave their doings in writing (as an impudent Testimony to their posterity) established the same for a law to continue.

Vengeance falleth upon the Pope for his false Judgment.

But mark what vengeance God took upon this wicked judge. The writers of the Annals record, that when *Fredericus* the Emperor, and *Conradus* his Son being *Cesar*, were both dead; the Pope gaping for the inheritance of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and thinking by force to have subdued the same, came to *Naples* with a great Host of Men, where was heard in the Popes Court manifestly pronounced this voice, *Veni miser ad judicium Dei*, Thou wretch come to receive thy Judgment. And the next day after the Pope was found in his Bed dead, all black and blew as though he had been beaten with bats, as before in the History of King *John* is declared.

When the Emperor had understanding of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the Pope, passed and pronounced against him (considering his furious purpose and mind therein) thought good by his Letters, to let all Christian Princes and Potentates understand, as well that injurious and manifold displeasure he had sustained by the four Popes in all their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this Pope, in pronouncing the sentence of Judgment and condemnation against him (passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason) which Letter as he wrote the same, hereunder followeth to be seen.

## The Letter of the Emperor to the *French* King and other Princes, for the sentence given against him in the Council of *Lions* by the Pope and Cardinals.

*ALthough we suppose not the contrary, but that both by true certificate and common rumor you have heard of the indifferency of our cause and good handling thereof: yet for that more credit is commonly given to that the eye seeth, than to that the ear receiveth, we thought good to present unto you the naked truth of such things, which the Popes successively have put forth, and forged against us. To the perusing and consideration of which my cause and letter, I beseech your gentleness amongst other times of leasure, that you will spie out some fit and convenient time therefore. And all other whatsoever that shall have desire to hear Princes counsels and affairs, let them in like sort attentively consider. First, whether our Predecessors have been destitute or not, of Godly zeal, just dealing, and righteousness: and whether we may not lawfully revenge our selves, being so much provoked, of such evils and injuries as have been wrought against us. Secondly, let them consider whether Christs Vicar doth follow Christs steps or not; and whether* Peters *Successors do follow his example or not; and also by what Law, equity and right, that sentence which they have pronounced against us, may be maintained and allowed: as also what name they may justly give it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence, which is given by an unsufficient Judge or not. For although we acknowledge that the Lord hath given full power in spiritual things unto his Church, that whatsoever the same bindeth in Earth, is bound in Heaven; and whatsoever the same looseth, is also loosed; yet we read neither by Gods Law, nor by any Law of Man, that we ought of duty to be subject unto him, or that an Empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may give any such sentence or Judgment to punish Princes temporally, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. For why? Although our consecration belongeth unto him by right and custom (as he challengeth) yet our deposing and depriving doth no more belong to him, than doth that presumption belong to any other Prelate of other Realms, which do consecrate and anoint their Kings, as the custom and manner is. Or put case it were so (we nothing hindered hereby) that he had such power: hath he that power to the intent to revenge himself upon whomsoever his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equity and law to bring them under his jurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against us, as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither went there out any inscription or process before; neither yet by denunciation, forsomuch as there lacked a lawful denouncer, neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before it no manifest accusation. But he peradventure will say, that all things that he layeth against us were manifest and notorious. But that we deny, and nothing to be notorious, but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approved and tryed. For so may every judge himself (contemning the order of law) affirm what he list to be notorious, and thus condemn whom he list. There were against us (as well it may be said in Council) certain false witnesses, although not many, of whom the Bishop of* Calin *was one, whose neer Kinsman or Nephew (by our Laws condemned for Treason to be hanged) maketh also to us an infestine Enemy.* ¶ To such like effect prosecuting the rest of his Epistle, which for brevity sake I omit.

This policy used the Pope to vex and disturb both the Country of *Germany*, and the whole Empire; and not so only, but also utterly to destroy and subvert the same: By the ruinous decay whereof, the Pope and his Prelates thought to make up their mouths. And thus, whilst that *Germany* was now newly again divided, some taking part with *Fredrick* the Emperor, and *Conradus Cesar* his Son, and other Nobles and Princes of the Empire; some with those that should by the Popes procurement be the Electors of the new Emperor, othersome with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending to the publick Utility, but to serve their own purposes, armed themselves; and thus was the publick Peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and all together in tumult and hurly burly. For whilst the one part laboured by all force to retain the dominion by publick and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort indeavored themselves with all force and power to use and occupy the same, according unto the decree of the Bishop of *Rome*, and to take it from *Fredrick*: Thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

*Germany* all together in hurly burly through the Popes malicious mind.

By these Civil wars, *Germany* suffered no little calamity; in every place was manslaughter and murther, the Country spoiled, the Towns and villages set on fire and burnt, the Churches and Temples, wherein the Husbandmen had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed: Houses were pulled down, the goods divided, and every Mans cattel driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of deposing and chooling another Emperor, in this faction of Princes, and this liberty of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and sinning, the impudent boldness of divers private Souldiers, and especially of such as were the Horsemen, then counted the better sort of Souldiers, were so great, and their unbridled and unsatiable desire in robbing, spoiling and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be sure and in safety that any good man enjoyed. Wherefore a little before the death of *Gulielmus* the King, threescore Cities and Towns which were belonging to *Ludovicus Palatinus* Duke of *Boiora* and *Rhenus*, and *Otho* his Son, and other Princes, whose names *Aventinus* in his seventh Book of the Annals of the *Boiores* maketh mention of, joyned themselves in a league for the expelling of these rebels, and expressing of their so great injurious rapines and slaughter of men. Of which Army the said *Ludovicus* being Captian, he chaseth and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermost parts of *Germany*, and pulled down and overthrew their Castles and Fortresses, and every other place where they had intrenched themselves.

*Germany* spoiled by civil dissention through the Popes only practice against the Emperor.

The robbers and rebels chased out of *Germany*.

*Otho Boius* yet notwithstanding, keepeth his promise and faith most constantly made before to the Emperor *Fredrick* and *Conradus* his Son. Whereupon *Philippus Javavensis*, *Albertus* and others calling a Council at *Mildorsus* (by the Popes commandment) sent for *Otho* unto them, unto whom they opened the Popes pleasure and commandment. To all which, when he had heard, *Otho* answered: I cannot marvel at some of you enough, that when as heretofore you perswaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the Bishop of *Rome*, whom you your selves affirmed to be Antichrist, and that I should take part with the Emperor, why that you your selves will not keep your fidelity and promise made unto those good Princes: and he said, that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity, both in their words and deeds.

The fidelity of *Otho* to the Emperor.

The answer of *Otho* to the Legates.

deeds, which now call that wicked, unjuſt and violent wrong, that but lately they thought equal, juſt and right. He ſaid further, That they were overcome with Pleaſures, corrupted with Superfluity, won with Bribes, gaping for Honour and Eſtimation: and that they neither regarded honeſty, godlineſs, nor their duty and office; but ſtudied how to make diſſention and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battel.

He ſaid further, That for his part he would obey God and his Prince, to whom he had ſworn Fidelity; and that he nought eſteemed the ſained Holineſs and deteſtable practices of ſuch Prelates. He ſaid he believed in Chriſt, and would truſt to his Mercy; and that he believed how thoſe whom they curſed and gave to the Devil, were in greateſt favour with God. Howbeit, and notwithſtanding thoſe Prelates took in good part this Expoſtulation of his, and ſeemed to bear *Otho* no malice or grudge for that he had ſaid, but to be deſirous of peace and unity: yet not long after *Otho* was curſed as black as all the reſt, and counted as bad as the worſt.

*Otho* excommunicated for turning from the Pope to take the Emperors part.

*Albertus* the Popes Champion now in *Germany* playeth not only *Rex* amongſt the Citizens, but alſo bethought him of a miſchievous Device againſt *Conradus Cæſar* the Emperors Son. When by fraud and ſubtilty he had gotten and taken many of the rich Burgeſſes and Citizens of *Reginoburgh*, which bare the Emperor good will, and had ſent them priſoners to *Staffum*, *Conradus* joyning with other Noblemen of the Empire (after he had ſpoiled and waſted much of his Lands and others his Companions) drave him ſo near, that upon certain other conditions he delivered again the Citizens. And ſhortly after coming again to *Reginoburgh*, and being received and welcomed into the Colledge of D. *Hamaranus*: *Albertus* with certain of his Confederates, by the means of *Ulricus* a Chief Officer of the Monks, came in the dead time of the night into the Chamber, where the *Cæſar* with a few others about him did lie; and falling upon them, ſome they took, and other ſome they ſlew; and finding no other body in the Chamber or Lodging they thought that *Cæſar* had been ſlain among the reſt. But he hearing the noiſe, forſook his bed, and hid himſelf under a bench, and ſo eſcaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proſcribed the Biſhop and his Mates, and alſo the Monks Bayliff of Treaſon, and ſeized upon all the goods of the houſe. But at the Suit of the guiltleſs Monks he releaſed all to them again, taking by way of fine 100 pounds. *Ulricus* loſt his Office, and *Albertus*, thereby to eſcape danger of puniſhment, took upon him the habit of a Monk. *Conradus Hochenfolſeus*, which was the Murtherer of theſe men, though he eſcaped the puniſhment of mans hand, yet the Vengeance of God for the Fact he eſcaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, he was ſuddenly ſtricken with a Thunderbolt and died.

*Cæſar* in danger of *Albertus*.

*Albertus* to eſcape puniſhment taketh the order of Monkery.

During all this buſie and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that *Frederick* the Emperor lay not ſtill, but had his hands full: who notwithſtanding (by Gods help) overcoming and ſuppreſſing theſe or the greater part of theſe rebellious Popiſh Tumults, and having done ſtrict execution on thoſe eſpecially that had conſpired againſt his Perſon, calling a Council, and ſetting in ſome ſtay the troubleſome Affairs of his Kingdom, came to *Cremona*, with *Fredericus* Prince of *Antioch*. *Richardus* Earl of *Umbria*, the Governor of *Flamminia*, and *Encius* King of *Sardinia*, with a great number beſides of Souldiers and men of war. And beſides he took with him (which he ſent for out of every part) the wiſeſt, moſt vertuous, and beſt left Learned men that there were, thinking with them to have gone himſelf to *Lions* to the Pope, and there to have with him Communication, as well concerning the Sentence definitive, as alſo about the concluſion of any peace, if by any means he might. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the Journey in hand, and came to *Taurinum*, having with him both a great Army of Souldiers, and alſo a great Company of Legates and Ambaſſadors. From thence ſending his Carriages before, within three days Journey of *Lions*, he was certified that *Parma* was taken and kept by the Outlaws of divers and ſundry Factions of the Pope, his near Neighbours and Friends; as by the Popes Legate, and other Citizens, as of *Brixia*, *Placentia*, and ſuch like. Which thing when he underſtood, and that the Pope herein was the only and chief doer, he ſaw manifeſtly it ſhould little prevail to attempt any further the thing he went about, and then at length when he ſaw no other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himſelf to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpoſe and journey, he took the ſtraighteſt way into *Lumbardy*, and with an Army of 60000 men he beſieged *Parma*. And to the intent he might more aptly and near the Town plant his ſiege and battery without diſturbance, firſt he intrenched his Camp, and fortified the ſame about with Bulworks and other defenſible munition. After that, he cauſed divers Victualling-houſes and Taverns in his Camp to be ſleightly builded of timber; and without the Camp he appointed the place where the Market ſhould be kept, and all Victuallers reſort that would. He appointed places for their Churches and Temples, and in ſeemly manner adorned the ſame: and for the moſt part their Tents were builded with wood, ſo that it was like another *Parma*. All which things when he had finiſhed, which was not long in doing, for this happy and proſperous ſucceſs he called and named it *Victoria*, and had thought to have made the ſame to be in the ſtead of the City of *Parma*, the which he purpoſed to have made level with the ground. And in the beginning both there and elſewhere, all things proſpered well with *Frederick*, and had good ſucceſs; for he ſharply laid to their charges that defended and kept the City of *Parma*. And further, *Robertus Caſtilioneus*, which was the Emperors Lieutenant in *Picenum* near unto *Auximum*, diſcomfited the Popes Army, and ſlew of them more than 4000, and took many ſuch as were of the Confederate Cities priſoners. And when the Factions or Companies of the *Gibelines* and *Guelphs* in *Florentia* were at controverſie, when *Fredericus* of *Hetruria* came to the *Gibelines*, to whom they had ſent for Aid: the *Guelphs* therewith diſmaid, fled from thence to *Bononia*, whoſe goods and ſubſtance came all to the Emperors Coffers, and *Florentia* alſo it ſelf to the Emperors Obedience. But this good ſucceſs and proſperous fortune laſted not long. For as at a time *Fredericus* to recreate himſelf (which ſeldom had his health) rode about the fields with certain of his Horſemen to hawk and hunt, many of the Emperors Souldiers, thinking nothing leſs than of ſuch a matter to be attempted of a many ſtarvelings within the Town of *Parma*, wandred and ranged unarmed out of their City *Victoria* about the fields. The Souldiers in *Parma*, having this occaſion offered, with all force and ſpeed poſſible entred the Emperors Camp or Town *Victoria*: which being not ſtrongly fenced, nor having Gates to ſhut againſt them, was a thing eaſie enough to do. The ſudden ſtrangeneſs of the matter much abaſhed the Souldiers, and they rang out their Larum-bell. The firſt aſſault was given upon *Marcus Malaſpina* his charge; whom when the Emperor, returning in all haſte, found to be hard beſet, he had thought to have reſcued him. But when that was perceived of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that ſide: inſomuch that the Emperor was forced to take the Trench, leſt he ſhould have been of the enemy invironed; and from thence he retired into the City or Camp, where he had thought to have gathered further Aid. But the enemy giving not ſo much time thereunto, with all force entred the City *Victoria*. The Emperor now, when the enemies were entred, left the Camp, and came to *Dominum*; who when they had killed and ſlain a great number of the Emperors Souldiers, and had burnt and deſtroyed the ſame Camp *Victoria*, came again to *Parma*. The Emperor then ſuſpecting this thing to be wrought by treaſon, whereby the enemy had underſtanding as well of the Emperors abſence, as alſo of the negligence of his Souldiers, impriſoned certain of the chiefeſt about him, amongſt whom alſo was *Petrus de Vineis*. Yet whilſt he was at *Dominum*, gathering together his Souldiers and reſidue of his bands; *Encius* getteth a great Victory of the *Manſuanos*, who coming to the reſcue of *Parma*, loſt fifty of their Ships, and all that they had in them.

The Emperor, when he had ſomewhat ſuppreſſed theſe Tumults, came to *Cremona*.

The Emperor thinketh to go to *Lions* to the Pope.

*Parma* taken and kept by the Popes Legate and other friends of his.

The Emperor altereth his journey from *Lions* to the ſiege of *Parma*.

The Emperor names his Camp and ſiege about *Parma*, *Victoria*.

The Popes Army diſcomfited by the Emperors Lieutenant at *Auximum*.

The negligence of the Souldiers offereth an occaſion to the enemy.

The diſcomfiture of the Emperor at the ſiege of *Parma*.

The Emperor upon ſuſpition of treaſon impriſoneth divers of his Captains.

After this alſo, *Richardus* in another Conflict in *Picenum*, diſcomfited the Popes Souldiers, and ſlew their Captain *Hugolinus*, beſides 2000 others ſlain and taken priſoners. When now *Fredericus* had gathered again, and new muſtered his Bands at *Dominum*, he marched forth to *Cremona*: and notwithſtanding that there he underſtood of the good ſucceſs and victory that *Encius* had

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had at *Rhegium*, yet for that he perceived the defection and backſliding of all or moſt part of *Lombardy* from him, he determined to take his Journey into *Apulia*: And when he had there levied a ſtrong and ſufficient Power, he purpoſed to make his ſpeedy return again into *Lombardy*. Therefore, in his Journey through *Hetruria* into *Apulia*, he joyned with his Son *Fredericus*, which beſieged *Capras*, and took the ſame: and led with him divers of the chiefeſt Captains priſoners, and after that, ſubduing unto the Obedience of the Empire *Miniatum*, he came into *Apulia*.

*Capras* beſieged and taken of the Emperor.

When news was brought him thither, that *Encius* his Son (coming to aid the *Mutinenſes* againſt the *Bononians*) was taken priſoner two miles from *Mutina*; and that in his abſence, the Popes Captains with their Bands and Garriſons went throughout all *Lombardy*, *Emilia*, *Flamminia*, and *Hetruria*, to ſtir and procure the Cities to revolt from the Obedience of the Emperor, and working the ſame partly by ſubtil policies, and partly by force and ſiniſter means to bring them to his purpoſe: he determined with himſelf, with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make to have begun afreſh, and proſecuted this War to the uttermoſt. Neither was it to be doubted (as *Pandolphus Colonucius* writeth) but that he would have wrought ſome marvellous Exploit and great Attempt, but that he was of this his purpoſe (whereunto he was both willing and bent) prevented by unlooked for death. For when he fell into this Ague, being at a certain Caſtle of his in *Apulia* called *Florentinum*, and ſaw by the extremity thereof his days to be ſhort, he remembred that which was once ſhewed him, how he ſhould die at *Florence*; whereupon he made and ordained his Teſtament. And when unto *Conradus* and other his Children he had given and appointed the great and innumerable maſs of money which he had collected and levied for the maintenance of his Wars, and godly purpoſe (as it is called) and unto them alſo had given all other his Kingdoms and Dominions (to every one according to their ages and years) he departed this wretched and miſerable world.

The Emperor purpoſeth to make ſome great attempt.

The Emperor prevented by death.

*Pandolphus* writeth, that *Fredericus* was very willing to die, and as they made certain report to him which were preſent at his death, that his mind was altogether ſet and bent on the heavenly joy and felicity. Which thing alſo *Guilielmus Puteanus*, *Andreas Pandalus*, and *Manardus* the Biſhop, being *Italian* Writers do all affirm, of whom this laſt writeth, that he aſſuredly believeth *Frederick* to be one of the number of Gods Elect.

*Frederick* one of Gods Elect.

The Writers notwithſtanding are of ſundry Judgments and Opinions touching this good Emperors death. Some write, that he was traiterouſly poiſoned by his Cupbearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was ſtrangled with a pillow, of *Manfredus* the Son of *Pherus*. But *Pandolphus* a good Writer as the beſt, maketh no mention of any poiſon that was given him, but only that he died of an Ague. The laſt opinion of *Manfredus* he manifeſtly refuteth, and ſheweth that there is no manner of likelihood of the ſame: and further, that the contrary is affirmed by divers other Writers that were of that time. He died in the year of our Lord, 1268. the thirteenth day of *December*, in the ſeven and fiftieth year of his age, and ſeven and thirtieth year of his Reign, whoſe Corps was brought to *Panormum*, and there intombed.

Sundry opinions of the death of Frederick the Emperor.

*Frederick* had three Wives, the firſt was *Conſtantia*, the Daughter of the King of *Aragon*; of whom he begat *Henry* the Duke of *Suevia* and King of the *Romans*: the other *Jole* the Daughter of *Johannes Brennus* King of *Hieruſalem*, by whom he had the Inheritance of *Hieruſalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; of whom he begat *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, King of *Hieruſalem* and *Naples*, being *Cæſar*: the third, *Iſabell* the Daughter of King *John* of *England*, by whom he had a Son named *Henry*, which is ſaid to die in his Childhood. This *Fredericus* had not his Peer in Martial affairs and Warlike policies to be compared unto him, amongſt all the Princes of that age: a wiſe and skilful Souldier he was, a greater indurer of painful labours and travels, moſt bold in greateſt perils, prudent in foreſight, induſtrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that he took in hand, and in adverſity moſt ſtout and couragious. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attain perfection, neither yet is there any Prince almoſt of ſuch Government and godly Inſtitution both in life and doctrine as is required of them: ſo neither was this *Frederick* without his fault and humane fragility; for the Writers impute to him ſome fault of concupiſcence, wherewith he was ſtained and ſpotted. And it appeareth that he was not clear thereof, forſomuch as by ſundry Concubines he had ſundry Children; as *Encius* the King of *Sardinia*, *Manfredus* the Prince of *Sarentinum*, and *Frederick* King of *Antioch*. And this is all that I find of the Deſcription of *Frederick* by *Colonucius*, which he affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable Authors. But as touching the hainous Acts and flagitious Deeds, which the Pope burtheneth him withall, and in his Sentence againſt him maketh mention of; *Fredericus* not only purgeth himſelf thereof, but alſo divers Hiſtoricians (as well *German* Writers as *Italians*) affirm the ſame to be falſe and of the Popes own brains, invented to do him skath and teen withall. Of which matter thoſe things which *Pandolphus* (touching the commendation or diſpraiſe of *Fredericus* writeth) I thought good out of *Italian* to tranſlate; whoſe words be theſe:

The iſſue of Frederick the Emperor.

Frederick a moſt puiſſant Prince in Martial affairs.

*Frederick* was not without his fault of humane fragility.

Albeit the Emperor *Fredericus* was indued with many goodly Gifts and Vertues, yet notwithſtanding was he accounted an Enemy of the Church, and a Perſecutor of the ſame: of which both *Innocentius* the Fourth in his Sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the ſame Sentence have other Popes regiſtred in their ſix Books of *Decretals*, and ſtabliſhed the ſame for a Law, how *that he ought* to be taken for no leſs. Therefore peradventure it ſhould not become me to fallifie or call in queſtion that, which others have confirmed, or elſe to diſpute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithſtanding as much as his Acts and Deeds in writing declare, and the Books of the chiefeſt Authors affirm, as alſo his own Epiſtles do teſtifie; I cannot preciſely ſay, whether the Biſhops of *Rome* ſo call him and judge him therefore: Or elſe for that he was ſomewhat too bold in ſpeaking and telling them but the truth, and reproving the Eccleſiaſtical Order of their great abuſes: Or elſe, whether for that he would have had them gone ſomewhat more near the conditions and lives of the ancient Fathers of the Primitive-Church and Diſciples of Chriſt: Or whether for that he defended and ſtood with them for the Prerogative and Dignities belonging to the Empire or not: Or elſe whether they ſtood in fear and awe of the great Power he was of in *Italy*, which thing indeed *Gregory* the Ninth in a certain Epiſtle of his confeſſeth: but of theſe things let them judge and diſcern, that ſhall read the Monuments and Hiſtories of *Frederick*. Truly (ſaith he) when I conſider with my ſelf that Chriſt (whoſe Vicar the *Roman* Biſhops boaſt themſelves to be) ſaid unto his Diſciples, that they ſhould follow him, and alſo imitate his example, as of their Maſter and Teacher; and commanded them furthermore, how they ſhould not draw the ſword, but put up the ſame into the Scabbard; and further gave them in precept, that they ſhould not only forgive Injuries ſeven times, but ſeventy times ſeven times to thoſe that offended them; and when I now compare the lives of the Biſhops of *Rome*, how near they follow him whoſe Vicar they ſay they be; and conſider ſo many and great Conſpiracies, Treaſons, Rebellions, Diſloyalties, lyings in Waite, and treacherous Devices, ſo many Legates of the Popes (being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons) which will needs be called the Shepherds of Chriſts Flock, to be ſuch Warriors and Captains of Souldiers in all the parts of *Italy*, *Campania*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, (being the Emperors Dominions) in *Picenum*, *Emilia*, *Flamminia*, and *Lombardy*, to be ſent out againſt him, and alſo when with my ſelf I meditate the deſtruction of ſo many great and famous Cities, the ſubverſion of ſuch Commonweals, the ſlaughter of ſo many men, and the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood: and laſtly, when I behold ſo victorious, proſperous and fortunate Emperors to be, and ſo many miſerable, unfortunate and vanquiſhed Popes put to flight; I am perſwaded with my ſelf to think and believe, that the Judgments of God are ſecret and marvelous, and that to be true which *Aeneas Sylvius* in his Hiſtory of *Auſtria* writeth, that there is no great and marvelous ſlaughter, no notorious and ſpecial Calamity (that hath happened either to the Publick Weal, or to the Church of God) of the which the Biſhops of *Rome* have not been the Authors.

The words of *Pandolphus* touching the praiſe and diſpraiſe of the Emperor.

*Frederick*

The Popes Church compared with Chriſt his Church, are like as black and white.

Authors. *Nicholaus Machiavellus* alſo ſaith, *That all the ruinous Calamities and miſerable Chances, that the whole Chriſtian Common-weal, and alſo* Italy *hath ſuffered, have been brought in by the Popes and Biſhops of* Rome.

Many Epiſtles of *Fredericus* there be, which he wrote unto the Biſhops of *Rome*, to the Cardinals, and to divers other Chriſtian Princes, all which I have read; and in them is to be ſeen nothing contrary unto Chriſtian Doctrine, nothing wicked and ungodly, nothing injurious to the Church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of *Frederick*. But indeed I deny not the ſame to be fraught and full of pitiful Complaints and Lamentations, touching the avaricious ambition of the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and pertinacy of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and that he would receive and take no ſatisfaction nor yet excuſe, in the defence of the right and priviledge of the Empire, which he maintained: alſo of their manifold and infinite Conſpiracies which they practiſed both ſecretly and openly againſt him: and of the often admonitions which he gave to the whole multitude and order Eccleſiaſtical, to attend upon and diſcharge their Functions and Charges. And who that further is deſirous to know and underſtand the truth, and coveteth to ſearch out the renowned Vertues of Magnificent Princes, let them read the Epiſtle of *Frederick*, dated to all Chriſtian Princes, which thus beginneth, *Collegerunt Principes, Pontifices & Phariſæi concilium*: and another, wherein he perſwadeth the Colledge of Cardinals to take up the diſſention between the Emperor and the Pope, which beginneth, *In exordio naſcentis mundi*; and alſo another which thus beginneth, *Infallibilis veritatis teſtem*; beſides yet another, *Ad Reges & Principes orbis Chriſtiani*; with divers others more, wherein may well be ſeen the Princely Vertues of this ſo worthy a Peer: all which Epiſtles collected together in the *Latine*-Tongue, the learned ſort I wiſhed to read, whereout they may pick no little benefit and commodity to themſelves. In his Epiſtle laſt recited, theſe are his words, *Non exiſtimetis id me a vobis ideo contendere, ac ſi ex ſententia Pontificia privationis Majeſtas noſtra ſit perculſa. Cum enim nobis ſit rectæ voluntatis conſcientia, cumq; Deum nobiſcum habeamus, eundem teſtem invocamus id nos ſpectaſſe, cum totum ordinem Eccleſiaſticum, tum preſertim primores, nervis potentiæ dominationiſque eorum ſucciſis extirpatiſque tyrannidis radicibus, ad primitivæ Eccleſiæ conditionem & ſtatum revocaremus*; That is, *Think ye not that we ſo earneſtly deſire or crave this peace at your hands, as though our Majeſty were terrified with the Popes Sentence of Deprivation: when as God (upon whom we truſt and invocate) is our witneſs, and judge of our conſcience, that when we went about to reform the Eccleſiaſtical State, but eſpecially the Ringleaders of the ſame, and ſhould reſtrain their Power, and extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the ſame to the ſtate and condition of Primitive Church, we looked for no leſs at their hands.* For theſe cauſes peradventure, thoſe which had the Government of the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, decreed and pronounced *Frederick* to be an Enemy to the Church: which (as I have ſaid) I leave to others to judge thereof. ¶ Hitherto *Pandolphus Colonucius*.

Deſerved commendation upon the Epiſtles of Frederick.

Frederick purpoſed with the hazard of the Imperial State to reform the Church of Rome.

And doubtleſs Examples to the contrary do appear, that *Frederick* was no Enemy to the Church of *Rome*, for that he both gave large and great gifts thereunto, and alſo franchiſed the ſame with great Priviledges and Immunities, which things by his own Conſtitutions, Statutes and Cuſtoms, may be perceived and underſtood. But rather contrariwiſe that the Biſhops of *Rome* moſt filthily recompenced the ſame his great liberality, and princely Benevolence again, which he gave and beſtowed upon the ſame, as partly in the diſcourſe of this Hiſtory you have heard: who notwithſtanding they ſo moleſted and tired him with ſuch and ſo many Injuries as you have ſeen, he nevertheleſs, forgiving and pardoning all the ſame, for the great zeal he had to the common Chriſtian wealth (whereof he more forced, than of any other thing) ſought by all means he might for to have peace, although it were to his own great hinderance. Therefore ſeeing he was of neceſſity by the Biſhops of *Rome* provoked to that War, if he did them any ſkath in revenge of his Imperial Dignity, let them thank their own ſelves which might otherwiſe have remedied the ſame. Notwithſtanding upon this occaſion divers (both *Italian* and *German* Writers, which at that time ſought for fat Benefices, and ever ſince even unto theſe our days have done the like, by flattery rather to obtain that which they hunted for, than to bear true and faithful Teſtimony of things as they were indeed) took great occaſion to write and ſlander this good Emperor. But let us paſs over theſe Paraſites, and return to thoſe, which although they themſelves were of that Calling, I mean of the Eccleſiaſtical Order: yet notwithſtanding, for that they rather preferred the ſtudy of verity, and to reverence the truth before Popiſh authority, and flattering ſervitude, greatly extolled and commended this good Emperor *Frederick*. So did *Nicolaus Cuſanus* a Cardinal in his writing affirm this Emperor to be an *Alter Carolus Magnus*, both for his wiſdom and alſo diligent regard to the Common-weal. So alſo writeth *Aegidius Biturigum* the Biſhop, in his Books of the inſtitution and bringing up of a Prince, which he wrote to the *French* King, exhorting him and all others to take a pattern of this moſt worthy and excellent Prince: in commendation of whoſe worthy praiſe and vertue theſe Verſes are written on his Tomb.

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Hope of gain allureth many to flatter and write untruths.

*Si probitas, ſenſus, virtutum gratia, cenſus,*
*Nobilitas, orti poſſent reſiſtere morti:*
*Non foret extinctus* Fredericus, *qui jacet intus.*

Wherefore, inſomuch as it appeareth by the approved Writers, of whom I have made mention, who and what manner of Prince *Frederick* this Emperor was, and that becauſe he diligently laboured, as well in the preſervation of the Chriſtian Commonweal, as in the conſervation of the Imperial Dignity, he procured to himſelf the great hatred and diſpleaſure of the *Roman* Biſhops (who have been to all the good Emperors for the moſt part utter foes and enemies) and with what wicked ſlanders and other injuries both by them, and by their Miniſters they continually moleſted him: this Leſſon ought to be ours, that having the ſame in our memory, we imitate and follow his vertues, hating and deteſting the wicked and flagitious doings of thoſe holy Fathers that will ſo be called, and Biſhops of *Rome*; deſiring God that he will ſo guide the hearts of all Kings and Princes, that they may by his Grace advance and ſet forth his Glory, and reform the corrupt and vitious manner and order of the Church to all ſincerity and purity both of Life and Doctrine.

Theſe Verſes which here inſue were ſent and written between the Emperor and Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth, which, for that to the learned they are both commodious and profitable, at the end of this Hiſtory I thought good to place.

*Fredericus* Imper. *Innocent* 4. Papæ.

*Fata monent, ſtellæque docent, avisumque volatus,*
*Totius ſubito malleus orbis ero:*
Roma *diu titubans longis erroribus acta*
*Corruet, & mundi deſinet eſſe caput.*

*Innocent.* Papa *Frederico* Imper.

*Fata ſilent, ſtellæque tacent, nil prædicat ales,*
*Solius eſt proprium noſſe futura Dei:*
*Niteris incaſſum navem ſubmergere* Petri:
*Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.*
*Fama refert, ſcriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,*
*Quæ tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit:*
*Quod divina manus potuit, ſenſit* Julianus,
*Tu ſuccedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.*
*Fre. fremit in mundo, de. deprimit alta profundo,*
*Ri. mala rimatur, cuſ. cuſpide cuncta minatur.*

*Fredericus* Innocentio.

*Fata monent, ſtellæque docent, avisumque volatus,*
*Lapſurum te mox ad ſtygis antra nigræ:*
*Cymba* Petri *non eſt, ſed Chriſti, quæ natat undis*
*Fluctuat, at nuſquam mergitur illa ratis.*
*Fama refert, tua ſcripta docent, peccata nefanda*
*Interitum oſtendunt, exitiumque tuum.*

Frederick ſheweth himſelf no enemy, but a friend to the Church of *Rome*.

Self do, ſelf have, the Proverb is.

*Strangulæ*

{KING Hen. 3} *Strangulat* Adrianum *muſca; annon ira tonantis*
*Cogitat, & de te ſumere ſupplicium?*
*Carcere ſuſpendit ſeſe Benedictus, & alter*
*In ſtupro captus, ſaucius enſe perit.*
*Sylveſtrum extinguit Satan ſceleratior ipſe:*
*Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.*
*Innocuum te voce notas, cum ſis nociturus*
*Orbi terrarum Chriſtidhoque gregi.*

*Fredericus* Innocentio de integro.

*Eſſes ſi membrum, non te caput orbis & urbis*
*Factares, cum ſis orbis & urbis onus.*
*Nunc membrum non es, ſed putre cadaver & ulcus,*
*Enſe recidenum, ridiculumque caput.*
*A Daniele Ὀβδελυγμα, nefaſque caputque malorum*
*Diceris, a* Paulo *filius exitii.*
*Nos ſolum Chriſtum noſtrum caput eſſe: malorum*
*Totius orbis te caput eſſe facis.*
*Et caput eſt unum, quod* Paulus *dicit ubique;*
*Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?*
*Corporis ergo caput monſtroſi, monſtra pariſque,*
*Monſtra paris Monachos, ſcorta nefanda foves.*
*Eſt tua Religio ſtuprum, ira, ſuperbia, cædes,*
*Error, deliciæ, fulmina, turpe lucrum.*
*Ex his ergo liquet Chriſtum te ſpernere: Chriſto*
*Hoſtem eſſe inviſum, dedecorique Deo.*
*Rex tandem veniet Cælo delapſus ab alto,*
*Tunc non defendent te, ſacra miſſa, cruces;*
*Non in ſublimi ſurgentes vertice criſtæ,*
*Non diploma potens, non tua ſacra cohors.*
*Nec diadema triplex, nec ſedes ſanguine parta,*
*Nullus honos ſolii, purpura nulla tui:*
*Triginta argenteis Chriſtum vendebat* Iudas,
*Tu Chriſti vendis corpora plura tui.*
*Corpora tu vendis Chriſti parvo ære, polumque,*
*Cæleſtes genios, ſidera, jura, Deos.*

Certain Preachers in *Suevia.*

As ye have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the Popiſh-Church againſt their lawful Emperor; ſo now ſhall ye hear (Chriſt willing) how God beginneth to reſiſt and withſtand the corruption of that Whoriſh-Church, by ſtirring up certain faithful Teachers in ſundry Countries; as in the Country of *Suevia* about the time of this Emperor, *Anno* 1240. or near upon the ſame; where were many Preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle of *Urſpergenſis*, and alſo in *Crantzius*, *lib.* 8. *cap.* 16. & 18. which preached freely againſt the Pope. Theſe Preachers (as *Crantzius* ſaith) ringing the Bells, and calling the Barons in *Hallis* of *Suevia*, there preached that the Pope was an Heretick, and that his Biſhops and Prelates were Simoniacks and Hereticks; and that the inferior Prieſts and Prelates had no authority to bind and looſe, but were all Seducers. *Item*, that no Pope, Biſhop or Prieſt could reſtrain men from their duty of ſerving and worſhipping of God, and therefore ſuch Cities or Countries, as were then under the Popes Curſe, might notwithſtanding lawfully reſort to the receiving of Sacraments as well as before. *Item*, that Fryers, *Dominick* and *Franciſcan*, did ſubvert the Church with their preaching. And that the Indulgence of the Pope and his Popelings was of no regard; but that remiſſion which they did preach unto them, they preached it not from the Pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appear how the reſiſting of the Popes uſurped Power and corrupt Doctrine is no new thing in theſe days in the Church of Chriſt, &c.

*Ex chro. Abbat. Urſperg. Cranz. lib. 8. cap. 16. & 18.*

Reſiſtance againſt the Pope no new thing in Chriſts Church.

*Arnoldus de nova villa condemned of hereſie.*

And not long after theſe aforeſaid, roſe up *Arnoldus De nova villa*, a *Spaniard*, and a man famouſly learned and a great Writer, *Anno* 1250. whom the Pope with his Spiritualty condemned among Hereticks for holding and writing againſt the corrupt Errors of the Popiſh-Church. His teaching was, that Satan had ſeduced the world from the Truth of Chriſt Jeſus. *Item*, that the Faith (which then Chriſtian-men were commonly taught) was ſuch a Faith as the Devils had; meaning belike, as we now affirm, that the Papiſts do teach only the Hiſtorical Faith, which is the Faith *Hiſtoriæ*, *non fiduciæ*. *Item*, that Chriſtian-people (meaning belike, for the moſt part) are led by the Pope unto Hell. *Item*, that all Clotterers are void of Charity and damned; and that they all do falſifie the Doctrine of Chriſt. *Item*, that the Divines do evil in mixing Philoſophy with Divinity. *Item*, that Maſſes are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to ſacrifice for the dead. Certain other Opinions there be, which the ſlanderous Sects of Monks and Fryers do attribute unto him; but (as they are wont in all others to do) rather upon envious taking, than of any juſt cauſe given.

*Vide librum de teſtibus veritatis.*

*Johannes Semeca* the Gloſs-writer of the Popes Decrees Excommunicated.

And as this *Arnoldus* was condemned, ſo alſo the ſame time *Johannes Semeca*, the Gloſs-writer of the Popes Decrees, and Provoſt of *Halberſtat* was excommunicated and deprived of his Provoſtſhip, for reſiſting Pope *Clement* the Fourth, gathering certain Exactions in *Germany*; and therefore he appealed from the Pope to a General-Council, and had many great Favourers on his ſide, till at laſt both the Pope and he died.

*Gulielmus de S. Amore.*

Conſequently in this order and number followeth the worthy and valiant Champion of Chriſt, and Adverſary of Antichriſt *Gulielmus de S. Amore*, a Maſter of *Paris*, and chief Ruler then of that Univerſity. This *Gulielmus* in his time had no ſmall ado writing againſt the Fryers, and their Hypocriſie, but eſpecially againſt the begging-Fryers, both condemning their whole Order, and alſo accuſing them, as thoſe that did diſturb and trouble all the Churches of Chriſt by their preaching in Churches againſt the will of the Ordinaries and Paſtors, by their hearing of Confeſſions, and executing the charges of Curates and Paſtors in their Churches. All the Teſtimonies of Scripture that make againſt *Antichriſt*, he appleth them againſt the Clergy of Prelates, and the Popiſh Spiritualty. The ſame *Gulielmus* is thought to be the Author of the Book, which is attributed to the School of *Paris*, and intituled, *De periculis Eccleſiæ*: where he proveth by nine and thirty Arguments, that Fryers be falſe Apoſtles.

The place of the Goſpel expounded, *Go and ſell all and come follow me.*

Moreover, he doth well expound this ſaying of Chriſt (*If thou wilt be perfect, go and ſell away all thou haſt, and come follow me*) declaring there, poverty to be injoyned us of Chriſt, *Non actualem, ſed habitualem*; not in ſuch ſort as ſtandeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but inward affection of heart when need ſhall require. As though the meaning and Precept of our Lord were not, that we ſhould caſt away actually all that we have; but that, when the Confeſſion of the Name of God and the Glory of Chriſt ſhall ſo require, then we be ready to leave and relinquiſh what things ſoever for the ſake of him, &c. As when he requireth in us after the like phraſe, hatred of Father and Mother, and of our own lives, he biddeth us not to diſhonour Father or Mother, much leſs to hate them; but that then, when caſe ſhall require, we ſet all things behind the love of Chriſt. Many other worthy Works he compiled, wherein albeit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet notwithſtanding he was by *Antichriſt* and his Rabble condemned for an Heretick, exiled, and his Books burnt; whoſe heretical Arguments, as they called them, that thou mayſt better judge thereof, hereunder I thought good to place.

*Gulielm. de S. Amore* condemned of the Pope for an Hereſtick.

Againſt falſe Prophets with ſigns to know them by, theſe his words do follow: *For becauſe theſe Seducers* (ſaith he) *name themſelves to be Apoſtles, and ſay that they are ſent of God to preach, to abſolve and diſpence with the Souls of men, by means of their Miniſtery, read the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his ſecond Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *Chap.* 11. For ſuch Apoſtles are ſubtil and crafty Workmen, diſguiſing themſelves to be like the Apoſtles of Chriſt. *Therefore, we mean to ſhew ſome certain infallible Tokens and probable, by the which falſe Apoſtles may be diſcerned from the true Preachers and Apoſtles of Chriſt.*

The firſt ſign and token to know a falſe Fryer and Prophet by.

The firſt ſign or mark is, that ſuch as be true Preachers do not enter into ſimple Womens houſes laden with ſin, and take them as it were captive, as many of the falſe Preachers do; as in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to *Timothy* the third Chapter is manifeſt, ſaying, *Of thoſe ſorts are they, which enter into Womens houſes, &c.* Therefore thoſe Preachers which come into Womens houſes, to the intent they may take them captive, be not true Preachers, but falſe Apoſtles.

True Preachers do not deceive men with painted flattering words.

The ſecond ſign and token is, that thoſe that be true Preachers do not deceive ſimple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they preſer their own Traſh and Tradition, as all falſe Prophets do, as in the laſt Chapter to the *Romans* appeareth, ſaying, *By their pleaſant*

*pleaſant and ſugred talk, and by their bleſſing and croſſing they deceive and beguil the hearts of innocent men and women*, Gloſſ. Which gay glorious words they extol and ſet forth their Traditions, whereby they deceive ſimple men. Very greatly do they deceive the Souls of ſimple men, which cauſe them to enter into their Sect, which they term Religion. And they which before led a naughty life, by reaſon of their ignorance or ſimplicity, after their entrance, become ſubtil and falſe deceiving Hypocrites, entring together with the reſt into poor mens houſes; yea, and oftentimes become worſe than the others. Whereupon, *Mat.* 22. *Woe be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, Hypocrites, which go about, &c.* Therefore they which do this, are no true Meſſengers, but falſe Apoſtles.

The third ſign is, that the true Apoſtles, if they be reproved, ſuffer the ſame patiently, 2 *Cor.* 12. ſaying, *The Tokens of my Apoſtleſhip are accompliſhed among you, in all patience and ſufferance*, meaning that patience, which pertaineth to the manners of the Preachers. Therefore they, which ſuffer not correction or puniſhment, be no true Apoſtles, but rather ſhew themſelves to be no *Chriſtians* at all, 1 *Cor.* 12. *No man can ſay that Jeſus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghoſt*, Gloſſ. It is meet that *Chriſtians* ſhould be humbled, to the intent that they may ſuffer themſelves to be reproved, and not to be holden up with Yea and Nay. And alſo ſuch men do ſhew themſelves to be carnal, and not ſpiritual at all, although they fain themſelves to be ſpiritual, *Gal.* 3. *Therefore am I become an enemy unto you.* Notwithſtanding the *Gloſs* ſaith, *No carnal man will be reproved although he err.* Wherefore, thoſe Preachers which ſuffer not correction, ſeem not to be true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The third ſign is, that true Apoſtles take in good part when they be reproved

The fourth ſign is, that true Apoſtles commend not themſelves, 2 *Cor.* 4. *For we dare not join our ſelves, nor yet compare our ſelves unto others which commend and boaſt of many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all.* Alſo true Preachers, although they be indeed praiſe-worthy for their good deſerts, in the conſciences of men are they praiſe-worthy, and not to the outward ſhew alone, 2 *Cor.* 3. *We commend our ſelves* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *to the conſciences of all men.* Then they do not commend themſelves in compariſon of others. Wherefore the *Gloſs* ſaith upon the ſame place, *Thoſe, that deſerve no Commendation, but in compariſon of other, do challenge to themſelves other mens deſerts and praiſe.* Wherefore in the ſecond Epiſtle of Saint *Peter* the laſt Chapter, it is ſaid, *Even as our welbeloved Brother* Paul, *according to the Wiſdom that God hath given unto him, hath written unto you*, Gloſſ. The chiefeſt of the Apoſtles hath here forgotten his Papal Authority, and alſo his Keys that were delivered unto him; for he is aſtonied as it were at the great wiſdome given unto his Brother *Paul*. For indeed it is the manner of the Elect Children of God, to be more in love with the vertues of other men, than with their own. Wherefore in the ſecond Chapter to the *Philippians* it is written, *Let thoſe that are Superiors eſteem of themſelves in all humility.* They therefore that do the contrary, ſaying, *That their ſtate or doings be better than other mens, although they be Preachers, yet are they no true Apoſtles indeed, but falſe Prophets.*

The fourth ſign is, that true Preachers commend not themſelves.

The fifth ſign is, that true Preachers need no Commendation; nor yet deſire to have themſelves praiſed of men, as in the 2 *Cor.* 3. the Apoſtle ſaith, *We need not the Letters of Commendation of any man*; that is to ſay, of falſe Prophets.

The fifth ſign is, that true Preachers need no letters commendatory.

The ſixth ſign is, that true Apoſtles do not preach unleſs they be ſent, as in the 10. Chap. to the *Romans*, *How ſhall they preach, unleſs they be ſent?* There be no true Apoſtles, but thoſe that be ſent: for they have no need of ſigns which are true Witneſs-bearers, but thoſe that be not ſent and do preach are falſe Prophets.

The ſixth ſign is, that true Apoſtles preach not unleſs they be ſent.

The ſeventh ſign is, forſomuch as falſe Prophets have their authority in their own names; wherefore in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* it is written, *For we dare not boaſt of our ſelves, or make compariſon*, Gloſſ. That is to ſay, with thoſe that be falſe Prophets, not taking their authority from God, but uſurping the ſame, deſirous to bear Rule, claiming in their own name their authority. And therefore although peradventure by preſumption they ſay that they are ſent of God, as all Hereticks will ſay; yet notwithſtanding, unleſs they ſhall prove their ſending either by ſpiritual Propheſie, as *John Baptiſt* did, ſaying, *I am the Voice of a Cryer in the Deſert*; as out of the Prophet *Eſay* in the firſt Chapter of Saint *Johns* Goſpel is alledged; or elſe by Miracles, as *Moſes* did, which turned his Rod into a Serpent, and again, from a Serpent to a Rod, as in the ſeventh Chapter of *Exodus*; they ought for to be excommunicated, till ſuch time as they ceaſe from preaching. Yet notwithſtanding, a Miracle ought not to be a ſufficient teſtimony of their ſending, forſomuch as they be done oftentimes and that of evil and wicked men, 1. *q.* 1. we may perceive towards the end. But Miracles ought to be ſuſpected, forſomuch as our Saviour ſaith in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, *Then ſhall falſe Prophets ariſe, &c.* Therefore they which do challenge authority in their own name, forſomuch as they have not their authority from God, they are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Preachers.

The ſeventh ſign is, when thoſe falſe Prophets preach, that were never ſent.

{KING Hen. 3}

The eighth ſign is, that falſe Prophets, pretending great Wiſdom and Holineſs to be in Superſtition, have named their own Traditions to be Religion, the which are rather to be counted Sacriledge or Church-Robbery, and do uſurp unto themſelves, for the deſerts of other men, by boaſting and bragging among ſtrange and unknown people. Wherefore the Apoſtle ſpeaking of falſe Prophets in the ſecond Chapter to the *Coloſſians*, ſaith, *According to the Precepts of men, which having a face of wiſdom conſiſt in Superſtition, interlaced with humility*, Gloſſ. That is to ſay, mingled with fained Religion, that it might be called Religion, when in very deed it is nothing elſe but Sacriledge, becauſe it is contrary to all authority; that is contrary to God himſelf, that any man ſhould deſire to have Government of a multitude without publick commandment, as in *Deuteronomium* the three and twentieth Chapter, *Thou haſt entred into thy Neighbours Vineyard*, Gloſſ. That is to ſay, Into the Church of another Biſhop. May a man warn and admoniſh others, or elſe correct that Congregation which is not lawful for him to govern, nor yet to take ſo great a charge on him? No. And that it is not lawful to enter into another Biſhops Dioceſs, it is apparent, becauſe it is not lawful for the Archbiſhop ſo to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, 6. *q.* 3. And alſo it is written 9. *q.* 2. throughout Therefore thoſe Preachers, which againſt God and his Divine Scriptures do call their own Traditions Religion, are not Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The eighth ſign is, that falſe Preachers pretend great Holineſs in Superſtition

The ninth ſign is, by the authority which they have: for although they be no Preachers of the Goſpel or Miniſters of the Sacraments, yet they will live by the Goſpel, and not by the labour of their own hands, againſt the Text in the 2 *Theſſ.* 3. *Neither have we eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free coſt*, Gloſſ. Then thoſe falſe Prophets ought much more to live by their labour, which have not that authority which we ought to have; that is to ſay, to live by the Goſpel. And S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of this more expreſſly in his Book *De opere Monachorum*, by theſe words; Thoſe our Brethren do claim to themſelves (very raſhly as me thinketh) that they have any ſuch authority, to live by the Goſpel. If they be Preachers of the Goſpel, I grant that indeed they have ſuch authority; if they be Miniſters of the Altar, if they be diſpoſers of the Sacraments, they cannot well but take to themſelves this authority, as alſo manifeſtly to challenge the ſame; if at the leaſt they have not wherewithall to ſuſtain this preſent life, without labour of their hands. As though he would have ſaid, If they be not ſuch manner of men, then have they no authority to live by the Goſpel. Therefore thoſe Preachers which have no authority to live by the Goſpel, or elſe Miniſter the Sacraments, becauſe they have no Congregation whereby to take charge of Souls, and yet for all that will needs live upon the Goſpel; they be no true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The ninth ſign is, that when they neither preach nor miniſter, yet they live upon other mens labours.

The tenth ſign is, that falſe Teachers rejoyce more to be commended themſelves, than that the word of God ſhould have the commendation and praiſe. But they that are true Preachers and Apoſtles are far otherwiſe minded, as to the *Theſſ.* 2. *Not ſeeking the praiſe of men, &c.* And herein he toucheth thoſe falſe Prophets, which deſire rather to be commended themſelves, than that the word of God which they preach ſhould have the commendation:

The tenth ſign is, that falſe Prophets take that to them which pertaineth to the word of God.

but

{KING Hen. 8} but he is an Apoſtle, which not ſeeking the glory of this preſent world, but for the glory to come, doth abaſe himſelf, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which deſire to have praiſe and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God ſhould have the praiſe, be no true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The eleventh ſign is, that true Apoſtles do preach only for Gods cauſe, and for the health of Souls, and for no Temporal gain, as in the 2 *Cor.* 4. ſaying, *We preach not our ſelves, &c.* Gloſſa. Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gain, but only to the glory of Chriſt. But the preaching of Chriſt, by thoſe that are falſe Prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in the *Philip.* 1. is ſaid, *Whoſoer it be upon occaſion given, or elſe for the veritie ſake, let Chriſt be preached, &c.* Gloſſa. Falſe Prophets do preach the Goſpel upon ſome occaſion, as either by ſeeking ſome commodity at the hands of men, or elſe becauſe of getting goods, honour, or praiſe among men. Which notwithſtanding that they be ready and willing, as it ſhould ſeem, to bear and ſuſtain Injuries; yet they ſeek not ſo much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their own commodity and gain. Whereupon, 2 *Corinth.* 12. *Becauſe I ſeek not the things that be yours*; that is to ſay, not your Treaſure, as gold and ſilver, *but only you your ſelves*, Gloſſa. For otherwiſe it could by no means be gathered that they ſhould underſtand him to ſpeak or mean of their ſubſtance, becauſe he more eſteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might underſtand his great good will towards them. Therefore theſe evil and naughty Preachers which preach for wordly gain or honour, or elſe for the praiſe and commendation of men, be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets. But it may be asked, how ſhall men underſtand when theſe good Fellows preach for their own vainglory ſake? It may be anſwered thus, When they preach before they be called, as in the 2 *Cor.* 11. *Whoſoever boaſteth, let him boaſt and rejoyce in the Lord*, Gloſſa. Which thing he can not by any means do that hath not his Authority from God. For if any ſuch Prophet preach, he ſeeketh his own glory, and that may eaſily be perceived. Becauſe he is not called of God, he hath no ſuch Authority of him; that is to ſay, of his Church or Congregation, as to the *Heb.* 7. *No man taketh to himſelf any dignity, but he that is called of God, as* Aaron *was*, Gloſſa. He is called of God, that is, lawfully choſen of the Congregation.

The twelfth ſign or token of a falſe Prophet is, becauſe ſuch Prophets do counterfeit themſelves to have greater care and love to mens Souls, than thoſe that be their very Governors and Paſtors have, although they have no charge at all of them; againſt whom the Gloſs ſpeaketh, and the 1 *Theſ.* 2. *We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the Nurſe which giveth her Child ſuck*, Gloſſa. A woman nurſeth other mens Children for wages, and not for love alone; but ſhe giveth her own ſuck of very love without reſpect of money. Therefore thoſe Preachers which fain themſelves to have a greater love and affection to the Souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, ſeem not to be true Apoſtles. The Apoſtles ſtudy not for Eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but falſe Prophets do them both, as in the 2 *Cor.* 11. *If the ſimple and uneloquent man, &c.* Gloſſa. The Apoſtles were not eloquent, but falſe Prophets are full of curious Eloquence. Alſo upon the ſame another gloſs, The *Corinthians* were led away from the Goſpel by over-nice Eloquence, 2 *Cor.* 7. *Let us ſhew our ſelves before all men as the Miniſters of God*, Gloſſa. The Miniſters of God do not flatter as falſe Prophets do. And for this occaſion thoſe that be true Apoſtles have not their abiding in Princes Courts and Noblemens houſes, knowing this ſaying of Chriſt in S. *Matthews* Goſpel, *Behold, thoſe that are clothed with Silks dwell in Kings Courts.* And therefore true Apoſtles are not converſant in Princes Courts, and Noblemens houſes, *Gloſſa.* Hard and ſtrict life with the preaching of the Goſpel loveth not to come near Princes Palaces, and Noblemens houſes. Oftentimes it cometh to paſs that Courtiers are found great Flatterers, therefore thoſe Preachers that have their abode in Princes Courts, or that in any other place do uſe to flatter, are no true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The thirteenth ſign is, that true Apoſtles or Meſſengers do not circumvent or ſubtilly go about to deceive men, that they ſhould give unto them their goods, either in their life-time, or elſe at the time of their death, as in the 2 *Cor.* 7. *We have falſly deceived no man*, Gloſſa. By the ſubtil and deceitful getting away of your ſubſtance, as falſe Prophets do, which get away from you thoſe things that be yours under pretence of great Friendſhip. Alſo *Mat.* 2. *Woe be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, you Hypocrites, which ſpoil widows houſes by your long prayers*; which mean nothing elſe by your Superſtition, but that you may ſpoil and rob the people, as *Luke* 20. *Which devour widows houſes by diſſembling of your long prayer*, Gloſſa. The which make over-long prayers, to the intent they may ſeem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all ſuch as be ſick and troubled with the burthen of their ſins; whoſe prayers be turned into ſin, which neither are profitable for themſelves nor any other, but rather ſhall have for making thoſe prayers greater damnation, forſomuch as by the ſame they deceive others: for by this, that they receive and take, both gold and ſilver, it appeareth that they preach not for Souls health ſake, but only for filthy lucre and gain ſake, *Mat.* 10. *Be ye Poſſeſſors neither of gold nor ſilver*, Gloſſa. If they then have theſe things, they cannot ſeem or be thought to preach for the health of the Soul, but for lucres ſake. And ſo ſaith *Hierome* upon the Prophet *Malachi*, Becauſe ſome Prophets took money their Prophetie became Divination; that is to ſay, their Propheſie appeared not to be Propheſie, but Divination, or Inchantment: that is, that ſuch Propheſie proceedeth not from God, but from the Devil. And this appeareth in 1. *q.* 1. having this beginning, *Nunquam Divinatio, &c.* Therefore thoſe Preachers which circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they ſhould give them their goods, either in their life-time, or after their death, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The fourteenth ſign is, that falſe Prophets when any Verity is preached, which for the moſt part they are not acquainted withall, or that toucheth them, then begin they to chaſe and bark againſt the ſame. Whereupon the Apoſtle in the third Chapter to the *Philipians* ſaith, *Behold the Dogs, &c.* Gloſſa. Underſtand you that they are not Dogs by nature, but by their uſage and conditions, barking againſt the Truth, which they were never acquainted with. And ſo he compareth them right well to Dogs, becauſe Dogs follow rather cuſtom than reaſon: ſo falſe Apoſtles do keep the cuſtom of the Law, and do bite and bark againſt the Truth, as though they were without the gift of reaſon. And alſo in the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, the fourth Chapter, ſaying, *They get them Inſtructors according to their own deſires*, Gloſſa. Which may teach them what things they themſelves are willing to hear, becauſe the Truth ſeemeth nothing pleaſant unto them. Therefore thoſe Preachers which bark againſt the late revealed Truth, which toucheth them very near, and therefore cauſe the ſame to be hidden and kept under, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The fifteenth ſign is, that the true Apoſtles do not inforce any to receive or hear them which be unwilling thereunto, but ſend them away rather, leſt they ſhould ſeem to ſeek after ſome earthly and tranſitory thing, *Mat.* 10. *Whoſoever will not receive you, get you out of that City, and ſhake the duſt from off your feet, &c.* Gloſſa. That you may thereby ſhew that the deſire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore thoſe Preachers which ſtrive and wreſtle (as it were) to the intent they would be received and heard, are no true Apoſtles, forſomuch as the Apoſtle ſaith, 1 *Corin.* 11. *If any man appear among you to be over-contentious or full of ſtrife, ſuch cuſtom have we none, nor yet the Congregation of Chriſt.*

The ſixteenth ſign is, that the Apoſtles did not procure the Indignation of thoſe Princes, with whom they were eſteemed and regarded, againſt ſuch perſons as would not receive them and hear them, according as we read in the life of *Simon* and *Jude*, the Apoſtles. The chief Ruler, being very angry, commanded a very great fire to be made, that the Biſhops might be caſt into the ſame, and all others which went about to defame the Doctrine of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. But the Apoſtles fell

The eleventh ſign is, that falſe Prophets do preach for gain, and not for Gods cauſe.

The twelfth ſign is, that falſe Prophets do counterfeit love where they have.

The thirteenth ſign is, that falſe Prophets do circumvent men to have their goods, and care for nothing elſe

The fourteenth ſign is, that falſe Prophets cannot abide to have the truth preached.

The fifteenth ſign is, that falſe Prophets do inforce them to hear that are not willing to hear.

The ſixteenth ſign is, that falſe Prophets do cauſe errinces to hate and puniſh them that will not hear them.

fell down before the Emperor, saying, *We beseech you Sir, let not us be the Authors or Causers of this destruction or calamity; nor let us which are sent to be the preservation of Men, and to revive those that are dead through Sin, be killers of those that be alive.* Therefore those Preachers which seek to stir up the displeasure of Princes against them (whose favours now they enjoy) that will not receive and hear them, or rather whom they themselves hate, are no true Apostles, but false Prophets.

**The seventeenth sign is,that false Prophets do not know neither what God hath done, or yet will do, as true Prophets do.**

The seventeenth sign is, that the Apostles of Christ have not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in the *Apocalypse* 3. Chapter, *The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before*, Glossa. Obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the World. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the Church in the later time which are prophesied before, or that they care not for them, or else if they know them, they have not eyes behind and before, are no true Apostles; therefore what time as they call themselves Apostles, they are false Prophets.

**The eighteenth sign is, that false Prophets do Preach for Money, and are not to be discerned from Wolves.**

The eighteenth sign is, that true Apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they Preach, whereby they are discerned from Wolves, that is to say, from false Prophets, *Act.* 20. *I have desired no mans gold nor silver*, Glossa. By this are Wolves discerned, for they desire such things. And again in the same place; *For those things which I have need of, and those which were with me, these hands have ministred*, Glossa. This example also of labouring is a Spectacle for Bishops whereby they are discerned from Wolves. For such as ask or beg of those to whom they Preach, or set any other to ask or beg in their names, do seem to commit Simony, like *Gehazi*, of whom it is read in the 2. Book of *Kings* the fifth Chapter, that he craved certain apparel of *Naaman* the *Syrian*, to whom his Master *Elizeus* had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those Garments unwitting to his Master. Whereupon *Gregory Nazianzen* saith, 1. *q*. 1. *Qui isti debetur*. But some Man perhaps will say, Cannot the Preacher ask Money or Money-worth of those to whom he Preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered; If the Preacher by Authority Preach and feed his flock as a true Pastor with the food of Gods word, he may take money or money worth; but then it is not begging or craving, but it is by Authority, as the 2 to *Timothy* 2. Chapter. *It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and after others receive the commodity of his increase.* Glossa. He putteth the Vertuous Preacher out of doubt, not Preaching for that intent to make Merchandize of the Gospel, and giveth him to understand, that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock, what things soever he hath need of, and doth it not in begging or craving, but by good Authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the Preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the Apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of *Salomon* and S.*Augustine*, and reproved by divers other Holy Men. Therefore it is manifest that the true Apostles do not desire the Temporal goods of them to whom they Preach, neither do they beg or crave the same. They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they Preach, or else set any other man to ask for them, or in their names, do not seem to be true Apostles, but false Preachers.

**If the Preacher do his duty in Preaching, he may take lawfully for his necessary things.**

**The nineteenth sign is,that true Apostles do not render evil for good, as false do.**

The nineteenth sign is, that true Apostles are patient in Tribulation, neither do they render evil for good, *Matth.* 10. *Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves.* Glossa. They, that occupy the place of Preaching, ought not to procure any evil toward their Brethren, as the example of Christ Teacheth, 1 *Pet*. 2. saying; *Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but did submit himself to him that judgeth justly.* They therefore that suffer not injury, but rather do wrong themselves, are not true Apostles, but false Apostles.

**The twentieth sign is, that true Apostles are not so well intertained as false Prophets be.**

The twentieth sign is, that true Apostles at their first coming are evil entertained, as the Lord saith in the 24 of *Mat. Ye shall be hated of all men for my names sake.* But yet at the length such get the victory, according to that saying of first the of S.*John* the 5. Chapter; *Every thing that is of God overcometh the world.* They therefore that in the beginning rejoyce and are well intertained, but in the end are rejected, seem not to be true Apostles, but false.

**The twenty first sign is, that true Preachers build not upon any other mans foundation.**

The twenty first sign is, that true Preachers go not to Preach unto those which have Preachers appointed unto them, because they have not to rejoyce of a company belonging to another mans charge, as to the *Romans* the 15. Chapter. *I have preached the Gospel where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build upon another mans foundation.* And in the second Epistle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, the 10. Chapter, he saith; *We are no boasters, nor busie in other mens matters.* Glossa. Where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same Chapter; Not having pleasure to boast of other mens labours, that is to say, of those which be committed to the government of another man. Likewise *Augustinus* saith; Honour ought to seek thee, and not thou Honour. Also *Chrysostom*; Authority is in love with such a Man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and have a desire to Preach unto the people committed to another Mans charge, which is an Office of Honour, especially in Councils, Synods, and great Assemblies, also in Kings and Princes Courts, and Prelates Palaces, are not true Apostles, but false Teachers.

**Authority loveth them that refuse her, and yet abhorr her not.**

**The twenty second sign is, that true Prophets are not proud and vain-glorious, as false Prophets, be.**

The twenty second sign is, that true Apostles, when they know themselves to do much good in the Church and Congregation of God, yet notwithstanding are not puffed up with pride; *Ezekiel* 3. *O son of man I have made thy face as an adamant stone.* The adamant stone, when it draweth Iron unto it, is not thereby either lifted up or altered. Likewise a true Preacher when he draweth sinners unto him by his Preaching (whose Hearts were as hard as Iron) is never the more lifted up or higher minded therefore. But as in *Luke* the 18. Chapter, *When ye have done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are unprofitable servants. Psal.* 115. *Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be given the glory.* They therefore that do arrogantly boast themselves of the fruit and benefit that they have done in the Church of God, saying; We have given light to the Universal Church, which was blind before our time, and we have put out the flame of sin in the Church of God (when perhaps they have more furthered hypocrisie than either truth or verity) they are not true Prophets but false, of whom it is spoken in the *Psalms*, *The mouth of them that speak proud things*, &c.

**The tw[...] third si[...] is, that [...] Prophe[...] always men-pl[...]sers.**

The twenty third sign is, that true Apostles do not seek the favour of the World, nor yet how to please men, as to the *Galath.* 1. *If I should please men*, that is to say, *if I had desired to please men, I should not be the servant of God.* Whereupon to *Timothy* the first Epistle and second Chapter; *Not as men-pleasers*, Glossa. Seeking to please, because we have not the pleasing Spirit. Therefore those Preachers that seek the favour of the World, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true Apostles, but false.

**The twenty fourth sign is, that true Prophets eat what is set before them, and give God thanks, but that do not the false Prophets.**

The twenty fourth sign is, that true Apostles when they have meat and drink, they are contented, neither do they desire over-dainty fair, according to the saying of *Mat.* 10. Chapter. *Eating and drinking those things that are set before them*, Glossa. The Gospel condemneth not altogether costly and delicate fair, yet it so alloweth the same, that if we have meat and drink, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith content. Therefore those Preachers, which although that neither they be sent, nor have Authority to Preach, and yet are offended when they have not fine and delicate fair, are not true Apostles, but false Preachers.

**The twenty fifth sign is, the false Prophets do love more their own Estimation, than that the word of God should be truly taught.**

The twenty fifth sign is, that true Apostles do love more the Law of God than their own Estimation amongst their Neighbours, according to that in the 7. Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *keep my Law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same upon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart.* Whereupon in the 119. *Psalm*, *The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver*, Glossa. Charity doth more love the Law of God, than the desire of gold and silver a thousand Fold. He therefore that seeth the Gospel of Christ trodden under foot, which is the Eternal glad tidings, to be taken

away

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The twenty ſixth ſign is, That falſe Prophets are not contented with neceſſary things, but look after ſuperfluous.

The twenty ſixth ſign is, That true Apoſtles ſeek not after ſuch fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather ſuch homely reſting places where they may have neceſſary things for themſelves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of ſuch whom they ſee to be ſo ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleaſure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the ſame. According to that in the tenth of *Matthew*, ſaying, *Into what City or Town ſoever ye ſhall enter, inquire out thoſe that be of good report in the ſame, and abide you with them ſo long as you tarry in the ſame City or Town. Gloſſ.* Your Hoſt, with whom ye lodge, ought to be choſen by the good report of neighbours, leſt your preaching be evil ſpoken of, by reaſon of his infamy. Neither ought ſuch Men to run from Houſe to Houſe. *But whom ſhall we call worthy of good report? Gloſſ.* Him who knoweth better to do other Men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Chriſts cauſe, and not in reſpect of any commodity. Alſo true Apoſtles receive nothing of ſuch Men as lie weltering in their ſins, but rather of thoſe that are waſhed and cleanſed from their ſins, whereupon the 2 to the *Corinthians* the ſeventh Chapter, *They have given themſelves firſt to the Lord. Gloſſ.* Becauſe they now amending their old errors and vicious manners have vowed themſelves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their Brethren: for otherwiſe they ought not to have taken any thing of them, becauſe gifts do blind the eyes; but thoſe that give where there is no cauſe of reproof in their doings, have juſt cauſe to give. Therefore thoſe Preachers that ſeek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty Men that have this world at will, to the intent that thoſe Preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by ſubtilty, which give indeed to remove the ſhameleſs importunity of the craver, or elſe for avoiding of preſent ſhame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets, according to that in the 2 to the *Corinthians* the 9. Chapter, *The Lord doth love a willing giver, Gloſſ.* He that giveth for preſent ſhame, or elſe for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that asketh, doth loſe his ſubſtance and merit: wherefore he that hath reſpect to theſe things, doth not ſeek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift it ſelf, as the Apoſtle to the *Philippians* the 4*th.* Chapter, ſaith, *Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver.*

The twenty ſeventh ſign is, That falſe Prophets, whoſe Belly is their God.

The twenty ſeventh ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not endeavour themſelves to ſeek and enjoy the fruit of other Mens labours that they may be fed thereby, becauſe that the belly is ſuch Mens God, according to that in the 2 to the *Theſſalonians* the 3. Chapter, *We have heard of ſome amongſt you which walk inordinately, not labouring at all, but living delicately,* or *idly. Gloſſ.* Of other Mens labours, and deſerve they to be fed? The Diſcipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the Belly is their God, which provide to have more than neceſſary diſhes of meat. Therefore thoſe Preachers which ſo do, are no true Apoſtles, but falſe.

The twenty eighth ſign is, That falſe Prophets rejoyce not in miracles, as falſe Prophets do.

The twenty eighth ſign is, That true Apoſtles rejoyce only of the miracles or other excellent works, which the Lord doth by them; but they rejoyce rather of the ſalvation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing thoſe miracles they deſire any honour; according to that which is written in *Luke* the 10*th.* ſaying: *Rejoyce ye not for that the ſpirits be ſubject unto you, but becauſe your names are regiſtred in Heaven.* They therefore that boaſt of their own miracles, or of any that belong unto them, for this cauſe that they are ſaved by the doing of them, as many do ſay, ſeem not to be true Apoſtles, but falſe.

The twenty ninth ſign is, That falſe Prophets ſeek not their own glory, as falſe Prophets do.

The twenty ninth ſign is, That true Apoſtles do never ſeek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Chriſt; as in *John* 7. *He that ſpeaketh of himſelf doth ſeek his own glory, but he that ſeeketh the glory of him which ſent him* (that is, of whom he is ſent) *is a true Apoſtle.* Therefore thoſe which ſeek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be aſſiſtant to thoſe that bear rule and authority, according to that ſaying of *Boetius De conſolatione*; Thoſe that do deſire to be extolled, either they Reign and bear Rule themſelves, or elſe do deſire to be near about them that have ſuch dominion. Another is, They deſire to have the fame and victory of that which they have nothing at all deſerved before God, whereupon is written that ſaying of the Apoſtle, in *Gal.* 5. *Let not us become deſirous of vain glory. Gloſſ.* To be deſirous of vain glory, is to have victory without any merit or deſert; and thoſe, I ſay, that do ſuch things, ſeem not to be true Apoſtles, but falſe.

The thirtieth ſign is, That falſe Prophets do not force upon the ſolemn ſalutations of men, as falſe Prophets do.

The thirtieth ſign is, That true Apoſtles care not for the ſolemnities of Men, neither their ſalutations, nor feaſtings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which love and ſeek the company and fellowſhip of Men, their feaſtings, and other their commodities, do not ſeem to be true Apoſtles, but falſe.

The one and thirtieth ſign is, That falſe Prophets reſort to other mens boards and flatter them for a meals meat, which true Prophets do not.

The one and thirtieth ſign is, That falſe Prophets reſort not to other Mans Table, being given to idleneſs, cannot chuſe to flatter him which feedeth him; but Chriſt's Religion calleth Men to liberty and to no ſuch bondage: they therefore that reſort oftentimes, and that of their own minds, to other Mens Tables (living idlely) are not true Apoſtles, but falſe.

The two and thirtieth ſign is, That falſe Prophets do hate their enemies, as the falſe Prophets do.

The two and thirtieth ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not hate their enemies, and ſuch as hate them; which Doctrine the Lord taught, *Matthew* the fifth, ſaying: *Love your enemies, do well to them which hate you*; but falſe Prophets do hurt and defame their Neighbours, according as *Jeremiah* 14. ſaith, *The Prophets of Jeruſalem have defiled the whole earth, Gloſſ.* They are not contented to hurt their Neighbours only, but alſo whom they before this time have hated, they defame and ſpeak evil of in every place they come: therefore thoſe Preachers which hate them whom they think are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Preachers.

The thirty third ſign is, That falſe Prophets do not perſecute men as the falſe Prophets do.

The thirty third ſign is, That falſe Prophets, when they are examined and proved whether they be true Apoſtles or liers, take that very grievouſly, and perſecute all thoſe that can prove them to be ſo, and alſo do ſtir up and provoke others to perſecute the ſame Men, which alſo joyn themſelves together by ſecular power, even as certain falſe Prophets did in the Primitive Church againſt the Biſhop of *Epheſus*, to whom the Lord ſaid, *Apoc.* 2. *I know, that is to ſay, I do allow thy works and thy labour*; that is, thy tribulation, becauſe thou canſt not away with thoſe that be evil men. *Gloſſ.* But that thou haſt a deſire to amend them, or elſe to expel them, and haſt examined thoſe which ſay, that they are. Apoſtles, and are but liars, and alſo haſt ſuffered this patiently. *Gloſſ.* The evils which theſe falſe Prophets, joyned together by ſecular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The thirty fourth ſign is, That falſe Prophets preach to thoſe which be not yet converted, which the falſe Prophets do not.

The thirty fourth ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not Preach to thoſe which are converted already by other Men, but rather do convert thoſe which are not yet converted, leſt that they ſhould build upon another Mans foundation, as S. *Paul*, *Romans* 15. ſaith, *I have laboured ſo, that from* Jeruſalem *to* Illyricus, *I have repleniſhed the Goſpel in every place. Gloſſ.* That is, I have preached the ſame abundantly, in whom the great vertue of the Holy Ghoſt appeareth, becauſe ſo many Nations, that is, the Gentiles have received the Goſpel by me preaching.

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But I have preached the Goſpel there where Chriſt was not preached before, leſt I ſhould build upon another mans foundation, *Gloſſ.* I ſhould not preach to thoſe that were converted by another Man. Alſo 2 *Cor.* 10. *We are not ſuch as boaſt and glory in other mens labours, Gloſſ.* Where another man laid the foundation, for that ſhould be to boaſt inordinately. Alſo in the ſame place, not thinking to boaſt where another man hath government, but in thoſe things which are put in experience, *Gloſſ.* Of other Preachers; Becauſe the Apoſtle did Preach to thoſe to whom the Goſpel was never preached, that he might get praiſe by his own proper labour. Therefore, thoſe preachers which go not to that people which have need to be converted, but to thoſe which are converted already, which have Apoſtles of their own, that is to ſay, Biſhops and Prieſts, and yet do boaſt over another mans flock, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The thirty fifth ſign is, That true Prophets chiefly preach in their own Dioceſs, and not in other mens.

The thirty fifth ſign is, Becauſe true Apoſtles, when they are ſent, go to their own Dioceſs, and not to another mans Dioceſs, even as *Paul* being ſent, went to the Gentiles when he purpoſed to preach, *Acts* 13. *Separate* Paul *and* Barnabas *for the buſineſs which I have choſen them unto: Gloſſ.* According to the appointment and decree of *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, went he forth to be a Teacher unto the Gentiles. But thoſe preachers that ſtand upon their feet, that is to ſay, thoſe Preachers which have but ſmall worldly ſubſtance, for which cauſe they are more ready to go which way ſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to ſend them, I ſay, the Lord hath ſent them to preach, not to thoſe that be ſufficiently learned, but to thoſe that are infidels, as we read in *Ezek.* 2. *After that, the Spirit of the Lord ſet Ezekiel upon his feet*, In quam ſpem ſitus unus tangitur, *and he ſaid unto him, O Son of Man, behold I ſent thee to the Nations which have ſtart back from their poſſeſſion, which have gone from me*, that is, to the *Jewiſh* Hereticks, and to thoſe Nations which ſometimes have been Chriſtians, as the *Egyptians*, the *Babylonians*, and all thoſe that obſerve the Law of *Mahomet*. Therefore, if ſuch go to thoſe that are already inſtructed, having both Apoſtles, Biſhops, and Prieſts of their own; they go not into their own Dioceſs, but into another mans Dioceſs, and are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, leſt the Church be in hazard and danger by ſuch, unleſs they be thruſt out of the ſame betime; even as *Jonas*, when he was ſent to *Niniby* of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the Hill, that is to the Infidels we ſpake of before: They go not to thoſe Infidels according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turn another way, take their journey into *Tharſis*, which is interpreted, ſeeking after joy and pleaſure; that is, they go unto thoſe which receive them with joy and gladneſs, and do well provide for them, that is to ſay, to godly and devout Chriſtians: and therefore it is to be feared, leſt the Ship in which they be (that is the Church) be in great peril, unleſs they be thrown forth. And therefore the Apoſtle ſpake of ſuch falſe Prophets not without good cauſe, 2 *Tim.* 2. *And ſhun thou thoſe: Gloſſ.* That is, ſuch men as thoſe be.

The thirty ſixth ſign is, That falſe Prophets do attribute to themſelves that which they never did.

The thirty ſixth ſign is, Becauſe true Apoſtles do not boaſt, neither do they attribute unto themſelves any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the ſame by them. *Paul*, *Rom.* 15. ſaith, *I dare not ſay any thing but that which Chriſt hath wrought and accompliſhed by me, Gloſſ.* That is, I ſpeak only thoſe things (which by me) that is, by my miniſtry Chriſt hath wrought. They therefore that boaſt of many things, and do attribute much unto themſelves which they never did, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The thirty ſeventh ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not cleave and lean to Logical and Philoſophical reaſons.

The thirty ſeventh ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not apply themſelves or lean at Logical or Philoſophical reaſons. Therefore thoſe Preachers which do indeavour themſelves to ſuch kind of reaſons, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The thirty eighth ſign is, That true Prophets do not hate carnally, but ſpiritually.

The Thirty eighth ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not love carnally, or after the fleſh, but hate what thing ſoever doth reſiſt them in the ſervice of God, as *Luke* 14. *He that doth not hate his Father and Mother, his Son and Siſter, and alſo himſelf, he cannot be my diſciple, Gloſſ.* That is, He that doth not hate whatſoever doth reſiſt or let him in the ſervice of God, is not worthy to be a Diſciple, neither can he abide in that Office. Therefore forſomuch as true Preachers are the true Diſciples of the Lord, it muſt needs follow that thoſe Preachers which do promote their Nephews and Kinſfolk (how unworthy ſoever they be) to Eccleſiaſtical promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the ſervice of God, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The thirty ninth ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not hunt for the friendſhip of this world, for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemy of God; therefore thoſe Preachers, which purchaſe the friendſhip of this world, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets. Therefore forſomuch as the Scripture is infallible, in the twenty fourth Chapter of *Matthew*, ſaying, *Heaven and Earth ſhall periſh, but my words ſhall indure for ever*; and the Holy Ghoſt which ſpake in the Apoſtles cannot lie; for Prophelie (for the moſt part) is not ſpoken by the will of Man, but the Holy Men of God ſpake by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, as it is read in the firſt Epiſtle of *Peter*, the firſt Chapter; it remaineth, That all Men which are bound to defend the Church, may riſe up in the defence of the ſame, according unto that in the 24. Chapter of the *Proverbs*; *deliver thoſe that are led to death, and ceaſe thou not to reſcue thoſe which are drawn to deſtruction.* Neither may he alledge vain accuſations, becauſe it is ſaid in the ſame place, If he ſay he is not able or ſtrong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of Mens hearts, ſhall know it, *&c.* Whatſoever periſheth in the Church of God for want of preachers, all that ſhall be demanded of them at the day of Judgment; as *Jacob* confeſſeth to *Laban*, whoſe Sheep he fed, *Geneſis* 31. *I did reſtore all the loſs, and that which was ſtoln I made anſwer for. I will demand his blood at thy hands*, Ezekiel 3. This is ſaid to the Paſtor or Prelate. But if the other things which we have ſpoken of before could not move the Prelates and Cardinals, this at the leaſt ſhould move them; becauſe that then the Spiritual power which doth conſiſt for the moſt part in the exerciſe of Preaching, in hearing Confeſſions, and enjoyning of Penance, ſhall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piecemeal doth the Wolf devour the poor and needy Man: 3. *Queſt. Chap.* 1. When the authority Eccleſiaſtical therefore ſhall be quite taken from them and diſpoſed to others, ſuch as either by their Order, or Apoſtolical grant do challenge to have the ſame; then doubtleſs ſhall neither the juriſdiction of Civil cauſes and pleadings, nor any authority that ſuch Prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the poſſeſſions of the temporal goods of the Church any longer remain amongſt them. Shall ſuch have the temporal goods of the Church which miniſter not the ſpiritual Treaſure thereof? 1 *Cor.* 9. *Know ye not that they which kill the Sacrifice ought to eat of the Sacrifice? and they that ſerve at the Altar are partakers of the Altar? for as the body without the ſoul cannot ſtand; ſo corporal things without ſpiritual things cannot continue*, 1 Queſt. 1. *if any ſhall take away the ſame.* Thus have you had the 39 Arguments, for the which both he the ſaid *Gulielmus* was condemned, and his Books burned.

The thirty ninth ſign is, that falſe Prophets do hunt after the friendſhip of this world.

The thirty ninth ſign is, That true Apoſtles do not hunt for the friendſhip of this world, for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemy of God; therefore thoſe Preachers, which purchaſe the friendſhip of this world, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets. Therefore forſomuch as the Scripture is infallible, in the twenty fourth Chapter of *Matthew*, ſaying, *Heaven and Earth ſhall periſh, but my words ſhall indure for ever*; and the Holy Ghoſt which ſpake in the Apoſtles cannot lie; for Prophelie (for the moſt part) is not ſpoken by the will of Man, but the Holy Men of God ſpake by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, as it is read in the firſt Epiſtle of *Peter*, the firſt Chapter; it remaineth, That all Men which are bound to defend the Church, may riſe up in the defence of the ſame, according unto that in the 24. Chapter of the *Proverbs*; *deliver thoſe that are led to death, and ceaſe thou not to reſcue thoſe which are drawn to deſtruction.* Neither may he alledge vain accuſations, becauſe it is ſaid in the ſame place, If he ſay he is not able or ſtrong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of Mens hearts, ſhall know it, *&c.* Whatſoever periſheth in the Church of God for want of preachers, all that ſhall be demanded of them at the day of Judgment; as *Jacob* confeſſeth to *Laban*, whoſe Sheep he fed, *Geneſis* 31. *I did reſtore all the loſs, and that which was ſtoln I made anſwer for. I will demand his blood at thy hands*, Ezekiel 3. This is ſaid to the Paſtor or Prelate. But if the other things which we have ſpoken of before could not move the Prelates and Cardinals, this at the leaſt ſhould move them; becauſe that then the Spiritual power which doth conſiſt for the moſt part in the exerciſe of Preaching, in hearing Confeſſions, and enjoyning of Penance, ſhall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piecemeal doth the Wolf devour the poor and needy Man: 3. *Queſt. Chap.* 1. When the authority Eccleſiaſtical therefore ſhall be quite taken from them and diſpoſed to others, ſuch as either by their Order, or Apoſtolical grant do challenge to have the ſame; then doubtleſs ſhall neither the juriſdiction of Civil cauſes and pleadings, nor any authority that ſuch Prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the poſſeſſions of the temporal goods of the Church any longer remain amongſt them. Shall ſuch have the temporal goods of the Church which miniſter not the ſpiritual Treaſure thereof? 1 *Cor.* 9. *Know ye not that they which kill the Sacrifice ought to eat of the Sacrifice? and they that ſerve at the Altar are partakers of the Altar? for as the body without the ſoul cannot ſtand; ſo corporal things without ſpiritual things cannot continue*, 1 Queſt. 1. *if any ſhall take away the ſame.* Thus have you had the 39 Arguments, for the which both he the ſaid *Gulielmus* was condemned, and his Books burned.

Whatſoever doth periſh in the Church of God for want of preachers ſhall be required.

Deteſtable book of the Fryers called Evangelium æternum.

In the days of this *Gulielmus*, there was a moſt deteſtable and blaſphemous Book ſet forth by the Fryers (mentioned alſo in *Matth. Pariſienſis*) which they called *Evangelium æternum*, or *Evangelium Spiritus Sancti*, That is, The Everlaſting Goſpel, or the Goſpel of the Holy Ghoſt. In which Book many abominable errors of the Fryers were contained, ſo that the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt was utterly defaced, which, this Book ſaid, was not to be compared with this Everlaſting Goſpel, no more than the ſhell is to be compared with the kernel, than darkneſs to light, *&c.* Moreover, that the Goſpel of Chriſt ſhall be preached no longer but fifty years, and then this Everlaſting Goſpel ſhould rule the Church, *&c.* *Item*, That whatſoever was in the whole Bible, was in the ſaid Goſpel contained. At length this Fryers Goſpel was accuſed to the Pope, and ſo ſix perſons choſen of the whole Univerſity to peruſe and judge of the Book: as *Chriſtanus Canonicus Baluacenſis*, *Odo de Doaco*, *Nicolaus de Baro*, *Johannes de ſicca Villa Anglus*, *Johannes Belim Gallus.* Among whom this *Gulielmus* was one, who mightily impugned this peſtiferous and diveliſh Book. Theſe ſix, after the peruſing of the Book, were ſent up to *Rome*. The Fryers likewiſe ſent their meſſengers withal, where they

The eternal and ſpiritual Goſpel of the Fryers condemned with much ado of the Pope.

KING H. 3. they were refuted, and the errors of the Book condemned; but ſo, that the Pope with the Cardinals commanded the ſaid Book to be aboliſhed and condemned not publickly (tendering the eſtimation of the Religious Orders, as of his own moſt chief Champions) but that they ſhould be burned in ſecret wiſe, and the Books of the foreſaid *Gulielmus* to be burnt withal.

Beſides other his Books, two Sermons we have of his yet remaining, one upon the Goſpel of S. *Luke*, of the Phariſee and the Publican, the other upon the Epiſtle read in the Church on *May-day*; where in the firſt he reſembleth the Phariſees to our Monks, and that he proveth by all the properties of the Phariſees deſcribed in the Goſpel. The Publican reſembleth to the Laity, ſuch as becauſe the ſooner they are reduced to acknowledge their ſins, the more hope they have of mercy. The other, becauſe they ſtand confident in their own righteouſneſs, are therefore further from their juſtification. In the later Sermon he ſetteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall upon the Church by theſe Religious Orders of Monks and Fryers.

*Lawrentius Anglicus condemned of the Pope.*

Among the other beſides of that age, which withſtood the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Antichriſtian errors, was one *Lawrence* an *Engliſh*-man, and Maſter of *Paris*; another was *Petrus Johannes* a Minorit. Of whom the foreſaid *Lawrence* was about the year of our Lord 1260. who in his teaching, preaching and writing, did ſtoutly defend the part of the foreſaid *Gulielmus* and the reſt of his ſide againſt the Fryers. Againſt the which Fryers he wrote two Books; one in the defence of *William* afore-mentioned; the other upon this Argument and Title, *To beware of falſe Prophets*, &c. Certain other things alſo he wrote, wherein by divers proofs and teſtimonies he argued and proved, That Antichriſt was not far off to come.

*Defenſio Gulielmi.*

*Cavendum a Pſeudoprophetis.*

The other *Petrus Johannes* was about the year of our Lord 1290. which taught and maintained many things againſt the Pope, proving, That he was Antichriſt, and that the Synagogue of *Rome* was Great *Babylon*. He wrote upon *Matthew*, upon the Epiſtles, and upon the Apocalypſe. Mention of this *Petrus Johannes* is made in *Nicolaus Emericus, in libr. Inquiſitionum*, &c. And he ſaith moreover that *Michael Ceſenas* (of whom, Chriſt willing, ſhall follow hereafter) took of him a great part of his opinions: and becauſe the Pope could not burn him alive, after his death, he cauſed his bones to be taken up and burned.

The Pope Antichriſt. The Synagogue of *Rome* to be great *Babylon.*

*Ex Nicolao [illegible] libro ſacrarum Inquiſitionum.*

*Petrus Johannes* burned after his death.

To theſe, and with theſe above ſpecified, is to be added *Robertus Gallus*, who being born of a right noble Parentage, for devotion ſake was made a Dominick Fryer, about the ſame year of our Lord above touched, *Anno.* 1290. This Man as appeareth by his writing, had divers and ſundry Viſions whereof part is annexed with the Viſions and Prophecy of *Hildegardis*. His Viſions all tend againſt the ſpirituality of *Rome*, where in the firſt Chapter he calleth plainly the Pope an Idol, which having eyes ſeeth not, neither luſteth to ſee the abominations of his people, nor the exceſſive enormity of their voluptuouſneſs, but only to ſee to the heaping up of his own treaſure, and having a mouth ſpeaketh not; but ſaith, I have ſet good Men over them (which is ſufficient for me) to do them good either by my ſelf, or by ſome other. And it followeth in the ſame Chapter, Woe to that Idol, woe to the mighty and proud, who ſhall be equal in all the Earth to that Idol? He that exalteth up his name in Earth, ſaying, Who ſhall bring me under? Is not my Houſe compared with the mighty Potentates of the Land? I am higher than Dukes, Knights on their Horſe back do ſervice unto me, that which my Fathers had not before me, that I have done to me. My Houſe is ſtrowed with ſilver; gold and pearl are the pavement of my Palace, &c.

*Robertus Gallus* prophecieth againſt the Pope.

The Pope deſcribed.

Again in the twelfth Chapter, and alſo in the firſt, under the name of a Serpent he painteth out the Pope, whom he declareth to extol himſelf above meaſure, and to oppreſs the few that be godly, and to have many falſe Prophets about him, which neglecting the word and name of Chriſt, do preach and extol him only, obſcuring the name of Chriſt. The Church of *Rome* and the Pope he deſcribeth in theſe words: *I was praying* (ſaith he) *on my knees, looking upward to Heaven, near to the Altar of Saint* James *in* Paris, *on the right ſide of the Altar, and ſaw in the Air before the body of a certain High Biſhop all clothed in white ſilk; who, turning his back on the Eaſt, lift up his hand towards the Weſt, as the Prieſts are wont in their Maſs turning to the people, but his head was not ſeen. And as I was conſidering adviſedly, whether he had any head or no; I perceived a certain head in him all dry, lean and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the ſpirit of the Lord ſaid to me,* This ſignifieth the ſtate of the Church of *Rome*.

The Viſions of *Robertus Gallus.*

The ſtate of the Church of *Rome* deſcribed.

Moreover, the ſame Author in his Viſions, well deſcribing the manner of the School Sophiſters and Sorboniſts, addeth in this wiſe; *Another day as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in ſpirit; and behold, I ſaw a Man apparelled like to the other before, which went about having fine bread and excellent wine that hanged about him on both ſides; and the ſame, having in his hand a long and hard flint ſtone, was gnawing hungerly upon the ſame, as one being hungry is wont to bite upon a loaf of bread; out of which ſtone came two heads of two Serpents, the Spirit of the Lord inſtructing me and ſaying,* This ſtone purporteth the frivolous, intricate, and curious queſtions, wherein the hungry do travel and labor, leaving the ſubſtantial food of their ſouls. *And I asked what theſe two heads did mean? And he ſaid,* The name of the one is Vain Glory, the name of the other is the marring and diſſipating of Religion.

The School men and their frivolous queſtions deſcribed.

Alſo, concerning reformation of the Church, this Viſion he declareth: *It happned as I was* (ſaith he) *in the ſame City in the Houſe of a certain Noble Man* (*a* Britain) *and was there ſpeaking with certain, I ſaw a croſs of ſilver very bright, much like to the Croſs of the Earl of* Tholouſe. *But the twelve Apoſtles, which did hang beſide the arm of the Croſs, were very vile, like the Apples which the Sea is wont to caſt up. And I ſaid, What is this Lord Jeſus? And the Spirit anſwered me,* This Croſs which thou ſeeſt is the Church, which ſhall be clear and bright in pureneſs of life, and ſhall be heard and known all over through the ſhrill voyce of the preaching of ſincere verity. *Then being troubled with the Apples, I asked what theſe Apples ſo vile did ſignifie? And he ſaid,* It is the humiliation of the Church, *&c.*

Therefor-mation of the Church preſignified.

This godly Man did forewarn (as in a certain Chronicle is declared) how God would puniſh the Simony and Avarice of the Clergy with ſuch a plague that Rivers ſhould run with blood, *&c.* It is ſaid, That there is remaining a great Volume of his Viſions which are not yet abroad; for theſe that be are but a brief extract out of his Viſions and Revelations.

The ſimony and avarice of the Clergy to be puniſhed.

After that we have thus long ſtrayed in theſe foreign ſtories of *Frederick*, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other Countries; now, after this ſufficient digreſſion, it is time that we return to our own Country again. Wherein following the continuation of time and courſe of the Church, we will now adjoyn to theſe good Fathers and Writers, the Hiſtory of the Learned Biſhop of *Lincoln*, named *Robert Groſthead*, a Man famouſly learned (as that time ſerved) in the three Tongues both Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, alſo in all Liberal Sciences; whoſe works and Sermons yet to this day are extant, which I have ſeen in the Queens Majeſties Library at *Weſtminſter*. Wherein is one ſpecial Sermon written and exhibited in four ſundry ſcrols to the Pope, and to other four Cardinals, beginning *Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, &c.* *Nicolas Trivet* in his Chronicle, writing of this Biſhop, affirmed that he was born in *Suffolk*, in the Dioceſs of *Norfolk*: who giving him the praiſe to be a Man of excellent wiſdom, of profound Doctrine, and an example of all vertue, witneſſeth that he being Maſter of Arts, wrote firſt a Commentary *In librum poſteriorum Ariſtotle.* Alſo that he wrote tractations, *De ſphæra, & de arte comput.* and that he ſet forth divers Books concerning Philoſophy. Afterward being Doctor in Divinity, and expertly ſeen in all the three Tongues, drew out Treatiſes out of the Hebrew Gloſſes, alſo tranſlated divers works out of the Greek, as namely the teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs, and the Books of *Dionyſius*, Commenting upon the new tranſlation with his own Gloſs, *Hæc ille.* Many other Works and Volumes beſides were written by the ſaid *Groſthead*, as *De oculo morali, De dotibus, De ceſſatione legalium, Parvus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Batium, De poteſtate Paſtorali, Expoſitiones in*

The ſtory of *Robert Groſthead* Biſhop of *Lincoln.*

*Ex Nic. Trivet.*

*Robert Groſthead a Suffolk* man born.

The commendation of *Robert Groſthead.*

The Books and Works of *Robert Groſthead.*

*Gen. in Lucam*, with a number more, beſides divers Epiſtles, Sermons, and invectives ſent to the Pope for his unmeaſureable Exactions, wherewith he overcharged and oppreſſed the Church of *England*.

This godly and learned Biſhop, after divers conflicts and agonies ſuſtained againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, after the example of *Frederick*, of *Guliel. de Sancto amore*, of *Nico. Gallus*, and others after named, at length after great labors and travels of life finiſhed his courſe, and departed at *Bugden* in the month of *October*, *Anno.* 1253. Of his deceaſe thus writeth *Matth. Pariſ. fol.* 278. *Out of the priſon and baniſhment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy Biſhop of* Lincoln Robert, *at his Manor of* Bugden *in the Even of S.* Dionyſe; *who was an open reprover of the Pope and of the King, a rebuker of the Prelates, a corrector of the Monks, a directer of the Prieſts, an inſtructer of the Clerks, a fautor of Scholers, a preacher to the people, a perſcutor of the Incontinent, a diligent ſearcher of the Scripture, a mall to the* Romans, *and a contemner of their doings*, &c. Hæc Matth. What a mall he was to the *Romans* in the ſequel hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall better appear. The ſtory is this:

Anno 1253. The death of Robert Groſthead.

Malleus Romanorum Groſtheadus.

It ſo befel among other daily and intolerable Exactions, wherein Pope *Innocent* was grievous and injurious (manifold ways) to the Realm of *England*, he had a certain Couſin or Nephew (ſo Popes were wont to call their Sons) named *Frederick*, being yet young and under years, whom the ſaid *Innocent* the Pope would needs preſer to be a Canon or Prebendary in the Church of *Lincoln*, in this time of *Robert* Biſhop of the ſaid Church; and upon the ſame directed down Letters to certain his factors here in *England* for the execution thereof. The Copy of which Letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune ſending of God, came to my hands, as I was penning this preſent ſtory, written in the end of an old Parchment Book, and otherwiſe rare I ſuppoſe to be found; and it is this:

The troubles of Robert Groſthead with the Pope.

An unreaſonable Letter of the Pope.

*Dilectis filiis Archidiacono* Cant. *& Magiſtro* Innocent. *ſcriptori noſtro in* Anglia *Commoranti, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius noſter* G. Sanct. Euſtachii *Diaconus Cardinalis dilecto * filio* Frederico de Lavavia, *Clerico, Nepoti noſtro, de ſpeciali Mandato noſtro Canonicatum* Lincolnienſ. *cum plenitudine juris Canonici duxerit conferendum, ipſum per ſuum annulum corporaliter & præſentialiter inveſtiens de eodem, ut ex tunc Canonicus* Lincolnienſis *exiſtat, & plenum nomen & jus Canonici conſequatur ibidem, ac Præbendam, ſi qua vacaverit in Eccleſia* Lincol. *a tempore quo dudum literæ noſtræ ſuper receptione, ac proviſione facienda ſibi in Eccleſ. eadem de præmiſſis venerab. fratri noſtro Epiſcopo* Lincoln. *præſentatæ fuerunt, alioqui poſt vacaturam conferendam ſibi donationi Apoſtolicæ reſervarit: decernendo irritum & inane, ſi quid de Præbenda hujuſmodi a quoquam fuerit attentatum, nec non & contradictores & rebelles Excommunicationis ſententiam ubique promulgando, prout in literis ejuſdem exinde de * conſtitutis plenius continetur. Nos ipſius* Frederici *devotis ſupplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem Cardinale factum eſt ſuper hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem Authoritate Apoſtolica duximus confirmandum. Quocirca diſcretioni veſtræ per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus eundem* Fredericum, *vel procuratorem ſuum ejus nomine in corporalem poſſeſſionem prædictorum Canonicatus & Præbendæ, authoritate noſtra inducatis, & defendatis inductum, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam appellatione poſtpoſita compeſcendo. Non obſtantibus aliquibus conſuetudinibus vel ſtatutis, juramentis, vel confirmationibus ſedis Apoſtolicæ, ſeu quacunque alia infirmitate roboratis; vel quod dictus* Fredericus *præſens non fuerit ad præſtandum juramentum de obſervandis conſuetudinibus ejuſdem Eccleſ. conſuetis; ſive ſi prædicto Epiſcopo vel capitulo ipſius Eccleſiæ communiter vel ſingulatim, ſeu alsis quibuſcunque perſonis a dicta ſede idultum exiſtat, quod ad receptionem vel proviſionem alicujus compelli nequeant, ſive quod nullus alius in eorum Eccleſia nemini providere valeat: vel quod interdici, ſuſpendi, aut Excommunicari non poſſint, per literas Apoſtol. ſub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamſi totus tenor indulgentiarum hujuſmodi de verbo in verbum in iiſdem literis ſit inſertus, ſive quibus aliis indulgentiis quibuſcunque perſonis, dignitati, vel loco, ſub quacunq; forma verborum conceſſis a ſede Apoſt. vel etiam concedendis, per quas effectus hujuſmodi proviſionis poſſet impediri aliquatenus vel differri. Tamen volumus, ea de certa ſcientia, quantum ad proviſionem factam & faciendam* Frederico *prædicto in Eccleſia* Lincoln. *viribus omnino carere, Cæterum, ſi aliqui prædicto* Frederico *vel Procuratori ſuper præmiſſis, vel aliquo præmiſſorum, aliquatenus duxerint opponendum: illos ex parte noſtra citari curetis, ut peremptorie infra duorum menſium ſpacium poſt citationem veſtram perſonaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem* Frederico *ſuper præmiſſis legitime reſponſuri, Non obſtantibus privilegiis, ſive quibuſlibet indulgentiis perſonis Regni* Angliæ *generaliter vel ſpecialiter a prædicta ſede ſub quacunq; forma verborum conceſſis, quod non poſſunt ultra mare, ſeu extra civitatem vel Dioceſin ſuam in judicium evocari per literas Apoſt. ſub quacunque forma verborum obtentas; quod privilegium & indulgentias eiſdem perſonis de certa ſcientia nullatenus volumus ſuffragari, & conſtitutione edita de duabus dictis in concilio generali non obſtante. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, veſtris literis tenorem præſentium continentibus fideliter intimetis. Quod ſi non ambo his exequendis poteritis, alter veſtrum nihilominus exequatur.* Datum Peruſ. 7. Cal. Febr. Pontificat. noſtri anno decimo.

* Rectè dictum fortaſſis filio.

* Conſtitit.

KING Hen. 3

Which foreſaid Letter is thus in Engliſh.

The Popes unreaſonable Letter.

*Unto our beloved Sons the Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *and to Maſter* Innocent *our Scribe abiding in* England, *Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction. Forſomuch as our well-beloved Son* G. *of* S. Euſtace *Deacon Cardinal, upon our ſpecial commandment hath given and granted to our well-beloved Son* Frederick de Lavavia *(a Clerk and our Nephew) a Canonſhip in the Church of* Lincoln *with full power and grant of the ſame; inveſting him alſo corporally and preſently with his own Ring in the ſaid Canonſhip, to be from hence-forth Canon of* Lincoln, *and to have full power of the ſaid Canonſhip in the Church, and a Prebend when any ſhall fall in the Church of* Lincoln: *from that time ſince which our former Letters of late, concerning this receiving and proviſion to be given to him in the ſaid Church were preſented and exhibited to our Reverend Brother the Biſhop of* Lincoln, *or elſe after the next avoiding the ſaid Prebendſhip to be reſerved to the Apoſtolical Donation, and to be given to him, making it void and fruſtrate if the ſaid Prebendſhip ſhall be given to any other Man beſide, and alſo denouncing the ſentence of Excommunication againſt all them that ſhall rebel and gainſay the ſame, as in the Letters of the ſaid Cardinal is more fully contained.*

Excommunication auſwered.

* *We therefore graciouſly inclined by the devout ſupplication of the ſaid* Frederick, *ratifying and gratefully approving that which hath been done by the ſaid Cardinal in the premiſſes, we thought good by the Authority Apoſtolical to confirm the ſame. Wherefore we give all commandment by our Letters Apoſtolical to your wiſdoms, that you will ſee the ſaid* Frederick *(or his Proctor in his behalf) to be really and corporally poſſeſſed in the ſaid Canonſhip or Prebend by our Authority, and alſo defend the ſaid party being therein poſſeſſed, denouncing the ſentence of Excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhall withſtand the ſame, all manner of cuſtoms or ſtatutes to the contrary notwithſtanding, corroborated either with Oath, or confirmations of the See Apoſtolick, or by what ſtay or let ſoever; or whether that the ſaid* Frederick *be not preſent to take the Oath accuſtomed to be given for obſerving the cuſtoms of the ſaid Church, or whether it be given and granted by the ſaid See to the foreſaid Biſhop, or to the Chapter of the ſaid Church joyntly and ſeverally, or to what perſon or perſons elſe, that no Man by compulſion ſhould have admiſſion or proviſion for any perſon in their Church wherein they cannot be Interdicted, Suſpended, or Excommunicate by the Letters Apoſtolical obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, under what form or words ſoever; yea, although the whole tenor of the ſaid indulgence be inſerted word for word in the ſaid your Letters, or by any other indulgences to what perſon or perſons ſoever, of what eſtate, dignity or place ſoever, under any manner*

or

{KING Hen. 3} *or form of words, granted hereafter by the See Apoſtolick, by the which indulgences the effect of the ſaid proviſion may be by any manner of ways hindered or deferred: yet of our certain knowledge we will that they ſhall want their ſtrength in the proviſion made or to be made for the ſaid* Frederick *in the Church of* Lincoln. *And if any, upon the premiſſes or any of them, ſhall alledge againſt the foreſaid* Frederick, *or his procurator; that you will cauſe them to be cited on our behalf: ſo that they, being cited peremptorily, ſhall within the ſpace of two months of your citation, perſonally appear before us there according to the Law, to make anſwer to the ſaid* Frederick *upon the premiſes; any priviledges or indulgences whatſoever given and granted [illegible] generally to the Kingdom of* England, *or peculiarly to any other perſon of what ſtate, degree, and place ſoever, granted by the foreſaid See, under whatſoever manner and form of words for them not to be called up beyond the Sea, or out of their own City or Diocеſs by Letters Apoſtolical, under whatſoever form of words obtained, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. All which priviledges and indulgences, we will in no caſe ſhall ſtand in any force or effect to the ſaid parties. Moreover, the day and form of the Citation we will that ye faithfully do intimate unto us by your Letters containing the tenor thereof; and if both of you cannot be preſent at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithſtanding that one of you do execute the ſame without fail.* Dated the *7th.* Kal. February, the *10th.* year of our Popedom.

As there is no Man which hath any eyes to ſee, but may eaſily underſtand in reading this Letter of the Pope, how unreaſonable his requeſt is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedly he oppreſſeth and rackеth the Church of God, in placing Boys and ſtrangers in the Miniſtry and cure of ſouls, and alſo in making them his Proviſors, to raven up the Church goods: ſo is it no great marvel, if this godly Biſhop *Robert Groſthead* was offended therewith; who, in my mind deſerveth herein a double commendation, not only that he ſo wiſely did diſcern error from ſincerity and truth; but alſo that he was ſo hardly and conſtant to ſtand to the defence thereof againſt the Pope, according as in this his anſwer to the Pope again may appear, as followeth.

A double commendation of Biſhop *Groſthead.*

## *The Anſwer of* Robert Groſthead.

The anſwer of *Robert Groſthead* to the Pope.

*Salutem*, Pleaſeth it your wiſdom to underſtand, That I am not diſobedient to any the Apoſtolick Precepts, but both devoutly and reverently with the natural affection of a Son obey the ſame, and alſo am an utter enemy to all thoſe that reſiſt ſuch Apoſtolick Precepts, as a Child zealous of his Fathers honour. And truly, I am no leſs than bound thereunto by the Precept and commandment of God. For the Apoſtolick Precepts are none other, nor can be, than conſonant and uniform to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of our Saviour Chriſt being the Maſter and Lord of all the Apoſtles: whoſe type and perſon, ſpecially in the conſonant and uniform Hierarchy of the Church, the Lord Pope ſeemeth to bear the ſame, our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſaying; *Whoſoever is not with me, the ſame is againſt me.* Therefore, againſt him neither is nor can be the moſt divine ſanctity of the See Apoſtolical. The tenor then of your foreſaid Apoſtolical Letter is not conſonant to true ſanctity, but utterly diſſonant and diſagreeing to the ſame. Firſt, for that the clauſe of this your Letter, and many ſuch other Letters like, which clauſe always ye ſo much do urge *(Non obſtante)* induced and brought in upon no neceſſity of any natural Law to be obſerved, doth ſwarm and flow with all inconſtancy, boldneſs, pertinacy, impudency, lying, and deceiving, and is alſo a Sea of miſtruſt in giving credit to no Man. Which as it ſwarmeth with theſe, ſo in like manner with innumerable other vices which hang and depend upon the ſame; moving and diſturbing the purity of Chriſtian Religion and life agreeable to the ſame, as alſo the publick tranquility of Men. Moreover, next after the ſin of Luciter (which ſhall be in the later time, to wit, of Antichriſt, the Child of Perdition, whom the Lord ſhall deſtroy with the breath of his mouth) there is not nor can be any kind of ſin ſo repugnant and contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Holy Scripture, and to our Saviour Chriſt himſelf more hateful, deteſtable, and abominable, than to deſtroy and kill mens Souls, by defrauding them of the myſtery of the Paſtoral Office, which by the miniſtry of the Paſtoral cure ought to ſave and quicken the ſame. Which ſin by moſt evident places of the Scripture, ſuch Men are diſcerned and known to commit, which being in the authority of the Paſtoral Dignity, do ſerve their own carnal deſires and neceſſaries with the benefit of the Milk and Wool of the Sheep and flock of Chriſt, and do not miniſter the ſame Paſtoral Office and charge to the benefit and ſalvation of thoſe their ſheep. The ſame therefore by the teſtimony of the Scripture is not the adminiſtration of the paſtoral miniſtry, but the killing and deſtruction of the ſheep. And that theſe two kind of vices be moſt vile and wicked (although after a differing ſort) and far exceeding all other kind of wickedneſs hereby it is manifeſt: for that the ſame are directly contrary to two vertues moſt chiefly good (although differing in themſelves) and unlike together. For that is called moſt wicked, which is contrary to a thing moſt good. So much then as lyeth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly againſt the Deity, which of himſelf is always eſſentially and ſupernaturally good; the other is againſt the deification and the image of God in Man, which is not always, but by the participation of Gods lightſome Grace, eſſentially and naturally good. And forſomuch as in things being good, the cauſe of good is better than the effect; and like as again in evil things, the cauſe of evil is worſe than the effect of evil proceeding thereof: hereby it is manifeſt, that the inducers of ſuch wicked deſtroyers of Gods image and deification in the ſheep of Chriſt (that is, the Church of God) are worſe than thoſe chief deſtroyers, to wit, Lucifer and Antichriſt.

And as in theſe degrees of wickedneſs how much more excellent ſuch be, who having a great charge committed to them of God (to edification and not to deſtruction) the more are they bound to keep away and exclude ſuch wicked deſtroyers from the Church of God: ſo much is it alſo off, that this holy ſeat Apoſtolical, to whom the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath given all manner of power (to edification, as the Apoſtle ſaith, and not to deſtruction) can command, or will go about any ſuch thing, urging unto ſo great wickedneſs, ſo odious, deteſtable and abominable to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo ſo pernitious to mankind. For this ſhould be a great defection, corruption and abuſe of the ſaid ſeat and fulneſs of power, and an utter ſeparation from the glorious Throne of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and a near neighbourhood unto the two moſt principal Princes of darkneſs, ſitting in the Chair of Peſtilence, prepared to the pains of Hell. Neither can any Man, which is ſubject and faithful to the ſaid See (and not cut away from the body of Chriſt, and from the ſaid Holy See) with ſincere and unſpotted Conſcience obey ſuch manner of precepts and commandments, or whatſoever other attempts proceeding, yea, though from the high order of Angels themſelves, but rather ought of neceſſity with all their ſtrength to withſtand and rebel againſt the ſame. Wherefore my Reverend Lord, I, like an obedient Child, upon my bound duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to both the * parents of this Holy Apoſtolick See, and partly for love of unity in the body of Chriſt joyned with the ſaid See, do not obey but withſtand and utterly rebel againſt theſe things in the ſaid Letter contained, and eſpecially which urge and tend to the foreſaid wickedneſs, ſo abominable to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo repugnant to the Holineſs of the Holy Apoſtolick See, and ſo contrary to the unity of the Catholick Faith. Neither for this cauſe can your diſcretion determine any extremity to me, becauſe all my doing and gain-ſaying in this matter is no reſiſtance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the divine precept, and honor due both to * Father and Mother. Briefly therefore repeating my words I ſay, That this Holy Apoſtolick See cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to deſtruction: for this is the fulneſs of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But theſe which you call proviſions be not to edification, but to manifeſt deſtruction. The Holy Apoſtolick See therefore neither can nor ought to attempt any ſuch thing; becauſe that fleſh and blood, which cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, hath revealed the ſame, and not the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which is in Heaven.

Power given to Miniſters to edification only, not to deſtruction.

Two principal Princes of darkneſs, Lucifer and Antichriſt.

* He meaneth either Chriſt and the Church or elſe *Peter* and *Paul.*

* *Id eſt*, both to Chriſt and his Church.

In Ti. Fa. ad tel. tum.

Then followeth it in the story both of *Matth. Parisiensis*, and of *Florilegus*, in these words: That when this Epistle came to the knowledge of the Pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce look and proud mind, saying; What old doting frantick wretch is this, so boldly and rashly to judge of my doings? By sweet S. *Peter* and *Paul*, were it not but that upon our own clemency and good nature we are restrained, we should hurl him down to such confusion, that we would make him a fable, a gazing stock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the King of *England* our Vassal? and to say more, our Mancipal or Page (to use the very words of mine Author) which may at our pleasure and beck both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to utter shame? Thus when the Pope in his great fury and rage had uttered amongst his Brethren the Cardinals, who were scarce able to appease the furious violence of the Pope, with mild moderation of words they said unto him; That it was not expedient for them to proceed against that Bishop in such rigorous manner. For, said they, to confess the truth to your Holiness, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemn him therefore. He is a Catholick Man, yea, also a Holy Man; more Holy and also Religious than we our selves; a Man of excellent wit and excellent life; so as it is thought, among all the Prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not unknown both to the *French* and *English* Clergy universally, neither can our contradiction prevail against him. The truth of this his Epistle perhaps is known now to many, and shall stir up many against us: for he hath the name to be a great Philosopher, and singularly seen in all the tongues, both Greek, Latine, and Hebrew: zealous in Justice, a reader of Divinity in the Schools, a preacher amongst the people, a lover of Chastity, and a persecutor of Simony. These words spake *L. Giles* a *Spanish* Cardinal to the Pope, and others more, moved by their Conscience to speak. And this counsel they gave to the Pope, That he should dissemble and wink at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise perhaps some tumult might rise and spring thereof: especially seeing this is manifest and known to all Men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the Church of *Rome*.

Well scorn matter Pope.

*Giles* Cardinal defendeth *Robert Grosthead* to the Pope.

Not long after this (about the Canicular days) this Reverend and godly *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, lying at his Manor place in *Bugden*, fell grievously sick; and thereupon within few days departed. In the time of his sickness he called to him a certain Frier of the preaching Order, named M. *John Giles*, a Man expert and cunning both in Physick and Divinity; partly to receive of him some comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in spiritual matters. Thus upon a certain day, the said Bishop conferring with the foresaid M. *John*, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the Pope, did grievously rebuke and reprehend his fellow Brethren the preaching Friers, and the other Order also of the Minorits; That forsomuch as their Order being planted in wilful poverty of the spirit, to the intent that they should more freely carp and reprove the vices of the mighty, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharply to rebuke and reprehend the same: the said Friers contrary to their profession did not boldly enough cry out and inveigh against the abuses of their superiours and men of power; nor did uncover nor detect their faults and wickedness; and therefore, said the Bishop, I judge them to be no better than manifest Hereticks. And he addeth moreover, (demanding of M. *John*) what is Heresie? and that he should give him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the Frier did stay and pause, not remembring the solemn definition of that matter; the Bishop thereupon inferreth, giving this definition in Latine by the true interpretation of the Greek word: *Heresis*, *Græce, electio, Latine, est sententia humano sensu electa, Scripturæ Sacræ contraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defensa.* That is, *Heresie is a sentence taken and chosen of Mans own brain, contrary to Holy Scripture, openly maintained, and stiffly defended.* And this definition given, consequently he inferred, sharply reprehending the Prelates of the Church, but especially the *Romans*, which commit the charge of souls unto their Kinsfolks, being both in Age unworthy, and in Learning unsufficient. To give (saith he) the charge of souls unto a Boy, is a sentence of a Prelate chosen and taken of Mans own head, only for carnal and earthly respect, and also is contrary to Holy Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made Ministers or Pastors, which are not sufficient to drive away the wolves. And moreover it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly born abroad and commanded, with Charts imbulled both with Wax and Lead; and finally, it is stiffly defended. For if any Man shall dare to presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and Excommunicated, and open War cryed out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of an Heretick doth agree, he is a very Heretick. But every faithful Christian man ought to set himself against an Heretick as much as he may. Wherefore he that can resist him and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of *Gregory*; *He lacketh not Conscience of secret society, which ceaseth to resist open impiety.* But the Friers both Franciscans and Dominicks are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them have the gift of preaching committed to them by their Office, and be more apt to the said Office, by reason of their poverty: and therefore they do not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the Apostle to the *Romans*, saying, *Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent are worthy of death.* Wherefore it may be concluded, That as well the Pope (unless he cease from that vice) as also the same Friers, unless they shew themselves more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetual Damnation. *Item*, saith the Canon Decretal, *That upon this vice of Heresie the Pope both may and ought to be accused.*

The godly talk of *Robert Grosthead* in time of his sickness.

*Heresis quid.*

Definition of Heresie.

KING Hen. 3.

The Pope proved here an Heretick.

The saying of *Gregory*.

The Pope accused of Heresie.

After this the vehemency of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were something longer; the third night before his departure, the Bishop, feeling his infirmity to grow upon, willed certain of his Clergy to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Unto whom the Bishop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the loss of souls, through the avarice of the Popes Court, said on this wise, as by certain Aphorisms.

1. Christ came into the world to save and win souls: *Ergo*, He that feareth not to destroy souls, may he not worthily be counted Antichrist?

2. The Lord created the whole world in six days, but in restoring of Man he laboured more than thirty years. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that, about which the Lord so long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and Antichrist?

3. The Pope shameth not impudently to annihilate and disannul the priviledges of his Holy predecessors, of *Roman* Bishops, by this obstacle (*Non obstante*) which is not done without the prejudice and manifest injury of them. For in so doing he doth reprove and destroy that which so many and so Holy Men have builded up before, and thus seemeth he to be a contemner of the Saints. Worthily therefore he that contemneth shall be contemned, according to the saying of *Esay*; *Woe to thee that dost despise, for shalt not thou thy self be despised?* And who shall keep his priviledges, which so breaketh the priviledges of others?

4. The Pope answering thereunto, thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equal, hath no superiority over his equal; Therefore, no Pope hath power to bind me, being Pope as well as he. To this answer again, (quoth the Bishop) It seemeth to me, that he that now presently is failing in the dangerour Seas of this World, and he that is safely arived in the haven, having past all jeopardies, are not both like and equal. Grant that some Popes be saved (God forbid any should say contrary) Then saith our Saviour, *He that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than John Baptist, a greater than whom did not any rise amongst the Children of Men.* Is not therefore some Pope greater, being a giver and confirmer of priviledges, than this that is alive? Truly methinks, he is greater, therefore he hath dominion over his inferior.

5. Doth not the Pope thus say speaking of all his predecessors for the most part; This our predecessor, and this our predecessor of most worthy memory, *&c.* And again, We

Certain Aphorisms or Articles laid of Robert Grosthead against the Bishop of *Rome*.

The Pope accused of his wicked clause, *Non obstante*.

The Pope accused arrogating more than his due to him, and proved not to be equal but inferior to his predecessors.

The Pope accused for undoing the acts and foundations of his predecessors.

{KING Hen. 3}

We (ſaith he) cleaving, or following the ſteps of our predeceſſors, *&c.* And why then do ſuch Popes as come after, deſtroy theſe Foundations which their predeceſſors have laid?

Proved that the Pope alive is inferior to his predeceſſors before him, and therefore to have no authority to infringe the Priviledges of other Popes

6. Many Apoſtolick men coming after, have confirmed ſome Priviledge being granted by others; and be not many Biſhops, being already ſaved by the Grace of God, to be counted greater and better than one Biſhop which hath not yet attained, but ſtandeth in danger to obtain that which the other have got already?

Proved by the example of *Benet*, that moſt more ancient in time ought to be preferred in higher reverence.

7. Alſo other former Fathers and Biſhops of the Apoſtolical See, in preferment of time, go before the others which in time come after. And thoſe whom the eſtimation of ancient time doth advance, ſuch are we bound to eſteem and to have in more reverence. This did the holy man *Benedict* well conſider; who in his rule preferreth ſuch as came firſt in time, whatſoever men they were before them, which (albeit being more ancient in years) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their Superiors, and to have the Preheminence. Which being ſo (as it is true and certain) how cometh then this injurious and raſh preſumption, which dare repeal and diſannul the old Priviledges of many ancient holy Biſhops, in time and in reverence going before them?

The Pope accuſed for maintaining of Uſury.

8. Moreover, though many Popes have been grievous to the Church, yet this Pope moſt ſpecially hath brought it moſt into ſervitude, and manifold ways hath damnified the ſame. For theſe *Caurſini*, theſe open Uſurers, whom our holy fore-Fathers and Doctors, whom we have ſeen, and namely our learned Maſter in *France* Preacher; alſo the Abbat of *Flay* a *Ciſterican*, Maſter *Jacobus de vetri*, and Maſter *Stephen*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the time of his baniſhment, and alſo Maſter *Robert Curcun*, with his Preaching baniſhed out of *France* (for before that time theſe kind of Uſurers were never known in *England*) the ſame *Caurſini*, theſe wicked Uſurers, I ſay, were by this Pope induced, ſupported and maintained; ſo that if any do ſpeak againſt them, he is miſerably toſſed and trounſed for his labour, whereof partly *Roger* Biſhop of *London* hath ſome experience.

Againſt Uſury.

9. The world doth know, that Uſury is counted a deteſtable thing in both the *Teſtaments*, and is forbidden of God. But now the Popes Uſurers or Exchangers, the very *Jews* crying out againſt them, being openly ſuffered in *London* to exerciſe their Uſury, to the great damage and detriment of all Eccleſiaſtical perſons, but eſpecially Houſes of Religion, compelling ſuch as be in poverty to counterfeit and to put to their Seals to forged writings, which is no leſs than to commit Idolatry and to abrenounce the verity which is God himſelf. As for example: I borrow an hundred Marks for a Year, inſtead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled, to make my Writing and to Seal the ſame, confeſſing that I have received and borrowed one hundred pounds, to be repaied again at the years end to ſuch a man, *&c.* And if it ſhall chance that your occupying be ſuch, that within a month you bring again the principal to the Popes Uſurer, he will receive no leſs notwithſtanding than his full hundred pounds: which condition of Uſury is much worſe than that of the *Jews*. For to the *Jew* what principal you bring, he will require no more than proportionably for the commenſuration of ſo much time, wherein his mony hath been out of his hands.

The crafty practice of Uſurers.

The Popes Uſurers worſe than the *Jews*.

Crafty ſubtilty of the Pope to get mony.

10. Moreover, we have ſeen and known the Pope to have given in charge and commandment to the Friers, Preachers, and Minorites, to inquire diligently for ſuch as lie ſick and like to die; and ſo coming to them diligently to perſwade them to make their Wills and Teſtaments favourably to the profit and ſubſidy of the *Holy Land*, and to take the Croſs upon them; that if they do amend, they may wring them in the Law; and if they die, they may wreſt the mony from their Executors.

Men ſigned to the *Holy Land*, ſold for mony like Sheep by the Pope. Remiſſion of ſins ſold for mony.

11. We have known likewiſe and ſeen men, that have taken the Vow and Sign of the Croſs upon them, to be ſold unto Lay-men; as Sheep and Oxen were wont in time paſt to be ſold in the Temple.

We have ſeen with our eyes the Popes Letter, in which we have found this to be written: That they, which bequeath any thing to the behoof or ſubſidy of the *Holy Land*, ſhall receive ſo much indulgence as they have diſburſed mony.

The Pope accuſed to be injurious to Churches in his proviſions and reſervations

12. Over and beſides all this, the Pope in divers and ſundry his Letters hath willed and commanded Prelates to receive into Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and to provide ſome ſuch Living in their Churches, as ſhall be ſufficient to ſuch and ſuch a ſtranger (being both abſent and alſo unworthy) which have neither Learning, nor yet the Language of the Country: whereby they are neither able to Preach, nor to hear Confeſſions, nor to keep reſidence to refreſh the poor and way-farers.

The Pope accuſed for injurious to the Abbot of St *Albans*.

13. *Item*, We know and have ſeen our ſelves, that the Pope hath written to the Abbot of St. *Albans* to provide for one called *John de Camezana*, whom we never ſaw, ſome competent Benefice. Whereupon, in few days after, when proviſion was made for him in a certain Church, worth forty Marks by the year and more, the party being not therewith contented, complained to the Pope, who then writing to the foreſaid Abbot, commanded him to provide for the foreſaid *M. John* ſome better thing, reſerving notwithſtanding the gift of the former Benefice to himſelf.

The Pope accuſed for violent extortion.

14. Again, not long after came alſo to the Houſe of the foreſaid Abbot, two other perſons like begging Vagabonds, bringing with them the Popes Letters: in the tenor whereof the Abbot was commanded, that, incontinently upon the ſight thereof, he ſhould give and diſburſe to the ſaid perſons for the expedition and diſpatch of his Affairs ten Marks in hand, without any delay or ſticking: the which perſons uttering unto the Abbot proud and threatning words, he was fain to agree with them and ſend them away.

The Pope accuſed for troubling and corrupting learned men of the Spirituality with his Temporal affairs.

15. *Item*, Of men which are both holy and well Learned, which have left the world for the following of God in ſuch order as they ought not to turn back again, the Pope maketh his Tolners and Bankers to get in his mony: the which charge they are compelled againſt their wills to take upon them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be diſobedient, and ſo of Spiritual men are made more ſecular than the moſt ſecular. And ſo the baſeneſs of their Chimmers and Scapillers, which they wear, doth prove them to be Lyers; whilſt under the habit of poverty and humiliation there lurketh the ſpirit of pride and elation. And becauſe no Legate may be ſent into *England*, but being firſt required of the King, the Pope ſendeth Sophiſtical Legates, and ſuch as be diſguiſed and counterfeit in Apparel, and are guarded with great might and power; neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof: For ſo many ſuch daily do come into the Realm, that to hear the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to hear.

The Pope accuſed for unlawful Diſpenſations.

16. Furthermore (as we have ſeen our ſelves) the Pope granteth for ſecular favour, that a man may have a Biſhoprick, and yet be no Biſhop conſecrated, *Sed electus ſempiternus*, that is, Elect for ever. Which is as much to ſignify, to have the Milk and the Wool of the Sheep and not to keep the Wolves away from the Sheep; to retain the Rents of a Biſhop, and not diſcharge the Function of a Biſhop.

And when this godly Biſhop had thus reproved theſe and ſuch other deteſtable enormities of the Court of *Rome*; as all kinds of Avarice, their Uſury, their Simony, their Extortion, all kinds of filthineſs, fleſhly Luſt, gluttony, and their ſumptuous Apparel raigning in that Court; then ſaith he, this old Verſe may be truly verified upon it:

*Ejus avaritiæ totus non ſufficit orbis,*
*Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis.*

All the world cannot ſuffice their greedy covetous mind.
Nor all the drabs & naughty packs their filthy luſting kind.

Afterwards he went about more to proſecute, how the foreſaid Court, like a Gulf never ſatisfied (ever gaping ſo wide, that the flood of *Jordan* might run into his mouth) aſpired how to uſurp the Goods of them that die unteſted, and of Legacies bequeathed without form of Law; and whereby more licentiouſly to bring this to paſs, they uſed to joyn the King to be fellow and partaker with them in their Spoils, Extortions, and Robbing. Neither, ſaith he, ſhall the Church be delivered from the ſervitude of *Egypt* but by violence and force, and with the bloody Sword. And albeit, ſaith he, theſe be yet but light matters, yet ſhortly more great and grievous things than theſe ſhall be ſeen. *Ex Mat. Paris.*

And

The death of Robert Grosthead Bishop of *Lincoln*.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarcely could utter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his Tongue and Breath began to fail, and so, the Organ of his Voice being stopped, he made an end both of his Speech and Life. *Ex Matthæo Parisi*.

And forasmuch as mention hath been made before of the insatiable Avarice of the Popes Court by his inordinate provisions and reservations, it is testified by the said Author *Matthew Paris*, that the foresaid *Robert Grosthead*, being Bishop of *Lincoln*, caused to be viewed and considered diligently of his Clerks, what the Revenues of Foreiners and Strangers within *England*, sent in by the Pope, came to by the year; and it was found and evidently tried, that this Pope now present, *Innocentius* the fourth, did impoverish the Universal Church throughout Christendom, more than all his predecessors from the time the Pope first began. So that the Revenues of Foreiners and Clerks, placed by him here in *England*, mounted unto the sum of Threescore and ten thousand Marks and above, whereas the meer Revenues of the Crown came not to Thirty thousand.

What the Revenues the Popes Clerks here in *England* came to by the year.

*Ex Cestrensi*, lib. 7.

Of this *Robert Grosthead* writeth *Cestrensis* in his seventh Book of his History, that partly for that it grieved him to see the intolerable exactions of the Pope in this Realm; and partly because he refused to admit a certain young Nephew of the Pope to be Canon of his Church (as hath been before recited) he therefore writing unto the Pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his Church, which neither knew themselves nor the Tongue of the people, nor the charges committed unto them, was called up to *Rome*, and there Excommunicated; who, then appealing from the Pope, shortly after departed, which was in the year of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two years after his decease, the said Pope *Innocent* being asleep, a certain Bishop, apparelled Bishop-like, appeared unto him, and striking him with his staff on the left-side, said, *Surge miser, veni in judicium*: that is, *Rise wretch and come to thy judgment*. The next day after, the Pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staff. This *Robert* though he was greatly commended for his Sanctimony, and as *Cestrens* saith, for his miracles; yet was he not permitted in the Court of *Rome* to be inscribed in the Catalogue of Saints. And thus much out of *Cestrensis* concerning this matter. But *Mat. Paris*, and the Author of *Flores Historiarum*, prosecuting this story more at large, addeth this more unto it, and saith, That Pope *Innocent* the next year following, which was *An.* 1254. being passing angry, contrary to the mind of his Brethren the Cardinals, would have the Bones of the foresaid Bishop of *Lincoln* cast out of the Church, and purposed to bring him into such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be counted an Ethnick, a Rebel, and disobedient person through the whole world. And thereupon caused his Letters to be written and sent down to the King of *England*, knowing that the King would gladly serve him therein, to have the spoil of the Bishop and of his Church. But in the Night following the said Bishop of *Lincoln* appeared unto him as coming in his *Pontificalibus*, and with a severe countenance, stern look, and terrible voice speaking unto him being in his rest, and smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke, with the end of his Cross-staff, thus said, O thou scurvy, lazy, old, bald, lousie, wretched, doting Pope; hast thou purposed to cast my Bones out of the Church to the shame and slander of me? How cometh this rash wilfulness in thy head? It were more meet for thee being thus advanced by God, and honoured, to make much of the zealous servants of God, although departed. The Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to have any more power over me. I have written unto thee in the spirit of Humility and Love, that thou shouldst correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud eye and disdainful heart hast despised my wholsome Admonitions. Wo to thee that despisest, shalt not thou also be despised? And so the Bishop departing from the Pope stricken, as is said, on the side, left him for half dead, and so lying in sorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his Chamberlains being amazed, hearing these things, came running to the Pope to know what him ailed. To whom the Pope much troubled and vexed in his spirit, said, That great terrors in his sleep vehemently disturbed and molested him, in such sort that he thought he should never recover it, nor be restored to himself again. Oh (said he) how sore is my side, and how eagerly it vexeth me, as being run through with a Spear! Neither did the Pope eat or drink all that day, but faining himself to be sick of a burning Ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the ireful hand of God (saith the story) so left him not.

The Pope striken with the staff of *Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*.

{ Anno 1254. }

*Ex Mat. Paris. Ex Flor. Hist.*

*Senibalde papa miserere me.* The Popes new and true stile given by *Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*.

{ KING Hen. 3 }

The Pope disquieted in his mind.

For after these wholesome Admonitions given to him by the Servant of God, the Pope not regarding them, but all set upon War, suppression of his Enemies, and secular Affairs, gave his mind wholly unto them; and yet all his labours, counsels, and expences bestowed upon them, could never prosper after that day in that he went about. For the Pope, the same time having War with the *Apulians*, all his Army, fighting under the Popes Nephew their Captain, were slain and confounded to the number of many thousands: whose lamentable slaughter all the Country of the Romans did much bewail. The Pope, not yet quiet in his mind, directeth his journy towards *Naples*, although sore vexed in his side like a man sick of a *Plurisie*, or smitten rather with a Spear, neither could any Physick of his Cardinals help him. For *Robert* of *Lincoln* (saith the story) did not spare him; and he that would not hear him gently correcting him being alive, his stripes did he feel when he was dead; so that he never after that enjoyed any lucky or prosperous day, till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet Night until the Morning. And so continued he unto his death, which shortly after insued, he being at *Naples*, *An.* 1255. or as *N. Trivet* Recordeth, *An.* 1254. And thus have ye the whole Discourse between *Robert Grosthead* and Pope *Innocent*.

The revenge of God upon Pope *Innocent*.

The Popes Army vanquished and confounded

The death of Pope Innocent the fourth.

{ Anno 1255 }

In the which story is to be noted, gentle Reader, that although in the story of *Cestrensis*, of *Matthew Paris*, and of *Flor. Hist.* it is expresly testified and reported, that the Pope was smitten with the staff of *Robert* the foresaid Bishop of *Lincoln*; yet thou must wisely understand, that howsoever Gods hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his Enemies, or howsoever the image of things not seen but fantasied, offer themselves to the secret cogitation of man, his Senses being asleep, by the operation or permission of God, working, after some Spiritual influence in our imaginations, certain it is, that no dead man materially can ever arise again or appear before the Judgment-day, to any man with his staff or without his staff, to work any feat, after he have once departed this life.

A Note to the Reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

After the death of this *Robert Grosthead*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, great dissention fell between the Archbishop of *Canterbury Boniface*, and the Canons of the said Church of *Lincoln*, about the right of giving Prebendships, and about the Revenues of the said Church, in the time of the Bishops See being now vacant. Which right and power the Archbishop claimed to himself, but the Canons of that Church (maintaining the contrary side) stood against him, and for the same were Excommunicated of the Archbishop. Among whom one Master *Woolf* resisting the Archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other Canons, made up his Appeal to *Rome*, where much mony on both sides was spent. At length after this *Grosthead* was Elected *Henry Lexinton* in the See of *Lincoln*.

Dissention between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Church of *Lincoln*.

Excommunication abused.

Appellation made to *Rome*.

*Henry Lexinton* Bishop of *Lincoln*.

About which time the wicked *Jews* at *Lincoln* had cruelly Crucified, Whipped, and Tormented a certain Child named *Hugo*, of nine years of Age, *Anno* 1255. in the month of *August*: *Ex Gualt. Gisburne.* At length the Child being sought and found by the Mother, being cast in a pit; two and thirty of those abominable *Jews* were put to execution. Whereof *Mat. Paris.* reciteth a long story. The same or like Fact was also intended by the like *Jews* at *Norwich* twenty years before upon a certain Child, whom they had first Circumcised, and detained a whole year in custody, intending to Crucify him, for which the *Jews* were sent up to the *Tower* of *London*, of whom eighteen were hanged, and the rest remained long in Prison: *Ex Cestrens. lib.* 7. Of this wicked *Jewish* people I find also in the Book *Flor. Hist.* that about this year of our Lord 1255. they began first to be expelled out of *France*, by the commandment of the *French* King, being then in *Palestina*, Warring against the *Turks*: by the occasion that it was objected then by the *Turk* against him and other Christian Princes, for the retaining the *Jews* amongst them, which did Crucify our Saviour, and Warring against them which did not Crucify him. *Ex Flor. Histor.* Of

A Child Crucified of the *Jews* at *Lincoln*.

Ex N. Trivet. Ex Cestrensi, lib. 7. cap. 34. Ex Flor. Hist.

The *Jews* expelled out of *France*.

these

KING Hen. 3. A Child circumciſed of the *Jews*, and kept a whole year to be Crucified.

The *Jews* ask leave to depart the Realm of *England*.

*Ex Eulogio.* *Jews* burned at *Northampton.*

A *Jew* fallen into a Privy would not be taken out for keeping his Sabbath-day.

Superſtitious faſting noted in *Walter* Archbiſhop of *York*.

*Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

Superſtition in ſeeking Salvation by wrong means.

The Pope injurious to the Church of *England*.

A Prebendſhip of *Paul's* given both of the Pope and of King at one time to two ſeveral perſons.

The Popes Donation preferred before the Kings.

these *Jews* moreover King *Henry* the ſame year, 1255, exacted to be given unto him Eight thouſand Marks in pain of hanging. Who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the King went about their deſtruction, deſired leave to be given them of the King, that they might depart the Realm, never to return again. But the King committed the doing of that matter unto Earl *Richard* his Brother, to inforce them to pay the mony whether they would or no. Moreover of the ſame *Jews* mention is made in the ſtory Intituled *Eulogium*. Of the *Jews* in *Northampton*, who had among themſelves prepared wild-fire, to burn the City of *London*; for the which divers of them were taken, and burned in the time of *Lent*, in the ſaid City of *Northampton*, which was two years before, about the year of our Lord 1253. *Ex Eulogio*. And forſomuch as mention here is made of the *Jews*, I cannot omit what ſome *Engliſh* ſtories write of a certain *Jew*, who not long after this time, about the year of our Lord 1257, fell into a Privy at *Teukesbury* upon a Sabbath-day; which, for the great reverence he had to his holy Sabath, would not ſuffer himſelf to be plucked out. And ſo Lord *Richard* Earl of *Gloceſter*, hearing thereof, would not ſuffer him to be drawn out on Sunday for reverence of the Holy day. [illegible] ſuperſtitious *Jew*, remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the Dung.

And to note the blind ſuperſtition of that time, not only among the *Jews*, but alſo among the Chriſtians; to omit divers other ſtories, as of *Walter Gray* Archbiſhop of *York*, who coming up to the Parliament at *London*, *Anno* 1255, with unordinate faſting did ſo over-charge Nature, and pined himſelf, and (as the ſtory mentioneth) did ſo dry up his Brain, that he loſing thereby all Appetite of Stomach, going to *Fulham*, there within three days died, as in the Compiler of *Flor. Hiſt.* is both ſtoried and reprehended. Let this alſo be adjoyned, which the fore-named Author, and in the ſame year is Recorded of one named *Peter Chaceporce*, who dying in *France*, *An.* 1255, left in bequeſt his Teſtament 600 Marks for Lands to be purchaſed to the Houſe of *Merton* for God to be ſerved there perpetually, *Pro anima ejus, & omnium fidelium*; that is, *For his Souls health, and all faithful Souls*. As, who would ſay, Chriſtian-Faith were not the ordinary means ſufficient to Salvation of Faithful Souls, without the Quire-ſervice of the Monks of *Merton*.

Ye have heard it often complained of before, how the uſurped power of the Pope hath violently and preſumptuouſly incroached upon the Church of *England*, in giving and conferring Benefices and Prebends to his *Italians* and Strangers, to the great damage and ruine of Chriſts flock manifold ways. This violent injury and oppreſſion of the Pope, as by no Lawful and gentle means it could be reformed; ſo by occaſion and means inordinate, about this time it began ſomewhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the Collector of *Flor. Hiſt.* recited: In the year of the Reign of this King fourty and four, the Biſhop of *London*, named *Fulco*, had given a certain Prebend in the Church of St. *Paul*, to one Maſter *Ruſtandus*, the Popes Meſſenger here in *England* Who entring into the Profeſſion of the Gray-Friers, and ſhortly after dying on the other ſide of the Sea, the Pope immediately conferred the ſaid Prebend to one of his ſpecials, a like ſtranger as the other was before. About the ſame inſtant it befel, that the Biſhop alſo of *London* deceaſed, whereby the Biſhoprick now vacant fell into the Kings hands; who, hearing of the death of the fore-named *Ruſtandus*, gave the ſaid Prebendſhip, given of the Pope before, to one *John Crakehale* his under-treaſurer, who with all Solemnity took his inſtallation, not knowing as yet that it was beſtowed of the Pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noiſed at *Rome*, forthwith cometh down a certain Proctor, named *John Gras*, with the Popes Embulled Letters, to receive the Collation of the Benefice, by his Commiſſion procuratory, given by the Pope, wherein *John Crakehale* had been already inſtalled, as is aforeſaid, by the Kings Donation. This matter coming in Traverſe before *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; he inquiring and ſearching which Donation was the firſt, and finding the Popes Grant to be the former, gave Sentence with him againſt the King; ſo that in concluſion, the Roman Clerk had the advantage of the Benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the poſſeſſion thereof before. Thus the Popes man being preferred, and the *Engliſh* man excluded, after the party had been inveſted and ſtalled after the uſe and manner; he thinking himſelf to be in ſure poſſeſſion of his place, attempted with the reſt to enter the Chapter-Houſe, but was not permitted ſo to do: whereupon the Popes Clerk, giving place to force and number, went toward the Archbiſhop to complain. This being known, certain Recluſes purſued him; and he being ſo compaſſed about, one in the thickneſs of the throng, being never after known, ſuddenly ruſhing upon him, a little above his Eyes, ſo pareth off his Head, that he fell down dead; the ſame alſo was done to another of his fellows in flying away. This hainous murder being famed abroad, ſtrait inquiry thereof was made, but the deed doer could not be known; and although great ſuſpition was laid upon *Crakehale* the Kings Chaplain, yet no proof could be brought. But moſt men thought, that bloody Fact to be done by certain Ruffians or other light perſons about the City or the Court, diſdaining be-like that the Romans were ſo enriched with *Engliſh*mens Livings, by whom neither came relief to any *Engliſh*man, nor any godly inſtruction to the flock of Chriſt. And therefore becauſe they ſaw the Church and Realm of *England* in ſuch ſubjection, and ſo much to be troden down by the Romans and the Popes Meſſengers: they thought thereby ſomething to bridle, as with a ſnaffle, the Popes Meſſengers from their untemperate ranging into this Land. *Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

Two Roman Clerks going to com, lain, were ſlain by the way.

The ſtory of *Mat. Paris* here ceaſeth

Here by the way is to be noted, that, unto the death of this foreſaid *Fulco* Biſhop of *London*, continueth the Hiſtory of *Mat. Paris* Monk of St. *Albans*, which was to the year of Grace 1260. The reſidue was continued by another Monk of the ſame Houſe, but not with ſuch like commendation, worthy to make any authentick ſtory; as I have ſeen it noted in a written Book.

It were too curious and tedious in order to proſecute what happened in every year, through this Kings Reign; as how it was provided by the King, that whoſoever could diſpend fifteen pounds Land by the year, ſhould be bound to make to the King a Soldier, that watch ſhould be kept every night in Cities; that whoſoever was robbed, or otherwiſe damnified in any Country, he that had the cuſtody ſhould be compelled to make up the loſs again, or elſe to purſue the malefactor, which was *An.* 1253, witneſſing *Flores Hiſt. Item*, how the King making his Voyage into *Vaſcon*, his expences were reckoned to amount to 270000 Marks, beſide 30000 Marks beſtowed upon his Brethren by the Mothers-ſide, and beſides other great gifts given abroad. By reaſon whereof, great Taxes, and Tolonies, and Tenths were required of his Subjects; eſpecially of the Church-men, who, being wont to receive Tithes of others, now were conſtrained to give Tithes to the Laity: *Flores Hiſt. Anno* 1254. *Item*, how in the year next following, the *Londoners* offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the King, with a precious Cup of Gold, at his return out of *France*, were ſhortly after compelled by the King to pay three thouſand Marks for the eſcape of a certain Priſoner, being a Clerk condemned; which Clerk being granted of the King to the Biſhop, and he having no Priſon ſufficient for him, borrowed of the *Londoners* the Priſon of *Newgate*; to have him kept in, who eſcaping thereout, they, as is ſaid, were demanded this recompence aforeſaid, *Anno* 1255. *Item*, how the King, greatly complaining of his Debts the ſame year, required the whole Tenths, which ſhould be gathered in three years, to be taken up all at once. To whoſe requeſt the Nobles and Commons agreed to ſtrain themſelves, ſo that the Charter of their Liberties and Cuſtoms might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed: and ſo for that year they were: *Flores Hiſt. Item*, How Pope *Alexander* the third to deſtroy the City *Michera*, with King *Menfred* the Son of *Frederick* the Emperor, ſent forth the ſame year *Octavianus* his Cardinal with a puiſſant Army; who coming to the City with his ſiege, through the Counſel of *Marchiſius* one of the chief Captains, diſcharged a great part of his Hoſt, whereby the moſt of the Popes Army was ſlain and deſtroyed; almoſt all, ſave only the Family of *Marchiſius*, *An.* 1255. *Flor. Mat. Pariſ.*

Pope *Alexander* the third maketh War.

The Popes Army ſlain.

*Lewlinus* King of *Wales* Warreth againſt the King.

*Lewlinus* and the King concorded.

Many other things during the time of this King might be congeſted, as the riſing of *Lewlinus* King of *Wales*, and of the *Welch* men againſt the King, and waſting the Land unto the Town of *Cheſter*; who deſtroyed divers

of

of the *Engliſh*-mens Horſmen taken in the Mariſh; with whom at length they fell to agreement by the means of *Octobonus*, that his ſucceſſors ſhould be only called Princes of *Wales*, and ſhould do the King his Homage; and the King ſhould receive of him Three thouſand Marks. And this, being Eſtabliſhed in writing, was confirmed by the Popes Seal, in the year of our Lord 1257. *Ex Polychron.*

*Ex Polychro. 17.*

*Ex Antone Eulogii.*

About the ſame time, ſuch Famine and lack of Victuals oppreſſed the Land, that a Somme of Corn was then ſold for Six and twenty Shillings; in ſo much that the poorer ſort was forced to eat Nettle-roots, Thiſtle-roots, and whatſoever they could get: *Ex Eulogio.* Although ſome refer this to the year 1262.

{Anno 1257} Pope *Alexander* to make ſhift for mony, maketh the King believe his Son ſhould be King of *Apulia*. *Richard* the Kings Brother made King of *Almain*.

Hereunto moreover might be adjoyned, how Pope *Alexander*, abuſing and mocking the Kings ſimplicity, made him believe that he would make his Son *Edmund* King of *Apulia*, ſo that he would ſuſtain the charges and coſt thereof, to maintain the War which thereto ſhould appertain. Whereby the King, caſt in a ſudden hope, cauſed his Son incontinently to be Proclaimed King of *Apulia*; and upon the ſame ſent up to the Pope all the Riches he could well make in his Realm. And thus was the Realm manifold ways miſerably impoveriſhed to inrich the Pope: *Ex Flor. Hiſt.* About which Seaſon, *Richard* Earl of *Exceſter* the Kings Brother, was made King of *Almain* by the Electors.

Here might be ſhewed moreover and added to the ſtories above, how the nex year following, which was 1259, as *Nicholas Trivet* writeth, the King entring into *France*, required the reſtitution of ſuch Lands in *Normandy* and *Anjou*, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withholden from him. But the *French* King again alleadged, ſaying, That the Country of *Normandy* by old time was not given away from the Crown of *France*, but uſurped, and by force extorted by *Rollo*, *&c.* In concluſion, the King fearing and ſuſpecting the hearts of his Nobles, and looking for none other but for Rebellion at home, durſt not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon ſuch Peace and conditions as he could get; which was this: That he ſhould have of the *French* King Thirteen hundred thouſand of *Turen* pounds, with ſo much Lands elſe as came to the value of Twenty thouſand pounds in yearly Rent: ſo ſhould he reſign fully and purely, to the hands of the *French* King, all ſuch Lands and Poſſeſſions which he had in *France*. Whereby the King, giving over his Stile and Titles which he had in thoſe parts, ceaſed then to be called Duke of *Normandy*, or Earl of *Anjou*.

What civil diſcord worketh.

Reſignation of the Earldom of *Normandy* and *Anjou*.

*Ex Gualt. Gisburn.*

Albeit it be true that *Giſburne* writeth, that King, afterward repenting of his deed, did never receive the mony in all his life, neither did he ceaſe during his life to Intitle himſelf Duke of *Normandy*. But after him, his Son *Edward* and his ſucceſſors in their Stile left out the Title to be called Duke of *Normandy*, &c. *Ex Gisburn.*

The conflict and skirmiſh between the *Northern Welſh* men and the *Southern*, men in *Oxford*.

Beſides many other matters omitted, here I over-paſs alſo the ſore and vehement conflict, not between the Frogs and the Mice which *Homer* writeth of, but the mighty pitched field, fought in the year of our Lord 1259, between the young Students and Scholars of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, having no other occaſion, as I read in *Mat. Pariſ.* but only the diverſity of the Country where they were born. For the *Northern* men joyning with the *Welch* men, to try their manhood againſt the *Southern* part, fell both parts together in ſuch a broil, with their Enſigns and War-like Array, that in concluſion divers on both ſides were ſlain. This heavy and bloody conflict during and increaſing among them, the end was this: That the *Northern* Lads with the *Welch* had the Victory. After that fury and fiery fierceneſs had done what it could, the Victorers bethinking at length with themſelves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due puniſhment to fall upon them, eſpecially ſeeing the Brother of *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, and Son of *Griffin*, was newly dead in Priſon; drawing their counſel and helps together, they offered to King *Henry* 4000 Marks, to *Edward* his Son 300, and to the Queen 200, to be releaſed of their Treſpaſs. But the King anſwering them again, That he ſet more price by the life of one true Subject, than by all which by them was offered, would in no wiſe receive their mony. And ſo the Students without hope of peace went home with ſmall triumph, learning what the common Proverb meaneth, *Dulce bellum inexpertis.* Notwithſtanding, the King being then occupied in great Affairs and Wars, partly with *Leoline* and the *Welch* men, partly inwrapped with diſcord at home with his Nobles, had no leaſure to attend to the correction of theſe Univerſity men; which was *Anno* 1259. *Ex Matth. Pariſienſi.* Likewiſe concerning the Diſſention following the next year after in the Univerſity of *Paris*, between the Students there, and the *Friers*; the number of whom then did ſo much increaſe, that the Commons Unneth was able to ſuſtain them with their Alms. Alſo between the Univerſities both of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, for a certain Priſoner taken out of their hands by ſtrength, and brought into ſanctury the ſame year, as is teſtified in *Matthew Paris*, *Anno* 1259. In like manner touching the variance between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Chapter of *Lincoln*. Again, between the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Chapter and Biſhop of *London*; and how the ſaid Biſhop at his Conſecration would not make his Profeſſion to the Archbiſhop but with this exception, *Salvis jure & libertate Eccleſiæ* Londinenſis, *quæ pro poſſe meo defendam in omnibus*, &c. Recorded in *Flor. Hiſt.* All which wranglings and diſſentions ſuch inſuing rable others raigning daily in the Church at thoſe days, if I had ſo much leaſure to proſecute them as I find them in ſtories remaining, might ſufficiently induce us to underſtand what ſmall peace and agreement was then joyned with that Doctrine and Religion in thoſe days, during the ſtate and raign of Antichriſt.

{KING Hen. 3}

Variance between the Students and the Friers in *Paris*.

Variance between the Univerſity of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

Variance between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Chapter of *Lincoln*.

Variance between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Chapter of *London*.

Little Peace in the Popes Church.

Theſe with many ſuch other matters more, which here might be diſcourſed and ſtoried at large, being more forein than Eccleſiaſtical, for brevity I do purpoſely contract and omit, cutting off all ſuch ſuperfluities as may ſeem more curious to write upon, than neceſſary to be known.

Hiſtories profitable for example.

This that followeth, concerning the pitiful and turbulent commotion between the King and the Nobles, which laſted a long ſeaſon; becauſe it is lamentable and containeth much fruitful example, both for Princes and Subjects to behold and look upon, to ſee what miſchief and inconvenience groweth in Common-weals, where ſtudy of mutual concord lacketh, that is, where neither the Prince regardeth the offending of his Subjects, and where the Subjects forget the office of Chriſtian-patience in ſuffering their Princes injuries by Gods wrath inflicted for their ſins: therefore, in explaining the order and ſtory thereof, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the Reader with a little more tarriance in peruſing the full Diſcourſe of this ſo lamentable a matter, and ſo pernitious to the publick weal.

The occaſion of commotion between the King and the Nobles.

And firſt to declare the occaſions and firſt beginning of this tumult, here is to be underſtood, which before was ſignified, how King *Henry* Married with *Elenor*, Daughter of the Earl of *Provens* a ſtranger, which was about the year of our Lord 1234. whereupon a great Door was opened for ſtrangers, not only to enter the Land, but alſo to repleniſh the Court: to whom the King ſeemed more to incline his favour, advancing them to more preferment, than his own natural *Engliſh* Lords, which thing to them was no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the King by *Iſabel* his Mother, who was a ſtranger, had divers Brethren, whom he nouriſhed up with great Livings and Poſſeſſions, and large Penſions of mony; which was another heart-ſore to divers, and alſo an hinderance. Over and beſides hath alſo been declared, what unreaſonable collections of mony from time to time, as Quindecims, Subſidies, Tenths, Mercements, Fines, Payments, Loans, and Taxes, have been Levied by the King, as well of the Spirituality, as of the Lay ſort, partly for maintaining the Kings Wars againſt *Wales*, againſt *Scotland* and *France*, to recover *Normandy*; partly for helping the Kings Debts, Voyages, and other expences; partly for the Kingdom of *Apulia*, which was promiſed the Kings Son by the Pope; partly for monying and ſupporting the Pope in his Wars againſt the Emperor. By reaſon of all which ſundry and importable Collections, the Common-wealth of the Realm was utterly excoriate, to the great impoveriſhment of poor *Engliſh* men. Neither did it a little vex the people, to ſee the King call in ſo many Legates from *Rome* every year, which did nothing elſe but tranſport the *Engliſh* mony unto the Popes Coffers. Beſides

all

{KING Hen. 3} all this, what variance and altercation hath been between the King and his Subjects about the liberties of *Magna Charta*, and *De Foreſta*, granted by King *John*, and after confirmed by this King, in the former Council holden at *Oxford*, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be alſo ſome piece of a cauſe, that the King conſidering and bearing in mind the old injuries done of the Lords and Barons to his Father King *John* before him, did bear ſome grudge therefore, or ſome privy hatred unto the Nobility, to revenge his Fathers quarrels but of things uncertain I have nothing certainly to affirm. This is certain by truth of Hiſtory, that the year next inſuing, which was 1260, thus writeth *Nic. Triver*: That the Kings Juſtices, called *Itinerarii*, being ſent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cauſe being alledged, for that they were againſt the King in proceeding and enterpriſing againſt the form of the proviſions enacted and ſtabliſhed a little before at the Town of *Oxford*.

{Anno 1260} ¶ In this year it pleaſed the King, after ſute to him made, to License an Univerſity or Academical School to be planted in the Town of *Northampton*; and of a ſpecial favour which he pretended to bear (and like enough did indeed) unto the Scholars that went there to ſeat themſelves, and to proſecute the exerciſes of Studies, wrote his Letters Mandatory unto the chief Officers and others of the ſaid Burrough in the ſaid Students behalf; the Tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the Record:

## The Kings Letter to the Maior, Bailiffs, and others the Inhabitants of *Northampton* in the behalf of certain Scholars minded to plant themſelves there as in an Univerſity.

*Turrh Lond.* REX *dilectis & fidelibus ſuis Majori, Ballivis, & cæteris probis hominibus ſuis de* Northampton, *ſalutem. Cum quidam Magiſtri & alii Scholares proponant*, &c.

In Engliſh thus:

Touching a Univerſity for Scholars to be kept at *Northampton.*

*The King to his beloved and truſty the Maior, Bailiffs, and other honeſt men his Subjects of* Northampton, *Greeting: Whereas certain Maſters and other Scholars do purpoſe to tarry in your Town Corporate, there to exerciſe Scholary-Diſcipline, as we hear: We hereupon regarding the Service of God, and the great profit of our Kingdom, taking in good part the coming thither of the ſaid Scholars, and liking well their abode there, do Will and Grant that the ſaid Scholars in the ſaid Town Corporate, under our protection and defence, do ſafely and ſecurely abide, and there exerciſe and do ſuch things, as to ſuch Scholars ſhall belong. And therefore we command you and ſtraitly charge you, That when the ſaid Scholars ſhall come unto you, to tarry in your ſaid Corporate Town, you receive them courteouſly, and as becometh the ſtate of Scholars uſe them, not doing or ſuffering to be done unto them any impediment, moleſtation, or grievance. In Witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made. Witneſs the King at* Windſor *the firſt day of* February, *in the Five and fortieth Year of his Reign.*

Strangers having all the Wealth of the Realm under the King. *Ex Gualt. Gisburn.*

It befel moreover in the ſame year, above other times (as *Gualter Heminford* writeth) that a great number of Aliens, coming out of *France* and other Provinces, reſorted into *England*, and had here the doing of all principal matters of the Realm under the King. Unto whom the rewards and reliefs, and other emoluments of the Land did moſt chiefly redound: which thing to ſee, did not a little trouble and vex the Nobility and Baronage of *England*. Inſomuch that *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, offering to ſtand to death for the Liberties and Wealth of the Realm, conferred together with other Lords and Barons upon the matter, who, then coming unto the King after an humble ſort of petition, declared unto him how all the doings of his Realm, and his own Affairs, were altogether diſpoſed by the hands, and after the wills of ſtrangers, neither profitable unto him, nor to the Wealpublick: foraſmuch as his Treaſures being waſted and conſumed, he was in great debt, neither was able to ſatisfy the Proviſion of his own Houſe, but driven to Tally for his own Cates, to no ſmall diſhonor unto his own State. And now therefore, ſaid they, pleaſeth your Highneſs to be informed by our Advice, and to commit your Houſe to the Guiding and Government of your own Faithful and Natural Subjects, and we will take upon us to diſcharge your whole Debt within one year, of our own proper Goods and Revenues, ſo that we within five years may clear our ſelves again. Neither will we diminiſh your Family, but rather increaſe it with a much greater retinue; providing ſo for the ſaftety and ſeeing to the cuſtody of your Royal Perſon, as your Highneſs ſhall find and underſtand our diligence moſt truſty and faithful unto you in the end.

The King granteth to his Lords.

To theſe words ſo lovingly declared, ſo humbly pretended, ſo heartily and freely offered, the King as willingly condeſcended, Aſſigning unto them both Day and Place where to confer and to deliberate further upon the matter, which ſhould be at *Oxford* the fifteenth day after *Eaſter*.

A ſitting of the King and Lords at *Oxford.*

At which day and place all the States and Lords, with the Biſhops of the Realm, were Summoned to appear at the ſaid Town of *Oxford*, for the behalf of the King and the Realm convented together. Where firſt of the King himſelf, then of the Lords, an Oath was taken, That what Decrees or Laws in the ſaid Aſſembly ſhould be provided to the profit of the King and of the Realm, the ſame Univerſally ſhould be kept and obſerved to the honour of God, and utility of his Church, and Wealth of the Realm. Beſides theſe Lords and the King, were alſo nine Biſhops, which ſwearing unto the ſame, did Excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould gainſtand the ſaid Proviſions there made; the King holding a burning Taper in his hand, and the Lords openly proteſting to riſe with all their force againſt all them that ſhall ſtand againſt the ſame.

The Proviſions or Laws made at *Oxford.*

The King ſweareth unto the Proviſions made at *Oxford.*

There were at that preſent in the Realm four Brethren of the Kings (moſt part of them by the Mothers ſide) which would in no caſe agree hereunto, but in anger departed privily unto *Wincheſter*. The Nobles hearing thereof, in all ſpeedy wiſe purſued them, fearing leſt they ſhould take the City of *Wincheſter*, and forceably keep the ſame. Wherefore the Lords preventing their purpoſe, and ſeeing them ſtifly to perſiſt in their ſtubborn Sentence, wrought no other violence againſt them, but, returning to *Oxford* again, preſcribed to them theſe conditions, That they departing the Realm ſhould repair to their own Lands and Poſſeſſions, which they had beyond the Sea: and that forthwith they ſhould put this Injunction in execution. Notwithſtanding, that the King made for them great interceſſion, yet it took no place. And becauſe this ſhould ſeem to proceed of no ſpecial diſpleaſure againſt them, they Enacted moreover, That all ſtrangers and Aliens, of what ſtate or condition ſoever, ſhould forthwith avoid the Realm on pain of death. Divers other proviſions the ſame time were ordained and ſtabliſhed; That if any did hold of the King in whole or in part, and ſhould chance to depart (his Heir being under age) the Wardſhip of him ſhould belong to the King, as hath partly before been ſpecified.

The Kings Brethren againſt the Proviſions at *Oxford.*

The Proviſions of *Oxford.*

*Ex Hiſt. Guali. Giſburnenſis.*

Moreover, it was there Decreed, That the Wool of *England* ſhould be wrought only within the Realm, neither ſhould it be Tranſported out to ſtrangers.

God grant this Lawe might take place again. God grant the like Lawe again for the Wealth of the Realm.

*Item*, That no man ſhould wear any Cloth, but which was wrought and made only within the Realm.

*Item*, That Garments too ſumptuous ſhould not be brought in nor worn.

*Item*, That all exceſſive and prodigal Expences, waſted upon pleaſure and ſuperfluity, ſhould be eſchewed of all perſons.

Many other Laws and Decrees (ſaith the Author) in this Aſſembly were ordained, wherein they continued the ſpace of fifteen days, and many of them were Impoyſoned, of whom was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, a man in that order much commended. Alſo *William* Brother to the Earl of *Gloceſter*: alſo the Earl himſelf, being Impoyſoned, hardly eſcaped with life, his Hair and Nails falling off his Body, whereof the Author not long after was taken, and dilly executed at *Wincheſter*. In the mean time, the Nobles conſidering thoſe dangers and jeopardies, were conſtrained to break off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of *October* next following to convent together at *London* with Weapon and Harneſs, to proſecute and

Divers in this Council Impoyſoned

The words of the Nobles to the King.

finiſh

finiſh the reſidue that was in the ſaid Council to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accompliſhed, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and ſo committed to execution.

The King repenteth of his Oath.

After the Promulgation whereof many things therein diſpleaſed the King, and it began to repent him of his Oath. But becauſe he could not at that preſent otherwiſe chuſe, he diſſembled for a ſeaſon. Thus time paſſing on, Anno 1261. within a year following, which was in the year of our Lord, 1261, the King ſeeing himſelf more and more to grow in Debt, and not to be relieved according to promiſe made, but eſpecially being egged (as may be thought) by his Brethren; taking it to ſtomach, ſent up to the Pope, both for him and his Son *Edward* to be releaſed of their Oath made before at *Oxford*. The benefit of which Abſolution being eaſily obtained (or rather bought at the Popes hand) the King ſtepping back from all that was before concluded, calleth another Parliament at *Oxford*: where he before the Lords and Nobles declared, How in the late Council of *Oxford* they had agreed among themſelves for the common Utility of the Realm and of the King, as they pretended, for the increaſing of his Treaſure, and his Debt to be diminiſhed: And thereupon bound themſelves with an Oath, cauſing alſo himſelf and his Son *Edward* to be bound unto the ſame. But now by experience proving and trying the matter to be otherwiſe than their promiſe was; and that they, contrary to their Covenant made, ſought not ſo much the profit of him and of the Realm, as their own, taking him not as their Lord, but going about to bring him under their ſubjection as an underling; and for that moreover his Treaſure greatly decreaſing, his Debts increaſed, and his Princely liberality was cut ſhort and troden under foot: they ſhould not marvel therefore, if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their counſel, but would provide himſelf of ſome other remedy, ſuch as he might. And moreover, as touching the Oath wherewith he and his Son ſtood bound unto them, he had ſent already to *Rome*, and had obtained Abſolution and Diſpenſation of the ſame, both for him, and his Son *Edward* alſo, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore he required of them to be reſtored again to that ſtate and condition he had injoyed in times paſt.

The King ſueth to the Pope to releaſe him of his Oath.

The Popes Abſolution abuſed.

The anſwer of the Nobles again to the King.

To this again gave anſwer the ſtate of Nobility on the other ſide, being in the ſame place preſent; in the number of whom was *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Richard Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Humfry Ronne* Earl *Ferrence*, with a great number of Barons, as Lord *John Fitz-John*, Lord *Haſtings*, Lord *Geffery Lucy*, Lord *John Veſcy*, Lord *William Segrave*, *Hugh Spencer*, Lord *Robert Veſpoint*, with divers and many more; whoſe anſwer to the King again was this: That the Proviſions made at the Council at *Oxford* (whereunto they were ſworn) they would hold, defend and maintain to their lives end: forſomuch as they did ſound, and alſo were agreed upon, both to the honour of God, to the profit of the Prince, and ſtable Wealth of the Realm, *&c.* And thus parts on both ſides diſcording amongſt themſelves, they would ſo have departed, had not certain of the Biſhops, coming between both, laboured between them to take up the matter. By whoſe means (ſaith *Gualter Guisburn*) and procurement, the determination of the cauſe was brought in compromiſe, and referred to *Ludovick* the *French* King to judge betwixt them, who hearing both the Allegations (ſaith he), like no equal Judge, but a partial Friend, inclined wholly and fully to the Kings Sentence, and condemned the Nobles. But the Author of *Flores Hiſtoriarum* ſaith, that by the Mediation of diſcreet men, two were choſen, one for one ſide, the other for the other, to whom the third alſo was annexed, who hearing as well what was brought of the Kings part, as alſo what was anſwered of the other ſhould define between them both, and ſo peace was between them concluded till the coming of *Edward*. All this while, as yet the Popes Abſolution for the King, although it was granted and obtained at *Rome*, yet was it not brought down in ſolemn writing, neither was Prince *Edward* as yet returned out of *France* into *England*.

The controverſy between the King and the Nobles; or in compromiſe.

The Pope releaſeth the King of his Oath.

At length, the writing of the Kings Abſolution being brought from *Rome*, the King eftſoons commanded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout the Realm, and ſendeth to the *French* King and other ſtrangers for help; moreover he ſeizeth all his Caſtles into his own hand, rejecting the Counſel of the Lords, to whoſe cuſtody they where before committed; alſo removing the former Officers, as Juſtices, and the Chancellor, with others placed afore by the Lords, he appointed new in their ſtead.

To this foreſaid Abſolution procured from *Rome* for the King and his Son, *Edward* returning out of *France*, at that time did not give his conſent, but held with the Lords. Who then putting themſelves in Arms, with a great power repaired up to *London*, keeping there in the Suburbs and places about; while the King kept within the *Tower*, cauſing the City Gates to be watched and lockt, and all within the ſaid City being above the age of twelve years, to be ſworn unto him. But at length, through the means of certain coming between, this tumultuous perturbation was ſomewhat appeaſed, at leaſt ſome hope of Peace appeared; ſo that the matter was taken up for that time without War or Bloodſhed. Notwithſtanding, ſome falſe pretenced diſſemblers there were, which ſecretly diſcloſing all the Counſels and doings of the Lords unto the King, did all they could to hinder Concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpoſe of the Lords came not to ſo good effect, as otherwiſe it might. Ex. *Flor. Hiſt.*

Wicked make-bates.

¶ In this year the Archbiſhop of C[illegible] Suffragans (after their wonted manner) ſtanding againſt the King, had made their Appeal to *Rome*: whereupon the King was fain to Anſwer by Proxy, as appeareth by this brief Note drawn out of Record: *Rex conſtituit* Johannem Hemingford *Procuratorem ſuum in Cauſa Appellationis*, &c. *The King hath appointed and made* John Hemingford *his Proctor in a Cauſe of Appeal which is moved in the Court of* Rome, *between the King on the one part, and the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *with his Suffragans on the other part, about certain Ordinances, Conſtitutions and Decrees lately in a Council Provincial at* London *by them publiſhed, to the prejudice of the Kings Right, his Dignity Royal, the Liberties, Laws and Cuſtoms of his Kingdom.*

Ex Flor. Hiſt. An. 1261

Ordinances in a provincial Council at London againſt the Kings right.

This matter no doubt was laboured very diligently by the ſaid *John Hemingford*, who was to that end Authorized by the King to make his abode at *Rome*, during the time that any manner of proceſs was held and maintained againſt him, to the impeaching of his Royalty. Whereof the King had a ſpecial regard, perceiving the waiwardneſs of his own Clergy, or rather rebelliouſneſs in daring to Decree and Ordain Laws againſt him. And therefore he was the more careful to have all matters depending in the Court of *Rome* concerning him and his to be earneſtly followed. Inſomuch as he joyned to the foreſaid *Hemingford*, in the charge of procuration, one *Roger Lovel*; unto which two, reſiding at *Rome*, the King ſent his Letters, charging them ſo to manage his Affairs, as that nothing might paſs to the derogation of his Royal Title, the Copy of the ſaid Letter followeth agreeing with the Prototypon or Original.

## A Letter of the King ſent to his Proctors at *Rome*, concerning a caſe of his in the ſaid Court depending.

*Turris Lond.*

REX *Magiſtris* Johanni *de* Hemingford, *&* Rogero Lovel *Procuratoribus ſuis, in Curia* Romana *agentibus, ſalutem*, &c. *Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus noſtris*, &c.

In Engliſh thus:

Againſt the proceedings in the Court of *Rome* tending to the hurt and prejudice of the King.

*The King to Maſter* John *of* Hemingford, *and* Roger Lovel *his Proctors, Pleading in the Court of* Rome, *greeting: Forſomuch as upon you our truſty and vowed Servants, the defence of our right and honour doth lie; and (as we hear) certain of our Realm, pleading in the Court of* Rome, *do move divers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, preſuming and intending to prevail againſt us, We command you, and ſtraitly charge you, that on our behalf you ſtraitly forbid all and every of them, that they preſume not any further to undertake ſuch things as tend to the hurt of our Majeſty, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear ſo to do, as they will avoid our indignation, and the peril of them and theirs. This inhibition alſo we will by you all and every of you (ſo often as you ſhall ſee needful) to be made known, and thereupon*

KING Hen. 3 *upon by you or ſome of you to be certified of the contemners of the ſame. Witneſs the King at* Weſtminſter, *the ſix and twentieth of* March, *in the ſix and fortieth year of his Reign.*

Biſhops going about to recover Benefices appropriate from religious Houſes. *Ex Flor. ib.*

In this preſent year alſo (as affirmeth the forenamed Author) it was rumored abroad (as *Flores hiſtoriarum* reporteth) that all the Biſhops of *England* went about to recover again, out of the hands of religious Men, all ſuch Churches and Benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated: and that they, for the expedition of the ſame, had ſent up to *Rome* both Meſſengers and Mony, nothing miſdoubting to obtain their purpoſe. But as little good fruit in thoſe days uſed to ſpring out of that See, ſo I do not find that godly ſute and labour of the Biſhops to take any fruitful effect. The ſame year died Pope *Alexander*, after whom ſucceeded Pope *Urban* the fourth.

Pope *Alexander* dieth. Pope *Urban*

Anno 1262.

Of the which Pope *Urban* the King alſo obtained (or rather revived) a new releaſement from his Oath made to the Proviſions and Statutes of *Oxford*. Which being granted, he commandeth incontinently all the foreſaid Laws and Proviſions through *England* to be diſſolved and broken. This done, the King with the Queen taketh his Voyage into *France*, where he fell in great infirmity of ſickneſs and the moſt part of his Family was taken with the Fever Quartane, of which many died. In the number of whom, beſide others, died *Richard* the worthy Earl of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, after whom ſucceeded *Gilbert Clare* his Son.

A new releaſe of the Oath from Rome with this Epitaph: *Hic pudor Hypoliti, Paridis gena, ſenſus Ulyſſis, Aſtus Pirrhi, Hectoris ira jacet.*

The *Welchmen* rebel. The proviſions of *Oxford* again grafted by the King.

The *Welchmen* this year, breaking into the Borders of *England*, did much annoiance in the Lands of *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, but mightily again by him were expelled, not without great ſlaughter of the Invaders. About which time, the King, through ſome diſcreet counſel about him, inclined to peace and concord with his Nobles, granting of his meer voluntary will the conſtitutions & proviſions of *Oxford* to take place in the Realm, directing his commandment to every ſhire. Albeit the Realm yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

The Kings Palace at *Weſtminſter* burnt with fire.

In the later end of this year, the Kings Palace at *Weſtminſter* was burnt, and for the moſt part was all conſumed with fire, which ſeemed to many an evil prognoſtication againſt the King. *Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

Uſury puniſhed for taking above two pence a Week in a pound.

In ſome *Engliſh* Chronicles it is alſo recorded, that the ſame year five hundred *Jews* at *London* were ſlain for taking Uſury more than two pence a Week for 20 ſhillings, being before forbidden by the King to take above that rate by the Week.

Anno 1263.

After this followeth the year 1263. in which the Barons of *England*, confederating themſelves together, for maintaining the Statutes and Laws of *Oxford*, and partly moved with old grudge conceived againſt the ſtrangers (maintained by the King and the Queen, and *Edward* their Son, in the Realm of *England*) joyned powers in all forcible wiſe, and firſt invaded the ſaid ſtrangers, namely, them which were about the King. Their Goods and Manors they waſted and ſpoiled, whether they were perſons Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal. Among whom, beſides others, was *Peter* a *Burgundian* (Biſhop of *Hereford* a rich Prelate) with all his Treaſure apprehended and ſpoiled: alſo his Countrymen, whom he had placed to be Canons of the ſame Church. With like order of handling other Aliens alſo, to whom was committed the cuſtody of divers Caſtles, as of *Gloceſter*, of *Worceſter*, of *Bridgenorth*, were ſpoiled, impriſoned, and ſent away. Briefly, whatſoever he was in all the Land that could not utter the *Engliſh* Tongue, was of every Raſcal diſdained, and happy if he might ſo eſcape. By reaſon whereof it ſo came to paſs, that a great number, as well of other foreigners, as eſpecially Religious Men, and rich Prieſts (which here had gathered much ſubſtance) were urged to that extremity, that they were glad to flee the Land. In the catalogue of whom was one moſt principal, named *John Maunſel*, a Prieſt notoriouſly grown in riches and treaſures not to be told, having in his hand ſo many and rich Benefices, that near no Biſhop of this Realm might compare with him in riches. Who notwithſtanding he kept with the King at *London*, yet was compelled privily to avoid the Realm, and was purſued by *Henry* the Son of *Richard* King of *Almain*. Certain other ſtrangers there were, to the number of 200 and more, which having the Caſtle of *Windſor*, there immured and intrenched themſelves, to whom at length, Prince *Edward* alſo adjoyned himſelf.

The Nobles riſing againſt the ſtrangers, having the commodity of the realm

*Peter* of Hereford a *Burgundian*, a rich Biſhop.

*John Maunſel* a rich Prieſt.

The King is gain agreeth with the Nobles.

In the mean time, while this ſtir was abroad, the King keeping then in the Tower, and ſeeing the greateſt part of his Nobles and Commons with the *Londoners* to be ſet againſt him, agreed to the peace of the Barons, and was contented to aſſent again to the ordinances and proviſions of *Oxford*; albeit the Queen, by all means poſſible, went about to perſwade the King not to aſſent thereto; who, as it ſeemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of diſcord between the King and the Barons. Inſomuch, that when as the ſaid Queen *Elenor* ſhould paſs by Barge from the Tower to *Windſor*, the *Londoners* ſtanding upon the Bridge, with their exclamations, curſing and throwing of Stones and dirt at her, interrupted her courſe, cauſing her to return to the Tower again. Notwithſtanding, the peace yet continued with the Nobles and the King, the form whereof was this: *Firſt, That* Henry *the Son of* Richard *King of the* Romans *ſhould be delivered by the King and Queen. Secondly, That the Caſtles again ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of* Engliſhmen, *not of Strangers. Thirdly, That the Proviſions and Statutes decreed at* Oxford, *ſhould as well by the King, as by all others inviolably be obſerved. Fourthly, That the Realm henceforth ſhould be ruled and governed not by foreigners, but by perſonages born within the Land. Fifthly, That all aliens and ſtrangers ſhould void the Land, not to return again; except only ſuch, whoſe abode ſhould by the common aſſent of the Kings truſty Subjects be admitted and allowed.*

The Queen a great cauſe of this debate.

The form of peace concluded between the King and the Nobles.

Thus the King and the Nobles joyning together after this form of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themſelves in Arms, with all their power to recover the Caſtle of *Windſor* out of the ſtrangers hands. But *Edward*, in the mid-way between *London* and the Caſtle, meeting with his Father and the Barons, entred communication upon the matter. Which being finiſhed, and he thinking to return into the Caſtle again; by the policy of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and *William* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, he was not permitted to re-enter. Whereupon the ſtrangers within the Hold (deſtitute of all hope to withſtand the great force approaching) rendred the Caſtle unto the King and the Barons upon this convention; *That with Horſe and Harneſs they might be ſuffered ſafe to depart the Land, not to return any more.* Which being granted, certain of the Barons conducted them in their journey towards the Sea ſide, and there they left them.

The Caſtle of *Windſor* recovered out of the hands of Strangers.

In the ſame year about the beginning of *October*, the King and Queen made over to *France*, with *Simon Mountfort* and other Nobles, to hear and ſtand to the arbitrement of *Lewis* the *French* King, concerning the controverſie between the States of *England*, and all through the procurement of *Elenor* the Queen. For ſhe, not forgetting the old contumely of the *Londoners*, exclaiming againſt her upon the Bridge, wrought always what revenge ſhe could againſt them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the *French* King, partly hath been ſaid before, and more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Some ſtories do add moreover, that the King continuing long in *France*, word was ſent to him out of *England*, *That unleſs he returned again to the Realm, they would elect a new King.* Whereupon the King, returning out of *France* to *Dover*, would have entred the Caſtle, but he was ſtopped. Wherefore the King, in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power towards *London*; where *Simon Mountfort* the worthy Earl of *Leiceſter*, through a ſubtil train, was almoſt betraied and circumvented in *Southwark*, by the ſudden purſuing of the Kings Army; had not the *Londoner's* with more ſpeed, breaking Bars and Chains made way to reſcue him, by the means of whom the Earl at that time eſcaped the danger.

*Manet alta mente repoſtum judicium Paridis, &c. Virg.*

Now to come to the Sentence of the *French* King. For ſomuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been ſpecified; he in a great frequency both of *French* and *Engliſh* perſons about him, conſidering and poiſing the cauſe on both ſides, between the King and the Nobles, clearly and ſolemnly pronounced on the Kings ſide againſt the Barons, ordained that the King of

The ſentence of the *French* K. with the K. of *England*, againſt the Barons.

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*England* all this while had ſuffered wrong, and that he ſhould be reſtored again to his priſtine ſtate, notwithſtanding the proviſions made at *Oxford*, (which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated) *Ex Flor. Hiſt Gisburn.*

*Ex Flor. hiſt. Ex Guth. & aliis.*

*War betwixt the King and the Barons beginneth.*

The ſentence of the *French* King thus awarded, as it gave to the King of *England* with his retinue no little incouragement, ſo it wrought in the Nobles hearts great indignation, which, notwithſtanding that partial decreement of the *French* King, ſped themſelves home out of *France* to defend themſelves with all their ſtrength and power. And not long after followeth alſo the King, by whoſe train *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* (as is above recited) was well near circumvented in *Southwark*. Then the King calling his Council together at *Oxford* (from whence he excluded the Univerſity of Students for a ſeaſon, who were then at *Northampton*, as you heard before) there conſulted, conferring with his Friends and Counſellors, what way beſt to be taken. And hearing that the Barons were aſſembled in a great number at the Town of *Northampton*, he went thither with his Hoſt and with his Banners diſplaied, accompanied with *Richard* his Brother King of *Almain*, alſo with *Edward* his Son, *John Comin* of *Scotland*, with many other *Scots*, *John* of *Dallilo* Lord of *Galoway*, *Robert* of *Bruſe*, Lord *Walter* of *Anand*, *Roger* of *Clifford*, *Philip* of *Marmion*, *John* of *Waus*, *Roger* of *Laiburne*, *Henry Percy*, *Philip Baſſet*, *Roger* of *Mortimer*, and *William* of *Walerce*, and many others. Therefore the King commanded the Barons that were within, to yield unto him preſently the City and the Pledges, or elſe he would immediately deſtroy them. But they counſelling with the younger *Simon De Monte forti*, which by his Fathers commandment had got the reſidue thither to take counſel together (for his Father and the Earl of *Gloceſter* were not yet come) boldly and with one mind anſwered, *That they would not obey the Kings will, but would rather defend themſelves and the City, if need were, even to the death.* Which the Noblemen of the Kings part hearing, ſent word again, *that at leaſt they ſhould come to the Wall of the City to ſpeak to the King, if by any means peace might be made.* And they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed their counſel, and leaving their Holds, came to the Wall towards the Meadow, for there lay the King and his ſtrong Hoſt hard by. But in the mean ſpace, whilſt divers matters were reaſoned and intreated of between the King and the Lords, the Lord *Philip Baſſet* (which before was appointed to work that feat) with Mattocks and other inſtruments of Iron and Men prepared for the once, near to the Monaſtery of S. *Andrew*, did undermine the Wall of the City; and by this means the Wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great Plain, ſo that in one forefront there might have gone together on a row forty Horſemen. And of this ſubtilty the alien Monks that were there, were thought to be the workers, becauſe they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that paſſed by ſaw this, and the Kings Banners were erected ready to enter in, there was a great howling made, and the noiſe of the People came to the ears of the Barons, and they made ſpeed to reſiſt them; but it was all in vain, becauſe they were already prevented of a great company of their enemies. But *Simon Mountfort* the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the midſt of his enemies, with *Peter Mountfort*, and a few that were with him, when *Edward* the Kings Son came, was by his commandment taken and led away Priſoner. But the Clerks of the Univerſity of *Oxford* (which Univerſity by the Barons commandment was tranſlated thither) did work againſt the Kings Men more hurt than the other Barons, with their Slings, long Bows and croſs Bows; for they had a Banner by themſelves, and that was ſet up on high againſt the King. Wherewithal the King being greatly moved, ſware at his entring in, that they ſhould all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them ſhaved their Crowns, and they that were able ran away as faſt as they could. And when the King entred the City many fled in their Armor into the Caſtle, others left their Horſe and Harneſs, and ran into Churches, and a few were ſlain, and thoſe were of the common people; but there was not much bloodſhed, becauſe all things were done as upon the ſudden. When the City was at length ſet in quiet, the King commanded his Oath to be executed upon the Clerks. But his Counſellors ſaid unto him, *This be far from thee O King, for the Sons of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy Kingdom were there gathered together into the Univerſity; whom if thou wouldſt cauſe to be hanged or ſlain, even they that now take thy part would riſe up againſt thee, not ſuffering, to the uttermoſt of their powers, the blood of their Sons and Kinſfolks to be ſhed.* And ſo the King was pacified, and his wrath againſt the Clerks was ſtaid.

Univerſity of *Oxford* removed for a time to *Northampton.*

{Anno 1264.}

The Nobles taken at *Northampton*

*Simon Mountfort* the younger taken Priſoner.

The Scholars of *Oxford* ſtout againſt the K.

The Students of *Oxford* ſpared.

In the ſame day, after little more than an hour, the Kings Hoſt aſſaulted the Caſtle, and the new Hold-keepers were afraid, for that they had not Victuals and other things neceſſary for their reſiſtance; therefore they ſent immediately meſſengers unto the King, and yielded themſelves to the Kings mercy. There were taken that day theſe Knights and Barons under written; Lord *William de Ferrers*, Lord *Peter Mountfort*, companion of the ſaid *Simon de Mountfort* the younger, Lord *Baldwin de Wake*, Lord *Adam de Newmarch*, Lord *Roger Bertram*, Lord *Simon* the Son of *Simon* a valiant Warrior, which firſt erected his Banner againſt the King, Lord *Berengarius de Watervile*, Lord *Hugo Gubium*, Lord *Thomas Maunſel*, Lord *Roger Botemlam*, *Nicholas Wake*, Lord *Robert de Newton*, Lord *Philip de Driby*, and *Grimbald de Paſſence*. And theſe aforehand did the King take Priſoners, and many more, of whom he committed ſome to the Lord *Nicholas* of *Haverſam*, to be kept in the ſame Caſtle well defended: ſome he led away with him; and ſome he ſent to divers Caſtles, and appointed *Simon Mountfort* to be caſt into *Windſor* Caſtle. And all theſe things, as touching the taking of *Northampton*, were done on the Sabbath day in *Paſſion* Week, being the third of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1264: and the King went forward even to *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Manors of the Lords and Others his enemies, and there he gathered together his Nobles and greatly increaſed his number.

The Lords taken at *Northampton.*

When this ill luck was told, of them that there were run away, to the Earl *Simon*, which was coming towards *Northampton* with a great Hoſt, he was in a great rage, and yet was not diſcouraged: but immediately going to *London*, he cauſed a Chariot to be made after the manner of Litters or Coaches, wherein he might ride as though he were ſick; for he feigned himſelf to be feeble and weak, whereas he was indeed a ſtout and valiant Warriour, and there gathered to him other Noblemen that were confederate with him, Earls and Barons, every one bringing with them their ſeveral Arms; and preparing their Engines of Wood, they went to beſiege *Rocheſter*; for the Earl of *Worceſter* in the Kings behalf, kept both the Town and Caſtle. When they had gotten the firſt Gate and the Bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant Knight *Roger de la Bourn* was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilſt they continue Siege there a while, it was told them that the King was coming towards *London*, with a mighty Hoſt. And they ſaid one to another, *If the King at his coming ſhould take* London, *we ſhall be ſhut in as it were in a ſtrait corner; let us therefore return unto* London, *that we may keep in ſafety both the place and the people.* Therefore appointing certain perſons to keep the Siege, they returned to *London*. At the length when the King came, they went forth with the Citizens to meet him, not with Flowers and Palms in their hands, but with Swords and Spears. The King ſhunned them, and after he had the Caſtle of *Kingſton*, which was the Earl of *Gloceſters*, he went from thence to *Rocheſter*; where after he had killed a few, he brake the Siege, and from thence the King went to *Tunbridge*, and the Town and Caſtle now being given up to him, he took there the Counteſs of *Gloceſter*, and put her into an Abby, not to be kept in hold, but to go at liberty whither ſhe would. And he left for the cuſtody of the Caſtle and City a great part of his Hoſt, to the number of above twenty picked out Enſigns, for that it was commonly ſaid that the Earl of *Gloceſter* would come out of hand to aſſault them. Which being done, he continued on his journey to *Wincheſter*, where he received to peace the Seamen of the Haven Towns. And three days after upon the *Sunday* following, he came to the Town of *Lewis*, and was received into the Abby, and his Son *Edward* into the Caſtle. Then the Barons ſent Letters to the King the twelfth day of *May*, the tenor whereof followeth.

Earl *Simon* *Mountfort* feigneth himſelf ſick

*Rocheſter* beſieged of the Barons.

The K. ſhunneth *London.*

KING Hen. 3

The Letter of the Lords to the King.

*TO their moſt excellent Lord* Henry, *by the Grace of God King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *and Duke of* Aquitain, *his Barons and others his faithful Subjects, being willing to keep their Oath and Fidelity to God and him, ſend greeting and due obedience with honour and reverence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifeſt, that ſome of Your Graces aſſiſtants have reported to Your Majeſty many lies of us, working miſchief, as much as in them lieth not only againſt us, but againſt you alſo, and your whole Realm: Be it known to Your Highneſs, that we have been always willing to defend the health and ſafeguard of Your Perſon, with all our power and Fealty due to Your Grace, purpoſing to vex to the uttermoſt of our power and eſtate not only our ill willers, but alſo your enemies, and the enemies of Your whole Realm. If it be Your good pleaſure, give no credit to them, we ſhall be always found Your faithful Subjects. And we the Earl of* Leiceſter, *and* Gilbert *of* Clare, *at the requeſt of others, for us and them have put to our Seals.*

Theſe Letters being read and heard, there was a Council called, and the King writ back to them, and ſpecially to the two Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, in manner and form following:

The anſwer of the King to the Lords.

HEnry *by the Grace of God King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *Duke of* Aquitain, *&c. To* Simon Mountfort, *and* Gilbert de Clare, *and their Confederates. Forſomuch as by the War, and general diſquietneſs by your means raiſed up in Our whole Realm, and alſo the burnings and other hurtful enormities, it appeareth manifeſtly, that you keep not your fidelity to Us-ward, nor care any thing for Our health or ſafety; and for that ye have unorderly grieved Our Nobles, and others Our faithful Subjects ſticking faithfully and conſtantly to Us (as you have certified Us) We accounting their loſſes as Our own, and their enemies as Ours; and ſeeing theſe My aforeſaid faithful Subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, do aſſiſt Us manfully and faithfully againſt your unfaithfulneſs: We therefore care not for your fidelity or love, but deſie you as our and their enemies, Witneſs My Self at* Lewis *the day and year aforeſaid.*

Alſo *Richard* King of *Almain*, and Lord *Edward* the Son of King *Henry* writ to the Barons in this wiſe:

The Letter of *Richard* King of *Almain* and Prince *Edward* to the Barons.

Richard *by the Grace of God, King of the* Romans, *always* Auguſtus, *and* Edward *eldeſt Son of the King of* England, *and all the other Barons and Nobles conſtantly and faithfully in heart and deed cleaving to the foreſaid King of* England, *To* Simon Mountfort *and* Gilbert de Clare, *and to all and ſingular others their adherents in their conſpiracy. By your Letters which you ſent to our Lord the Noble King of* England, *we have underſtanding that you deſie us, although before any ſuch word, your defiance towards us was apparent enough by your cruel perſecution in burning our poſſeſſions and ſpoiling our goods. We therefore give you to wit, that we all and every one of us, as your enemies, do deſie you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not ceaſe, whereſoever it ſhall lie in our power, to the uttermoſt of our force and might, to ſubvert your perſons and all that you have. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we give neither faithful nor good counſel to our Lord the King, you ſay not the truth. And if your Lord* Simon Mountfort *or* Gilbert de Clare, *will affirm the ſame in our Lord the Kings Court, we are ready to get ſafe conduct for you to come to the ſaid Court, to try and declare the truth of our innocency, and the falſhood of you both, as forſworn Traitors, by ſome Man equal with you in Nobility and Stock. All we are contained with the Seals of the foreſaid Lords, the Lord* Richard *and the Lord* Edward. *Dated the day aforeſaid.*

The Battel at *Lewis*, betwixt the King and the Barons beginneth.

Both which Letters being read, they drew near to the King; for they were not far diſtant from the place which is called *Lewis*. And for that there wanted to the Kings ſtore proviſion for their Horſes, it was commanded them, on *Tueſday* to go forth to ſeek for Hay and Provender: which when they were gone forth, were prevented of their enemies, and moſt of them killed; but the reſidue returning ſaw their enemies coming very early on the *Wedneſday* Morning, and making out-cries, ſtirred up the King and his Hoſt to arm themſelves. Then the Barons, coming to the full Plain, deſcended there, and girding and trimming their Horſes, made fit their Harneſs to them. And there the Earl *Simon* made the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and *Robert de Veere*, and many other new Knights. Which being done, he divided and diſtinguiſhed his Hoſt into four ſeveral Battels, and he appointed Noblemen to guid and govern every Battel. And over the firſt Battel were ordained Captains, *Henry Mountfort* the Eldeſt Son of the Earl *Simon*, and *Guido* his Brother, Lord *John de Bruch* the younger, and Lord *Humfrey de Bohun*. Over the ſecond Battel, Lord *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, Lord *John* the Son of Lord *S. John*, and Lord *William* of *Mountcherſie*. And over the third, in which the *Londoners* were, at their requeſt, the Lord *Nicholas Segrave* was aſſigned: which required alſo very inſtantly, that they might have the firſt ſtroke in the Battel, at the adventure, come what come would. But over the fourth Battel, the Earl himſelf was Captain, with the Lord *Thomas* of *Pinelſton*. In the mean ſeaſon, came forth the Kings Hoſt, preparing themſelves to the Field in three Battels, of which *Edward* the Kings Son led the firſt, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Valence* the Kings Brother, and the ſecond the King of *Almain* guided, with his Son *Henry*; but the King with his Nobles guided the third; and the fourth Legion the King appointed not, by reaſon he had left many of his chief Soldiers behind him to keep the Caſtle and Town of *Tunbridge* againſt the Earl of *Gloceſter*. And the moſt part of the Kings Army were but young Men, for the King thought not that his Barons had been come ſo nigh hand. Their Armies being on both ſides ſet in aray and order, they exhorted one another on either party to fight valiantly: and after they buckled together, the Battel was great, and many Horſemen were overthrown even in a moment. But by and by *Edward* the Kings Son with his Band, as a fierce young Gentleman and valiant Knight, fell upon his enemies with ſuch force, that he compelled them to recoil back a great way, ſo that the hindmoſt (thinking by reaſon of their giving back, that the foremoſt were ſlain) ran many of them away, and taking Water to paſs over, were almoſt threeſcore Soldiers drowned, and a few of them being ſlain, all the reſt fled. Straitway the *Londoners* which had asked the firſt fight, knowing not how the Battel went, took their Heels: whom *Edward* purſued with his Band, killing the hindmoſt of them the ſpace of two or three Miles; for he hated them becauſe they had rebelled againſt his Father, and diſgraced his Mother when ſhe was carried by Barge upon the *Thames*, from the Tower to *Windſor*, as is before touched.

Whilſt that Prince *Edward* was thus in the chaſe of the *Londoners*, who had the Vaward of the Barons Battel; in the mean time, the main Battel of the Barons ſet upon the Kings main Battel, of the which the King of *Almain* the Brother of King *Henry* had the leading, which being ſoon diſcomfited, and he with his Son *Henry* and *Robert de Brus*, *John Coven*, with divers other Captains taken Priſoners, the rereward wherein the King himſelf fought, being immediately ſo hardly beſet, and he ſeeing his Knights and Soldiers on every ſide about him beaten down and ſlain, and divers others of his Soldiers to forſake the field and ſhift for themſelves, thought good to take again the Town, and ſo retired into the Abby from whence he came, ſhutting and rampering up the Gates, and cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly warded with Soldiers. To be brief, the Barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many Men on either ſide ſlain, entred alſo the Town of *Lewis*, purſuing in chaſe ſuch Soldiers as thither fled for ſuccour.

*Richard* K. of *Almain* with his ſon taken Priſoners.

The Kings main Battel at *Lewis* diſcomfited and the K. fain to take the Abby.

In the mean time, Prince *Edward* returning from the chaſe of the *Londoners*, as ye heard, who deſired to give the firſt on-ſet, and eſpying the Chariot of the Earl *Simon* (which he cauſed purpoſely to be made for him) and the Horſes in the ſame, without either Waggoner, or any other to govern the ſame, fell immediately upon the Chariot, and brake it all in pieces, and ſlew two Burgeſſes that were within the ſame. But when he came nearer to the place where the bloudy Battel had been fought, and ſaw the great diſcomfiture and overthrow, which in his abſence,

Prince *Edward* returning from the firſt chaſe, findeth all together loſt.

with great mortality and ſlaughter had happened, his heart was much diſmaied, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithſtanding, comforting and encouraging his Knights and Soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in Battel-aray he marched toward the Town; againſt whom came the Barons again with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a freſh Field and new Battel, and many Men ſlain on either ſide. But at length the Earl *de Warenia*, with the Kings two Brethren, forſook the Field and fled: after whom went more than ſeven hundred choſen Soldiers, which were of their Houſe and Family, who the ſame day came to *Pevenſie*, and there took ſhipping over the Sea. Alſo *Hugh Bigot* with divers others fled, and left the valiant Prince fighting in the field: which thing he alſo perceiving took the Town. And when he found not the King his Father at the Caſtle, he went from thence to the Abby where he was. In the mean ſeaſon, the Town was divided in parts, ſome fighting, ſome ſpoiling, ſome getting of booties, neither could ſcarcely one of them know and diſcern another, whether he was his friend or enemy. But when within a while the Barons had aſſembled ſome company, they gave an aſſault upon the Caſtle, thinking to have reſcued *John Gifford* and others, whom the Kings Soldiers had taken Priſoners, and put therein. But the Soldiers within manfully defended the ſame, and in throwing out Balls of Wild-fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they alſo fired part of the Town. Then the Barons retired and left the Caſtle, and purpoſed to have ſet upon the Abby where the King and Prince *Edward* his Son was, which alſo was ſet on fire by the aſſault given to the Caſtle; but yet it was ſhortly recovered and quenched. Then *Edward* the Kings Son, perceiving the bold enterpriſe of the Barons, prepared with couragious Knights and Soldiers, as were yet remaining and within the Abby, to have iſſued out, and to have given a new charge upon them. But the Barons, perceiving that, ſent unto the King meſſengers to intreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk and conclude of a further peace between them. This Battel was fought upon the nineteenth day of *May*, being the year of our Lord 1264.

The Prince fighteth a new Battel.

Prince Edward alſo put to the worſt, and fain to take the Town.

The Caſtle of Lewis beſieged.

The next day, which was *Thurſday*, there were ſent on either ſide two preaching Friers between the King and the Barons, with certain Articles and demands of Peace, ſo that with certain others, theſe conditions were agreed on: that on the morrow being *Friday*, the Prince ſhould give himſelf in Hoſtage for the King his Father, and others of his part: And *Henry* the Kings Son of *Almain* alſo ſhould give himſelf the like for his Father. That thoſe things which ſhould be concluded upon for the benefit and commodity of the Realm, and peaceable quietneſs thereof might be performed, and that all ſuch Priſoners as were taken on either ſide, ſhould be freely ranſomed and ſent home.

A peace intreated between the King and the Barons.

The two Princes given in Hoſtage.

The next day which was *Saturday*, the King diſcharged all his Soldiers, and others that were with him in the Abby, licenſing them to depart whither they liſted. And furthermore, by the advice of his Son and the Barons, he gave commandment to thoſe which he had appointed to the keeping of *Tunbridge*, that they ſhould make no attempt to the prejudice or hurt of the Barons; but in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they ſhould alſo depart every Man to their houſes and habitations. But they giving no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to *Briſtow*, where they kept themſelves in Gariſon, until the eſcaping of *Edward* the Kings Son out of Priſon. But firſt before that, when they heard at *Tunbridge*, that the King was vanquiſhed in Battel, and that the *Londoners* in the foreward were put to flight by Prince *Edward* (by a Meſſenger that eſcaped from the ſame) and that alſo the ſame *Londoners* were at *Crowdown*, they ſet upon them in the evening tide, and taking from them much ſpoil, ſlew alſo many of them.

The Kings Soldiers in *Tunbridge*, after they had ſpoiled the *Londoners* at *Crowdown*, kept themſelves in Gariſon at *Briſtow*.

But when *Roger Mortimer's* part began to decreaſe, and *Simon* the Earls part on the other ſide to increaſe, he bare himſelf more ſtout, for that both the King and all that was his, did depend upon the good will and favour of the Earl, and led with him the Kings Son to ſuch Holds and Caſtles, as he thought to be moſt ſtrong; as though all were in his hands to do as him liked; and he kept the Hoſtages more ſtraitly than he was wont to do. Inſomuch that when it was blown abroad that the Kings Son was kept as Priſoner, divers that were his friends, counſelled him, that he ſhould deſire to diſport himſelf at the Barriers, that the people might have a ſight of him. But he, being narrowly guarded as he knew, and fearing ſome tumult to ariſe, thought good to refuſe their counſel, and ſo did.

Earl Simon after this Victory, boaſteth himſelf ſo ſtout, that he impriſoneth the Hoſtages of the King.

{KING Hen. 3}

In this troubleſome year, which was *Anno* 1264, as the *Londoners* with the Nobles were thus occupied in War and Diſſention, the malignant *Jews*, thinking to take vantage of that time, with privy Treaſon conſpired againſt the whole City and ſtate of the Nobles; who being taken with the manner, were almoſt all ſlain that dwelt in the City of *London*.

¶ In this year alſo *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* the Son of *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, and a ſtranger, having been certain years beyond the Seas in diſgrace with the King of *England*, upon occaſion of ſome miſdemeanor belike (for he was, as *Matthew Parker* writeth of him, *Ut moribus geſtiſque peregrinus, ſic nomine ipſo & appellatione cæteris Archiepiſcopis diſſimilis*) the King being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with Clergy-mens inſolencies (which for a while he might perhaps gainſtand, but at laſt bare with them as ſupported by the Court of *Rome*) did conſult with his Nobles about the return of the ſaid *Boniface* into *England*, conditionally as followeth.

## Acts paſſed in the Kings Council, touching the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* return into *England*, under certain conditions.

*ANNO Domini* 1264. *Menſe Martio, in præſentia illuſtris Regis Angliæ, de conſilio Procerum & Magnatum ejuſdem Regni actum eſt, quod venerabilis Pater Bonifacius Dei gratia Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas, in Angliam revertatur, ſub conditionibus infra ſcriptis, in Regno pacifice moraturus. In primis igitur, &c.*

*In Engliſh thus:*

In the year of our Lord 1264. in the Month of *March*, it was Enacted in the Preſence of the renowned King of *England*, by the counſel of the Peers and States of the ſaid Realm, that the Revered Father *Boniface*, by the Grace of God Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* ſhould return into *England*, and abide in the Realm peaceably, upon the Conditions under-written.

Firſt, Therefore it is Enacted, that the Archbiſhop at his return, do without any difficulty releaſe in form of Law his Sentences of Excommunication, publiſhed againſt all perſons whatſoever, occaſioning much trouble in the Realm of *England*; but yet ſo, that they, which ſhall be found excommunicate, be ready to make ſatisfaction for their exceſſes and defaults, and for the ſame receive, as they are bound by the Canonical Commandments of the Archbiſhop, in form hereunder in the next Article contained.

Secondly, It is Enacted, That in making amends for defaults done to the Churches and Churchmen, within ſuch places as are immediately ſubject unto his Juriſdiction, the Archbiſhop may arbitrate according to the Counſel of all his Suffragans, or the greater and ſounder part; and of weighty affairs belonging to the Church and Realm of *England*, may in time to come after his return, order and diſpoſe likewiſe by their counſel, and the counſel of other diſcreet Men of the Realm.

Thirdly, It is Enacted, that he bring with him Maſter *Henry Mortimer* Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and *Pont Sabler* his familiar Clerks or houſhold Chaplains, and theſe Clerks only being ſtrangers born, he keep and retain of his Council and Houſhold.

Fourthly, It is Enacted, That other Clerks whereſoever, beneficed in the Church of *England*, meaning and willing to return with the Archbiſhop, may ſafely return and abide in their Benefices, and diſpend the Church goods within the Realm as they are bound, carrying or ſending

KING Hen. 3 ſending nothing out of the Realm, unleſs neceſſary occaſion, and allowed of the Kings Council do ſo require,

Fifthly, It is Enacted, That the Archbiſhop or the Clerks coming with him, ſhall bring nothing with them in Letters, Meſſage or Commandment, nor ſhall procure any thing elſe, during their abode in this Realm, either by themſelves, or by others, whereby any damage danger or prejudice may redound to the King, or to any of his Realm. And for memory of the premiſſes, the Seal of the ſaid renowned King of *England* is hanged unto theſe Preſents.

*By the whole Council.*

Notwithſtanding this concluſion, the Archbiſhop did not preſently return, but continued in *Provence* and elſewhere, behaving himſelf imperiouſly as a Prelate of the right *Romiſh* ſtamp. In the mean time many matters incident to this place, were omitted and neglected, which perſonally by him ſhould have been executed; but by reaſon of his abſence the ſame were diſpatched by deputation, and the ſame ordered likewiſe according to his own fancy, which he preferred before the Kings Authority and Commandment. This to be true, the Copy of a Letter deſcribing the contumacy of the ſaid *Boniface* doth ſufficiently teſtifie, the ſame being ſet down agreeable to the Prototypon.

## A Letter of the King to *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, charging him to return into *England*, there perſonally to diſcharge his Archiepiſcopal Function.

*REX Bonifacio Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati, ſalutem. Licet hactenus per patientiam pluries ſuſtinuerimus electos in Epiſcopos, Abbates, ac Prælatos alios in regno noſtro, &c.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

It the archbiſhop of Canterbury in foreign Countrys abiding?

*The King* to Boniface *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *greeting. Although hitherto by patience we have ſuffered oftentimes Biſhops elect, Abbots, and other Prelates in our Realm, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to paſs over beyond Sea unto you, we thought not to receive at your hands any ſuch reward, as that againſt the right and cuſtome of our Realm, to the which we mean not by this our patience that prejudice ſhall any way be procured or bred, you ſhould attempt this to be followed. We do marvel therefore, and are moved that you, at the requeſt of us, have refuſed to commit the examination of the election of our wellbeloved in Chriſt, Maſter* Walter Gifford *late of* Bath *and* Wells *Biſhop Elect, and the confirmation of the ſame Election, unto ſome diſcreet perſons of our Realm, we having detained and as yet detaining the ſame* Gifford *againſt his will, that he might not repair perſonally unto you: whereunto common right and the very cuſtome of the Realm ought to have lead you unrequeſted, whilſt you abide out of the Realm. Leſt therefore our too much patience might breed in you a contempt, we will you to underſtand, that henceforward we mean to bear leſs with ſuch dealing, ſpecially in theſe days, wherein there is no ſafe paſſage for* Engliſhmen *unto you through the parts of* France, *as it is reported. Wherefore we thought good to deſire your fatherhood, and alſo to admoniſh you, giving you moreover in charge and commandment, and upon the Fealty wherein you are bound unto us firmly injoyning, that in reſpect of the foreſaid Election, and other Ceremonies, you come perſonally into* England, *to execute your office and charge, or ſend ſome other in your room; or at leaſt procure and cauſe ſome diſcreet perſons of our Realm, whom you ſhall repute more meet for this matter, to ſerve the turn for you in this behalf: leſt if with contumacy you refuſe to hear our requeſts and commandments the ſecond time, which you are by duty bound to obey, we be compelled to take indignation againſt you, as a contemner of the rights, liberties and the cuſtoms of our Kingdom, and ſo to proceed againſt you more ſharply by way of revenge: neither will we ſuffer, if you ſhould do otherwiſe, that the revenues of your ſaid Archbiſhoprick ſhall henceforth be conveyed unto you out of our Realm; but as you refuſe the burthen, ſo will we in like ſort do what we can to withdraw hereafter the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our Land. Finally, we, if need ſhall be, are ready to give you a ſure and ſafe conduct. Witneſs the King at St.* Pauls *of* London, *the* 25 *of* June, *and the* 48 *year of our Reign.*

Now after all this ado, we read that at laſt *Boniface* returned, and becoming more holy towards his end, he went with other Biſhops to the King, requeſting him, that being mindful of the decay of his Kingdom, by Eccleſiaſtical Livings beſtowed upon ſtrangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godly men of his own Nation. To whom the King anſwered that he would willingly do it. *Wherefore I think it meet that you, which are a ſtranger and unlearned, and alſo my Brother* Ethelmer *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *whom I have preferred to ſuch dignities only for kindreds ſake, ſhould firſt give examples to others, and forſake your Churches, and I will provide other learned men to ſerve in them.* Which anſwer of the King ſo pierced this *Boniface*, that he always after lived a wearieſome life in *England*. Wherefore perceiving himſelf to be miſliked of the King and the People, he deſired to return into his Country. And thereupon firſt ſelling and ſelling the Woods, letting out the Archbiſhoprick, taking great Fines of his Tenants, and making a great maſs of Mony of the Clergy of his Province, he went with the curſe of all Men unto *Savoy*, where in the Caſtle of S. *Helens*, after he had miſgoverned the See ſix and twenty years, ſix months, and ſixteen days from his Conſecration, being nine and twenty years from his firſt election, he died the fifteenth Kalends of *Auguſt*. And ſo ceaſed the troubles between the King and the ſaid Biſhop, whoſe contumacy in ſtories, with others of the like brood, doth largely appear in this Book.

*Boniface* his advice diſadvantageable to himſelf.

*Boniface*, maketh ſale of the Archbiſhoprick, he is hated, and dieth.

¶ But to leave *Boniface* now dead, note ye this, that in this year, after the death of Pope *Urban*, ſucceeded in the ſaid year of our Lord *Anno* 1265. Pope *Clement* the fourth; which *Clement*, as affirmeth *Nic. Trivet*, was firſt a Married Man, and had Wife and Children, and was the Solicitor and Counſellor to the *French* King; then after the death of his Wife, was Biſhop, intituled *Podienſis*; after that Archbiſhop of *Narbon*; and at laſt made Cardinal; who being ſent of Pope *Urban* in Legacy, for reformation of peace, in his abſence was elected Pope by the Cardinals. About this time flouriſhed *Thomas* of *Aquine*, Reader at *Paris* among the *Dominick* Friers, and *Bonaventure* among the *Franciſcan* Friers. *Ex Nic. Trivet.*

The death of Pope *Urban.* Pope *Clement* 4th. Pope *Clement* firſt a married man, and had a Wife and Children.

*Tho. Aquin, Bonaventure* Readers at *Paris.* Anno 1265.

* Now after all the foreſaid tumults and broils of the King and his Barons, to the vexation of the whole Land, it was thought meet and neceſſary that all parties at variance ſhould be reconciled, Whereupon it was concluded amongſt them as followeth.

## A form of Peace between the King and his Barons.

*Tenth Leaſt*

*HÆc eſt forma pacis a Domino Rege, & Domino Edwardo filio ſuo, Prælatis & proceribus omnibus, & communitate tota Regni Angliæ communiter & concorditer approbata, &c.*

*In Engliſh thus:*

'This is the form of peace allowed of the King our Lord, 'of the Lord *Edward* his Son, of all the Prelates and Peers, 'and the whole Commonalty of the Realm of *England*, 'with common conſent and agreement; to wit, that a 'certain Ordinance or Decree made in a Parliament holden 'at *London* about the Feaſt of the Nativity of St. *John Bap*'tiſt laſt paſt, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace 'of the Realm, ſhall continue all the days of the ſaid King 'our Sovereign Lord, and the time of the Lord *Edward*, 'after he ſhall be received as King, even till the end and 'term that ſhall be thought meet and convenient. The ſaid 'Ordinance or Decree is this:

'For the redreſſing of the ſtate of the Realm of *Eng*'*land*, let there be choſen or named three diſcreet and truſty

'perſons of the Realm, which may have authority and pow-
'er, from the Lord the King, to chuſe or name in the Kings
'behalf nine Counſellors: of which nine, three at leaſt by
'courſe or turns may always be preſent in the Court. And
'let the Lord the King, by the counſel of the ſaid nine,
'order and diſpoſe of the keeping of Caſtles, and the ma-
'naging of all the affairs in his Realm. Let the Lord the
'King alſo, by the advice of the foreſaid nine, appoint Ju-
'ſtices, Chancellors, Treaſurers, and other Officers, greater
'and leſſer in thoſe matters that pertain to government of
'his Court and Realm.

'The chooſers or namers ſhall ſwear firſt, that according
'to Conſcience they will chooſe or name ſuch Counſellors,
'as they verily believe will be profitable and truſty in reſpect
'of Gods honour, the Church, the Lord the King, and his
'Realm. The Counſellors likewiſe, and all the Officers
'greater and leſſer in their creation ſhall ſwear, that to the
'uttermoſt of their power they will faithfully execute their
'Offices to the honour of God and of the Church, and to
'the profit of the Lord the King and his Realm, without
'bribe or gift; meat and drink, which are commonly wont
'to be ſet upon the Table, excepted. And if ſo be that the
'foreſaid Counſellors, or ſome or any of them, in the charge
'to them committed (whether they be he or ſhe) have be-
'haved themſelves ill, or that upon ſome other occaſion ſuch
'officers are to be changed; the Lord the King, by the coun-
'ſel of the three former chooſers or namers, may remove ſuch
'as he ſhall ſee meet to be removed; and in their rooms
'by the ſame mens advice may appoint and place other
'perſons truſty and ſerviceable.

'And if ſo be that either the greater Officers or the leſſer
'do diſorderly demean themſelves in their Offices, the Lord
'the King, by the counſel of the foreſaid nine, may diſplace
'them, and without delay by the ſame advice ſet others in
'their room. And if ſo be that the three firſt or chief chu-
'ſers or namers, in the choiſe or naming of Counſellors, or
'perhaps the Counſellors in the creating of Officers, or in
'other affairs of the Lord the King and the Realm to be
'ordered or done, ſhall be at diſagreement, then whatſoever
'by conſent of two parts ſhall be concluded or decreed, let
'the ſame be firmly kept and obſerved; ſo that of thoſe
'two parts, one be a Prelate of the Church in the buſineſs
'belonging to the Church: And if it ſo happen, that two
'parts of the ſaid nine in ſome matter diſagree; then ſhall
'they for their variance ſtand to the ordinance of the three
'firſt chuſers or namers or the greater part of them.
'And if ſo be it ſeem expedient to all the Prelates and Ba-
'rons, by conſent that ſome or one in place of ſome or one
'of the three firſt namers be put and appointed: then let
'the Lord the King, by the counſel of all the Prelates and Ba-
'rons, ordain ſome others, or one other. And let the Lord
'the King do all the premiſſes by the advice of the ſaid nine
'in manner above mentioned, or let them do it in the Lord
'the Kings behalf, and by his authority by this preſent ordi-
'nance to continue and hold out till ſuch time as this agree-
'ment, made and afterwards ſealed by the parties, be perfect-
'ed by conſent, or ſome other proviſo be had, which the
'parties by conſent ſhall judge allowable.

'This Ordinance was made at *London*, by the conſent,
'will and commandment of the Lord the King, and alſo of
'the Prelates, Barons, with the Commonalty then and there
'preſent. In witneſs whereof *R.* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *H.*
'Biſhop of *Ely*, *R.* Earl of *Norfolk* and Marſhal of *Eng-*
'*land*, *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Humfrey de Bohune*,
'*William de monte Caniſo*, and the Maior of *London*, to
'this Writing have ſet their Seals. Acted in the Parlia-
'ment at *London* in the Month of *June* in the Year of our
'Lord 1264.

Reformation of the Church.

'It is alſo ordained, that the ſtate of the *Engliſh* Church
'ſhall be reformed into a ſtate meet and convenient.

No ſtrangers to be keepers of the Kings Caſtles, &c.

'It is alſo ordained, that the three chuſers aboveſaid and
'Counſellors, of whom mention is made in the ſaid Ordi-
'nance at *London*, and the keepers of Caſtles and others the
'Kings Bailiffs be homebred. And as for ſtrangers born, let
'them come, tarry and depart peaceably, as well lay-men
'willing to dwell upon their poſſeſſions, as Clergy-men re-
'ſiding upon their Benefices.

'Merchants alſo, and all others to further and ſee to their
'affairs ſhall come freely, and tarry peaceably; but yet con-
'ditionally, ſo they come without armor and a ſuſpected
'multitude. And that none of them be received in any ſort
'into any office or Bailiwike in the Realm, or otherwiſe
'into the Kings houſe and ſervice be entertained. As for
'the Charters of general Liberties and Foreſts granted un-
'to the homebred of late by the King, and the Statutes
'made upon revoking of grievances, which the Lord the
'King the third year paſt in every Shire by his Letters Pa-
'tents hath cauſed to be publiſhed, with the commend-
'able Cuſtomes of his Realm, and a long time allowed, let
'be for ever obſerved: and that it might be provided how
'they may be better and more ſoundly obſerved: It is alſo
'provided, that the Lord the King, and the Lord *Edward*,
'the Barons and thoſe that ſtand with them, let go all in-
'jury and rancour, ſo that they neither grieve, or ſuffer to
'be grieved by any of theirs, no one of them by occaſi-
'on of things done in the hurly-burly paſt; and alſo cauſe
'all their Bailiffs at the undertaking of their Bailiwikes,
'that they ſhall grieve none by the occaſion aforeſaid, but
'ſhall do juſtice and right to every body with equality.
'And let there be good ſecurity provided how all theſe
'things may be firmly obſerved.

¶ When this agreement was diſpatched, to ſet the Realm in ſome quietneſs, a little leiſure was allowed to look into the loſſes and damages of the Church, whereupon it was provided as followeth.

## *Of the repairing of Treſpaſſes committed againſt the Church.*

IT is provided by common aſſent of the King, of the Prelates, Earls and Barons of the Land, that the treſpaſſes which are committed againſt the Church of *England*, by reaſon of the tumults and wars that have been in this Realm of *England*, ſhall be reformed and amended in this manner.

There ſhall be choſen by the Earls and great Eſtates of the Land, with the liking and aſſent of the Prelates, three Biſhops authorized, and having full power to eſtabliſh and provide for ſuch reaſonable amends, as are to be made for the foreſaid treſpaſs committed againſt holy Church, ſo far forth as ſhall be fit and convenient.

Thoſe that ſhall be found excommunicated, ſhall be abſolved in form of right by ſuch as have power and authority ſo to do.

The authority of the Prelates ſhall be eſtabliſhed in this manner: Firſt, it ſhall be faithfully undertaken by the Earls, Juſtices, and the other Lay-men of the Kings Council, and other great Barons of the Realm, that all thoſe things which the Prelates, that ſhall be choſen ſhall reaſonably ordain and appoint by way of reformatiou, they themſelves ſhall obſerve and fulfil, and ſhall do their indeavour faithfully to cauſe the ſame to be obſerved by others, and thereof they ſhall deliver their Letters Patents.

Moreover, unto the Prelates, after they ſhall be choſen, full power ſhall be granted by the King, and the Commonalty, the Earls, Barons, and great men of the Land, to ordain thoſe things which are needful and profitable to the full reformation of the eſtate of holy Church, to the honour due to the fealty of our Lord the King, and to the profit of the Realm. And that the promiſe made by the King, and by the Earls and Barons aforeſaid, and by the other great Men of the Land, may appear to be made in good faith, they ſhall thereof make their Letters Patents, to wit of things that have been done a year paſt before the laſt *Eaſter*.

If any be found that will not ſtand to the ordinance and appointment of the foreſaid Prelates in the cauſes aforeſaid, and according to the form aforeſaid, he ſhall be compelled thereunto by doom of holy Church; yea, if need be, he ſhall be thereunto forced by the Secular power. And that it may the better be done, the Juſtice ſhall have an hundred or more of choice men at Arms, or Serjeants, Soldiers elect, to diſtrain the Malefactors when by the ſaid Prelates he ſhall be required. Thoſe Soldiers to be ſuſtained of the common goods of holy Church, during the time they ſhall be imployed in that buſineſs. And this Ordinance ſhall continue for a year or two, till ſuch time as matters be quieted, and that the proviſions of the Prelates, and the peace of the Land be well obſerved.

Provided always, that the profits of Benefices of holy Church belonging to aliens, and others that have been

enemies

{KING Hen. 3.} enemies to the land, ſhall be collected and ſafely kept in the hands of the Prelate, until ſuch time as order be taken by common advice what is to be done therewithal. And for the more aſſurance and further teſtimony hereof, the King and the High Eſtates of the Land have unto this writing ſet their Seals.

¶ Beſides all this it was conſidered, that Non-reſidency being a default blame-worthy, deſerved reformation. Whereof the King having ſpecial regard wrote his mind to the Biſhop of *Hereford* for the redreſs of the ſame; whoſe Letter, becauſe it is memorable, and convenient matter therein contained for Non-reſidents of our time, we have here intexted according to the Record.

## A Letter of King *Henry* the Third directed to the Biſhop of *Hereford* concerning Non-reſidents.

*REX Epiſcopo Hereford, ſalutem. Paſtores gregibus præponuntur ut diei noctiſque vigilias exercendo,*

In *Engliſh* thus:

*The King to the Biſhop of* Hereford *ſendeth Greeting: Paſtors or Shepherds are ſet over Flocks, that by exerciſing themſelves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own Cattel by their look, bring the hunger-ſtarved ſheep into the meadows of fruitfulneſs, and the ſtraying ones into one fold by the Word of Salvation, and the rod of correction; and to do their endeavour, that unity indiſſoluble may be kept. But ſome there be who damnably deſpiſing this Doctrine, and not knowing to diſcern their own cattel from others, do take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lords flock may be nouriſhed; they catch up the temporal goods, and who periſheth in their Pariſh with famiſhment, or miſcarrieth in manners, they regard not; which men deſerve not to be called Paſtors, but rather hirelings. And that even we in theſe days removing our ſelves into the Marches of* Wales, *to take order for the diſpoſing of the Garriſons of our Realm, have found this default in your Church of* Hereford, *we report it with grief; for that we have found there a Church deſtitute of a Paſtors comfort, as having neither Biſhop nor Official, Vicar nor Dean, that may exerciſe any Spiritual function and duty in the ſame. But the Church it ſelf, which in time paſt was wont to flow in delight, and had Canons that tended upon days and nights ſervice, and that ought to exerciſe the works of Charity, they forſaking the Church, and leading their lives in Countries far hence, hath put off her ſtole or robe of pleaſure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the loſs of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and lovers that will comfort her. Verily whiles we beheld this, and conſidered it diligently, the prick of pity did move our bowels, and the ſword of compaſſion did inwardly wound our heart very ſore, that we could no longer diſſemble ſo great an injury done to our Mother the Church, nor paſs the ſame over uncorrected.*

Non-reſidents ſtrictly charged to be perſonally incumbent and abiding upon their Cures: Note.

*Wherefore we command and ſtraitly charge you, that all occaſions ſet aſide, you endeavour to remove your ſelves with all poſſible ſpeed unto your ſaid Church, and there perſonally to execute the Paſtoral charge committed unto you in the ſame. Otherwiſe we will you to know for certainty that if you have not a care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods, and whatſoever elſe doth belong unto the Barony of the ſame Church, which goods for Spiritual exerciſe ſake therein, it is certain our Progenitors of a godly devotion have beſtowed thereupon. And ſuch goods and duties as we have commanded hitherto to be gathered and ſafely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the ſame Church, the cauſe now ceaſing we will ſeize upon; and ſuffer no longer that he ſhall reap temporal things, which feareth not unreverently to withdraw and keep back Spiritual things, whereunto by office and duty he is bound; or that he ſhall receive any profits which refuſeth to undergo and bear the burthens of the ſame. Witneſs the King at* Hereford, *the firſt of* June, *in the* 48 *year of our raign.*

About this time (as appeareth by courſe of Record, and thereby may well be gathered) a redreſs of certain Sects was intended, among which one by name eſpecially occureth, and called the aſſembly of Harlots; a kind of people of a lewd diſpoſition and uncivil. Of whoſe manners and life the King having been informed, addreſſed his Letters to the Sheriff of *Oxfordſhire*, a place which they haunted; and wherein they practiſed their evil converſation: Whoſe Letter here followeth.

An aſſembly of ill diſpoſed people called Harlots, whereby may be gathered the ancientneſs of that name.

## A Letter of King *Henry* the Third to the Sheriff of *Oxfordſhire*, concerning the baniſhment of an unlawful aſſembly called Harlots, out of that Country.

*REX Vic. Oxon. ſalutem. Quia intelleximus quod quidam, qui ſe Harlotos appellant, vagi & otium foventes, in diverſis partibus regni noſtri, Congregationes & conventicula, necnon contractus illicitos,* &c.

Turr. Lond

In *Engliſh* thus:

*The King to the Sheriff of* Oxfordſhire *ſendeth Greeting: Becauſe we underſtand that there be certain vagrant perſons which call themſelves Harlots, maintaining idleneſs in divers parts of our Realm, moſt ſhamefully making their meetings, aſſemblies, and unlawful matches againſt the honeſty of the Church and good manners, which abuſe we will not, neither ought we to ſuffer; we charge thee that on our behalf thou forbid the ſaid Harlots henceforth in the ſaid Countries to make any more ſuch meetings, conventicle, or contracts; or to preſume according to their lewd manner and wonted faſhion to Rogue about our Realm, and hereto thou ſhalt (if need be) bind them, as by Law may be done. Wherein ſo behave thy ſelf in this behalf, as we may commend thy diligence. Witneſs the King at* Reading *the* 23 *of* November, *in the* 48 *year of our Reign.*

Againſt an aſſembly or meeting of men which called themſelves Harlots.

What manner of perſons theſe were, or what their converſation was, it doth not further appear; nevertheleſs by the premiſſes it may ſeem to be ſome pretenſed order of Religion. And it is moſt probable that the reproachful name of Harlot had his beginning from hence.

To conclude with ſpecial matters of the Church, wherein we have made ſomewhat the longer delay, by occaſion of ſuch neceſſary Records as came to hand, and brought with them their neceſſary uſe, this one remembrance notwithſtanding remaineth, no leſs note-worthy than the reſt, and falling within the revolution of the forty eighth year of this Kings reign, a year of great trouble, as by the premiſes may be gathered.

You are therefore to note that at this time the Prelates of *England* ſtood upon their Pantophles, and jolly fellows (I tell you) they would be known to be. For in an inquiſition made after the death of one *Aluredus de Lincoln*, being as is ſuppoſed, a Baron of this Realm, there is found (*Inter alia*) as followeth: *Quod prædictus Aluredus tenuit quandam particulam parcæ de Dunetiſh & Tilei de Abbate de Cerne, per ſervicium tenendi ſtropem ſuum, quando Abbas debet aſcendere equum ſuum, & dare ei locum in comitatu quando præſens fuerit.* That is, *That the forenamed* Aluredus *held a certain piece of the Park of* Dunetiſh *and* Tilei *of the Abbot of* Cerne, *by ſervice of holding his ſtirrup when the Abbot ſhould take horſeback, and to give him place in the Shire at ſuch time as he ſhould be preſent.* The circumſtances hereof being conſidered, together with the time wherein it was done, giveth probable cauſe to conjecture that the occaſion of this matter came by this means: *viz.* That whereas the ſaid *Alured* was deſirous to enlarge his Park, and could not ſo do but by purchaſing of part of ſome other ground next adjoyning, whereof the ſaid Abbot was owner; he was therefore conſtrained either to lack that he liked, or to admit ſuch conditions as pleaſed my Lord Abbot; who like a Lord (as you ſee) was content to let him have his land, reſerving ſuch ſervice as is aboveſaid. Wherein would be noted the pomp of Prelates in thoſe days, and how near they drew in imitation to the Pope, in whoſe treading they traced.

But

But leaving theſe affairs of the Church, and Churchmen, wherein we have been ſomewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the Temporal ſtate. You heard before of a pacification concluded between the King and his Barons in the year of our Lord 1264. the ſame having been admitted by mutual and common conſent of the Temporalty and Clergy. Nevertheleſs, as a ſore not well ſearched and tented, but ſuperficially and overly skinned, doth break out into a more dangerous botch; ſo it came to paſs among the Lords and Barons, betwixt whom no ſuch firm reconciliation was made as was like long to laſt. Whereupon inſued after ſecret grudge and privy hatred, open Arms and Conflicts. For in this year 1265. the Sons of *Simon* the Earl, to wit, *Henry*; *Simon* and *Guido*, being all puſt up, and with the pride of their ſucceſs elevated, did that which nothing contented the Earl of *Gloceſter*: inſomuch that he challenged *Henry* the eldeſt Son of the Earl *Simon Mountfort* at the Barriers, to be tried at *Northampton*. But that challenge was taken up, leſt ſome further inconvenience might have riſen thereof. But the Earl of *Gloceſter*, being moved therewith in his mind, ſent unto his Father the Earl, that he ſhould deliver him ſuch Priſoners, being Noblemen, as he took at the Battel of *Lewis*; among whom the King of *Almain* was named firſt. But he by countermand anſwered him, and ſaid, *that it might content and ſatisfie him, for that he had ſaved and preſerved to him his Lands, that day the Battel was fought at* Lewis; *and that furthermore, he would not ſend him ſuch Priſoners as he demanded; and that he himſelf kept more noble than they in the Caſtle of* Dover: among them was *John Baſſet*, which undermined and burſt down the Walls of *Northampton* at that Conflict, as is ſaid before and ſpecified.

Diſſention betweeen Earl *Simon* and the Earl of *Gloceſter*.

The Earl of *Gloceſter* being herewith diſpleaſed, ſo ſoon as he heard this, ſent incontinently to the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, which always took the Kings part, deſiring that they two might talk together touching the benefit and commodity of the King. Who, doubting ſome deceit, deſired Sureties and Pledges for his ſafe return, and he would come to talk with him, and ſo had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſhewed him all that he was purpoſed to do, and that further he lamented he had ſo much and ſo greatly offended the King; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the reſtitution of the King again to his Kingly dignity, as much as he poſſibly might. Therefore they ſent ſecretly to *Robert* the Brother of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, which was near about the Earl *Simon*, and made him to conſent with them therein. And to work this thing more circumſpectly, when opportunity ſerved thereunto, *Roger Mortimer* ſent unto the Kings Son an Horſe excelling all others in footmanſhip, unto whom he might be ſure to truſt, when he ſaw couvenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, Prince *Edward* deſired leave of the Earl to prove his Courſer againſt ſuch time as he ſhould ride at the Tilt, as they might when they liſted. Aſſoon as he had gotten leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field, he had wearied divers of their Horſes: at the laſt, getting up upon that Horſe which for that purpoſe was ſent, and ſpying a ſervant on Horſeback coming toward him with two ſwords, he turned about unto his Keeper, whoſe name was *Robert de Roſe*, and to others his Play-fellows that were with him, ſaying, *My loving Lords, thus long have I kept you company, and have been in your cuſtodies; and now not purpoſing to uſe your companies any longer, I betake you to God.* And quickly turning his Horſe about, put to the Spurs, and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far enough behind, and overtake him they could not. At laſt, when they ſaw *Roger Mortimer* coming from his Caſtle of *Wigmore*, accompanied with many armed Men to meet him, as before it was appointed, they returned again home as wiſe as when they came forth. And when this the Princes eſcape was divulgated, much people came unto him out of every Quarter, with great joy thereof. Amongſt whom, the firſt was the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and the other Soldiers of the King, which had now long lain at *Briſtow*, and thereabouts, and within a ſhort ſpace he had a great and a mighty Hoſt.

The Earl of *Gloceſter* & *Roger Mortimer* conſpire together againſt Earl *Simon*.

Prince *Edward* eſcapeth from out of the cuſtody of Earl *Simon* by a train.

Which thing when the Earl *Simon* underſtood, he much doubted and miſtruſted himſelf; and ſending into *Wales*, he got from thence a great many Men, and augmented his power as ſtrongly as he might from every part of *England*. He ſent alſo *Simon* his Son to the Noblemen of the North parts, that with all poſſible ſpeed he might bring them with him; who with a great company came with him, and at *Kenelworth* a while they ſtaid, and there pitched their Tents. But leaving *Kenelworth* for a certain time, they went to *Wincheſter*, and ſpoiled the ſame, and then returned again to *Kenelworth*. And when this was declared to *Edward* the Kings Son, who then was at *Worceſter*, by a certain Spial, which he had gotten after he came from *Gloceſter* a little before; he prepared himſelf with his Soldiers, in the night ſeaſon, to go to the place where the Spy ſhould bring him, which was into a deep Valley, near unto the place where *Simon* and his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arm themſelves, and prepare their Horſes, they heard a great noiſe of their enemies coming towards them. Then thinking that they had prepared themſelves againſt their coming, and ſo had been betrayed, they ſet forth in Battel aray, marching forwards, till that they met certain of their enemies ſtragling in long Wings, thinking to have gone a foraging, and to have ſought for Victuals; whom they took, and with their freſh Horſes new horſed their Soldiers that had their Horſes tired with long travel. And ſo marching forward, came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the moſt part they found ſleeping; and laying luſtily about them, they ſlew divers; ſome they took, the reſt they put to flight, and fifteen of their chiefeſt Enſignes they took, with many other rich ſpoils. But young *Simon* himſelf lodged in the Caſtle, who with a few with him eſcaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1265.

The Earl *Simon* ſendeth about, and in all haſte gathereth a power.

The firſt enterpriſe of Prince *Edward* after his eſcape by the means of a Spy.

But when *Edward* heard that Earl *Simon* was coming toward *Kenelworth*, to joyn with his Sons Battel, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at *Euſham*, where he divided his Hoſt into three Battels, he himſelf having the leading of one, the Earl of *Gloceſter* the ſecond, and *Roger Mortimer* the third, which came upon their backs. The Kings Son *Edward* came Northward, as though he came from *Kenelworth* to *Euſham*: and becauſe he would not be deſcried, he cauſed his own Standards and Enſignes to be taken down, and young *Simons*, which he had taken before to be advanced. But the Earl *Simons* Scurier, whoſe name was *Nicholas*, ſhewed the Earl that ſuch bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the ſame to have been *Simon* his Sons power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had before, gave ſmall credit thereunto, till that the ſaid *Nicholas*, the better to deſcry them, went up to the Abby Steeple of *Euſham*, where he might plainly diſcern them all and their Standards; for by this time they were mounted the Hill which they laboured to attain, thinking to have that vantage, when they ſhould give their charge as they had purpoſed, and had alſo advanced again his own Standards, and pulled down *Simons*, whereby they were the more eaſier deſcried and known. Then he cried aloud to the Earl *Simon*, and ſaid, *We are all but dead men; for it is not your Son, as you ſuppoſe, that cometh, but it is* Edward *the Kings Son that cometh from one part, and the Earl of* Gloceſter *from another part, and* Roger Mortimer *from the third part.* Then ſaid the Earl, *The Lord be merciful unto our ſouls, forſomuch as our bodies and lives are now in their hands*; commanding that every man ſhould make himſelf ready to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wills to die for their laws, and in a juſt quarrel. And ſuch as would depart, he gave leave to go their ways, that they ſhould be no diſcomfiture to the reſt.

The diſpoſing of the Princes battel againſt Earl *Simon* fought at *Euſham*.

Prince *Edwards* Hoſt deſcried, whereat the Earl was much abaſhed.

Then came unto him his eldeſt Son *Henry*, and comforted him, deſiring him to have no deſpair, nor yet miſtruſt in the good ſucceſs of this Victory, with other ſuch chearful words. *No my Son* (ſaith he) *I deſpair not; but yet, it is thy preſumption, and the pride of the reſt of thy brethren that hath brought me to this end you ſee; notwithſtanding, yet I truſt I ſhall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel.* After words of comfort given to all his Hoſt, and the Oration made as is the manner, they all armed themſelves. The King alſo (whom the Earl always kept with him) he armed in an armor of his own: and then dividing their Battels, they marched towards their enemies. But before

The words of Earl *Simon* to his Son.

then

KING Hen. 3.

they joyned, the *Welſhmen* ran their ways, and thinking to ſcape over the river of *Dee*, were there ſome drowned, and ſome ſlain. Then when the battel joyned and came to handy ſtrokes, within ſhort ſpace many of the Earls part fell and were ſlain; and the King himſelf being ſtrucken at, cried with a loud voice to them, ſaying, Kill me not, I am *Henry* your King. And with theſe the Kings words the Lord *Adam Monhawt* knew him, and ſaved him. At whoſe voice and cry came alſo Prince *Edward* his Son, and delivered him to the guard and cuſtody of certain Knights. In the mean ſeaſon the Earl *Simon* was hard beſtead and beaten down, and alſo ſlain before *Edward* the Prince came at him. Howbeit before he fell, when as he fought for life, and *Henry* his Son, and other Noblemen on his part were about him, he brake out into theſe words unto his enemies, ſaying, What is there no mercy and compaſſion with you? Who again anſwered, What compaſſion ſhould there be ſhewed to Traytors? Then ſaid he, The Lord be merciful unto our ſouls, our bodies are in your hands. And ſo ſoon as theſe words were ſpoken, they mangled his body, and divided his members, and cut off his head; which head *Roger Mortimer* ſent unto his wife. And not far off from him alſo was ſlain *Henry* his Eldeſt Son, the Lord *Hugh Spenſer*, the Lord *Radulph Baſſet*, the Lord *Thomas de Heſtele*, the Lord *William Mandevile*, the Lord *John Beauchampe*, the Lord *Guido Baillofer*, the Lord *Roger Rowleie*, and many other Noblemen beſides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battel was fought in the month of *Auguſt*, and continued from one of the Clock till it was night; in the which was not ſo much as one man on the Earls part, of any eſtimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battel loſt his life; more than the Lord *John*, who by the great grace of God eſcaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten that the ſame day being Tueſday, at that inſtant hour, when the Battel began, which was at one of the Clock at Afternoon, there was ſuch a darkneſs over all, ſuch thunder and ſuch tempeſt, that the like before that time was never ſeen, being very calm and fair weather both immediately before and after; which ſeemed (with mine Author) to give a plain demonſtration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

K. *Henry* almoſt ſlain in the battel, at length known by his voice, and reſcued by his Son.

Son and many more Lords ſlain at this battel of *Euſham*.

Anno 1266.

After this great ſlaughter and overthrow there was a Parliament ſummoned at *Wincheſter* by the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and others of his part. Here by the way is to be conſidered, that the King although he was in the Camp of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, being then in cuſtody, and his Son *Edward* with the Earl of *Glouceſter*, yet the King was on that ſide againſt his will, and therefore in the ſaid Parliament the King was reſtored to his Kingly dignity, which was before that time under the cuſtody of the Barons. But after the Battel was ended and done, certain of them that loved the Earl, upon an old Ladder gathered up ſuch parts of his body as remained, and covering the ſame with an old Gown, brought it to *Euſham*, where they putting the ſame in a fair linnen Cloth, buried it in the Church. But not long after, ſuch as thought not themſelves ſufficiently revenged with his death (to wreak them of the dead corpſe) took up the ſame and threw it in another place, ſaying, That he which was both accurſed, and a Traytor, was not worthy of Chriſtian burial.

A Parliament ſummoned at *Wincheſter*, where King *Henry* was again reſtored to his Regality.

The ſame year alſo died *Walter Cantilupus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, after whom ſucceeded *Nicolas* of *Ely*, the Kings Chancellor.

The ſame year the King perceiving that unleſs the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* were recovered, and the boldneſs of them reſtrained that kept the ſame, many evils and inconveniences might enſue thereupon, to the prejudice of his Kingdom; for that the number increaſed every day more and more, waſting and ſpoiling the Country all about; therefore he gathered an Army and came down to *Warwick*, where he a while tarried expecting the meeting and aſſembling of his Marqueſſes and Lords, with Enſigns and other munition ſuitable. Who when their bands were furniſhed and muſtered, and all things ready, the morrow after *Midſummer* day he diſplayed his Banner, and began his voyage, marching towards *Kenelworth*, and beſieged the ſame. During which ſiege, by the advice and counſel of the King, the Popes Legate, and other Noblemen, twelve perſons were choſen which ſhould have the diſpoſing of thoſe things that pertained to the ſtate of the Realm, and of thoſe that had loſt their lands and inheritances, who amongſt other things, made and eſtabliſhed this one Proviſo, that was commonly called *Kenelworth* Decree, That all thoſe which had loſt their lands by attainder (although not yet attainted) ſhould fine therefore at the Kings pleaſure, and take their lands of him again; paying ſome three years, ſome four years, ſome two years revenues of the ſame, according to the quality of the crime and offence committed. All which Proviſoes or proviſions were eſtabliſhed and confirmed as well by the corporal Oath, as by ſignment of the ſame with the hands and ſeals of all the Prelates and Clergy of *England*, there aſſembled for that purpoſe by the Popes Legate upon the Feaſt of *All-Saints*. When theſe things were thus finiſhed, meſſengers were ſent on the Kings behalf, as well to thoſe that kept the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, as alſo to thoſe that were aſſembled in the Iſle of *Ely*; willing them to come under the protection of the Kings peace, and yield to the foreſaid Proviſoes, eſtabliſhed by the twelve Commiſſioners. Who all together anſwered and ſaid, That they would in no wiſe condeſcend thereunto, both for that it was done without their conſents, not being called unto it, and alſo for that the ſaid Decree was over-ſtrait and intolerable. Within ſhort ſpace after, great Famine and Peſtilence chanced amongſt them which kept the Caſtle, inſomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the ſame; wherefore ſoon after the King ſending again to them to yield the Caſtle and take their pardons, they conſulting together of their own eſtate, thus anſwered the Kings Meſſengers, If it pleaſe the King and his Council to permit us to ſend our Meſſenger to the Lord *Simon Montfort*, which is beyond the Sea, that he may come by a certain day to the defence of this his Garriſon and Fort, and that in the mean ſpace we be not diſturbed by the Kings Army that hath invironed us, till the return of our Meſſengers; if by the day appointed he come not, we will yield up the ſame, ſo that we may be pardoned of life, limb, and moveables.

*Kenelworth* Decree againſt the diſherited.

*Kenelworth* Decree gainſaid by divers.

When the Meſſengers were returned, and had declared to the King their anſwer; he, conſulting with his Nobles about the matter, agreed unto their Petitions, and cauſed the Truce to be proclaimed throughout all his Camp, after that ſufficient Hoſtages were on either ſide given for the performance of the ſame; whereupon they ſet forward their Meſſengers, as before was ſaid they would. But after that many of them within the Caſtle being very grievouſly vexed with the Bloody-flux, and other diſeaſes, inſomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of thoſe that were diſeaſed, they delivered up the Caſtle before the return of the Meſſengers again, and were permitted to go whither they would to refreſh themſelves, as men moleſted with great vexations and miſeries. After the rendering up of the Caſtle, the King committed the cuſtody thereof to his Son *Edmund*, and ſo with his Hoſt departing from his ſiege, came upon *Chriſtmas* Evens Even to *Oſnie*, where he with great ſolemnity and triumph kept his *Chriſtmas* during ſeven days, and from thence with his Hoſt came to *Windſor*, from whence after a few days he marched towards *Ely*; in which Iſland he beſieged thoſe which were diſherited, and ſharply alſo aſſaulted them.

*Kenelworth* Caſtle yielded up to the King, before the return of the Meſſengers out of *France*.

The ſame year Pope *Clement* the Fourth promoted Maſter *Walter Gifford* Biſhop of *Bath*, to be Archbiſhop of *York*.

In which year alſo the Church of *England* began to pay the Tenths of all their Revenues, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to the King, to continue for three years ſpace; and this was done by the Authority Apoſtolical.

The Tenths granted to the King by Authority Apoſtolical.

Within a while after the Barons which were yet remaining, gathered themſelves together again; amongſt whom *John Daiwill* (being a ſubtil and ſtout man of war) began to have a name, and was well eſteemed amongſt them, who altogether did what miſchief they might, and in the month of *May* they aſſembled at *Cheſterfield*, under the ſaid *John Daiwill* and the Earl of *Ferarence*, upon whom the Kings Souldiers coming ſuddenly in the night, took them ſleeping, and ſlew many of them. Then the ſaid *John Daiwill* quickly arming himſelf came forth, thinking with more defence both to ſave himſelf and to eſcape. Who in the way ſtruck the Lord *Gilbert Humſard* ſuch a blow with his Demi-lance, that he fell'd

A new aſſembly of the Barons at *Cheſterfield*, where they had the overthrow.

*Kenelworth* Caſtle beſieged of the King.

fell'd both him and his horſe to the ground, and ſo fled with a few more after him. And thus while the poor Soldiers fought and were ſlain, the Barons fled away, and ſaved themſelves. Alſo the Earl *Ferarence* fled, and hid himſelf in a Church; but being bewrayed by a woman, he was taken forth, and led away priſoner. After this the King kept a Parliament at *Northampton*, where he diſherited all thoſe that took part with the Earl *Simon*, and all their Children. Where alſo the Popes Legate *Octobonus* held a Convocation, and Excommunicated all ſuch Biſhops as had taken any part with *Simon* againſt the King; of whom divers he ſent up to *Rome*, to be abſolved of the Pope; and further the ſaid Legate cauſed to be proclaimed certain Decrees, which he himſelf had made, and alſo the new grant of Pope *Clement* to the King and Queen, of all the Tenths for ſeven years to come. And ſhortly after, a Tax alſo was ſined upon the Country of *Norfolk*; to the gathering whereof *Walter* the Biſhop of *Norwich* was appointed. *Ex Scala Mundi.*

All the Confederates of *Sim. Mountfort* with their Children diſherited by the King.

*Sim. Mountfort* and his Confederates Excommunicated by the Popes Legate.

Tenths granted by the Pope to the King and Queen for ſeven years.

After this in the year of our Lord 1267, King *Henry* beſieged again the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, from the ſeventh day before the firſt day of *July*, until the beginning of *December*; whither came *Octobonus* the Popes Legate, by whoſe intreaty *Henry Haſtings* delivered the ſame unto the King, which ſtoutly had defended the ſame, and reſiſted the King, having pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods and cattels. In which time alſo the Barons again aſſembled with *John Daiwill* in the Iſle of *Axioline*, and ſo proceeded till they came to *Lincoln*, which they alſo took, and ſpoiled the *Jews*, and ſlew many of them; and entring their Synagogue, tare and rent the Book of their Law, and burnt the ſame, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the King heard, he ſent thither his Son Prince *Edward*; but as ſoon as they heard that, they fled into the Iſle of *Ely*, and fortified the ſame with Bulwarks as ſtrongly as they might, at every entrance into the ſame. This was in the month of *April*, when *Edward* the Kings Son came thither; who for the great abundance of waters in the ſame, could by no means enter the Iſland, till at length by the counſel of the inhabitants of that Province he cauſed with a number of workmen great Trenches and Ditches to be made, ſomewhat to convey away the water; and ſo long they uſed the counſel of them in making Bridges with Planks and Hurdles, till at the laſt they entred the Iſland; who as ſoon as they were entred, the Barons fled to *London*, where they were of the *Londoners* well entertained. The reſt which were in the Iſland yielded themſelves (amongſt whom was *Roger Wake*, *Simon* the younger, and *Peches*) ſaving their lives and members. After this, both the King and *Edward* his Son came to *London* with a great power, but yet were kept out of the City by the Barons and Citizens for the ſpace of forty days. And *Octobonus* the Legate (who for fear was fled into the Tower) they narrowly laid for, that he ſhould not eſcape. At length by the intreaty of the Earl of *Glouceſter*, and other Earls that were his friends, both the Barons and Citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the Kings favour. And four Biſhops, and eight other Noblemen were choſen, ſuch as were at *Coventry* firſt nominated, that they ſhould order and diſpoſe all matters betwixt the King and ſuch as had loſt their inheritance, as alſo the form of their peace and ranſome. And Proclamation was made upon the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, of perfect peace and accord throughout all the Realm.

{Anno 1267.} The Caſtle of *Kenelworth* again beſieged.

Another aſſembly of the Barons at *Axiolint*, and diſcomfiture of them.

The *Jews* ſpoiled and ſlain at *Lincoln*.

The Barons fortified the Iſland of *Ely*.

The Iſle of *Ely* aſſaulted and entred by Prince *Edward*.

The King kept out of *London* forty days by the Barons and Citizens.

A peace concluded between the Barons and the King.

In the fifty ſecond year of this King *Henry*'s reign, eight days after the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, he held a Parliament at *Marleberge*, in the year of our Lord above recited; where by the advice of wiſe and diſcreet men, and with all the conſents of the Nobles, he ordained and Enacted divers good and profitable ſtatutes for the reformation and bettering of the ſtate of the Realm and execution of common juſtice, which are called the ſtatutes of *Marleberge*.

The ſtatutes of *Marleberge*.

The ſame year upon St. *Gregories* day, *Octobonus* the Legate called a Council at *London*, where were five Archbiſhops, and a great number of Biſhops, Abbots, and other Prelates; which Council alſo within three days brake up again.

A Convocation holden at *London* by *Octobonus* the Popes Legate.

The ſame year upon St. *John*'s day the *Baptiſt*, *Edward* the Kings Son, and divers other Noblemen of *England* took upon them the Croſs by the Legates hands at *Northampton*, to the relief of the Holy Land, and the ſubverſion of the enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt. Which done, the Legate the ſame year went out of *England*, not purpoſing after that to return again. This holy Legate ſaith (mine Author) which might well be reſembled to *Lynx* the monſtrous beaſt, whoſe quick ſight penetrateth every thing, inrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the Churches in the Realm of *England* ſo narrowly, as by any means poſſible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The ſame was he that made all the Cathedral and Conventual Churches to pay Penſions; ſo that thoſe Churches which gave not the vacancy of their Benefices to their Clerks and ſtrangers, ſhould pay unto them a certain yearly penſion, during the vacancy of the Benefices which they ſhould have.

{KING Hen.}

The Legate departing out of *England*.

Valuation taken of all Churches by *Octobonus* the Popes Legate.

Penſions out of Cathedral and Conventual Churches payed to the Popes Clerks.

The ſame year died Pope *Clement* the Fourth, after whoſe death the Church of *Rome* was two years vacant; and then was choſen an Archdeacon Cardinal, whoſe name was *Theardus*, as he was taking his journey into the Holy Land, and they called him *Gregory* the Tenth.

Pope *Clement* the 4th. dieth.

Pope *Gregory* the 10th.

Then alſo did *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Leiceſter*, and ſecond Son of King *Henry*, take to Wife the Earl of *Albemarle* his Daughter, and the Niece of the Earl of *Glouceſter*; at which Marriage was the King and the Queen, and all the Nobility of *England*.

The Marriage of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*.

The ſame year was the Body of Saint *Edward* the King and Confeſſor, by *Walter Gifford* Archbiſhop of *York*, and other Biſhops, Intombed in a new and rich Shrine of Gold and Silver, beſet with precious ſtones, in the preſence of *Henry* the King of *England*. In which year alſo fell a great rain and inundation of waters, ſuch as hath not lightly been ſeen, which increaſed and continued the ſpace of forty days, and more.

*Edward* the King and Confeſſor ſhrined.

The ſame year died *Walter de Laiwill*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, the third day before the Nones of *January*. After whom ſucceeded *Robert* of *Northampton*, the Dean of the ſame Church. And becauſe the See of *Canterbury* was then vacant, he was confirmed by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; which Chapter had always the juriſdiction in Spiritual cauſes, during the vacancy of that See, in as ample manner as the Biſhop himſelf had being alive. After this, the Biſhop Elect coming thither, thinking to have had his Conſecration, was notwithſtanding put back for two cauſes; one was, for that there was preſent then no more but one Biſhop; the other was, for that all the other Biſhops had appealed, that he might not be conſecrated to their prejudice; that is, by the authority of the Chapter of *Canterbury*, ſaying, That they would not be under the obedience of the Monks.

The Biſhop of *Sarum* conſecrated.

After this ſolemn Meſſengers were for this cauſe ſent to the Cardinals of *Rome*, for that then the See of *Rome* was vacant; who received anſwer, That during the vacation of that See, the Confirmation and Conſecration of the Biſhop Elect, pertained to the foreſaid Chapter of *Canterbury*.

The ſame year alſo was the Lord *Henry*, the Son and heir of the Lord *Richard* King of *Almain*, and Brother to King *Henry* the Third, ſlain at *Viterbium*, in a certain Chappel hearing Maſs, by the Lord *Simon* and *Guido*, the Sons of the Lord *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*.

The death and ſlaughter of Lord *Richard* the Kings Son of *Almain* at *Viterbium*.

During this Kings reign, there was made a great and general Expedition of divers and ſundry Chriſtian Princes to *Hieruſalem*, taking upon them the Lords Character, that is, the Croſs; among whom was alſo *Edward* the Kings Son, unto the which Expedition was granted him a Subſidy throughout all the Realm. And in the month of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1270, or as ſaith *Florilegus*, *Ann.* 1269, he ſet forward on his journey.

{Anno 1270.}

About the time when Prince *Edward* was preparing his journey toward *Aſia*, *Boniface* of whom ye heard before, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ended his life in the Country of *Sabaudia*, going beſide to *Rome*, or coming thence. After whoſe death the Monks of *Canterbury* proceeding to a new Election granted by the King, agreed upon the Prior of their houſe, named *Adam Chelenden*. But the King and his Son Prince *Edward* conſenting and ſpeaking in the behalf of *Robert Burnell* their Chancellor, did ſollicite the matter with the Monks, partly intreating, partly threatning them, to chuſe the ſaid *Robert* to be Archbiſhop. Notwithſtanding, the Monks being ſtout, would neither relent to their courteous requeſt no yet bow

The death of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Adam Chelenden* elected Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

{KING Hen. 3.}

Appellation from the King to the Pope by the Monks of *Canterbury*.

to their boiſterous threats, but conſtantly perſiſting in their former Election, appealed from the King and Prince to the Pope. Prince *Edward* being now on his journey, and ſeeing himſelf thus fruſtrated of the Monks, writeth back to the King his Father, devoutly praying and beſeeching him in no wiſe to admit the Election of the foreſaid Monks. And ſo paſſing to *Dover* with *Henry*, the Son of *Richard* his Uncle King of *Romans*, with their wives, they took their paſſage in the month of *Auguſt*. After this the Prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the King to be Archbiſhop, went up to *Rome*.

*Adam Chelenden* goeth up to *Rome*.

In the mean time the Monks in the abſence of their Elect, obtained one *Geffrey Pomenall* to be their Official; who ſeeing himſelf advanced to that dignity, and bearing belike ſome old grudg againſt the Prior of *Dover*, cauſed him to be cited up to appear in the Chapter-houſe of *Canterbury*. The Prior of *Dover* ſeeing this Citation to be prejudicial to him and to the Church of *Dover*, and knowing that the Monks of *Canterbury* have no ſuch juriſdiction (the See of *Canterbury* being vacant) but that all things appertaining to that Church, ought to be reſerved whole to the conſecration of the new Archbiſhop, therefore for the ſtate both of him and of his Church, he appealed up alſo unto *Rome*. But to return to the Archbiſhop again.

Variance between the Official of *Canterbury*, and the Prior of *Dover*.

Appealeth to *Rome*.

*Adam Chelenden* reſigneth to the Pope. *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

The ſecond year after *Chelenden* the foreſaid Archbiſhop Elect, remaining all this while at *Rome*, at laſt reſigned up his Election to the Popes hand, being *Gregory* the tenth, who then gave the ſame to *Robert Kilwarby*. Who then coming to *Dover*, reſtored again the Prior of that houſe, being before excluded upon certain cauſes. By theſe contentions judg good Reader of the Religion of theſe men, and of theſe times. And now to return to our former ſtory.

The Concordance.

About this time came out the great Concordance by an *Engliſh* Frier, called *John Dernington*. *Ex Eulogio.*

It was above declared how a general Voyage being proclaimed to war againſt the *Turks*, and a Subſidy being collected in *England* upon the ſame: Prince *Edward* with others was appointed to take their Voyage, and now were onward in their journey. Who at *Michaelmas* following, with his company came to *Egermorth*, which is from *Marſilia* eight Leagues weſtward, and there taking Ship again, (having a merry wind and proſperous) within ten days arrived at *Sunes* at *Tunicium*, where he was with great joy welcomed and entertained of the Chriſtian Princes that were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of *Philip* the *French* King, whoſe Father *Ludovicus* died a little before, of *Carolus* the King of *Sicilia*, and the two Kings *Navar* and *Aragon*. And as the Lord *Edward* came thither for his Father the King of *England*, thither came alſo *Henry* the Son of the King of *Almain* for his Father; who at his return from the Voyage was ſlain in a Chappel at *Viterbium* hearing Maſs, by the Lord *Simon* and *Guido*, the Sons of the Lord *Simon Mountfort* Earl of *Leiceſter*.

When Prince *Edward* demanded of theſe Kings and Princes what was to be done, they anſwered him again, and ſaid, The Prince of this City, ſaid they, and the Province adjoyning to the ſame, hath been accuſtomed to pay tribute unto the King of *Sicilia* every year. And now for that the ſame hath been for the ſpace of ſeven years unpayed and more, therefore we thought good to make invaſion upon him. But the King knowing the ſame tribute to be juſtly demanded, hath now according to our own deſires ſatisfied for the time paſt, and alſo paid his tribute before hand.

The great Expedition to invade the *Turk*, ſtayed by the concluding of a peace.

The great rage of the *French* King againſt the *Turk* turned into a money-matter.

Then ſaid he, My Lords what is this to the purpoſe? Are we not here all aſſembled, and have taken upon us the Lords Character to fight againſt the Infidels and enemies of Chriſt? What mean you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we ſhould do ſo, for now the land is plain and hard, ſo that we may approach the holy City *Jeruſalem*. Then ſaid they, Now have we made a league with them; neither is it lawful for us to break the ſame; but let us return again to *Sicilia*, and when the Winter is paſt we may well take Shipping to *Acra*. But this counſel nothing at all liked him, neither did he ſhew himſelf well pleaſed therewith; but after that he had made them a Princely Banket, he went into his Cloſet or privy Chamber from amongſt them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithſtanding continuing their purpoſe, at the next merry wind took Shipping, and for want of Ships, left two hundred of their men aſhore, crying out and pitiouſly lamenting for the peril and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince *Edward* being ſomewhat moved with compaſſion, came back to the land, and received and ſtowed them in his own Ships, being the laſt that went aboard. Within ſeven days after, they arrived in the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, over againſt the City *Trapes*, caſting their Anchors a league from thence within the Sea, for that their Ships were of great burthen, and throughly fraught. And from the haven of the City they ſent out Barges and Boats to receive and bring ſuch of the Nobility to land as would; but their Horſes for the moſt part, and all their Armor they kept ſtill within board. At length towards the evening, the Sea began to be rough, and increaſed to a great tempeſt and a mighty, inſomuch that their Ships were beaten one againſt another ſides; and drowned there were of them, at that tempeſt lying at Anchor, more than an hundred and twenty, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable ſouls beſides; and that wicked money alſo which they had taken before, likewiſe periſhed and was drowned. But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one Ship of Prince *Edwards*, who had in number thirteen, nor yet had one man loſt thereby; for that as it may be preſuppoſed, he conſented not to the wicked counſel of the reſt. When in the morning the Princes and Kings came to the Sea-ſide, and ſaw all their Ships drowned, and ſaw their men and horſes in great number caſt upon the land drowned, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their Ships and Mariners, which were in number fifteen hundred beſides the common Souldiers, there were no more ſaved than the Mariners of one only Ship, and they in this wiſe: There was in that Ship a good and wiſe Matron (a Counteſs or an Earls wife) who perceiving the tempeſt to grow, and fearing her ſelf, called to her the Maſter of the Ship, and asked whether in attempting to the ſhore, it were not poſſible to ſave themſelves? Who anſwered that to ſave the Ship it was impoſſible, howbeit the men that were therein by Gods help he doubted not. Then ſaid the Counteſs, For the Ship force no whit, ſave the ſouls therein, and have to thee double the value of the Ship. VVho immediately hoiſing the ſails, with all force run the Ship aground ſo near the ſhore as was poſſible. Thus with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withal, he braſt the Ship, and ſaved all that was within the ſame, as the Maſter of the ſame Ship had ſhewed and ſaid before.

The Clemency of Prince *Edward* to the poor Souldiers.

A great ſhipwrack of the Chriſtians lying at Anchor a little from *Trapes*.

Money evil got, as evil loſt.

*Nim habet evenius ſordida præda bonos.*

*Ex ſcala mundi.*

*Ex Gualt. Guburn.*

*Ex Flor. Hiſt.*

Prince *Edward* and his men preſerved from the tempeſt.

The integrity of Prince *Edward* rewarded of God.

Then the Kings and Princes (altering their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhipwrack) returned home again every one unto their own lands; only *Edward* the Kings Son remained behind with his Men and Ships, which the Lord had ſaved and preſerved. Then Prince *Edward* (renovating his purpoſe) took Shipping again, and within fifteen days after *Eaſter* arrived he at *Acra*, and went aland, taking with him a thouſand of the beſt Souldiers and moſt expert, and tarried there a whole month, refreſhing both his Men and Horſes, and that in this ſpace he might learn and know the ſecrets of the land. After this he took with him ſix or ſeven thouſand Souldiers and marched forward twenty miles from *Acra*, and took *Nazareth*; and thoſe that he there found he ſlew, and afterward returned again to *Acra*. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have ſet upon them at ſome ſtrait or other advantage; they were by the Prince premoniſhed thereof, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and ſlew many of them, and the reſt they put to flight. After this about *Midſummer*, when the Prince had underſtanding that the *Saracens* began to gather at *Cackbow*, which was forty miles from *Acra*; he marching thither ſet upon them very early in the morning, and ſlew of them more than a thouſand, the reſt he put to flight, and took rich ſpoils, marching forward till they came to a Caſtle named *Caſtrum Peregrinorum*, ſituate upon the Sea-coaſt, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward *Acra*. In the mean ſeaſon the King of *Jeruſalem* ſent unto the Noblemen of *Cyprus*, deſiring them with ſpeed that they would come and aid the Chriſtians; but they would not come, ſaying, they would keep their own land and go no further.

Prince *Edward* arriveth at *Acra* and taketh *Nazareth*.

Then

The Noblemen of *Cyprus* ſhew their fidelity to the Prince and King of *England*.

Then Prince *Edward* ſent unto them, deſiring that at his requeſt they would come and joyn in aid with him. Who immediately thereupon came unto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, ſaying, that at his commandment they were bound to do no leſs, for that his Predeceſſors were ſometimes Governours of their land, and that they ought always to ſhew their fidelity to the Kings of *England*. Then the Chriſtians being herewith animated made a third Voyage or Rode, and came as far as the Fort called *Vincula S. Petri*, and to St. *Georges*: and when they had ſlain certain there, not finding any to make reſiſtance againſt them, they retired again from whence they came.

A guileful deceit of the *Saracens* practiſed againſt Prince *Edward*. *Ex Glab. Scala mundi.*

When thus the fame of Prince *Edward* grew amongſt his enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him; they deviſed among themſelves, how by ſome policy they might circumvent him, and betray him. Whereupon the great Prince and Admiral of *Joppa* ſent unto him, feigning himſelf under great deceit to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with him a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honourably entertained and uſed of the Chriſtians. This talk pleaſed the Prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing he had ſo well begun, by writing again, who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote back unto him divers times about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring. This meſſenger, ſaith mine Author, was one *Ex cote nutritus*, one of the ſtony-hearted, that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this Meſſenger came, and was of the Princes ſervants ſearched, according to the manner and cuſtom what weapon and armor he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be found about him, he was had up into the Princes Chamber, and after his reverence done; he pulled out certain Letters, which he delivered to the Prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight days after *Whitſontide*, upon a Tueſday ſomewhat before night; at which time the Prince was laid upon his bed bare headed in his Jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

The meſſenger ſearched before he came to the Princes preſence.

When the Prince had read the Letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following, his Lord would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe news by the Prince to the ſtanders by liked them well, drawing ſomewhat back to conſult thereof amongſt themſelves. In the mean time the Meſſenger kneeling and making his obeiſance to the Prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to the Belt, as though he would have pulled out ſome ſecret Letters, and ſuddenly he pulled out an envenomed Knife, thinking to have ſtricken him into the belly therewith as he lay; but the Prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was ſtricken a great wound into the arm. And being about to fetch another ſtroke at him, the Prince again with his foot took him ſuch a blow that he fell'd him to the ground. With that the Prince gat him by the hand, and with ſuch violence wreſted the Knife from him, that he hurt himſelf therewith in the forehead, and immediately thruſt the ſame into the belly of the Meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlew him. The Princes ſervants being in the next Chamber not far off, hearing the buſtling, came with great haſt running in. And finding the Meſſenger lying dead on the Floor, one of them took up a ſtool and beat out his brains; whereat the Prince was wroth, for that he ſtruck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumor hereof, as it was ſtrange, ſo it ſoon went throughout all the Court, and from thence amongſt the common people; wherefore they were very heavy and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Captain of the Temple, and brought him a coſtly and precious drink againſt poyſon, leſt the venom of the Knife ſhould penetrate the lively blood, and in blaming wiſe ſaid unto him, Did I not ſhew your Grace before of the deceit and ſubtilty of this people? Notwithſtanding, ſaith he, let your Grace take a good heart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraightway the Surgeons and Phyſicians were ſent for, and the Prince was dreſſed, and within a few days after the wound began to putrifie, and the fleſh to look dead and black; whereupon they that were about the Prince began to mutter amongſt themſelves, and were very ſad and heavy. Which thing he himſelf perceiving, ſaid unto them, Why mutter you thus amongſt your ſelves? What ſee you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one ſaid to him, and like your Grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt it not; but yet it will be very painful for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering, ſaid he again, reſtore health? Yea, ſaith the other, on pain of loſing my head. Then, ſaid the Prince, I commit my ſelf unto you, do with me what you think good. Then ſaid one of the Phyſicians, Is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace repoſeth ſpecial truſt? To whom the Prince anſwered, yea, naming certain of the Noblemen that ſtood about him. Then ſaid the Phyſician unto the two whom the Prince firſt named, the Lord *Edmund*, and the Lord *John Voiſie*: And do you alſo faithfully love your Lord and Prince? Who anſwered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then ſaith he, Take you away this Gentlewoman and Lady (meaning his wife) and let her not ſee her Lord and Husband until ſuch a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they took her out of the Princes preſence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then ſaid they unto her, Be ye contented good Lady and Madam, it is better that one woman ſhould weep a little while, than that all the Realm of *England* ſhould weep a great ſeaſon. Then upon the morrow they cut out all the dead envenomed fleſh out of the Princes arm, and threw it from them, and ſaid unto him, How cheereth your Grace? We promiſe you within theſe fifteen days you ſhall ſhew your ſelf abroad (if God permit) upon your Horſe-back, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promiſe he made the Prince, it came to paſs, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his ſubjects. When the great Soldan heard of it, and that the Prince was yet alive, he would ſcarcely believe the ſame; and ſending unto him three of his Nobles and Princes, he excuſed himſelf by them, calling his gods to witneſs, that the ſame was done neither by him, nor his conſent. Which Princes and Meſſengers ſtanding aloof off from the Kings Son worſhipping him, fell flat upon the ground. You (ſaith the Prince) do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they underſtood him not, becauſe he ſpake in *Engliſh* unto them, ſpeaking by an Interpreter. Nevertheleſs he honourably intreated them, and ſent them away in peace.

Prince *Edward* wounded and hurt with an Invenomed Knife by the *Turks* Meſſenger.

The Prince reſtored to health, and the Soldan forſweareth himſelf.

Thus when Prince *Edward* had been eighteen months in *Acra*, he took Shipping about the *Aſſumption* of our Lady (as we call it) returning homeward, and after ſeven weeks he arrived in *Sicilia* at *Trapes*, and from thence travelling through *Paleſtina* and *Metmes*, and ſo through the midſt of *Apulia*, till he came to *Rome*, where he was of the Pope honourably entertained; from thence he came into *France*, whoſe fame and Noble proweſs was there much bruted among the common people, and envied of the Nobility, eſpecially of the Earl *de Chalons*, who ſent unto him and required him that he might break a ſtaff with him at the Tilt in his Country. Which thing to do, for that the Prince would not diminiſh his honour and fame (although he might have well alledged a ſufficient cauſe and excuſe by means of his travel) yet he would not, but willingly conſented thereunto; whereupon it was proclaimed, that Prince *Edward* by ſuch a day, with thoſe that were with him, had challenged all comers at the Tilt and Barriers. Whereupon great Aſſemblies were made in the Country all about; and divers as well Horſemen as Footmen, had conjured amongſt themſelves, and conſpired againſt the *Engliſhmen*, ſelling their Horſes and Armor aforehand, and drinking one to another in boun voyage of the ſpoil of them whom they would take as their priſoners. Prince *Edward* in the mean time ſent into *England* for divers Earls and Barons, which come unto him. When the day appointed was come, the Prince had with him more than one thouſand Horſemen, which were Knights, beſides his Footmen, but yet there was as many more on the other ſide both in Horſemen and Footmen. When the parties ſhould meet, the *French* Footmen, which had before conſpired, began both to ſpoil, rifle, and kill. The *Engliſhmen* reſiſted and defended themſelves both with Bows and Slings; many of them they ſlew, and drave them to the Gates of their City, the other they chaſed over a river, where many of them were drowned. In the mean ſeaſon the Earl with fifty of his Knights, which followed him, came forth and joyned together ſo many for ſo many, and a long time together they tried it with their ſwords, laying one at another. At the laſt the Earl perceiving himſelf not able to match with him at the arms end, incloſ'd with him, & taking him about the neck, held him with

The Prince returneth out of *Turkie* into *England* again.

A day of ſport in *France* appointed, which turned to good earneſt.

A Conſpiracy of the *Frenchmen* againſt the *Engliſhmen*.

The Prince in peril of death by reaſon of his hurt, is comforted of the Phyſicians.

his arms very ſtrait. What mean you my Lord (ſaith the Prince) think you to have my Horſe? Yea marry (quoth the Earl) I mean to have both thee and thy Horſe. Hereat Prince *Edward*, being aſcorned, lifted up himſelf, and gave him ſuch a blow, that therewithal he, forſaking his Horſe, hung ſtill about the Princes neck, till that he ſhook him off to the ground. Herewith the Prince, being ſomewhat in a heat, left the preaſe to take the Air, thereby to refreſh himſelf. But when he ſaw the injury of the *French*-men towards his men, and how they had ſlain many of them, he then ſaid unto them, that they uſed rather the exerciſe of battel, than of torney. Spare ye not therefore to ſlay from henceforth any of them all, but give them again as good as they bring. Then they aſſailed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their Swords walk.

*Exerciſe of battel, inſtead of Barriers and torney.*

And when by this time the *Engliſh* footmen were again returned, and ſaw the conflicts of Horſemen, and many other *Engliſhmen* overthrown; they put themſelves amidſt the preaſe, and ſome Panching the Horſes, ſome cutting aſunder the girths of the *French*-mens ſaddles, they overthrew the Riders and gave them holy Bread. Then when the aforeſaid Earl was Horſed again by ſome of his men and amongſt the throng, Prince *Edward* alſo ruſhed in amongſt the thickeſt, and coupled again with him: To whom he often ſpake and cried, that he ſhould yield himſelf as vanquiſhed; but that he would not do. Notwithſtanding, when his ſtrength began to fail him, he was fain to yield himſelf unto a ſimple Knight, according as Prince *Edward* him bade, and all the reſt of his Horſemen and Knights fled and ſaved themſelves. Howbeit, many of them in that place were ſlain, and our men returned having the victory. But when after this they thought themſelves to be quiet and at reſt, they were killed of the Citizens, by two and by three at once as they went in the ſtreets. Which thing when the Prince heard, he ſent for the Maior and Burgeſſes, commanding them to ſee the ſame redreſſed, and that immediatly: For otherwiſe, of his Knighthood he aſſured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the City, and make it level with the ground. Whereupon they went their ways, and ſet watchmen in divers places of the ſame to keep peace, by which means the Prince and men were in ſafety and quiet. Thus in this paſtime of torneying and barriers, much blood was ſpilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed: So that it is not called *Torniamentum de Chalons*, but *Parvum bellum de Chalons.*

*The Victory of the Prince and Engliſhmen againſt the Earl of Chalons and the French-men.*

*From thence the Prince came to Paris*, and was of the *French* King Honourably entertained: And after certain days, he went from thence into *Vaſconia*, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the King his Father.

*Prince Edward was in in Vaſconia at the time of his Fathers death.*

In the year of our Lord 1272. died Pope *Clement* the Fourth: after whom ſucceeded Pope *Gregory* the Tenth; who in the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1273. called a general Council at *Lions*, about the controverſie between the Greek Church and the Latin Church, and for the vacancy of the See Apoſtolical, &c.

{Anno 1272} Pope *Clement* the Fourth. Pope *Gregory* the Tenth.

## *Certain notes of other occurrents chancing in foreign Countries abroad, within the compaſs of the years and Reign of the foreſaid King* Henry *the Third.*

HAving thus accompliſhed the life and Hiſtory of King *Henry* the Third, with ſuch accidents as happened within this Realm, I thought good to adjoyn unto the ſame ſome other foreign matters not unworthy the note, incident in other Countries during the time of the ſaid King: namely from the year of our Lord 1217 unto this year 1272. which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that even from and about the beginning of this Kings Reign, ſprang up the very well-ſprings of all miſchief, the Sects of Monkiſh religions and other ſwarms of Popiſh Orders, which with their groſs and horrible ſuperſtitions have incumbred the Church of Chriſt ever ſince.

Firſt, to omit the repetition of Pope *Innocentius* the Third, the great Grandſire of that foul Monſter Tranſubſtantiation and auricular confeſſion, Friers *Dominick*, and *Franciſcan* Friers, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Jacobus de Voragine*, *Vincentius*, with Pope *Honorius* the Third, Coiner of the Canon Law, and the Cardinal *Poſtienſis*, as alſo *Bonaventure*, *Albertus Magnus*, with Pope *Urban* the Fourth, firſt founder of the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, beſides *Durandus* and many more: it followeth further to be noted, that the *Tartarians* about the year 1240. iſſuing out of *Muſcovia* into the parts of *Polonia*, made great waſte in Chriſtendom, ſo much the rather, becauſe the Princes about *Polonia*, being at variance amongſt themſelves, uſed none other remedy for their defence but heaps of Maſſes, invocation of the dead, and Worſhipping of Images, which indeed did nothing relieve them, but rather increaſe their trouble.

*Ex Annalibus Sileſiæ.* *The Tartarians make great ſpoil in Chriſtendom.*

The next year following, the whole Nation of the *Scythians* (muſtring like locuſts) invaded the parts of *Europe* with two mighty Armies, whereof the one entring upon *Polonia*, made great Havock and carried away many Chriſtians from thence Captives; the other, overrunning *Hungaria*, made no leſs ſpoil there. Add hereunto another freſh Army of *Tartarians*, to the number of 5000000. who at the very ſame time joyning themſelves together, entred into *Muſcovia* and *Cracovia*, and made moſt horrible ſlaughter, ſparing neither Sex nor Age, noble nor unnoble within the Land. From thence paſſing to *Uratiſlavia*, they made great ſpoil there alſo, and thinking there to win the Caſtle, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the inſtance and prayers of good people, diſcomfited beyond all expectation of Man, by Thunder and Lightning falling upon them from Heaven in moſt terrible wiſe.

*The Scythians Army like locuſts.*

The ſame year immediatly after *Eaſter*, another Army of *Tartarians* were gathered againſt *Lignicium*, drawing near to *Germany*; by the brute whereof, the *Germans*, being put in great fears, were altogether diſmaied, but yet not able to help themſelves, by reaſon they lacked a good guid and governor amongſt them. All which came to paſs, ſpecially by the miſchievous practice of the *Roman* Popes, raiſing variance and diſcord among them. Notwithſtanding, *Henry* Prince of *Polonia* and *Sileſia*, gathering a power as well as he could, did incounter with him; but in fine, his whole Army was vanquiſhed, and the King himſelf ſlain. Notwithſtanding, which overthrow of Chriſtians, it pleaſed God to ſtrike ſuch a fear into the hearts of the ſaid *Tartarians*, that they durſt not approach any further or neerer into *Germany*, but retired for that time into their Country again: Who recounting their victory, by taking each man but one ear of every one of the Chriſtians that were ſlain, found the ſlaughter ſo great, as that they filled nine great ſacks full of ears. Nevertheleſs, after this in the year 1260. the ſame *Tartarians*, having the *Muſcovites* to their guids, returned again into *Polonia* and *Cracovia*, where in the ſpace of three months, they overran the Land with fire and ſword to the Coaſts of *Sileſia*, and had not the Princes of *Germany* put to their helping hand in this lamentable caſe, they had utterly waſted the whole Land of *Polonia*, and the Coaſts thereabout.

*King Henry ſlain, and his Army vanquiſhed.* *Nine ſacks full of Chriſtians ears being ſlain.*

This year alſo in the month *April*, *Richard* King of *Almain* died at the Caſtle of *Barkhamſted*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Hailes*, which he built out of the ground. The ſame year alſo at *Norwich* there fell a great controverſie between the Monks and the Citizens, about certain tallagies and liberties. At laſt, after much alteration and wrangling words, the furious rage of the Citizens ſo much increaſed and prevailed, and ſo little was the fear of God before their eyes, that altogether they ſet upon the Abbey and Priory, and burned both the Church and Biſhops Palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very ſorry to hear of ſo bold and naughty an enterpriſe, and much diſcommended the ſame. At the laſt, King *Henry* calling for certain of his Lords and Barons, ſent them to the City of *Norwich*, that they might puniſh and ſee execution done on the chiefeſt Malefactors; inſomuch that ſome of them were condemned and burnt, ſome of them hanged, and ſome were drawn by the heels with Horſes throughout the ſtreets of the City, and after in much miſery ended their wretched lives. The ſame year *Adam* the Prior of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop Elect, in

*Richard King of Almain died.* *A great variance between the Monks and the Citizens of Norwich.* *Execution done at Norwich by the commandment of King Henry the Third.*

*Adam Prior of Canterbury, refuſeth to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

*Robert Kilwarby Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

the preſence of Pope *Gregory* the Tenth refuſed to be Archbiſhop, although he was elect. Wherefore the Pope gave the ſame Archbiſhoprick to Frier *Robert Kilwarby* the provoſt of the Preaching Friers, a man of good life and great learning. He was conſecrated at *Canterbury* the fourth day of *March*, by Six Biſhops of the ſame Province. The ſame year alſo at *Michaelmas*, the Lord *Edmund*, the Son of King *Richard* of *Almain*, married the Siſter of *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*. Alſo in this year of our Lord 1273. the ſixteenth day before the Kalends of *December*, upon Saint *Edmunds* day the Archbiſhop and confeſſor, died King *Henry*, in the ſix and fiftieth year of his Reign, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, leaving after him two Sons, and two Daughters, to wit, *Edward* the Prince, and *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Leiceſter*; *Beatrice* and *Margaret*; which *Margaret* was married to the King of *Scots*. This King *Henry* in his life time began the building of the Church and Steeple at *Weſtminſter*, but did not throughly finiſh the ſame before his death.

*The death of King Henry the Third.*

## *King* Edward *the Firſt.*

*Edward the Firſt.*

IN the time of the death of King *Henry*, *Edward* his his Eldeſt Son was abſent in *Vaſconia*, as a little before you heard; yet notwithſtanding, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Biſhops and Nobles, he was ordained Heir and Succeſſor after his Father; who, after he had heard of his Fathers death, returned home to his Country, and was Crowned in the year of our Lord 1274. Who then laid down his Crown, ſaying, *he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the Lands appertaining to the ſame.* This *Edward* as he had always before been a loving and natural Child to his Father, whom he had delivered out of priſon and captivity; and hearing afterward both together of the death of his Son, and of his Father, wept and lamented much more for his Father, than for his Son, ſaying to the *French* King (which asked the cauſe thereof) that the loſs of his Child was but light; for Children might after increaſe and be multiplied, but the loſs of his Parent was greater, which could not be recovered: *Robert Avesbury*. So Almighty God, for the ſame his Piety to his Father ſhewed, rewarded him again with great ſucceſs, Felicity, and long Reign: Inſomuch that he being young, as he was playing at Cheſs with a certain Souldier of his, ſuddenly having occaſion given, roſe up and went his way; who was not ſo ſoon voided the place, but incontinent fell down a mighty ſtone from the vault above, directly upon the place where he ſate, able to have quaſhed him in pieces, if he had tarried never ſo little more. In the preſervation of whom, as I ſee the preſent hand and mighty providence of the living God: So in the Kings Order again, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehenſion for that he, receiving ſuch a living benefit at the hand of the living Lord, going therefore on Pilgrimage to *Walſingham*, gave thanks not only to our Lord, but rather to a rotten block. *Ibidem*. Of the gentle nature of this couragious Prince, ſufficient proof is given by this one example: that what time he being in his diſport of Hawking, chanced ſharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his Gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell, about his Hawk; the Gentleman being on the other ſide of the River, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he ſaid) that the River was between them. With this anſwer the couragious blood of this Prince being moved, upon preſent heat he leaped ſtraight into the flood, both of a ſwift ſtream and of a dangerous deepneſs, and no leſs hard in getting out. Notwithſtanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the danger preſent, and having a good Horſe, ventureth his own death, to have the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recovering the bank, with his ſword drawn he purſueth his provoker. Who having not ſo good an Horſe, and ſeeing himſelf in danger of taking, reineth his Horſe, and returning back barehead unto the Prince, ſubmitteth his neck under his hand to ſtrike. The Prince, whoſe fervent ſtomack the water of the whole River could not quench, a little ſubmiſſion of his man did ſo cool, that the quarrel fell, his anger ceaſed, and his ſword was put up without any ſtroak given. And ſo both returned to their Game, good friends again. *Avesb. Nico. Trivet.*

*Piety to Parents rewarded of God. Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.*

*A miracle of God in preſerving King Edward.*

*False worſhip reprehended, God giveth the benefit, and a dumb ſtock hath the thanks.*

*Example of Princely clemencie to be learned of Kings and Princes. Ex Chron. Nic. Trivet. & Tho. Walſingham.*

In the firſt beginning of his Reign, the King had much ado in *Wales*, where he had divers conflicts with the *Welſh*-men, whom at laſt he ſubdued, and cut down their woods, ſuppreſſed rebellions, and vanquiſhing their Kings *Lewline* and his Brother, ordained his Eldeſt Son *Edward*, born in the ſame Country, to be Prince of *Wales*. This *Lewline* Captain of the *Welſh*-men here mentioned, rebelling againſt King *Edward*, asked Counſel of conjuration, what event ſhould come upon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he ſhould go forward boldly, for doubtleſs he ſhould ride through *Cheapſide* at *London*, with a Crown on his Head. Which ſo came to paſs. For being ſlain, his Head was carried through *Cheap*, with a Crown of Silver to *London* Bridge. Whereby men may learn not to ſeek nor ſtick to theſe vain Prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they trains of the Divel to deceive men.

{KING Edw. 1} *Wales ſubdued.*

*The Kings firſt Son Prince of Wales.*

*Vain Prophecies not to be ſought to.*

About this time was a great Earthquake, and ſuch a Rot, that conſumed a great multitude of Sheep in the Land, through the occaſion (as they ſay) of one ſcabbed Sheep that came out of *Spain*. The King returning from *Wales* to *England*, ordered certain new Laws for the wealth of the Realm. Among many others, this was one; that Authority was given to all Maiors, Bailifs, and other Officers to ſee execution and puniſhment of all Bakers making Bread under the Size, with pillory. Of Millers ſtealing Corn, with the Tumbrel, &c. And within two years after the Statute of *Mortmain* was firſt enacted, which is as much to ſay, that no man ſhould give unto the Church any Lands of Rents, without eſpecial Licence of the King.

*Puniſhment for Bakers and Millers.*

*The Statute of Mortmain firſt Enacted.*

About which time alſo, being the ſeventh year of his Reign, 1279. Jews for Money clipping were put to execution. In which year began firſt the foundation of the *Black-Friers by Ludgate*. And the Town of *Boſton* was greatly waſted the ſame year with fire. The half penny and farthing began firſt to be coined the ſelf ſame time, which was the Eighth year of his Reign. The great Conduit in Cheap began the Fourth year after to be made, *Anno.* 1284. And the next year following, the new work of the Church of *Weſtminſter* (begun as is afore premoniſhed in the Third year of *Henry* the Third) was finiſhed, which was ſixty ſix years in edifying. The Jews were utterly baniſhed this Realm of *England* the ſame time, for which the Commons gave to the King a fifteenth, &c.

{Anno 1279.}

*Black-Friers by Ludgate builded.*

*Boſton blemiſhed with fire.*

*The great Conduit in Cheap.*

*Weſtminſter Church finiſhed.*

*A place in Fabian corrected.*

*Ex Tho. Walſ. & Gualtero Gisburnenſi.*

After that the Countrey of *Wales* was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing down of the Woods, and caſting down the old holds, and building of new; which all was brought to perfect end, about the 24. year of this Kings Reign. Then enſued another broil as great or greater with *Scotland*, to the great diſquiet of the King and the Realm of *England* many years after. This trouble firſt began by the death of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, who died without Iſſue left alive behind him. Although *Fabian* in the 7. Book of his Chronicles affirmeth; that he left three Daughters, the Eldeſt married to Sir *John Baliol*, the ſecond, to *Robert Bruce*, the third, to one *Haſtings*. But this in *Fabian* is to be corrected, as which neither ſtandeth with it ſelf, and is clearly convicted by the witneſs and Hiſtory of *Rob. Avesb.* and alſo of *Gisburn*.

For firſt, if King *Alexander* had left his Eldeſt Daughter married to Sir *John Baliol*, then what controverſie might riſe among the Lords about ſucceſſion, needing ſo diligent and anxious deciding by the King of *England*? Secondly, what claim or title could the King of *Norway* have to the Crown of *Scotland*, which was one of the Challengers, claiming the ſaid Crown in the behalf of *Margaret* the Niece of the foreſaid King *Alexander* her Grandfather, if the Eldeſt Daughter of the Father had been left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plain, when by the affirmance of the foreſaid Story it is teſtified, that King *Alexander* had two Wives? Of the ſecond whereof he had no iſſue. Of the firſt he had two Children; *Alexander* which died before his Father; and *Margaret* married to the King of *Norway*, which died alſo before her Father, of whom came *Margaret* the Niece of *Alexander*, and Daughter to the King of *Norway* afore mentioned. And ſhe alſo died in the journey between *Norway* and *Scotland*, the fourth year after the deceaſe of her Grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter ſtandeth moſt clear, ſo let us now, returning from whence we digreſſed, proſecute the reſt that

*Lack of ſucceſſion, with diſturbance it worketh in a Realm.*

KING Edw. I.

that followeth. After that *Alexander* thus, as is ſaid, departed without iſſue, and alſo *Margaret* his Neece in *Norway* was deceaſed, the matter came in a great doubt among the Nobles of *Scotland* (eſpecially twelve by name) to whom the right of the Crown ſhould next pertain. After much variance among Parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the judgment of King *Edward* of *England*: who after ſufficient proof made to the *Scots*, and firm evidence brought out of all the ancient Hiſtories both of *England* and *Scotland*, teſtifying from time to time that he was chief Head and Sovereign of the Realm of *Scotland*; firſt, by neceſſity of the Law, and by all their conſents took full poſſeſſion of the ſame. And that done, adjudged the right of the Crown to *John Baliol*, who deſcended of the Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to *David* King of *Scots* in the days of King *Henry* the Second. This Earl *David* had three Daughters, *Iſabel* married to *Robert Bruſe*, *Margaret* to *Allen* Earl of *Galloway*, and *Ellen* to *Henry* Lord *Haſtings*. *Allen* Earl of *Galloway* had *Ellen*, married to *Roger Quincy* Earl of *Winchester*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, and *Dervagile* married to *John Baliol*, Father to *Edward* King of *Scots*.

The King of *England* proved by old Records, chief Head and Sovereign of *Scotland*.

Anno 1291.

*John Baliol* made King of *Scotland* by King *Edward*.

King of *Scots* doth homage to the King of *England*.

When theſe things were thus finiſhed in *Scotland*, and Sir *John Baliol* as moſt rightful Inheritor had received the Crown of *Scotland* at the hands of King *Edward*, thankfully, and for the ſame, in the preſence of the Barony of *England* and of *Scotland*, did unto the ſaid King *Edward* his Homage, and ſware to him Fealty: the *Scots* with their new King returned into *Scotland*, and King *Edward* removed again to *England*.

The falſeneſs of the *Scottiſh* King.

But not long after, the falſeneſs of this *Scottiſh* King ſoon appeared. Who, repenting him of his Homage done unruly, forſook his former Oath and Promiſe, and made War againſt King *Edward*, through the counſel of the Abbot of *Menros*. Wherefore, the King with a great Hoſt ſped him into *Scotland*, and in proceſs laid Siege to the Town of *Barwick*, which the *Scots* did eagerly defend, not only to the diſcomfiture, but alſo to the deriſion of the King and his *Engliſh* Hoſt. But in concluſion, the *Engliſh* men prevailed and won the Town, where were ſlain of the *Scots* the number of twenty and five thouſand. And while the King was there buſied in winning other Holds about the ſame, he ſent part of his Hoſt to *Dunbar*, where the *Engliſh-men* again had the Victory, and ſlew of the *Scots* twenty thouſand: *Gisburne* ſaith but ten thouſand; ſo that very few were loſt of the *Engliſh* Company. The King, with a great number of Priſoners returning into his Realm, ſhortly after ſped him over unto *Flanders*, where he ſuſtained great trouble by the *French* King, till truce for a certain ſpace was between them concluded. But in the mean while that King *Edward* was thus occupied beyond the Seas, the *French* King (reſorting to his practiſed manner) ſet the *Scots* ſecretly againſt the *Engliſhmen* to keep the King at home. Which *Scots*, making themſelves a Captain named *William Waleis*, warred upon the borders of *Northumberland*, where they did much hurt. At length the King, returning from *Burdeaux* into *England*, ſhortly upon the ſame took his journey into *Scotland*. Where meeting at *York* with his Hoſt, he marched into the Realm of *Scotland*, winning, as he went, Towns and Caſtles, till at length coming to the Town of *Frankyrch* on *Mary Magdalens* day, he met with the Power of *Scotland*, and had with them a ſore fight, but through Gods Providence the Victory fell to the right cauſe of *Engliſhmen*: ſo that of the *Scots* were ſlain in the field, as it is of divers Writers affirmed, above the number of thirty and two thouſand; and of *Engliſhmen*, but barely twenty eight perſons. Whereupon the King, again taking poſſeſſion and fealty of the whole Land, returned home.

The Town and Caſtle of *Barwick* won of *Engliſhmen*.

Falſeneſs juſtly puniſhed.

The *Scots* rebel again.

The ſecond Voyage of King *Edward* into *Scotland*.

Anno 1298.

And yet the falſe untruth of the *Scots* would not thus be ruled, but roſe up in a new broil: ſo that the King was inforced to make his Power again the year following into *Scotland*; where he ſo ſuppreſſed the Rebellion of the Lords and of the Commons, that they, ſwearing to the Kings Allegiance, preſented themſelves by great Companies, and put them wholly in the Kings Grace and Mercy: ſo that the King, thinking himſelf to be in peaceable poſſeſſion, and in a great ſurety of the Land, cauſed to be ſworn unto him the Rulers of the Boroughs, Cities and Towns, with other Officers of the Land, and ſo returned unto *Barwick*, and ſo into *England*, and laſtly to *Weſtminſter*.

*Ex Fabiano.* A notable Victory againſt the *Scots*.

Anno 1299.

The *Scots* ſworn to the Kings Allegiance.

Theſe Martial Affairs between *England* and *Scotland*, although they appertain not greatly to the purpoſe of our ſtory Eccleſiaſtical, yet ſo much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby, that which followeth in the ſequel hereof, might the better be underſtood by theſe premiſſes. As the *Scots* were thus warring and raging againſt the King, and ſaw they could not make their party good, they ſent privily to Pope *Boniface* for his aid and counſel: who immediatly ſendeth down his Precept to the King, to this effect, that he ſhould hereafter ſurceaſe to diſquiet or moleſt the *Scots*, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his Chappel. And therefore it could not otherwiſe be, but that the City of *Jeruſalem* muſt needs defend his own Citizens; and as the Mount *Sion*, maintain ſuch as truſt in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the King briefly maketh anſwer again, ſwearing with an Oath, that he would to his uttermoſt keep and defend that which was his right, evidently known to all the world, &c. Thus the *Scots* bearing themſelves bold upon the Popes Meſſage, and alſo confederating themſelves with the *Frenchmen*, paſſed over that year. The next year after that (which was the 29*th* year of the Kings Reign) the ſaid Pope *Boniface* directeth his Letters again to the King, wherein he doth vindicate the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be proper to the Church of *Rome*, and not ſubject to the King of *England*. And therefore it was againſt God, againſt Juſtice, and alſo prejudicial to the Church of *Rome*, for him to have or hold Dominion over the ſame, which he proved by theſe Reaſons:

*Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ. Averib.* The Popes Meſſage unto the King.

The Kings anſwer to the Pope.

The Pope challengeth the Realm of *Scotland* to be free from the Dominion of *England*.

Firſt, That when King *Henry*, the Father of this King received Aid of *Alexander* King of *Scots* in his Wars againſt *Simon Mountford*, he recognized and acknowledged in his Letters Patents, that he received the ſame of King *Alexander*, not of any duty, but of ſpecial favour.

*Item*, When the ſaid King *Alexander*, coming to *England*, did Homage to the ſaid King *Henry*; he did it not as King of *Scotland*, but only for certain Lands of *Tindal* and *Penteth*, lying in *England*.

*Item*, Whereas the ſaid King *Alexander* left behind him *Margaret* his Heir, being Niece to the King of *England*, and yet under age; yet the tuition of the ſaid *Margaret* was committed not to the King of *England*, but to certain Lords of *Scotland*, deputed to the ſame.

Moreover, when any Legacy was directed down from *Rome* to the Realm of *England*, for collecting of Tenths of other cauſes, the ſaid Legacy took no place in the Realm of *Scotland*, and might well be reſiſted (as it was in King *Alexander* his days) except another ſpecial Commiſſion touching the Realm of *Scotland*, were joyned withal. Whereby it appeareth, that theſe be two ſeveral Dominions, and not ſubject under one.

Adding Furthermore, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* firſt was converted by the reliques of the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Peter*, through the divine operation of God, to the unity of the Catholick Faith.

Wherefore upon theſe cauſes and reaſons, Pope *Boniface* in his Letters to the King, required him to give over his claim, and ceaſe his Wars againſt the *Scotiſh* Nation: and to releaſe all ſuch both of the ſpirituality and Laity, as he had of them Priſoners. Alſo to call home again his Officers and Deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the grievance of that Nation, to the ſlander of all faithful people, and no leſs prejudice to the Church of *Rome*. And if he would claim any right or title to the ſaid Realm, or any part thereof, he ſhould ſend up his Procurators ſpecially to the ſame appointed, with all that he could for himſelf alledge, unto the See Apoſtolick, there to receive what reaſon and right would require.

Anno 1301.

The King replieth to the Pope.

The King, after he had received theſe Letters of the Pope, aſſembled a Council or Parliament at *Lincoln*: By the advice of which Council and Parliament, he addreſſed other Letters reſponſal to the Pope again; wherein firſt in all reverend manner he diſſuadeth him not to give light ear to the ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of falſe reports, and Imaginers of miſchief. Then he declareth out of old Records and Hiſtories from the firſt time of the *Britains*, that the Realm of *Scotland* hath always from time to time been all one with *England*, beginning firſt with *Brutus* in the

*Scotland* all one with *England*.

Brutus. Locrinus. Albanactus. Camber.

time of *Helt* and *Samuel* the Prophet: which *Brutus*, coming from *Troy* to this Iſle called then *Albion*, after called by him *Britannia*, had three Sons; *Locrinus*, to whom he gave that part of the Land, called then of him *Loegria*, now *Anglia*; *Albanactus* his ſecond Son, to whom he gave *Albania*, now called *Scotia*; and his third Son *Camber*, to whom he gave *Cambria*, now called *Wales*, *&c.*

*And thus much concerning the firſt diviſion of this Iſle, as in ancient Hiſtories is found recorded. In which matter, paſſing over the death of King* Humber, *the Acts of* Dunwald *King of this Realm, the diviſion of* Belyn *and* Brenne, *the Victories of King* Arthur, *we will reſort (ſaith the King) to more nearer times, teſtified and witneſſed by ſufficient Authors, as* Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bizoto *and other. All which make ſpecial declaration, and give manifeſt evidence of the execution of this our right (ſaith he) and Title of Superiority ever continued and preſerved hitherto.*

*And firſt to begin with* Edward *the Senior, before the Conqueſt, Son to* Alured *King of* England, *about the year of our Lord*, 900. *it is plain and manifeſt, that he had under his Dominion and Obedience the King of* Scots: *And here is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and manifeſt, as* Marian *the* Scot, *writing that ſtory in thoſe days, granteth, confeſſeth and teſtifieth the ſame: and this Dominion continued in that ſtate* 23 *years. At which time,* Athelſtane *ſucceeded in the Crown of* England, *and having by battel conquered* Scotland, *he made one* Conſtantine *King of that Party, to Rule and Govern the Country of* Scotland *under him, adding this Princely word,* That it was more honour to him to make a King, than to be a King.

Alfr. 907.

*Twenty four years after that, which was the year of our Lord*, 947. Eldred *the King our Progenitor,* Athelſtanus *Brother, took Homage of* Iriſe *then King of* Scots.

*Thirty years after that, which was the year of our Lord*, 977. *King* Edgar *our Predeceſſor took Homage of* Kynald *King of* Scots. *Here was a little trouble in* England *by the death of S.* Edward *King and Martyr, deſtroyed by the deceit of his Mother in law, but yet within memory.*

*Forty years after the Homage done by* Kynald *to King* Edgar, *that is to ſay, in the year of our Lord*, 1017. Malcoline *the King of* Scots *did Homage to* Knute *our Predeceſſor. After this Homage done, the* Scots *uttered ſome piece of their natural diſpoſition, whereupon (by War made by our progenitor S.* Edward *the Confeſſor, Thirty and nine years after that Homage done, that is to ſay, the year of our Lord* 1056.) Malcoline *King of* Scots *was vanquiſhed, and the Realm of* Scotland *given to* Malcoline *his Son by our ſaid Progenitor S.* Edward, *unto whom the ſaid* Malcoline *made Homage and Fealty.*

*Within Forty years after that,* William *Conqueror entred this Realm, whereof he accounted no perfect conqueſt until he had likewiſe ſubdued the* Scots: *and therefore in the ſaid year (which was in the year of our Lord* 1068.) *the ſaid* Malcoline *King of* Scots *did Homage to the ſaid* William *the Conqueror, as his Superiror by conqueſt King of* England.

*Twenty and five years after that, which was the year of our Lord* 1093. *the ſaid* Malcoline *did Homage and Fealty to* William Rufus, *Son to the ſaid* William *Conqueror: and yet after that, he was for his offences and demerits depoſed, and his Son ſubſtitute in his place: who likewiſe failed in his duty, and therefore was ordained in that Eſtate, by the ſaid* William Rufus, Edgar *Brother to the laſt* Malcoline, *and Son to the firſt, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly.*

*Seven years after that, which was in the year of our Lord* 1100. *the ſaid* Edgar, *King of the* Scots, *did Homage to* Henry *the firſt our Progenitor.*

*Thirty ſeven years after that,* David *King of* Scots *did Homage to* Matild *the Emperatrice, as Daughter and Heir to* Henry *the firſt. Wherefore being after required by* Stephen, *then obtaining poſſeſſion of the Realm, to make his Homage: He refuſed ſo to do, becauſe he had before made it to the ſaid* Matild, *and thereupon forbare. After which* Davids *death, wich inſued ſhortly after, the Son of the ſaid* David *made Homage to the ſaid King* Stephen.

*Fourteen years after that, which was in the year of our Lord* 1150. William *King of* Scots, *and* David *his Brother, with all the Nobles of* Scotland, *made Homage to* Henry *the ſeconds Son, with a reſervation of their duty to* Henry *the ſecond his Father.* {KING Edw. 1}

*Twenty five years after that, which was in the year of our Lord* 1175. William *King of* Scotland, *after much rebellion and reſiſtance, according to their natural inclination (King* Henry *the ſecond then being in* Normandy) *knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and compoſition, confirmed with his great Seal, and the Seals of the Nobility of* Scotland, *making therewith his Homage and Fealty.*

*Within Fifteen years after that, which was in the year of our Lord* 1190. *the ſaid* William *King of* Scots *came to our City of* Canterbury, *and there did Homage to our Noble Progenitor King* Richard *the Firſt.*

*Fourteen years after that, the ſaid* William *did Homage to our Progenitor King* John, *upon a Hill beſides* Lincoln, *making his Oath upon the Croſs of* Hubert, *then Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *being there preſent, and a marvellous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe.*

*Twenty ſix years after that, which was in the year of our Lord* 1230. Alexander *King of* Scots *married* Margaret *the Daughter of our Progenitor* Henry *the Third, at our City of* York, *in the Feaſt of* Chriſtmas: *At which time the ſaid* Alexander *did his Homage to our ſaid Progenitor, who Reigned in this Realm* 56. *years. And therefore between the Homage made by the ſaid* Alexander *King of* Scotland, *and the Homage done by* Alexander, *Son to the ſaid King of* Scots, *to us at our Coronation at* Weſtminſter, *there was about Fifty years. At which time, the ſaid* Alexander *King of* Scots *repaired to the ſaid Feaſt of our Coronation, and there did he his Duty as is aforeſaid.*

¶ Beſides theſe Letters of the King, the Lords Temporal alſo, in the name of the whole Commonalty and Parliament, wrote another Letter to the Pope anſwering to that, whereas the Pope Arrogated to him to be Judge for the title of the Realm of *Scotland*, which the King of *England* claimed unto himſelf; which Letter I thought good alſo here to annex, containing, as in the words of the ſame here followeth to be read and ſeen.

## The Lords Temporal, and the whole Barony of *England* to the Pope.

THE Holy mother Church by whoſe miniſtry the Catholick See is Governed, in her deeds (as we throughly believe and hold) proceedeth with that ripeneſs in judgment, that ſhe will be hurtful to none: But like a mother would every mans right to be kept unbroken as well in other, as in her ſelf. Whereas therefore in a general Parliament, called at Lincoln of late by our moſt dread Lord Edward, by the Grace of God the Noble King of England: the ſame our Lord cauſed certain Letters received from you to be read openly, and to be declared ſeriouſly before us, about certain buſineſſes touching the condition and ſtate of the Realm of Scotland: we did not a little muſe and marvel with our ſelves, hearing the meanings concerning the ſame, ſo wonderous and ſtrange, as the like we have not heard at any time before. For we know moſt holy Father, and it is well known as well in this Realm of England, as alſo it is not unknown to other perſons beſides, that from the firſt beginning of the Realm of England, the certain and direct Government of the Realm of Scotland in all Temporal cauſes, from time to time, belonged to the Kings of the ſame Realm of England, and Realm of Scotland; as well in the times of the Britains, as alſo of Engliſh-men. Yea rather, the ſame Realm of Scotland of old time was in fee to the Anceſtors of our foreſaid Lords Kings of England, yea and to himſelf. Furthermore, the Kings of the Scots, and the Realm have not been under any other than the Kings of England; and the Kings of England have anſwered, or ought to anſwer for their rights in the foreſaid Realm, or for any his temporalities before any Judge Eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of his Royal Dignity, and Cuſtom kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treaty had and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foreſaid Letters, this was the common agreeing and conſent with one mind, and ſhall be without fail in time to come by Gods grace; that our foreſaid

KING Edw. I. *ſaid Lord the King ought by no means to anſwer in judgment in any caſe, or ſhould bring his foreſaid right into doubt; nor ought to ſend any Proctors or Meſſengers to your preſence: eſpecially ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſheriting of the right of the Crown of* England, *and the plain overthrow of the State of the ſaid Realm, and alſo hurt of the Liberties, Cuſtoms and Laws of our Fathers: for the keeping and defence of which we are bound by the duty of our oath made, and we will maintain them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods help) with all ſtrength. And further, we will not ſuffer our foreſaid Lord the King to do, or by any means to attempt the premiſſes, being ſo unaccuſtomed, unwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, we reverently and humbly beſeech your Holineſs that ye would ſuffer the ſame our Lord King of* England *(who among other Princes of the World, ſheweth himſelf Catholick and devout to the* Romiſh *Church) quietly to enjoy his Rights, Liberties, Cuſtoms, and Laws aforeſaid; without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue untouched. In witneſs whereof we have ſet our ſeals to theſe preſents, as well for us, as for the whole Commonalty of the foreſaid Realm of* England. *Dated at* Lincoln *in the year of our Saviour* 1301. & Anno Edwardi primi 28.

Anno 1303. The Pope ſetteth King againſt King.

The year following, which was from Chriſt *Anno* 1303. the ſaid Pope *Boniface* the eighth of that name, taking diſpleaſure with *Philip* the *French* King, did excite King *Edward* of *England* to War againſt him, promiſing him great aid thereunto. But he (as mine Author ſaith) little truſting the Popes falſe unſtable affection toward him well proved before, put him off with delaies. Ex *Rob. Avesb.* Whereupon, the *French* King fearing the power of King *Edward*, whom the Pope had ſet againſt his friendſhip, reſtored unto him again *Vaſcone*, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned between the Pope and the *French* King, how it began firſt, and to what end it fell out, the ſequel hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall declare, after that firſt I have finiſhed the diſcourſe begun between *England* and *Scotland*.

Ex Rob. Avesb.

Another Scotiſh rebellion ſuppreſſed.

In the year 1303. the foreſaid *William Waleis* which had done ſo many diſpleaſures to the King before, continuing ſtill in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the *Scots* to withſtand the King, till at length the year following he was taken, and ſent up to *London*, and there Executed for the ſame. After which things done, the King then held his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, whither came out of *Scotland* the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, *Robert Bruſe* above mentioned, Earl of *Dunbare*, Earl of *Arles*, and Sir *John Comming*, with divers other: The which voluntarily were ſworn to be true to the King of *England*, and to keep the Land of *Scotland* to his uſe againſt all perſons. But ſhortly after the ſaid *Robert Bruſe*, who, as is ſaid, married the Second Daughter of Earl *David*, forgetting his Oath before made unto the King, within a year or two after this, by the counſel of the Abbot of *Stone*, and the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* ſent up unto Pope *Clement* the fifth, for a diſpenſation of his Oath made; inſinuating to him, that King *Edward* vexed and grieved the Realm of *Scotland* wrongfully. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the King to leave off ſuch doings. Notwithſtanding which inhibition of the Pope, the King proſecuting his own right, after he had the underſtanding of the doings of the *Scots*, and of the miſchief of *Robert Bruſe*, (who had ſlain with his own hands Sir *John Comming*, for not conſenting with him and other Lords at his Parliament) arreared his power and ſtrength of men, preparing himſelf toward *Scotland*, where he joyning with the ſaid Sir *Robert* and all his power of *Scotland* in a plain, near unto Saint *Johns* Town, put him to flight, and ſo chaſed the *Scots*, that of them were ſlain to the number of ſeven Thouſand. In the which Victory, ſuch Biſhops and Abbots as were taken he ſent to the Pope; the Temporal Lords and other *Scots* he ſent to *London*, &c. Sir *Robert Bruſe* after this diſcomfiture, when he had thus loſt both the Field and his chief Friends, ſeeing himſelf not able to make his party good, fled into *Norway*, where he kept his abode during the time while King *Edward* lived. When this Noble *Edward* had thus ſubdued the *Scots*, he yielded thanks to God for his Victory, and ſo ſetting the Land in a quiet, and an Order, he returned unto *London*, which was the 35th year, and laſt of his Reign, &c.

The Pope diſpenſeth with due and true obedience of ſubjects towards their Prince.

The Popes inhibition neglected in England.

Another rebellion of the Scots repreſſed.

The Scots again ſubdued.

Now to return to that which I promiſed before touching the variance and grievous diſſention between *Philip* the *French* King, and Pope *Boniface* the eighth of that name: After the Biſhoprick of *Rome* had been long void through the diſſention of the *Cardinals*, for the ſpace of two years and three months; at length Pope *Celeſtinus* was choſen ſucceſſor to Pope *Nicholas* the fourth. Which *Celeſtinus* in his firſt conſiſtory began to reform the Clergy of *Rome*, thinking to make it an example to all other Churches. Wherefore, he procured to himſelf ſuch hatred among his Clergy men, that this *Boniface*, then called *Benedictus*, ſpeaking through a Reed in his Chamber wall, nightly admoniſhed him, as it had been a voice from Heaven, that he ſhould give over his Papacy, as being a burthen bigger than he could weild.

A grievous variance between *Philip* the *French* King and Pope *Boniface*.

Pope Nicholas the 4. Popedom vacant two years.

This Pope *Celeſtin* after he had ſate ſix months, by the treachery and falſhood of this *Boniface*, was induced to give up and reſign his Biſhoprick, partly for the voice ſpoken of before, partly for fear; being told of certain craftily ſubborned in his Chamber, that, if he did not reſign, he ſhould loſe his life. Who then after his reſignation going to live in ſome ſolitary deſart (being a ſimple man) was vilely taken and thruſt into perpetual priſon by Pope *Boniface*, craftily pretending that he did it not for any hatred unto *Celeſtine*, but that ſeditious perſons might not have him as their head to raiſe up ſome ſtir in the Church. And ſo he was brought to his death. Wherefore, this *Boniface* was worthily called the eighth *Nero*: of whom it was rightly ſaid, He came in like a Fox, Reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog.

Pope Celeſtinus 5.

Crafty jugling among Popes and Cardinals. Ex Maſſeo.

The 8 Nero.

This Pope *Boniface* ſucceeding, or rather invading after *Celeſtinus*, behaved himſelf ſo imperiouſly, that he put down Princes, Excommunicated Kings, ſuch as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Divers of his Cardinals he drove away for fear, ſome of them as ſchiſmaticks he depoſed and ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance. *Philip* the *French* King he Excommunicated, for not ſuffering his money to go out of the Realm; and therefore curſed both him and his to the fourth Generation. *Albertus* the Emperor not once or twice, but thrice fought at his hands to be confirmed, and yet was rejected, neither could obtain, unleſs he would promiſe to drive the *French* King out of his Realm. In the factious diſcord in *Italy* between the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, which the part of a good Biſhop had been to extinguiſh, ſo little he helped to quench the ſmoak, that he of all other was the chiefeſt firebrand to increaſe the flame. Inſomuch that upon *Aſhwedneſday*, when *Porchetus* an Archbiſhop came and kneeled down before him to receive his Aſhes, Pope *Boniface* looking upon him, and perceiving that he was one of the *Gibellines* part, caſt his handful of aſhes in his eyes, ſaying, *Memento homo quod Gibellinus es*, &c. That is, Remember man that a *Gibelline* thou art, and to aſhes thou ſhalt go. This Pope moreover ordained firſt the Jubile in *Rome*, in the ſolemnizing whereof, the firſt day he ſhewed himſelf in his Pontificalibus, and gave free remiſſion of ſins to as many as came to *Rome* out of all the parts of the World. The ſecond day (being arraied with Imperial Enſigns) he commanded a naked ſword to be carried before him, and ſaid with a loud voice; *Ecce poteſtatem utriuſque gladii*, That is, Loe here the power and authority of both the ſwords, &c.

The Pope miſchief deſcribed.

*Guelphs* and *Gibellins* two factions in *Rome*.

Jubile firſt begun in *Rome*.

The Pope claimed and practiſeth power of both ſwords.

From the which very year (as moſt Stories do record) the Turks do begin the firſt Count of their *Turkiſh* Emperors, whereof the firſt was *Ottomannus*, as you ſhall hear diſcourſed hereafter by Gods grace in the Hiſtorie of the Turks.

By this ſaid Pope *Boniface* divers conſtitutions extravagants of his Predeceſſors were collected together, with many of his own newly added thereto, and ſo made the Book called *Sextus decretalium* &c. By whom alſo firſt ſprang up pardons and indulgences from *Rome*.

Pope Boniface 8. Author of the Book of decretals.

Romiſh pardons firſt begun by Pope Boniface. Ex Hiſt. Nic. Trivet.

Theſe things thus premiſed of *Boniface* the Pope, now will I come to the occaſion of the ſtrife between him, and the *French* King. Concerning which matter, firſt I find in the Hiſtory of *Nicholas Trivet*, that in the year of our Lord, 1301. the Biſhop of *Oppanuham*, being accuſed for a conſpiracy againſt the *French* King, was brought up to his Court, and ſo committed to priſon. The Pope

hearing this, ſendeth word to the King by his Legate to ſet him at liberty. The *French* King, not daring to the contrary, looſeth the Biſhop. But when he had done, he diſchargeth both the Biſhop and the Legate, commanding them to void his Realm. Whereupon, Pope *Boniface* revoketh all the Graces and Privileges granted either by him or his Predeceſſors before to the Kingdom of *France*; alſo not long after he thundred out the ſentence of his Curſe againſt him. Moreover, he citeth all the Prelates, all Divines, and Lawyers both civil and canon, to appear perſonally before him at *Rome*, at a certain day, which was the firſt of *November*. Againſt this Citation the King again provideth, and commandeth by ſtrait Proclamation, that no manner of perſon ſhould export out of the Realm of *France* either Gold, or Silver, or any other manner of Ware or Merchandiſe upon pain of forfeiting all their goods, and their bodies at the Kings pleaſure: providing withall, that the ways and paſſages, ſhould diligently be kept, that none might paſs unſearched. Over and beſides, the ſaid *French* King defeated the Pope in giving and beſtowing Prebends, and Benefices, and other Eccleſiaſtical Livings, contrary to the Popes profit. For the which cauſe, the Pope writeth to the foreſaid King in form and effect as followeth.

*Philip* the *French* King Excommunicated.

### *Boniface* Biſhop, and Servant to Gods Servants, to his beloved Son *Philip*, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, Greeting and Apoſtolical Bleſſing.

*Ex lib. Stephan Anfrerii.*

BOniface *the Servant of Gods Servants, &c. Fear God, and obſerve his Commandments. We will thee to underſtand, that thou art ſubject to us both in Spiritual things, and Temporal; And that no gift of Benefices or Prebends belongeth to thee; and if thou have the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reſerve the profits of them to the Succeſſors. But if thou have given any, we judge the Gift to be void, and call back how far ſoever thou haſt gone forward. And whoſoever believeth otherwiſe, we judge them Hereticks.*

Unto this Letter of the Pope, King *Philip* maketh anſwer again in manner and order as followeth, which is this:

### *Philip* by the Grace of God King of *France*, to *Boniface* not in deeds behaving himſelf for Pope, little Friendſhip or none.

A Letter of King *Philip* of *France* to Pope *Boniface.*

TO Boniface *bearing himſelf for chief Biſhop, little health or none. Let thy fooliſhneſs know, that in Temporal things we are ſubject to no man, and that the Gifts of Prebends and Benefices, made and to be made by us, were and ſhall be good, both in time paſt and to come. And that we will defend manfully the Poſſeſſor of the ſaid Benefices, and we think them that believe or think otherwiſe, Fools and mad men. Given at* Paris *the Wedneſday after* Candlemas, 1301.

After theſe aforeſaid and other writings paſſing to and fro, between the *French* King and the Pope; within a year and an half after, the King ſummoneth a Parliament, ſending down his Letters to his Sheriffs and other Officers, to ſummon the Prelates and Barons of the Realm unto the ſaid Court of Parliament, according to the tenor of the Kings Letters here following:

A Parliament ſummoned by King Philip at Paris.

PHilip *by the Grace of God King of* France, &c. *Whereas we would take counſel with the Prelates, Barons, and other our faithful, about weighty matters and hard, and ſuch as belong greatly to our Right, and touching our Honour, State, Liberties, and Laws of this our Realm, Churches, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and would alſo go forward and proceed in the foreſaid matters according to their counſel: We command you, that ye diligently in our behalf require and ſtraightly charge all the Prelates in your Bayliwick, and alſo all and ſingular Abbots and Priors of the ſame your foreſaid Bayliwick, (to certain of the which we have directed down our ſpecial Letters for the ſame cauſe) that as they favour our Honour, the good ſtate both of the Realm, of themſelves and of the Church, they repair to us in their own perſons, all lets and delays ſet aſide, and all other buſineſs left off. Shewing to them moreover, that we can judge none of them to be either to us faithful Subjects, or Friends to the Realm, which ſhall fail herein, or withdraw himſelf in the foreſaid buſineſs, counſels, and helps in time. Wherein if peradventure any ſhall ſlack or refuſe to reſort and come toward us within eight days from the time of this Charge given by you, or your Commandment; then we require you to ſeize all his temporal goods in our hand, and ſo ſeized to hold them until you receive other Commandment from us. Given at* Paris *the* Monday *before the Nativity of S.* John Baptiſt, *in the year of our Lord*, 1303.

KING Edw. I.

### *A Declaration of Maſter* William Nagareta, *made againſt Pope* Boniface *the Eighth, with his Appellation alſo made at* Paris, *before the King and his Council in the Church of* Paris.

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* In the year of our Lord, 1303. *Indictione ſecunda*, the 12. day of *March*, and the ninth year of the Popedom of the moſt holy Father the Lord *Boniface* the Eighth, by Gods Providence Pope, and in the preſence of us common Notaries, and witneſſes under written, the Nobleman Maſter *William Nagareta* Knight (a worſhipful Profeſſor of the Laws) ſtanding before the moſt excellent Prince the Lord *Philip*, by the Grace of God moſt noble King of *France*, ſpake with lively words, and gave in writings theſe things that follow:

The Appe of Nagare gainſt Boniface eighth.

Ex Regiſtro

*There have been falſe Prophets among the people, as there have been alſo among you falſe Teachers, &c. Saint* Peter *the glorious Prince of the Apoſtles, ſpeaking to us by the Spirit, told us things to come; that like wiſe as there were falſe Prophets aforetimes, ſo there ſhould come among you falſe Teachers, bringing in Sects of deſtruction; by the which the way of truth ſhall be defaced; and covetouſly they ſhall make Merchandiſe of you with fained words; and further addeth, that ſuch Maſters did follow the way of* Balaam, *of* Boſor, *which loved the reward of wickedneſs, and had his bridled Aſs to correct his madneſs, which ſpeaking in a mans voice, did ſtop the fooliſhneſs of the Prophet. All which things as they be ſhewed to us by the greateſt Patriach himſelf; your eyes ſee them fulfilled this day according to the Letter. For there ſitteth in Saint* Peters *Chair the Maſter of Lyes, cauſing himſelf to be called* Boniface, *a well-doer, where he is notable in all kind of evil doing, and ſo he hath taken to himſelf a falſe name; and where he is not a true Ruler and Maſter, he calleth himſelf the Lord, Judge, and Maſter of all men. And coming in contrary to the common Order appointed by the holy Fathers, and alſo contrary to the Rules of reaſon, and ſo not entring in at the door into the Lords Sheepfold, he is not a Shepherd nor Hireling, but rather a Thief and Robber. For he (the true Husband of the* Romiſh *Church yet living) deceived him that was delighted in ſimplicity, and enticed him with fained flatterings and gifts to let him have his Spouſe to be his wife, againſt truth, which crieth,* Thoſe whom God hath coupled, let no man ſeparate: *and at length laying violent hands upon him, perſwading him falſly that thing which the Deceiver ſaid to come from the holy Spirit, was not aſhamed to joyn to himſelf with wicked practice that holy Church, which is Miſtreſs of all Churches, calling himſelf her Husband, whereas he cannot be: for* Celeſtinus *the true* Romiſh *Biſhop agreed not to the ſaid Divorce, being deceived by ſo great ſubtilty; nothing is ſo contrary to agreeing as error and deceit, as mans Law bear witneſs, that I need not to ſpeak of his violence. But becauſe the Spirit inſpireth where he will, and he that is led with the Spirit, is not under the Law; the holy univerſal Church of God, not knowing the crimes of that Deceiver, ſtumbling and doubting whether it came from the Holy Ghoſt that* Celeſtinus *ſhould leave off his Government, and the ſins of the people deſerving it, for fear of a Schiſm ſuffered the foreſaid Deceiver: although, according to the Doctrine of our Lord,* By his fruits he might be known, *whether he came to the ſaid Regiment by the Holy Ghoſt or otherwiſe: his*

An invective againſt the placing of Boniface the eighth in the Papal Sea.

KING Edw. I

*his fruits (as it is plainly here written beneath) are now manifeſt to all men, by which it is apparent to the world, that he came not in by God, but otherways; and ſo came not in by the Sheepfold. His fruits are moſt wicked, and his end is death; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſo evil a Tree (according to the Lords ſaying)* ſhould be cut down and caſt into the fire. *This cannot avail to his excuſe, which is ſaid of ſome men, that is, that the Cardinals did agree upon him again, after the death of the ſaid* Celeſtinus *the Pope, ſeeing he could not be her Husband, whom it is manifeſt that he defiled by Adultery, her firſt Husband yet living, and ſhe being worthy to have the promiſe of marriage kept unto her: therefore, becauſe that which is done againſt the Lord turneth to the wrong of all men; and eſpecially in ſo great a miſchief, by reaſon of the conſequence by which ſhe is judged of the people both a woman adultereſs or defamed: I, like a bridled Aſs, by the power of the Lord, and not by the voice of a perfect man, being not able to bear ſo great a burthen, take in hand to rebuke the madneſs of the ſaid falſe Prophet* Balaam, *which at the inſtance of King* Balack; *that is, of the Prince of Devils, whom he ſerveth, ready to curſe the people bleſſed of the Lord. I beſeech you moſt excellent Prince, and Lord* Philip, *by the Grace of God King of* France, *that like as the Angel of God in time paſt met in the way, with a Sword drawn, the Prophet* Balaam *going to curſe Gods people; ſo you (which are unwilling to execute Juſtice, and therefore like the Angel of the Lord, and Miniſter of Power and Office) would meet with a naked Sword this ſaid wicked man, which is far worſe than* Balaam, *that he perform not that evil which he intendeth to the people.*

The Pope well compared to Balaam which was wont to curſe Gods people for reward of money.

Articles propounded againſt Pope Boniface.

Firſt, I propound that the foreſaid man, that nameth himſelf *Boniface*, is no Pope, but wrongfully keepeth the Seat which he hath, indeed to the great damage of all the Souls of Gods holy Church. I ſay alſo, that his entring many ways was faulty, and he entred not in at the door, but otherways, and therefore is to be judged a Thief and a Robber.

2. I propound alſo, that the ſaid *Boniface* is a manifeſt Heretick, and utterly cut off from the body of the holy Church, becauſe of many kinds of Hereſies, which are to be declared in convenient time and place.

3. I propound alſo, that the ſaid *Boniface* is an horrible Simoniack, and ſuch a one as hath not been ſithence the beginning of the world: and the miſchief of this ſin in him is notorious to all the world (which thing is manifeſt to all that will plainly underſtand) inſomuch that he, being openly ſlandered, ſaid openly, *That he could not commit ſimony.*

The nature of this Pope and all Popes by his linage painted out

4. I propound alſo, that the ſaid *Boniface*, being wrapt in infinite manifeſt hainous ſins, is ſo hardned in them, that he is utterly not poſſible to be corrected: and lieth in dungeon of miſchief ſo deep, that he may not be ſuffered any longer without the overthrow of the ſtate of the Church. His mouth is full of curſing, his feet and ſteps are ſwift to ſhed blood. He utterly teareth in pieces the Churches, which he ought to cheriſh; waſting wickedly the goods of the poor, and making much of wicked men that give him Rewards: perſecuting the righteous, and among the people not gathering but ſcattering, bringing in new Sects of Deſtruction that have not been heard of: Blaſpheming the way of Truth, and by robbery thinking himſelf equal to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt which is bleſſed for ever. And he being moſt covetous thirſteth for Gold, coveteth Gold, and by ſome device getteth Gold of every people: and utterly not regarding the worſhipping of God, with fained words, ſometimes by flattering, ſometimes by threatning, ſometimes by falſe teaching, and all to get money withall, he maketh Merchandiſe of us all; envying all things but his own; loving no man, nouriſhing War, perſecuting and hating the peace of his Subjects. He is rooted in all unſpeakable ſins, contrarying and ſtriving againſt all the Ways and Doctrines of the Lord. He is truly the abomination of the people, which *Daniel* the Lords Prophet deſcribed.

The Pope thinks himſelf equal with Chriſt.

*Abominatio deſolationis Papæ.*

Therefore I anſwer, that Laws, Weapons, and all the Elements ought to riſe againſt him, which thus overthroweth the ſtate of the Church; for whoſe ſins God plagueth the whole world. And finally nothing remaineth to him, being ſo unſatiable to ſatisfie him withall, but only the unſatiable mouth of Hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing for ever. Therefore ſeeing that in a General Council it ſo becometh, and I ſee this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and all men: I ask and require as inſtantly as I can, and beſeech you my Lord and King aforeſaid, that you would declare thus much to the Prelates, Doctors, People, and Princes your Brethren in Chriſt, and chiefly to the Cardinals and all Prelates, and call a Council. In the which (when the foreſaid wicked man is condemned) by the worſhipful Cardinals, the Church may be provided of a Shepherd: and for that Council I offer my ſelf ready lawfully to purſue the foreſaid things. And whereas the ſaid man, being in the higheſt Dignity, in the mean time cannot be ſuſpended of his Superior; therefore he ought to be taken, ſuſpended indeed for the things aforeſaid, ſeeing his ſtate is called into Judgment, by the means aforeſaid.

I beſeech and require the ſaid Cardinals by you, and I preſently require them and the Church of God, that this wicked man being put in priſon, the Church of *Rome* may be provided of a Vicar, which may miniſter thoſe things that ſhall appertain, until the Church of God be provided of a Biſhop, utterly to take away all occaſion of a Schiſm. And leſt the ſaid wicked man ſhould let and hinder the proſecuting thereof, I require theſe things of you my Lord King aforeſaid, affirming you to be bound to do this for many cauſes. Firſt, for the Faiths ſake. Secondly, for your King's dignity, to whoſe Office it belongeth to root out ſuch wicked men. Thirdly, for your Oath ſake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realm, which the foreſaid Ravener utterly teareth in pieces. Fourthly, becauſe ye be the Patron of the Churches, and therefore ye are not bound only to the defence of them, but to the calling for again of their goods, which this foreſaid man hath waſted. Fifthly, ye following the footſteps of your Anceſtors, ought to deliver your Mother the *Romiſh*-Church, from ſo wicked a Band wherein by Oppreſſion ſhe is tyed and bound. I require that a publick Inſtrument may be made of theſe Requeſts by the Notaries here preſent, under the witneſs of the worſhipful men that be here preſent. Theſe things were done and ſpoken as is aforeſaid at *Paris* in the Kings Houſe of *Lupara*.

After this Proteſtation of Maſter *Nagareta*, immediately inſued the Appeal of the King, pronounced and publiſhed againſt the ſaid *Boniface*, in form as followeth:

## The Appeal made by the King and the Lovers of the Realm againſt *Boniface*.

The Appellation of the *French* King and Nobles againſt Pope *Boniface* the Eighth.

IN *the Name of God*, Amen. *In the year of our Lord*, 1303. Indictione prima, 13. *day of* June, *and the ninth year of the Popedom of* Boniface *the eighth. By the tenor of this publick Inſtrument be it unto all men known, that the moſt noble Prince and Lord*, Philip *by the Grace of God, King of* France, *the famous and reverend Fathers in Chriſt, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, religious men, Abbots and Priors here under-named, in the preſence of us common Notaries here under written, eſpecially called and required for this purpoſe, as it is contained in the Subſcriptions here under, the famous and Noblemen, the Lord* Lewis, *Son of the* French *King*; Guido *of Saint* Paul, *and* John Drocem *Earls, and* William *of* Pleſiano *Lord of* Viterob *Knight: Moved as they ſaid with a fervent faith, with affection of ſincere love and zeal of Charity to be ſhewed to the holy* Romiſh *Church, and having pity from their heart, on their Mother the univerſal Church, which, as they ſaid, is oppreſſed dangerouſly under the rule of the ſaid Lord* Boniface, *and ſuffereth outragious defacing and loſs; and pitying the right Faith (as they ſay) in which ſtands the Salvation of Souls, and which (alas for pity) in their times miſerably pineth away, and periſheth for the lack of wholſome government of the Church through all* Chriſtendom, *and earneſtly taking pains, as they ſaid, for the repairing and enhaunſing of the Catholick Faith: eſpecially ſeeing it was neceſſary for the ſame Church, for the foundation of the Faith, and health of the Souls that none ſhould rule the Fold of the Lords Flock, but the true and lawful Shepherd; and alſo becauſe the ſame Church was the Spouſe of Chriſt that hath*

no

*no ſpot nor wrinkle, all error, offence, wickedneſs and wrong ſhould be put away; and ſalvation, peace and quietneſs through Gods mercy might be procured to the whole world, which they ſay, lieth in wars and darkneſs by the wicked Deeds, curſed Works, and hurtful Examples of the ſaid* Boniface: *They ſaid and laid againſt the ſaid* Boniface *Hereſie, and other divers horrible and curſed faults, wherein they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriouſly reported, the King himſelf being preſent with Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates and Church-men (which were aſſembled to intreat of their own matters, and matters of their Churches) beſide Barons, Earls, and other Noblemen, whoſe names are under-written.*

*The ſaid* William *propounded and objected againſt him, ſwearing by the holy Goſpel of God, which he corporally touched, that he could prove all and every the premiſſes to be true. And the ſaid* William *of* Pleſiano *ſware further this Oath, that he believed he could prove the premiſſes, and that he would purſue to the full end againſt the ſaid* Boniface *in the General Council, where, when, and before whomſoever of right it ought to be done: requiring earneſtly the ſaid King as a Champion of the Faith, and Defender of the Church; that for declaring of this truth to the praiſe of Gods Name, to the increaſe and promoting of the Catholick Faith, to the honour and wealth of the univerſal Church, and of all Chriſtian people, and the Congregation of the ſaid General Council, he would help and beſtow his profitable labour, with Souldiers and other like, for the love of men, and zeal to Juſtice (becauſe his Kingly houſe was ever a Ruler of the Truth) and that he would earneſtly require the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, and that he would be effectually inſtant with them. The Earls and Knights themſelves beſought earneſtly many of the ſame Prelates (as they were Pillars of the Church and the Faith) that they would help and effectually beſtow their labour to the calling and aſſembling of the ſaid Council, by all ways and means lawful, according to the Ordinances of the holy Fathers, and Decrees of the Canons. But when the Prelates heard and fully underſtood ſuch Objections, Oppoſitions, and Requeſts, as is aforeſaid; and conſidered that ſuch a matter was not only moſt hard, but needed wiſe counſel, they departed out of the ſame place. But on the* Friday *next following, the fourteenth day of the ſame month of* June, *the foreſaid Lord King being preſent, and alſo the Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and many witneſſes here under written the ſame time being preſent, and in the preſence of us common Notaries here ſubſcribed, and being ſpecially called and required for this purpoſe: the foreſaid* William *of* Plaſiano *Knight, ſaid, propounded, affirmed, objected, and read; as was contained more fully in a certain Paper which he held in his hand, whoſe tenor was after this ſort:*

I *William* of *Pleſiano* Knight, ſay, propound, and affirm, that *Boniface* which now ruleth the Apoſtolical See is a rank Heretick in Hereſies, and by Hereſies, outragious Deeds, and wicked Doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to be true, I believe I am able to prove: or elſe, ſuch things as theſe ſhall be ſufficient to prove him a full Heretick, in a convenient place and time, and before whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I ſware on the holy Goſpel of God preſently touched of me.

1. Firſt, that he believeth not the immortality of men, and of Chriſtian Souls, but thinking much like as the *Sadducees* did believe, that there is no everlaſting life, and that men cannot get at the length Joy, but that all the lot and part of comfort and gladneſs is in this world: and by this means he affirmeth, that it is no ſin for the body to live daintily in all dainties. And out of the abundance of this leven, he was not aſhamed to ſay and openly to confeſs, that he had rather be an *Aſs*, or a *Dog*, or any other bruit Beaſt, than a *French-man*; which thing he would not have ſaid, if he believed a *French-man* had a Soul that could enjoy everlaſting life. This thing, he taught many men, which acknowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in theſe things.

*Pope Boniface had rather be a Dog than a Frenchman.*

2. Alſo, he believeth not faithfully, that by the words ordained of Chriſt, and ſpoken over the Hoſt, after the faſhion of the Church by a faithful Prieſt that is lawfully ordered, the body of Chriſt to be there: and therefore it cometh to paſs, that he giveth no reverence to it (no not a little) when it is lifted up of the Prieſt, yea, he riſeth not to it, but turneth his back to it, and makes himſelf and his Seat to be honoured where he ſitteth, rather than the Altar where the Hoſt is conſecrate: and he is commonmonly reported to do this.

{KING Edw. I}

3. Alſo, he is reported to ſay, that Whoredom is no ſin, no more than rubbing of the hands together, and thus commonly runs the voice and brute.

4. Alſo, he ſaid often, that to thruſt down the King and *Frenchmen* (if it could not be otherwiſe done) he would overthrow himſelf, the whole world and the whole Church. And when he had ſaid ſo, ſome that ſtood by ſaid, *God forbid*; he anſwered, *God grant*. And when good men that heard the words replied againſt him, that he ſhould not ſay ſo, becauſe the Church of God and all Chriſtian-men ſhould ſuffer great ſlander ſo: he anſwered, *I care not what ſlanders ſoever come, ſo that the* French-men *and their pride be deſtroyed; for it is neceſſary that ſlanders and offences come.*

5. *Item*, he called again and allowed a Book made by *M. Arnold* of *Newton*, containing and ſmelling of Hereſie, condemned by the Biſhop of *Paris*, and reproved by the Maſters of Divinity, and burned openly by *Boniface* himſelf: and in the full Conſiſtory of Cardinals being likewiſe reproved, condemned, and burned, yet he allowed it being written again, and containing the ſame fault.

6. *Item*, that he might make the moſt damnable remembrance of him perpetual, he cauſed his Images of ſilver to be ſet in the Church, by this means bringing men to Idolatry.

7. *Item*, he hath a private Devil, whoſe counſel he uſeth in all things, and through all things.

8. *Item*, he ſaid once, that if all men were on one ſide, and he on another, they could not deceive him neither in law nor in deed, which thing could not be done except he uſed a deviliſh Art: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9. *Item*, he is a Witch, asking counſel at Sooth-ſayers both Men and Women, and thus he is commonly judged.

10. *Item*, he ſaid openly, that the *Romiſh* Pope could not commit Simony, which is heretical to ſay. This is a ſin reproved as well in the *Old Teſtament* as in the *New*, and generally in the holy Councils. Alſo he is wont to make Merchandiſe of Prelates Livings, Dignities, Superiorities, and Benefices, to the which holy Orders be neceſſarily joyned, and of Abſolutions and Diſpenſations, like as Uſurers and Merchants uſe to buy and ſell common things in the Market, and of this the common brute reports him.

11. *Item*, he letteth with all his might among Chriſtian men the ſpecial Embaſſage of Chriſt, made to his own Sons, ſaying, *Peace I leave to you*, and ſoweth diſcord and wars: Wherefore once it was ſaid before him, that certain parties would friendly agree after a good ſort, but he letted the peace: and when the other party did humbly beſeech him, that he would give licence to agree (he ſaid) he would not: yea, if the Son of God or *Peter* the Apoſtle would come down into the Earth and command him; he would ſay, *I will not believe thee.*

12. *Item*, becauſe the *French* Nation (being manifeſtly a moſt Chriſtian Nation) followeth not his errors in the Faith; he reckoneth and openly calleth all and every of them *Paterniani.*

13. *Item*, he is infect with Sodomitical ſin, keeping with him Boys for *Concubines*, and of this fault he is moſt commonly and openly reported.

14. *Item*, he hath cauſed many murthers of Clerks to be done in his preſence, commending it and rejoycing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the firſt by his Servants, as oft as he ſaw them ſmiting, he ſaid, *Smite, Smite*; by which example many were ſlain.

15. *Item*, when he had condemned a certain Noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be given him at the point of death, he deſiring it and being penitent, ſaying, *That the Sacrament of Penance was not neceſſary to Salvation.*

16. *Item*,

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16. *Item*, he compelled certain Prieſts to ſhew unto him the confeſſions of men, and he publiſhed them openly afterward contrary to the will of them that were confeſſed, to their ſhame and confuſion, and compelled them to redeem their ſins. Inſomuch that once he depoſed a certain Biſhop of *Spain*, for the faults that he confeſſed to a certain Cardinal, confeſſing unto him a certain privy horrible fault under *Benedicite*, and compelled the Cardinal againſt his will to declare his confeſſion: and yet afterward he reſtored the ſame Biſhop again to his place for a little money. Wherefore he is thought to play the Heretick in the Sacrament of Penance.

17. *Item*, he faſteth not on the faſting-days, nor *Lent*, but eateth fleſh indifferently, and without cauſe ſuffereth his Houſhold and friends to eat, ſaying, *It is no ſin*: Doing in this thing againſt the general ſtate of the holy Church.

18. *Item*, he oppreſſed the Order of the Cardinals, and hath oppreſſed the Order of black and white Monks, of gray Fryers and Preachers: and ſaid of them, *That the world was deſtroyed by them, and that they were falſe Hypocrites, and that never good could chance unto any that would be confeſſed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would keep them in their houſe.* And he never ſaid good word of any Prelate, religious man, or Clerk; but ever rebuketh and ſlandereth them, taking away their good name; and, to compel them to redeem their faults, he is glad of their Accuſations: and this is the common voice and report of him.

19. *Item*, of old time, he going about to deſtroy the Faith, conceived a hate againſt the *French* King, even to the abhorring of the Faith: becauſe of the light of Faith which is there, and becauſe of the great witneſs and example of Chriſtianity, which is and hath been there. And before he had this Seat, he is proved to have ſaid, that if he were Pope, he would rather overthrow all *Chriſtendom*, but he would overthrow and deſtroy the Nation, which he calleth the pride of the *French*.

20. Alſo, it is reported, that when the Embaſſadors of the King of *England*, in the name of the ſaid King did require and intreat for the tenth of the Realm of *England* to be given him; he anſwered, *That he would not give them the tenth, but on this condition, that he would make War with them againſt the* French *King*. And beſides this, he is reported to have given great ſums of money to certain perſons, to hinder that peace ſhould not be betwixt the ſaid Kings. He himſelf alſo with all his might hath letted it, by Meſſengers, Letters, and other ways that he could, yea by giving Bribes.

21. *Item*, he is reported alſo to have commanded *Frederick* which keepeth the Iſle of *Sicil*, that if he would betray *Charles* the King, and break the peace which he made, and ſware that he would keep with him, and would ſtir againſt the King, and kill the *French-men*, that then he would give him aid, help, and counſel; and for ſo doing he would give and grant him the ſaid Kingdoms.

Pope Boniface enemy to the Frenchmen.

22. He confirmed alſo the King of *Almain* to be Emperor, and ſaid openly, *That he did it to deſtroy the Nation*, which he calleth the pride of the *French-men*; which ſay, *That they are ſubject to none in Temporal things.* Wherein ſaith he, they lied on their heads, declaring moreover, that whoſoever (yea if it were an Angel from Heaven) would ſay, that all Kings of the world were not ſubject to the ſame King of *Almain*, he were accurſed.

Pope Boniface an enemy to peace

23. Further, he brake the Agreements of peace betwixt the King of *Almain* and the *French* King: in which, either of them ſhould have their own ſaved. And what encroachings ſoever had been on either ſide ſhould be brought to a due ſtate, and under an Oath orderly given and taken: he is reported to have commanded the ſame King of *Almain*, that he ſhould not keep theſe conditions of peace, but be an enemy, and go about to ſow debate among Chriſtian men.

24. *Item*, it is openly reported, that the holy Land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of Faith; and that he ſuffered this for the nonſt, and denied to give Aid to the Chriſtians which defended it; ſpending the treaſures and money of the Church (which ſhould have been beſtowed on that uſe as the Patrimony of Chriſt) in perſecuting of faithful Chriſtians and Friends of the Church, and therewith would enrich his Friends.

25. *Item*, he is openly reported to uſe Simony, not only in beſtowing of Benefices, but in giving of Orders, and making Diſpenſations. He hath ſet to ſale all Benefices of the Church, and would beſtow the Church commonly on him that would offer moſt: and he made his Servants Prelates of the Church, not for wealth of the Faith, nor to thruſt down Infidels, but to oppreſs the Faithful, and to enrich his Kindred by the Church-goods, and of the Patrimony of him that was crucified; and preſumed to make them Marqueſſes, Earls, and Barons, and was not afraid to build them ſtrong Holds, rooting out and oppreſſing many Noblemen and others.

26. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he hath divorced many Marriages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and ſlander of many; and he did promote his Nephew to a Cardinalſhip, being married, unlearned, and altogether unworthy to live; and openly married one that was divorced, and compelled him to make a vow of chaſtity, and after that he is reported to have had two Baſtards by her, and ſo goeth the common bruit of him.

Pope *Boniface* a Murderer of his Predeceſſor.

27. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he handled ungently his Predeceſſor *Celeſtinus* of holy memory, leading an holy life (peradventure knowing in conſcience that he could not forſake his Popedom, and therefore *Boniface* himſelf had no lawful entrance to the See) and priſoned him, and there quickly and privily cauſed him to die. And of this the common brute and report is through all the world, that he cauſed many and great men living a regular life (which diſputed of this, whether he might renounce the Popedom or not) to be ſet in priſon, and there to die.

28. *Item*, he is reported to have railed at religious perſons leading a regular life, without a reaſonable cauſe to the world, to the ſlander of many.

29. *Item*, he is reported to have ſaid, that he would within ſhort time make all the *French-men* either Martyrs, or forſakers of their Faith.

30. *Item*, it is commonly reported, that he ſeeketh not the health of the Souls, but the deſtruction of them.

Theſe things being propounded and read, the ſame *William* proteſted, ſaid, declared, appealed, and added theſe words, reading them in writing.

The proteſtation of *William Pleſiano.*

*I* William *of* Pleſiano, *Knight, proteſt that I do not propound nor ſpeak the foreſaid things for any ſpecial hate of* Boniface *himſelf (for I hate not him, but his foreſaid evil deeds) nor do I ſeek his injury or ſlander, or any mans elſe: but I ſpeak it for the weal of the Faith, and for the devotion that I have to the holy Church of God, and the holy* Romiſh *See; as well for thoſe things that I have ſeen and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likely preſumptions gathered of the foreſaid things, and many and divers other things to be declared in his due place and time.* And I ſware by the holy Goſpel of God (which I touch with my hand) *That I believe him to be a rank Heretick; and that I alſo believe that the forſaid things, and ſuch other, may prove againſt him ſuch things as ſhall be ſufficient to prove him an Heretick, according to the ſtate of the holy Fathers.* I ſware alſo that I will purſue againſt him by the Laws, the foreſaid things in the General Council that ſhall be aſſembled, in a place that ſhall be ſafe and ſure for me, to the honour of God, and increaſe of the Chriſtian Faith, ſaving the right, honour, and ſtate of the holy Apoſtolical See in all things. Wherefore, earneſtly and with reverence I require you, my Lord the King (to whom belongeth the defence of the holy Mother the Church, and the Catholick Faith, for of that ye ſhall make account in the laſt Judgment) and you my Lords the Prelates which be the pillars of the Faith, and which ought to be Judges of the foreſaid things, together with other reverend Fathers, the Catholick Prelates of the holy Church, in the General Council to be aſſembled; that ye would procure and take diligent pain that a General Council may be gathered in a fit and ſafe place, and convenient time, before which the foreſaid things may be propounded, brought forth and proved againſt the ſaid *Boniface*, as is premiſed. And I earneſtly alſo require you, my Lord King, that ye would require the ſame Prelates preſent and abſent, in what Country ſoever they be, or to whom it belongeth,

Pope Boniface proved an Heretick.

and

and that ye would effectually induce them manfully to labour, and to require others faithfully, that the foreſaid Council for the aforeſaid matters might be gathered in ſuch ſort as is foreſaid. And becauſe ſo long as this is deferred to be proved, I ſuſpect *Boniface* himſelf, leſt he being angry and moved for the foreſaid things againſt me and my Partakers, Procurers and Helpers, my Friends and Familiars, ſhould go about by ſome means to ſtay and ſtop my good purpoſe and theirs for going forward: therefore, by theſe writings before you my Lord the King and divers Prelates, and before your common Notaries here preſent, I provoke and appeal to the ſaid holy General-Council Apoſtolical and Catholick that ſhall be, and to the holy Apoſtolical See, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earneſtly require, once, twice, and thrice, that teſtimonial letters may be given me from you; ſuppoſing my ſelf, my Followers, Favourers, Familiars, Friends, my Procurators, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be under the protection and keeping of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, and the ſaid holy Council to be aſſembled by the holy *Romiſh* See, and the Catholick Apoſtolical Pope that ſhall be: ſticking nevertheleſs and willing to ſtick to the Appellation and Appellations, Proceſs and Proceſſes made hereupon by the Nobleman Maſter *William* of *Nagareta* Knight, in as much as they ſhall be found and made lawful, and yet not forſaking this preſent Appellation.

When theſe things were thus read and done, the foreſaid King anſwered and required the foreſaid Prelates, provoking and appealing and making requeſt, Provocation and Appellation, as is contained in the Paper under written, both there and then with other Prelates: which things all are more fully contained in theſe writings following, and were read to them that heard it, whoſe tenour is ſuch:

The K'ngs anſwer. The Appeal of *Philip* the *French* King from the Pope.

"We *Philip* by the Grace of God, hearing and underſtanding the Objections propounded by our beloved faithful Knight, *W.* of *Nagareta*, againſt *Boniface*, now having the Regiment of the *Romiſh*-Church: although we would gladly cover with our own Cloke, the filthy parts of ſuch a Father; yet for the love of the Catholick Faith and great devotion that we bear to the holy *Romiſh* and univerſal Church our Mother, and all faithful men, and Spouſe of Chriſt, following the ſteps of our Anceſtors, which doubted not to ſhed their own blood for the increaſe and defence of the Churches Liberty and the Faith; and coveting to provide for the purity of the Faith and State of the Church; as alſo to avoid the hurt of the general ſlander, being not able to paſs over any longer the premiſſes with winking and diſſembling, and my conſcience driving to the ſame; ſeeing this eſtimate and opinion of him in theſe matters is not raſhly of us conceived, but vehemently and plainly increaſed by many and continual cryings of credible men, and great authority oft and oftentimes beaten into us, fearing moreover the deſtruction of the Faith, both of us and of all other Subjects, and ſpecially of Kings and Princes of the world, which ought to reprove negligence, which acknowledge that we have received power given us from the Lord, to the promoting and increaſment of it; we agree to your Requeſts in his behalf, and to the calling and aſſembling a Council for the Glory of God (ſaving the honour and reverence that is due to the holy *Romiſh*-Church in all things) whereby the truth may appear in the premiſſes, and all error avoided: that the ſtate of the univerſal Church, and all Chriſtianity, and the matters of Faith, and the holy Land may be provided for, and the ſlanders and jeopardies hanging over us may be withſtanded; we be ready and offer our ſelves gladly, as much as in us is, to beſtow our labour and diligent pain thereabout: Earneſtly requiring and beſeeching in the merciful bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, you Archbiſhops and other Prelates here preſent, as Children of the Church and Pillars of Faith, called of the Lord to the promoting, increaſe and preſerving thereof, to care for the ſame, that with all diligence ye would give heed, as becometh you, and effectually you would labour by all ways and fit means, to the calling and aſſembling of this Council, in which we intend to be perſonally preſent. And leſt the ſaid *Boniface*, which hath boldly and wrongfully many times threatned to proceed againſt us, ſtopping and hindring our purpoſes and intent, leſt any of his works of darkneſs (if there be any) ſhould come to light, directly or indirectly hindring the calling and gathering of this Council; or leſt any ſtate being in the ſame Realm that will indeed proceed againſt us, or our ſtate, Churches, Prelates, Barons, and other faithful Vaſſals, our Subjects, our Lands, or our Realm, and the ſtate of the Realm, by abuſing any ſpiritual Sword, in Excommunicating, Suſpending, or other ways by any means: for us and our well-willers, and them that will follow us, we provoke and appeal in writing to the foreſaid General-Council (which we inſtantly deſire to be called) and to one lawful chief Biſhop that ſhall be, or to any other to whom we ſhould appeal; and yet not going from the Appellation made by M. *William* of *Negareta*, to whom we ſticked then, and alſo yet ſtick: requiring earneſtly a witneſs of our Appellation of you Prelates and Notaries, expreſſly to renew ſuch Provocation and Appellation when and before whom it ſhall be thought meet to you. KING *Edw.* 1.

Then the Archbiſhops within written, Biſhops, Abbots, and Priors, anſwered the premiſſes (as it is found in the acts) provoked and appealed, agreed to and proteſted, and made Provocation and Appellation, Agreement and Proteſtation, as is contained more fully in a certain Paper there openly and plainly read, whoſe tenour followeth with theſe words:

The Proteſtation of Prelates.

W. *Archbiſhop of* Nicoſen, Remen, Senorem, Narbonem, Turonem, *and Biſhops of* Landviren, Belnacen, Catolacen, Antiſiodorem, Meldimen, Nurmen, Carnotem, Aurelianen, Ambiaven, Morinen, Silanen, Andeganen, Abricen, Conſtant, Ebroicen, Lexonicen, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonicen, Avicen, Maſticoren; *And we Abbots of* Cluniack, Premonſtraten *of the greater Monaſtery of the Court of S.* Dioneſe *in* France, *camped S.* Victors, *S.* Genoveue, *S.* Marten, Landmoen, Figiacem, *and* Bellicem *in* Lemocinio, *and Fryer* Hugh, *Viſitor of the Houſes of the Order of Knights of S.* John *in* Jeruſalem *in* France, *and the Father Prior of S.* Martin in the field, *hearing theſe things which were ſaid, propounded, and objected yeſterday, and to day by you the Lords, Earls, and* Wil. *aforeſaid, againſt the Lord* Boniface *the Eighth and Pope, being moved with ſuch ſayings, purpoſes, aſſertions, and your Oaths, your requeſt and other lawful cauſes, and compelled by need, conſidering that the matter of our Faith, which is Chriſts, is handled in the premiſſes: we that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenance of the faith of Souls of the Realm, although unworthy, yet coveting to withſtand the jeopardies that hang over us by reaſon of the premiſſes and other cauſes, thinking the calling and gathering of the ſaid Council profitable and neceſſary, that the innocency of the Lord* Boniface *himſelf may clearly be diſcuſſed, as we deſire (our conſciences bearing witneſs) that it may be determined on him by the Council, touching ſuch things, as are laid againſt him, and that that which they decree may be done according to the Canons; We anſwer you our Lord King, and you our Lords, Earls, and* William, *that (the honour and reverence of the holy* Romiſh-*Church ſalved in all points) we agree to your due requeſt in this behalf for the calling of the Council, and are ready to give help and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the ſaid Council, according to the Decrees of the holy Fathers, and to the lawful Orders of the Canons: not intending by any means, to make Parties of this matter, nor to ſtick to any that maketh Parties. Yet leſt the ſaid* Boniface *being moved by theſe things, as we fear, by likely conjectures and threatnings made againſt us for the foreſaid things, that he will proceed againſt our Pariſh-Churches and our Subjects by ſome means or cauſe to proceed againſt us by ſome Authority of his own or others, by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Interdicting, Depoſing, Depriving, or by ſome other means and colour ſought to ſome impeachment or trouble of the ſaid Council; and that we may ſit in the ſame Council to judge and do all other things, that belong to the Office of Prelates; that our friends that ſtick to us, and would ſtick to us in all things, may remain ſafe for our ſelves, our Pariſh Churches, our Subjects, and them that ſtick to us, or would ſtick to us in this behalf, we provoke and appeal in writing to the foreſaid Council, that is to be gathered, and to him that ſhall be the true and lawful higheſt*

*Biſhop,*

{KING Edw. I} *Biſhop, and to him or them to whom of right we ſhould appeal, and earneſtly require our Appellations; committing us, our Pariſh-Churches, our Subjects, Friends, and them that ſtick to us, our State and theirs, our right, goods, to the godly defence of the foreſaid Counſel, and of him that ſhall be true and lawful higheſt Biſhop: and we proteſt to renew his Appellation, where, when, and before whom it ſhall be thought meet.*

This was done at *Paris* at *Lupara* in the Chamber of the ſaid Lord our King, *Indictione prima*, the ninth year of his Popedom, the days of *Thurſday* and *Friday* aforeſaid, theſe Noblemen being preſent; The Lords of *Avia* and *Bolone*, the Lords *Martins* and other Earls named before, *Matthew Dotera*, *Peter* the Lord Chamberlain, *Philip* the Lord of *Wirtmos*, and *Henry* of *Bologne* Knight, and alſo *M. Philip* Archdeacon of *Bengem*, *Nicholas* Archdeacon of *Remein*, *William* Treaſurer of *Anjou*, *Philip Beaſpeare*, *Rainold* of *Bourbon* and *John Montagre*, and many more both Clerks and other ſpecially required and called to be Witneſſes to this.

After theſe things thus in the Parliament decreed and agreed, the Prelates of the Clergy conſulting with themſelves what was to be done in ſo doubtful a matter, and dreading the Popes diſpleaſure for this which was done already; to clear themſelves in the matter, contrived among themſelves a Letter to the Pope, partly to certifie him what there was done, and partly alſo to admoniſh him what he ſhould do: the tenor of which their Letter contained theſe words following.

### *The form of a Letter which the Prelates of* France *as well ſecular as religious, ſent to* Boniface, *that he ſhould ceaſe his Enterpriſe, wherein he procceded againſt the King.*

To the moſt holy Father and their deareſt beloved Lord, the Lord *Boniface*, the chief Biſhop of the holy *Romiſh* Church and the univerſal Church, his humble and devout Archbiſhops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deans, Provoſts, Chapters, Covents and Colledges of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, regular and ſecular, of all the Realm of *France*, being gathered together, do offer moſt devout kiſſings of your bleſſed feet.

The Letter of the *French* Prelates to Pope *Boniface.*

*WE are compelled, not without ſorrow of heart and bitter tears, to ſignifie unto your Holineſs that the moſt famous Prince our moſt dear Lord* Philip, *by the Grace of God, the noble King of* France, *when he heard and ſaw the Apoſtolical Letters ſealed, which were ſent to him of late, on your behalf by the worſhipful man the Cardinal of* Narbo *your Notary and Meſſenger, and were preſented by the ſame Cardinal to him, and certain other of his Barons: Upon the ſight and peruſing of thoſe ſo bloody Letters, being read and declared to them ſitting by him; both our Lord the King, and the Barons themſelves were highly moved with great marveling and great trouble. Inſomuch that the ſaid our Lord the King, by the advice of his Barons, commanded to be called before him the other Barons then abſent, and us alſo; that is to ſay, All Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deans, Provoſts, Chapters, Covents and Colledges, as well of Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, regular and ſecular and alſo all the Univerſities and Communalties of the Towns of his Realm; that we Prelates, Barons, Deans, Provoſts, and two of the learneſt of every Collegiate and Cathedral Church, ſhould appear perſonally, and ſhould procure the reſt likewiſe to appear, by their Stewards, Officers, and ſufficient Proctors, with full and ſufficient Commiſſion at the appointed place and time. Further, when we and the other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons aforeſaid, and alſo the Barons, Stewards, Officers, and Proctors, and other of the Communalty of the Towns were thus called, and when, according to the form of the foreſaid calling by the Kings Commandment, we ſtood before the King this* Wedneſday, *the tenth of this preſent* April, *in Saint* Maries *Church in* Paris: *Our Lord the King caused to be propounded openly and plainly to all men, that it was ſignified to him, from you among other things by the foreſaid Cardinal and Letters, that for his Kingdom (which he and his Anceſtors hitherto do acknowledge they hold of God only) now ought in Temporalties to be ſubject to you, and hold of you, and that ye were not content with theſe, ſo marvelous and ſtrange words, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any Dwellers within the ſame Realm, but that ye went about to put them in practice; and that ye called to appear before you the Prelates of the ſaid Realm, and Doctors of Divinity, and ſuch Profeſſors of both Laws, as were born within the ſaid Realm, for the correcting and amending of ſuch Exceſſes, Faults, Arrogancies, Wrongs, and Harms, as ye pretend to be done to the Eccleſiaſtical Prelates and Perſons Eccleſiaſtical both regular and ſecular, abiding within the Realm and elſewhere, by our Lord the King himſelf and his Officers or Bayliffs, by his Peers, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles, with the communalty and people of the ſaid Realm: To the intent, by this means the foreſaid Realm might be made ſtrong, with precious Jewels and durable Treaſures, which are to be preferred before the Bucklers or any armor of ſtrong men, that is to ſay, by the wiſdom of Prelates, and wiſe men, and others; through whoſe ripe faithful counſel, and circumſpect foreſight, the Realm might be ruled and governed, the Faith might be ſtabliſhed, the Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments might be miniſtred, Juſtice might be executed; which by them being robbed of their goods and riches, and utterly ſpoiled, is in a doubtful caſe and in jeopardy of miſerable decay, and for ever to be deſtroyed.*

*Among theſe and divers other griefs, which were done by you and the* Romiſh *Church, to him, to his Realm, and the* French *Church, both in reſerving and wilful ordering of Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, and beſtowing of great Benefices of the Realm upon ſtrange and unknown perſons, yea, and oft upon ſuſpected perſons, never being at the Churches or Benefices aforeſaid: by reaſon whereof the decay of Gods Worſhip enſued; the godly wills of the Founders and Givers are defrauded of their godly purpoſe; the accuſtomed Alms-giving is withdrawn from the poor of the ſaid Realm, the impoveriſhing of the Realm followeth, and Churches run in danger to be defaced, while they remain deſtitute of Service: the Prophets being taken away, and the fruits of them that ſerve them, being appointed to the commodity of ſtrangers. And while Prelates have not to give, yea to reward men for their deſerts; Noblemen (whoſe Anceſtors founded the Churches) and other learned men, cannot have Servants; and that, for theſe cauſes, devotion began to be cold, and there was none at theſe days that would ſtretch out a liberal hand towards the Churches; and furthermore by the premiſes an evil example was given. Alſo he complained of new Taxes, of Penſions, newly laid on the Churches, of immeaſurable Bondages, Exactions, and divers Extortions, with other prejudicial and hurtful Novelties, by which the general ſtate of the Church is changed, in giving Suffragans, as helpers to the higher Prelates, whereby neither the Biſhops themſelves nor the Suffragans can do their duties, but for them they muſt run with Gifts to the Apoſtolical See. He complaineth alſo of divers Cauſes and ſome Articles long ſince, but true in the time that they preſented, that were done, and be done continually: and alſo not purpoſing to ſuffer ſo great a diſheriting of him and his Succeſſors from the Realm, and ſo manifeſt a grief, they could not ſuffer any longer the evident loſs of the Honour of him and the Realm, and ſaid,* That he was certain that it was known to the whole world, that he did maintain in this matter a juſt cauſe, as he had learned by the agreable Sentence of Doctors in Divinity, and Maſters of both Laws, that were born within his Realm, and others, which among the Doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned ſort and more famous. *Therefore he required us, all and every one; both Prelates and Barons, and other, earneſtly as our Lord; he prayed and gently begged as a friend, to conſult and take diligent pains, that he might Ordain wholſome things, both for the keeping of their old liberty, the Honour and State of the Realm, and of the Inhabitants thereof, for the eaſing of the Griefs aforeſaid, for redreſſing of the Realm and the* French *Church, by our counſel and his Barons, to the praiſe of Gods name, the encreaſe of the Catholick Faith, the honour of the univerſal Church, and promoting of Gods Religion: ſpecially ſeeing ſuch griefs were done by his Officers and others of the Realm, to the Churches and Church-men, for the which he purpoſed a remedy of wholſome Correction, before the coming of the foreſaid*

Cardinal

*Cardinal, and would now have put it in execution effectually, but that he might be thought to have done that for fear, or at your commandment, which thing ye cannot aſcribe to your ſelf. Furthermore, he would ſpend not only his goods, but alſo his Realm, yea his Children if the caſe required: and therefore we ſhould regard to be ready with counſel and help in ſeaſon as we are bound by the duty of fidelity in theſe things: wherein it is manifeſt, that as all and every mans caſe is handled, generally and particularly their caſe is promoted, and every mans own intereſt is touched. And then he demanded by and by to be anſwered plainly and finally in theſe things, of all and every one.*

*Then the Barons ſitting aſide with the Officers and Proctors aforeſaid, at the length after they had taken counſel, coming to our foreſaid Lord the King, and praiſing greatly and heartily thanking him for his laudable purpoſe and good will, anſwered with one voice: that for thoſe things they were ready not only to ſpend their goods, but offered the ſame goods, riches, and alſo their perſons to death, and not to flee any kind of torment. And ſaid further with one voice,* That if our foreſaid Lord the King would (as God fordbid) ſuffer, or elſe willingly paſs over thoſe, they themſelves would in no caſe ſuffer it.

*Then when anſwer was asked of us afterward, although we deſired longer reſpite of deliberation of the King himſelf our Lord, and of the greateſt of the aforeſaid Barons; and that for this intent, that in the mean while the Popes Letters might have come to our Lord the King; we anſwered,* That we would not offend againſt the Liberty of the Realm, nor by any means innovate things contrary to the Kings Honour in this behalf.

*We went about alſo to inform him with many godly words, and earneſt perſwaſions, and with many kinds of help, and by ſundry ways to bring him to keep the ſpecial bond of Unity, which is known to have continued to theſe preſent days, betwixt the holy* Romiſh-*Church, and his Predeceſſors. But when we were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrary mind, from thence-forth he ſhould be manifeſtly counted for an Enemy of the King and the Realm: We conſidering warily, and ſeeing plainly, that except our Lord the King, and the Barons aforeſaid were content with our Anſwer, beſides other dangers and great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and then the devotion both of the* Romiſh *and* French *Church, and alſo the whole Obedience of the Laity, and all the people from thenceforth ſhould be taken away without recovery, nor without great fear and doubt; we therefore thought good to anſwer thus:*

That we would help our Lord the King with due counſel and convenient help for the preſerving of his Perſon, and of his earthly Honour, and the Liberty and Laws of the ſaid Realm, like as we were (certain of us) by the duty of Allegiance bound to him, which hold of him Dukedoms, Earldoms, Baronies, Fees, and other noble parts of the ſaid Realm, by the form of the Oath, as all other do: yet we made humble ſuit to the ſame our Lord the King, that ſeeing we were bound to obey the Popes Holineſs and your holy feet, he would ſuffer us to go according to the tenour of your foreſaid Calling.

*Then on the Kings and Barons behalf followeth Anſwer,* That in no caſe they would ſuffer us to go out of the Realm, and that by no means they would bear to be handled ſo dangerouſly, yea rather to be altogether waſted.

*Then we conſidering ſo great an anger, and trouble ſo jeopardous, and ſo great that none could be greater, both of the King, the Barons, and other Lay-people of the Realm; and now knowing plainly, that the old Enemy of Peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his Fall, with ſowing of Darnel, to break the Unity of the Church; by troubling of peace, would break Charity, and infect the ſweetneſs of good works with the poiſon of bitter envy, and would overthrow Mankind utterly, and would trouble with wickedneſs the band of lovely Unity, and ſingular Friendſhip, which hitherto have had a happy increaſe betwixt the* Romiſh-*Church and our Lord the King, and his Predeceſſors, and the Realm, to the praiſe of the higheſt God, the increaſe of Chriſtian-Faith, and the ſetting forth of the Honour of the Church, of the King and the Realm; and that now (alas) a door was open, to the lamentable breaking and pitiful ſeparating, of great offences to riſe on every ſide, dangers are attempted againſt Churches and Church-men, to ſpoil their goods and riches, with jeopardy of life, ſeeing that the Laity now do abhor and utterly flee the Obedience of Clerks, utterly baniſhing them from their counſels and doings, and have taken courage to condemn the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure and Proceſs: all which jeopardies, with other ſundry and divers dangers (which neither Tongue is able to tell, nor Writing can declare) we ſeeing at hand, thought good in this point of greateſt neceſſity, to run with weeping voice, and lamentable ſighs to the circumſpect wiſdom of your Holineſs: beſeeching your fatherly mildneſs, and humbly praying you, that ſome wholſome remedy may be provided in the premiſſes; by which, the ſound profitable agreement and mutual love, which hath continued ſo long time betwixt the Church, the King, and the Realm, might be maintained in that old ſweet Concord; the ſtate of the* French-*Church might continue in godly and quiet peace; and that he would vouchſafe to foreſee how to withſtand the dangers and offences aforeſaid, that we and our States may be provided for, by the foreſaid Commandment of your Calling, by the ſtudy of your Apoſtolical Wiſdom, and fatherly love. The Almighty preſerve your Holineſs to his holy Church a long time.*

{KING Edw. 3}

Theſe things thus diſcourſed and done, then followed the year of our Lord, 1304. In the which year, about the Nativity of our Lady, came a Garriſon of harneſſed Souldiers well appointed, ſent partly by the *French* King, partly by the Cardinals of *Columpna*, whom the Pope before had depoſed, unto the Gates of *Arvagium*, where the Pope did hide himſelf, becauſe he was born in the Town. The Captains of which Army was one *Schaira*, Brother to the foreſaid Cardinals; and another, *William de Longareto*, High Steward to the *French* King. Who invading the Popes Town, and finding the Gates open, gave aſſault to the Popes Frontire, where the Pope with his Nephew, a Marqueſs, and three other Cardinals were immured. The Townſmen, ſeeing all their intent and ſtrength to be bent againſt the Pope, cauſed the common Bell to be rung, and ſo, aſſembling themſelves in a Common-Council, Ordained *Adulphus*, one of the chiefeſt Rulers of the Town, for their Captain; who (unknowing unto them) was a great Adverſary to the Pope. This *Adulphus* bringing with him *Reginaldus de Supine*, a great Lord in *Campania*, and the two Sons of *John Chitan*, a Nobleman, whoſe Father the Pope had then in priſon; at length joyned with the *French* Company againſt the Pope, and ſo beſet his Palace on every ſide. And firſt, ſetting upon the Palaces of the three Cardinals, which were then chief about the Pope, they rifled and ſpoiled all their goods. The Cardinals by a back-door hardly avoided their hands: but the Popes Palace, through munition and ſtrength of the Marqueſs, was ſomething better defended. At length the Pope, perceiving himſelf not able to make his party good, deſired truce with *Schaira* and his Company, which was to him granted from One till Nine. During which time of truce, the Pope privily ſendeth to the Townſmen of *Arvagium*, deſiring them to ſave his life: which if they would do, he promiſed ſo to inrich them, that they ſhould all have cauſe never to forget or repent their benefit beſtowed. To this they made anſwer again, excuſing themſelves, that it lay not in their ability to do him any good; for that the whole power of the Town was with the Captain. Then the Pope, all deſtitute and deſolate, ſendeth unto *Schaira*, beſeeching him to draw out in Articles, wherein he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the uttermoſt. *Schaira* to this maketh a plain anſwer, ſignifying to him again, *That he ſhould in no wiſe eſcape with his life, except upon theſe three Conditions.* Firſt, *To reſtore again the two Cardinals of* Columpna *his Brethren, whom he had before deprived, with all other of their Stock and Kindred.* Secondly, *That after their Reſtitution, he ſhould renounce his Papacy.* Thirdly, *That his body ſhould remain in his Power and Cuſtody.* Theſe Articles ſeemed to the Pope ſo hard, that in no caſe he would agree unto them: wherefore the time of truce expired, the Captains and Souldiers, in all forcible means bending themſelves againſt the Biſhop, firſt fired the Gates of the Palace, whereby the Army, having a full entrance, fell to rifle and ſpoil the houſe. The Marqueſs upon

{Anno 1304.}

Pope *Boniface* beſieged.

Pope *Boniface* brought to a ſtrait.

Three conditions put to the Pope.

Here may all Kings by the *French* King learn how to handle the Pope.

KING Edw. I

upon hope to have his life, and the life of his Children, yieldeth him to the hands of *Schaira* and the other Captain: which when the Pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, thorow windows and doors, at length with much ado they braſt in to the Pope, whom they intreated with words and threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choice, whether he would preſently leave his life, or give over his Papacy. But that he denied ſtiffly to do, to die for it, ſaying to them in his vulgar tongue, *Eccle col, eccle cape*; That is, *loe here my neck, loe here my head*: proteſting, That he would never while he lived renounce his Popedom. Then *Schaira* went about, and was ready to ſlay him, but, by certain that were about him, he was ſtaied; whereby it happned that the Pope received no harm, although divers of his Miniſters and Servants were ſlain. The Souldiers, which ranged in the mean time through all the corners of the Popes Houſe, did lade themſelves with ſuch treaſure of gold, ſilver, plate and ornaments, that the words of my Author (whom I follow) do thus expreſs it; *Quod omnes reges mundi non poſſent tantum de theſauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit de Papali Palatio aſportatum, & de palatiis trium Cardinalium, & Marchionis*: That is, *That all the Kings of the earth together were not able to diſburſe ſo much out of their treaſure in a whole year, as then was taken and carried out of the Popes Palace, and of the Palace of the three Cardinals, and the Marqueſs.* Thus *Boniface*, bereaved of all his goods remained in their cuſtody three days. During which ſpace, they had ſet him on a wild unbroken Colt, his face turned to the Horſe tail, cauſing the Horſe to run courſe, while the Pope was almoſt breathleſs. Moreover, they kept him ſo without meat, that he was thereby near famiſhed to death. After the third day, the *Arvagians* and people of the Town muſtering themſelves together (to the number of ten thouſand) ſecretly braſt into the Houſe where the Pope was kept, and ſo ſlaying the Keepers, delivered the Pope by ſtrong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the Town, gave thanks with weeping tears to the people for his life ſaved; promiſing moreover, That forſomuch as he was out of all his goods, having neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth, Gods bleſſing and his, to all them that now would relieve him with any thing, either to eat or drink. And here now ſee what poverty and affliction can work in a Man: the Pope before in all his pomp and moſt ruffling wealth was never ſo proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, that every poor ſimple Man (as mine Author teſtifieth) might have a bold and free acceſs to his perſon. To make the ſtory ſhort, the Pope, in that great diſtreſs of famine, was not ſo greedy of their victuals, as they were greedy of his bleſſing. Whereupon, the Women and people of the Town came ſo thick, ſome with bread, ſome with wine, ſome with water, ſome with meat, ſome with one thing, ſome with another, that the Popes Chamber was too little to receive the offering; inſomuch, that when there lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the Chamber floor, not regarding the loſs of wine to win the Popes Holy Bleſſing. Thus Pope *Boniface*, being refreſhed by the Town of *Arvagium*, took his journey from thence, accompanied with a great multitude of harneſſed Souldiers to *Rome*, where he ſhortly upon the ſame, partly for fear which he was in, partly for Famine, partly for ſorrow of ſo ineſtimable a treaſure loſt, died. After whom ſucceeded *Benedictus* the 11*th*. of whom theſe Verſes are written: * *A re nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem perverte, maledic, malefac, maledicte*, &c. And thus have ye the whole ſtory of Pope *Boniface* the 8*th*. Author of the Decretals. Which ſtory I thought the more diligently to ſet forth, that all the Latine Church might ſee what an Author he was, whoſe Laws and Decretals ſo devoutly they follow.

*Boniface chuſeth rather to die, than to give over his Popedom.*

*Anno Dom. 1303.* *The exceſſive treaſures of the Popes houſe noted.*

*A pretty handling of the Pope.*

*The Pope delivered out of priſon.*

*What poverty and affliction can do in plucking down the pride of Man.*

*Pope Benedictus 11.*

Now, after the long debating of this matter between the *French* King and Pope *Boniface*, let us proceed in our *Engliſh* ſtory. About this time, in the days of King *Edward*, the Church of *Rome* began daily more and more to riſe up, and ſwell ſo high in pride and worldly dominion, that no King almoſt in his own Country could do any thing, but as pleaſed the Pope, who both had, and ruled all in all Countries, but chiefly here in *England*, as partly by his intolerable tallage and pillage before ſignified may appear, partly by his injunctions and commandments ſent down, alſo by his Donations and reſervations of Benefices and Church Livings; alſo in depoſing and diſpoſing ſuch as him liſted, in place and Office to bear rule: inſomuch, that when the King and the Church of *Canterbury* in their Election, had choſen one *Robert Burnhil* Biſhop of *Bath*, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Pope *Boniface* of his own ſingular preſumptuous authority, ruling the matter after his pleaſure, fruſtrated their Election, and truſt in another, named *John Pecham*: for among all other, this had always been one practice of the Court of *Rome*, ever to have the Archbiſhop of their own ſetting, or ſuch one as they might be ſure of on their ſide, to weigh againſt the King and other, whatſoever need ſhould happen. To this *John Pecham* Pope *Boniface* directed down a ſolemn Bull from *Rome*, as alſo unto all other quarters of the univerſal Church. In the which Bull was contained and decreed, directly againſt the rule of Scripture and Chriſtian Obedience; That no Church nor Eccleſiaſtical perſon, ſhould henceforth yield to his King or Temporal Magiſtrate, either any giving or lending, or promiſing of Tribute or Subſidy, or portion whatſoever, of the goods and poſſeſſions to him belonging; but ſhould be clearly exempted and diſcharged from all ſuch ſubjection of Tallage or ſubvention to be exacted of them in the behoof of the Prince and his affairs. Which decree manifeſtly rebelled againſt the commanded Ordinance of God, and the Apoſtolical Canon of S. *Peter*, and all other examples of Holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth Spiritual Men more than Temporal from obedience and ſubjection of Princes: ſo if it chance the Prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruel in oppreſſion, that is no cauſe for the Clergy to be exempted, but to bear the common burthen of obedience, and to pray to God to turn and move the Princes mind, and ſo (with prayer and patience, not with pride and diſobedience) to help and amend that which is amiſs. Concerning the Bull of *Boniface*, if any there be that either do not credit the ſame, ſo to contain, or would for his mind ſee and read the ſame, the words hereof follow.

*The Kings Election in his own Realm fruſtrate.*

† *Pecham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

*A point of practice in the Court of Rome.*

*Eccleſiaſtical perſons exempted by the Pope, for not paying tribute to the King.*

*The Pope proceedeth againſt the manifeſt word, in ſetting the Clergy free from the Kings tributes.*

## The Copy of the Popes Bull, wherein the Clergy is exempted from giving Tribute to Kings and Princes.

*Ex Chron. Rob. Gisburnenſis.*

BOnifacius, &c. *Ad ſempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis laicos infeſtos oppido tradidit antiquitas. Quod & præſentium experimenta temporum manifeſte declarant, dum ſuis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum & ad illicita ſua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo ſit eis in Clericos Eccleſiaſtica ſve perſonas, & bona interdicta poteſtas. Quinimo Eccleſiarum Prælatis, Eccleſiis, Eccleſiaſticiſq; perſonis regularib. & ſecularibus imponuntur onera gravia, ipſos talliant, & eis collectas imponunt, & ab ipſis ſuorumque proventuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, ſeu viceſimam, vel quamvis aliam portionem, quotam exigunt & extorquent, eoſq; moliuntur multifarie ſubjicere ſervituti, ſuæque ſubdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter referimus, nonnulli Eccleſiarum Prælati, Eccleſiaſticæque perſonæ trepidantes, ubi trepidandum non eſt, tranſitoriam pacem querentes, plus timentes majeſtatem temporalem offendere, quam æternam, talium abuſibus non tam temerarie, quam improvide acquieſcunt, ſedis Apoſtolicæ authoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obviare volentes, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio* * *Apoſtolica authoritate ſtatuimus, quod quicunq; Prælati, Eccleſiaſticæve perſonæ, vel ſeculares, quorumcunq; ordinum, conditionis, ſeu ſtatus, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam, decimam, viceſimam, ſeu centeſimam ſuorum & Eccleſiarum ſuarum proventuum vel bonorum laicis ſolverint, vel promiſerint, vel ſe ſoluturos exceſſerint, aut quamvis aliam quantitatem, portionem, aut quicquam ipſorum proventuum, vel bonorum æſtimationem, vel valorem ipſorum, ſubventionis, ſubſidii, vel doni nomine, ſeu quovis alio timore, vel modo, vel quæſito colore abſque autoritate ſedis ejuſdem: Necnon Imperatores, Reges, ſeu Principes, Duces, ſeu Comites, vel Barones, Poteſtates, Capitaneus, officiales vel Rectores quocunq; nomine cenſeantur, civitatum caſtrorum, ſeu quorumq; locorum conſtitutorum ubilibet &* * *quis alius cujuſcunq; præeminentiæ, conditionis & ſtatus, qui talia impoſuerint & egerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes ſacras depoſita Eccleſiarum vel Eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum ubilibet* * *arreſtaverint, ſayſierint ſeu occupare præſumpſerint, vel areſtari, ſayſiri, aut occupari mandaverint,*

* *Apoſtolica authoritas fruſtra obtenditur, ubi Apoſtolica ſcriptura contemnitur.*

* *Quivis, pro quiſquis, barbariſmus Apoſtolicus.*

* *Flores Auctoritates ex ipſo Heliconе deſumpti. i. ſparſæ. Rhetorice.*

* *Tauri cornu*, Ware the Bulls horn.

*aut* * *occupata, ſayſita, ſeu areſtata receperint: necnon omnes qui ſcienter in prædictis dederint conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem, publice vel occulte, eo ipſo ſententiam Excommunicationis* * *incurrunt. Univerſitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint Eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus interdicto: Prælatis, & perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſupradictis, in virtute obedientiæ, & ſub pœna depoſitionis directè mandantes, ut talibus abſq; licentia expreſſa dictæ ſedis nullatenus acquieſcant. A ſupradictis autem Excommunicationis & interdicti ſententiis nullis abſolvi valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo abſque ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate & licentia ſpeciali,* &c.

The Clergy denied to give tribute to the King.

This Bull being derected (as is ſaid) from *Rome* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and likewiſe thorow the whole Univerſal Church, under the Popes authority; it chanced not long after, the King held his Parliament at S. *Edmundsbury*; where was granted to him of all Cities and Boroughs an eighth, and of the Commons a twelfth of their goods. Only the Clergy, by vertue of his Bull, ſtood ſtout, denying to pay any thing to the King. This anſwer not well pleaſing the King, he willeth them to deliberate better with themſelves upon the matter; and after long adviſement, ſo to give him anſwer againſt the next Parliament, which ſhould be holden the next *Hillary* Term at *London*.

The Clergy ſecluded from the Kings protection.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for his ſtubbornneſs, had his goods confiſcate to the King.

In concluſion, the Parliament came, the Clergy perſiſteth ſtill in the denial of their Subſidy, alledging the Popes Bull for their warrant and diſcharge. Whereupon the King likewiſe ſecludeth them from under his protection and ſafeguard of his Laws. And as concerning the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, above mentioned, becauſe he was found more ſtubborn than the reſt, and was the inciter to the other; he ſeized upon all his goods, and cauſed an Inventory of the ſame to be inrolled in the Exchequer. Notwithſtanding, diveis of the other Biſhops relented ſoon after to the King, and contributed the fifth of their goods unto him, and were received again to favour.

The variance between King *Edward* and his Barons and Commons.

In the life of this Kings Father, it was declared before how the ſaid King *Henry* the Third, Father to this King, after divers Wars and commotions had with his Barons, had granted certain liberties and freedoms written and contained in *Magna Charta*, and in *Charta de Foreſta*. Concerning which matter, much buſineſs happned in this Kings days alſo in the Realm, between the King and his Barons and Commons. The occaſion was this: A pack of Wool which before payed but a Mark to the King, was now by this King raiſed up to forty ſhillings. After this the King having a journey to make into *Flanders*, ſent to his Barons and divers others to give their attendance, and ſervice in the ſame, which they refuſed and denied to do. Notwithſtanding, the King perſiſting in his purpoſe, with ſuch a power as he had, prepareth toward his journey. To whom being in his way at *Winchelſey*, the foreſaid Earls and Barons, and Commons, ſent certain petitions contained in writing under the name of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and Priors, Earls and Barons, with the Commanalty of the Realm. In which writing, firſt lamenting and complaining of their afflicted ſtate and miſery, after humble manner they delired their Lord the King to redreſs and amend certain grievances among them. And firſt they declared in the name of the whole Commons, that the promotion or Writs directed to them for their attendance upon his Grace into *Flanders*, was not ſufficient: for that there was no certain place in the ſaid Writs ſpecified unto them, whether to come for making their proviſion, and preparing money and other things according to the ſame. And if the place had been to them ſignified, yet, becauſe none of their Anceſtors ever ſerved the King over into *Flanders* before, the Commons therefore thought themſelves not bound to any ſervice in that Country. And albeit they had been ſo bound thereunto, yet they were not able to do it, being ſo heavily oppreſſed with ſo many Tallages, Taxes, Tolls, Cuſtoms, and prices of Corn, Oates, Tinn, Wool, Leather, Oxen, Kine, Fleſh, Fiſh, &c. And beſides all this, having no penny of wages given them to relieve their charges: Over and beſides, the lack of the Kings wages not paid them, their own poverty like an heavy burthen did ſo miſerably lie upon them, that ſome of them had no ſuſtentation, ſome of them were not able to till their own ground. They alledged moreover, that they were not now handled after the old Laws and cuſtoms of the Land, as their anceſtors were wont. Many alſo found themſelves grieved in that they were not uſed according to the Articles contained in *Magna Charta*; and again that the *Charta de Foreſta* was not obſerved nor kept, as it was wont to be. Wherefore moſt humbly they beſeeched the King, both for his own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of theſe things they might find redreſs. For the Cuſtom moreover of Wool, the whole Commons bewailed to the King their grief, in that for every Pack of Wool was fined to the King, forty ſhillings, and for every ſack of toſed Wool, ſeven marks. The which Wool of *England*, as it doth riſe up to the value of half the Realm; ſo the Tollage of the ſame ſurmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole Land. And becauſe therefore the Commons wiſhed the honor and preſervation of their King (as they were bound to do) they thought it not good for his Grace to ſail over to *Flanders*, unleſs he had better aſſurance of their fidelity, eſpecially at this time the *Scots* being ſo buſie: who if they began to rebel, he being at home in his Land, much more were they like to ſtir, he being abroad out of the Land. And that not only for the *Scots*, but alſo for that the like peril was to be doubted of other Foreign Nations and Kingdoms, which as yet were in no firm peace with *England*, &c.

*Magna Charta. Charta de Foreſta.*

Cuſtom for Wool.

The King anſwer to the petiti ons of the Barons an Commons

To theſe petitions, the King ſaid that he could as yet make no reſolute anſwer, for that ſome of his Council was gone over already to *Flanders*, ſome were at *London*. Notwithſtanding, at his return again from *Flanders* (which he truſted ſhould be ſpeedily) they ſhould then hear further, and know more of his mind concerning the ſame. In the mean time this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What anſwer the King had minded to make them at his return, it is uncertain, which peradventure had turned to a bloody anſwer: but occaſion ſerved otherwiſe, and turned all to agreement. For the *Scots* with their Captain *William Waleis* above ſpecified, in the mean time, the King being abſent, invaded the Realm with ſuch violence, that Prince *Edward* the Kings Son, who was left to rule in his Fathers ſtead, was forced to Aſſemble a Parliament, and to call for the Earl of *Hereford*, the Earl of *Northfolk*, High Marſhal of *England*, Earl of *Eſſex*, High Conſtable, with other Earls, Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, to intreat peace and concord between his Father and them. Who coming up to *London* with 1500 well armed Souldiers, and obtaining the Gates of the City with their own Men, fell at length to agreement with the Prince, upon compoſition to have the Articles of *Magna Charta*, and of *Charta de Foreſta* confirmed; and that by his means and mediation they might be aſſured of the Kings diſpleaſure to be removed from them. The which foreſaid Articles of *Magna Charta*, with the other Articles adjoyned withal, here follow under written.

Humphrey Bonne. Roger Big.

Petitions of the Barons and Commons to the King.

The Articles contained in *Magna Charta*.

*Firſt*, No Tallage or Subſidy by the King or his heirs to be impoſed or levied hereafter within the Realm of *England*, without the common aſſent of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots and other Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgeſſes, and Commons of the Realm.

*Item*, No Taker or Servitor of the King, or of his heirs, henceforth within this Realm, to take Grain, Wool, Leather, or any goods of any Man, without the will and conſent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any Pack of Wool.

*Item*, To be granted by the King and his Heirs after him, both to the Clergy and Laity of this foreſaid Realm, to have to and enjoy their Laws, Liberties and Cuſtoms, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

*Item*, If any Decrees or Statutes ſhall hereafter be made and ſet forth contrary to theſe foreſaid Articles, the ſame to ſtand void and of no effect for ever.

Agreemen concluded and ſealed between t King and his Barons

Beſides theſe Articles alſo, in the ſame compoſition was contained, that all grudge and diſpleaſure between the King and Barons for not going to *Flanders* ceaſing; the Earls and Barons might be aſſured to be received again into the Kings favor.

The mode rate and good natu of King *Edward* noted.

Theſe things thus agreed upon, and by mediation of the Prince alſo confirmed and ſealed with the Kings Fathers Seal: ſo was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no leſs ſtrength of the Realm againſt their enemies: and moſt chiefly to the commendation of the gentile, and wiſe nature of the King, who as he was gentle in promiſing his reconcilement with his

ſubjects,

KING *Edw.* 1

ſubjects, ſo no leſs conſtant was he in keeping that which he had promiſed.

*Robert Winchelſey, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

After the death of *John Pecham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, above mentioned, who in the Parliament had reſiſted the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages and ſuch Church matters, ſucceeded *Robert Winchelſey*; with whom alſo the King had like variance, who accuſed him to the Pope for breaking the peace, and took part with them that rebelled againſt the King about uſages and liberties of the Realm. Wherefore, the King being cited up to the Court of *Rome*, and there ſuſpended by the means of the ſaid Archbiſhop, directed his Letters again to the Pope, taken out of the Parliament Rolls, where I find divers Letters of the King to Pope *Clement*, againſt the ſaid *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the contents whereof here follow, *Videlicet*, *Qualiter idem*. And as this King was troubled in his time with both the Archbiſhops, *John Pecham*, and alſo *Robert Winchelſey*; ſo it happned to all other Kings for the moſt part, from the time of *Lancfrancus* (that is, from Pope *Hildebrand*) that every King in his time had ſome buſineſs or other with that See. As *William Rufus*, and *Henry* the Firſt were troubled with *Anſelmus*; *Henry* the Second with *Thomas Becket*; King *Richard* and all *England* with *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, the Popes Legate; King *John* with *Stephen Langton*; King *Henry* the Third with *Edmund* Archbiſhop, called Saint *Edmund*, *Polyc. lib.* 7. likewiſe this King *Edward* the Firſt, with *John Pecham* and *Robert Winchelſey* aforeſaid. And ſo other Kings after him, with ſome Prelate or other: whereby ye have to underſtand, how and about what time the Church of *Rome*, which before time was ſubject to Kings and Princes, began firſt to take head above, and againſt Kings and Rulers, and ſo hath kept it ever ſince.

*K. Edward was troubled with two Archbiſhops of Canterbury.*

*The Church of Rome and Romiſh Prelates ſet againſt Kings and Rulers.*

*Kings of England commonly troubled with Archbiſhops of Canterbury.*

*Prieſts to have but one Benefice.*

By this *John Pecham* aforementioned, it was ordained, That no Spiritual Miniſter ſhould have any more Benefices than one, which alſo was decreed by the conſtitutions of *Otto* and *Octobonus*, the Popes Legates the ſame time in *England*.

*Variance between the Archbiſhop of York and the Clergy of Dureſme.*

About the beginning of this Kings Reign, after the deceaſe of *Walter* Archbiſhop of *York*, *William Wickewanger* ſucceeding in that See, minding to go on Viſitation, came to *Dureſme* to viſit the Church and Chapter there. But the Clergy and the people of the City ſhut the Gates againſt him, and kept him out, whereupon roſe no ſmall diſturbance. The Archbiſhop let fly his Curſe of Excommunication and Interdiction againſt them. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* again with his Clergy, deſpiſed all his Curſings, grounding themſelves upon the conſtitution of *Innocentius* the Fourth, *De cenſibus & exactionibus*. And ſo they appealed to *Rome*, ſaying, That he ought not to be received there, before he had firſt begun to viſit his own Chapter and Dioceſs, which he had not done. For to ſay the words of the Conſtitution; *We Ordain and decree, That every Archbiſhop, that will viſit his Province, firſt muſt procure to viſit his own Church, City, and Dioceſs*, &c.

*Inquiſition made againſt ill rulers and falſe Officers.*

Among other things in this King to be noted, that is not to be paſſed over; That where complaint was made to him of his Officers, as Juſtices, Majors, Sheriffs, Baliffs, Eſchetors, and ſuch other, who, in their Offices abuſing themſelves, extortioned and oppreſſed the Kings Liege people, otherwiſe than was according to right and Conſcience: the ſaid King, not ſuffering ſuch miſorder to be unpuniſhed, did appoint certain Officers or Inquiſitors, to the number of twelve, which Inquiſition was called *Traibaſton*, or *Trailbaſtoun*; by means of which Inquiſition, divers falſe Officers, were accuſed, and ſuch as were offenders were either removed from their place, or forced to buy again their Office at the Kings hand; to their no ſmall loſs, and great gain to the King, and much profit to the Common-wealth.

*Trailbaſtoun.*

*Ex Chron. Tho. Walſinghami.*

In the Chronicle of *Robert Amesbury*, it is Recorded of the ſaid King. That he being at *Amesbury* to ſee his Mother (who was then in that Monaſtery profeſſed) there was a certain Man, that fained himſelf blind a long time, brought to the preſence of the ſaid *Elinor* the Kings Mother, ſaying, how that he had his ſight again reſtored at the Tomb of King *Henry* her late Husband, inſomuch that ſhe was eaſily perſwaded the Miracle to be very true. But King *Edward* her Son, knowing the Man a long time to be a vile diſſembler, and a wicked perſon, uſed to lying and crafty deceiving, perſwading his Mother not to give credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he knew ſo well of the juſtice of his Father, that, if he were alive, he would twice rather pluck out both his eyes, than once reſtore him one. Notwithſtanding, the Queen his Mother, remaining ſtill in the former fond perſwaſion, would hear or believe nothing to the contrary, but was ſo in anger with her Son, that ſhe bid him depart her Chamber; and ſo he did. By the example whereof may eaſily be conceived, how and after what ſort theſe blind Miracles in thoſe days, and ſince, have come up among the blind and ſuperſtitious people. For had not the King here been wiſer than the Mother, no doubt but this would have been rung a Miracle, and percaſe King *Henry* been made a Saint.

*A false miracle well ſpied out of the King.*

But as this was a fained Miracle, and falſe no doubt, ſo in the ſame author we read of another manner of Miracle, ſounding more near the truth, and ſo much the more likely, for that it ſerved to the Converſion unto Chriſtian Faith: to which uſe properly all true miracles do appertain. The Miracle was this: In the Reign of this King, and the later year of his Reign, *Caſſanus* King of the *Tartarians* (of whom come theſe whom now we call *Turks*) fighting againſt the *Soldan* King of the *Saracens*, in the plain of *Damaſcus*, ſlew of them a hundred thouſand of *Saracens*: and again at *Babylon*, fighting with the ſaid *Soldan*, ſlew him in the field, and 200000 of the *Saracens*, calling upon the help of Chriſt, and thereupon became Chriſtian. This *Caſſanus*, I ſay, had a Brother a Pagan, who being in love with the Daughter of the King of *Armenia*, a Chriſtian Woman, deſired of her Father that he might marry with her. Whereunto the King her Father would not agree, unleſs he promiſed to be a Chriſtian. Notwithſtanding, the other being ſtronger in power, and threatning to get her by War; the King at length was forced to agree. In concluſion, it happned that the Child being born betwixt them was overgrown, and all rough with hair like the skin of a Bear: which Child being brought to the Father he commanded it to be thrown into the fire and burned. But the Mother, deſiring firſt to have the Child baptiſed, cauſed all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the Sacrament of Holy Baptiſm received, incontinently was altered and turned from all his hairy roughneſs, and ſeen as fair and ſmooth-skinned as any other. The which thing after the Father ſaw and beheld, he was chriſtned himſelf and all his Houſe, *&c.*

*Ex eodem Citron.*

*A true Miracle.*

*Victory againſt the Saracens.*

In the Raign of this King, *Walter Merton* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* builded *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*. In whoſe Raign alſo lived *Henricus de Gaudano*, *Arnoldus de Villa Nova*, *Dantes*, and other more, and *Scotus* called *Duns*. Who in his fourth Book of *Sent. Diſt.* 18. complaineth of the abuſe of Excommunication and of the Popes Keys. Whereas before, Excommunication was not uſed, but upon great and juſt cauſes, and therefore was feared: now, ſaith he it is brought forth for every trifling matter, as for not paying the Prieſts wages, *&c.* and therefore, ſaith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the ſame King, about the beginning of his Reign, was the year ſo hot and ſo dry, that from the month of *May*, until the month near of *September*, fell no raign: inſomuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the ſaid dry year long after.

*Merton Colledge builded in Oxford.*

*I Scotus, Duns.*

After Pope *Benedictus* above mentioned, ſucceeded Pope *Clement* the Fifth, who tranſlated the Popes Court to *Avinion* in *France*, where it remained the term of 74. years after. At the Coronation of this *Clement* was preſent *Philip* King of *France*, *Charles* his Son, and Duke *John* Duke of *Brittany*, with a great number of other Men of State and Nobility. At which Coronation, they being in the middle of the pomp, or proceſſion, a great Wall brake down and fell upon them: by the fall whereof Duke *John* with twelve other were ſlain, King *Philip* hurt and wounded, the Pope ſtrucken from his Horſe, and loſt out from his Mitre upon his head, a Carbuncle, eſteemed to the value of 6000 florence, *Plat. de vit. Pont.* By this *Clement* was ordained, that the Emperor, though he might be called King of the *Romans* before, yet he might not enjoy the title and right of the Emperor, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperors ſeat being vacant, the Pope ſhould Reign as Emperor, till a new Emperor was choſen. By him the Order of the Templars (who at that time were too abominable) was put down at the Council of *Vienne*, as hereafter

*Pope Clement 5. The Popes Court tranſlated to France.*

*A ſlaughter of Nobles at the pomp of the 15. Popes Coronation.*

*A Carbuncle in the Popes Mitre valued at 6000 florence.*

*Emperor no Emperor, except he were confirmed by the Pope.*

*The Templars put down.*

The Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti.*

hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared. He alſo ordained and confirmed the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, aſſigning Indulgences to ſuch as heard the Service thereof. And as Pope *Bonifacius* before heaped up the Book of Decretals, called *Sextus Decretalium*, ſo this *Clement* compiled the Seventh Book of the Decretals, called of the ſame *Clement*, *The Clementines*. In the time of this Pope, *Henricus* the ſixth of that name, Emperor, was poiſoned in receiving the Sacrament, by a falſe diſſembling Monk called *Bernard*, that fained himſelf to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the conſent of the Popes Legate. The Emperor, perceiving himſelf poiſoned, warned him to flee and eſcape away; for elſe the *Germans* would ſure have ſlain him; who although he eſcaped himſelf, yet divers of his order after that with fire and ſword were ſlain.

*Septimus decretalium* called the *Clementines.*

*Henricus* 6. Emperor poiſoned in the Hoſt.

*Paleologus* Emperor of *Conſtantinople* Excommunicated with all his adherents by Pope *Clement*, for not ſuffering the *Grecians* to appeal to *Rome.*

{ Anno } 1306

As this Pope *Clement* the 5. had well provided now (as ye have heard) againſt the Empire of *Rome* to bring it under his girdle, inſomuch that, without the Popes benediction, no Emperor might take the ſtate upon him, *&c.* now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the Empire of *Conſtantinople*. Where he firſt exerciſeth his tyranny and power of Excommunication againſt *Andronicus Paleologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, *An.* 1306, declaring him to be a Schiſmatick and Heretick, becauſe he neither would nor durſt ſuffer the *Grecians* to make their appeal from the *Greek* Church to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his Superior, *&c.* Whereby it may appear, that the *Greek* Church did not admit the Popes ſuperiority as yet, nor at any time before: Save only about the time of Pope *Innocent* the third, *An.* 1202. at what time the *French*-men with their Captain *Baldwinus*, Earl of *Flanders*, joyned together with the *Venetians*, were ſet againſt the *Grecians*, to place *Alexius* in the right of the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, upon condition (as writeth *Platina*) to ſubdue the *Greek* Church under the Church of *Rome*. Which *Alexius* being reſtored, and ſhortly after ſlain, the Empire came to the *French*-men, with whom it remained the ſpace of 58. years, till the coming of *Michael Paleologus* in the days of Pope *Gregory* the ninth, who reſtored the Empire from the *French*-men unto his priſtine ſtate again. During all which time of the *French* Emperors, the *Greek* Church was ſubject to *Rome*, as by the Decretals of Pope *Gregory* the ninth may appear. Then followed after this, that the foreſaid *Michael* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, being called up to a Council at *Lions* by Pope *Gregory* the tenth, about the controverſie of the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt (as is above ſpecified) and obedience to the Church of *Rome*: there becauſe the ſaid *Michael* the Emperor did ſubmit himſelf and the *Grecians* to the ſubjection of *Rome* (as teſtifieth *Baptiſt Egnat.*) he thereby procured to himſelf ſuch grudge and hatred among the *Greek* Monks and Prieſts, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial. The Son of this *Andronicus* was *Michael Paleologus* above mentioned: who, as ye have heard before, becauſe he was conſtrained by the *Grecians*, not to admit any appellation to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was accurſed by the Popes cenſures for an Heretick. Whereby appeareth, that the *Grecians*, recovering their ſtate again, refuſed all ſubjection at this time unto the Church of *Rome*, which was the year of our Lord 1327, *&c.* After this *Clement* the fifth followed Pope *John* the 22. with whom *Ludovick* the Emperor had much trouble. After whom next in courſe ſucceeded Pope *Benedict* the 12. Which *Benedict* upon a time, being deſired to make certain new Cardinals, to this anſwered again; that he would gladly ſo do, if he alſo could make a new world. For this world (ſaid he) is for theſe Cardinals that be made already. *Ex ſcripo Engethuſenſis.* And thus much of the Popes; now to return a little back to the Kings ſtory again.

Note the practice of the Romiſh Prelates.

*Platina in vit. Innocentii.*

When and how long the *Greek* Church was ſubject to *Rome.*

*Ex Baptiſt. Egnat. Rom. princ. l. 7.*

The *Greek* Church denieth ſubjection to the Church of *Rome.*

*Ex Chron. Nic. Trivet.* The Popes exactions complained of in the Parliament.

In the year of our Lord 1337. which was 34*th.* of the Reign of this King, in the beginning of *Hillary* Term, the King kept a Parliament at *Carliel*, where great complaints were brought in by the Nobles and antients of the Realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppreſſions of Churches and Monaſteries, and exactions of money by the Popes Legate *William Teſta* (otherwiſe termed *Mala Teſta*) lately brought into the Realm of *England*. The coming of which *William Teſta* was upon this occaſion, as followeth: Pope *Clement*, who, as ye heard before, had tranſlated his Court from *Rome* into *France*, where he had been Archbiſhop before, becauſe he contemned to come and remain at his own See; the Princes of *Rome* thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy *Peters* Patrimony. And ſo by that means, falling into bareneſs and poverty, he lived only of ſuch money of Biſhops as came to him to be confirmed, and with ſuch other ſhifts and gifts. So that by this means, partly of Biſhops and other Religious Men and perſons, partly under the name of courteſie and benevolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing; he had within the firſt year 9500. Marks of ſilver, all his other charges and expences, which he largely that year beſtowed, clearly born. Beſides this, he ſent moreover the foreſaid Legate *William Teſta* into *England* with his Bulls: in the which he reſerved the firſt fruits of the firſt year of all Churches being vacant at any time, or by any Man within the Realm of *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, and alſo the fruits of Abbies and Priories within the ſaid Realms, *&c.* Whereupon the King with his Nobles, ſeeing the inconvenience and harm thereof enſuing to the whole Realm: in the foreſaid Parliament, holden at *Carliel*, withſtood the ſaid Legate, charging and commanding him by the aſſent of the Earls and Barons, that heneceforth he ſhould abſtain from all ſuch exactions. And as concerning his Lord the Pope, he would direct certain his Meſſengers unto him purpoſely for the ſame matter appointed: by the which Ambaſſadors, the King wrote unto the foreſaid Pope, declaring and moniſhing the Pope, as right and reaſon was, That he ſhould not exact the firſt fruits of the Churches and Abbies, by his predeceſſors and Noble men of the Land, founded for the honour and maintenance of Gods Service, for Alms and Hoſpitality: which otherwiſe, in ſo doing, ſhould all be overthrown. And ſo by this means, the Pope at that time changed his purpoſe as concerning Abbyes. But after that the fruit of *Engliſh* Churches was granted to the King for two years, in which ſpace he obtained the fruits of the foreſaid Churches, *&c.*

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*Ex hiſt. quæ incipit ab Henrico tertio.*

The Popes getting in one year. *W. Teſta* the Popes Legate ſent into *England.*

First fruits firſt brought in by the Pope.

King *Edward* withſtandeth the Pope and his Legate.

First-fruits of Abbies denied to the Pope.

First fruits for two years granted to the Pope.

During the which Parliament afore ſpecified, as Men were talking many things of the Popes oppreſſions, which he began in the *Engliſh* Church; in the full of the Parliament, ſuddenly fell down, as ſent from Heaven, among them a certain paper, with this ſuperſcription.

## An Epiſtle of *Caſſiodorus* to the Church of *England*, concerning the abuſes of the *Romiſh* Church.

*Ex vetuſta Chronico Albat.*

*TO the noble Church of* England, *ſerving in Clay and Brick, as the* Jews *did in time paſt under the tyranny of the* Egyptians; Peter *the Son of* Caſſiodorus *a Catholick Souldier, and devout Champion of Chriſt, ſendeth Greeting, and wiſhing it to caſt off the yoke of bondage, and to receive the reward of liberty.*

*To whom ſhall I compare thee, or to whom ſhall I liken thee, O Daughter of* Jeruſalem? *To whom ſhall I match thee, O Daughter of* Sion? *Great is thy perturbation, like unto the Sea. Thou ſitteſt alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and conſumed with heavineſs. Thou art given up into the hands of him from whence thou canſt not riſe without help of one to lift thee up: for the Scribes and Phariſees ſitting upon the Chair of* Moſes, *the enemies of the* Romans *are as thy heads and Rulers: inlarging their guarded Phylacteries, and ſeeking to be inriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heavy burthens, and not able to be born upon thy ſhoulders, and of thy Miniſters, and they ſet thee under tribute, (which of old time haſt been free) beyond all honeſty or meaſure. But marvel not thereat, for thy Mother, which is the Lady of people, like a Widow having married and coupled her ſelf to her ſubject, hath appointed him to be thy Father: that is to ſay, the Biſhop of* Rome, *who ſheweth no point of any Fatherly love towards thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the uttermoſt his authority over thee, and by experience he declareth himſelf to be the Husband of thy Mother. He remembreth oft with himſelf the Prophetical ſaying of the Prophet, and well digeſted the ſame in the inward part of his breaſt: Take to thee a great Book, and write therein quickly with the pen of a Man; Take the ſpoil, rob quickly. But is this it which the Apoſtle ſaith, that he was appointed for, where he writeth thus? Every Biſhop, taken from among Men, is appointed for Men in thoſe things that belong to the Lord: not to ſpoil, nor*

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*nor to lay on them yearly Taxes, nor to kill Men, but to offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſins, and to ſorrow with them that be ignorant and do err. And ſo we read of* Peter *the Fiſher (whoſe ſucceſſor he boaſteth himſelf to be) that after the Reſurrection of Chriſt, he returned with other Apoſtles, to the office of Fiſhing: who when he could take nothing on the left ſide of the Ship, at the bidding of Chriſt, turned to the right ſide, and drew to land a net full of Fiſhes. Wherefore the profitable miniſtry of the Church is to be exerciſed on the right ſide, by the which the Devil is overcome, and plenty of ſouls be lucrified and won to Chriſt. But certainly the labor on the left ſide of the Ship is far otherwiſe: for in it the faith ſtumbleth, heavineſs beareth rule, when that thing that is deſired by ſeeking, is not found. For who is ſo fooliſh to think, that he can both at one time ſerve God and Man, and to ſatisfie his own will, or to ſtick to the revelations of fleſh and blood, and to offer worthy gifts to Chriſt? And doubtleſs that ſheepherd that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may devour. And now behold, I ſay, O Daughter, the deeds of him that is called thy Father, ſuch as have not been heard of before: he driveth away the good ſheepherd from the ſheepfold, and placeth in their ſtead Biſhops, to rule, but not to profit (his Nephews, Couſins, and Parents) ſome that know no Letters, and otherſome dumb and deaf, which underſtand not the plain voyce of the [illegible] their wounds, that be hurt of the Wolves: but like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other Men have ſown, whoſe hands moreover be always ready in their Baskets and Pouches, but their backs are turned from their burthens. By which thing it is manifeſt, that the Prieſthood is clean changed as theſe days, the ſervice of God decayed, Alms diminiſhed and brought to naught, the whole devotion of Kings, Princes, and Chriſtians, is baniſhed. May not this be thought wonderful in the eyes of all Men; that whereas Chriſt commandeth tribute to be paid to Kings for him and for Peter, he now goeth about by dominion of his ſtile, to ſubdue to him both Realms, and Princes of Realms (againſt his will, whoſe Vicar he ſaith he is, and who refuſed the Realms and judgments of the world) which this Biſhop contrariwiſe challengeth, claiming all that which he in his ſtile writeth to be his? Alack, O Daughter, what doth he yet more againſt thee? mark, he draweth from thee whatſoever pleaſeth him, and yet he thinketh not himſelf content, to have the tenth part only of thy goods from thee; except he have alſo the firſt fruits of the Benefices of the Miniſters, whereby he may get a new patrimony, as well for himſelf as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wills of the firſt founders. Over and beſides all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and ſtipends for his Legates and Meſſengers, whom he ſendeth into* England; *which not only take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but alſo tear in pieces like Dogs your fleſh and skins. May not this Prince be compared to King* Nebuchadoneſer, *which deſtroyed the Temple of the Lord, and robbed away the ſilver and golden Veſſels thereof? The very ſame doth this Man alſo; he robbed the Miniſters of God his Houſe, and left them deſtitute of due help. In like manner doth he. Truly they be better that are killed with the ſword, than they which be pined with hunger; for they are dead ſtraight, but theſe are waſted with the barrenneſs of the Earth. O Daughter, all they that paſs by, let them have pity and compaſſion on thee, for there is no ſorrow like thy ſorrow. For now thy face is blacker than coals, through much ſorrow and weeping, and thou art no more known in the ſtreets: thy foreſaid ruler hath placed thee in darkneſs, and hath given thee wormwood and gall to drink. O Lord, hear the ſorrow and ſighings of thy people, behold Lord, and deſcend, for the heart of this foreſaid Man is more indurate than the heart of* Pharaoh. *For he will not ſuffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he ſcourgeth them not only miſerably upon the Earth, but alſo after their death, he intendeth to incroach the goods of all Chriſtians under the name and title of dying inteſtate, or making no Will. Therefore, let the Chivalry of* England *well remember, how the* French-*men in times paſt, directing their greedy eyes on the Realm of* England, *laboured with all their power how to bring the ſame under their ſubjection. But it is to be feared, leſt the new devices and practice of this new enemy ſupply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminiſhing of the treaſure of the Realm, and ſpoiling of the Church goods, the Realm ſhall be brought into ſuch inability, that it ſhall not be able to help it ſelf againſt the enemy. Therefore, O Daughter, and you the Miniſters thereof ſuffer not your ſelves to be led any more into ſuch miſerable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Chriſtian King and the powers of the Realm, which have indued thee with great benefits, and you alſo which are indued with their benefits, do labour with all your power how to reſiſt the devices, conſpiracies, arrogancy, preſumption, and pride of the foreſaid perſon: who not for any zeal of God, but for the inriching of his Parents, and for his own Kindred (exalting himſelf like an Eagle) by theſe and ſuch other exactions goeth about, after another kind of extortion, to ſcrape up and devour all the money and treaſure of* England. *Now, leſt the diſſembled ſimplicity of the Realm in this behalf do bring utter ſubverſion, and afterward be compelled to ſeek remedy when it is too late: I beſeech the Lord God of Hoſts to turn away the veil from the heart of that Man, and to give him a contrite and an humble mind, in ſuch ſort as he may acknowledge the ways of the true God, whereby he may be brought out of darkneſs, and be inforced to relinquiſh his old ſiniſter attempts; and that the Vineyard, which the Lords hand hath plaſted, may be repleniſhed continually with the Preachers of the Word. Let the words of the Lord, propheſied by the mouth of* Jeremy, *ſtir up your minds to withſtand and reſiſt the ſubtil practices of this Man, by the which words the Lord ſpeaketh: O thou Paſtor which haſt ſcattered my people, and haſt caſt them out of their habitations, behold I will come and viſit upon thee, and upon the malice of thy ſtudies: neither ſhall there be any of thy ſeed which ſhall ſit upon the ſeat of* David, *neither which ſhall have power any more in* Judah. *So that thy neſt ſhall become barren, and utterly ſubverted, like* Sodom *and* Gomorah.

*And if he being terrified by theſe words, do not leave off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make reſtitution of thoſe which he hath received, then let all and ſingular perſons ſing for him being indurate, to him that ſeeth all things, the* Pſal. 108. Deus laudem, &c. *For truly as favor, grace, benevolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; ſo again the gentle benignity of Man, being too much oppreſſed and grieved, ſeeking to be delivered and freed from the ſame, ſtriveth and ſearcheth to have the truth known, and caſteth off that yoke by all means poſſible that grieveth him,* &c. Hæc Caſſiodorus.

What effect this Letter wrought in them to whom it was directed, is not in ſtory expreſſed. This by the ſequel may be conjectured; That no reaſon or perſwaſion could prevail, but that the Pope retained here ſtill his exactions, whatſoever was ſaid or written to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And thus much being written hitherto of theſe acts and doings here in *England*; now to ſlip a little into the matters happning the ſame time in *France*, under the Reign of the foreſaid King *Philip* above mentioned: forſomuch as about this time, *An.* 1307. was commenced a Parliament by the ſaid King of *France* againſt the Pope, touching the juriſdiction both Temporal pertaining to Princes, and Eccleſiaſtical belonging to the Church; I thought it not improfitable for the Reader to hear and learn the full diſcourſe and tradition hereof, according as we have cauſed it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true Copy and Records of *Peter Bertrand* Biſhop of *Edvenen*, and chief doer and Prolocutor in the ſaid Parliament upon the Popes ſide, againſt the King and State Temporal.

A Parliament in *France* aſſembled, wherein is diſcuſſed the juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical, how far it extendeth. {Anno 1307}

Foraſmuch as the High Prelate of *Rome*, otherwiſe called Antichriſt, being then in his chief ruff, extolling himſelf above all Princes and Potentates of the world, as in other Countries, ſo alſo in *France* extended his uſurped juriſdiction, above the Princely authority of the King, claiming to himſelf full government of both the States, as well Secular as alſo Eccleſiaſtical: the King therefore, not ſuffering the exceſſive proceedings of Pope *Clement* the 5. above ſpecified, directeth his Letters Mandatory to the Prelates and Barons of the Realm of *France*, to Convent and Aſſemble themſelves together at *Paris*, about the beginning of

*December*, the year above prefixed: The tenor of which Letters of the King directed to the Prelates, followeth in this form and manner.

## The ſummons of a Parliament by *Philip* the *French* King.

The Letter of *Philip* King of *France*, to the Biſhops and Prelates

PHilip *by the Grace of God King of* France, *to our well-beloved Biſhop of* Edvens, *Greeting and Salutation. Reverend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloved, we greet you well. The more ſight and knowledge you have in Divinity and the Holy Scriptures of God, with the practice and experience of other good qualities and vertues; you know the better a great deal, how that the Clergy and Laity of this our Realm (as members of one body) ought to cleave and ſtick together; and how by their helping hand, unity and peace ſhould be maintained of all, and the contrary eſchewed and avoided, every ſtate contenting it ſelf, and not incroaching one upon another. And becauſe we are advertiſed, how that our Barons and Officers (as well in time paſt as of late) have diverſly in divers points injured you, as ſemblably you and yours in many cauſes have wrongfully damaged them; by occaſion whereof, the knot of unity and concord, which ought to have flouriſhed among you, is quite looſed and undone: To the end therefore by Gods Grace ſome good reformation and redreſs may be had herein; We moſt ſtudious of unity and concord, require you, and by theſe our Letters command you, to appear perſonally before us at* Paris *the* 15th. *day of* December *next enſuing the date hereof, and there before us to make relation of ſuch wrong as ye have received at the Laities hands. And we likewiſe ſtraitly charge and command you, our Barons, Bailiffs, and Officers, not to fail, but to make your perſonal appearances, before us, the day and place above witten, and there to exhibit before us a Bill of ſuch complaints, wherewith you burden our Prelates and Clergy, with their Officials: that we with our Council, conſulting thereupon, with due regard may ſee redreſs therein; whereby perpetual love and charity may ever hereafter reign and remain among them for ever.* Given at *Paris* the firſt day of *September*, *An.* 1309.

The Parliament convented.

At the day in the Letters above ſpecified, the Prelates and Clergy Aſſembled themſelves before the King at his Palace in *Paris*, that is to ſay, the Lord *Bituricen*, the Lord *Auxitan*, the Lord *Turonen*, the Lord *Rothom*, and the Lord *Senon*, all Archbiſhops: the Lord *Belvacen*, the Lord *Caihalen*, the Lord *Laudun*, the Lord of *Paris*, the Lord *Novionon*, the Lord *Carnoten*, the Lord *Conſtan*, the Lord *Andegaven*, the Lord *Pictaven*, the Lord *Melden*, the Lord of *Cameracen*, the Lord of *S. Feri*, the Lord *Brioce*, the Lord of *Cabulion*, and the Lord of *Edven*, all Biſhops. Where after due reverence done unto the Kings Grace there ſitting in his own perſon, with his Barons and Council about him; a certain Noble and wiſe perſon, Lord *Peter de Cugneriis*, (being one of the Kings Council) roſe up, and openly in the Parliament Houſe ſpake in the Kings behalf on this wiſe, taking for his Theam, *Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari & quæ ſunt Dei, Deo*: which is to ſay, Give and render unto *Cæſar*, that which is his; and unto God, that which is Gods: which he very artificially proſecuted and applied, dividing it into two parts. Firſt, That obedience and reverence is due unto the King. Secondly, That there ought to be a difference between the juriſdiction of the Clergy and Laity, ſo that ſpiritual matters ſhould be defined and ordered by the Prelates and Spiritual Men, and Temporal Cauſes ruled and determined by the King, his Barons and Temporal Men. Which all he proved by many reaſons both of Fact and Law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the anſwer of the Biſhop of *Edven*: Finally, he concluded, That the Clergy ought only to deal and have to do with Spiritual matters; in defence whereof, the Kings Highneſs would ſtand their good Lord and maintainer. His Oration being ended, he repeated certain words in the *French* Tongue, which imported, That the Kings will and pleaſure was in ſome points to renew the temporal ſtate and juriſdiction; and therewith he exhibited a certain Bill in *French*, whereof alſo he gave a Copy to the Prelates, containing certain points and Articles under written, the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertain to the order and juriſdiction of the ſpiritualty, but only to the temporalty, complaining that the Clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the ſame. But notwithſtanding the premiſes, and for all this his complaint, he ſaid that the Prelates ſhould have time to conſult and deliberate thereupon with the King. The Copy of which Articles, with anſwer enſuing upon ſame, and the grievances of the Kingdom of *France*, wrought by the Clergy, and exhibited to the King, hereafter followeth.

Lord *Peter* ſpeaks in the Parliament.

The Theam of his Oration

The Oration divided into two parts.

Obedience to the King.

Difference between the juriſdiction of the State Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical.

{KING *Edw.* 1}

Articles in the Parliament propounded, concerning the juſt complaints of the Laity againſt the Clergy.

Cauſes real.

1. *Firſt*, The cognition of cauſes real, whether they touch poſſeſſion, or their propriety, or not, by Common-Law appertaineth to the juriſdiction temporal. But the Prelates with their Officials, to the end to infringe the temporal juriſdiction, take upon them the determination of ſuch cauſes real, eſpecially concerning poſſeſſion and all other interdicts.

2. *Item*, When a temporal man is ſued by any Clerk or ſpiritual Man for the poſſeſſion of his Land, obtaining an adjornament of the ſecular power, in the cauſe of Movity or otherwiſe: the Prelates Officials, ſtopping hereby the temporal juriſdiction, at the inſtance of the Clerk, calleth by Proceſs before them both the ſecular Judge and the party, inhibiting them to proceed any further in the cauſe, under pain of Excommunication and forfeiture of a certain ſumm.

Prelates intermeddle in temporal rerum matters.

3. *Item*, Although the ſecular Judge have the cognition of all Lay-mens matters (except in ſpiritual cauſes) yet will the Biſhops Officials, at the inſtance of any party, call them before them. And if the temporal men do except againſt their juriſdiction, alledging the incompetency of the judge; or elſe if they require the cauſe to be remitted to them (under whom they are) as the right Judges, yet do the Officials refuſe this to do, yea and by Excommunication compel the parties to proceed before them.

4. *Item*, The Biſhops Officials at the inſtance of the Clerks, alledging that they are injured in matters of inheritance by a Lay-man, call by Proceſs the Laity. And if it be alledged that thoſe cauſes ſtand upon reality, being ſo indeed, and that for that conſideration the cauſe ought to be remitted to the Temporal Law; this notwithſtanding, the Officials prohibite them under pain of Excommunication, or ſome great forfeit, not to proceed but before them.

5. *Item*, The Biſhops Officials take upon them to hear the plea of ſuch contracts, as either be conceived in writings, or made by word of mouth in the Temporal Law; ſending out their monition of Excommunication againſt them that ſtand bound concerning the ſame contracts.

6. *Item*, The Biſhops and Prelates decree Provincial Councils and Synodal Statutes, enacting and ordering therein many things to the high and great prejudice of the temporal juriſdiction, wherein they ought to have no cognition at all, neither to intermeddle themſelves therewith.

7. *Item*, The foreſaid Officials take upon them, before Notaries to ſwear perſons for performance of contracts and bargains (made by them in places under the juriſdiction temporal) concerning the ſale of inheritance or otherwiſe; incroaching thereby upon their juriſdiction, when verily they have nothing to do with any contracts and obligations, but with ſuch as are made and agreed upon within the compaſs of their own ſeat and juriſdiction.

Ex Officio.

8. *Item*, The ſaid Officials, of their meer Office, call before them the Laity, to anſwer to ſuch matters of correction as ſhall be laid to their charge, the cognition whereof, as they ſay, doth appertain unto them. And when the ſaid perſons do appear before them, and deny the crime objected againſt them, the Officials detain them and put them in priſon, although in ſuch caſes they are to be releaſed; and although impriſonment appertaineth only to the temporal power, and not to them.

Impriſonment pertaineth not to the Clergy.

9. *Item*, In the caſes aforeſaid, although by making of their purgations and other the proceſs therein, they be found clear of that which is laid to their charge, and are acquited; theſe yet the ſaid Officials will in no wiſe diſcharge and diſmiſs, before they have to the uttermoſt paid for the writings and proceſs in that behalf, a good piece of mony, when by Law it ought to be done *gratis*, and for nothing.

10. *Item*, It muſt not be forgotten to talk of the ſentence of Excommunication, which is decreed by vertue of one only citation, ſo often as a Man faileth in his appearance.

11. *Item*,

{KING Edm. 1}

11 *Item*, Mention is to be made of thoſe kind of Obligations *De niſi*. Whereby a man is Excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able ſo to do.

12 *Item*, Whoſoever by Virtue of Excommunication in the Biſhops Court is Excommunicate, and he ſo Excommunicated do not ſatisfy the ſum due about the Excommunication, by and by the ſum is doubled. And the Secular power is charged by the Biſhops or their Officials, that they under pain of Excommunication compel the Excommunicate, by Attaching their Goods, to pay the ſaid ſum, and not to miſs a jot: which Monition if the Laity refuſe to put in execution, they themſelves are then Excommunicate, and in no wiſe to be Abſolved, before they diſburſe that mony, the which the principal Excommunicate perſon ſhould have paid.

13 *Item*, If the Bailiffs, Headborows, or other the Kings Officers and Judges of the Temporalty, receiving the foreſaid monitions, do put the ſame in execution, and find thoſe that be Excommunicate, to be beggerly and nothing worth; the ſaid Officers are bound at their own proper coſts and charges, to reſort to the Biſhops See or Conſiſtory, whereſoever it is, and there to take a Corporal Oath, That the Parties Excommunicate are nothing worth. This if they fail, thoſe Officers are ſure to be Excommunicate, and thereby inforced to diſburſe the due of the firſt Excommunicate perſons.

Action real, perſonal.

14 *Item*, If two Lay-men be in Sute together before a Temporal Judge, about an Action either real or perſonal, and one of them after conteſtation of Law, and great proceſs therein, do Appeal unto an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, he will preſume then to detain before him the Plea of ſuch Caſes and Actions, both real and perſonal, cauſing, by virtue of his Monitions and Authority, the Temporal Judge to ceaſe and leave off from medling therein: which if the Secular Judge obeyeth not, he is pronounced Excommunicate and compelled to make ſatisfaction; by occaſion whereof, the Temporal Juriſdiction is much annoied and clean loſeth the Prerogative thereof; becauſe by Law no man may Appeal from a Spiritual Judge to the Temporal Law.

No man may Appeal from a Spiritual Judg to the Temporal Law by the Popes Divinity.

15 *Item*, If a Lay-man, inhabiter of any of the Kings Towns, procureth his Debter, being alſo a Lay-man, to be Arreſted by virtue of Secular Juſtice in that place; and he which is ſo Arreſted appealeth, and cauſeth alſo his Creditor to be Arreſted, the Officials will take upon them to hear this matter; and if any thing be attempted concerning the Appeal, they miſs not to demand coſt and ſatisfaction both of the Juſtice, and alſo of him to whom the Arreſt was made. And if any of the Princes Retinue compelleth them to reſiſt this injury, they are ſtraightways pronounced Excommunicate.

16 *Item*, If the ſaid Biſhops have a number of Officials under them, whom they term Deans of the Clergy, which uſually cauſeth all ſorts of people through the Kings Dominions, only by word of mouth, to come afore them, and that ſometime without Commiſſion: when that in every Dioceſs there ought only to be but one Seat or Conſiſtory, wherein matters ſhould be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth divers times, that many are wrongfully and without cauſe cited; to the end that they may pay mony enough, to rid themſelves thereof: which is to the no ſmall prejudice of the Kings Majeſties Subjects, and the Temporal Juriſdiction.

Deans of the Clergy.

17 *Item*, The ſaid Rulers of the Clerks, Seal up the Houſes of their Clergy, which are ſituate in the Kings Towns, and other of his Noble Mens Villages, to the prejudice of the Kings Majeſties Juriſdiction, and other of his Nobility: for that in ſuch kind of places the Biſhops have no ſuch kind of Juriſdiction.

Married Clerks.

18 *Item*, The ſaid Prelates or their Officials, do preſume to Seal up the moveable Goods of married Clerks, and of Merchants; whereas in ſuch Caſes the order thereof appertaineth to the Temporal Law.

19 *Item*, They compel the Laity to put in ſurety to anſwer Clerks before them in the Spiritual Court, yea, and chiefly the Kings own Servitors.

20 *Item*, They preſume to hear and have the cognition of Actions, which are real, or at leaſt-wiſe mixt, that is, both real and perſonal.

21 *Item*, The ſaid Prelates go about to have cognition of ſuch Temporal mens matters as dwell in Hoſpitals, Almshouſes, and the Kings peculiars, and in Villages of his Subjects, although the Plea thereof appertaineth to the King himſelf, and his ſubjects: forbidding under pain of Excommunication, and great forfeits, any man to be ſo hardy as to commence any Sute againſt any of them, but before themſelves, in pain of a great ſum of mony.

22 *Item*, To the end the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical Rule ſhould be multiplied, they confer a number of Tonſures to Children under age, ſome of them being Sons of bondmen, other ſome Baſtards born; yea and to many more married folks inſufficient, unable, and unlearned.

23 *Item*, They do cauſe by the Governors of their Clerks, Widow-women to be inforced and defiled, and will have the diſcuſſing thereof: as in like manner, they will determine the matters of Pupils, applying their Goods when they died, as they do the Goods of them which die inteſtate, to their own uſe; the cognition whereof belongeth to the King himſelf, becauſe thoſe kind of perſons with their Goods are in ward to the King and under his tuition.

Gins to get mony.

24 *Item*, They procure through the ſaid Deans of the Clergy, of malice, Temporal men of the Kings Dominions or other where (without all order of Law) to be apprehended; objecting againſt them that they have ſtraied from ſome Article of Chriſtian Faith; and therewith ſhut them up; when as their Impriſonment appertaineth to the King till they be convicted thereof.

25 *Item*, They exerciſe their Juriſdiction in all places, having no regard, neither to the Kings peculiar Towns, nor yet to his Subjects; but run in every hole, when by Law they ought to have no Juriſdiction, without their own limits and precinct.

26 *Item*, When theſe Prelates or their Officials by virtue of their Monitions do charge the Kings Officers and his Juſtices to execute any thing; if they do not perform that, which is preſcribed unto them, the forfeit (which the Monition containeth) is taken: yea and Excommunication denounced. And this is a new invention ſprung up of late amongſt them, much to the prejudice of the King and his Subjects.

27 *Item*, When the Biſhops or their Officials do proſecute a matter of Office before themſelves againſt any Temporal man, and have no proof thereof; they compel many of the Laity to be depoſed therein what they know, having no reſpect whether they be the Kings Burgeſſes, or no, or what they be, and yet will they not allow any charges and expences for their pains taken in that behalf. But if they appear not at their day, they are ſure to be Excommunicate.

28 *Item*, If malefactors be apprehended by any of the Kings Juſtices, and Indicted of Theft, and he (whoſe Goods they were which were ſtollen) cometh before the Kings Sheriffs, and proveth them to be his, and that therefore the matter ought to be ordered by them: if afterwards the Biſhops or their Officials affirm the ſaid Felon or Malefactor to be a Clerk, they will by virtue of their Decrees or Monitions compel the Kings Sheriffs to reſtore and bring in the ſtollen Goods: and if they do it not, they are pronounced Excommunicate.

29 *Item*, If it happen the Kings Sheriff or Bailiff to take an offender for his offence, and he affirmeth himſelf to be a Clerk: although he never took any kind of Tonſures, or Orders, wearing no Habit appertaining thereunto; yet the Biſhops or their Officials will cauſe the detainers of them by their cenſures to deliver unto them the ſaid malefactor as their Clerk.

30 *Item*, If it happen the Kings Sheriff or other his Juſtices to take a Thief or Murderer, which beareth a Clerks Mark and Tonſure, and therefore delivereth him to the Clergy to be ordered; it ſhall not be long before he be acquainted by them, although he afterward Recognize his Fact; yea, and notwithſtanding that his fellows and partners of that Office, being meer Temporal, received Juſtice for the ſame, and appeached him thereof; and ſo the like Malefactors are encouraged thereby to commit after the like.

31 *Item*, If any complaineth and ſaith that he is ſpoiled, by and by the Officials will Decree a Monition againſt the ſpoiler: by virtue whereof, ſome one of the Deans of the Clergy ſhall moniſh him to reſtore the things comprized in the Monition, and alſo miniſter to him an Oath whether he hath not ſpoiled the Plaintiff of ſuch things, as he ſaith he was ſpoiled of. But if he refuſe to take an Oath before him, then the Dean will ſtraightways Seal up the Monition

and

and Excommunicate him, and by no means ſhall he be Abſolved before he reſtore and ſatisfy the Contents in the Monition, whereof the Plaintiff ſaid firſt he was ſpoiled.

32 *Item*, If any for his offence be caſt into Priſon by the Secular power, although at the time of his taking he wear Temporal Habit, and was in no Orders, but all the days of his life lived like a Temporal man: yet if he ſhall Avouch and Vow himſelf to be a Clerk, to the intent to have more expedition at the Clergies hands, and to eſcape unpuniſhed; the Clergy will incontinently give to the Laity in commandment to reſtore unto them the malefactor, or elſe ſuſpenſion ſhall be denounced throughout the whole Townſhip, where the ſaid malefactor ſhall be ſo Impriſoned. And for avoiding the jeopardy which might ariſe of the ſaid ſeiſement; the Secular Judge of neceſſity is compelled to deliver them the offender, to the great prejudice of the Kings Temporal Juriſdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertain, in caſe of reſort and prerogative. *Reſortum.*

33 *Item*, When any offender is delivered by the Temporal Magiſtrates to the Clergy, as their Clerks; his friends will make ſute to the Biſhops Officials for him, and compound with them, by reaſon whereof they diſmiſs them unpuniſhed, and ſo do worſe and worſe, although their Fact was never ſo notorious

34 *Item*, So ſoon as any married Clerk, being a Merchant or of whatſoever other Science he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the Secular Judge: the ſaid Clerk obtaineth of the Officials a Monition, bringing with them ſome Prieſt, who doth inhibit the Secular Judge under pain of 100 or 200 Marks, yea and of Excommunication too, not to proceed further, nor to meddle in ſuch Cauſes, and not to moleſt ſuch Parties, neither in Body nor Goods: But if the Judges obey not, they ſhall be ſuſpended from hearing of Maſs in that place, although the matter concerneth the Fact of Merchandiſe.

35 *Item*, The ſaid Officials grant Citations without number againſt the Laity in Caſes of Warranties perſonally to aſcite before them perſons unknown. But if they be known, it is contained in the Citation, that in no wiſe, and that under a great pain, he cauſe his adverſary to be called before a Secular Judge, during the return of the Citation.

36 *Item*, When one is Excommunicated in any place, the Officials grant out perſonal Citations againſt them, which do participate, and are converſant with the excommunicate: cauſing a whole Country by the ſpace of eight miles about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the Party ſo excommunicate (ſometimes by 40, ſometimes 60, yea and ſometimes by a 100 at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they do not participate nor keep company with their friends the excommunicates. Whereby enſueth that many honeſt, old and ancient men, for avoiding of troubles and expences, do pay ſome twelve pence, ſome two ſhillings. By occaſion whereof many Vines are unlooked to, much Ground untilled, yea, and many good men conſtrained to lay the Key under the door, and run away.

37 *Item*, The ſaid Officials do burden many perſons of good name and fame, to be Uſurers: whereby they are conſtrained to agree with them, for avoiding the infamy that thereby might inſue.

38 *Item*, The foreſaid Officials call by Citation afore them, the honeſt wedded (as well Man as Woman) charing them, that they have committed Adultry to the perpetual infamy of their Huſbands and Wives. And for nothing elſe but by extortion to wring mony from them.

39 *Item*, Mention muſt be made of the multitude and number of Proctors, which eat and devour up all the world with their Citations, catching up Clients, and keeping abroad in the Country Courts and Aſſizes; who for mony return not the Citations, which by extortion they receive of them which are cited.

40 *Item*, There be many other griefs and enormities, which the Chapters, Abbots, Priors, Provoſts, and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons in the Realm of *France*, practice againſt the people. As when they cauſe to be cited before them, many of the Kings Burgeſſes, and others in divers places being priviledged: that is to ſay, *Baiocenſes*, *Manmectans* in *Britain*, *Lugdons*, *Maſticons*, with other more. But ſpecially the Provoſts of Hoſpitals uſe more commonly this trick, than any other do, whereby the people is much indamaged, and will be every day more and more, if remedy be not had therein. {KING Edw. 1}

41 *Item*, Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates labour to have cognition of Cauſes of injury, in whatſoever Cauſe it be: whether the injury be committed by word or fact. Likewiſe they take upon them to hear the Cauſes of married Clerks, and of their Wives, although they both uſe Merchandize. And if at any time ſuch couples be taken by the Secular Magiſtrates, the Official cauſeth a ſuſpenſion to be denounced in that Pariſh, by force of the Council *Silvanectен.*

42 *Item*, They challenge to have cognition concerning Widows Goods, both moveable and unmovable. And if it happeneth at any time that a Merchant Widow, in any of the Kings peculiars by way of Arreſt procureth any Temporal man to be convented before the Secular Judge; and the matter be ſo far traverſed, that he ſhould have been condemned by the Sentence of the Secular Judge, and then it come to the ear of the Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates, how and before whom the Widow did convent him: the ſaid Temporal Judge ſhall be conſtrained to withdraw the ſame. And by their monitions and cenſures they will correct the ſame; and this oftentimes happeneth.

43 *Item*, Many of the Tenants and Inhabiters of the Biſhops Lands call one another to the Court of the Officials, by a kind of appellation: by virtue whereof the Officials take upon them to proceed in the ſame, and to have cognition thereof, to the prejudice of the Temporal Juriſdiction of our Sovereign Lord the King. The Clergy prejudicial to common juſtice.

44 *Item*, if any man be apprehended by Secular Juſtice in ſhedding of blood; he is to be ordered by them, if he be Lay: if he be a Clerk he is to be reſtored to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge. But whether he be a Temporal man or Clerk that is ſo taken, and appealeth to the Officials Court; they will be ſo bold to have cognition thereof, requiring herewith amends of the Secular Court, which enterprized the foreſaid apprehenſion. If this be ſuffered, the malefactor ſhall never be puniſhed. For by and by they will Appeal, and immediately after the appellation fly and avoid away.

45 *Item*, When they cauſe many of office to be cited before them, they will admit them to have no Proctors: to whom when they come at the day of appearance, they object the crime of Uſury. And except they anſwer as the promoters will themſelves, they are trodden under feet (although they be meer Lay) and ſhall not be diſmiſſed before they Fine even as the Officials liſt themſelves, although they be no Uſurers. But if any be Uſurers, they take of them ſatisfaction and bribes: and ſo they be permitted to uſe their Uſury, no leſs than before; So that they may have their old fees and bribes. *Ex*

46 *Item*, They procure their Officers to apprehend Clerks in whatſoever ſoil they be found; albeit by Juſtice they may appeal therefrom. But if by any they be let of their will herein, they do forthwith, by ſentence of Excommunication, cauſe them to deliſt therefore. Uſury craftily objected by the Clergy againſt Lay-men.

47. *Item*, As oftentimes as any Temporal Magiſtrate doth apprehend any perſon, which afterward, being required of the Clergy, is quietly delivered unto them: yet for all that, the Officials cauſe thoſe Magiſtrates to be denounced Excommunicate by Law. The Prelates make the Church a den of Thieves.

48 *Item*, The Prelates give order of Tonſures as well to men of thirty years as upward, as alſo to married men, when they come unto them, for fear of Impriſonment and puniſhment due unto them for their criminal offences, before committed; and this is oftentimes put in practice.

49 *Item*, If it happen any of the Kings ſervants or any other to be Excommunicate, who would fain be Abſolved, being glad to pay reaſonably for the ſame: the Clergy will not receive ſatisfaction but ſuch as ſhall pleaſe them, whereby many of them remain ſtill Excommunicate.

50 *Item*, When two perſons have been at Strife and Law together for the Poſſeſſion of Land, and the matter contentious be put into the hands of the King by ſome ſervant or officer of the King, for the taking up of the matter: then do the Prelates admoniſh the one part not to trouble the other which is in poſſeſſion. Otherwiſe if he do, they do Excommunicate him.

51 *Item*

KING Edw. I

51 *Item*, The foreſaid Prelates, Deans, Chaplains, and other the rout of the Clergy, put the Kings Officers to ſo much travel and expences in trying out the Kings uſurped Juriſdiction, as they term it; that oftentimes many of them ſpend and conſume, in the travel of the Right and Title thereof, all that they have and more too.

52 *Item*, If any Secular Juſtice in a true and juſt Cauſe, at the requeſt of the party, putteth in his helping hand concerning the Inheritance of Clerks: the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, and their Miniſters, ſend out Monitions in writing againſt the ſaid Juſticer; yea, under pain of Excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leave off: enjoyning him further to ſuffer the other party quietly to enjoy the ſaid things. Otherwiſe they denounce him Excommunicate, and he ſhall not be Abſolved before he have well paid for it, even as pleaſeth Maſter Official, to the high prejudice of the Authority of our Sovereign Lord the King.

Note the practice of Officials, to get money.

53 *Item*, The Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrates, ſo ſoon as they hear any rich or fat cob to die, or think that he will not live long, ſend out forthwith Letters under Seal to their Chaplain, commanding him in any wiſe not to preſume to bury him, although he made his Teſtament, and received the Rites of the Church. And when afterward the Friends and Kinſfolks of the dead reſort unto them to know the cauſe of their inhibition, they declare unto them that he was an Uſurer, and that he kept not the commandments of holy Church: and ſo long keep they the Corps of the dead unburied, till the Friends of him buy it out with good ſtore of mony, heaping and hording by theſe means abundance of riches.

54 *Item*, If there be any violent ſhedding of blood in any Church-yard, whereby the interdict taketh place, the Clergy cauſeth a certain impoſition to be Levied of the Pariſhioners there, for the Salary towards the reſtoring thereof: Although ſome of the Pariſhiones be of an exempt Juriſdiction; yea, and although he which ſhed blood be able to pay the whole Tax which they Levied, and more too.

55 *Item*, Certain Chaplains affirm themſelves to have certain Apoſtolical priviledges, by virtue whereof they may appoint what Judges they will (yea and oftentimes of their own Houſe) and ſo they be Judges in their own Cauſe; which is plain againſt the Law. Whereby oftentimes it happeth, that after great proceſs and expences had and made in any great Cauſe of Inqueſt (more often about realty than otherwiſe) when they have notice by the Proctors and Advocates that they ſhall have the foil therein; they revoke forthwith thoſe named Judges, and ſo the Kings ſubjects are damaged, and can have no juſtice nor redreſs at their hands.

56 *Item*, If any Temporal man call a Clerk before a Secular Judge in caſe of Inheritance; the Eccleſiaſtical Judge procureth a ſtop to be made therein, attributing to themſelves the cognition thereof: and ſo by adjourning and removing, the Lay-man is conſtrained to make ſatisfaction.

57 *Item*, The Clergy challengeth the cognition of ſuch Cauſes as married Clerks being Merchants and Artificers do commence: which by Law it doth appertain to the Temporalty, eſpecially about the Trade of Merchandize.

58 *Item*, They oftentimes make Interdictions in many of the Kings Towns and Holds, and cauſe the Divine Service to ceaſe; againſt the Priviledges granted by many of the high Biſhops of *Rome* to our Sovereign Lord and Maſter the King.

59 *Item*, To and for the maintainance and keeping of their Temporalties, they appoint Bailiffs and other Officers: who, if they do offend, may not condignly be puniſhed according to Law and Juſtice.

60 *Item*, The Eccleſiaſtical Judges have promoters belonging to them: whom, when any man is Excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cauſe to be made, that no man ſhall work or do any thing for him that is Excommunicate: whereby the Lands and Vines are oftentimes unlooked to and untilled, to the no ſmall prejudice of the King and his common people.

61 *Item*, The foreſaid promoters cauſe Citations to be made out, by virtue whereof they call in one Citation twenty, thirty, forty perſons to appear, for participating with ſuch Interdicted perſons; taking of ſome ten, of other-ſome twenty ſhillings, as much as they be able to make: whereby the common people are much oppreſſed.

62 *Item*, The Eccleſiaſtical Judges cauſe all the Advocates of their Courts to be Sworn, That none ſhall retain them of their Counſel againſt any of them, without their Licenſe: whereby oftentimes the poor man quite loſeth his right, and the Kings Cauſe is delaied; becauſe his Solicitors cannot freely retain Counſel, without ſpecial Licenſe.

63 *Item*, They will make Inventories of their Goods which die Inteſtate, or without making of Will; and will have the poſſeſſion of their Goods, as well movable as unmovable, in their own hands to diſtribute to the Heirs, or to whom they liſt.

64 *Item*, The execution alſo of Teſtaments they take into their own hands, taking Inventories of dead mens Goods, and keeping and diſpoſing them to the Heirs after their pleaſure. And they have Officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

65 *Item*, They will not give credit (ſometimes) to Teſtaments made before witneſs, unleſs they be firſt by their own Officials approved.

After he had thus ſpoken, the Prelates required to have time to anſwer thereunto. Whereupon the Friday next inſuing, was appointed for the ſame: On the which day the Biſhop *Edven*, and Archbiſhop of *Senon* Elect, in the name of the whole Clergy anſwered for them all before the King, holding his Parliament as that day at *Vicenas*, and thus he there propounded: Foraſmuch as the Lord *Peter Cugner* of late propounding againſt the Church of *France* took to his Theme that which is written in the 22 of *Matthew*; *Render unto Ceſar that which is Ceſars, and unto God that which is Gods*; by which words, he ſaid, two points were to be noted: Firſt, The reverence and ſubjection of the Prelates, that they ought to have to the King their Sovereign: Secondly, The diviſion of the Temporal Juriſdiction from the Spiritual. The which firſt part he proved out of the firſt *Epiſtle* of *Peter* in the ſecond *Chap.* where it is written: *Submit your ſelves unto every creature, for the Lords ſake, whether it be unto the king, as unto the ſuperior, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent of him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* The ſecond point he proved by the words of our Saviour Chriſt in the 22 of *Luke*, where the Apoſtle ſaith, *Lord, behold, here are two ſwords. And he ſaid unto them, It is enough*; ſignifying by the two ſwords the two Juriſdictions. And likewiſe out of the 17 of *Matth.* where Chriſt would pay Tribute for him and *Peter*; Giving hereby an example, how that Eccleſiaſtical perſons were bound to pay and yield to the Temporal power the Temporalties; which alſo is proved in the 11. *quæſt. prim. cap. Si tributum & cap. magnum.*

Biſhop Edven and Archbiſhop of Senon Elect procutor for the Prelates

Repetition of the Lord Peter's Oration above touched, pag. 402.

Luk. 22.

Mat. 17.

And further, becauſe this is proved by mans-law, where it is ſaid, two great gifts are beſtowed, Prieſthood and Empire; the Prieſthood to rule over matters Divine; the Empire to bear domination over human matters. Whereby he concluded, that ſeeing theſe Juriſdictions are diſtinguiſhed of God; the one being given and limited to the Church, and the other to the Temporalty: the Church in no wiſe ought to intermeddle, or to have any thing to do with the Temporal Juriſdiction. For it is written in the 22 of the *Prov. You ought not to paſs the old limits and bounds, which the fore-fathers have ſet.* And well by the way he bringeth in this word, *old and ancient*: becauſe cuſtoms brought in to the contrary, be of no force, but rather are counted abuſes and corruptions. Neither can preſcription take place, for that *Jus fiſci* is inpreſcriptible, neither can the King abrogate from himſelf ſuch Law, nor renounce his right, proving the ſame by many Chapters contained in the 10. *Diſt.* Wherefore ſeeing the King, at what time he was Crowned, ſwear not only not to alienate or infringe the Laws of his Realm, but alſo to call in ſuch Laws as were alienated and uſurped either by the Church, or by any other; the King was bound by his Oath to revoke the ſame abuſes.

Two gifts given, Prieſthood, Empire.

Prov. 22.

Diſt. 10.

In eſpecial he did exhibit many Articles in writing, wherein (as he ſaid) the Church did uſurp upon the Juriſdiction Temporal. To anſwer theſe Premiſes with reconciling of the places, under proteſtation that whatſoever I ſay or ſhall ſay, it is not to ground or make any final judgment or determination herein; but only to inform the Conſcience of our Sovereign Lord the King and his aſſiſtants here aſſembled, alledging the firſt *Epiſtle* of *Peter*, the ſecond Chapter, where he ſaith, *Fear God and honour the King.* By which words, the holy Apoſtle St. *Peter* teacheth us two things: Firſt, that love, fear, and obedience, is due unto God for the mightineſs and puiſſance of his Majeſty,

1 Pet. 2.

ſaying,

ſaying, *Fear God.* Secondly, That ſpecial honour and reverence is due to the King, for the excellency of his dignity; ſaying, *Honour the King.* But note you by the way, how the Apoſtle placeth his words: Firſt he ſaith, That fear is due unto God, becauſe principally and in chief we ought to fear God. For if the King or any other ſhould command things contrary to God, we ought to have no regard thereof, but to contemn the King and fear God. For
Acts 5. it is written in the fifth of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles; *We ought rather to obey God than man:* and alſo in the *7th*
2 Mac. 7. Chapter of *Machabees* the ſecond Book, where it is ſaid, *I will not obey the commandments of the king, but the law.*

The reaſon whereof St. *Auguſtine* giveth both in the
11. Quæſt. 1. Gloſs upon the *Romans*, and alſo in the 11. *Quæſt.* 1. He that reſiſteth the Superior power, reſiſteth the will and ordinance of God. But put caſe thou art commanded to do that which thou maiſt not do, or not to do that which thou oughteſt to do. Doubtleſs, thou muſt neglect the leſſer power, and fear the higher, learning the degrees of worldly things.

As for example, be it ſo that a Proctor commandeth thee any thing, and the ſame be againſt the Proconſul, thou oughteſt not to follow it. Yea, and further, put caſe the Proconſul commandeth one thing, the Emperor another, and God willeth the third: Thou muſt not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power. For they may threaten thee with Priſon, but God threatneth thee with Hell fire: they may ſlay and kill thy Body, but God may ſend thee Body and Soul to perpetual Hell fire. And therefore worthily it is put firſt, *Fear God.* And here the place in the laſt of *Eccleſiaſtes* is to be adjoyned, where it is written, *Fear God and keep his commandments.*

Fear of God ſtandeth in three points. And me thinketh that man is bound to fear God chiefly in three ſorts. That is to ſay: Firſt, in the bountiful beſtowing of his Gifts and Benefits. Secondly, In the evident promoting of his Servants. And laſtly, In the full rendring and reſtoring unto man that is his.

*Firſt*, I ſay, in the bountiful, *&c.* and for this cauſe the Emperor *Juſtinian* writeth: Although there is nothing to be accounted good, which doth exceed and is too great, yet for a Prince to beſtow accordingly upon the Church, it is very good. For why, the King and Emperor is bound to beſtow ſo much the more ſubſtance, how much the more God hath given to him, and to beſtow the ſame both frankly, and eſpecially to famous Churches, wherein the beſt and greateſt meaſure is of the Lords gifts; that is, a great gift. And to this end *Gregory* enacteth a Law, *cap.* 1. *de extra. de donationibus*, that Nobility ought in manner to preſcribe this Law to himſelf, to think himſelf bound to give, when he giveth freely; and unleſs he increaſe in giving ſtill, to think that he hath given nothing.

Wherefore *Abel*, as appeareth in the *4th* Chapter of *Geneſis*, who offered of the beſt to the Lord, was bleſſed of God. And therefore other Kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both Spiritually and Tempo-
Numb. 18. rally bleſſed of him: as we read of *Joſhua*, *David*, *Solomon*, and others in the Book of the *Kings*, and therefore it is ſo written in the *18th* of *Numbers*: *and ye ſhall ſeparate unto the Lords treaſury, things that be chiefeſt and moſt principal.* As likewiſe *David* ſaith in the firſt of
1. Paral. cap. ult. *Paralipomenon* the laſt Chapter: *I have given all this with a glad heart, even with a good will, and now have I had joy to ſee thy people which here are preſent, offer with a free will unto thee.* And no marvel, for *David* ſaith in that place: *For of thy hand we have received all, and to thee we give.* And therefore it ſeemeth to me, becauſe that
What benefit cometh by giving to the Church. the Kings of *France*, and Barons of the ſame, have given to God and his Church more than any other; therefore they were happy and bleſſed above all other Kings, and the more they did give to God, the more they received at his hands.

Examples whereof we have of *Clovedo*, *Charles*, *and* St. *Lewis*; the more one giveth to God, the more he re-
Luke 6. ceiveth of him: For he in the *6th* of *Luke* hath promiſed, *Give and it ſhall be given unto you:* Wherefore a gift that
Time of War. a Prince beſtoweth upon the Church is rendred again with triple encreaſe, and that no leſs in time of War, than in time of Peace. I ſay in War time, becauſe Victory proceedeth of no other, but only of God; for it is written in the
1 Mac. 3. firſt of *Machabees*, the third Chapter: *the victory of the battel ſtandeth not in the multitude of the hoſt, but the ſtrength cometh from heaven.* And likewiſe, in the ſeventeenth Chapter of *Exodus*, it is declared, *that when* KING Edw. 1 *Moſes held up his hands, Iſrael had the victory: but when* Ex. 17. *he let down his hands, Amaleck had the victory.* To this end alſo ſerveth the laſt Chapter of 2 *Machabees* 2. *Where* 2 Mac. 2. *Judas being at the point to have the victory, thought he ſaw Onion and Jeremy* (which had been high Prieſts and very vertuous men) *holding up their hands toward heaven, and praying for their people and all the whole city*, &c. Likewiſe in Peace time now, the long days of the King Time of Peace. and of his Sons, their Peace, Proſperity, and Obedience (by the prayer of the Church) is maintained and ſupported in the Realm. For as long as *Solomon* was bent and given in building the Houſe of God, ſo long he had Peace: who thus in the *16th* Chapter of the *Proverbs* teacheth us: Prov. 16. *When a mans ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh his very enemies to be his friends*: And alſo in 1 *Eſd.* the *6th* Chapter, 1 Eſd. 6. where it is read, *how the prieſts were commanded to offer ſweet ſavours to the God of heaven, and pray for the kings life and his children.* And well therefore may it be called a gift both favourable and irrevocable, whereby victory is given, life granted, and peace with ſecurity conſerved. To ſerve God therefore, and liberally to give toward the worſhipping of him, is the chiefeſt ſign and token of Divine fear and love. *Eccleſ.* Chap. 2. *O ye that fear the Lord,* Eccleſ. 2. *believe him, and your reward ſhall not be empty.*

The ſecond part of fear-ing God. *Secondly*, Concerning the fear of God, I do you to underſtand, That among the Precepts of the Lord, the firſt and chiefeſt Commandement of the ſecond Table is *to honour thy Father*: Which Precept is very well expounded in the *12th* Chap. to *Heb.* Where it is not only meant of the Heb. 12. Fathers of our Bodies, but alſo of the Father of Spirits. *For as ſpiritual things do far exceed temporal matters, ſo* Honouring Spiritual Fathers. *much more a great deal the ſpiritual Son is bound to reverence the ſpiritual Father, and to be in ſubjection unto him, that he may live.* And that the Prieſts and Prelates be the Spiritual Fathers, it is proved in the fourth Book of the *Kings*, the *6th* Chapter: Where the King of *Iſrael* called *Elizeus* Father, ſaying: *My father, ſhall I ſmite* 4 Kin. 6. *them?* Unto this effect ſerveth the tenth of *Luke*, where Luke 10. our Saviour ſaid to the Apoſtles (whoſe ſucceſſors the Biſhops are) *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me.* Alſo in the firſt to the 1 Theſ. 4. *Theſſalonians* the fourth Chap. *He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth not men, but God.* Wherefore *Juſtinian* the Emperor in another place ſaith, We have great care to the Church of God, that therein may be true Doctrine and Integrity of Prieſts life. Which having, we truſt that for our great gifts we ſhall receive ſuch rewards at Gods hands, both as be durable, and ſhall remain: yea, and alſo that hitherto have not happened. Bleſſed St. *Hierome* in his Regiſter writing to a certain Emperor, which is alſo to be
17. Quæſt. cap. 1. Sacerdotibus. ſeen in the Decrees, *Decret.* 11. *quæſt.* 1. ſaith, Let not the Emperor diſdain Prieſts, but have ſpecial regard on them for his ſake whoſe ſervants they be: and ſo let him rule over them that due and condign reverence be given unto them. For they in Divine Scriptures are ſometime termed God, ſometimes named Angels: *Exod.* 22. *Then* Ex. 22. *ſhall both their cauſes come before the God.* Alſo *Malac.* Malac. 2. the ſecond, *the prieſts lips ſhould be ſure of knowledge, that men may ſeek the law at his mouth: for he is a meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts.* And therefore it is no marvel, if Honour to be given to Prieſts. we ſhould vouchſafe to honour them, when God himſelf in his ſpeech attributing to them hononour, tearmeth them Gods and Angels. And here is to be noted, how *Conſtantine* the Emperor, when certain of his ſubjects preſented unto him Libels accuſatory againſt the Biſhops, received them at their hands. But calling before him thoſe Biſhops which were accuſed therein, in their ſight he caſt thoſe Libels into the fire, ſaying, Depart you hence and diſcuſs theſe matters within your ſelves. For it is not convenient and meet that we judge Gods, becauſe it is written; *God ſtood in the Synagogue of Gods, and in the midſt of them he did judge Gods.* In which Chapter it is declared, how *that the Pagans, who worſhipped golden and wooden gods, attributed great honour to the prieſts.* What marvel is it then, if the godly and great and Chriſtian Emperors do honour and reverence the Prieſts of the true God? And doubtleſs, it is their duty ſo to do. And it is reaſon, which the Lord *Peter* the laſt day ſaid in this point; That there are two powers, Prieſthood and Domiſſion, the one Spiritual, the other Temporal

Two powers, Temporal and Spiritual, and what difference between them both.

which

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which no leſs differ one from the other, than the Sun from the Moon, the Heaven from the Earth, and Gold from Lead. And therefore if honour is due to be given to the leſſer power, by them that be underneath him: he that is chief of the higher power, of right good duty, is to be honoured and reverenced of all under him, as expreſly is declared, *Cap. Solit. De ma. & ob.* In which Chapter anſwer is fully made to the allegation of the Lord *Peter* (alledged by him to make for his purpoſe) that is to ſay, Be ye ſubject to all Creatures for Gods ſake, *&c.* There he ſpeaketh of the ſubjection which ſtandeth upon the merit of vertue, and not upon the duty of neceſſity. For elſe if he ſhould ſpeak of the ſubjection which is by duty of neceſſity; then muſt it needs follow, that every Biſhop ought to be ſubject to every beggerly Raſcal in the City of *Paris*. For the Text is, *Be ye ſubject to all human creatures:* but a Raſcal is a human Creature: *Ergo*, Biſhops muſt be ſubject to a Raſcal. Of the Dignity of a Biſhop, *Ambroſe* talketh in his Paſtoral. The honour, ſaith he, and the majeſty of a Biſhop is without all compariſon. If you compare it to the Royalty of a King, it is even as you would compare Metal or Lead to the beauty of Gold: For that is to be ſeen, that Kings and Princes ſtooping under the knees of Prieſts and kiſſing their right hand, think themſelves to be defended by their prayer. And becauſe the Kings of *France* have more than other honoured and reverenced the Prelates, they have above all other flouriſhed and proſpered. It is ſaid in *Eccleſ.* 4. *He that honoureth his father, ſhall rejoyce in his ſons.* And it followeth there, *He that honoureth his father, ſhall live a long life.* This is therefore the ſign of the fear of God. And as it is written in *Eccleſ.* 4. *He that feareth God honoureth his parents.*

*De Mai, & Esp. Sol.*

Double ſubjection upon merit of vertue, and upon duty of neceſſity

The Authority of a Biſhop and a King compared.

The pride of the Prelates.

Stoop Kings.

Eccleſ. 4.

Eccleſ. 4.

*Thirdly*, I ſay, That a man ought to fear God, in the full reverencing and reſtoring unto man that is his: For he that doth not give to another that is his, but goeth about to uſurp, doubtleſs he feareth not God. Contrary, he that reſtoreth all again, he is ſaid to love and fear God. *Eccleſiaſt.* 18. *He that feareth God will do good things.* And in the *Pſalm*, *I have been afraid of thy judgments, and have done judgment and juſtice.* For as the Lawyers ſay, which is true, A thing may be made mine divers ways, as by ſucceſſion, commutation, preſcription, or any other acquiſition, either by Law or Cuſtom; And ſo of the reſt. And whereas the Lord *Peter* the laſt day, by diſtinction of Juriſdiction Temporal and Spiritual, endeavoured to prove that he which had Spiritual Juriſdiction, ought not to have Temporal; otherwiſe there were no diſtinction thereof, but rather a confuſion of Juriſdictions: I will therefore prove the contrary, that theſe Juriſdictions are compatible both in one perſon, eſpecially in an Eccleſiaſtical man. And this will I prove by the Law of God, by the Law of Nature, Canon Law, Civil Law, by Cuſtom and Priviledge. But firſt I alledge, that accidental forms ſome of them are diſtinct, that they are not clean contrary, but diſlike, as whiteneſs and ſweetneſs. Other forms there be which are ſo diſtinct, that they are clean contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one ſubject. For one contrary expels another, and importeth the Negative of the other. Wherefore thoſe things be contrary, which one from another are moſt of all diſtant and diſagreeing, and in one ſuſceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the Philoſopher teacheth in the Predicaments. But thoſe forms which are ſo diſtinct that they be not contrary, but diſlike, are compatible in one ſubject, as quantity and quality, which, being diſtinct in reſpect of their *Genus generaliſſimum*, yet may be in one perſon. And fortitude and temperance, being under one kind of moral vertue, are found to be in one man, as *Logick* and *Grammer*, which are alſo *ſpecies* and kinds in one *genus*, *viz.* of *intellectus*. Therefore it is no good argument: Theſe forms be diſtinct, *Ergo*, they be not compatible in one ſubject. And therefore that the Juriſdictions Temporal and Spiritual are ſo diſtinct, that they are not contrary but compatible, it is evident hereby; becauſe things contrary be ſo, that the one cannot be ordained to concur with the other, but rather the one confoundeth and deſtroyeth the other: but in this caſe Juriſdiction Temporal is ordained for the Spiritual; and contrary, the Spiritual for the Temporal. Or rather, the one ſo dependeth on the other, as the clearneſs of the Moon doth on the brightneſs of the Sun. Alſo the one Juriſdiction ſo helpeth and comforts the other, that there is no contrariety in them. And therefore it is no good conſequence, becauſe they are diſtinct: *Ergo*, they are not compatible in one perſon. This alſo is to be proved *de facto*. For the Earth is the Lords, and the plenty of the whole univerſal World, and all that dwell therein. It is proved likewiſe by this reaſon: For if the Juriſdictions be not compatible, it ſhould follow, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould have any jot of Temporal Juriſdiction, neither Land, Tower, Caſtle, Lordſhip, nor any thing elſe; which is moſt abſurd: and ſo by this means it ſhould follow, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould be in ſubjection unto the King, which were to the great derogation of the Kings Majeſties Crown and Dignity. It muſt needs be therefore that theſe Juriſdictions be compatible, notwithſtanding the diſtinction of them one from another. And thus much for anſwer to all theſe reaſons, by the which Lord *Peter* proved the diſtinction of theſe Juriſdictions.

A thing made mine divers ways.

Six proofs. 1. By Divine Law. 2. By the Law of Nature. 3. By Canon Law. 4. By Civil Law. 5. By Cuſtom. 6. By Priviledge.

Forms being diſlike and not contrary, may be compatible in one ſubject.

Theſe things premiſed, thus I proceed further to prove that a perſon Eccleſiaſtical, which hath Juriſdiction Spiritual, may alſo have Temporal Juriſdiction: and that the Juriſdiction Temporal may be in an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, I will prove it by the Scriptures; and firſt out of the *Old Teſtament*, to the evident probation whereof, it is to be underſtood: That God, after the Creation of the World and Man, even unto *Noah*'s time, would govern the World himſelf as King by the Miniſtry of Angels. By reaſon whereof he gave and pronounced Sentence himſelf againſt *Cain*, *Geneſis* the fourth. *Noah* alſo which offered burnt Offerings unto the Lord, and built an Altar, as teacheth the eighth of *Geneſis* (which thing appertained only unto the Prieſts) had the government and rule of all things, as well Spiritual as Temporal, which were in the Ark of *Noah*. *Melchiſedech* likewiſe, the which was the Prieſt of the moſt high God, and alſo King of *Salem*, as appeareth in the fourteenth of *Geneſis*, had both the Juriſdictions in his own hands. For *Magiſter Hiſtoriarum*, in the ſaid fourteenth of *Geneſis*, declareth, That all the firſt begot of *Noah*, even unto *Aaron*'s time, were Prieſts: which at Meals and Offerings bleſſed the people, and which only had the *Jus primogenituræ*, whereby the Regiment of others was due unto them. *Moſes* in like manner (of whom it is ſaid in the *Pſalm*, *Moſes and Aaron* in ſacerdotibus ejus) *conſecrated Aaron and his children to be prieſts*; which *Aaron* did judge the whole people in Temporal matters, yea and that in Cauſes of Inheritance and meer real, as appeareth in the ſeven and twentieth Chapter of *Numbers*, and many other places. To which purpoſe ſerveth the ſeventeenth Chapter of *Deuteronomie*; where it is ſaid, *If a matter be too hard for thee in judgment betwixt blood and blood, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague and plague, then ſhalt thou riſe and go up to that place, that the Lord thy God hath choſen, and ſhalt come to the Prieſts, the Levites, and to the Judge then being; and ſhalt ask, who ſhall ſhew unto us the truth of the judgment, and ſhalt follow their ſentence.* And if any man preſumptuouſly ſhall refuſe to obey the Prieſts Commandments and Decree of the Judge, the ſame ſhall die. Behold how manifeſtly it doth appear, how not only the Judgment appertaineth to a Prieſt, between Plague and Plague, concerning the circumſtances and regularity of the Law; but alſo betwixt Blood and Blood, in matters criminal; yea, and betwixt Plea and Plea in civil matters; which thing doth appear to be in many Judges out of the Book of *Judges*. For *Samuel*, which was both a Prophet and Prieſt, was appointed Judge of long time over the People in matters Temporal. And when the people deſired a King, the Lord was highly offended with them, and ſaid unto *Samuel*; *They have not refuſed thee but me, that I ſhould not be king over them.* Furthermore as long as Kings among the people of God, uſed the Advice and Counſel of Prieſts and Biſhops, it was well with them and their Kingdom: But when they forſook and left the Counſel of Biſhops and Prieſts, then was their Kingdom divided, and finally they brought into Captivity. In which Captivity, the people were altogether governed and ruled by the Prieſts and Prophets, as by *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*. And laſt of all, by the means of the *Macchabees*, the Kingdom and Government was devolved and brought into the Prieſts hands, who were the Kings and Captains over the people; and had the Government as well of Spiritual mat-

Proofs out of the *Old Teſtament*.

*Melchiſedec* was both King and Prieſt, Ergo, the Pope may have both Juriſdictions.

Gen. 14.

Deut. 17.

*Samuel* was Judge in Temporal matters, Erga, the Pope may have both Juriſdictions.

ters

1 Mac. 2. ters as of Temporal, as is read in the first Book of *Machabees*, the second Chapter; Of *Mattathias* and his Sons, *videlicet*, of *Juda*, *Machaby*, *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and *John* the Son of *Simon*, which, in all Spiritual and Temporal matters, were Governors over the people of God. More-
Jerem. 1. over, the first Chapter of *Jeremy*, which was one of the Priests, declareth after this manner: *I have set thee over the people and kingdoms, that thou maist root out, break, destroy, and make waste, and that thou maist build up and plant*, Jerem. capite primo. Besides this, in the time of Judge *Eliah*, a Priest in like manner had the Judgment of Temporal matters. And so much concerning the proof hereof, out of the *Old Testament*.

*Secondly*, I prove my former proposition by Authorities taken out of the *New Testament*. For Christ had not only by Divine Nature both the Powers, whereby he Created all things of nothing, and by consequence was God of all, but also by his humanity and both powers. For he was the Priest, *secundum ordinem Melchisedec* (as it is said in the *Psalms*, had also, is alledged to the *Hebrews*) which had both in his Vesture and Thigh written, *King of kings, and Lord of lords*. By this Vestiment or Thigh was meant his Humanity, which was joyned to his Divinity, as the Garment is to him that weareth it. He said of himself in the last of *Matthew*: *Unto me is given all power both in Heaven and in Earth*. As also to the *Hebrews* in the first Chapter: *Whom he made and constituted heir of all universal things*. And likewise in the second Chapter to the *Hebrews*, *He hath made him not much inferior to the Angels. He hath crowned him with glory and honour, and*
Psalm 8. Heb. 2. *hath set him above the works of his hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all the whole cattle of the field.* When therefore it is said, *He made all things subject unto him*; He excludeth nothing as the Apostle there saith. Whereby it is apparent, that as concerning his Human Nature, in the which he was made less than the Angels, all things were subject to him.
Philip. 2. Also this appeareth in the second Chap. to the *Philippians*: *He humbled himself, wherefore God exalted him*, &c. And it followeth, *That in the Name of Jesus, should every knee bow, both of things in Heaven, and of things in Earth, and of things under the Earth.* Behold here, that in Nature, in which he did humble himself, he was exalted, *because every knee should bow down to him.* This in like
Act. 2. manner hath St. *Peter* in the tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, where he saith, *he was constituted of God, the judge over the quick and the dead*: And he speaketh of the Nature which God raised up the third day, as the whole Scripture proveth. And likewise St. *Peter* had this Power given him, whom Christ Constituted and made his Vicar; who also condemned by Sentence judicially *Ananias* and *Saphira*, for lying and stealing; *Acts* Chapter 5. Paul also
Act. 5. condemned a fornicator convicted, 1 *Cor.* 5. And that Christ would have the correction and judgment of such matters to appertain to his Church: A Text in the 18*th* of *Matthew* expressly declareth, where it is said: *If thy*
Mat. 18. *brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: But if he heareth not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established: if he hear not then, tell it unto the congregation: if he hear not the congregation, take him as an heathen man and a Publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever you bind on earth, the same shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever you lose on earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven.* Behold, how expressly it is commanded, that whensoever in any matter one offendeth the other, he being first charitably admonished, the matter must be published and referred to the order of the Church and Congregation. But if the offender do not obey and hear the admonition, he is to be taken as an Heathen and a Publican: which is as much to say, like one that is Excommunicate by the Church and Congregation, so that he may have no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Christ, this seemeth much to prove it, where in giving the reason hereof, he immediately addeth: *Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever*, &c. (where note this tearm distributive, whatsoever) so as the Apostle argueth to the *Hebrews* the second Chapter, that if he ordained all things to be subject unto him, he excludeth nothing unsubjected. Wherefore thus I may argue: If all things

Proofs taken out of the *New Testament*.

Apoc. 19

Christ by his Human Nature had both Powers.

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

*Omnis terminus distributivus.*

F.

that the Church and Congregation doth lose, be loosed, and every thing that the Church bindeth, is bound: There is nothing that the Church may not lose and bind. Or by *Logick* thus I may reason; There is nothing bound by the Church, that is not bound in Heaven: which argument is good by a certain rule of *Logick*, which saith, That contraries, if the the Negation be put after, are equivalent. For every thing and nothing, whatsoever thing, and no manner of thing, be contrary one to the other. And so nothing not, is as much to say, as all things. Secondly, I do prove it out of another Text of St. *Luke*, Chap. 22. Which place he alledged to make for his purpose; but I will strike him with his own weapon. For where he said, *That by the two swords the two powers temporal and spiritual were to be understood*; it was so indeed: but to whose hands would he (I pray you) have these two Swords committed? Truly to the hands of *Peter* and other the Apostles, *&c.* But the holy Father the Pope succeeded *Peter* and the other Apostles, the Bishops, Disciples, Curates, Parsons, as in the Gloss appeareth, *Luke* 10. whereby thus I argue: That by the two Swords, the two powers are meant: But Christ willed those two Swords to be put into the Churches hands: *Ergo*, likewise the two powers. But you may reply and say, That Christ did reprehend *Peter* because he strook with a Temporal Sword, and cut off an Ear, saying unto him, *Put up thy sword*, &c. Which reason is of no force: for Christ did not will *Peter* to cast away quite from him the Sword, but to put it into the Scabbard and to keep it, giving to understand thereby, that such power, although it be in the Churches hands; yet the execution thereof (as much as appertaineth to bloodshedding in the new Law) he would have to appertain to the Secular Judge; notwithstanding yet perhaps, according to the discretion and will of the Clergy.

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Luk. 22

G.

H.

*Thirdly*, I prove this by the intent of St. *Paul*, in the 1 *Cor.* 6. where he saith, *That they which have secular businesses, and contend one against another, ought to be judged by the Saints.* And that they should Judge therein therefore he made this Argument: *Know you not that the Saints shall judge the world?* And if the World be Judged by you, are ye not good enough to Judge small trifles? As though he would say, Do ye not know how that ye shall Judge the Angels? How much more then may you Judge things secular? And it followeth; *If you have judgment of secular and worldly matters, take them which are despised in the Church and Congregations, and make them Judges.* Neither doth it make any thing against it, because the Apostle in the same place inferreth; *Ad verecundiam vestram dico*; *I say it to your shame*: for that is to be referred to those, where he saith, *Appoint those which are despised.* Wherefore the Apostle speaketh ironically in this matter, as meaning thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the judgment of the despised which be in the Church, than to the judgment of those which be out of the Church.

1 Cor. 6.

I.

*Ergo*, the rather to resort to the judgment of the wise, who remain in the Church and Congregation. Wherefore the Apostle by and by added, when he said; *I speak to your shame*: *What not one wise man among you that can judge between brother and brother?* Meaning thereby that there were some. By these therefore and many other like reasons (which for brevity I omit) it appeareth that both the powers may be in an Ecclesiastical mans hand: and that an Ecclesiastical man, is *Capax* both of the Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction. Nor is it any matter if it be objected, that *Peter*, and other Apostles, and Christ himself used little this Temporal power: for in them was not the like reason as now is in us, as is proved in the 22. *Q.* 1. *cap.* and in many other places of the Law. The Apostles at the first beginning took no receit of Lands and Possessions, but the price only thereof; which now the Church with very good reason doth receive, and that to the great merit both of the giver and offerer, as it appeareth in *Constantine* and others: in the which foresaid 1. *cap.* the reason of diversity is well proved: for that the Apostles did foresee, that the Church should be among *Gentiles*, and not be only in *Judea*, &c. And further, at the beginning Christ and his Apostles were wholly bent and given to our health, salvation and erudition; little sticking or standing upon the exercise of every Churches Jurisdiction, having regard to that which is written in the sixth Chapter

K.

22. Quæst. 1. cap. Juniam.

L.

to

KING Edw. I

to the *Corinthians*, *All things are lawful unto men, but all things are not expedient.* And likewiſe in the 8*th. Chap.* of *Eccleſ.* it is read, that *every thing hath his time.* But now (through the grace of God) the whole People of the Realm of *France* have ſubmitted themſelves to the Chriſtian Faith; worthily therefore the Church is occupied about miniſtring of Juſtice, and puniſhing of vice; for peace ſhall be the work of Juſtice, *Eſay Chap.* 33. And in theſe Judgments this only is to be conſidered, that the life of man be reformed, *&c.* Thus you ſee how this our concluſion ſomewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Now will I prove it by natural law and reaſon, and firſt after this manner: He ſeemeth moſt fit to play a good Judges part, which followeth neareſt God; for properly God is the ruler and directer of all Judgments, who ſaith *Proverb. capite octavo*, *By me the law-maker ſhall decree juſtice and juſt things:* But Eccleſiaſtical Perſons follow next to God, and be neareſt him; for that they be elected of God into a peculiar people, whereof it is ſaid, 1 *Pet.* 2. *You are a choſen Generation, a royal Prieſthood, a holy Nation, and a peculiar People, that you ſhould ſhew the vertues of him that called you*, &c. *Ergo*, It is moſt fit that perſons Eccleſiaſtical, and Church-men ſhould judge of ſuch matters. Moreover none doubteth, but that the correction and puniſhment of ſin belongeth to Eccleſiaſtical perſons; wherefore when ſuch things be not committed without ſin & offence of the one party, it is evident that the Church may have cognition thereof. Alſo, whoſo hath power to judge of the end, hath alſo power to judge of things ordained to the end; for the conſideration of the things ordained to the end, riſeth of the end. When therefore the body is ordained for the life and ſoul, and temporal things for ſpiritual, as for the end; the Church which doth judge of ſpiritual things, may in like manner lawfully judge of temporal things. All which is ſufficiently confirmed *In extr. c. Judiciis.* where it is ſaid, that the acceſſary followeth the nature of the principal, which appeareth ſufficiently by example. Forſomuch therefore, as theſe two Juriſdictions be compared to two lights, that is to ſay, to the Sun and to the Moon, and all the whole clearneſs and brightneſs of the Moon, both in form and vertue, dependeth of the Sun, and in the Sun; and that the brightneſs of the Sun is not of the Moon, or in the Moon; it is plain, that ſpirituall Juriſdiction, which is compared to the Sun, hath in it, both in form and vertue the Juriſdiction temporal, and not contrary. Many other like reaſons might be brought in. But for that the time waxeth ſhort, I will omit them.

Eſay 33.

M. Probation, by civil law and reaſon.

1 Pet. 2.

Thirdly, I prove it by the Civil Law, *Auth. Diſſe. Jud.* ¶ *Si tamen ix. col.* where it is ſaid, If a Secular Judge be ſuſpected, let the Biſhop of the City be joyned unto him. But if he be negligent, then let the whole judgment be referred to the Biſhop. In like ſort *Theodoſius* the Emperor enacted ſuch a Law, that whatſoever ſuter being Plaintiff in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after conteſtation of Law, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to ſentence; if the Plaintiff had once choſen the Court and Juriſdiction of the holy See, there without all doubt (though the Defendant reſiſted and diſſented, the matter before the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges ſhould be determined and ended. Which Law afterward *Carolus* the Great, who was King of *France*, confirmed in theſe words, *We will and command, that all our Subjects, as well* Romans *and* Frenchmen, *as others under our Dominion whatſoever, be by law and cuſtom henceforth bound and charged to keep this for a perpetual and preſcript law; That whoſoever began, or commenced a Sute, &c. as is above mentioned, &c.* 11. *quæſt.* 1. *Quicunque, &c.* 2. But you may object and ſay, that this Law is abrogated, as the Gloſs ſeemeth there to touch. But all will not ſerve; for although this Law is not redacted into the body of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But ſurely it is a priviledge honourably granted to the whole Univerſal Church, which the Emperor cannot take away, no more than any other liberty of the Church. By the Canon Law alſo this priviledge is confirmed, *extra. de jud. c. timor. Novil.* and moreover, it ſeemeth to be confirmed by the Civil Law, *C. de ſacroſ. Si. Eccle. privilegium:* although it be not expreſly, but generally named. And ſo it is clear by the Civil Law, that ſuch Juriſdiction doth pertain to Eccleſiaſtical perſons. By Canon Law in like manner in places infinite: *Diſtinct. 22. cap. Omnes Patriarchæ. 2. quæſt. 5. ca. Si quis Presbyte. 11. quæſt. 1. cap. Relatum. 25. diſtinct. cap. eccei Extra. de judiciis. Novit. De competenti foro. cap. Licet*; with many other places infinite. Yea and further, the Canon Law ſo far proceedeth, that whoſoever goeth about by cuſtom to interrupt or hinder any, having ſuch Juriſdiction, incurreth ſentence *(ipſo facto)* of Excommunication, as is proved *ca. Quoniam intelleximus de immunitate Eccle. lib. ſext.* Which is moſt plain by the notorious cuſtom, time out of mind, in the days of the good and Chriſtian Princes, where to violate ſuch cuſtom, it is plain Sacriledge, 11. *quæſt.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *&c.* 2. For by the Law, Cuſtom winneth and gaineth Juriſdiction, eſpecially to him that is *Capax* thereof: yea and further, Cuſtom (time out of mind) is amongſt all perſons in place of written and confirmed law. Now ſeeing the Church of *France* hath in common uſed with the Temporalty, to judge and decree both of actions perſonal and real touching the Church, it is plain, that ſuch Cuſtom winneth Juriſdiction to it. *Ergo, &c.* But the Lord *Peter* avouched, that the Cuſtom could not prevail in this caſe, becauſe here lacked true dealing. Beſides, the ſaid law is called inpreſcriptible, for that it is *Jus fiſci.* But this maketh nothing againſt us; for the Church of *France* rather challengeth this law by cuſtom than by preſcription. Which cuſtom ſeemeth rather to be brought in of the free will and election of the people, frequenting more the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtories than the Secular Courts. Beſides this, cuſtom in that it hath been oftentimes decided in judgment contradictory, (many of the Barons diſſenting, and not conſenting thereunto) is much thereby confirmed. This cuſtom I ſay, of the Church, hath been faſt eſtabliſhed by the conſent and aſſent of the Prelates, and then confirmed by the Kings of *France* your Predeceſſors, and ſo peaceably obſerved of the Church.

Probation by the Canon law. N.

Cuſtom. O.

*Judicium contradictorium.*

And yet may the Church challenge this by preſcription; for that there are but three things which are required in preſcription; that is to ſay, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. And it is without doubt, that the Churches both purely have, and in times paſt had a good Title, as appeareth by the priviledge granted of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, and confirmed by *Charles*, who gave in commandment, to keep the ſame inviolably, which title it hath both by divine, natural and humane Law, as before is mentioned. Wherefore it muſt needs have true dealing, when ſo many great and clear Titles are known to condeſcend thereunto. Alſo there concurreth ſuch continuance of time, that even againſt *Jus fiſci* it is preſcriptible: for it hath not only continued by the ſpace of an hundred years, but alſo more than 600 years paſt. Neither is this always true, this Law is inpreſcriptible, eſpecially of the Church; the which, inaſmuch as it appertaineth to the Spiritualty, is not ſubject to the King, but is much more noble, and far excelleth; even no leſs than the Sun doth the Moon, Gold Lead, and Heaven the Earth. And this is certain, and no leſs reaſon, that the higher and equal may duly preſcribe law againſt him, that is either equal or lower in degree; as one King may do to another. Wherefore it appeareth, that the Church may preſcribe this although it were *Jus fiſci*, as indeed it is not.

3 things pertaining to preſcription 1. *Titulus.* 2. *Bona fides.* 3. *Temporum continuatio.*

*Jus fiſci.*

The Church not ſubject to the King.

Finally, This is proved by priviledge granted by *Carolus* the Great King of *France*, as before, and by *Ludovick* the the ſecond, and by *Philip* your Uncle, and *Ludovick* and *Philip* your Kinſmen, which priviledges we have here ready to ſhew. But perhaps you will ſay, that theſe things cannot agree: That the Church hath this Juriſdiction both by law, cuſtom and priviledge, which all cannot well hang together; for if the Church have it by one of theſe, it ſhould follow, that the Church lacketh it by another. But this may I anſwer two manner of ways; Firſt, That the priviledge may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: The other, as a confirmative and declarative of the old law; and this way it may well be agreed, which diſtinction may alſo take place in cuſtom. Wherefore it may thus be anſwered, that although this Juriſdiction is due unto the Church by law, it appertaineth alſo unto the ſame by priviledge and cuſtom, but yet not by ſuch kind of cuſtom and priviledge which indureth a new law; but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any will reply, demanding wherefore the Church of *France* ſhould more challenge this, than any other Churches in other Realms, which have no ſuch Prerogative; I can ſoon anſwer them. If the Kings of *France* (whom God with ſingular

Objection.

Anſwer.

The *French* King more blessed than other in 3 things. 1. Faith to God. 2. Honour to the Church. 3. Justice to the People.

grace, honour and priviledge, far above all other Princes hath blessed and indued for three special causes, to wit, for their great faith and devotion unto God, for their honour & reverence to the Church, & for their good justice shewed unto the people) have granted to the Church special liberties, or have permitted those which before were granted, peaceably to be kept and observed; why then they should have them, it is no marvel. Yea and further, their devotion unto the Church hath been such, that the nearer the Churches were unto them, the more liberties they enjoyed; and yet had these Princes never the less therefore, but rather the more; which is evident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobility both of the King and his Realm.

Five things do nobilitate the Realm of *France*.

I have oftentimes heard of other, how that four or five things do especially nobilitate and adorn this Realm.

First, *Their sincere and inviolable faith; for it was at no time read, that the Kings of* France *(since the receiving of the faith) did ever swarve from the same.*

The blood of *France* came out of *Priamus* K. of *Troy*.

Secondly, *The nobility of blood, which descended from* Priamus *the King of the* Trojans, *and successively from* Carolus *and other Royal Kings.*

Thirdly, *The unity and peace of concord, which especially above all other reigned and flourished in the Realm of* France.

Fourthly, *The solemnity and pomp of the Prelates and Clergy.*

Fifthly, *The good disposed readiness of the Barons and Subjects to obey.*

If therefore the Prelates of this Realm should not have this law, and Priviledge, but should be deprived thereof; then should the King and his Realm lose one of his Noble Estates, whereby they are highly magnified, I mean the bravery, solemnity and royalty of the Prelates: for then, they should not only be neither pompous nor royal, but more beggerly and miserable than any other, the most part of their living consisting herein. I do conclude therefore, that it is proved both by divine law, natural law, canon law, civil law, custom and priviledge, that the right of determining such Temporal matters of the Church may of right appertain to the Church of *France*; and so I return the Lord *Peter*'s Theam against himself. Besides this, I will propound that which is most plain and manifest; that whatsoever things be offered up to the Church, and are converted to the dominion and property of the same, be Gods, and appertain to him; forsomuch as they are said to be dedicated and sanctified by him, as sufficiently throughout the *Levites* may appear, as declared in the 21 *cap.* 1 *Regum*, concerning the Bread offered to God, where it is said, *I have no common bread under my hands to eat, but holy bread.* Wherefore it was not lawful for the Laity to eat of the same bread, but in time of great necessity; which is also proved in *Daniel* the fifth Chapter, where it is read, *Because King* Balthazar, *and his Lords, with his Queen, drunk in the golden and silver Vessels, which his Father* Nabuchadonesor *had taken out of the Temple of* Jerusalem; *in the same very hour there appeared Fingers, as it had bin of a Mans hand, writing right over the Candlestick upon the plain Wall in the Kings Palace. And the King saw the palm of the hand that wrote; and that which was written was* Mene, Thekel, Phares; *the interpretation whereof is this,* as there it appeareth: Mene, *God hath numbred this Kingdom and brought it to an end:* Thekel, *Thou art weighed in a balance, and art found too light:* Phares, *Thy Kingdom is dealt in parts, and given to the* Medes *and* Persians. *The very self same night was* Belthazar *the King of the* Chaldees *slain, and* Darius *succeeded in the Kingdom of the* Medes; the Monarchy of the *Assyrians* being then translated unto the *Medes*. Whereby it appeareth, that those things which are offered up to the Church, belong to God, and are so dedicated to him, that no Layman may use them; which if they do, they must look to receive vengeance at Gods hand, as *Balthazar* did. These things now ended, I will argue out the Lord *Peter*'s Theam (which was) *Give unto the Emperor that is the Emperors, and unto God that is Gods.* But this Jurisdiction, which (as I proved before) is diversly converted to the dominion and property of the *French* Church, is now Gods; and therefore to be reserved to and for him. Wherefore, whensoever any goeth about to take away the same, the good and godly ought to answer, as *Ambrose* did to the *Gothen* Soldiers sent to him by the Emperor, which was to this effect: *If the Emperor* (quoth he) *had requested that which hath been mine, I would not have denied him, albeit that whatsoever I have, all is the poors; but because he demandeth those things which belong to God (wherein he hath no right or interest) I had rather he should imprison me, yea and cut off my head, than to condescend to his request therein:* alluding to the History of *Naboth*, which is to be seen, 3 *Reg.* 21. how *Naboth* the holy man, possessor of his Vineyard, was requested by the King to give up his Vineyard; who made answer, *I will not give unto thee the inheritance of my Fathers:* at which answer the King was marvellously offended: *Wherefore* (quoth *Ambrose*) *if* Naboth *would not deliver his Vineyard, shall we deliver to you the Church of Christ? No, God forbid, that I should deliver you Christs Heritage.* Naboth *did not deliver the Vineyard, nor surely will I deliver Christs Church.* And further he addeth a good saying, *I can neither diminish nor add any thing to the Church of God, for that I took not upon me the charge of keeping it: besides this, it is my duty and office to consult with the high Emperor of salvation in this matter what is to be done: and doubtless I may not deliver any thing to him, nor yet he receive any thing of me,* as is proved 24 *quæst. ultimo capite convenior. qui.* Wherefore, by these and the like reasons it appeareth, that not only Jurisdiction Spiritual (as the Lord *Peter* falsly hath suggested) doth belong to God; but also all other kind of Jurisdiction whatsoever touching the Church, whether it be by law, custom or priviledge: insomuch that neither may we render the same to any, nor yet may the King at our hands take the same. Further, the Lord *Peter* affirmed, that Christ for example sake did pay tribute; which is untrue, as appeareth in *Genesis* the 48*th. chap.* For the Lands of Priests were free from paying of all kind of Toll and Tribute. And if the Lord *Peter* well considered the 17*th.* of *Matthew*, he should have found there, how that Christ did not only not pay Tribute for example sake, but rather proved, how he was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude therefore, the children be free; but ye pay, to avoid slander and offence: wherefore the Text saith: *Lest we should offend them, go to the Sea, &c.* But peradventure it may be answered, that by the example of Christ, (to avoid offence) ye ought to pay. But this is untrue, because there is double offence of the weaklings and of the *Pharises*: for as concerning the offence of the weaklings, which cometh of ignorance and not of malice, some things are to be omitted for a time, while they be better instructed; as the Apostle saith to the *Romans* in the 14*th. chap.* But for the offence of the *Pharises*, which commit and offend of a pretensed malice, there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ saith in *Mat.* 16. Whereto his Disciples saying, *Do you not know how that the Pharises hearing this word are offended?* he answered, *Behold, suffer them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind*; For that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of little ones; but now is the offence of the *Pharises*. Wherefore, then it was to be paid for avoiding of offence; but now not so. Now therefore it is appareent that the third token of the fear of God consisteth in the whole true restoring of goods: And of him which hath such fear whereby he restored to God his own, it is spoken in *Eccles.* 15. *chap. The seed of the man that feareth God shall be brought to honour: the seed which transgresseth the commandments of the Lord shall be shamed.* And thus it fully appeareth, how loving fear and obedience is due unto God, for the excellency of his Majesty; because the words be, *Fear God.*

1 Re. 21.

Daniel 5.

*Ambrose* in case denieth to obey the Emperor.

Secondly, I do say, that especial honour and reverence is due unto the King, for his dignity sake; which followeth in the Theam. Now it is said, *Honour the King.* I will alledge the 10*th.* of *Ecclesiast.* where it is specified, *In the midst of the Brethren the Ruler is holden in honour among them.* Wherefore it seemeth to me that there are two kinds of honours, one which proceedeth from the lips, and that is named flattery, whererefore it is spoken in *Mat.* 17. *Chap. This people doth honour me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.* There is another kind of honour which is real, and cometh from the heart. And this is the very true honour indeed, wherewith the King ought to be honoured. But me thinketh, that he doth really, and *de facto* in very deed honour the King; which wisheth and counselleth him to keep and do those things, whereby his Dominion is beloved, his Royalty not diminished, his Honour and Fame preserved, and his Conscience

Naboth denieth to the King his Vineyard.

Gen. 48.

Mat. 17.

Offence how it ought to be avoided.

Rom. 14.

Matt. 16.

The 3d note of the fear of God.

Eccl. 15.

Honour of the King.

Eccl. 10.

Two kinds of honours.

Mat. 17.

Double honour with lips and with heart.

not

{KING Edw.1}

not burdened; and he that perſwadeth him contrary to theſe, I think doth not honour the King. To proceed therefore further; I ſay firſt, that he doth *de facto* honour the King, who perſwadeth him thoſe things whereby he may be beloved of his Subjects; for a Prince ought to ſtudy rather to be beloved than feared. And what greater treaſure can a Prince wiſh, than to have the hearts of his Subjects? According to the ſaying of *Seneca*, *The love of the Citizens is a fortreſs invincible, and a bulwark not ſaultable.* What thing is more to be wiſhed for? What better, than to live and reign, every Man willing and rejoicing thereof? And in my opinion, there is nothing which cauſeth a Prince more to be beloved, than if he keep and maintain his ancient liberties, and bring in no alteration. Wherefore it is ſaid in the 22*d.* of *Prov. Thou ſhalt not remove the Land-marks, which thy fore-elders have ſet.* This place the Lord *Peter* alledged to make for himſelf, which I will prove to make againſt him, and that by this reaſon, Ye ought not to tranſgreſs the old limits and bounds which the fathers have ſet; for novelty and alteration doth ingender diſcord. And for this cauſe, in making of new alterations there ought to be both evident utility, and urgent neceſſity. If therefore the Prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predeceſſors, he ſhall not be of his Realm beloved, as it appeareth by *Rehoboam* in the 11*th. Chap.* of 3 *Reg.* All which likewiſe is to be ſeen in the *Chronicles*, how that by theſe meanes many Kingdoms and Dominions were tranſlated from Nation to Nation, and from their own native Regiment to the rule of ſtrange people. And now for this time, certain it is, that your grand predeceſſors *Charles* the great, Saint *Ludowick*, *Philip* the fair, *Ludowick* and *Philip* his Sons, with many others, have ſealed and confirmed this liberty of the Church. Wherefore for a Man to counſel and perſwade your Highneſs to ſpoil the Church of any thing; it is even the next way to ſpoil and undo your ſelf, and bereave you of that by which your dominion is beloved. And for this cauſe I thought good to put your Grace in remembrance of the 20*th.* of *Matthew*, where it is written, *Remember the works of your forefathers, which they have done in their generations, and you ſhall receive great glory and renown for ever.* Note here, your Highneſs by the way, how that King *Philip*, Grandfather to S. *Lewis*, foſtered and kept in his Realm S. *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who, for that he ſtoutly defended the liberties of his Church, was baniſhed out of *England*. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and maintain your own Prelates in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your Graces Predeceſſors, according to the ſaying of *Gregory* in 25. *quæſt. cap. Si.* If I ſhould deſtroy and pull down thoſe things which my predeceſſors have built and ordained, I ſhould not be called a builder and maker, but juſtly accounted a ſtroy-good and puller down, as the voice of the Lord ſaith, *Every kingdom divided within it ſelf ſhall be confounded.* All knowledge and learning divided one againſt the other, ſhall be deſtroyed. In another place he ſaith, It is overſharp, and againſt all good manner and civility (upon what reaſon and excuſe ſoever) to break and ſubvert thoſe things which are well ordained: or by his example, to teach others at their pleaſures to diſſolve old conſtitutions. Mark here a ſtory about a Caſtle which was given to S. *Remige*, to the Churches uſe, by *Clodovy* the King, which afterward King *Pipin* deſired to have by exchange and recovery. To whom the ſaid S. *Remige* appeared in his Dream, and highly blamed him therefore, ſaying, *A better man than thou gave it me, and yet wilt thou take it away from me?* And with that he ſmote him, who the next day was found all black; ſince which time, no King of *France* durſt even lie in that Caſtle. Verily therefore, he doth not honour the King, which giveth him counſel to paſs the old limits that his old fathers did ſet. Yea rather, the Kings Majeſty ought to ſay unto them, that which is written in S. *John*, *Chap.* 8. I do honour and glorifie my Father; that is, in keeping the liberties of the Church, as they did which granted them: but you have diſhonoured me, in counſelling me that which ſeemeth beſt to pleaſe your ſelves, as it is written in *Eccleſ.* 4. *The worſhip of a mans father is his own worſhip, and where the father is without honour, it is the diſhonour of the ſon.*

A Prince ought to be beloved than feared. *Seneca de clementia ad Neronem.*

A ſentence.

Prov. 22.

Alteration what is to be conſidered.

3 Reg.

Mat. 20.

25. *q.* 2. *cap. Si.*

Mark here a Fable.

A dreaming Fable.

John 8.

Eccleſ. 4.

Secondly, I ſay, That he truly doth honour the King, who counſelleth him, whereby his power and dignity is not diminiſhed. For as it is great honour to the Kings Highneſs to increaſe and augment his power; ſo is it as much diſhonour for him to diminiſh any jot thereof. And therefore the Emperors were wont to call themſelves victorious, of augmenting and increaſing their Commonwealth. And to ſay that you and your predeceſſors could not grant theſe things to the Church, it were too too abſurd, and to the too much derogation of your Majeſties moſt honourable eſtate. And therefore for you (moſt ſovereign Lord) who hold and poſſeſs ſo ample right and title in the Realm of *France*, both by Election and Inheritance, not to grant and leave this to your poſterity, it were to the great debaſing of your Majeſties honour Crown and dignity. Yea, if it were (as God forbid) it would follow, that your predeceſſors lived continually in ſin; yea and further it were as much to ſay (which were too vile) that bleſſed S. *Lewis*, by whom all *France* is beautified, could not be juſtly canonized.

For as the Lord Speaker declared, if he took his Oath at his Coronation both to alienate nothing, and alſo to call in that which was before alienated, which is inſeparable from the Crown, it ſhould follow that he was forſworn, and conſequently committed deadly ſin, and ſo could never be Canonized, which is too too abſurd to be talked of. And if reply be made, that he might have repented; it is ſoon to be anſwered, That his Sin is read of, but of his Repentance it is not found, as it is ſaid of *Solomon*. But put caſe it be true that the Lord *Peter* ſaid, then it muſt needs follow, that your Grace could beſtow nothing, neither Country, Town nor Tower. And yet there be few, which willingly would not receive them, notwithſtanding their Allegiance and Homage, which they pretend to your Highneſs. Keep therefore and confirm (moſt renowned Prince) that which was granted by your noble Progenitors, otherwiſe your Royal Honour ſhall decreaſe; that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the 11*th.* to the *Romans*, *I will honour my Miniſtry.*

Rom. 11

Thirdly, I do affirm, that he rightly honoureth the King, which perſwadeth him that whereby his honour and renown is preſerved. For in matters of weight and of great importance, next after conſcience we muſt have regard to name and fame, as it is written in the 22. of *Prov. It is better to have a good name than riches.* A good name far paſſeth all things, and is above Silver and Gold. And S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Two things are neceſſary for thee, Conſcience and Name; Conſcience for God, and Name for thy Neighbour. And therefore it is written in the 4*th. chap.* of *Eccleſ. Labour to get a good name, for that will continue ſurer by thee than many great treaſures of Gold.* A good life hath a number of days. Which renown and name the Lord (who anointed your Grace with the oyl of gladneſs) hath in ſo little time more abundantly bleſſed you withal, than any other Prince; wherefore you ought to be more vigilant and careful how to keep and enjoy the ſame ſtill: for it is no leſs vertue to keep that which is gotten, than to ſeek and get; whereby not only while you live, but alſo when you are dead, your glorious renown may live for ever; yea and further, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or foil ſhould creep into that your ſo great renown; applying that to your Grace which is ſaid in the 10*th.* of *Prov. The memorial of the juſt ſhall have good report, &c.* Beware therefore, moſt Noble Prince, and take heed, that in your days and time, the liberties of the Church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminiſhed in any jot; for if your glorious name ſhould be blotted therewith, there be thouſands which would Chronicle the ſame to perpetual Memory. Wherefore moſt Chriſtian Prince, if ſuch (as truſted after their death for no other life, but only for fame and renown) lived a life moſt godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Chriſtians, which look after another life, by our well-doings here, to win us a perpetual name and memory after our death? And you beſides, if you ſhould diſhonour your name and fame, what a matter were it? conſidering how the Kings of *France* were ever counted the moſt Chriſtian Princes, and moſt bountiful towards the Church, giving examples to other Princes how to inrich their Churches and liberties thereof. And now eſpecially, if your Grace, the Church in ſome places being in great perſecution (which God forbid) ſhould ſhew light to other to pull and take away that which was given by your forefathers to the Church; what might the World ſay? For then

Who honoureth the King.

Prov. 22.

Conſcience and good Name.

Eccleſ. 4.

by the like reaſon might the Emperor deprive the Church of all, which was given to it by *Conſtantine* the Emperor. Alſo other Kings would do the like in their Realms. God forbid, that your Highneſs ſhould give ſuch example. And for my part, I would rather wiſh my ſelf to be dead, than give you ſuch counſel, that in ſo pernicious and naughty a matter you ſhould be example to other; eſpecially, when the Kings of *France*, your predeceſſors, were defenders always againſt ſuch as went about to take away the liberties from the Church, which is the office of a King. *Hieronymus* ſaith upon

24. q5. cap. Regnum. *Jeremy*, which is found alſo in the 24. *quæſt.* 5. *ca. Regnum & C. princeps*, after this manner, Let the Princes of the World know and underſtand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the Church which they take upon them to keep. Note you alſo, and read ſome examples out of Stories and Commentaries, what regard the Kings of *France* had in obſerving thoſe things; and ſee you by their example, to follow and do the like; and then ſhall it be ve-

Eccle. 37. Eccleſ. 3. rified in your Grace which is written in the 37 *Chapt.* of *Eccl. A wiſe man ſhall obtain honour amongſt his people*: As alſo in the third of the ſame, *He that honoureth his Mother, is like one that gathereth treaſure together.*

The 4th. honouring of the King. Fourthly, I ſay, That he indeed doth honour the King, which perſwadeth him to do that whereby his Conſcience is not hurt. For above all things, a Chriſtian Man ought to beware how he do that thing, which ſhould be a grudge unto his Conſcience, becauſe the life is more than is meat,

Matth. 6. *Mat.* the 6 *Chap.* And aſſuredly I believe, that your Grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherewith your Conſcience ſhould be burdned, for all the Worlds good, and that juſtly. For the more miraculouſly God hath called your Highneſs to the ſtate of a King, and hath endued you with his grace; ſo much the more care ought you to have, and take heed that you offend him not. Nor is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, he will not be the more grievouſly diſpleaſed with you, as he was with *Saul*, 1 *King*

1. Re. 15. *Chap.* 15. Conſider therefore moſt ſovereign Lord, that at what time you were crowned, you ſware only theſe things

The Oath of the *French* Kings. following, and no other. Firſt, That you would defend and maintain the Canonical Law, priviledge and juſtice, granted to the Biſhops and the Church, and, as much as in you did lie, to inlarge and amplifie the ſame. Alſo, That by your arbitrement all Chriſtian People, at all times, ſhould keep the true peace of God and his Church. Alſo, That you ſhould forbid to all Nations all kind of ſacrileges, ſpoilings and iniquities. Alſo, That in all kind of Judgments, you ſhould will and command equity and mercy. Alſo, That throughout your whole Territory and Juriſdiction, you ſhould ſincerely, with all your endeavour, ſtudy to exterminate, and cut off from the Church the noted Hereticks: Which all, and no other, your Majeſty ſware to fulfil, at the time of your Coronation; under the leave and correction of the Lord *Peter*, which affirmed you were ſworn to ſome o-thing beſides. Now therefore, ſeeing it is a Canonical priviledge of the Church, and in the heart of the whole, *Cano. 6. q. 1. Quicunque litem habens*, incorporate; when alſo by Cuſtom, which is Canonical, it came in, that the Church and Spirituality, may have cognition in a number of caſes, againſt which divers Articles have been here laid in: If this amongſt the Laity ſhould not be obſerved in the Church, your Graces Conſcience thereby might ſomewhat be burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole *Chriſtendom* ſhould keep the true peace of God and his Church: much more, have you to procure the ſame amongſt your own Barons and people; who evermore were all one with the Church. And always, where any Church was in honour and eſtimation, there were belonging to it 20 ſtout Barons and Knights; whoſe office, as it was to defend the Church, ſo was it the part of the Church to pray for them, and to offer ſacrifice for them unto God. And to this end, that bleſſed S. *Lewis* ſo much laboured in his time: who, when the greateſt Barons of his Realm, had confederate to ſuppreſs theſe liberties of the Church, and had conſulted to give him (to that end) the hundredth part of their goods, would never condeſcend thereunto, but always diſſwaded them therefrom: and finally, by his authority ſealed and confirmed theſe liberties of the Church. Conſider here your Majeſty, how that Pope *Innocent* at that time proceeded againſt thoſe Barons, *&c.* I dare be bold to ſay, that if there ſhould be now diſſention between the Prelates and Barons, it would not be long before the Commonalty would uſurp to rule and bear domination. As by experience it hath been ſeen in many places, and likewiſe by practice we of late time might have ſeen; at what time the people ſtomaking the Spiritualty in the parts of *Campania* and *Burgundy*, at laſt roſe, and made in every Town a King; and therewithal cauſed the Officers, which brought Citations and Abſolutions from the Pope and other, to be well banged; and not long after, made inſurrection againſt the Lords Temporal, and ſerved them with the like ſauce; until that by the Kings power they were ſuppreſſed, and many of them hanged. And this doubtleſs was in the days of *Lewis* laſt King of that name. Truly the Noblemen ought not to be grieved with that that the Church is poſſeſſed withal, for that there be few of them, who have not their Brothers and Kinſfolks which live, and are maintained by the goods and revenues of the Church. Amongſt whom if they ſhould divide their inheritance, perhaps they would bring a little to nothing at all. Let the Barons alſo conſider, how that there are but few which believe not in the Church; for the Church is one, as in the 6 of *Cant. My Dove and Dearling is one.* Wherefore without great peril of tranſgreſſion can they not perſwade and counſel ſuch liberties of the Church to be abrogated and taken away.

{KING} {*Edw.* 1}

*Arg.* By the poſſeſſions of the Church maintained by Brethren and Kinſmen of the Nobles be maintained. *Ergo*, Such poſſeſſions are not to be grudged at.

To believe in the Church, is one of our Faith.

That therefore your Majeſties Conſcience may remain pure and immaculate, pleaſeth it your Highneſs by your authority to ſeal and confirm this good ancient and Canonical priviledge; and contrary attempts (if any be made by way of Proclamation or otherwiſe) to revoke and call them in. And further, to keep your Mother the Church of *France* in her ancient frank choice, liberty and cuſtoms. And then by you in all things God ſhall be glorified and honoured; to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.* Who then will honour you, as is ſaid, *1 Reg.* 21. Whoſoever ſhall honour me, I *will* crown him with that glory, in which conſiſteth the true honour, and is granted to none unworthy. Whereunto alſo none is admitted but worthy, as bleſſed S. *Auſtin* ſaith, which honour grant he unto you and us, who is bleſſed world without end. *Amen.* And becauſe a Bill of many Articles was exhibited, whereof part did infringe the whole Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to the defence thereof we will according to the *4th. Chap.* of *Eccleſiaſtic.* ſtand even to the death, where it is ſaid, *For the truth ſtrive thou unto the death, and God ſhall fight for thee againſt thine enemies.* Some other of them contain only abuſe, and we believe none ſuch to be. But if there be, we will ſee redreſs therein. Therefore for the honour of God, for the unburdening of our conſciences, for the Kings Majeſties reverence, and for the peoples profit and peace, all we here aſſembled have concluded to ſee remedy, that the aforeſaid abuſes, if any ſuch be, ſhall be left, to the quietneſs of the people, and praiſe of Almighty God. To whom be honour and glory world without end, *Amen.*

1 Kin. 21.

To the Bill of Articles exhibited.

*Another Sitting in the Parliament.*

Another days ſitting in the Parliament.

The next *Friday* following being the 29*th.* of *December*, the Prelates aſſembled themſelves again together at the Kings Palace in *Paris*, where the Reverend Father the Lord *Peter Bertrand*, by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of *Edven*, ſpake openly there before the King, ſitting with his Counſellors and Barons about him; taking to his Theam that which is written in the 18*th* of *Geneſis*, *O Lord be not angry that I ſpeak yet more, &c.* the which he applied to this end; that for the Majeſty of the King, the re-

Biſhop of *Edven* againſt ſpeaketh.

dency of his Council, and inſufficiency of himſelf (conſidering the weightineſs of the cauſe) he trembled and was afraid to ſpeak; yet nevertheleſs, truſting upon his accuſtomed clemency, he took to him audacity, and preſumed that which was appointed to him by the Prelates. Beginning with the 8*th. Pſal. Lord thou art our refuge, &c.* Which he proſecuted in extolling the Kings Perſon, and his miraculous attaining to the Crown of *France*; preaching further, how he ought to be the Champion and Defender of the Faith; all which he proved in few words, by many reaſons and authorities. Afterward, he touched thoſe propoſitions which were propounded by the foreſaid Lord *Peter* of *Cugner*, and for no other cauſe, as he proteſted, but only to inform the conſcience of his Sovereign Lord and King, and to adviſe his Grace concerning the ſame; not going about to make any final judgment, determination or anſwer, whereby either ſentence, order, ſtatute, right to any man, or other proceſs, might thereof enſue or be grounded. And namely, the firſt beginning with the Theam of the Lord *Peter*, firſt affirmed (*Render unto the Emperor which is the Em-*

*perors*,

KING Edw. I. Mat. 12. Mar. 12.

*perors, and unto God which is his*; Mark 12.) By which words was ſignified the obedience and ſubjection to the King, with the difference of the Spiritualty from the Temporalty; whereof the firſt member is proved by the *1 Pet.* 2. where it is ſaid, *Be ye ſubject to every humane creature, &c.* Alſo by the *Cap. ſolite, extra. de maio. & ob.* and by the *c. novit extra de judiciis cap. de ſacerdotibus* 10. *q.* 1. with the notes about the ſame. Moreover, as touching the diſtinction of both Juriſdictions, whereof the Lord *Peter* proved the Temporal Juriſdiction to pertain to Secular Men, the Spiritual to the Clergy, by the words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Luke* 22. where he ſaid; Behold two Swords. Alſo for that Chriſt did pay tribute; teaching thereby, how that the Temporalties were to be reſerved to the Temporal Men, *Mat.* 17. 11. *q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.*

In like manner, by the Law of *Juſtinian*, where it is written, that two great gifts were ordained and granted of God; a Biſhoprick and a Kingdom: the firſt to bear rule over Gods matters, the other over worldly things, *&c.* And ſaid moreover, that theſe two be the caſes which in no wiſe could be altered or changed. *Prov.* 20. *de Tion mo. lib.* 1. *& ult.* And affirmed alſo, that of ſuch princely right the King could not abrogate and deprive himſelf; for that it was impreſcriptible, appertaining to the Crown and his Regal Seat (conſidering how he took his Oath at the time of his Coronation) not only not to break or alienate the Laws of his Realm, but alſo to reſtore and revoke ſuch as were broken and alienated. To which his reaſons it was anſwered, that the juriſdiction and determination of civil cauſes (whereabout the controverſie now ſtandeth) belongeth to the Church, both by Gods Law and Mans Law. By Gods Law it was proved, even from *Adams* time to Chriſts coming; *per Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro compe.* And from Chriſts coming, to *Peters* time and his ſucceſſors, 22 *di. c. omnes patriarchæ, Matth. cap.* 16. But how the Church, in the Realms of Catholick Princes, attained unto this right and intereſt which at this preſent it doth enjoy, the Law proveth, 2. *q. ca.* 5. *Si quis Presbyter* 11. *q.* 1. *Relatum* 25 *diſt. Ecce.* Which alſo is confirmed by the Emperors in the body of the Law, *ff.* 3. ¶ *Si cauſam. col.* 9. 23. *q. ult. c. his, & a quibus.* The Canon furthermore teacheth, how that S. *Peter* commanded all the Princes of the Earth, and others, to obey and give place to the Biſhops: *c. omnes, extra de major. & ob.* 16. *diſt. duo ſunt* Wherefore it was concluded, that in no wiſe this right is to be ſeparated and taken away from the Church. And albeit, in the Realms of tyrannous Princes, this ſtate of the Church is violated and not kept; yet in this bleſſed Realm of *France* it hath been always, even to theſe days duly obſerved: *c. novit. extra. de judiciis.* This Juriſdiction the Laws of *Theodoſius* the Emperor, and *Carolus* the great, hath alſo confirmed: *extra. de judiciis. c. nonne. all.* 11. *q.* 1. *quæcunque, &c. ſe. juriſdictio. c. expreſſe.* Where it is mentioned, that the ſame *Carolus* King of *France* (and Emperor) eſpecially conſtituted the ſaid Law. And likewiſe to ſpeak of Cuſtoms, it hath been known from time out of mind, the ſame to have belonged to the Church of *France*: He therefore which ſhall go about to violate this Law, committeth Sacriledge, 11. *q.* 1. *ca.* 1. *&* 2. And let not the King's Majeſty marvel, if that in this moſt noble Realm of *France* this prerogative be due unto the Church; As when hereby his power and nobility is beautified. *Antho. ut. ind. ſine quoquo ſuffra. ſi. in principio col.* 2. Beſides this, our Sovereign Lord and King, at what time he was crowned, was ſworn by the Evangeliſts to keep and obſerve this canonical priviledge of the Church. Further, the Barons, who in a manner are all ſworn to the Church, ſwore fidelity to the ſame: by which Oath of fidelity they are bound to keep theſe Liberties and Rites of the Church. When therefore every Oath, which tendeth not to the perdition of the ſoul, is to be kept, *a fortiori* that Oath, which is taken in the favour of the Church, is much more to be obſerved: *c. Si vero extra de jure jurando*, 22. *quæſt.* 4. *c. ult.* Beſides this bleſſed *Ludovick*, *Philip* of *Arragon*, *Philip* the fair, *Ludovick*, *Carolus* the Great, and *Philip*, confirmed theſe priviledges, cuſtoms and liberties of the Church, which all were ſworn at their Coronations, as before, *&c.* Theſe thing conſidered, who can adviſe the Kings Majeſty, without damning of his own ſoul, contrary to theſe liberties granted, and ſo confirmed to the Church? To him belongeth great reward, *whoſoever beſtoweth any thing upon the Church: Antho. de non alie. ac permut. re. ecce: ff. ſi minis col.* 3. Neither maketh it againſt us, where it is ſaid, that there are two Swords, *&c.* Neither yet the diſtinction between the Biſhoprick and Kingdom; becauſe it is true that there are two Swords, the power whereof is left to the Churches hand, although the execution of the material Sword is committed to the temporal and ſecular Men, *Matth.* 26. where Chriſt ſaith to *Peter*, *Convert and put up the Sword into the place.* But as touching the diſtinction betwixt the Biſhoprick and Kingdom, indeed it is true as much as appertaineth to the end, and to the execution of blood, but not concerning the beginning and ſubject: for that in one ſubject, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before proved. To that point, where it is ſaid, that Chriſt paid Tribute; it is anſwered, that not therefore he paid it, becauſe he ought, or was bound thereunto, becauſe it is certainly true, that the Sons of the King (as he was) ought not to pay; but this he did to avoid offence; yea alſo the Clergy is not bound hereunto, *Eſdræ* 1. *& ult.* Wherefore, ſuch things do not infer a conſequence. Neither yet maketh that againſt us, where it is ſaid, that the King our Sovereign Lord and Maſter cannot abdicate from himſelf this right, eſpecially for that he was ſworn thereunto at the time of his Coronation, *&c.* For it is anſwered, that he may well abdicate the ſame. And how doth he abdicate it from himſelf, which he giveth and beſtoweth to God and the Church? The land is the Lords. And doubtleſs, to give, is nothing elſe, but to render to God and the Church their own; for then by that reaſon, the gift given to the Church by *Conſtantine*, is naught and nothing worth, which is falſe; and this is proved 16 *diſt. ca. Conſt.* Whereby it appeareth, that an Emperor and King may alienate things of the Empire; *ff. de legatis i. l. apud Julianum ſſ. ult.* and yet hereby the Empire or Kingdom not be damaged; for that the thing returneth to the priſtinate ſtate, *ff. de pactis l. unus ſſ. pactus* 35 *diſt. ab exordio.* Furthermore, by this reaſon propounded, all the Kings of *France* which ever were (and eſpecially bleſſed *Ludovick*) ſhould be ſpotted; for if that were true (as God forbid) then all they were perjured and died in mortal ſin; which is too abſurd. Laſt of all it hurteth not where it is ſaid, that ſuch things are impreſcriptible. It is true indeed, they cannot of Subjects, or otherwiſe than of the Church be preſcribed: but in this cauſe we talk not of Subjects. Alſo ſeeing they may be alienated, they may be preſcribed, eſpecially (the Kings thus conſenting, who confirmed the ſame ſo long a time) which excludeth all right both Fiſcal and Eccleſiaſtical. The Prelates therefore, all with one conſent, agree and affirm to the ſame as a verity to be maintained and defended; beſeeching the Kings Majeſty their Lord, both for his ſouls health, and peace of the Church, to maintain the ſame, and to keep the liberties of the Church; deſiring him to conſider what commodity daily he receiveth by the Church; and that his Church never failed him yet, when he had need of the Laity, ſhewing the dangers and examples of them who did to the contrary. Further he beſeeched his Highneſs to weigh how entirely his Lord the Pope doth and hath loved his Perſon and Realm; affirming, that never any placed in the ſeat of *Peter*, loved better his Realm, than he doth. Alledging the Text of *Eccleſ.* 6. where it is ſaid, *Stand in the multitude of the Prieſts, and believe them with thy heart.*

Mat. 26.

Why Chriſt paid tribute

16. *Diſt. capi. Conſtantin.*

35 *Diſt. cap. ab exordio.*

Eccleſ. 6.

After this, in the ſaid Seſſion, the foreſaid Biſhop of *Edven* Prolocutor inferred many things beſide, and anſwered particularly to the Articles above ſpecified, and exhibited by the Lord *Peter* in writing to the King and Parliament; which, becauſe they touch more the ſubtilty of the Law, and ſtiles of the Courts, than are neceſſary to this our Hiſtory, and becauſe we would not burden the Volume with them, they containing no great profit in them, we have here of purpoſe for brevities ſake, omitted them, paſſing to the next ſitting, which was the *Friday* next following the ſame, as enſueth.

Special anſwers to the Articles premiſed by Biſhop *Edven.*

The next *Friday* after this, the Prelates aſſembled at *Vincennas* before the King, to hear their anſwer: where the foreſaid Lord *Peter* of *Cugner* (being Prolocutor for the King) ſpake on this wiſe, taking for his Theam; *I am peace unto you, do not fear, &c.* which he proſecuted, moniſhing that they ſhould not be troubled in any thing that there had been ſpoken; for that the intent and mind of the Sovereign Lord their King was, to keep the Rites of the Church and Pre-

Another days ſitting in the Parliament.

lates; which they had by law and by good and reaſonable cuſtom: Where between the firſt and ſecond concluſion, he went about to prove, that the cognition of civil cauſes ought not to appertain to the Church; for that ſuch things were temporal, and ought to pertain to the Temporalty. as ſpiritual things to the Spiritualty. And beſides his other reaſons, he alledged the 86 *diſt.* declaring for a truth, that for this intent firſt the Clerks Crowns were ſhaven, in ſign that they ſhould be free from all worldlineſs, and forſake all temporal things. Alledging to that end, the 12, *q.* 2. Furthermore, he declared, that the Biſhops had cognition in certain caſes expreſſed by Law, wherefore, theſe ſaid caſes miniſtred a certain rule againſt him, alledging for the proof thereof, *De Reg. juriſ. ff. de lega. I.L. ticie teytoris.* Alſo he affirmed, that by reaſon of ſin, the Decretal *Novit.* could not make for them. For the ſame did ſpeak of the King of *France* his ſtate, which hath no ſuperiour; but in other perſons it was (he ſaid) otherwiſe. And theſe things thus being proved, then ſaid he, and concluded; That nevertheleſs, their Lord and King was ready to hear the information of them, which would inſtruct him of any cuſtome, and thoſe cuſtomes which were good and reaſonable he would obſerve. Which anſwer becauſe it did not ſeem to pleaſe and ſuffice the Prelates, incontinently the Biſhop of *Edven* anſwered for them all in manner following; Firſt, commending the good and general anſwer, he ſpake in this wiſe; The Prince of the people, (ſaid he) ſhall be praiſed for the prudence of his talk, commending therewith, as touching the former good general anſwer of the King, his purpoſe and talk propounded. But as concerning the words of the Lord *Peter*, which ingendred and brought darkneſs and obſcurity, and might give occaſion to the Temporal Lords to breake and infringe the Rites and Cuſtoms of the Church, his anſwer ſeemed not full and plain to the Prelates. Speaking moreover, to the ſaid *Peter*, he alluded to the words of the Virgin ſpeaking in the Scripture thus to her Son, *why did you ſo to us?* And ſo he proſecuted the ſame, both marvelling with himſelf, and yet covertly complaining of his anſwer. Afterward anſwering to thoſe things which the Lord *Peter* affirmed, and firſt to the Chapter, *Ad verum*, he ſaid, th t it was before anſwered, touching the diviſion of the two Juriſdictions, that they may be in one ſubject, as before is proved. Neither doth it let which the Lord *Peter* ſaid, that theſe two Juriſdictions could not be in one ſubject, becauſe that things which be in themſelves diverſe, and be under one *Genus*, as a Man and an Aſs cannot be in one ſubject. But if they were under divers kinds, as whiteneſs and ſweetneſs in Milk, they might be well in one ſubject. It was anſwered, that this rule was not true, becauſe juſtice and temperance are two divers vertues, and under one kind, and yet be in one ſubject. Beſides theſe differing *Species*, a Man and an Aſs be not compatible in one ſubject. Alſo to that which was ſpoken concerning the ſhaving of the Crown, it was anſwered, that the Crown did betoken rule and excellency; and the ſhaving did ſignifie, that they ought not to heap up ſtore of temporal things, ſo to apply their hearts thereunto; but that the temporal things ought to be ſubject to them, and not they to the temporalty, as is proved in the ſaid Chapter, *duo ſunt genera.* Alſo as concerning the thing which was talked of *de regula:* he anſwereth, that this maketh for the Church, as before was proved; yea alſo the Cuſtom doth make the rule for the Church. Alſo Laws in all kind of ſenſe do always except the Cuſtom. And therefore his ſaying makes nothing againſt it. And now to that place which the Lord *Peter* ſpake about the Decretal *Novit.* That the caſe was only in the Kings Perſon; yet for all that it is expreſly ſaid in the ſame Text of every Chriſtian Man. And although their Law doth ſpeak only of the Pope, yet the ſame is applied to all Biſhops in their Dioceſs. Wherefore the ſaid Biſhop concluded and beſeeched the King, that it would pleaſe his Grace to give unto them a more plain and comfortable anſwer, and that they might not depart from his preſence all penſive and ſad, whereby occaſion might be given to the Laity to impugne the Rites and Liberties of the Church, and that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conſcience of their Sovereign Lord and King. In the end, it was anſwered to them in the behalf of the King, that his mind and intent was not to impugne the Cuſtoms of the Church.

85 *Diſt cap. cum ad verum.* Shaving of Prieſts Crowns wherefore, 12. *queſt.* 2.

The Biſhop findeth fault with the Kings anſwer.

The *Sunday* following, the Biſhops aſſembled themſelves again before the King at *Vicenas*, where the Lord Biſhop of *Edven* repealed their laſt ſuppoſition, with the laſt anſwer made unto them in the behalf of the King, when the Biſhop of *Byturien* had given them to underſtand how the King willed them not to fear; for that they ſhould ſuffer no hindrance or damage in his time; yea, and he would defend them in their Rites and Cuſtoms, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid, that he would give enſample to other to impugne the Church, aſſuring them, that even the Kings Grace willed him ſo to declare unto them. The ſaid Lord Biſhop of *Senon* in the name of the whole Prelates gave humble thanks to the King therefore, and the ſaid Biſhop of *Senon* beſeeched that ſuch Proclamations, which were made to the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction might be repealed and called in. Hereunto the King himſelf anſwereth with his own mouth, that they were not publiſhed at his commandment neither did he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the Biſhop propoſed, that theſe abuſes which the Temporalty complained of, ſhould be ſo ordered and reformed, that every Man ſhould be well contented therewith. Laſt of all, he beſeeched the Kings Highneſs, that he would of his gracious goodneſs give them a more comfortable and fuller anſwer. Then anſwered the Lord *Peter* in the name of the King; That if the Prelates and Biſhops would ſee reformation of thoſe things which were to be amended (whereabouts he would take reſpite between this and *Chriſtmas* next following) his Grace would innovate nothing in the mean ſeaſon. And if in the foreſaid ſpace they would not correct and reform that which was amiſs, His Majeſty would appoint ſuch order and remedy, that ſhould be acceptable both to God and his Subjects. After this the Prelates had leave of the King to depart, and went home.

{ KING } { *Edw.* 1 }

The gentle anſwer of the King to the Biſhop.

The final anſwer of the King to the Prelates.

## A brief recapitulation of the Biſhops anſwer, with certain Notes anſwering to his *Popiſh* reaſons unto the Reader.

THE *Anſwer of Biſhop* Edven, *in the name of the other Prelates, to the Oration and Articles before objected by the Lord* Peter, *conſiſteth of two parts. Firſt, in declaring the fear due to God. Secondly, the honour due to the King. Whereof the firſt is, the fear of God, which (he ſaith) conſiſteth in three things.* 1. *In giving to God.* 2. *In honouring his Miniſters.* 3. *In reſtoring that which hath been taken away,* &c. *The ſecond, which is, the honouring of the King, he ſaith, conſiſteth in a double ſort, that is; in words only, wherein is flattery; and in deed; which again he divideth into four members. Firſt, when a man counſelleth a King to that whereby his dominion is loved.* 2. *When the King is counſelled to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminiſhed.* 3. *When the King is counſelled to that, whereby his fame and renown is maintained.* 4. *When a King is counſelled to that, whereby his conſcience is not wounded,* &c. *And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like brevity, to recite the reaſons and arguments in order, whereby he proveth the premiſſes, with the ſubdiviſion of every member and part thereof. Wherein the ſtudious Reader may note both the ſubtil proceedings of theſe* Popiſh *Prelates, and alſo the feeble and impotent ground whereupon they build. Whoſe building (as by this diſcourſe and many other may appear) wholly and finally doth tend to this, to maintain their Liberties, Pomp and Eſtimation above all other ſecular Princes and perſons.*

Notes upon the Biſhops anſwer pag. 402. col. 2.

Fear of God conſiſting in 3 things.

1 In giving.

2 In honouring.

3. In reſtoring.

Honour to the King, double. In word flattering: in deed effectual.

Honour effectual, ſtandeth in 4 points.

1. In maintaining the Kings love.

2. In maintaining his dignity.

3. In maintaining his good name.

4. In maintaining his conſcience.

*Firſt, As concerning fear to be given to God, which he divideth into three parts, In giving, in honouring, and reſtoring; for the firſt, he proveth that Princes ought to give largely and without meaſure to the Church, by theſe arguments.*

*By the teſtimony of* Juſtinian: *Although nothing is good which is too much, yet,* Pag. 406. col. 1. *I anſwer, that in the time of* Juſtinian, *goods then given to the Church, were the goods of the poor: wherein was uſed faithful diſtribution, voluntary giving, and neceſſary charity. But now in our* Popiſh *Churches, Revenues and Lands given are not diſtributed to the poor, and yet are men compelled againſt their will to give ſtill. And again, ſo little neceſſity is now to give to ſuch, that the moſt wealth of Realms almoſt is in their hands and houſes; inſomuch that they, flowing in ſuch wealth, are now waxen ſo proud, that Kings can ſcarce bear any rule for them, as was proved before,* pag. 407. col. 1. *that the Popes revenues here in* England, *mounted to more*

Pag. 406. col. 1

{KING Edw.I}

Religio peperit divitias: nunc filia devoravit matrem.

*more than three times double the stint of the Kings Crown, Wherefore by the counsel of* Justinian, *it was so then, and then might stand,* quod Religio peperit divitias: *But now as the time is altered, so that counsel holdeth not,* postquam nunc filia devoravit matrem; *that is,* after that the Daughter hath devoured the Mother. *Finally, concerning Mens giving to the Church in these our Popish days, four faults I note:*

Incommodities that come in giving to the Church.

*First, That they give superfluously more than sufficient is to necessity of life.*

*Secondly, That they give to such as abuse it wickedly.*

*Thirdly, That in giving to them that need not, Noblemen in mean time defraud their poor Neighbors, which need indeed, and yet do not complain.*

*Fourthly, Because of this Title of giving, men have used and yet do use to put great hope of salvation therein, contrary to the testament of God in Christs death, whereof examples are before.*

Pag. 406. Coll. 1. Abel *offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God,* Ergo, *Every great man that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best he hath unto the Church.* Answer: *This Argument as it is far fet, so it is soon answered, wherein three notes are to be observed.*

Three things to be noted in offering to God and to the Church.

*First, That he which offereth unto the Church of God, doth not therein offer unto God immediately as* Abel *did.*

*Secondly, Neither is this to be granted, that he which offereth to all Churchmen, offereth by and by to the Church of God; for many times the Church-men are one, and the Church of God is another.* Lawrence *the Martyr shewing forth the Church of God, brought out the poor of the Parish, and not of the Priests of the Church.*

*The third note is; That if noble persons should offer unto God (by the example of* Abel*) that which is the best and fattest of the flock; then should they offer unto the Lord of their flocks only, and not of their Lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither Cattel nor Lands, but that which is the very best,* Rom. 12. *that is, their own bodies for a lively Sacrifice to God. He that offereth up to God a proud heart, and killeth it with the Ax of humility, giveth unto him the best and fattest* Pag. 406. c. 1 *Bullock he hath in all his flock. With like reason also I answer the place of* Num. 18, *and of* Paral. cap. ult. *that to offer up, or to separate unto the Lords Treasury, is not now to give to Priests and Chaplains of the Church, which peradventure have more than they do well occupy; but to give liberally to the communion of Saints, which are needy, and are the true Treasury of the Church indeed, as* Lawrence *the true Treasurer said*

Pag. 406. col. 2. *By Gods commandment we are bound* Pag. 406. c. 2. *of duty to honour our temporal Fathers.* Ergo, *By the same duly we are bound much rather to honour our spiritual Fathers, that is, Priests and Prelates.* Answer. *A Father in common speech is diversly taken, as by Age, by Nature, by Office. And to all these we of duty are bound to yield, honour, reverence, obedience, submission; albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our Fathers and Mothers; so aged Men and Elders have also their honour and name of fathers; So Magistrates and spiritual teachers, in their kind have their honour and reverence. And S.* Paul *saith, that such are worthy* 1 Tim. 5. *of double honour,* qui bene præsunt, & qui laborant in ser- Two things to be noted in giving honour, wherein consisteth honour giving to Priests. mone. *But in this two things are to be noted, wherein this honour consisteth, and how far it extendeth. These Spiritual Fathers of the Church think they be not honoured enough, unless Kings and Emperors give and surrender unto them all the temporal rule and government, to do what they list, and none to controul them: and unless Noblemen and Subjects endow them with temporal Lands and Possessions so much as they would have. And this they call honour, which they define only by giving temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giving spiritually, as to have a reverent opinion of their ministration, to yield a prompt obedience to their Doctrine, reverence to them as the Ministers of God, and not to despise, defame or molest their persons; whereof S.* Paul *also about the same place speaketh, writing to* Timothy, Let no man despise thy youth, &c. *Also to* 1 Tim. 5. Titus, *Let no man despise thee, &c. And this is to honour* Titus 2. *our spiritual Fathers.*

Qui bene præsunt.

*Secondly, To consider how far this honour extendeth: As no man doth deny, but these Pastors are worthy their double honour which rule well; so if they administer not their office well, they are under the oversight of the King* How far honour given to Priests extendeth. *bearing the Temporal Sword, worthy of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honour in them that rule well, how far it doth extend: if it be compared to the honour due to our Parents, case of necessity will soon decide it. For be it that our parents on the one side, and Pastor of the other, stand in extream need of the Sons supportation, wherein he can help but the one: Nature, I suppose, will and ought sooner run, and the Word of Christ will sooner drive us to our Father, than to the Priests Corban,* Mark 7. *So that this distinction* Mark 7. *here may have place; that as the one standeth upon merit of vertue, so the other standeth upon meer duty of necessity.*

Pag. 407. col. 1. *These Jurisdictions Temporal and* Pag. 407. c. 1 *Spiritual, are compatible in one person.* Answer: *I grant* pro ratione subjecti: *That is, in the subject it self there is no cause to the contrary, but these vocations may be exercised both of one person, as they have been of the Pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary forms also) and yet the Popes person hath been able to sustain them both. But now here is to be considered, not what the nature of the Subject is able to bear by Logick, but what order is taken herein by the will of God, whose order is this: That they, which with* Peter *are called to the feeding of the Flock, should leave their Fishing-nets, and fish for men, and that they, which labour in the warfare of the Lord, should not intangle themselves with the business of this life, whereby they may be more free to please him, whose Soldiers they are,* Tit. 2. &c. Titus 2.

Pag. 407. col. 1. *The Jurisdictions Temporal and* Pag. 407. c. 2 *Spiritual, are so distinct that they are not contrary, &c.* Answer: *And what let is there then, but our Queen now, and other Kings hereafter may have the government of both states, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal? Seeing both the forms being compatible, may concur both in one subject; why not as well in the person of the King within the Realm, as in the person of the Pope without the Realm?* Two forms not contrary may be compatible in one subject.

Pag. 407. col. 2. *God after the Creation of the World,* Pag. 407. c. 1 *&c. unto* Noahs *time, &c.* Answer: *If God unto* Noahs *time governing the World as King, gave sentence himself against* Cain (*as we say*) *how then did he that by the ministry of Angels? If he did it by the Angels his Ministers, whether is more like then that it make for the Pope, or rather for Kings and Princes, whom the Scripture thrice in one Chapter calleth the Ministers of God to execute punishment to him that doth evil,* Rom. 13. Rom. 13.

Pag. 407. col. 2. Noah *also which offered, &c.* Answer: Pag. 407. c. 2 *If offering of burnt Sacrifices to God do make a Priest, then* Noah was a Priest, and had both Jurisdictions in the Ark. *was* Cain *also,* Abel, Abraham, Isaac, *and all Patriarchs Priests. If he had both Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction over them which were in his Ark, I marvel why he did not curse then the disobedient Crow that returned not to him again.*

Pag. 407. col. 2. Melchisedech *likewise, &c.* Answer: Pag. 407. c. 2 Melchisedech *properly did bear a figure of Christ, both King and Priest, and of none other.*

Pag. 408. col. 1. A. *I have given to me, &c,* Answer: Pag. 408. c. 1 *That Christ hath all power given him, no man doubteth; but yet the same Christ saith, that* his Kingdom is not of this world; *neither would he be made a King in this World, &c.* Non eripit mortalia, qui regno dat cælestia, hymn, &c.

Pag. 408. col. 1. B. *Whom Christ made his Vicar, &c.* Ibid. Answer: *Here in one line be two lies. For neither had* Peter *the very same power in Heaven and Earth as Christ had, neither was he the Vicar of Christ.*

Pag. 408. col. 1. C. *As the offence of* Ananias *and* Saphira *was not temporal but spiritual; so did* Peter *kill them not judicially, that is, as a temporal judge; but spiritually, that is, by the power of the spirit, which spirit wrought by him, not as by a Judge, but as a Minister. And although this act of* Peter *was extraordinary for a singular example; yet notwithstanding let any Prelate with the like power of Spirit so do, and none will blame him.* Ibid.

Pag. 408. col. 1. D. *And so likewise the condemnation of* Ibid. Paul *against the* Corinthian, *was only spiritual and not temporal.*

Pag. 408. col. 1. E. *Must be referred to the order, &c.* Ibid. Answer: *Christ would have these causes to be referred to the hearing of the Church, for spiritual admonition, but not for Temporal Jurisdiction of the Prelates.*

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Pag. 408. Col. 2. Pag. 408. Col. 2. F. *All things that the true Church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but firſt let the Pope prove his Church to be the true Church, and himſelf to be the univerſal head thereof, and then let him claim the Keys.*

Ibid. *The two Swords do as much ſignifie the two Regiments, as do the two Fiſhes wherewith Chriſt did feed four thouſand perſons.*

Ibid. *Chriſt bade* Peter *put up his ſword, and not to caſt it away:* Ergo, *the Church may have the Temporal ſword.* Anſw. *God give you good morrow, I have brought you a Capon.*

Pag. 408. Col. 2. Pag. 408. Col. 2. *Know ye not the Saints, &c.* Anſw. *St.* Paul *here willing the* Corinthians *to plead their matters, not before the Heathen, but before the Saints, meaneth the faithful of the Congregation, not only Prelates.*

Pag. 408. Col. 2. K. *In them was not the like reaſon,* &c. Anſw. *I grant: for Chriſt and true Chriſtians is one thing; Antichriſt and his Church is another thing.*

Pag. 408. Col. 2. Ibid. *As ye ſay, the Apoſtles had no leiſure to take lands and poſſeſſions for preaching; but now for Lordly loitering you have leiſure enough.*

Pag. 409. Col. 1. Pag. 409. Col. 1. M. *They are moſt fit to bear Temporal rule, which follow neareſt to God. Prelates of the Clergy follow neareſt to God.* Ergo, *Prelates of the Clergy are moſt meet to bear Temporal rule.*

Reſp. *If God here be taken for that God, which is called the belly, I grant they ſeem to follow nearer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their own fruits, life and doctrine; and* Eſay *alſo would deny their minor, and ſay, that this people draweth near to me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.*

Pag. 409. Col. 1. Pag. 409. Col. 1. *You are a choſen generation a Royal Prieſthood,* &c. Anſw. *This place of* Peter *was written not only to perſons Eccleſiaſtical, but to the whole congregation of the Saints diſperſed, as the words following may declare:* Qui eratis quondam non populus, *&c.*

And thus much concerning *French* matters, which becauſe they be Eccleſiaſtical, and bear with them ſome utility to the diligent Reader (ſuch as liſt to ſearch, note and obſerve the acts of men, and courſe of Religion) I thought therefore here to place and adjoyn them next after the other contention before proceeding between *Philip* the *French* King, and Pope *Boniface.* Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of years and time, I am not ignorant that this foreſaid Parliament, thus ſummoned and commenced againſt the *French* Prelates, falling in the year of our Lord 1329, was to be referred rather to the raign of King *Edward* the Second, of whom now remaineth (by the Grace of Chriſt) in order of Hiſtory to proſecute, declaring firſt the inſtructions and informations of his Father given to him in the time of his departing. The year of our Lord 1307, and the laſt year of the King, the foreſaid King *Edward*, in his journey marching toward *Scotland*, in the North fell ſick of the Flux, which increaſed ſo fervently upon him, that he deſpaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his Earls and Barons, he cauſed them to be ſworn that they ſhould Crown his Son *Edward* in ſuch convenient time after his death as they might, and keep the land to his uſe, till he were Crowned. That done, he called before him his Son *Edward*, informing and leſſoning him with wholſome precepts; and he charged him alſo with divers points upon his bleſſing: Firſt, That he ſhould be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair ſpoken to all men, conſtant in deed and word, familiar with the good; and eſpecially to the miſerable to be merciful. After this, he gave him alſo charge not to be too haſty in taking his Crown before he had revenged his Fathers injuries ſtoutly againſt the *Scots:* but that he ſhould remain in thoſe parts to take with him his Fathers bones, being well boiled from the fleſh; and ſo being incloſed in ſome fit veſſel, ſhould carry them with him till he conquered all the *Scots*; ſaying, That ſo long as he had his Fathers bones with him, none ſhould overcome him. Moreover, he willed and required him to love his Brother *Thomas* and *Edmund*; alſo to cheriſh and tender his Mother *Margret* the Queen. Over and beſides, he ſtraightly charged him upon his bleſſing (as he would avoid his curſe) that he ſhould in no caſe call to him again, or ſend for *Peter Gaveſton*; which *Peter Gaveſton* the King before had baniſhed the Realm, for his naughty and wicked familiarity with his Son *Edward*, and for his ſeducing of him with ſiniſter counſel. For the which cauſe he baniſhed both *Peter Gaveſton* utterly out of the Realm, and alſo put the ſaid *Edward*, his Son in, priſon. And therefore ſo ſtraitly he charged his Son in no wiſe to ſend for this *Gaveſton*, or to have him in any caſe about him. And finally, becauſe he had conceived in himſelf a vow to have returned in his own perſon to the Holy Land (which for his manifold wars with the *Scots* he could not perform) therefore he had prepared 32000 pounds of ſilver; for the ſending of certain Souldiers with his heart into the Holy Land. Which thing he required of his Son to ſee accompliſhed: So that the foreſaid money, under his curſe and malediction be not imployed to other uſes. But theſe injunctions and precepts the diſobedient Son did nothing obſerve or keep after the deceaſe of his Father. Who forſaking and leaving off the war with the *Scots*, with all ſpeed haſted him to his Coronation. Alſo contrary to the mind of his Nobles, and againſt the precept of his Father, he ſent for the foreſaid *Peter Gaveſton*, and prodigally beſtowed upon him all that treaſure which his Father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was moreover a proud deſpiſer of his Peers and Nobles; and therefore raigned infortunately, as by the ſequel of the Story here following, by the Grace of Chriſt ſhall be declared. Thus King *Edward* firſt of that name, leaving behind him three Sons, *Thomas* and *Edmund* by his third wife, and *Edward* by his firſt wife, whom he had ſufficiently thus with precepts inſtructed, departed this mortal life, *Ann.* 1307, after he had raigned near 35 years. Of whom this Epitaph was written,

*Dum viguit Rex, & vaſtit tuę magna poteſtas,*
*Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honeſtas.*

In the time and raign of this King many other things happened, which here I omit to ſpeak of, as the long diſcord and ſtrife between the Prior of *Canterbury*, and the Prior of *Dover*, which continued above four years together, with much wrangling and unquietneſs between them. Likewiſe another like contention growing between *John Romain*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* upon this occaſion, that when *John* Archbiſhop of *York* after his Conſecration returned from the Pope, coming to *Dover*, contrary to the inhibition of *Canterbury*, he paſſed through the middle of *Kent*, with his Croſs born up; although the ſtory reporteth that he had the Kings conſent thereunto, *Ann.* 1286.

*Item*, Between *Thomas* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and *John Pecham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this King. Which Biſhop of *Hereford*, appealing from the Archbiſhop to the Pope, went up to *Rome*, and in his journey died. Who with leſs coſt might have tarried at home, 1282.

Anno 1307. The ſickneſs and death of King *Edward.*

Godly leſſons and precepts given to the young Prince.

The King commandeth his bones to be carried in the field againſt the *Scots.*

The Fatherly care of K. *Edward* in excluding wicked company from his Son.

KING *Edw.* 2

A raſh vow of King *Edward.*

The Kings heart to be carried to the Holy Land.

The Epitaph of K. *Edward.*

## King *Edward* the Second.

K. *Edward*, the Second.

*EDWARD* the Second of that name, and Son of *Edward* the Firſt, born, as is aforeſaid, at *Carnarvan* in *Wales*, after the departure of his Father, entred the Government of the Land, *Anno* 1307, but was not Crowned before the year next following, *Anno* 1308, by reaſon of the abſence of *Robert Winchelſey*, who was baniſhed by King *Edward* the Firſt. Whereupon the King this preſent year writeth to the Pope for the reſtitution of the ſaid Archbiſhop, for that by an ancient Law of the Realm, the Coronation of the King could not otherwiſe proceed without the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Which *Edward* as he was perſonable in body and outward ſhape, ſo in conditions and evil diſpoſitions much deformed; as unſtedfaſt of his word, and light to diſcloſe ſecrets of great counſel; alſo refuſing the company of his Lords and men of honour; he much haunted among Villains and vile perſonages; given moreover to over much drinking, and ſuch vices as thereupon be wont to enſue. And as of his own nature he was to the ſaid vices diſpoſed, ſo was he much worſe by the counſel and familiarity of certain evil diſpoſed perſons, as firſt of *Peter*, or *Pierce Gaveſton* before touched. Then after him, of the two *Spenſers* and others, whoſe wanton counſel he following, gave himſelf to the appetite and pleaſure of his body;

Anno 1308.

K. *Edward* led by wicked counſel.

{KING Edw. 2.}

body; nothing ordering his Commonweal by gravity, diſcretion and juſtice; which thing cauſed firſt great variance between him and his Nobles; ſo that ſhortly he became to them odious, and in the end was deprived of his Kingdom. In the firſt year he took to wife *Iſabel*, Daughter of *Philip* King of *France*; with whom (the year after) he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, for that *Robert Winchelſey* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithſtanding the Barons and Lords made firſt their requeſt to the King to put *Peter Gaveſton* from him, or elſe they would not conſent to his Coronation. VVhereupon he was inforced to grant them at the next Parliament to have their requeſts accompliſhed, and ſo he was Crowned. In the mean ſeaſon the foreſaid *Peter* or *Pierce*, bearing himſelf of the Kings favour bold, continued triumphing and ſetting at light all other ſtates and Nobles of the Realm, ſo that he ruled both the King and the Realm, and all things went as he would; neither had the King any delight elſe, or kept company with any, but with him; with him only he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counſels. This as it ſeemed ſtrange unto the Lords and Earls, ſo it inflamed their indignation ſo much againſt this *Peter*, that through the exciting of the Nobles, the Biſhops of the land did proceed in Excommunication againſt the ſaid *Gaveſton*, unleſs he departed the land. Upon the occaſion whereof the King the ſame firſt year of his raign, being grieved with the Biſhops, writeth to the Pope, complaining that they had proceeded to Excommunication of the ſaid *Peter* unleſs he departed the Realm within a time certain. The which Letter of the King what anſwer again it had from the Pope, I find not ſet down in Story. Over and beſides, it befell in the ſaid firſt year of the King, that the Biſhoprick of *York* being vacant, the King gave the office of the Treaſure to one of his own Clerks; whereof the Pope having intelligence, writeth to the King, commanding him to call back the ſame gift, and withal citeth up to *Rome* the ſaid Clerk, there to anſwer the matter to a Nephew of one of his Cardinals, upon whom he had beſtowed the ſaid dignity; whereunto the King maketh anſwer, *Quod citationes hujuſmodi & illarum executio*, &c. *i.e.* That if ſuch citations, and the execution of the ſame ſhould proceed to the impeachment of our Kingly Juriſdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawful inheritance, and the honour of our Crown (eſpecially if the deciding of ſuch matters which principally concern our eſtate, ſhould be proſecuted in any other place than within this our Realm by any manner of ways, *&c.*) Certes, although we our ſelves would wink thereat, or through ſufferance permit matters ſo to paſs our hands; yet the States and Nobles of our Kingdom, who upon allegiance are obliged and ſworn to the protection and defence of the dignity of the Crown of *England*, will in no wiſe ſuffer our right, and the Laws of the Land ſo to be violated.

*Peter Gaveſton or Gaverſtone, a wicked doer about the King.*

Beſides this, the foreſaid Pope wrote to the King, complaining that by certain Counſellors of King *Edward* his Father lying ſick, utterly ignorant thereof, a certain reſtraint was given out, charging his Nuncioes and Legates (whom he had ſent for the gathering of the firſt-fruits of the Benefices vacant within the Realm) not hereafter to intermeddle therewith, *&c.* VVhereunto the King maketh anſwer, *viz. Pater Sanctiſ. Datum fuit vobis intelligi*, &c.

In *Engliſh* thus:

*Moſt holy Father, it hath been given you to underſtand otherwiſe than the truth of the matter is. For moſt true it is indeed that the foreſaid inhibition was ratified by good Act of Parliament holden at* Karlin, *upon certain cauſes concerning the execution of ſuch Collections (the ſaid our Father not only being not ignorant, but alſo witting, willing, and of his own meer knowledg agreeing to the ſame) in the preſence not only of his own Earls, Barons and States, and Commons of the Realm, but alſo your Legates and Lieger being called thereunto.*

Item, *Upon other Letters brought from the Pope to the King, for the Enſtalling of one* Peter de Subaudia *his Kinſman into the Biſhoprick of* VVorceſter, *being then vacant, and withal requiring that if the ſaid* Peter *would not accept thereof, the Election ſhould be referred to the Prior and Covent of the ſame place.* The King therewith grieved, maketh anſwer by his Letters to the Pope, and ſundry his Cardinals: *Quod cum Electiones de futuris Prælatis in Eccleſiis Cathedralibus*, &c. *That forſomuch as Elections of Prelates, to be placed in Cathedral Churches within his Kingdom are not to be attempted without his licenſe firſt had and obtained*, &c. Therefore he could not abide that any ſuch ſtrange and unaccuſtomed reſervations ſhould, or could take place in his Realm without manifeſt prejudice of his Kingly eſtate, requiring further that he would not cauſe any ſuch novelties to be brought in into his Kingdom, contrary to that which his anceſtors before him have accuſtomed to do.

Thus the time proceeded, and at length the Parliament appointed came, *Anno* 1310, which was the fourth of this Kings raign. The articles were drawn by the Nobles to be exhibited to the King, which articles were the ſame contained *In Magna Charta*, and *de Foreſta* above ſpecified; with ſuch other articles as his Father had charged him with before; to wit, that he ſhould remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverſe Counſellors, and that all the matters of the Commonwealth ſhould be debated by common Council of the Lords both Temporal and Spiritual; and that he ſhould ſtir no war out of *England* in any other foreign Realm, without the common aſſent of the ſame, *&c.* The King perceiving their intent to be, as it was indeed, to ſunder *Peter Gaveſton* from his company; and ſeeing no other remedy, but needs he muſt yield and grant his conſent, agreed that the ſaid *Gaveſton* ſhould be baniſhed into *Ireland*. And ſo the Parliament breaking up, the Lords returned to their own, well appeaſed; although of the other Articles they could not ſpeed, yet that they had driven *Peter Gaveſton* out of the Realm, at this time it did ſuffice them.

{Anno 1310.}

This *Peter Gaveſton* was a certain Gentlemans Son of *Gaſcoin*; whom being by young K. *Edward* the Firſt (for the good ſervice his Father had done him in his wars) received to his Court, and placed him with his Son *Edward* now raigning. Who in proceſs of time growing up with him, incenſed and provoked him to much outrage and wantonneſs. By whoſe occaſion firſt he began in his Fathers days to break the Park of *Walter* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, then Chancellor of *England*, and after Executor to the King; for the which ſo doing, the King (as is partly touched before) impriſoned his Son, and condemned this *Peter* to perpetual baniſhment. Notwithſtanding the young King after the death of his Father (as ye have heard) ſent for this *Gaveſton* again. And withal he ſo perſecuted this foreſaid Biſhop, that he clapt him in the Tower, and ſeized upon all his goods. Moreover he cauſed moſt ſtrait inquiſition to be made upon him for guiding his Office, wherein if the leaſt crime might have been found, it would have coſt him his life. And thus much of *Peter Gaveſton*, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

*Peter Gaveſton.*

The King thus ſeparated from his old compeere (that is, from the company of *Peter Gaveſton* now exiled into *Ireland*) continued in great mourning and penſiveneſs, ſeeking by all means poſſible how to call him home again, and conferring with ſuch as were about him upon the ſame; who did inſinuate to the King, that forſomuch as the Earl of *Gloceſter* was a man well loved and favoured in all the Realm; if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his Siſter and *Peter Gaveſton*, it might be a mean both for him to obtain more friendſhip, and for the King to have his deſire. To make ſhort, *Peter Gaveſton* in all haſt was ſent for, and the marriage through the Kings procuring, proceeded between the Earls Siſter, and the foreſaid *Peter*, albeit ſore againſt the Earls mind. *Gaveſton* thus reſtored and dignified, was ſo ſurprized in pride and exaltation more than ever before, that he diſdained and derided all other, whoſe rule and power more and more increaſed. Inſomuch that he having the guiding of all the Kings Jewels and treaſure, conveyed out of the Kings Jewel-houſe at *Weſtminſter* a Table and a pair of Treſſels of Gold unto Merchants beyond Sea, with other Jewels more; to the great impoveriſhing both of the King and Queen, and of the land. And over all that he brought the King (by means of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as adultery, and ſuch other like. Wherefore the Lords ſeeing the miſchief that daily increaſed

*The unordinate affection of the King to Peter Gaveſton.*

*The pride of Peter Gaveſton.*

*Peter Gaveſton ſpoileth the Kings Treaſure.*

The Queen complaineth to the *French* King her Father of *Peter Gaveſton.*

ſed by occaſion of this unhappy man, took their counſel together at *Lincoln*, and there concluded to avoid him again out of *England*; ſo that ſhortly after he was exiled again, and went into *Flanders*; for in *France* or his own Country he durſt not appear, for fear *Philip* the *French* King, to whom the Queen of *England* his Daughter had ſent over great complaints of the ſaid *Gaveſton*, who had ſo impoveriſhed her and the whole Court, that ſhe had not wherewith to maintain her eſtate. Upon which complaint, the *French* King through all his Dominions laid ſtrait watch to apprehend the ſaid *Gaveſton*; but he not unwarned thereof, ſecretly coaſted into *Flanders*, from whence it was not long but he was ſet again by the King, as in further proceſs followeth; ſo much was the Kings heart infatuated by this wicked perſon.

*Gaveſton* again excluded out of the land.

The *Crowched-Friers.* The Knights of St. *John*, called the Knights of the *Rhodes.*

About this year, or the next before, came in firſt the *Crowched-Friers*; and alſo firſt began the Knights of the Order of St. *John Baptiſt*, otherwiſe called the Knights of *Rhodes*, for that they by manly Knighthood put out the *Turks* from the Iſle of *Rhodes*.

*Templars* burned at *Paris*, to the number of 54. The Order of the *Templars* put down.

In the Hiſtory of King *Edward*, this Kings Father before precedent, mention was made of Pope *Clement* the Fifth, who ſucceeded after *Benedict*; alſo of putting down of the *Templars*, which in this year hapned by means of the *French* King; who as he cauſed to be burned in the City of *Paris* this year fifty four *Templars*, with the great Maſter of the ſame Order, ſo by his procurement the foreſaid Pope *Clement* called a Council at *Vienna*, where the whole Order and Sect of *Templars* being condemned, was ſhortly after by the conſent of all Chriſtian Kings depoſed all in one day. After whom the *French* King thought to make his Son King of *Jeruſalem*, and to convert to him all the Lands of the ſaid *Templars*. But *Clement* the Pope would not thereto agree, transferring all their Lands to the Order of *Hoſpitalers*, for the great ſum of money given for the ſame. The cauſe why theſe impious *Templars* were put down was ſo abominable and filthy, that for reverence of chaſt ears it were better not told, if it be true that ſome write.

The horrible Sect of the *Templars.*

Another matter worthy to be noted of like abomination I thought here to inſert, touching a certain Nunnery in *France* called *Provines*, within the which at the cleanſing and caſting of a Fiſh-pond, were found many bones of young Children, and the bodies alſo of ſome Infants as yet whole unconſumed; upon occaſion whereof divers of the Nuns of the ſaid Nunnery, to the number of twenty ſeven, were had to *Paris*, and there impriſoned; what became of them afterward I find not in mine Author, *Arpontacus Burdegalenſis*.

*Ciſtercian* Monks for money redeem their exemptions of the Pope.

In the ſame Council alſo was decreed by the ſaid *Clement* That all Religious Orders exempted ſhould be ſubject under the common Laws as other were. But the *Ciſtercian* Monks with money and great gifts redeemed their Priviledges and exemption of the Pope, and ſo had them granted. *Tho. Walſ.* Theſe *Ciſtercians* ſped better herein, than did the *Minorites* of the *Franciſcans* in their ſuit. Of which *Franciſcans* when certain of them had offered unto the ſaid Pope *Clement* forty thouſand Florences of Gold, beſides other Silver, that the Pope would diſpenſe with them to have lands and poſſeſſions againſt their rule; the Pope asked them where was that money. They anſwered, In the Merchant-mens hands. So the ſpace of three days being given them to bring forth theſe Merchants; the Pope abſolved the Merchants of their Bond made to the Friers, and commanded all that money to be imployed and reverted to his uſe; declaring to the Friers that he would not infringe or violate the rule of St. *Francis* lately Canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggarly rich Friers loſt both their money and their indulgence. *Ex eodem autore.*

The Friers *Minorites* deceived of Pope *Clement.* *Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.* One thief bequileth another.

Pope *Clement* Excommunicateth the *Venetians* for making a Duke.

Concerning this Pope *Clement* the Fifth, *Sabellicus* writeth, that he Excommunicated the *Venetians* for aiding and preferring of *Azoda* unto the State of *Ferrarie*; and wrote his Letters throughout all *Europe*, condemning them as enemies of the Church, and giving their Goods as a lawful prey unto all men; which cauſed them to ſuſtain great harm. But *Francis Dandulus* a Nobleman of *Venice*, being Ambaſſador from the *Venetians* to the ſaid *Clement*, for the obtaining of their abſolution and ſafeguard of their City and Country, and for the pacifying of the Popes fury toward them, was fain ſo to humble himſelf before this proud tyrannical Prelate, that he ſuffered a Chain of Iron to be tyed about his neck, and he to lye down flat before his Table, and ſo to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his Table, as it had been a dog, till the Popes fury was towards them aſſwaged; ſo that after that he in reproach (becauſe he ſo humbled himſelf for the behalf and helping of his Country) was of ſome called a Dog. But the City of *Venice* ſhewed themſelves not unkind again to *Dandulus* for his gentle good will declared to his Country; for as he had abaſed himſelf before in the vile and ignominious condition of a Dog for his Countries ſake, ſo they extolled him with as much glory again being returned home, decking and adorning him after the beſt array, with the chief Princely ornaments of the City, to make him amends for his former reproach received. *Sabel. Enn. 9. l. 7.*

{KING Edw. 2.}

The pride and tyranny of Pope *Clement* 5. *Francis Dandulus* humbleth himſelf for his Country. Out of *Sabellicus*, and is alledged in the Book named the Image of Tyranny. The piety of *Dandulus* to his Country. Piety thankfully rewarded.

Concerning the Conſtitutions of this Pope *Clement*, and of his Decretals and *Clementines*, and how *Henricus* the Emperor in his days was poyſoned in receiving of the Sacrament, ye have heard before. About this time *Robert Winchelſey* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom this Kings Father had baniſhed before) was releaſed and returned home from *Rome*.

*Robert Winchelſey* returned home from baniſhment.

Theſe things thus declared, let us proceed (by the Lords Grace) to the next year, which is of the Lord 1311, and the fifth year of this Kings raign. In the which year, counting the year from *Michaelmaſs* to the ſame Feaſt again, as then the uſage of the Realm was, *Peter Gaveſton* who had wandred the Countries about, and could find no reſting place (notwithſtanding he was utterly baniſhed, upon forfeiting life and goods out of the Realm, yet truſting upon the Kings favour, and the good will of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, whoſe Siſter he had married) ſecretly returning into *England* with a certain company of ſtrangers, preſented himſelf to the Kings ſight. At the beholding of whom the King for joy ran to him, and imbracing him, did not only retain him, but alſo for his ſake undid all ſuch Acts as had been in the Parliament before Enacted. The Queen and the whole Court ſeeing this doting of the King, made an heavy *Chriſtmas*. After this return of *Gaveſton* was noiſed among the Commons, the Peers and Nobles of the Realm were not a little ſtirred, caſting with themſelves what way were beſt to take. If he were ſuffered ſtill, they ſaw not only themſelves rejected, but alſo that the Queen could not enjoy the love of the King, neither could there be any quietneſs in the Realm. Again to ſtir up war in the land, it were not the beſt; to vex or diſquiet the King, alſo they were afraid. But foraſmuch as they could not abide all the Nobility, ſo to be thruſt out and vilipended for the love of one ſtranger, and alſo the Realm ſo to be ſpoiled and impoveriſhed by the ſame; this way they took, that *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* ſhould be elected among them the Chieftain, and chief doer in that buſineſs; to whom all other Earls and Barons, and Prelates alſo did concordly condeſcend and conſent, except only *Walter* Biſhop of *Coventry*, whom *Robert* the Archbiſhop therefore afterward did Excommunicate. Which *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, by the publick aſſent of the reſt, ſent to the King (lying then at *York*) humble Petitions in the name as well of the whole Nobility as of the Commons, deſiring his Grace to give the foreſaid *Gaveſton* unto them, or elſe according to the Ordinance of the Realm, that the land might be avoided of him. But the tyrannous King, who ſet more by the love of one ſtranger than by his whole Realm beſides, neither would hearken to their counſel, nor give place to their ſupplications; but in all haſty fury removed from *York* to *Newcaſtle*, where he remained almoſt till *Midſummer*.

1311.

The counting of the year in the old time from *Michaelmas* to the ſame day again.

*Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.*

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Excommunicateth the Biſhop of *Coventry* for holding with *Peter Gaveſton.*

In the mean ſeaſon the Barons had gathered an Hoſt of ſufficient and able Souldiers, coming toward *Newcaſtle*, not intending any moleſtation againſt the King, but only the execution of the Laws upon the wicked *Gaveſton*. The King not having wherewith to reſiſt their power, removeth in all ſpeedy manner to *Tinmouth* where the Queen lay. And hearing there that *Newcaſtle* was taken, he taketh ſhipping and ſaileth from thence (notwithſtanding the Queen there, being great with child, with weeping tears, and all inſtance deſireth him to tarry with her, as ſafely he might) but he, nothing relenting to her, took *Peter* his Compere with him, and coaſted over to the Caſtle of *Scarbrough*; where he leaving *Peter Gaveſton* to the ſafe keeping of his men, himſelf journeyeth toward the coaſt beſide *Warwick*. The Lords hearing where *Peter* was, bend thither all their power;

KING *Edw. 2.*

*Peter Gaveſton* taken of the Nobles.

power; ſo that at length *Gaveſton* ſeeing no remedy but he muſt needs come into their hands, yieldeth and ſubmitteth himſelf; requiring none other condition, but only that he might talk but a few words with the King in his preſence. Thus *Gaveſton* being apprehended, the King hearing thereof ſendeth unto the Lords, requiring his life to be ſpared; and that he might be brought to his ſpeech, and promiſed that in ſo doing he would ſatisfie their minds and requeſts whatſoever. About this advertiſement was taken: but then the Earl of *Pembroke*, hearing the Kings promiſe, perſwaded the Barons to grant unto his Petition; promiſing himſelf upon loſing all his lands, to take the charge upon him to be brought unto the Kings ſpeech, and ſo to be recommitted to them again. Which when he had obtained, he taketh *Peter Gaveſton* with him, to bring him where the King lay. And ſo coming to *Dedington*, not far from *Warwick*, he leaveth him in the keeping of his Souldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not far off from theace.

The King intreateth for *Gaveſton*.

*Guy* of *Warwick*.

*Peter Gaveſton* apprehended by *Guy* of *Warwick*.

The ſame night it chanced *Guido* the Earl of *Warwick* to come to the ſame place where *Gaveſton* was left; who taking him out of the hands of his Keepers, carrieth him to the Caſtle of *Warwick*, where incontinently they would have put him to death; but doubting and fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, a little they ſtayed. At what time one of the company (a man of ſage and wiſe counſel, as mine Author writeth) ſtanding up among them, with his grave Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickedneſs of his own condition, the Realm by him ſo greatly endamaged, the Nobles deſpiſed and rejected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruin of things like to enſue by him, and the great charges and expences they had been at in ſo long purſuing and getting of him; and now being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them ſo to uſe and take the occaſion now preſent; that hereafter being out of their hands, they afterward might ſeek, and ſhould not find it.

*Peter Gaveſton* Beheaded.

Briefly in ſuch ſort he perſwaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called *Blakelow*; which place in Stories I find to be called *Gaveſhead*; but that name (as I think) was derived upon this occaſion afterward. And thus he that before had called the Earl of *Warwick* the Black dog of *Ardeine*, was thus by the ſaid Dog worried, as ye have heard, *&c.* His carcaſs the *Dominick* Friers of *Oxford* had in their Monaſtry Interred the ſpace of two years; but after that the King cauſed the ſaid carcaſs to be taken up and buried within his own Mannor of *Langley*.

The corpſe of *Peter Gaveſton* buried in the Kings Mannor of *Langley*.

After this great diſturbance began to riſe between the King and the Lords; who having their power lying about *Dunſtable*, ſent ſtout meſſage unto the King at *London*, to have their former Acts confirmed. *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter* the Kings Nephew (who neither did hold againſt the King, nor yet againſt the Nobles) with the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm, went between both parties with great diligence to make unity. At which time alſo came two Cardinals from *Rome*, with Letters ſent unto them from the Pope. The Nobles anſwered to the Meſſage of the Cardinals, lying then at St. *Albans*; that as touching themſelves, they ſhould be at all times welcome to them; but as touching their Letters (foraſmuch as they were men unlettered, and only brought up in war and feats of arms) therefore they cared not for ſeeing the ſame. Then meſſage was ſent again, that they would grant at leaſt but to ſpeak with the Popes Legates, which purpoſely came for the intent to ſet quiet and unity in the Realm. They anſwered again, that they had Biſhops both godly and learned, by whoſe counſel they would be led only, and not by any ſtrangers, who knew not the true cauſe of their commotion. And therefore they ſaid preciſely, that they would have no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their buſineſs and affairs pertaining to the Realm. Yet notwithſtanding through the mediation of the Archbiſhop, and of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, the matter at length was ſo taken up, that the Barons ſhould reſtore to the King or his Attorney of St. *Albans* all the Treaſure, Horſes, and Jewels of the foreſaid *Gaveſton* taken at *Newcaſtle*, and ſo their requeſts ſhould be granted. And ſo was the matter at that time compoſed.

The Nobles of *England* cared not for the Popes Letters.

The Popes Legates not admitted of the Nobles of *England*.

Shortly upon the ſame, *Iſabel* the Queen was delivered of a fair Child at *Windſor*, whom *Lewis* the *French* Kings Son (the Queens Brother, with other *Frenchmen* there preſent) would have to be called by the name of the *French* King; but the *Engliſh* Lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of *Edward* his Father. At the birth of which *Edward* great rejoycing was through all the land and eſpecially the King his Father ſo much joyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the ſorrow and remembrance of *Gaveſtons* death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his Nobles.

Anno 1312.

The King rules by foreign Counſel.

*Makebates* about the King.

Thus peace and concord between them began to be in a good towardneſs; which more and more might have been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan the Author and ſower of diſcord, ſtirred up his inſtruments (certain *Frenchmen*, *Titivillers* and Make-bates about the King) which ceaſed not in carping and depraving the Nobles, to inflame the Kings hatred and grudg againſt them. By the exciting of whom the old quarrels being renewed afreſh, the King in his Parliament called upon the ſame, began to charge the foreſaid Barons and Nobles with ſedition and rebellion, and for ſlaying *Peter Gaveſton*. Neither were the Nobles leſs ſtout again in defending their cauſe, declaring that they in ſo doing had deſerved rather thanks and favour with the King than any diſpleaſure, in vanquiſhing ſuch a publick enemy of the Realm; who not only had ſpoiled and waſted the Kings ſubſtance, but alſo raiſed much diſturbance in the Realm. And foraſmuch as they had begun with the matter to their ſo great labours and expences; they would proceed further, they ſaid, not ceaſing till they ſaw an end thereof. To be ſhort, great threats there were on both parts, and a foul matter like to have followed. But again, through the diligent mediation of the Queen, the Prelates, and the foreſaid Earl of *Gloceſter*, the matter was taken up and brought to reconcilement upon theſe conditions, that the Lords and Barons openly in *Weſtminſter*-Hall ſhould humble themſelves before the King, and ask pardon there of their doings, and every man there to receive a Letter of the Kings pardon for their indemnity, and aſſurance. And ſo paſſed over that year, within the which year died *Robert Winchelſey* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In whoſe room *Thomas Cobham* was Elected by the King and Church of *Canterbury* to ſucceed; but the Pope fruſtrating the Election, placed *Walter Reinold* Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Mediation for making peace.

The King reconciled again with his Nobles.

Anno 1313.

What diſcord doth in a Common weal.

In the mean time the *Scots* hearing this civil diſcord in the Realm, began to be buſie, and to rebell of new through the means of *Robert Bruis*; who being chaſed out of *Scotland* by King *Edward* the Firſt, as is above premiſed, into *Norway*, was now returned again into *Scotland*; where he demeaned himſelf in ſuch ſort to the Lords there, that in ſhort proceſs he was again made King of the Realm, and warred ſo ſtrongly upon them that took the Kings part, that he wan from them many Caſtles and ſtrong holds, and invaded the borders of *England*. The King hearing this, aſſembleth a great power, and by water entreth the Realm of *Scotland*. Againſt whom incountred *Robert de Bruis* with his *Scots* at *Eſtrivelin*, where was fought a ſtrong battel; in the end whereof the *Engliſhmen* were diſcomfited, and ſo eagerly purſued by the *Scots*, that many of the Noblemen were ſlain, as the Earl of *Gloceſter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Edmund Maule*, with other Lords to the number of forty two, and Knights and Barons 227, beſides men of name, which were taken priſoners; of common Souldiers ten thouſand, or after the *Scotiſh* Story, fifty thouſand ſlain. After which time Sir *Robert Bruis* raigned as King of *Scotland*.

The *Scots* rebell againſt the Realm of *England*.

*Engliſhmen* overcome by the *Scots*.

About which time, and in which year died Pope *Clement*, who keeping in the Realm of *France*, never came to the See of *Rome*; after whoſe death the Papacy ſtood void two years.

Pope *Clements* never ſat in the See of *Rome*.

Anno 1314.

The *Scots* after this exalted with pride and fierceneſs, invaded the Realm of *England* ſo ſore, killing and deſtroying man, woman, and child; that they came winning and waſting the North parts as far as to *York*. Beſides this, ſuch dearth of victuals, and penury of all things ſo oppreſſed the whole land, ſuch murrain of Sheep and Oxen; as men were fain to eat Horſe-fleſh, Dogs, Cats, Mice, and what elſe they could get. Moreover ſuch a price of Corn followed withal, that the King hardly had bread for the ſuſtentation of his own houſhold. Moreover, ſome there were that did ſteal children and eat them, and many for lack of victual died. And yet all this amended not the King of his evil living.

Miſerable dearth and famine in *England*.

The

A deſcription of an horrible famine in the Realm of *England.*

The cauſe and origen of this great dearth, was partly the wars and diſſention between them and the *Scots*, whereby a great part of the land was waſted. But the chiefeſt cauſe was the untemperate ſeaſon of the year, which contrary to the common courſe, was ſo moiſt with abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could have no ripening by heat of the Sun, nor grow to any nouriſhment. Whereby they that had to eat could not be ſatisfied with ſaturity, but eftſoons were as hungry again. They that had nothing were driven to ſteal and rob; the rich were conſtrained to avoid and diminiſh their houſholds; the poor for famine died. And not ſo much the want of victual, which could not be gotten, as the unwholſomeneſs of the ſame when it was taken, ſo conſumed the people, that the quick were not ſufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reaſon of the unſeaſonableneſs of the ground, was ſo infectious that many died of the Flux, many of hot Fevers, divers of the Peſtilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but alſo the beaſts by the putrifaction of the herbs and graſs fell into as great a murrain ſo far forth as that the eating of fleſh was ſuſpect and thought contagious. A Quarter of Corn and Salt, from the month of *June* to *September* grew from thirty ſhillings unto forty ſhillings. The fleſh of Horſes was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to ſteal fat Dogs, and to eat them. Some were ſaid in ſecret corners to eat their own Children. Some would ſteal other mens Children to kill them and eat them privily. The priſoners and thieves that were in bands, for hunger fell upon ſuch as were newly brought in unto them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them half alive. Briefly, this extream penury had extinguiſhed and conſumed (as it was thought) the greateſt part of the people of the land, had not the King by the advice of the *Londoners* given forth Commandment through all his land, that no Corn ſhould at that time be turned to the making of drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is diſpoſed to ſtrike. And yet we miſerable creatures in our wealth and abundance will not ſurceaſe daily to provoke his terrible Majeſty.

*Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ. in vita Edwardi 2.*

But let us return to the order again of our Story. After the *Scots* had thus plagued miſerably (as ye have heard) the Realm of *England*; they invaded alſo *Ireland*, where they kept and continued war the ſpace of four years. But in fine, the *Iriſhmen* (by aid ſent to them from *England*) quit themſelves ſo well that they vanquiſhed the *Scots*, and ſlew *Edward Bruis*, and many of the Nobles of *Scotland*, with many other, and drove the reſidue out of the Country.

The *Scots* driven out of *Ireland.*

{Anno 1317.} The King about the twelfth year of his raign, aſſembled a new Hoſt, and went into *Scotland*, where he laid ſiege to *Barwick*. But in the mean time the *Scots* by another way, invaded the Merchants of *Yorkſhire*, robbing and harrying the Country, and they ſlew much people. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of *York*, and other Abbots, Priors, Clerks, with Husbandmen, aſſembled a great company, and gave them battel at a place called *Mitton*, where the *Engliſhmen* were diſcomfited, and many of them ſlain; but the Archbiſhop and the Abbot of *Selbie*, and divers others there eſcaped. But becauſe there were ſo many Spiritual men there ſlain, it was called therefore the *White Battel*. By reaſon whereof the King hearing of this, and partly becauſe Winter did approach, was conſtrained to break up his ſiege, and ſo returned not without great danger.

The White battel of the Spiritual men in *Yorkſhire.*

The two *Spenſers.*

At this time the two *Spenſers* (Sir *Hugh Spenſer* the Father, and *Hugh Spenſer* the Son) were of great power in *England*, and by the favour of the King practiſed ſuch cruelty, and bear themſelves ſo haughtily and proud, that no Lord of this land might gain-ſay them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the Nobles, and the Commons, no leſs than *Peter Gaveſton* was before.

Two Legates ſent from *Rome.* The Popes pillage. The Popes Legates ſpoiled of all their ill gotten treaſure. The Popes Curſe contemned of the *Scots.*

Soon upon this came two Legates from *Rome*, ſent by Pope *John* the 22*th*, under pretence to ſet agreement between *England* and *Scotland*; who for their charges and expences, required of every Spiritual perſon four pence in every Mark. But all their labour nothing availed: for the Legates as they were in the North parts (about *Derlington*) with their whole family and train, were robbed and diſſpoiled of their Horſes, Treaſure, Apparel, and what elſe they had, and with an evil favoured handling, retired back again to *Dureſm*, where they ſtaid a while waiting for an anſwer from the *Scots*. But when neither the Popes Legacy nor his curſe would take any place with the *Scots*, they returned again to *London*, where they firſt Excommunicated and curſed as black as foot all thoſe arrogant and preſumptuous robbers of *Northumberland*. Secondly, for ſupplying of the loſſes received, they exacted of the Clergy to be given and paid unto them eight pence in every Mark. But the Clergy thereunto would not agree, ſeeing it was their own covetouſneſs (as they ſaid) that made them venture farther than they needed. Only they were contented to relieve them after four pence in a Mark, as they promiſed before, further they would not grant. Whereof the King being advertiſed, and taking part with his Clergy, directed his Letters to the ſaid Legates in form as followeth:

{KING Edw. 2.}

The Clergy of *England* denieth to contribute to the Popes Legates.

A prohibition againſt ſtrange Taxes and Impoſitions.

*REX Magiſtro Rigando de Aſſerio, Canonico Aurelian. Salutem*, &c.

In *Engliſh* thus:

The King to Maſter *Rigand* of *Aſſerio*, Canon of *Aurelia*, Greeting: We have taken notice of the clamors and lamentable petitions of the ſubjects of our Realm, perceiving by the ſame that you practiſe many and ſundry inconveniences very ſtrange, never heretofore accuſtomed nor heard of in this our Realm, as well againſt the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical perſons, as againſt the Laity, even to the utter oppreſſion and impoveriſhing of many our liege people, which if it ſhould be winked at (as God forbid) may in proceſs of time be occaſion of greater perils to inſue, whereat we are (not without cauſe) moved, and not a little grieved: We forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practiſe not, ne preſume in any caſe to attempt any thing within this our Realm, either againſt our Clergy or Laity, that may any manner of way tend to the prejudice of our Royal perſon, or of our Crown and dignity Regal. Witneſs the King at *Windſor* the ſixth day of *February*, in the 11*th* year of his Raign.

*Per Concilium.*

Likewiſe in the ſame year the ſaid King writeth to the ſame effect to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as followeth: *Rex venerabili in Chriſto Patri*, W. *eadem gra. Archiepiſcopo Cant.* &c.

In *Engliſh* thus:

The King to the Reverend Father in God, *W.* by the ſame Grace Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of *England*, Greeting: We are credibly informed by many our ſubjects, that certain ſtrange Impoſitions, never heard of before within any our Dominions, upon Lands and Tenements, Goods and Cattels, concerning the teſtaments and caſes of Matrimony, are brought into our Realm to be executed upon our ſubjects by you or ſome others; which if it ſhould proceed to execution, would manifeſtly tend to the diſheriſon, and impeachment of our Crown and dignity Regal, and the intolerable damage of the ſubjects of our Realm, to the due preſervation of the which you are bound by ſolemn Oath of Allegiance. We therefore command and ſtraitly charge you, that you proceed not in any caſe to the execution of any ſuch Letters, either in your own perſon, or by any other, nor yet preſume by colour of the ſame to attempt any thing that may be prejudicial or hurtful to our Crown or dignity Regal. And if you or any other in your name have done or attempted any thing by colour of the ſame, that ye call back and revoke the ſame forthwith without delay. Witneſs the King at *Shene* the 17*th* of *February*, the 11*th* year of his Raign.

*Per ipſum Regem.*

The like Letters in effect were directed to the Archbiſhop of *York*, and to every other Biſhop through *England*. By force of which Letters the greedy Legates being reſtrained of their ravening purpoſe, taking what they could get, and ſetling a peace (ſuch as it was) between the King and the Earl of *Lancaſter*, were fain to pack.

Beſides the reſtraint above mentioned for ſtrange Impoſitions, there followed moreover the ſame year the Kings prohibition for the gathering of *Peter*-pence, directed to the foreſaid Legate, the tenour whereof followeth.

A.

{KING Edw. 2}

## *A Prohibition of* Peter-pence.

*Rex Magiſtro Rigando, &c.* In Engliſh thus:

A Prohibition for paying the Popes *Peter-pence.*

The King to Maſter *Rigand* of *Aſſerio* Canon of *Aurelia*, Greeting. We are given to underſtand that you do demand and purpoſe to levy the *Peter-peny* within our Realm, otherwiſe than the ſaid *Peter-peny* hath been heretofore accuſtomed to be levied in the time of any our Progenitors, exerciſing herein grievous cenſures Eccleſiaſtical to the great annoyance and damnifying of the Subjects of our Realm: for preſent remedy whereof our loving ſubjects have made their humble ſupplication unto us. And for as much as the ſaid *Peter-peny* hath been hitherto accuſtomed to be gathered and levied upon Lands and Tenements within our Realm after a due manner and form: we not willing that any ſuch unaccuſtomed impoſitions ſhall in any wiſe be made upon the Lands and Tenements of any our ſubjects within our Dominions, prohibite you, upon grievous pain, ſtraitly charging that in no wiſe you preſume to exact, gather, or levy the ſaid *Peter-peny* in any other form or manner than hath been heretofore accuſtomed to be gathered and levied in the time of our Progenitors, or ſince the beginning of our Reign until further order be taken in our high Court of Parliament by the advice of the Nobles and Peers of our Realm, ſuch as may well be taken without prejudice of our Crown and damage of ſubjects. Witneſs the King at *Weſtminſter* the firſt day of *March*.

*Per ipſum Regem & Concilium.*

To the ſame effect Letters were directed to the Archbiſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and the reſt of the Clergy.

Touching the firſt original of which *Peter-pence* though mention be made before in the life of King *Offa* and others; yet to make a brief recapitulation of the ſame, according to the rolls as they come to our hands, thus it followeth, *De Denariis beati Petri ſic ſcriptum, &c.* That is to ſay, It is thus found recorded in Ancient Chronicles touching the *Peter-pence* of Saint *Peter*, *Anno.* 187. *Offa* King of *Mercia* travelled up to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Adrian* the firſt, to obtain the Canonizing of Saint *Albane*. And having performed his Vow, viſiting the Colledge of *Engliſh* Students which then floriſhed in *Rome*, he did give to the maintenance of the Scholars of *England*, Students in *Rome*, one peny out of every Tenement within this Realm that had land belonging to the ſame, amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of the Pope *Adrian*, that no perſon within his Dominion publick, repenting him for not performing enjoyned penance, ſhould therefore be baniſhed.

Read before in the lives of King *Offa* and King *Adelwolf*.

Anno Dom. 857. *Adewulfus Rex Weſtſaxonum. tempore Leonis Papæ quarti Romæ ſingulis annis* 300. *Mancuſas portari præcipit, talıter dividendas ibidem, viz.* 100. *Mancuſas in honorem ſcilicet Petri ſpecialiter ad emendum oleum, quo implerentur omnia Luminaria Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ in veſpere paſche & in galli cantu, &* 100. *Mancuſas in honorem ſcilicet Pauli eiſdem de cauſis,* 100. *Preterea Mancuſas præcipit exhiberi Univerſali Papæ ad ſuas eleemoſynas ampliandas. Et ſciendum, quod ſecundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretationem differunt mancuſa, & manca, quia marcuſa idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea: Manca vero erat monetæ aviæ quadra, & valebat communiter* 30. *denarios argenteos.*

Of which *Peter-pence* is found a Tranſcript of the original Reſcript Apoſtolical, the Tenor whereof is thus: *Gregorius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. & Ebor. Archiepiſcopis & eorum ſuffraganeis & dilectis filiis Abbatibus, Prioribus, Archidiaconis, eorumque officialibus per regnum Angliæ conſtitutis, ad quos literæ iſtæ pervenerint; ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Qualiter denarii beati Petri, qui debentur Cameræ noſtræ, colligantur in Anglia, & in quibus Epiſcopatibus & dioceſ. debeantur, ne ſuper hoc dubitari contingat. & præſentibus fecimus annotari, ſicut in Regiſtro ſedis Apoſtolicæ continetur. De* Cantuar. *dioceſ.* 7. l. 18. s. *ſterlingorum, De* London. *dioceſ.* 16. l. 10. s. *De* Roffenſ. *dioceſ.* 5. l. 12. s. *De* Norwicenſ. *dioceſ.* 21. l. 10. s. *De* Elienum. 5. l. *De* Lincoln. 42. l. *De* Ciſtrenſ. 8. l. *De* Winton. 17. l. 6. s. 8. d. *De* Exon. 9. l. 5. s. *De* Wigorne. 10. l. 5. s. *De* Hereford. 6. l. *De* Bathon. *dioceſ.* 12. l. 5. s. *De* Sarisbur. 17. l. *De* Coventre. 10. l. 5. s. *De* Eborac. 11. l. 10. s. *Datum apud urbem Veterem.* 10. *Kal. Maii. Pontificatus noſtri anno ſecundo.*

Summa, 30. marcæ & dimidi.

Concerning which *Peter-pence*, it is touched in the Laws of King *Edward* the Saint, Chap. 10. when, where, of whom, under what pain this *Peter-pence* muſt be gathered, being but the Kings meer Alms, as is aforeſaid. And thus much touching *Peter-pence*. Now for other Letters writen by the King to the Pope, the ſame year, for other matters, as craving the Popes help in compounding the variance betwixt the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for bearing the Croſs from the one Province to the other, thus it followeth: that the King grieveuſly complaineth, *quod tantæ diſſentiones. i. e.* that ſuch hurly burly and uproar aroſe thereof that they could not meet together in one place through the great multitude of Armed men aſſiſtants on both parts in the very bearing of the Croſs, to the great diſturbance of the People.

Now after this long digreſſion to turn to our *Engliſh* matters again, mention was made before of the variance between the King and the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and of a peace concluded between them. But this peace did not long endure: which the King by his own default did break; ſending to the *Scots* a privy Meſſenger (which was taken in the way) to have the foreſaid Earl of *Lancaſter*, by their means made away.

The pride of the *Spenſers.*

In the mean time the Lords and Nobles of *England*, deteſting the outragious pride of the *Spenſers* whereby they wrought daily both great diſhonour to the King, and hindrance to the Commonweal; in ſuch wiſe conſpired againſt them, that gathering their power together, they made a requeſt to the King, that he ſhould remove the *Spenſers* from his perſon. For the which there was a Parliament called at *London*, and the Barons came together with a great company. At the which Parliament both the *Spenſers* were baniſhed the Land for term of their lives: and they took Shipping at *Dover*, and ſo voided the Land. But it was not long after, but the King (contrary to the Ordinance made in the Parliament) ſent for the *Spenſers* again, and ſet them in High Authority; and they ruled all things after their ſenſual appetites, nothing regarding Juſtice nor the Commonwealth. Wherefore, the Barons intending again to reform this miſchief, aſſembled their powers: But the King (making ſo haſty ſpeed, and gathering his people ſo ſoon) was ſtronger than they, and purſued them ſo in divers places, that the Barons not fully joyned together (ſome flying, and ſome departing to the King, ſome ſlain by the way) in the end were chaſed ſo eagerly, that in ſhort ſpace, the foreſaid *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* was taken and put to death with the reſt of the Nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greateſt Men, and chiefeſt Captains of this Realm. Of whom only *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, for the Nobility of his Blood, was beheaded: All the other Lords and Barons, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. Which bloody unmercifulneſs of the King toward his natural ſubjects, not only procured to him great diſhonor within the Realm, but alſo turned afterward to his much more greater harm and hindrance, in his foreign Wars againſt the *Scots*: and finally wrought his utter confuſion, and overthrow of his Seat Royal, as in the ſequel of his end, appeared, and worthily.

{ANNO 1321}

*That Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* came of *Edmund* younger Son of King *Henry* the Third.

*Twenty two of the greateſt Nobility of the Realm put to death by the King.*

After the ruine of theſe Noble Perſonages, the King as thought he had gotten a great conqueſt (who then indeed began firſt to be overcome and conquered himſelf, when he ſo oppreſſed and cut off the ſtrength and ſinews of his Chivalry) began to triumph not a little with the *Spenſers*; and to count himſelf ſure as though he were in Heaven, to exerciſe more ſharp ſeverity upon his ſubjects, truſting and committing all to the counſel only of the foreſaid *Spenſers*: Inſomuch, that both the Queen and the reſidue of the other Nobles could little be regarded. Who, as they

{ANNO 1222.}

*The cruel rejoycing of the King.*

KING *Edw.2*

grew ever in more contempt with the King; so they increased in more hatred against the *Spensers:* but strength and ability lacked to work their will.

{Anno 1323.}

The next year the King being at *York*, after he had made Sir *Hugh Spenser* Earl, and Sir *John Baldock* a Man of evil Fame, to be Chancellor of *England*; he then arreared a mighty Host against the *Scots*. But for lack of skilful guiding, expert Captains, and for want specially of due provision of Victuals necessary for such an Army, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundred thousand (wandring through *Scotland*, from whence the *Scots* had conveyed all their goods and cattel into mountains, and marshes) were so pinched and starved with famine, that a great part of the Army, there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soon as they tasted of Meats, escaped not. The King not having resistance of his Enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring, Sir *James Duglas* and the *Scots* having knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise, that they slew many *English*-men, and had well neer taken the King himself. After which distress, the King, thus beaten and wearied with the *Scots*, would fain have joyned in Truce with the *Scots:* But because they stood Excommunicate by the Pope, he standing in fear thereof, desired licence to intreat with them of peace, the said Excommunication notwithstanding: which licence being obtained, a treaty was appointed by Commissioners on both parts at *Newcastle* at the Feast of Saint *Nicholas* next ensuing; and so Truce was taken for 12. years. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way (gentle Reader) not unworthy of observation, That whereas in former times, and especially of the late King *Edward* the first, so long as the *Scots* were under the Popes Blessing, and we in displeasure with his Holiness for dealing with them, so long we prevailed mightily against them, even to the utter subversion in manner of their whole Estate. But now so soon as the Pope took our part, and the *Scots* were under his Curse and Excommunication, then gat they greater victories against us, than at any time either before or sithence, insomuch as being before not able to defend themselves against us, they now pursued us into the bowels of our Country.

The King distressed again in *Scotland.*

The King purposing to erect a House of Friers *Augustines*, within the Town of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, first payed the Popes licence in that behalf.

*Polydorus Virgilius* among other Histories of our *English* Nation which he intermedleth withal, prosecuting also the Acts and life of this present King, and coming to write of the Queens going over into *France*, inferreth much variety and diversity of Authors and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giveth himself no true certainty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he being an *Italian* and a Foreigner, could not understand our *English* Tongue: And partly again, being but one Man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latin Authors. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latin History fair written in Parchment (but without name) belonging to the Library of *William Cary* Citizen of *London*. In which Story, the truth of this matter, without all ambiguity, is there fully and with all Circumstances expressed, as here briefly is insested.

*Polydorus Virgilius*, an *Italian* writeth of our *English* Stories.

{Anno 1324.}

The King of *England* had been divers and sundry times cited up to the Court of *France*, to do Homage to the *French* King, for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and other Lands which the King then held of *France*. Which Homage, because the King of *England* refused to tender, the *French* King began to enter all such possessions as the King then did hold in *France:* whereupon great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length in this year now present, a Parliament was called at *London*; Where (after much alteration) at last it was determined; that certain should be sent over, to wit, the Bishops of *Winchester*, and *Norwich*, and the Earl of *Richmond*, to make agreement betwixt the two Kings. For the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward, that Queen *Isabel*, Sister to *Charles* then the *French* King, should be sent over. Where is to be noted first, that the Queens Lands, and possessions and Castles a little before, upon the breach between the *French* King and the King of *England*, were seised into the Kings hands, and the Queen put unto her Pension, &c. Thus the Queen being sent over with a few to attend upon her, only Sir *John Cromwel* Baron, and four Knights, took their passage into *France:* By whose mediation, it was there concluded, that the King of *England* (if he would not himself come to do his Homage) he should give to his Son *Edward* the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and the Earldom of *Pontine*, and so he to come to make his Homage to the King, and to possess the same. This being in *France* concluded, was sent over by message to the King of *England*, with the Kings Letters Patents adjoyned for the safe Conduct of him or of his Son. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the Council of *England*. But the two *Spensers* fearing either to take the Seas with the *King*, or else without the King to remain behind, for fear of the Nobles, so appointed, that Prince *Edward* the Kings Son was sent, which happened after to their utter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in *France*, King *Edward* of *England*, soon after *Michaelmas*, sendeth for his Wife and his Son again out of *France*. But she sending home most part of her family, refuseth her self to return. For what cause it is not fully certain, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the King, as is before premised; or whether for fear and hatred of the *Spensers*, as is likely; or else for love and familiarity of Sir *Roger Mortimer*. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir *Roger Mortimer*, with divers other of the Barons part, which had broken prison in *England*, were fled before into *France* and now resorted unto the Queen. The King seeing this, giveth forth in Proclamation, and limiteth a certain day to the Queen and his Son to return; or else to be proclaimed Traytors to the King and to the Realm. Notwithstanding, the Queen persisting in her purpose, denieth to return, unless the other Nobles which were fled might be permitted safely also to return with her. Whereupon, the King immediatly caused them both to be proclaimed Traytors, and all them that took their parts.

The Queen sent to *France.*

Prince *Edward* made Duke of *Aquitain* and Earl of *Pontine.*

The Queen and the Prince refuse to return into *England.*

The Queen and the Prince proclaimed Traytors in *England.*

Here then began great hatred between King and King, between the King and the Queen, much preparation of War, great spoiling on the Sea, much sending between the Pope and them; but that would not serve. Then the King (by the Counsel of the *Spensers*) sendeth privily to procure the death of the Queen and of his Son; which should be wrought by the execution of the Earl of *Richmond*, the Queens familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrate. Albeit, the Queen yet notwithstanding, (whether misdoubting what corruption of Money might do in the Court of *France:* or whether the *French* King being threatned by the King of *England*, and by the Pope durst not detain her) removed from thence, and was received, with *Edward* her Son, joyously and Honorably in the Court or Country of the Earl of *Henawde*. Where by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded between the said *Edward* her Son being of the age of fourteen years, and *Philip* the foresaid Earls Daughter. When this was noised in *England*, divers Men of Honor and name came over to the Queen. And soon after the Earl of *Haynawde* prepared a Crew of five hundred men of Arms to set over the young Prince with his Mother into *England*. Of this the Fame sprang shortly through the Realm. Wherefore the King in all defensible ways made provision to have the Havens and Ports of his Land surely kept, to resist the landing of his Enemies. On the contrary side the Queen with no less preparation provideth all things to her expedition necessary. Who when she saw her time, speeding her self to the Sea Coast with Prince *Edward* her Son, Lord *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the Kings Brother, Sir *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Wygmore* and other Exiles of *England*, accompanied also with the foresaid *Henawders*, of whom Sir *John Henawde* the Earls Brother was Captain, having with her of *English*-men and Strangers, the number of 2757. Souldiers: she took shipping in those parts and had the Wind so favourable, that they landed in *England*, at a Port called *Orwel* by *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, in the Dominion of the Earl *Marshal*, the month of *September*. To whom after her landing resorted Earl *Marshal*, the Earl of *Leicester*, with other Barons, Knights, and Bishops

The King conspired privily the death of the Queen and of his Son.

{Anno 1325.}

Prince *Edward* betrothed to the Earl of *Heinawdes* Daughter.

The Queen returneth to *England.*

The landing of the Queen.

The Queen put to her Pension.

{KING Edw. 2} Biſhops alſo; namely of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Dureſme*, and *Ely*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though he came not himſelf, yet ſent his aid and money. Thus the Queen, well furniſhed with plenty both of men and victual, ſetteth {Anno 1326} forward toward *London*: So that the further ſhe came, the more her number daily increaſed, and the Kings power contrarily decreaſed; inſomuch that, as mine Author affirmeth, not one almoſt in all the Realm could be hired with any wages to fight on the Kings behalf againſt the Queen, neither did the Queens Army hurt any Man or Child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

The King deſtitute of help and Souldiers.

At the arriving of the Queen, the King was in *London*, which firſt would not believe it to be true. Afterward (ſeeing and perceiving how it was) he asketh help of the *Londoners*. Who after mature adviſement, rendred this anſwer to the King again: That as touching the King, the Queen, and their Son (the lawful Heir of the Kingdom) they were ready with all duty and ſervice, to Honor and Obey. As for Strangers and Traytors to the Realm, they would receive none ſuch within their City gates. Furthermore, to go out of the City to fight, that they ſaid they would not, unleſs it were ſo, that according to the Liberties of their City, they might return home again before Sun ſet. The King hearing this anſwer (which liked him not well) fortifieth the Tower of *London* with men and victual, committing the Cuſtody thereof to *John Ealtham* his younger Son, and to the Wife of *Hugh Spenſer* his Niece. And leaving *Walter Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter* behind him to have the Rule of the City of *London*, he himſelf hearing daily the great recourſe of the people that drew to the Queen, for more ſafegard to himſelf, fled with a ſmall Company Weſtward toward *Wales*. But before his departing from *London*, he cauſed a Proclamation to be made, wherein all and ſingular perſons were charged, upon forfeit of life and goods, every Man with all his power to riſe and invade the rebels and deſtroy them all, only the life of the Queen, his Son, and his Brother reſerved. Alſo that no Man upon pain Pretaxate, ſhould help, reſcue, or relieve the ſaid rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwiſe. *Item*, it was alſo proclaimed, that whoſoever would bring to the King the Head and Body of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, either dead or alive, ſhould have out of the Kings Coffers a Thouſand pounds.

The anſwer of the *Londoners* to the King.

The Liberties of the City of *London* in going out to War.

The Kings Proclamation.

In contrariwiſe, the Queen ſetteth forth another Proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or ſpoil violently the value of any Mans goods againſt the will of the Owner, under pain of loſing his Finger, if it were three pence: Of his Hand, if it were ſix pence: Of his Head, if it were twelve pence. Moreover, whoſoever would bring to the Queen the Head of *Hugh Spenſer* the younger, Chopt off from his Body, ſhould receive for ſo doing of the Queen, two Thouſand pounds. This done the Queen ſendeth her Letters to the City of *London* for aid and ſuccor to ſubdue the oppreſſor of the Realm, to the which Letters firſt no anſwer was made. Again, ſhe wrote the ſecond Letter, which was then Tacked upon the Croſs in *Cheape*, which was then called the new Croſs. The Copy and Tenor of which Letter was this.

The Queens Proclamation.

## The Copy of a Letter that the Queen ſent unto the Maior and Citizens of *London*.

The Queens Letter.

I. Sabel *by the Grace of God*, *Queen of* England, *Lady of* Ireland, *and Counteſs of* Pountif. *And We* Edward *the firſt Son of the King of* England, *Duke of* Guayn, *Earl of* Cheſter, *of* Pountif, *and of* Mounſtrel, *to the Maior and all the Communalty of* London, *ſend Greeting. For as much as we have before this time ſent to you by our Letters, and how we come into this Land in good Array, and good manner, for the profit of Holy Church, and of our right dear Lord and King, and all the Realm, with all our might and ſtrength to keep and maintain the Realm, as all good people ought to do: and upon that we prayed you and deſired you that ye would be helping to us for the health and profit of the Realm; and we have had none anſwer of you, nor know not your will in that part. Wherefore we ſend to you again, and pray you, and charge you, that ye bear you ſo toward us, that ye have nor make us no cauſe to grieve, but that ye be helping to us in all the ways that you may. And weet you well in certain, that we and alſo thoſe that come with us into this Realm, intend nothing to be done, but what ſhall be pleaſing to God, and the common profit to all the Realm: nor any thing elſe, but to deſtroy the* Spenſers, *Enemies to the Realm, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the Faith that you owe to our Lord the King, to the Crown and to us, and upon all that we may forfeit, that if* Hugh Spenſer, *both the Father and the Son our Enemies, come within your power, that ye cauſe them haſtily to be taken, and ſafely kept, till we have ordained for them our will, as ye deſire Profit and Honour of us, and of the Realm. Underſtanding well, if it be ſo that ye do our deſire and prayer, we ſhall the more be beholden to you. And alſo we ſhall do you profit and worſhip if that you ſend us haſtily word again of your will. Given at* Baldock *the ſixth day of* October.

The Biſhop of *Exeter* beheaded of the Commons at the ſtandard in *Cheape*.

This Biſhop of *Exeter* builded in *Oxford* two Colledges, Exeter Colledge, and *Hart-Hall*, whoſe name was *Gualter Stapleton*.

These aforeſaid Letters being publiſhed and peruſed, the Biſhop of *Exeter*, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the Rule of the City, ſent to the Maior for the Keyes of the Gates, uſing ſo ſharp words in the Kings name, that variance began to kindle between him and the Citizens; ſo far forth that the Commons in their rage took the foreſaid Biſhop and beheaded him and two of his Houſhold at the Standard in *Cheape*. Then the King went to *Briſtow*, and ordained Sir *Hugh Spenſer* the Father there to keep the Caſtle and the Town; and the King with *Hugh Spenſer* the Son, and Sir *Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and the Earl of *Arundel* went into *Wales*. And the Queen ſo purſued them, that firſt they took the Town yielded up to her; Then they took Sir *Hugh Spenſer* the Father, whom being drawn and torn, they at laſt hanged up at *Briſtow* in Chains of Iron. As the King was thus flying, the Queen cauſed to be proclaimed through her Army, that the King ſhould come and appear, and ſo receive his Kingdom again, if he would be comfortable to his Liege Subjects. Who when he did not appear, Prince *Edward* his Son was proclaimed high Keeper of the Realm.

*Hugh Spenſer* the Father, taken and hanged in Chains.

In the mean time *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, and Brother to the good Earl *Thomas* which before was beheaded, alſo Lord *William Souch*, and Maſter *Uphowel* were ſent by the Queen into *Wales* to purſue the King; and there they took him and ſent him to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*: and took *Hugh Spenſer* the Son, and Sir *Robert Baldock* Chancellor, and Sir *John* Earl of *Arundel*, and brought them all to the Town of *Hereford*. And anon after *Hugh Spenſer* the Son was drawn and hanged on a Gallows Fifty Foot high, and after beheaded and quartered, whoſe quarters were ſent into four quarters of the Realm. Sir *John* of *Arundel* was beheaded, Sir *Robert Baldock* was put in *Newgate* at *London*, where ſhortly after he Pined away and died among the Thieves. This done, a Parliament was Aſſembled at *London*, from whence meſſage was ſent to the King, that if he would reſign up his Crown, his Son ſhould have it after him: If not, another ſhould take it to whom the lot would give it. Whereupon the King, being conſtrained to yield up his Crown to his Son, was kept in priſon, and after had to *Barkley*; where he is ſaid to take great repentance. After this meſſage being ſent, and the King half condeſcending thereunto (the Parliament notwithſtanding proſecuting and going forward) there was a Bill exhibited and put up, containing certain Articles againſt the ſaid King, then in priſon in the Caſtle of *Barkley*, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the Realm: which Bill openly before the Lords and Commons, by the Speaker of the Parliament Houſe was read. After long conſultation thereof amongſt themſelves touching thoſe Articles, and alſo for the better and more circumſpect Government of the Realm from that time forth: it was conſulted and agreed upon by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons there Aſſembled, that the ſaid *Edward* was a Man not meet to be their King, nor from that time forth any more to bear the Crown Royal or Title of a King: But that *Edward* his Eldeſt Son, who there in the ſame Court of high Parliament was preſent, as he was rightful Heire and Inheitor thereunto, ſo ſhould he be Crowned King thereof in his Fathers ſtead, with theſe conditions thereunto annexed, That he ſhould take wife, Sage, and true Counſellors unto him, that the Realm might be better and more circum-

The King taken in *Wales*. *Hugh Spenſer* the Son taken and executed.

A Bill exhibited in the Parliament Houſe againſt King *Edward* the ſecond.

King *Edward* depoſed by conſent of the Parliament Houſe, and his Son *Edward* choſen King.

ſpectly governed, than before in the time of *Edward* his Father it was: That the old King his Father ſhould be honourably provided for and kept, ſo long as he lived, according as unto his eſtate it appertained, &c. Theſe and other things thus finiſhed and ended, the Parliament breaketh up, and all things neceſſary to the Coronation of a Prince appertaining were in ſpeedy wiſe prepared whereof more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be ſpecified.

In the mean time as touching the King which was yet in priſon, *it is* thought by ſome Writers, that the next year following by the means of Sir *Roger Mortimer* he was miſerably ſlain, with a Spit (as is ſaid) being thruſt up into his body, and was buried at *Gloceſter*, after he had Reigned nineteen years.

*Michael* Houſe in *Cambridge* founded. *Henry Stanton* founder of *Micheal* Houſe in *Cambridge.*

In the time and Reign of this King, the Colledge of *Cambridge*, called *Michael* Houſe, was founded and builded by Sir *Henry Stanton* Kinght, to the uſe and increaſe of learning, a thing in a Commonwealth very profitable and neceſſary to be had; the want and need whereof, many ſundry times, is ſooner felt in this Realm of ours and other Realms abroad, than is the diſcommodity thereof of moſt Men commonly underſtood.

*Nicholaus de Lyar. Gulielmus Ocham.*

About the ſame time alſo was *Nicolaus de Lyra*, which wrote the ordinary Gloſs of the Bible. Alſo *Gulielmus Ocham* a Worthy Divine, and of a right ſincere Judgment, as the times then would either give or ſuffer.

*Tyranny odious to the people.*

In the tractation of this Kings Hiſtory, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the Hearts of the Barons againſt the King, for revoking ſuch Acts and Cuſtoms, as had been before in the Parliament eſtabliſhed, both for *Peter Gaveſton*, and for the two *Spenſers*. Alſo what ſevere puniſhment the King did execute upon them for the ſame, in ſuch cruel and rigorous ſort, that as he ſpared none of them, whom he could there find; ſo he never ceaſed all his life after to enquire out, and to be revenged of all ſuch, as had been in any part, or conſenting to that matter. For the which his extream and implacable Tyranny, he was in ſuch hatred of all the people; that as he ſaid, he could not find one of all the Commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one *Adam* Biſhop of *Hereford*: who being impeached of Treaſon with other more, was at length arreſted in the Parliament to appear and anſwer to that which ſhould be to him Objected. Many things there were laid againſt him, for taking part with them that roſe againſt the King, with matters more, and Hainous rebukes, &c. Whereunto the Biſhop a great while anſwered nothing.

*A ſpiritual Biſhop called and arreſted before a Secular Judge.*

*Ex Theo. Wolſing.*

At length the Biſhop claiming the Liberties and Priviledges of the Church, anſwered to the King in this Form. The due Reverence of your Princly Majeſty ever ſaved,

*The form of words when any Biſhop doth Challenge the priviledge of the Church againſt a ſecular Judge.*

*Ego Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Dei Miniſter humilis, membrum ejus, & Epiſcopus conſecratus, licet indignus, ad tam ardua nequeo reſpondere, nec debeo, abſque D.*Cant. *Archiepiſcopi, poſt ſummum pontificem mei directi judicis, cujus etiam ſum ſuffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Epiſcoporum conſenſu.* That is, I an humble Miniſter and member of the holy Church of God, and Biſhop conſecrate (albeit unworthy) cannot, neither ought to anſwer to theſe ſo high matters without Authority of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* my direct Judge, next under the High Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe Suffragan alſo I am, and the conſent likewiſe of the other my Fellow Biſhops. After

*The Biſhop reſcued by the Clergy.*

which words by him pronounced, the Archbiſhop and other Biſhops with him were ready to make humble Interceſſion for him to the King, and did. But when the King would not be won nor turned with any ſupplication; the ſaid Biſhop, together with the Archbiſhop and the Clergy, coming with their Croſſes, took him away, Challenging him for the Church, without any more anſwer making: Charging moreover, under the Cenſures of the Church and Excommunication, none to preſume to lay any further

*The King proceedeth in judgment againſt the Biſhop, the priviledges of the Church notwithſtanding to the contrary.*

hands upon him. The King, moved with this boldneſs and ſtoutneſs of the Clergy commandeth notwithſtanding to proceed in Judgment, and the Jury of twelve Men to go upon the inquiry of his Cauſe: who finding and pronouncing the Biſhop to be Guilty, the King cauſed immediatly all his goods and poſſeſſions to be confiſcate unto himſelf: Moreover, he made his Plate and all his Houſhold Proviſion to be thrown out of his Houſe into the Street; but yet he remained ſo ſtill under the protection and defence of the Archbiſhop &c.

This Archbiſhop was *Walter Winchelſey*, after whom ſucceeded *Simon Mepham* in the ſame See of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1327. *Ex Thom. Walſingham.*

KING { *Edw.*2 *Simon Mepham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

After Pope *Clement* the Fifth, by whoſe deceaſe the *Romiſh* See ſtood vacant (as ye have heard) two years and three months, next was Elected Pope *John* the two and twentieth, a *Ciſtercian* Monk, who ſate in that Papacy eighteen years. He was ſtout and inflexible, given ſo much to the heaping of riches, that he proclaimed them Hereticks, which taught that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had no poſſeſſions of their own in this world. At this time was Emperor *Ludovicus Bavarus*, a worthy Man; who with this Pope, and other that followed him, had no leſs contention, than had *Fredericus* before mentioned in the time of King *Henry* the Third. Inſomuch that this contention and variance continued the ſpace of four and twenty years. The cauſe and firſt origine of this Tragical conflict, roſe upon the conſtitution of *Clement* the fifth Predeceſſor to this Pope; by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that Emperors, by the *German* Princes elected, might be called Kings of the *Romans*, but might not enjoy the Title or right of the Empire, to be Nominated Emperors, without their confirmation given by the Pope. Wherefore, this aforeſaid Emperor, becauſe he uſed the Emperial Dignity in *Italy*, before he was Authoriſed by the Pope, the ſaid Pope therefore Excommunicated the Emperor. And notwithſtanding the Emperor oftentimes did proffer himſelf to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the Pope inflixible would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the ſaid Biſhop doth make his vaunt, that he had full power to create and depoſe Kings and Emperors at his pleaſure. In the ſame time were divers learned Men, which ſeeing the matter, did greatly diſallowed the Biſhops of *Romes* doings; among whom was *Gulielm Ocham*, whoſe Tractations were afterward condemned by the Pope, for writing againſt the Temporal Juriſdiction of their See. And another named *Marſilius Patavinus*, which Wrote the Book intituled *Defenſor Pacis*, which was given into the Hands of the ſaid Emperor; wherein the controverſie of the Popes unlawful Juriſdiction in things Temporal is largely diſputed, and the uſurped Authority of that See ſet forth to the uttermoſt. It is found in ſome Writers, that a great cauſe of this variance firſt began, for that one of the Emperors Secretaries, unknown to the Emperor, in certain of his Letters had likened the Papal See to the beaſt riſing out of the See in the Apocalypſe. At length when the Emperor after much ſute made to the Pope at *Avinion*, could not obtain his Coronation; coming to *Rome* he was there received with great Honour, where he with his Wife were both Crowned by the full conſent of all the Lords and Cardinals there; and moreover, another Pope was there ſet up, called *Nicolas* the fifth. After which things done, the Pope not long after departed at *Avinion* in *France*; after whom ſucceeded then *Benedictus* the twelfth a Monk of *Benedictus* order, and Reigned ſeven years. Who by the Counſel of *Philip* the *French* King, confirmed and proſecuted the cenſures and curſings that *John* his Predeceſſor had publiſhed againſt *Lewes* the Emperor: Moreover, he deprived him of his Emperial Crown, and alſo of his Dukedom of *Bavaria*. The Emperor upon this cometh to *Germany*, and Aſſembling the Princes Electors, Dukes, Biſhops, Nobles, and the learned in a Council at *Frankford*, there declared before them out of the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Empire, how it ſtandeth only in the Princes Electors, and in none other to Elect the Kings or the Emperors of the *Romans*, for in both theſe names was no difference) ſo that the ſame Electors, in chooſing the King of the *Romans*, did alſo Elect and chuſe the Emperor. Which Emperor ſo by them conſtitute had lawful right, without any information of the Apoſtolical See, to exerciſe the Adminiſtration of the Empire. And if he were lawfully Elect, he ought to be annointed of the *Roman* Biſhop: which if he do refuſe, then might he be annointed and declared Emperor and *Auguſtus* by any other Catholick Biſhop thereunto appointed; (as by the old manner and cuſtom hath been) eſpecially ſeeing theſe Injunctions are but certain ſolemnities added and invented by the Biſhops, only for a token of unity between the Church and Empire, to govern and defend the Faith together. Wherefore in that the Emperor

*Pope John the 22th a Monk Ciſtercian.*

*A new found Hereſie. Hereſie with the Pope to ſay that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had no proper poſſeſſions here.*

*Strife between the Pope and the Emperor.*

*The Emperor Crowned againſt the will of the Pope.*

*Pope Benedictus the 12th a Monk of Benedictus order.*

*Ludovicus the Emperor deprived and depoſed by Pope Benedict the 12th.*

*A Councel at Frankford.*

*The Emperors Protaſtation to the Counſel of Germany.*

ſwear-

KING *Edw.2*

ſweareth to the Biſhop of *Rome*; in that is to be underſtood no Homage or fealty made to the Biſhop, but only it is a Sacrament and a promiſe given to defend the faith. The which Oath or Sacrament ſo given, giveth no Majority to the Pope in any temporal Rule, but only bindeth the Emperor to be preſt and ready to defend the Faith and Church of Chriſt, when need ſhall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the Pope leaneth only to the Electors Authority to make the King of *Romans*, and taketh upon himſelf alone power to make the Emperor; that, as it is newly brought in and deviſed of late by Pope *Clement* the fifth, ſo is it contrary both to all Ancient Order, and alſo derogatory to the liberty and Majeſty of the ſacred Empire. Again, neither is that alſo leſs abſurd and contrary to all right and reaſon, that the Pope, in time of the Imperial Seat being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the Empire, as lawful Emperor for the time. Which prerogative and function, by Ancient Orders of our fore-elders, ſhould properly and only appertain to the *Palatine* of *Rhene*; the Conſtitution *Clementine* of the foreſaid Pope *Clement* to the contrary notwithſtanding. Then in the end, for his own excuſe, he in the preſence of them all reciteth the publick confeſſion of his faith, to anſwer and purge himſelf of thoſe objections laid to him by the Pope. This did the meek Emperor *Ludovick* in that Council. Yet all this notwithſtanding, the ſaid Emperor remained ſtill excommunicate, till time that variance fell between this Pope *Benedict* and *Philip* the *French* King. Wherefore to make his party good, at leaſt to have ſome friends to flee to, he began to pretend favour and abſolution, rather for neceſſity, than for any good will to the Emperor. But not long after, this Pope died; of whom this Epitaph was made.

*Ex Hieron. Mario. Et ex Crantzio.*

*Hic ſitus eſt Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,*
*Devius a vero, cupa repleta mero.*

*Ex Chron. de 6. mundi ætatibus, intitul. rudimentum noviciorum.*

Pope *Clement* the ſixth.

The trouble of *Ludovick* the Emperor.

After whom followed Pope *Clement* the ſixth, a man moſt furious and cruel. Who renewing again the former Excommunications of his former Predeceſſors, cauſed his Letters to be ſet upon Church doors, wherein he threatned and denounced moſt terrible Thunderbolts againſt the ſaid *Lewis* the Emperor, unleſs within three days he ſhould ſatisfie to God and the Church, and renounce the Imperial poſſeſſion of the Crown. The Emperor upon this cometh to *Frankford*, and there ready to ſtand in all things to the ordinance of the Pope, ſendeth his Orators to the Court of *Rome*, to intreat the Pope of his favour and good will towards him. To the which Meſſengers the Pope anſwered again, that he would never pardon the Emperor, before he gave over and confeſſed his errors and Hereſies, and reſigning up his Empire to his hands, would ſubmit himſelf, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleaſure of the Biſhop; promiſing that he ſhould not receive again any part of the ſame, but upon his good grace, as his will ſhould be to reſtore them.

Hereſie of the Popes making objected againſt the Emperor.

The Hereſie here mentioned, which was to this Emperor objected by the Pope, was this; becauſe (as is above touched) he uſed and executed the Imperial Dignity after his election, before he was of the Pope confirmed. Over and beſides, the Pope ſendeth to the Emperor by the ſaid Orators a certain form of a bill contained in writing with certain conditions, which he commanded to be given to the hands of the Emperor, Here if the Emperor *Lewis* had as much mind to ſet upon the Pope with dint of ſword, as he lacked neither occaſion nor power ſo to do; what blood might here have been ſpilt? But the good Emperor, ſparing the effuſion of blood, receiveth gently the bill: and not only with his Seal doth confirm it, but alſo ſweareth to obſerve all the conditions thereof. Which the Pope hearing of, doth greatly marvel. But yet all this would nothing help to mollifie the modeſt heart of this *Pharao*.

The proud Heart of the Pope.

The Princes and Electors, ſeeing the Bill of the Articles and conditions, whereof ſome ſounded to the malicious defacing and deſtruction of the Empire, abhorring the wickedneſs thereof, deſired the Emperor to ſtand to the defence of the Imperial Dominion, as he had begun, promiſing that their aſſiſtance and aid to the uttermoſt thereunto ſhould not lack. Upon that other Orators were ſent to Pope *Clement* from the Princes, deſiring him to abſtain from ſuch manner of Articles conceived againſt the ſtate and majeſty of the Empire. The Pope ſurmiſing all this to ſpring from *Lewis* the Emperor, to the utter ſubverſion of him and all his poſterity, on *Maundy-Thurſday* bluſtreth out moſt black Curſes againſt him, alſo reneweth all the former Proceſſes of his Predeceſſor againſt him, as againſt both an Heretick and a ſchiſmatick; commanding moreover the Princes Electors to proceed in chuſing a new Emperor. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, ſeeing the innocency of the Emperor, would not conſent to the violating of his Majeſty; wherefore he was deprived by the Pope of all his Dignities. The other Biſhops Electors, as the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, which took eight thouſand Marks, with the Duke of *Saxony*, which took two thouſand Marks, being corrupted with money by *John* King of *Boheme*, elected *Charls* the Son of the ſaid *John*; whom Pope *Clement* eftſoons in his conſiſtory did approve. Who ſeeth not here what matter of war and bloodſhed was miniſtred by the Pope between theſe two Emperors, if the patience of *Ludovick* had not been more prudent to quench the fire, than the Pope was to kindle it? *Charles* then the new Emperor elect, ſped him to *Aquiſgrane*, according to the cuſtom, there to be Crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the Empreſs (*Ludovicus* Wife keeping thereabout) he was repelled. All this happened in the time and Reign of *Edward* the third, King of *England*; with whom the ſaid *Charles* with the *French* King, and King of *Boheme*, ſet on the Pope, encountred in war; where the King of *England* had againſt them a noble Victory, and ſlew a great number of the *French*-men and *Almains*, and put *Charles* the new Emperor to flight. In the mean time, among the Princes and Citizens of *Germany* what ſorrow and what complaints were againſt Pope *Clement* and thoſe Electors, it cannot be expreſſed. For as they were all together at *Spires* Congregated in a general Aſſembly, ſo there was none among them all, that allowed the election of *Charls*, or that cared for the Popes proceſs, promiſing all to adhere and continue faithful ſubjects to *Ludovick*, their lawful Emperor. But *Ludovick* remembring his Oath made before to the Popes bill, voluntarily and willingly gave over his Imperial Dignity, and went to *Burgravia*; where ſhortly after, through the procured practice of Pope *Clement* (as *Hieronymus Marius* doth write) poiſon was given him to drink. After the which being drunk, when he would have vomited out and could not, he took his Horſe and went to hunt the Boar, thereby through the chafing and heat of his body to expel the venom. And there the good and gentle Emperor, wickedly perſecuted and murdered of the Pope, fell down dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and bleſſed Martyrs of Chriſt. For if the cauſe being righteous doth make a Martyr, what Papiſt can juſtly diſprove his cauſe or faith? If perſecution joyned thereunto cauſeth Martyrdom, what Martyr could be more perſecuted than he who having three Popes like three Banddogs upon him, at length was devoured by the ſame? The Princes then hearing of his death, aſſembled themſelves to a new Election, who refuſing *Charles* aforeſaid, elected another for Emperor, named *Gunterus de Monte Nigro*. Who, ſhortly after falling ſick at *Frankford*, was likewiſe poiſoned through his Phyſitians ſervant, whom the foreſaid *Charles* had hired with money to work that feat. *Gunterus* taſting of the poiſon, although he did partly caſt it up again, yet ſo much remained within him, as made him unable afterward to ſerve that place. Wherefore for concord ſake, being Counſelled thereto by the *Germans*, he gave over his Empire to *Charles*. For elſe, great bloodſhed was like to enſue. This *Charles* thus ambitiouſly aſpiring to the Imperial Seat contrary to the minds of the States, and Peers of the Empire, as he did wickedly and unlawfully come by it, ſo was he by his ambitious guiding, the firſt and principal mean of the utter ruine of that Monarchy. For that he, to have his Son ſet up Emperor after him, convented and granted to the Princes Electors of *Germany* all the publick Taxes and Tributes of the Empire. Which covenant, being once made between the Emperor and them, they afterward held ſo faſt, that they cauſed the Emperor to ſwear never to revoke or call back again the ſame. By reaſon whereof, the Tribute of the Countries of *Germany*, which then belonged

*Lewis* the Emperor accuſed by the Pope for an Heretick.

A good and faithful Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

Bribers corrupted with money.

The Pope ſowed of diſcord and bloodſhed.

The Pope ſtirreth up Wars.

*Charles* the new Emperor put to flight by the *Engliſhmen*.

*Ludovick* the right Emperor reſigneth up his Empire.

*Ludovick* the Emperor poiſoned.

*Ludovicus* Emperor and Martyr.

*Gunterus de Monte Nigro* made Emperor.

*Gunterus* right Emperor poiſoned.

The ruine of the *German* Empire, and the firſt cauſe thereof.

only to the Emperor for the ſuſtentation of his Wars, ever ſince to this day is diſperſed diverſly into the hands of the Princes, and free Cities within the ſaid Monarchy. So that both the Empire being diſfurniſhed and left deſolate, and the Emperors weakned thereby; they have neither been able ſufficiently ſince to defend themſelves, nor yet to reſiſt the *Turk*, or other foreign Enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye have heard, may be imputed unto the Popes, &c. *Hieronymus Marius.*

The year of Jubilee reduced to the fiftieth year.

This Pope *Clement* firſt reduced the year of Jubilee to every fiftieth year, which before was kept but on the hundreth year. And ſo he being abſent to *Avinion* (which he then purchaſed with his money to the See of *Rome*) cauſed it to be celebrated at *Rome*, *Anno* 1350. In the which year were numbred, of *Peregrines* going in and coming out every day at *Rome*, to the eſtimation of five thouſand. *Premonſtrat.* The Bull of Pope *Clement*, given out of this preſent year of Jubilee, proceedeth in theſe words as followeth, *What perſon or perſons ſoever, for devotion ſake, ſhall take their Peregrination unto the holy City, the ſame day when he ſetteth forth out of his houſe, he may chuſe unto him what Confeſſor or Confeſſors either in the way or where elſe he liſteth: unto the which Confeſſors we grant, by our Authority, plenary Power to abſolve all Caſes Papal, as fully as if it were in our proper Perſon there preſent.* Item, *we grant that whoſoever being truly confeſſed ſhall chance by the way to die, he ſhall be quit and abſolved of all his ſins. Moreover, we command the Angels of Paradiſe to take his Soul out of his Body, being abſolved, and to carry it into the Glory of Paradiſe, &c.* And in another Bull, *We will* (ſaith he) *that no pain of Hell ſhall touch him; granting moreover to all and ſingular perſon and perſons, ſigned with the holy Croſs, Power and Authority to deliver and releaſe three or four Souls, whom they liſt themſelves, out of the pains of Purgatory, &c.*

Pilgrimes in the year of Jubilee at *Rome.*

The abominable and blaſphemous Bull of Pope *Clement.*

The Pope commandeth the Angels.

Blaſphemy of the Pope.

*Ex Bulla Clementis.*

This *Clement* (as mine Author affirmeth) took upon him ſo prodigally in his Popedom, that he gave to his Cardinals of *Rome* Biſhopricks and Benefices, which then were vacant in *England*, and began to give them new Titles for the ſame Livings he gave them in *England*. Wherewith the King (as good cauſe he had) was offended, and undid all the proviſions of the Pope within his Realm: Commanding, under pain of Impriſonment and Life, no man to be ſo hardy, as to induce and bring in any ſuch proviſions of the Pope, any more within his Land. And under the ſame puniſhment he charged the two Cardinals to avoid the Realm, *Anno* 1343. In the ſame year of the tenths, as well of the Templars as of other ſpiritual men, were given and paid to the King through the whole Realm, *Anno* 1343. And thus much concerning good *Ludovick* Emperor and Martyr, and Pope *Clement* the Sixth his enemy. Wherein, becauſe we have a little exceeded the courſe of years whereat we left, let us return ſomewhat back again, and take ſuch things in order as belong to the Church of *England* and *Scotland*, ſetting forth the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, and the doings of the Church which in his time have happened, as the Grace of Chriſt our Lord will aſſiſt and enable us thereunto.

*Ex Chron. W. If. in vit. Edw. 3.*

The King reſiſteth the Pope.

The tenths of Church goods given to the King.

{Anno 1326} *Oriall-College and S. Mary-Hall in Oxford builded by King Ed. 2.*

This foreſaid King *Edward* the Second in his time builded two Houſes in *Oxford* for good Letters, to wit, *Orial-Colledge*, and S. *Mary-Hall.*

A ſtory of the commotion between the Town and Abbey of *Bury.*

Here I omit alſo by the way the furious Outrage and Conflict which happened in the time of this King, a little before his death, *Anno* 1236, between the Townſmen and the Abbey of *Bury*; wherein the Townſmen gathering themſelves together in a great multitude (for what cauſe or old grude between them, the Regiſter doth not declare) invaded and ſackt the Monaſtery. And after they had impriſoned the Monks, they rifled the goods and treaſure of the whole houſe, ſpoiling and carrying away their Plate, Money, Copes, Veſtiments, Cenſers, Croſſes, Chalices, Baſons, Jewels, Cups, Maſers, Books, with other Ornaments and Implements of the houſe, to the value uneſtimable. In the which Conflict, certain alſo on both ſides were ſlain. Such was the madneſs then of that people, that when they had gathered unto them a great concourſe of Servants and light perſons of that Country to the number of twenty thouſand, to whom they promiſed liberty and freedom; by vertue of ſuch writs which they had out of that houſe, firſt they got into their hands all their Evidences, Copies and Inſtruments, that they could find; then they took off the lead; that done, ſetting fire to the Abbey-Gates, they burnt up near the whole houſe. After that they proceeded further to the Farms and Granges belonging to the ſame Abbey, whereof they waſted, ſpoiled and burnt to the number of two and twenty Manor places in one week, tranſporting away the Corn, Horſes, Cattel, or other moveables belonging to the ſame, the price whereof is regiſtred to come to 922 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d.* beſides the valuation of other riches and treaſure within the Abbey, which cannot be eſteemed.

*Ex Latino quodam Regiſtro.*

{KING Edw. 3}

The Abbot was all this ſpace at *London* in the Parliament, by whoſe procurement at length ſuch reſcue was ſent down, that 24 of the chief of the Town (ſubmitting themſelves) were committed to ward; Carts full of the Townſmen were carried to *Norwich*, of whom 19 were there hanged, divers convict were put to priſon. The whole Townſhip was condemned in ſevenſcore thouſand pound to be paid for damages of the houſe. *John Berton* Alderman, *W. Herling*, with 32 Prieſts, 13 women, and 138 other of the ſaid Town were outlawed. Of whom divers, after grudging at the Abbot for breaking promiſe with them at *London*, did confederate themſelves together; and privily in the night coming to the Manor of *Chenington*, where the Abbot did lie, braſt open the Gates, who then entring in, firſt bound all his Family; and after they had robbed him of all his Plate, Jewels and Money, they took the Abbot and ſhaved him, and ſecretly with them conveyed him away to *London*; where they removing him from ſtreet to ſtreet unknown, from thence had him over *Thames* into *Kent*; at length over the Sea they ferried to *Diſt* in *Brabant*: where they a ſufficient time kept him in much penury, miſery and thraldom; till at length the matter being ſearched out, they were all Excommunicated, firſt by the Archbiſhop, then by the Pope. And at laſt it being known where he was, by his Friends he was delivered and reſcued out of the Thieves hands, and finally brought home with proceſſion, and reſtored to his houſe again. And thus was that Abbey with the Abbot of the ſame (for what demerits I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this time, as more lagely I have ſeen in their *Latine* Regiſter. But thus much briefly; the reſt I omit here (about the later end of this *Edward* the Second ceaſeth the Hiſtory of *Nic. Trivet*, and of *Flor. Hiſt.*) paſſing over to the Reign of the next King.

The A robbed

The A ſtolne to *Bra*

The A reſtore again.

## *King* Edward *the Third.*

CConcerning the Acts and ſtory of King *Edward* the Second, his depoſing, and cruel death, wrought by the falſe and counterfeit Letter of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, ſent in the Kings Name to the Keepers (for the which he was charged, drawn, and quartered,) I have written ſufficiently before, and more peradventure than the profeſſion of this Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory will well admit. Notwithſtanding, for certain reſpects and cauſes I thought ſomewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both Kings and ſuch as climb to be about them may take the better example by the ſame; the one to have the love of his Subjects, the other to learn to flee Ambition, and not bear themſelves too brag of their fortune and ſtate, how high ſoever it be: Conſidering with themſelves nothing to be in this world ſo firm and ſure, that may promiſe it ſelf any certain continuance, and is not in perpetual danger of mutation, unleſs it be faſtened by God his protection.

King Edward the Third.

{Anno 1327.}

After the ſuppreſſion of this King, as is above expreſſed, *Edward* his Son was Crowned King of *England*, being about the years of fifteen, and reigned the ſpace of fifty years, who was a Prince of much and great Temperance; in feats of Arms very expert, and no leſs fortunate and lucky in all his Wars, than his Father was infortunate before him. For liberality alſo and clemency he was worthily commended; briefly, in all Princely vertues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable Acts of which Prince, done both in Wars and Peace, as how he ſubdued the *Scots*, had great Victories by the Sea, how he Conquered *France*, *Anno* 1332. won *Calice*, 1348. and tranſlated the ſtaple thither, took the *French* King Priſoner, and how the *French* Arms firſt by him were brought in, and conjoyned with the *Engliſh* Arms; alſo how the Order of the Garter firſt by the ſaid King was invented and

{KING Edw. 3}

and ordained, *Anno* 1356. alſo *Anno* 1357. How the King in his Parliament at *Nottingham* decreed, That all ſuch in *Flanders*, or other where, that had skill in making Cloth, ſhould peaceably inhabit the Land, and be welcome. For three years before that, it was Enacted, That no Wool ſhould be tranſported over the Sea. Which was to bridle the pride of the *Flemmings*, who then loved better the Sacks of Wool, than the Nation of *Engliſhmen*. All theſe, with other noble Acts of this worthy Prince, although in other Chronicles they be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I have begun (ſaying ſomewhat of each Kings Reign, although not pertinent to our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory) I have here inſerted the ſame, making haſte to other matters, ſhortly and compendiouſly abridging them out of divers and ſundry Authors together compacted, mentioned in this wiſe.

The Coronation and Solemnity of King *Edward* the Third, and all the Pomp thereof was no ſooner ended: but *Robert* of *Bruce* King of *Scotland*, underſtanding the State and Government of the Realm to be (as it was indeed) in the Queen, the young King, the Earl of *Kent*, and Sir *Roger Mortimer*: And that the Lords and Barons, as he was informed, did ſcarcely well agree amongſt themſelves (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling diſeaſe) yet thought he this a meet time for his purpoſe, to make invaſion: hoping for as good ſucceſs and like Victory now, as but lately before he had at the Caſtle of *Euſtrivelin*. Whereupon, about the Feaſt of *Eaſter* he ſent his Embaſſadors with Heralds and Letters of Defiance to the young King *Edward* the Third, the Queen and the Council; declaring, that his purpoſe was with fire and ſword to enter and invade the Realm of *England*, *&c.* The King, Queen, and Council hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all ſpeedy preparation Muſters to be made throughout all the Realm: appointing to every Band Captains convenient, and at the City of *York* by a day aſſigned them, commanding every man to be with all their neceſſary furniture ready and throughly provided. They directed their Letters alſo with all ſpeed to Sir *John* of *Heinault*, requiring him with ſuch Souldiers and men at Arms as he might conveniently provide in *Flanders*, *Heinault*, and *Brabant*, to meet the King and Queen upon the *Aſcenſion-day* next enſuing at their City of *York*.

The defiance of the King of *Scots*.

The King and Queen made ſpeedy preparation for this Expedition: the Noblemen provided themſelves of all things neceſſary thereunto: the *Engliſh* Captains and Souldiers (their Bands throughly furniſhed) were ready at their appointed time and place: Sir *John* of *Heinault*, Lord *Bedmount* muſtering his men as faſt, was ready to take ſhipping: where at *Wyſant* (in *Engliſh* Bottoms, there lying for him ready) he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at *Dover*, travelling from thence by ſmall Journeys daily, till he came within three days after the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* to the City of *York*: where the King and Queen with a great Power of 60000 men (within and about the City of *York*) expected his coming: Before whom, in courteous wiſe he preſented himſelf, and muſtered his Troop, wherein he had to the number of 500 good men at Arms well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture was well liked both of the King and Queen: and he was by the Harbinger appointed to be lodged, with his Houſhold retinue, in the Abbey of white Monks. To be brief, ſuch grudge and variance fell between ſome of the Kings Souldiers and his, within the Suburbs of the Town being together lodged, that from the little to the more, whilſt the King and Queen with divers other of the Nobles, (ſtrangers and others) were at dinner, the ſaid Fray ſo greatly increaſed, that the whole Army, ſo many as were in the Town then lodged, ſtood to their defence; ſo that there were ſlain of the *Engliſh* Archers in ſhort ſpace by the ſtrangers to the number of 300 men. Whereupon grew (after the Fray was with much difficulty both of the King and Queen ended) ſuch heart-burning between the parties; as that the number of 6000 conſpired together againſt them, thinking to have burnt them in their Lodgings; had they not been, by the great Grace of God and diſcreet handling, otherwiſe prevented and let. Whereupon the *Heinaulders* were fain to take and keep the field, uſing as diligent watch and ward, as though they had been among their Hoſtile Enemies. After this, the King ſet forward his Army towards *Durham*, and encamped himſelf near about the ſame, who alſo ſent the Lord *Vifford* and the Lord *Mounbrey* to *Carlile* with a ſufficient Company to keep that Entrance; and alſo the Lord Marſhall of *England* to keep the Town of *New-Caſtle* with a ſufficient Company to defend the ſame, and the Country adjoyning. For well knew the King, that by one of theſe two Entries the *Scots* muſt paſs into *England*, ſtanding both of them upon the River of *Tine*, 24 miles diſtant.

The King and Queen at *York*, with an Army of 60000 men, ready to meet the King of *Scots* entring the Realm.

*Carlile* and *New-Caſtle* then the Keys of *England*. Northward kept with Garriſons.

But the *Scots* privily with their Army paſſed the River betwixt the two Towns into *England*, few underſtanding thereof, till that the great fires which the *Scots* had kindled and made in *England*, bewrayed them: who came burning and deſtroying the Country all about as far as *Stanop* Park. This thing being declared to the King, he commandeth his Hoſt with all ſpeed to march towards them; which he ſo long travelled that they came in ſight each of other. The King alſo commanded the paſſages of the River to be ſo ſtraitly and narrowly guarded, that by no means the *Scots* could retire and have eſcaped back again into *Scotland*, without battel given them of the King. But the *Scots*, underſtanding the great Power the King was of, kept always the advantage of the Hills, retiring in the nights from one to another: that without great odds and advantage on the one ſide, and hazard to the other, the King could not ſet upon them.

The *Scots* privily paſs over the River of *Tine*, burning and ſpoiling the Country all about.

The Kings Army and the *Scots* are ſo near, that each ſeeth other.

Thus in the day time the *Scots* keeping the advantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring to the advantage of ſuch other like, came near againſt that River where they firſt paſſed over, where they made a ſhew to offer battel to the King upon the morrow. Whereupon the King being buſied in putting his men and battels in a readineſs to fight the next morning, being almoſt forewearied in purſuing the *Scots* from place to place: the *Scots* in the mean ſeaſon gate over the River, and eſcaped the danger of the King. Which thing as it could not be done without great Treaſon of ſome near about the King; ſo Sir *Roger Mortimer* was grievouſly ſuſpected thereof, and after it was laid unto his Charge. But to be ſhort, by this means the *Scots* eſcaped the River; after whom it ſhould have availed the King very little to have made purſuit, as the wily *Scots* knew full well. For the joy whereof, the Lord *William Douglas*, one of the *Scots* Generals, with 200 horſes, gave alarum in the Kings Camp; and came ſo near, that he cut certain of the lines of the Kings Tent in ſunder with his Sword, and retired to his Company without great loſs of any of his men. Then on the morrow the King, perceiving the *Scots* to be gone, came to the place where over-night they lodged, where were found 500 great Oxen and Kine ready killed; five hundred Cauldrons made of Beaſts skins full of fleſh, over the fire ſeething; a thouſand Spits full of fleſh ready to be roſted, and more than 10000 ſhooes of raw Leather (the hair ſtill upon the ſame) which the *Scots* had left behind them; and five poor *Engliſh* Priſoners tied to Trees, and their legs broken. All which the King ſeeing, returned with his Army (and left any further purſuing the *Scots*) to *Durham*: where he diſmiſſed his Army, and came again to *London*, ſending with Sir *John* of *Heinault* two hundred men at Arms for their better ſafeguard againſt the *Engliſh* Archers (with whom at *York*, as you have heard, they frayed) till they had taken ſhipping, and ſo returned home.

The *Scots* through Treaſon eſcape out of *England* unfought withall.

The provi-ſion left in the *Scots* Camp.

The King returneth to *London*.

The great Fray in *York*.

The King then being at *London*, confirmed the Liberties of the Citizens, and Ordained, That the Mayor ſhould ſit in all places as chief Juſtice within the Liberties of the ſame. And that what Alderman ſoever had been Mayor before, ſhould be a Juſtice of Peace within his own Ward.

Then the King, the Queen, and the Council ſent over to the Earl of *Heinault* certain Embaſſadors, touching the Solemnization of the Marriage between the King and the Lady *Philip* his Daughter: who in ſuch ſort ſped their Meſſage, that ſhe was ſoon after conveyed over to *England* very honourably, and at *Dover* arrived. And from thence ſhe came to *London* (ſome Chronicles affirm to *York*) where upon the day of the *Converſion of S. Paul*, the year above ſpecified, the Marriage and Coronation of the Queen was with much Triumph during the ſpace of three weeks ſolemnized.

The marriage of King *Edward* ſolemnized.

After which Coronation and Marriage, the King ſummoned his Parliament to be kept at *Northampton*: where-at, by the means of Sir *Roger Mortimer* and the old

A Parliament at *Northampton*

Queen,

Queen, a Peace was purchaſed for the *Scots* (who had for that purpoſe ſent their Embaſſadors) for four years to endure. Alſo the King (then being within age) granted to releaſe the *Scots* of all their Homage and Fealty unto the Realm of *England*, which by their Charter enſealed they were bound to; as alſo their Indenture, which was called the *Ragman Role*, wherein was ſpecified the foreſaid Homage and Fealty to the King and Crown of *England*, by the ſaid King of *Scots*, Nobles, and Prelates to be made; having all their Seals annexed to the ſame. Alſo there was then delivered unto them the black Croſs of *Scotland*, which King *Edward* before for a rich Jewel and Relique had conquered and brought from *Scone* Abbey; with all ſuch Rights and Titles as any the Barons elſe had enjoyed in the ſaid Realm of *Scotland*, with many other things more, to the great prejudice both of the Realm, and diſcontent of all the Nobles and Barons for the moſt part, more than the old Queen, Sir *Roger Mortimer* and the Biſhop of *Ely*. Who in ſuch ſort ruled the Roſt, that all the reſt of the Nobles and Barons caſt with themſelves how beſt they might redreſs and remedy the great inconveniences, that unto the Realm by means of them grew and happened. Whereupon the King and Queen, and Sir *Roger Mortimer*, cauſed another Parliament to be called at *Salisbury*; where the ſaid Sir *Roger Mortimer* was made Earl of *March*, againſt all the Barons wills, to prevent and diſappoint the foreſaid purpoſe of them; but the Earl *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, with others, would not be at the ſame: wherefore it was laid unto their Charges, that they went about to conſpire the Kings death.

The Ragman Role delivered up to the *Scots*.

The black Croſs of *Scotland*.

The Barons give up their Titles in *Scotland*.

A Parliament at *Salisbury*.

Earl *Henry* of *Lancaſter* refuſeth to come to the Parliament.

And further, for that the King was as well under the Government of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle, as the Queen his Mother, and the Earl of *March*; and for that they could not do in all things as they liſted for the ſaid Earl the Kings Uncle, who loved the King and the Realm: envy began to riſe between the Earl *Mortimer* and him; and, by *Iſabel* the Queens practice, he found the means to perſwade the King, that the Earl of *Kent* (to enjoy the Crown, as next Heir unto the King) went about to poiſon him. Whereunto the King giving light credit cauſed his ſaid Uncle to be apprehended; and, without anſwer making to his Accuſation and Accuſers, to be beheaded at *Wincheſter*, the third of *October*, and third year of his Reign. But the juſt Judgment of God not permitting ſuch odious Crimes in him to be unpuniſhed nor undetected, ſo in fine it fell forth, that *Iſabel* the old Queen, the Kings Mother, was found and underſtood to be with child by the ſaid *Mortimer*. Complaint hereof was made to the King, as alſo of the killing of King *Edward* his Father, and of the Conſpiracy of him againſt the Earl of *Kent* the Kings Uncle before put to death. Whereupon, divers other Articles laid againſt him, and manifeſtly read in the Court, he was arraigned and indited, and by Verdict found guilty; having his Judgment as in caſes of High Treaſon, and ſuffered death accordingly at *London*: where, upon *London Bridge*, next unto *Spenſers*, his head obtained a place. The Queen his Mother alſo (by good advice of Council) was reſtrained of her liberty, and within a certain Caſtle not permitted once to come abroad: Unto whom the King her Son once or twice a year would reſort, and viſit her.

The Earl of *Kent* put to death guiltleſs.

The Queen with child by Sir *Roger Mortimer*.

Sir *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March* arraigned, condemned, and put to execution.

The Queen put in priſon, and ſo kept a long time.

This year Prince *Edward* was born at *Woodſtock*; who in proceſs of time and years grew to be a moſt valiant Prince, and was, before he died, accounted throughout the world the Follower of Chivalry.

The birth of Prince *Edward*.

After this the King prepared another Army into *Scotland* in the year prefixed. But firſt he ſummoned King *David* of *Scotland*, who had (in the laſt truce, four years to continue as you heard, his Father then living) married the Lady *Jane*, Siſter to the King; (termed *Jane* Make-peace) to do his Homage to the King; but that he refuſed. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithall the ſcoffing Rimes, which daily from that time of truce the *Scots* had in their mouths; he did ſo much, that with an Army well furniſhed he entred *Scotland* by the River *Twede*; for the *Scots* had then the poſſeſſion of the Town of *Barwick*. The *Scotiſh* Giggs and Rimes were theſe, *Long Boards heartleſs, Painted Hoods witleſs; Gay Coats graceleſs, Makes* England *thriftleſs*. To be ſhort, the King waſted the Land, burnt, deſtroyed, and took Towns and Caſtles with ſmall reſiſtance or none: and the ſpace of ſix months together did in that Land what him liſted, without any battel offered to him. For the King of *Scots* was but a Child, and not above the age of 15 years, and wanted good Captains that ſhould have defended the Realm: inſomuch that they were all fain, ſaving thoſe that kept in Holds for their defence, to take the Foreſt of *Godworth*, and there kept themſelves ſo long as the King remained in *Scotland*. Who at length, when he had ſufficiently waſted, and ſpoiled, and burnt the ſame, returned toward *Barwick*, about the which he bent his Siege, vowing not to remove the ſame, till he had gotten the Town.

The *Scots* that kept the ſame, after a certain time and many Aſſaults made, were contented upon certain conditions to have delivered up the Town. But that the King refuſed, unleſs that, all conditions ſet apart, they would with bag and baggage depart. Whereupon they condeſcended to the King, that if by a certain time they were not by the King of *Scots* reſcued, they would render up the Town, and with bag and baggage depart; and ſo the time expired, fruſtrate of all hope and reſcue, at the day appointed they did. The King then entred the Town, and tarried there the ſpace of twelve days: who after he had appointed Sir *Edward Baillew* Captain over the Town, and leaving alſo behind him other Knights, Squires, and Souldiers, as well to keep the ſame as other Holds the King had conquered in *Scotland* and Frontiers thereof; he returned with his people towards *London*, permitting every man to depart and go what way them liked.

*Barwick* beſieged and yielded up to the King.

The King entreth the Town of *Barwick*, and appointeth the Captain thereof.

Then Sir *Robert de Artois*, a Nobleman of *France*, and which deſcended of the blood Royal, being in *England* with the King, ceaſed not oftentimes to advertiſe the King, and put him in memory of his good and right Title to the Inheritance of the Crown of *France*. This Sir *Robert* for a certain diſpleaſure that *Philip* the *French* King took againſt him for a certain Plea which by him was moved before the King; was fain for the ſafegard of his life to flee the Realm of *France*, and ſo come to the Kings Court. King *Edward* was not unwilling at all to hear thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reaſon and debate that matter with him concerning his Right, Title, and Inheritance to the Crown of *France*. But yet notwithſtanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without adviſed and circumſpect counſel; for that it contained matter of no ſmall, but moſt difficult importance: neither yet he took it to deſerve the fame either of wiſdom or proweſs to let ſo good a Title die, or ſo fit opportunity to paſs. Wherefore he, calling together certain of his Council, uſed their deliberate advices touching the ſerioufneſs of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, that the King ſhould ſend certain Embaſſadors over to the Earl of *Heinault*, whoſe Daughter he had married, as well to hear his advice and counſel herein; as alſo what Friends and Aid, by him and his means, in this ſo great an Expedition to be begun in the Empire, to him might be procured. The King hereunto condeſcended, and appointeth for this Embaſſage the Biſhop of *Lincoln* with two other Baronets, and two Doctors: who in ſuch ſpeedy wiſe made their Voyage, that in ſhort ſpace they returned again to the King with this anſwer, That not only the Earl his council and advice ſhould be herein preſt to the King of *England* their Maſter, but alſo the whole Country of *Heinault*. And further, for that to ſuch an Expedition as appertained, he ſaid, The Province of *Heinault* was but a ſmall matter to make account of; he would procure for the King greater Aid and Friendſhip in the Empire, as the Duke of *Brabant* his Coſin-German, and a puiſſant Prince, the Duke of *Guelles*, the Archbiſhop of *Coloyn*, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, *&c.* which are all good men of War, and able to make ten thouſand fighting men, ſaith he. Which anſwer well liked the King, and made him joyous thereof. But this counſel of the King, as ſecret as it was, came to *Philip* the *French* Kings ears: whereupon he ſtayed the Voyage of the *Croſs* which then he had in hand, ſending forth Countermands to ſtay the ſame, till he knew further the purpoſe of the King of *England*.

Sir *Robert de Artois* a Nobleman of *France* inciteth the King to proſecute his Title in *France*.

The King deliberateth with his Council concerning the Title of *France*.

Embaſſadors are ſent to the Earl of *Heinault* concerning the Title.

The Embaſſadors return with anſwer from the Earl that pleaſeth the King.

King *Philip* of *France* heareth of the Kings purpoſe, and ſtayeth his Voyage of the *Croſs*.

The King hereupon himſelf taketh ſhipping accompanied as to a King appertained, and when he had conſulted with all the foreſaid Lords of the Empire in this matter, and underſtood their fidelity; he made his repair to the Emperor, at whoſe hands he was well entertained, and honourably received, whom the Emperor appointed

The *Scotiſh* Rimes.

King *Edward* waſteth and deſtroyeth the Realm of *Scotland*.

{KING Edw. 3}

King *Edward* aſſigned Lieutenant General of the Empire.

pointed to be his Lieutenant-General, having thereby more Authority both to will and command ſuch as for this his Expedition he ſted unto, and had made convention with. *Philip* hearing this, prepared his Army, and rigged his Navy; that ſo ſoon as the King ſhould enter into the Dominion of *France*, they alſo might enter into *England*, requiting like for like.

The firſt Voyage King *Edward* made to *France*.

The King of *England*, after the Feaſt of S. *John Baptiſt*, according to his purpoſe prepared all things ready to ſuch an Expedition, conducting his Army, and gathering a greater ſtrength in the Empire, as before to him was promiſed, uſing the Emperors Authority therein, as his Lieutenant-General, howbeit at the charge altogether of the King of *England*. The *French* King, as ſoon as King *Edward* had landed his Army at *Macheline* in *Flanders*, hearing of the defiance, which the King and other Noblemen of the Empire had ſent unto him, ſent certain Ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for ſuch opportunity upon the Coaſt of *England*; which upon a *Sunday*, whilſt the Townſmen were at the Church little looking for any ſuch matter, entred the Haven of *Southampton*, took the Town and ſpoiled the ſame, deflowred Maidens, enforced Wives, burnt, kill'd, took Captives, and carried away rich Spoils and great Booties to their Ships, and ſo again departed into *France*. Further as the King of *England* had allied himſelf with the Noblemen of the Empire, and had the friendly favour of the Emperor alſo thereunto: ſo the *French* King made the like League and Alliance with *David* the King of *Scots*, whom the King had ſo hardly dealt withall in *Scotland* (as partly before you heard) and kept the moſt part of *Scotland* under his Subjection; Binding the ſaid *David* as well by writing as oath and pledge, that without his conſent he ſhould make no peace, nor conclude any truce with the King of *England*. Who again aſſured him of Aid, and Reſcue, and Help, and to recover his Kingdom and Dominion to his uſe: and forthwith ſent certain Garriſons and Bands into *Scotland* to keep play with the *Engliſhmen*, and there to fortifie divers places till further opportunity ſerved. He alſo fortified with men, money, victual, and munition, the Town of *Cambrey*: which he ſuſpected would be beſieged, lying ſo near upon the Empire, as indeed it came to paſs. For King *Edward*, departing from *Macheline*, ſet forward his Hoſt toward *Heinault*, and by the way aſſembled ſuch Power as in the Empire he looked for, marching forward ſtill till that they came to *Cambrey*, and beſieged it with 40000 men, while that with another Company the *Flemings*, *Brabanters*, and *Hollanders*, went to S. *Quintin*. But in effect, neither there, nor at *Cambrey*, nor elſe-where, any thing notorious was atchieved. But the Summer being well ſpent, and little prevailing in the Siege of *Cambrey*, being of ſituation ſtrong and well defenced therewithall with men and munition, he brake up the Siege, and marched further into the heart of *France* towards *Mutterel*. Which thing the *French* King having underſtanding of, prepared himſelf to give battel to the King of *England*, who with another great Army came to *Viromfoſſe*, where days were appointed to meet in battel: but in the end, nothing was done nor attempted between the Princes. And the King of *England* (without any battel either giving or taking) returned with his Army from thence to *Gaunt*. Concerning the cauſe of the ſudden removing of the King out of *France*, it ſeemeth moſt ſpecially to riſe of the Pope: which at the ſame time ſent down his Legates; for the Order of a peace to be taken between the Kings. At *Gaunt* were gathered by the Kings appointment all the Nobles as well of *England*, as of the Empire in Council together what was beſt to be done. What plain anſwer was made to the King of *England*, that unleſs he would take upon him the Claim and Title of *France*, as his lawful Inheritance, and as King thereof proſecute his Wars; it might not be lawful for them any further to Aid the King of *England*, or to fight with him againſt the *French* King: for that the Pope had bound them in two Millions of *Florens* of Gold, and under pain of Excommunication, that they ſhould not fight againſt the lawful King of *France*. Whereupon, the King thought good therefore preſently to make open Challenge to the Realm and Crown of *France*: and further, to quarter and intermingle the Arms of *France* with the Arms of *England* in one *Scutcheon*. Whereupon eſtſoons King *Edward* made anſwer unto the Pope again, directing unto him his Letters, wherein he declareth at large his Right and Title unto the Crown of *France*, purging thereby himſelf and his cauſe unto the Biſhop. The Copy and tenour of which Letter, becauſe it is too long to expreſs, it is to be found in ſtory of *Tho. Walſingham*, remaining in the Library of *J. Stephenſon* Citizen of *London*, who ſo hath liſt or leiſure to peruſe the ſame. Beſides this Letter to the Pope, he directed another to the Peers and Prelates of *France* (he remaining yet at *Gaunt*) in tenour as followeth.

*Southampton* burnt of the *French-men*.

The *Scots* ſtirred up againſt *England* by the *French* King

The Pope cauſe of the Kings removing out of *France*.

{Anno 1340.}

The King of *England* taketh the Title of *France*.

## The Letter of King *Edward* to the Nobles and Commons of *France*.

King *Edward* to the Nobles and Commons of *France*.

EDward *by the Grace of God King of* France *and of* England, *Lord of* Ireland. *Unto all Prelates and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to the Peers, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and to the Commons of* France, *greeting. The high Lord and King above, to whom although his Will be in his own Power, yet would that Power ſhould be ſubject unto Law; commanding every thing to be given unto him which is his, declaring thereby that Juſtice and Judgment ought to be the preparation of the Kings Seat. Wherefore ſeeing the Kingdom of* France, *through the Providence of God, by the death of* Charles *laſt King of* France *of famous memory, Brother-German to our Lady Mother, is fallen unto us by plain and manifeſt Law; And forſomuch as Lord* Philip de Valois, *being the Son of the Uncle of the foreſaid King, and ſo being far from the Crown by a farther degree of Conſanguinity, through force and uſurpation hath intruded himſelf in the foreſaid Kingdom (whilſt we were yet in our Minority) and ſo contrary both to God and to Juſtice doth detain and occupy the ſame; And leſt we ſhould ſeem to neglect our own Right and the Gift given us of God, or not to ſubmit our Will to Gods Ordinance: We have thought good to acknowledge the Title of* France, *and by ſupportation of the Almighty King have taken upon us the Defence and Regiment of the ſaid Kingdom; Firmly purpoſing with our ſelves (as every good man ought to do) graciouſly to miniſter Juſtice to every one, according to the Rites and laudable Cuſtom of the foreſaid Kingdom. Alſo to renew the good Laws and Cuſtoms which have been in the time of* Ludovike *our Progenitor; adding moreover, that which ſhall ſeem expedient according to the condition and quality of the time. As any change of Coin, or any other inordinate Exactions, we intend not to ſeek our Profits by your Detriments: when as (the Almighty be praiſed therefore) we abound and have enough. And as concerning the Affairs of the Realm, our purpoſe is not to proceed raſhly or by our own will, but by the diſcreet advice and counſel of the Peers, Prelates, Nobles, and other our faithful Subjects of the Kingdom, ſo far forth as ſhall make for the Honour of God, the Defence and Advancement of the Church (which in all fulneſs of devotion we do reverence) and to the profit both publick and private of all the Subjects thereof, with full execution of Juſtice by the Grace of God to be executed upon all and ſingular perſons, being earneſtly careful for the Honour, profit, and tranquility of you all. For, as the Lord knoweth, nothing ſhall be more grateful to us, than that by our carful ſolicitude, peace may be engendred, ſpecially betwixt us, and univerſally among all Chriſtian men: ſo that by our concord the force and ſtrength of all Chriſtian Princes may be joyned together for the recovery of the holy Land: which our Saviour and Redeemer hath dedicated with his own proper blood, whereunto we will endeavour our ſelves through the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt: And foraſmuch as we have offered to the foreſaid Lord* Philip *divers friendly and reaſonable conditions of Peace, whereunto he would neither condeſcend, neither agree to any Conformation; yea, rather moveth againſt us unjuſt War, to the utter ſubverſion of our State: we are inforced of neceſſity to the uttermoſt of our Power (for the defence both of us, and recovery of our Right) to defend our ſelves by force of battel; not ſeeking any ſlaughter of good and humble Subjects, but deſiring their ſafegard and profit.*

The Title of *France* how it came to King *Edward*.

Note the groſſeneſs of this time when the blood of Chriſt was thought but only dedicated to the holy Land.

*For the which cauſe, all and ſingular ſuch Subjects of the Kingdom of* France, *which ſhall ſubmit themſelves*

to

*to us as the true King of* France, *at or before the Feaſt of* Eaſter *next enſuing; profeſſing unto us their Fealty, and doing to us as to the King of* France *by duty appertaineth, ſo as our beloved Subjects of* Flanders *have done already, or be ready to offer themſelves ſo to do; all ſuch we willingly admit and receive to our Peace and Grace under our Protection to be defended, them to maintain as is convenient from all moleſtation and unquietneſs whatſoever, in perſon or goods hereafter to be inforced either by us or by our Officers, upon whatſoever occaſion of Rebellion afore paſſed. And foraſmuch as the premiſſes cannot eaſily be intimated to all and ſingular perſons; we have provided the ſame to be fixed upon Church doors, and other publick places, whereby the manifeſt notice thereof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to us devout, and to the true information of them, which through ſiniſter ſurmiſes of our Enemies are otherwiſe informed of us.* Dated at *Gaunt* the 8*th* of *February*, the year of our Kingdom of *France* the firſt, of *England* the 14*th*.

*Southampton* burnt and ſpoiled By the *Frenchmen.*

This done, for that the Winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the time ſerved, of farther doing good; the King thought beſt for a ſeaſon to return again to *England* with his Company, giving over the Wars until the next Spring; and ſo did, taking ſhipping, and ſo arrived at *Dover*. When he came to *London*, it was declared unto him, of the great ſpoil the *Frenchmen* had made at *Southampton*: who anſwered again, *That within one year he doubted not but the ſame ſhould be well paid for and recompenſed.* And according to the ſame purpoſe of his he lingred no time, but calling a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, with much grudge and evil will of his Subjects there was for the maintenance of his Wars granted to him a great Subſidy, which was the fifth of every mans goods, and alſo the Cuſtoms of his Wools two years before hand, and the ninth Sheaf of every mans Corn. At the

Counſel of the Archbiſhop given to the King.

Spring the King again prepared his Army, and rigged his Navy, purpoſing to land in *Flanders*. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, then Lord Chancellor, having underſtanding of the *French* Power upon the Sea, lying for the King, gave him advertiſement there, willing him to go more ſtrongly, or elſe not to venture. But the King not crediting the Archbiſhop, and being angry with him therefore, ſaid, *That he would go forward*: whereupon the Biſhop reſigned the Chancellorſhip, and removed himſelf from his Council: then the King conſulting hereupon farther with the Lord *Morley* his Admiral, and others (hearing alſo the ſame of them) furniſhed himſelf with ſtronger Power, and committed him to his Ship: and did ſo much, that a few days before *Midſummer*, he was upon the Sea with a great Fleet.

Battel upon the Sea between King *Edward* and the *Frenchmen.*

Before the Town of *Sluſe*, the *French* King to ſtop his paſſage, had laid ready a great Navy, well near to the number of twenty ſcore Sail; and had made the *Chriſtopher* of *England* (which before the *Frenchmen* took at *Southampton*) their Admiral: betwixt which two Navies was a long and terrible fight. But in the end, the Victory by Gods Grace fell to the King of *England*, in which fight he himſelf was perſonally. So that of the number of thirty thouſand *Frenchmen*, few or none were left and eſcaped alive,

The *Frenchmen* beaten upon the Sea.

and two hundred Sail of Ships taken: in one of the which were found 400 dead bodies.

After this great ſlaughter of the *Frenchmen* (of whom many for fear of the Sword lept into the Sea) when no man durſt bring tydings thereof to the *French* King; they which were next about the King did ſuborn his Fool, to inſinuate the underſtanding thereof by ſubtilty of covert

The words of the Fool to the *French* King

words; which was thus. As the forſaid Fool being in the Kings preſence, and was talking of many things; among other talk he ſuddenly braſt out (being prompt by others) into a vehement railing againſt the *Engliſhmen*, calling them Cowards and Daſtards, with many ſuch opprobrious words tending to that effect. The King not knowing whereunto the words of the Fool did appertain, asked the Fool, *Why he called the* Engliſhmen *ſuch Weaklings and Cowards, &c.* Why, ſaith the Fool? *Becauſe the fearful and cowardly* Engliſhmen *had not the hearts to leap into the Sea ſo luſtily, as our* Normans, *and Gentlemen of* France *had.* Whereby the *French* King began to underſtand the Victory of his part to be loſt, and the *Engliſhmen* to be Victorers.

This Victory atchieved, the fame thereof ſpreading abroad in *England*, firſt was not believed, till Letters thereof came from the King to Prince *Edward* his Son, being then at *Waltham*, directed to the Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm: the effect of which Letters here followeth under written.

{KING Edw. 3}

The Letters of King Edward to the Biſhops of England.

*THe bountiful benignity of Gods great Clemency poured upon us of late, for your true certification and rejoycing, we thought good to intimate unto you. It is not unknown (we ſuppoſe) to you, and to other our faithful Subjects, which alſo have been partakers with us of the ſame, with what ſtorms of boiſterous Wars of late we have been toſſed and ſhaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the riſing ſurges of the Sea be marvelous, yet more marvelous is the Lord above: who turning the Tempeſt into a Calm, in ſo great dangers, ſo mercifully hath reſpected us. For whereas we of late did ordain our paſſage upon urgent cauſes into* Flanders: *the Lord* Philip de Valois *our bitter Enemy underſtanding thereof, laid againſt us a mighty Navy of Ships, intending thereby either to take us, or at leaſt to ſtop our Voyage. Which Voyage if it had been ſtaid, it had been the cutting off of all the great Enterprizes by us intended and taken in hand, and moreover we our ſelves had been brought to a great confuſion. But the God of Mercies, ſeeing us ſo diſtreſſed in ſuch perils and dangers, hath graciouſly and beyond mans expectation ſent to us great ſuccour and ſtrength of fighting Souldiers, and a proſperous Wind after our own deſires. By the means and help whereof, we ſet out of the Haven into the Seas, where we eſtſoons perceived our Enemies well appointed and prepared with a main multitude to ſet upon us, upon* Midſummer-day *laſt paſt. Againſt whom notwithſtanding Chriſt our Lord and Saviour hath rendred to us the Victory, through a ſtrong and vehement Conflict. In the which Conflict, a mighty number of our Enemies were deſtroyed, and well near all their whole Navy was taken; with ſome loſs alſo of our part, but nothing like in compariſon to theirs. By reaſon whereof we doubt not but our paſſage by the Seas hereafter ſhall be more quiet and ſafe for our Subjects, and alſo many other Commodities ſhall enſue thereof, as we have good cauſe to hope well of the ſame. For which cauſe we, devoutly conſidering the heavenly Grace ſo mercifully wrought upon us, do render moſt humble Thanks and Praiſe to Chriſt our Lord and Saviour: Beſeeching him, that as he hath been and always is ready to prevent our neceſſities in time of opportunity, ſo he will continue his helping hand ever towards us, and ſo to direct us here temporally, that we may reign and joy with him in heaven eternally. And in like ſort we require your Charity, that you alſo with us riſing up to the praiſe of God alone, who hath begun ſo favourably to work with us to our goodneſs, in your Prayers and Divine Service do inſtantly recommend us unto the Lord, travelling here in theſe foreign Countries, and ſtudying to recover not only our Right here in* France; *but alſo to advance the whole Catholick Church of Chriſt, and to Rule our people in Juſtice. And that alſo ye call upon the Clergy and people, every one through his Dioceſs to do the ſame, invocating the Name of our Saviour, that of his mercy he will give to us his humble Servant a docible heart, ſo to Judge and Rule hereupon rightly, doing that which he hath commanded, that at length we may attain to that which he hath promiſed, &c.* Which Letter was written to the Biſhops and Prelates, *Anno* 1340.

After this foreſaid Victory upon the Sea, and News thereof, with due Thanks to our Saviour, ſent into *England*: the King ſtriking into *Flanders*, came to *Gaunt* in *Brabant*, where he had left the Queen; who joyfully received him, being a little before purified or churched, as we term it, of her fourth Son, whoſe name was *John*, and commonly called *John of Gaunt*, and was Earl of *Richmond*, and Duke of *Lancaſter*. At *Villenorth* the King aſſembled his Council, whereat the Noblemen of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Heynalt* conjoyning together in moſt firm League, the one to help and defend the other, with the King of *England*, againſt the *French* King, purpoſing and determining from thence to march toward *Tourney*, and it to beſiege. But the *French* King, underſtanding their counſel, fortified and victualled the ſame before their coming thither.

A Council at *Villenorth*. *Flanders*, *Brabant* and *Heynault* take part with King *Edward*.

Further-

{KING Edw. 3} Furthermore the said *French* King the same time, to stop the Siege of King *Edward*, sent with King *David* of *Scotland* a great Power, to that intent to make invasion in *England*, thereby the sooner to cause the King to remove his Siege. In the mean time King *Edward* wrote his Letters to *Philip de Valois*, making unto him certain Requests, as in the same his Letters here following is to be seen: who, for that he wrote not unto him as King of *France*, but by the name of *Philip de Valois*, refused to answer him touching the same, as by their Letters here placed may be seen.

## The Letter of the King of *England*, to *Philip de Valois*, the *French* King, going to the Siege of *Tourney*.

The Letter of King *Edward* to the *French* King.

PHilip de Valois, *of long time we have gently requested you by our Embassadors (by all the reasonable means we might) to that intent you should have rendred unto us our lawful Right and Inheritance to the Crown of* France, *which from us a long time you have by great wrong and force detained. And for that we well perceive you mean to persevere in the same your purpose and injurious detayne, without making any reasonable answer to our demand: We let you understand, that we are entred into the Country of* Flanders, *as the Sovereign Lord of the same, and so pass through the Country. And further signifie unto you, how that by the help of our Saviour Jesus Christ and our righteous Cause therein, and with the Power of the said Country, our People and Allies, we purpose to recover the Right which we have to that Inheritance you detain from us by your injurious force, and therefore approach we towards you to make a short end of this our rightful Challenge, if you also will do the like. And for that so great an Host assembled as we bring with us on our part, (supposing you also on the other part to do the like) cannot long remain together without great destruction both to our People and Country, which thing every good Christian ought to eschew; especially Princes and others which have the Government of the same, avoiding, by as short an end as may be, the mortality of Christian men, according as the quarrel is apparent between you and me: For the which causes here touched, let the Challenge (if you think meet) between our own persons and bodies be discussed, that the great Nobility and Prowess of each other, may of every one be seen. And if you refuse this way, then let there (to finish this Challenge) be an hundred of the best Souldiers you can choose out of your part matched with so many of our Liege-Subjects to try the same. And if of these two ways you refuse both the one and the other, then that you will assign unto us a certain day before the Town of* Tourney, *to fight with us Power against Power, which may be within ten days next ensuing after the date of these our Letters: offering the said conditions unto you above specified (as we would all the world to know and understand) not upon any orgoil, presumption or pride we take therein, but for the Causes before alledged, and to the end that (the will of our Saviour Jesus Christ betwixt us two herein declared and shewed) rest and peace might grow amongst Christian men; the power and force of Gods Enemies may be abated: and in fine, the limits of Christianity enlarged and enfranchised. And therefore hereupon consider with your self, what way you will take concerning our foresaid Offers, and by the bearers of these our Letters send unto us herein quick and speedy Answer.* Given under our Great Seal at *Chin* in the plain of *Leece* the 27*th* day of this present month of *July*.

## The Answer of the Lord *Philip de Valois* unto the Letter aforesaid.

The Answer of the *French* King to King Edward.

PHilip *by the Grace of God, King of* France, *to* Edward *King of* England. *We have seen the Letters which you have sent unto our Court to* Philip de Valois, *wherein are contained certain Requests which you make to the said* Philip de Valois. *But for that the said Letters come not as directed unto us, neither yet the said Requests seem to be made unto us (which thing clearly by the tenour of the said Letters appeareth) we therefore write unto you no Answer touching the same. Notwithstanding this sufficeth, that we understand by the said Letters of yours, as also other ways, that you are entred into our Realm of* France, *to the great damage both unto us, our Realm and People (more proceeding of will, than reason) and not regarding that which a Liege-man ought to do unto his Lord. For you are entred into our Homage by you lieged unto us, acknowledging your self as reason is, a Liege-man unto the King of* France; *and have promised unto us such Obeisance as men are wont to do unto their Liege-Lords (as more plainly by your Letters Patents appeareth, ensealed with your Great Seal, the which we have with us:) for the which thing we will you to understand, that our purpose is (when it shall seem good unto us) to drive you out of our Realm, to the honour both of us and our Kingdom, and to the profit and commodity of our people. And this thing to do we have firm and assured hope in Jesus Christ, from whom we have all our power and strength. For by your unreasonable demand more willful than reasonable, hath been hindred and stayed the holy Voyage to those parts beyond the Seas, where a great number of Christian-men have been slain; the Divine-Service diminished, and the Service of the Church less reverenced. And as touching that where you say, Ye intend to have the Obeisance of the* Flemmings, *we think and believe that the good people and Commons of that Country will behave themselves in such sort toward our Cosin the Countess of* Flanders *their Lady, as it be not to their reproach; and to us their Sovereign Lord, they will respect their Honour and Loyalty. And that thing wherein they have done otherwise than well hitherto, hath been by the evil counsel of such people, as neither regard the Weal-publick nor Honor of their Country, but their own only gain and commodity.* Given in the field near adjoyning to the Priory of S. *Andrew*, under our Privy-Seal in absence of our Great-Seal, the 30*th* day of *July*, *Anno* 1340.

The *Scots* invade *England*.

Mention was made a little before of *David* King of *Scots*, whom the *French* King had supported and stirred up against the King and Realm of *England*: which *David* (with the Aid of the *Scots* and *Frenchmen*) did so much prevail, that they recovered again almost all *Scotland*, which before he had lost, and was constrained to live in the Forest of *Gedworth* many years before. Then invaded they *England*, and came with their Army, wasting and burning the Country before them, till they came as far as *Durham*, and then returned again into *Scotland*, where they recovered all their Holds again saving the Town of *Barwick*. *Edenborough* they took by a stratagem or subtil device practised by *Douglas*, and certain other: who apparelling themselves in poor mens habits, as Victuallers with Corn and Provender, and other things, demanded the Porter early in the morning what need they had thereof? Who nothing mistrusting, opened the outward Gate, where they should tarry till the Captain rose: and perceiving the Porter to have the Keys of the inward Gate, they threw down their Sacks in the outward Gate, that it might not be shut again, and slew the Porter, taking from him the Keys of the Town. Then they blew their Horn as a warning to their Bands, which privily they had laid not far off: who in hastiwise coming, and finding the Gates ready opened, entred upon the sudden, and killed as many as resisted them, and so obtained again the City of *Edenborough*.

*Edenborough* recovered from the *Englishmen* by the *Scots*.

The *Scots* being thus busie in *England*, the *French* King in the mean season gathered together a puissant Power, purposing to remove the Siege from *Tourney*: and among other, sent for the King of *Scots*, who came to him with great force, besides divers other Noblemen of *France*: insomuch that the *French* King had a great Army, and thought himself able enough to raise the Siege, and theither bent his Host. But the *French* King, for all this his foresaid huge Power and Force, durst not yet approach the King so near, as either to give him battel, or else remove his Siege, but kept himself with his Army aloof, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the King of *England* wasted, burnt, spoiled and destroyed the Country, twenty miles in manner compass about *Tourney*, and took divers and sundry strong Towns and Holds, as *Ortois*, *Urses*, *Greney*, *Archies*, *Odint*, S. *Amand*, and the

*Tourney* besieged.

Town

Town of *Liſle*, where he ſlew above three hundred men of Arms, and about S. *Omers*, he ſlew and kill'd of Noble men, the Lord of *Duskune*, of *Mauriſleou*, of *Rely*, of *Chaſtillion*, of *Melly*, of *Fenu*, of *Hamelar*, *Mountfaucon*, and other Barons, to the number of fourteen; and alſo ſlew and killed above 130 Knights, being all men of great Poſſeſſions and Prowes, and took other ſmall Cities and Towns to the number of three hundred: yet for all this *Philip de Valois*, the *French* King, durſt neither reſcue his Towns, nor relieve his own men: But of his great Army he loſt (which is to be marveled at, being in the midſt of his own Country) by Famine and other inconveniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thouſand men without any battel by him given. Whereupon at the intreaty of the ſaid *Philip* by his Embaſſadors to the King ſent, and by the mediation of the Lady *Jane*, Siſter to the ſaid *Philip*, and Mother to the Earl of *Henault*, whoſe Daughter King *Edward*, as you heard, had married; a truce containing the number of fifteen Articles for one year was concluded, the King of *England* being very unwilling and loth thereunto. Yet notwithſtanding, partly by the inſtance of the foreſaid Lady, but ſpecially for that the King was greatly diſappointed, through the negligence of his Officers in *England*, which ſent him not over ſuch money as he needed for the continuance of his Wars, and payment of his Souldiers wages (the Articles being ſomewhat reaſonable) he agreeth to the truce thereof: the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow under written.

Articles of Truce.

1. Firſt, that during the ſaid truce no tales or miſtruſt of either part ſhall be a detriment or cauſe of breach of the ſame.

2. *Item*, that during the ſaid reſpite or truce either of the Princes, their Helpers Coadjutors and Allies whatſoever, ſhall remain and be in quiet poſſeſſion of all ſuch Poſſeſſions, Holds, Territories and Lands, as at this preſent day they keep and enjoy within the Realm and Dominion of *France*, in what manner ſoever they have atchieved the ſame, during the ſaid truce.

3. *Item*, that the ſaid Princes, their Aiders, Coadjutors, and Allies whatſoever, ſhall paſs ſafely from one Country to another, and all Merchants with their Merchandiſe, as well by Sea as by Land, as accuſtomably they have been wont: except ſuch baniſhed men as have been baniſhed out of the ſaid Realms, or any of them for other cauſes, than the Wars, between the ſaid Princes.

4. *Item*, that the ſaid two Princes ſhall not procure, either by themſelves or any other, any practice or other moleſtation to be made the one to the other, by the Biſhop of *Rome*, or any other belonging to the holy Church whatſoever; either for the Wars begun, or any other cauſe, nor for the Service of any of their Allies, Coadjutors, and Aiders, or any of them. And that neither our holy Father the Pope, nor any other ſhall diſturb or moleſt either of the ſaid two Kings during the ſaid time.

5. *Item*, that immediately after the truce be proclaimed in both the Hoſts, that may ſtand bound of either ſide, to keep and obſerve all and every ſuch Article as ſhall be therein contained.

6. *Item*, that within 20 days next and immediately enſuing, each of the Princes ſhall cauſe to be proclaimed in *Gaſcoine* and *Guyen*, and other their Lands theſe Articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better obſerved, kept and known.

7. *Item*, if by any the ſaid Princes, their Allies, People or Coadjutors, any ſiege be laid in *Gaſcoin*, or the Dutchy of *Guyen*, or any other Iſles of the Sea *Giernſey* or *Gerſey*, or any other; that the ſame Sieges be raiſed ſo ſoon as they ſhall hear of this truce.

8. *Item*, that ſuch as are Thieves and Fugitives out of the Country of *Flanders* ſhall not return during the truce: and if they do, that then ſuch as apprehended them ſhall ſee juſtice done upon them, and they ſhall forfeit all the goods they have in *Flanders*.

9. *Item*, it is recorded, that the debts due to *Arras*, *Treſponois*, or other Titles of *France*, ſhall neither be demanded nor executed during the ſaid truce.

10. *Item*, that all ſuch Priſoners, as have been taken during theſe Wars, ſhall be releaſed out of priſon, and ſent home upon their Faith and Oath to return, if they be not ranſomed during the ſaid truce. And if any ſhall refuſe ſo to do, that then the Lord under whom he is, ſhall conſtrain him to return again to priſon. KING Edw. 3

11. *Item*, that all the Bands whatſoever they be, which he made before this ſaid truce in the time of War (whether they be of goods Spiritual or Temporal) be releaſed without reſtitution, during the ſaid truce.

12. Alſo, that theſe conditions of truce immediately may take effect between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, their Lords, Aiders, and Allies; and the ſame to endure until the Nativity of Saint *John Baptiſt*. And that certain perſons be appointed by a certain day to be at the Marches of *England* and *Scotland* to confirm the ſaid truce, under ſuch conditions as have been accuſtomed in thoſe parts. And if the ſaid *Scots* refuſe ſo to do, that then they have no Aid out of *France* during the ſaid truce.

13. *Item*, that this ſaid truce be proclaimed in *England*, and in *Scotland*, within 26 days after the date hereof.

14. *Item*, it is accorded that within this truce be contained *Eſpanels*, *Chatellon*, *Genovous*, the Biſhop and the Town of *Cambrey* and Caſtles of the ſame.

In witneſs whereof we *John* by the Grace of God King of *Bohemia*, and Earl of *Luxemburge*, *Adulph* Biſhop of *Liege*, *Radulph* Duke of *Lorgn*, *Aymes* Earl of *Savoy*, and *John* Earl of *Darminack* on the one party; and *B.* Duke of *Brabant*, *C.* Duke of *Gelre*, *D.* Marqueſs of *Juſliers*, Sir *John* of *Henault*, and Sir *Beaumont* on the other party, betwixt the high and puiſſant Princes of *France* and *England*, have ſealed this Inſtrument of truce and peace, and delivered the ſame accordingly in the Church of *Eſpleteline* on *Monday* the 25*th* day of *September*, the year of Grace, 1340.

King Edward returneth from Tourney.

This truce thus finiſhed, King *Edward* broke up his Camp, removing his Siege from *Tourney*, and came again to *Gant*. From whence (very early in the morning,) he with a ſmall Company took ſhipping, and by long Seas came to the *Tower* of *London*, very few or none having underſtanding thereof. And being greatly diſpleaſed with divers of his Council and high Officers (for that through their default he was conſtrained againſt his will, not having money to maintain his wars, to condeſcend unto the foreſaid truce) he commanded to be apprehended and brought unto him to the *Tower*, the Lord *John Stonehore* Chief Juſtice of *England*, and Sir *John Poultney*, with divers others. And the next morning, he ſent for *L. R.* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and the Lord *Wake*, the Lord Treaſurer, and divers other ſuch that were in Authority and Office, and commanded them all to be kept as Priſoners in the ſaid *Tower*, only the ſaid Biſhop excepted: whom, for fear of the Conſtitution of Pope *Clement*, which commanded that no Biſhop ſhould be by the King impriſoned, he ſet at liberty, and ſuffered him to go his way, and in his place ſubſtituted Sir *Roger Boucher* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *England*.

The King deceived by his Officers.

No Biſhop muſt be impriſoned by the Popes Law.

The Hiſtory intreating of this matter reporteth thus, that the King had at this time under him evil Subſtitutes, and covetous Officers: who attending more to their own gain than to the public Honour and Commodity of the Realm, left the King deſtitute and naked of money. With which Crime alſo *John Stratford* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was vehemently noted and ſuſpected; whether of his true deſerving, or by the ſetting on of other, hereafter ſhall more appear. Inſomuch that the King ardently incenſed againſt him, charged him with great falſhood uſed againſt his Perſon, as by theſe his Letters written and directed to the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls* againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, manifeſtly appeareth; the tenor of which Letter here followeth under written.

Covetous Officers.

*John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

## *Edward* by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France* and Lord of *Ireland*, To his welbeloved in Chriſt the Dean and Chapter of the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, greeting in the Lord.

*IT is manifeſt by ancient Hiſtories, but more plainly it appeareth by thoſe things which daily are practiſed amongſt us, that many men abuſing (through pride) the*

The King's Letter to the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls*.

KING Ed. 3. the favour of Princes, and honour beſtowed upon them, have malicioufly gone about to deprave the laudable endeavour of Kings. And now that the words which we ſpeak may be more manifeſt unto our ſubjects; we ſuppoſe that neither you nor they have forgotten, that we being eſtabliſhed in our Kingly Throne in younger years, and coveting even then to guide this our Regal charge taken upon us with wholeſome counſels, have called upon us John the Biſhop of Wincheſter, now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom we ſuppoſed for his fidelity and diſcretion to exceed others: whoſe counſel in matters appertaining unto the health of our ſoul, as in matters alſo reſpecting the augmenting and conſervation of our Kingdom, both ſpiritually and temporally we uſed, and he was received of us into all familiarity. We found in him alſo ſuch humanity, that he was ſaluted by the name of Father, and of all next unto the King had in honour. Now afterwards when by right of Succeſſion the Kingdom of France ſhould have deſcended unto us, and was by violent injury by the Lord Philip of Valois holden from us; the ſaid Archbiſhop by his importune inſtancy perſwaded us to enter league of amity with the Princes of Almain againſt the ſaid Philip, and to commit our ſelf and ours unto the hazard of wars; promiſing and affirming that he would bring to paſs, that the revenues of our lands, and other helps by him deviſed, ſhould ſuffice abundantly for the maintenance of our ſaid wars; Adding moreover that our only care ſhould be for the furniture of ſtrong and able Souldiers, ſuch as were fit for the purpoſe, and expert in warfare; for the reſt he himſelf would effectually procure, for money convenient to ſuffice our neceſſity, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (intending great exploits) we conveyed our Army beyond the Seas, and with marvellous great charges (as behoved) we ſet forward; we became alſo bound in great ſums of money, making ſure account of the aid aforeſaid promiſed unto us. But alas, unhappy is that man that repoſeth confidence in mans deceitful ſtaff of brittle reed; whereunto (as ſaith the Prophet) if a man lean, it breaketh and pierceth the hand. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for Subſidy, for very neceſſity ſake we were conſtrained to take upon us importable charges of debts by grievous uſury. And ſo our expedition being ſtayed, we were compelled to retire into England, deſiſting from our enterprizes ſo valiantly begun. Now when we were returned into England, we laid before our Archbiſhop our manifold calamities and misfortunes before rehearſed, and thereupon called a Parliament; wherein the Prelates, Noblemen, and other the faithful ſubjects of our Dominions, granted unto us a new ſubſidy of Corn, Lamb, Wool, &c. beſides the tenth granted by the Clergy; which Subſidy (if it had been faithfully collected and obtained in due time) had greatly availed for the expedition of our ſaid wars, the payment of our debts, and confuſion of our enemies. Our ſaid Archbiſhop promiſed diligently to do his endeavour, as well in collecting the ſame, as alſo in procuring other neceſſaries to ſerve to our purpoſe: Whereupon truſting unto theſe fair promiſes, having all things in a readineſs, both men and furniſhed Ships, we made Sail towards Flanders, and by the way upon the dangerous Seas buckled with our enemies (ſworn to the deſtruction of our Engliſh Nation) of whom we triumphed and were Victors, not by our merits (their multitude far exceeding ours) but by the merciful clemency of him that ruleth both Wind and Sea. Which being done, we paſſed from thence with a mighty power for the recovery of our right, and pitched our Tents near unto the puiſſant City of Tourney; where being detained for a time in the ſiege thereof, and wearied with continual toil, our charges ſtill increaſing, awaiting with ſilence our promiſed aid; day by day we hoped from our Archbiſhop to receive ſuccour in theſe our ſo great neceſſities. At length being fruſtrate of all conceived hope, we ſignified unto our ſaid Archbiſhop, and other his adherents, by divers Meſſengers, and ſundry Letters, our great neceſſity and perils which we were in for lack of the ſaid Subſidy granted unto us. We added alſo the utility and honour, which we ſaw might be atchieved if we had received money in time. All this notwithſtanding we received from them no ſuccour at all; for that preferring their private buſineſs and proper commodities, they cloaked their ſloth, or rather (as I may call it) their fraud and malice with vain excuſes, and painted gloſing words, like unto the deceitful, which (as ſaith Eſay) uſe to deride with theſe words, Manda remanda, &c.

By means whereof (alas for ſorrow) it came to paſs, that whiles good hope of ſubduing our enemies graciouſly ſmiled upon us, we were conſtrained (penury prevailing againſt us) to take truce to our ſhame, the hinderance of our expedition, and no ſmall rejoicing of our evil willers; and ſo we returned into Flanders all void of money, oppreſſed with infinite debts, neither had we in our Treaſuries wherewith to diſcharge our neceſſities, nor yet to pay our Souldiers wages: inſomuch that we were compelled to enter into the devouring gulf of uſury, and to ſuſtain on our ſhoulders great burthens of debts, heap upon heap. This being done, our faithful friends, companions in wars, and partakers of our tribulations came unto us, with whom we conſulted diligently by what means we might beſt deliver our ſelves from this dangerous ſtorm of evil fortune. They all agreed, affirming certainly, that the protracting of our wars, and cauſe of our manifold neceſſity happened unto us through the fault and negligence (or rather the malice) of the ſaid Archbiſhop (upon whoſe diſcretion the diſpoſition of the whole Kingdom ſeemed to depend) and other Officers whom we had adjoyned in counſel with him touching the affairs of our Kingdom; vehemently ſwearing and murmuring amongſt themſelves (for that we had left ſo long uncorrected the inſolency of the Biſhops and other Officers) that if remedy in theſe caſes were not had with ſpeed, they would withdraw themſelves from our Allegiance, and the Covenant which they had ſworn unto; to the utter ſubverſion of our Kingdom, and perpetual ignominy, and the everlaſting ſhame of our Engliſh Nation, which God our moſt merciful Father forbid ſhould come to paſs in our days, in whom is fixed immoveably the anchor of our hope. Whereupon intending the due correction of our Officers, we removed from Offices (as ſeemed good to our Wiſdom) divers perſons whom we ſuſpected in cauſes evident, of evil adminiſtration of juſtice, of ſubverſion, and oppreſſion of our ſubjects, of corruption, of bribes, and other heinous offences. Others alſo of inferior degree offending in the premiſſes, we cauſed to be detained in ſafe cuſtody; leſt by their liberty, juſtice might be troden under foot, and the inquiſition of the truth concerning the premiſes not to come to light. Foraſmuch therefore as the knowledg of the truth in theſe caſes might of none more certainly be known, than from the ſecret breſt of our foreſaid Archbiſhop, for that nothing pertaining to our information ought to lye hid from him, unto whom of ſo long a time had been committed the adminiſtration of our whole Commonweal, and ſum of our buſineſs: We ſent unto him our faithful ſubject Nicolas de Cantilupe with ſpecial Commandments from us, that all delays ſet apart he ſhould forthwith make his perſonal appearance before us at our City of London. But he (as one always timorous as well in proſperity as in adverſity, and fearing where no fear was) untruly alledgeth that ſome of our aſſiſtants had threatned him, and laid wait for his life, if at any time he departed from the Church of Canterbury, which (God we take to witneſs, and a pure conſcience) we never meant nor any of our aſſiſtants.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury falſe to the King.

Evil Officers diſplaced by the King.

We ſuppoſe he touched thereby our Couſin, although to all other, as well of the Clergy as Commonalty through his malicious miſdemeanors he was become odious.

Archbiſhop of Cant. odious to all the Clergy.

Wherefore intending the ſafeguard of our ſubjects by Letters, or otherwiſe called before us, we appointed our truſty and welbeloved Ralfe Stafford our Harbinger, to offer unto him ſafe conduct, and moreover to preſent unto him our Letters Patents under our ſeal; willing and commanding him thereby again Perſonally to come before us, that we might be informed what of ſo long a time he had done touching the affairs of the Kingdom. Whereunto contemning our commandment and gentle requeſt, he anſwereth, that neither he would in perſon appear, neither yet in any matter confer with us, except it were in a full Parliament, which for divers reaſonable cauſes could not then be called. Thus may you ſee this Archbiſhop, whom our Royal benignity had amplified with large honours, admitted into all familiarity, received into the bond of unanimity and friendſhip, upon whom as on a Father our whole hope did conſiſt (who ſo long as we accompliſhed his will in all things, pretended towards us a face of counterfeit love, cloaked with diſſembling benevolence, even as though he had been a loving Father) how cruelly againſt reaſon he

The Archb. of Cant. denieth to come to the King.

The Archb. charged with diſſembling, and ingratitude.

*hath now forſaken us, requiting benefits with ingratitude, oppreſſing his benefactor with the arrogancy of fear; and finally (according to the vulgar Proverb) rewarded us as a Horſe in a Satchell, a Snake in a mans boſom, and fire cheriſheth next the skin, rewardeth their receivers. When we were firſt exalted unto the Throne of our Kingdom, deſcended unto us by right of inheritance (Gods Divine Providence ſo working) we thought, and always think it a deteſtable thing to abuſe ſo high authority, but rather deſire to govern with clemency, lenity, and moderation of juſtice, that peace, of all men deſired, might firmly take place.*

The Archb. defamer of the King.

*Nevertheleſs, our ſaid Archbiſhop hath gone about to defame our innocency, and the fidelity and diligence of our faithful Counſellors, proſecutors of true juſtice; openly declaring in his Letters Patents, and publiſhing abroad in divers places, that he was oppreſſed by the Kings power contrary to juſtice; the Clergy and Commonalty confounded, and the Church over-charged with divers grievous Taxes and Exactions. He ſubtilly uſurped the name of a good Paſtor, when indeed he was nothing leſs, but rather (as it ſhould ſeem by his own confeſſion, and the common opinion had of him) a very hireling. He cloaked his crafty ſubtilneſs with the zeal of defending the Church, although he himſelf in very deed was the only cauſe, by his evil counſel and crafty devices, of the tribulation of the ſame. He alſo fained that not long ago, certain writings were brought unto him to be ſealed, containing in effect the defence and excuſation of all ſuch in general that were violaters of the Liberties of the Church: hoping thereby to defame the opinion had of us and our faithful Counſellors, to ſtir up ſedition amongſt the people, and finally to withdraw from us the hearts of our Nobility. He gave commandment by his Letters, that theſe things ſhould be proclaimed in all places of great reſort by divers ſpecial articles contrary to his former order in his Provincial Council. Wherefore reſpecting the integrity of our fame, intending to prevent the malice of the ſaid Archbiſhop, and alſo to decline from us the ſnares prepared for us and ours; we have thought good at this preſent (over and beſides thoſe which before are rehearſed) amongſt ſo many which we omit, to declare unto you ſome of his perverſe and wicked acts. When in our minority we were conſtituted over our Dominions, he cauſed us through his unadviſed counſel and raſh perſwaſion (thereby to win exceſſive favour) to give away ſo many waſtful gifts, and ſo many unlawful alienations, that now by means thereof our Treaſury is clean conſumed, the revenues of our Exchequer without all order diminiſhed, and he corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes alſo without cauſe why, when neither neceſſity nor utility ſo required, only through his perſwaſion, we forgave divers men great ſums of money due unto us, yea and the rents and revenues which ought to have been conſerved for our neceſſity and profit, we applied to the uſe of his friends, largely beſtowing upon ſuch as evil deſerved it. Moreover (accepting as well perſons as money) contrary to our mind, and his Oath of fidelity made unto us; he admitted unto publick offices throughout our Dominions perſons unworthily, neglecting thoſe that had well deſerved. Many other things he raſhly took in hand, to the detriment of our ſtate, the hurt of our dignity Royal, and no ſmall damage of our ſubjects, by abuſing his authority and office committed unto him. But if he perſiſt in his proud obſtinacy and ſtout rebellion, we ſhall hereafter in convenient time and place, cauſe it to be more openly known; willing and commanding you to publiſh and cauſe to be publiſhed, all and ſingular the premiſſes openly and diſtinctly in places where you ſhall think it expedient, and to ſet forth (as ſhall ſeem beſt to your godly wiſdoms) our good intent for the ſuppreſſing of incommodities, and furthering of the commodities of our ſubjects, that we may worthily commend your circumſpect care herein.*

The Archb. abuſeth his Office.

*Teſte me ipſo apud* Weſtm. 10, *die* Februar. *Anno Regni noſtri Angliæ* 15, *Regni vero* Franciæ *ſecundo.*

By theſe foreſaid objections and accuſations of the King premiſed, and laid againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; what is to be thought of the doings of the ſaid Archbiſhop, I leave it to thy judgment, gentle Reader, (as I ſaid before) to be conjectured: For ſo much as our Hiſtories ſomewhat bearing with the ſaid Archbiſhop, ſeem either to be uncertain of the truth of the matter, or elſe covertly to diſſemble ſome part of that they knew. And eſpecially of *Polydore Virgil* I marvel, who having ſo good occaſion to touch the matter, doth ſo ſlightly paſs it over without any word of mention. In which matter, if probable conjecture (beſides Hiſtory) might here be heard, it is not unlike but that ſome old practice of Prelates hath herein been put in ure, through ſome crafty conſpiracy between the Pope and the Archbiſhop. And the rather it is to be gathered, for that as the Pope was enemy unto the King in this his challenge to the Crown of *France*; ſo the Archbiſhop againſt his Prince (as for the moſt part always they have been) was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, unto the Pope. Which thing alſo more probably may be ſuppoſed, becauſe of the coming down of the two Cardinals the ſame time, from the Pope to the King of *England*, about the matter of further Truce; whereof (Chriſt willing) more hereafter ſhall follow. Albeit the Archbiſhop (this yet notwithſtanding) ſubtilly and featly excuſeth himſelf to the King of the foreſaid objections, and cunningly handleth the matter in words by his Letter directed to the King as followeth.

## *The Letter of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to the King.*

The Letter of the Archbiſhop to the King.

'REdoubted Sir, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to underſtand, that the moſt chief and ſpecial thing that 'keeps Kings and Princes in the favour of God, and beſt 'preſerveth them in their eſtate is ſage, wiſe, and deliberate 'counſel. And therefore ſaith the wiſe man concerning 'counſel in this wiſe, *Good men have thereby their ſafety.* 'And it is written in the Book of Kings, how *Solomon*, 'which was the wiſeſt Prince that ever was, took unto 'him the moſt ancient and ſage men of his Realm to be 'his Counſellors; by whoſe adviſement and diſcretion, he 'always kept the land of *Iſrael* in quiet and in peace, and 'beſides that, had all other Kings and Princes that bordered 'upon him at his will and commandment. After whoſe 'death raigned *Roboboam* his Son, who neglecting the good 'counſel of his Father, and good advice of his ſage and 'diſcreet Counſellors, hearkened to ſuch counſel as lighter 'and younger men perſwaded him unto, that ſought rather how to pleaſe and flatter him, than the quiet eſtate of 'his Realm; whereby he loſt all the whole land of *Iſrael*, 'the twelfth part only excepted. In like manner have 'many Kings of *Iſrael*, and other Kingdoms beſide, by 'raſh and evil counſel come to great ruin and miſchief. 'And Sir, (ſaving your Princely patience) you may call to 'remembrance your own time; for by the wicked and miniſter counſel to our late Soveraign Lord your Father 'given (whom God forgive) which he took and followed, 'both againſt the Law of his land, and grand Charter of 'the Peers, and other his people of the land; ſome he put 'to ſhameful death; from otherſome he took their goods; 'and ſuch as fled he put unto their ranſome, and what 'enemies he purchaſed thereby, your Grace well underſtandeth. And after this, Sir, you know, even in your 'own time, how by following and believing over-light 'counſel, you your ſelf loſt the hearts of many of your 'ſubjects, from the which God deliver you, if it be his 'will. And after that time again until now, by the good 'adviſement of your Prelates, Peers, and ſage Counſellors 'of your land, your Graces buſineſs and affairs have been 'ſo demeaned and ordered; that you have had the hearts 'again of all your ſubjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal; 'as much or rather more, than any of your Graces Predeceſſors, Kings of *England* have had. So that by means 'of the ſaid good counſel, the good will and aid of your 'people, and ſpecial grace of God, you have had the victory of all your enemies, as well in *Scotland* as in *France*, 'and all other places beſides; that unto this day (Gods 'name be bleſſed therefore) your Grace hath been eſteemed 'as one of the moſt noble Princes in all Chriſtendom. And 'now your Grace (by the evil and perverſe counſel of ſome 'ſuch within the Realm which are not ſo wiſe as they 'might be, and ſuch alſo as conſider and reſpect rather 'their own private commodity, than your Graces honour 'and ſafety of your Realm) beginneth to apprehend divers 'Clerks, Peers, and other people of the land, and to direct 'proceſs againſt them, not beſeeming, but contrary to the

Good Counſellors neceſſary about a King.

Law

{KING Edw. 3.} 'Law of the land, which to keep and maintain you are 'bound by the Oath you took at your Coronation; and 'contrary to the Grand Charter, whereof all the Realm 'are witneſſes, and all the Prelates of the ſame, and con- 'trary to the ſentence confirmed by the Bull of our holy 'Father the Pope, which we have to ſhew. All which 'things as they are to the great peril and danger of your 'ſoul; ſo are they alſo to the utter debating of your Re- 'gal ſtate and honour. And Sir, although ſuch as be your 'Graces Governours and Counſellors (being a calling above 'their degree) do give your Grace to underſtand that their 'enterpriſes and yours do pleaſe and content your ſubjects 'and commons; yet your Grace ſhall know for certain, 'and prove it your own ſelf to be far otherwiſe, than they 'bear you in hand. And that unleſs God do remedy the 'ſame, if you proſecute your purpoſe begun in this order, 'you will loſe the hearts of all your ſubjects, as alſo your 'good and rightful enterpriſe; and ſhall ſee ſuch diſcord 'about the ſame, that you ſhall not be able to perform that 'you have begun, but rather inforce your enemies to ſeek 'your deſtruction, to loſe your noble and renowned fame, 'and in the end your Kingdom it ſelf, which God forbid. Wherefore Soveraign Lord and King, I beſeech you that for the ſafeguard of your Honour and Realm, and enter- priſe begun, you will take unto you the moſt diſcreet and wiſeſt men within your Realm, and work by their ad- vice and counſel, as before this time you have been ac- 'cuſtomed; without the aid and counſel of whom you can 'neither maintain your enterpriſe, nor govern your Realm. 'And for that ſome ſuch as are about your Grace falſely 'deviſe againſt us treaſon and ſuch like troubles (and there- 'fore are of us Excommunicate, and as perſons Excom- 'municate we do eſteem of them) as your Spiritual Paſtor, 'we alſo deſire you ſo to eſteem and think of them; which alſo make like report of other that have been with your 'Grace beyond the Seas, that they have naughtily and falſly 'ſerved you, whereby you have loſt the Town of *Tourney*, 'and much honour elſe, which you might have won and 'gotten there. May it pleaſe your Grace to call before you 'the Prelates and Peers of your Realm in ſome convenient 'place, where we and other moe may ſafely come and re- 'ſort, and there alſo to make ſearch and inquiry, in whoſe 'hands, after the beginning of your wars, the money, and 'what things elſe ſoever, which was granted unto you in 'aid of the ſame your wars, until this preſent day, doth re- 'main and is not laid out again, as alſo by whoſe default you were ſo inforced to leave the ſaid ſiege of *Tourney*; 'and that thoſe which ſhall be found in any point faulty 'and guilty therein againſt you, as a good juſticer, your 'Grace will cauſe to be puniſhed according to the Law; 'and inſomuch as appertaineth unto us therein, we ask 'judgment of our Peers (the ſtate always of holy Church, 'of us, and of our Order reſerved inviolate) according as we have written unto you herein. And for Gods ſake, Sir, believe not either of us, or any other your true ſubjects elſe, more than that you ſhall underſtand the verity of; for if men ſhould be puniſhed without making anſwer to that which is objected againſt them, there ſhould be then no difference in judgment betwixt the good doer and the bad.

Excommunication in his own private cauſe abuſed.

'And Sir, may it pleaſe you well to conſider of the great enterpriſe you have in hand, the great good will which you have need of for this cauſe, and of our great enemies the *Scots*, and the great jeopardy of your Realm beſides. For if your Prelates, your Nobles, and all the wiſe men of your Realm were of one mind and will (without any diſcord or diviſion amongſt them) to diſpoſe and ſet in order thoſe things which are needful in ſo great affairs and buſineſs; they ſhould have all enough to beat their heads about, for the maintenance of your great enterpriſe begun, the honour of you, and ſafeguard of your Realm. And Sir, may it pleaſe your Grace, not to be diſpleaſed that ſo rudely and groſly we declare unto you the verity; for why, the great love and affection which we bear unto you, and always have done the ſame, the preſervation of your Honour, and ſafeguard of your Realm, as alſo for that we are (although unworthy) the Primate of the whole Realm of *England*, which thing appertaining un- to us by our office (and we being your Spiritual Father) doth incite us the rather both to ſay and command that which may turn to the benefit of your ſoul, and profit of your Realm and Kingly eſtate. Thus the Holy Spirit ſave 'you both body and ſoul, and give your Grace both to hear 'and believe good counſel, and further, give you victory over 'all your enemies. Written at *Cant.* the firſt of *Janu.* By 'your Graces Chaplain the Archbiſhop of the ſame.

The return of the Kings Army from Tourney.

And thus ſtood the caſe between the King and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who coming thus (as is ſaid) in ſecretwiſe into *England* from the Siege of *Tourney*, his Army in the mean while by Ships was conveyed to *Little-Britain*. Of whom a great number through unſeaſonable and inconvenient meats and drinks, was there conſumed. To whom alſo no leſs danger happened by the Seas, coming out of *Britain* into *England* by Tempeſt, Thunder and Lightning ſtirred up as is thought, by the Necromances of the *French* King.

{Anno 1341.} About which ſeaſon approaching to the year of our Lord 1341, were ſent from the Pope two other Cardinals to Entreat with King *Edward* for three years Truce more to be concluded with the *French* King, beſides the former Truce taken before for one year, and all by the Popes means. For here is to be underſtood, that as it was not for the Popes purpoſe to have the King of *England* to raign over ſo many Countries, ſo his privy ſupportation lacked not by all means poſſible, both by the Archbiſhops and Cardinals, and alſo by the Emperor, to maintain the ſtate of the *French* King, and to ſtabliſh him in his poſſeſſions. *Ex Thom. Walſing. Ex Chron. Albanenſ.*

Truce taken for three years between King *Edward* and the *French* King.

In the ſaid Hiſtories where theſe things be mentioned, it is alſo noted, that the ſame year ſuch plenty there was here in the Realm of victuals, that a Quarter of Wheat was ſold for 2 *s.* a fat Ox for a Noble, and as ſome ſay, a Sheep for 4 *d.* And thus far endureth the Hiſtory of *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*, called *Polychronicon.*

{Anno 1342.} The next year following, which was 1342, *Ludovicus Bavarus* the Emperor, who before had ſhewed great courteſie to King *Edward*, in his firſt Voyage over, inſomuch that he made him his Vicar or Vicegerent General, and offered him alſo aid againſt the *French* King; now (either turned by inconſtancy, or ſeduced by the Pope) writeth to him contrary Letters, wherein he revoketh again the Vicegerentſhip granted to him, and ſeeketh all means in the favour of the *French* King, againſt King *Edward*, as by his Letters here under-written may better appear.

## *The Letter of the Emperor unto the* KING *of* ENGLAND.

'*Ludovicus* by the Grace of God Empeſor of the *Romans* always *Auguſtus*, &c. To *Edward* King of '*England*, his beloved Brother, Greeting and unfained love. 'Although great and urgent buſineſs of our own do op- 'preſs us, and about the ſame our weighty affairs we are 'daily incumbred, yet with the diſcord and variance be- 'tween your Kingly dignity and the renowned *Philip* the 'King of *France* our Couſin, for your ſake, we are not a 'little troubled. And the rather, the great charges which 'may hereafter grow both to you and to your Kingdom 'thereby conſidered, both of men and money, unleſs the 'ſame be taken up, doth more eaſily provoke us to give 'our ſelf to the careful ſtudy of your affairs. Wherefore 'we give you to underſtand that the foreſaid *Philip* (at our 'requeſt) hath given unto us by his Letters authority and 'power to intreat and conclude a peace between you, 'touching the variance begun: which peace (all the ſtate 'diligently conſidered both of your ſelf, your Kingdom 'and ſubjects) we take and believe to be right expedient 'for you; moving therewithal your charity, and earneſtly 'deſiring you, that to this alſo you will give your conſent; 'whereby we may bring you both to concord and unity, 'and eſtabliſh between you a firm peace to endure, where- 'unto with willing mind we would apply our ſelf, and be- 'ſtow our painful labour in proſecuting of the ſame. And 'herein if you will condeſcend and agree unto our counſel, 'as we truſt you will; it may pleaſe you by your Letters 'to give unto us the like authority as is above ſaid, to in- 'treat peace or ordering of a Truce for one year or two at 'leaſt to continue. Neither let it move you, that between 'us and the ſaid *Philip* of *France* a Truce is taken. For ſee- 'ing that you without our conſent took Truce with him: 'we by the adviſe of our Princes which know the bonds, 'deeds, and Covenants betwixt us, who alſo though no

'leſs, but that ſaving your honour we might do the ſame; 'have alſo made a league with the ſaid *Philip* King of '*France*; and for certain cauſes do revoke and call back 'the Lieutenantſhip which we aſſigned unto you by our 'Letters. Nevertheleſs, giving you for a certain to under-'ſtand that in our ſaid Treaties and peace concluded, we 'have ſo brotherly conſidered you, that if you will agree 'and condeſcend unto our counſel; your cauſe (by our 'mean, and help) ſhall be brought to good paſs and effect. 'About which things further to confer with your Brother-'hood herein, we have ſent a devout and religious man, '*Eliarhardus*, Reader and Brother of the *Heremites* of 'Saint *Auguſtine*, and Chaplain of our Court; whom 'about the premiſſes we deſire with ſpeedy expedition to 'be ſent unto us again.

'Dated at *Francford* the 14*th* day of *June*, in the 24*th* 'year of our Raign, and 14*th* of our Empire.

## *The anſwer of the King of* England, *to the Emperor.*

TO the High and Mighty Prince Lord *Ludovick*, by the Grace of God, Emperor of the *Romans*, always '*Auguſtus*, *Edward* by the ſame Grace King of *France*, 'and *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, Salutation and proſ-'perous ſucceſs.

'We have reverently received your Highneſs Letters, a-'mongſt other things containing, that the Noble *Philip de* '*Valois* (to the intent a peace and concord between us and 'him might be concluded) hath given unto you by his Let-'ters full power and authority thereunto at your Highneſs 'requeſt; and that if the ſame might content us to do in 'like ſort, your Highneſs would travel to bring the con-'cord to paſs; and that it would not move us any whit 'at all, that your Highneſs and the ſaid *Philip* are in League 'together: For inſomuch as we without your aſſent and 'conſent (you ſay) took Truce with the ſaid *Philip*, you 'have alſo done the like with him (which thing you might 'well do ſaving your honour, by the counſel of all your 'Nobles and Princes) and for certain cauſes you revoke a-'gain the Lieutenantſhip which you committed unto us. 'Doubtleſs the zeal and good will you have to make this 'concord and agreement, we much commend; letting 'you to underſtand that we always have been deſirous, and 'ſtill are, to have a reaſonable peace with the ſaid *Philip*; 'which peace as much as to us (our honour ſaved) apper-'tained, we have in juſtice and by law proſecuted; and in 'very deed, it ſhould be to us acceptable, and as we would 'wiſh, if by ſuch a Mediator as your celſitude is, it might 'be brought to paſs. But foraſmuch as we underſtand the 'ſame our right and title to the Kingdom of *France* to be 'manifeſt and clear enough; we purpoſe not to commit 'the ſame by any of our Letters to doubtful arbitrement. 'But while we well conſider and revolve with our ſelves, 'how upon circumſpect conſideration (you manifeſtly be-'holding our juſt and rightful doing, and the ſtrait deal-'ing and obſtinate purpoſe and injury of the ſaid *Philip*) 'your gracious Highneſs made a ſpecial League with us, 'and in our behalf againſt the ſaid *Philip*, adopting us of 'your great and bountiful love towards our Perſon to be 'one of your Sons; wherefore you ſhould thus again alter 'and break the ſame, we cannot ſufficiently marvel: See-'ing your invincible Highneſs being inſtituted of God to 'the aid and commendation of good men, and revenge 'of evil and wicked doers, hath made a League againſt 'us with the ſaid *Philip de Valois*, our notorious and in-'jurious enemy. And as touching that which you ſay, with-'out your aſſignment and conſent we took a Truce, or 'days of reſpite with the ſaid *Philip*, which we ought not 'to have done; if your Grace well conſider the circum-'ſtance of the matter, we have done but as we might 'therein. For when we laid our ſiege to *Tourney*, it was 'requiſite that we ſhould follow their advice, whoſe aid 'and ſociety therein we had. Beſides the ſudden and emi-'nent neceſſity which we there ſtood in, and the diſtance 'of the place betwixt your Highneſs and us furthermore 'was ſuch, as that by no means we might attain the ſame, 'nor uſe your aſſent therein. Yea and further, if your Grace 'well remember your ſelf, your grant unto us was ſuch, 'that whenſoever opportunity thereunto ſhould ſerve, we 'might intreat of any peace, and grant what time we 'thought meet thereunto, without your conſent therein: 'So that to conclude any final peace with the ſaid *Philip* 'de *Valois*, without either your conſent, or otherwiſe ma-'king your Highneſs privy thereunto, it might not be law-'ful for us; which thing without your ſaid counſel, conſent 'and advice, we never minded or purpoſed to do, but have 'in all our doings done that which us beſeemed, ſo far as 'by any means our power would ſtretch; hoping likewiſe 'that your brotherly benevolence for a time would have 'more lovingly ſupported us." It is thought alſo by ſome, 'that the revoking back again, or reſtraint of your foreſaid 'Lieutenantſhip, was prematurate or done all out of time, 'when as according to your promiſe made to us herein, by 'your Letters Imperial, you ought not ſo to have done be-'fore the Realm and Kingdom of *France* (or at the leaſt 'the greateſt part thereof) were of us obtained and quietly 'in peaceable wiſe enjoyed. Theſe things premiſed there-'fore we deſire you according to your Nobility, duly to 'conſider, and hereafter to do that which ſhall be thought 'both meet and convenient, becauſe that (God willing) 'we mean to recompence and gratifie both you and yours, 'according to the meaſure of your benevolence beſtowed 'upon us. The Almighty grant unto your celſitude ſo 'much felicity as your heart deſireth.

'Dated at *London* the 18*th* day of *July*, in the ſecond 'year of the Raign of our Kingdom of *France*, and of '*England* the 15*th*.

[KING Edw. 3]

In this mean time died Pope *Benedict* the Twelfth, mentioned a little before; after whom ſucceeded in that room Pope *Clement* the Sixth. Of whom it is reported in Stories, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his Cardinals of *Rome*, enriching and heaping them with goods and poſſeſſions, not of his own, but with the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Preferments of the Churches of *England*. For ſo recordeth the Author, that he beſtowed upon his Cardinal the Livings and Promotions, ſuch as were or ſhould be vacant in the Churches of *England*, and went about to ſet up new Titles for his Cardinals, here within this Realm. But the King being offended therewith, made void and fruſtrate all thoſe foreſaid proviſions of the Pope; charging moreover and commanding that no perſon whatſoever ſhould buſie himſelf with any ſuch proviſions, under pain of impriſonment and loſing his life. Which Law was made the next year following, which was *Anno* 1344.

Pope *Clement* the 6.

*Ex Chron. Eccleſ.*

The King diſanulleth the Popes proviſions.

It followeth then that the ſaid Pope *Clement* again began to make new proviſions for two of his Cardinals, of Benefices and Churches that ſhould be next vacant, beſides Biſhopricks and Abbotſhips, to the extent of two thouſand Marks. Whereupon the Procurators of the ſaid Cardinals were ſent down for the ſame. But the King and Nobility of the Realm not ſuffering that under pain of impriſonment cauſed the ſaid Procurators forthwith to depart the Realm, whereupon the Nobles and Commons ſhortly after writ a fruitful Epiſtle to the Pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the *Engliſh* Church. Whereunto, as ſaith the Author, the Pope and the Cardinals were not able to anſwer. The argument and tenor of which Letter, out of *French*, we have cauſed to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, as enſueth.

The Popes Procurators driven out of *England*.

## *The Letter of the King of* England, *and Nobles of the ſame, to the Pope, againſt the reſervations and proviſions which he had in* England.

TO the moſt Holy Father in God, Lord *Clement*, by the Grace of God, of the holy Church of *Rome*, and 'of the Univerſal Church, chief and high Biſhop; his 'humble and devout Children, the Princes, Dukes, Earls, 'Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and all the Com-'monalty of the Realm of *England*, aſſembled at the Par-'liament holden at *Weſtminſter* the fifteenth day of *May* 'laſt paſt: Devout kiſſings of his holy feet, with all hum-'ble reverence and humility. Moſt holy Father, the holy 'diſcretion, government and equity which appeareth to be 'in you, and ought of duty ſo to be (being ſo high and holy 'a Prelate, and head of the holy Church) by whom the 'holy Univerſal Church and people of God ought to be 'as by the Sun-beams enlightened, giveth us good hope and 'likelihood, that the juſt petitions (to the honour of

A Letter of the Nobles and Commons of *England* to the Pope.

Jeſus

{KING *Edw.3*} 'Jesus Christ and holy Church, and your Holiness also) by 'us declared, shall be of you graciously heard and consider- 'ed; And that all errors and other iniquities should be quite 'taken away and removed; in stead whereof, fruitful ex- 'ploits and necessary remedies (by the grace of the holy Spi- 'rit which you in so high an estate have received) may be by 'you likewise graciously ordained and disposed. Wherefore 'most holy Father, all we (upon great deliberation and com- 'mon assent) come unto your Holiness, shewing and declaring 'that the noble Kings of *England* our Progenitors, our An- 'cestors, and we (according to the grace of the holy Spirit 'to them and us given, every one according to his devoti- 'on) have established, founded and endowed within the 'Realm of *England*, Churches, Cathedrals, Colledges, Ab- 'bies, Priories, and other divers houses of Religion in the 'same ordained; and to the Prelates and Governors of the 'same places, have given Lands, Possessions, Patrimonies, 'Franchises, Advowsons, and Patronages of Dignities, Re- 'venues, Offices, Churches, with many and divers other Be- 'nefices unto them given; whereby the service of God and 'faith of Christ might have been honoured and had in reve- 'rence, that the Hospitals and Alms-houses that are made, 'with all the Churches and Edifices, might be honestly kept 'and maintained, and that devout prayers might in those 'places be made for the Founders, and the poor Parishio- 'ners aided and comforted. And such only ought to have 'the Cure thereof, as are able to hear Confessions; and in 'their own natural Tongue are otherwise meet to inform 'and teach their Parishioners. And forsomuch as (most 'holy Father) you cannot well come to the notice of di- 'vers such errors and defaults, neither yet understand the 'condition of the places, being so far off, unless your Holi- 'ness be informed and advertised; We having the perfect 'intelligence and understanding of the said errors and de- 'faults of the places aboveſaid, within the said Realm, have 'thought meet to signifie the same unto your Holiness: 'That divers reservations, provisions and collations by your 'Predecessors Apostolick of *Rome*, and by you, most holy 'Father, in your time have been granted (and that more 'largely than they have been accustomed to be) unto di- 'vers persons, as well strangers, and of sundry Nations, as 'unto some such as are our enemies having no understand- 'ing at all of the Tongue and conditions of them, of 'whom they have the government and cure. Whereby a 'great number of souls are in peril, a great many of their 'Parishioners in danger, the service of God destroyed, the 'Alms and devotion of all men diminished, the Hospitals 'perished, the Churches with their appurtenances decayed, 'Charity withdrawn, the good and honest persons of our 'Realm unadvanced, the charge and government of souls 'not reguarded, the devotion of the people restrained, ma- 'ny poor Scholars unpreferred, and the treasure of the Realm 'carried out against the minds and intents of the Founders.

Decay of the Church of *England* by the Pope

'All which errors, defaults and slanders, most holy Father, 'we neither can nor ought to suffer or endure. We there- 'fore most humbly require your Holiness, that the slan- 'ders, errors and defaults, which we have declared unto 'you, may be through your great discretion considered; 'and that it may please you that such reservations, provisi- 'ons and collations may be utterly repelled, that from hence- 'forth the same be no more amongst us used; and to take 'such order and remedy therein, that the said Benefices, E- 'difices, Rights, with their appurtenants, may be to the ho- 'nour of God by our own Countrymen cured, defended 'and governed. And that it may further please your Ho- 'liness by your Letters to signifie unto us, without delay 'and other protract of time, what your pleasure is touching 'this our lawful request and demand; that we may do our 'endeavour with diligence herein for the remedy, correcti- 'on and amendment of those enormities above specified. In 'witness whereof, unto these Letters Patents we have set 'our Seals. Given in the full Parliament at *Westminster*, the '18*th.* day of *May*, *Anno* 1343.

The Popes Message to the King.

After these things thus passed over, the King shortly af- ter sent over his Procurators, the Earl of *Lancaster* and *Darby*, *Hugh Spenser*, Lord *Ralph Stafford*, with the Bi- shop of *Exeter*, and divers other, to the Popes Court to dis- cuss and plead about the right of his Title before the Pope. Unto whom the said Pope *Clement* the 6th. not long after sent down this Message; how that *Ludovick* Duke of *Bavaria* the Emperor, whom the Pope had before depos- ed, had submitted himself to him in all things; and there- fore deserved at his hands the benefit of Absolution; and how the Pope therefore had conferred and restored unto him justly and graciously the Empire, which he before un- justly did hold, *&c.* Which Message when the King did hear, being therewith moved to anger, he answered again, saying, *That if he also did agree and compound with the French King, he was ready to fight with them both, &c.* Ex Chron. Albanen.

The Kings answer to the Popes message.

Within the time of this year, Pence, Half-pence and Farthings began to be coined in the Tower. And the next year following, which was *An.* 1344. the Castle of *Windsor* (where the King was born) began to be repaired; and in the same house called the Round-Table was situate, the diameter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained 200 feet; to the expences of which House Weekly was al- lowed an hundred Pound for the maintaining of the Kings Chivalry, till at length by the occasion of the *French* Wars, it came down to nine Pounds a Week. By the example whereof the *French* K. being provoked, he began also the like Round-Table in *France*, for the maintaining of the Knight- hood. At which time the said *French* King moreover gave free liberty through his Realm to fell down Trees for mak- ing of Ships and maintaining of his Navy, whereby the Realm of *England* was not a little damnified.

{Anno 1344.} The Castle in *Windsor* inlarged. The round table build- ed in *Wind- sor*.

During the same year the Clergy of *England* granted to the King Tenths for three years; for the which the King in recompence again granted to them his Charter, con- taining these priviledges, That no Archbishop nor Bishop should be arraigned before his Justices, *sive ad sectam suam, sive patris*, if the said Clerk do submit and claim his Cler- gy, professing himself to be a Member of holy Church; whoso doing, shall not be bound to come to his answer be- fore the Justices. And if it shall be laid unto them to have married two Wives, or to have married a Widow, the Ju- stices shall have no power to proceed against them, to en- quire of the matter: So that the cause shall be reserved to the Spiritual Court, *&c.*

Tenths granted to the King by the Cler- gy for three years. Priviledges granted by the K. to the Clergy.

By this it is like that Priests had Wives.

About this present time at the setting up of the Round- Table, the King made Prince *Edward*, his eldest Son, the first Prince of *Wales*. All this while yet continued the Truce between the two Kings. Albeit it is likely to be thought that the *French* King gave many attempts to infringe the same. Whereupon *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, with 600 Men at Arms, and as many Archers, was sent over to *Gascoine*, the year after 1345, who there so valiantly is said to have behaved himself, that he subdued 55 Town- ships unto the King, 23 Noblemen he took Prisoners, en- countring with the *Frenchmen* at *Allebroke*. So courte- ously and liberally he dealt with the Soldiers, that it was a joy to them, and a preferment to fight underneath him. His manner was in winning any Town, to reserve little or nothing to himself, but to sparse the whole spoil to his Sol- diers. One example in the Authour (whom I follow) is touched; how the foresaid Earl at the winning of the Town of *Briers*, where he had granted to every Soldier for his Booty, the House with all the implements therein, which he by Victory should obtain; among other his Soldiers, to one named *Reb*, fell a certain House with the implements thereof, wherein was contained the Mint and Mony coined for that Country, to the value of a great substance; which when the Soldier had found, in breaking up a House where first the gross Metal was not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the Earl declaring to him the Treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the Earl answer- ed, *That the house was his, and whatsoever he found there- in.* Afterward the Soldier, finding a whole Mint of pure Silver ready coined, signified the same to the Earl, forso- much as he thought such Treasure to be too great for his portion; to whom the said Earl, again answering, *Declared that he had once given him the whole House, and that he had once given, he would not call back again, as children use to play.* And therefore bad him enjoy that which was granted to him; and if the Mony were thrice as much, it should be his own, *Ex Chron. Alban.* Which Story whether it was true or otherwise in those days, I have not to affirm. But *certes*, if in these our covetous, wretched days now present, any Author should report the like act to be practised, I would hardly believe it to be true.

Prince *Ed- ward*, first Prince of *Wales*.

{Anno 1345.} *Henry* Earl, after made Duke of *Lancaster*, sent over to *Gascoine*.

A rare ex- ample of a liberal Cap- tain to his Soldiers.

The liberal heart and constant voice of a worthy Captain.

The *Scots* partly a mean of breaking Truce.

As the Earl of *Lancaſter* was thus occupied in *Gaſcoin*, the *Scots* were as buſie here in *England*, waſting and ſpoiling without mercy; which were thought (and not unlike) to be ſet on by the *French* King. And therefore he was judged both by that, and by other divers ways to have broken the Covenants of Truce between him and the King of *England*.

{Anno 1346.} The ſecond voyage of K. *Edward* into *France*.

Wherefore the next year enſuing, *An.*1346. King *Edward* firſt ſending his Letters to the Court of *Rome*, and therein complaining to the Pope of *Philip de Valois*, how he tranſgreſſed and broke the Truce between them made, which by evident probations he there made manifeſt; about the Month of *July* he made his Voyage into *Normandy*, in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that no Man well knew whether he intended. Where firſt he entred the Town of *Hogs*, from thence proceeded unto *Cardone*. Where, about the 27*th.* of *July*, by the River of *Cardone*, he had a ſtrong Battel with the *Normans* and other *Frenchmen*, which to ſtop his paſſage, defended the Bridge. At the which Battel were taken of the Lords of *France*, the Earl of *Ewe*, the Earl of *Tankervile*; and of Knights with other Men of Arms, to the number of one hundred; of footmen ſix hundred; and the Town and Suburbs beaten down to the hard Walls. And all that could be born away was tranſported to the Ships.

The Battel at *Cardone*.

A little before, mention was made how the *French* King began firſt to infringe the Truce taken, and how the Earl of *Lancaſter*, upon the ſame, was ſent unto *Gaſcoine*. Now for the more evidence of the matter concerning the falling of the *French* King from the League, and other his wrongs and untrue dealing, it ſhall better in the Kings Letter appear; who hearing word, that the Lord *Philip de Valois* (contrary to the form of Truce taken at *Vanes*) had apprehended certain of his Nobles of *England*, and had brought them to *Paris* to be impriſoned and put to death; beſides other ſlaughters and ſpoilings made in *Britain*, *Gaſcoin*, and other places more: He therefore ſeeing the Truce to be broken of the *French* Kings part, and being thereto of neceſſity compelled, in the year above prefixed, the 14*th.* of the Month of *June*, did publiſh and ſend abroad his Letters of defiance, containing this effect.

## The Kings Letters of defiance againſt the *French* King.

The Kings Letters of defiance againſt the *French* K.

*TO all and ſingular, to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, publick greeting. We think it is not unknown unto you all, that after the deceaſe of* Charles *late King of* France *of famous memory, Brother to our redoubted Lady Mother Queen* Iſabel *Queen of* England; *the Crown of* France, *by juſt inheritance, hath fallen unto us, as to the next Heir Male now living after the ſaid King. Now* Philip de Valois, *being Son but only to the Uncle of the foreſaid King* Charles, *and therefore by degree of Conſanguinity being further off removed from the ſame (we being in the time of our minority) hath violently by force and power contrary to God and Juſtice uſurped, occupied, and yet doth occupy the ſame, invading further, and ſpoiling our Lands in the Dukedom of* Aquitania, *and joyning himſelf with our rebellious enemies the* Scots, *ſeeking our ſubverſion both by Land and by Sea, to the utter moſt of his endeavour. And although we, to prevent the damages which might riſe by War, have offered to the ſaid* Philip *divers friendly ways of Peace; to the intent we might better intend our purpoſed Voyage againſt Chriſts enemies the* Turks: *yet could nothing prevail with him in obtaining any peaceable way of reformation, driving us off by crafty diſſimulation, through falſe pretended words, but performing nothing with heart and deed. Whereupon, we not neglecting the grace and gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulſe the injuries of our enemy, have not refuſed by force of Arms, coming down to* Britany, *to encounter with him in open field. And ſo we being occupied in our Wars, there repaired unto us the Reverend Father Biſhop of* Preveſt, *and of* Tuſculane *Cardinals, and Legates from Pope* Clement *the 6th. to entreat ſome reformation of peace between us. At whoſe requeſt we conſented, agreeing to ſuch forms and conditions of peace as then were taken between us, ſending moreover our Embaſſadors to the Court of* Rome, *ſpecially to intreat of the ſame matter. And thus while ſome hope of Truce ſeemed between us to appear; News ſuddenly came unto us, which not a little aſtoniſhed our mind, of the death of certain of our Nobles and Adherents, whom the ſaid* Philip *unjuſtly and cruelly at* Paris *commanded to be executed. Beſide the waſting and ſpoiling our Lands and Subjects in* Britany, Gaſcony, *and other places; with innumerable wrongs and injuries, deceitfully intended againſt us both by Sea and Land. By reaſon whereof, the Truce on his part being notoriouſly broken, it is moſt manifeſt that it had been lawful for us, forthwith to have ſet upon him with open War. Yet notwithſtanding, to avoid thoſe incommodities that come by War, we thought firſt to prove, if by any gentle means ſome reformation might be had touching the premiſſes. And therefore ſundry times, we have ſent Embaſſadors to the Popes preſence for the Treaty of a Peace and Reformation to be had in thoſe aforeſaid exceſſes; requiring alſo, for the tractation thereof, certain terms of times to be appointed, always reſerving to our ſelves notwithſtanding, free liberty to reſume War at our pleaſure, according as the doings of the ſaid* Philip *ſhall conſtrain us thereunto. And now forſomuch as the foreſaid terms be already expired, and yet no reaſonable offer of peace appeareth, neither will the ſaid* Philip *come to any conformity, being required and moniſhed notwithſtanding by the Popes Letter thereunto (as the Pope by his Letter hath written unto us) but always hath multiplied his Conſpiracy and Obligations, uſing extremities againſt us; and to omit here to ſpeak of the exceſſive enormity of the Popes Legate, who being ſent by the Biſhop of* Rome *for the keeping of Truce, and whoſe part had been rather to have quenched and ſtaid the diſcord, hath ſtirred up our enemies more eagerly againſt us. In the which doing, neither hath the Biſhop of* Rome *(ſaving his reverence) as yet provided any remedy, albeit he hath been divers times required of us ſo to do. Which thing being ſo, we ought to be excuſed both before God and Man, if for the defect of other remedy to be had, we ſhall be conſtrained our ſelves to find remedy againſt ſuch wrongs and injuries; the caſe of juſtice and neceſſity conſtraining us to give out theſe our Letters of defiance againſt the violator of the Truce, and the unjuſt invader of our Kingdom. Proteſting, that this we do, not upon any diſpleaſure to the Biſhop of* Rome, *or to the Apoſtolick See, but only for the moderation of equity, ſtanding upon the defence of our own right and lawful inheritance, intending always rather to have peace, if by any reaſonable way it might be had. And thus much, for the ſtopping of ſlanderous fame and the mouths of backbiters, We thought good to ſignifie, firſt to the high Biſhop of* Rome, *and the foreſaid Cardinals; that by them as perſons indifferent, and Mediators, the ſame may be inſinuated to the contrary part; and alſo unto your whole Univerſity in general; recommending unto you all the innocency of my cauſe, and the community of juſtice. Dated at* Weſtminſter *the 14th. of* June, *the 19th. year of our Reign in* England, *and of* France *the ſixth.*

The Legate reth War. Like

And thus much for the Kings Letters. Now let us again return to his paſſage, from whence a little we have digreſſed. Concerning the which paſſage of the King, with the order of his acts atchieved in the ſame, from the winning of *Codane* or *Cardoine*, unto the Town of *Puſiake*, it is ſufficiently deſcribed by one of the Kings Chaplains and his Confeſſor; who being a *Dominick* Frier, and accompanying the King through all his journey, writeth thereof as followeth:

A Letter of the Kings Confeſſor touching his acts doing at *Cardoine*.

*BEnedicere debemus Deum Cœli, &c. Great cauſe we have to praiſe and laud the God of Heaven, and moſt worthily to confeſs his holy name, who hath wrought ſo his mercy to us. For after the conflict had at* Codane, *in the which many were ſlain, and the City taken and ſackt even to the bare Walls, the City of* Baia *immediately yielded it ſelf of his own accord, fearing leſt their counſels had been bewrayed. After this the Lord our King directed his progreſs toward* Roan: *Who being at the Town of* Lexon, *there came certain Cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which Cardinals being courteouſly entertained of the King for the reverence of the Popes See, it was thus anſwered to them again; That the King being much*

The Cardinals again intreat for peace.

*deſirous*

KING Ed. 3. The Kings anſwver to the Cardinals.

*deſirous of peace, had aſſaied by all ways and means reaſonable how to maintain the ſame; and therefore hath offered conditions, and manifold ways of peace to be had to the no ſmall prejudice of his own cauſe. And yet is ready to admit any reaſonable offer of peace, if by any means it my be ſought, &c. With this anſwer the Cardinals going to the* French *King the Kings adverſary, to perſwade with him in like manner, returned to King* Edward *again, offering to him in the* French *Kings name, the Dukedom of* Aquitania, *in as full aſſurance as his father before him ever had it: beſides further hope alſo of obtaining more, if intreaty of peace might be obtained. But forſomuch as that contented not enough the Kings mind, neither did the Cardinals find the* French *King ſo tractable and propenſe to the ſtudy of peace as they looked for, the Cardinals returned, leaving the matter as they found it. And ſo the King ſpeeding forward, by the way as his journey did lie, he ſubdued the Country and the great Towns, without any reſiſtance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and run away. Such fear God ſtruck into them, that it ſeemed they had loſt their hearts. In the ſame Voyage, as the King had gotten many Towns and Villages, ſo alſo he ſubdued Caſtles and Munitions, very ſtrong, and that with little ſtreſs. His enemy being at the ſame time at* Roan *had reared a great Army, who notwithſtanding being well manned, yet ever kept on the other ſide of the River* Seane, *breaking down all the Bridges that we ſhould not come over to him. And although the Country round about continually was ſpoiled, ſackt, and with fire conſumed by the circuit of* 20 *miles round about; yet the* French *King, being diſtant ſcarce the ſpace of one mile from us, either would not, or elſe durſt not (when he might eaſily have paſſed over the River) make any reſiſtance for defence of his Country and People. And ſo our King journeying forward, came to* Puſiake *or* Poiſy, *where the* French *King had likewiſe broken down the Bridge, and keeping on the other ſide of the River would reſt in no place.*

The French King ſheweth no great ſtudy of peace.

K. coming to Puſiake

After, whoſe coming to *Poiſy*, the foreſaid Chaplain and Confeſſor to the King, named *Michael Northburgh*, deſcribing the Kings Voyage, and the acts of the *Engliſhmen* from the Town of *Poiſie*, to his coming to *Calis*, in his Letters writeth in this wiſe.

## *A Letter of* William Northburgh *the Kings Confeſſor, deſcribing the Kings Voyage into* France.

'SAlutations premiſed, we give you to underſtand, that 'our Sovereign Lord the King came to the Town of '*Poiſie*, the day before the Aſſumption of our Lady, where 'was a certain Bridge over the water of *Seane*, broken 'down of the enemy, but the King tarried there ſo long till 'that the Bridge was made again. And whiles the Bridge 'was in repairing, there came a great number of Men at 'Arms, and other Soldiers armed, to hinder the ſame. But 'the Earl of *Northampton* iſſued out againſt them and ſlew 'of them more than one thouſand; the reſt fled away, 'thanks be to God. And at another time our Men paſſed 'the Water, although with much travel, and ſlew a great 'number of the common Soldiers of *France*, about the 'City of *Paris*, and Country adjoyning, being part of the '*French* Kings Army, and thoroughly well appointed; ſo 'that our people have now made other good Bridges upon 'our enemies, God be thanked, without any great loſs 'and damage to us. And on the Morrow after the Aſſump-'tion of our Lady, the King paſſed the water of *Seane*, and 'marched toward *Poiſie*, which is a Town of great defence, 'and ſtrongly immured, and a marvellous ſtrong Caſtle 'within the ſame, which our enemies kept. And when our 'Vanguard was paſſed the Town, our Rereguard gave an 'aſſault thereunto, and took the ſame: where were ſlain 'more than three hundred Men at Arms of our enemies 'part. And the next day following, the Earl of *Suffolk* and 'Sir *Hugh Spenſer* marched forth upon the Commons of 'the Country aſſembled and well armed, and in fine diſ-'comfited them, and ſlew of them more than 200, and 'took 600 Gentlemen Priſoners, beſide others. And after 'that, the King marched toward *Grand Villers*, and while 'he was there encamped, the Kings Vanguard was deſcried 'by the Men of Arms by the King *Bename*; whereupon our 'Men iſſued out in great haſte, and joyned Battel with 'them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithſtanding, 'thanks be unto God, the Earl of *Northampton* iſſued out, 'and reſcued the Horſemen with other Soldiers; ſo that 'few or none of them were either taken or ſlain, ſaving on-'ly *Thomas Talbot*, but had again the enemy in chaſe with-'in two Leagues of *Amiens*, of whom we took 8, and 'ſlew twelve of their beſt Men at Arms; the reſt being well 'horſed, took the Town of *Amiens*. After this, the King of '*England* marched toward *Pountiſe* upon *Bartholomew* 'day, and came unto the water of *Som*, where the *French* 'King had laid 500 Men at Arms, and three thouſand foot-'men, purpoſing to have kept and ſtopped our paſſage; 'but thanks be to God, the King of *England* and his Hoſt 'entred the ſame water of *Som*, where never Man paſſed 'before, without the loſs of any of our Men; and after 'that encountred with the enemy, and ſlew of them 'more than two thouſand; the reſt fled to *Abevyle*, in 'which chaſe were taken many Knights, Squires, and Men 'at Arms. The ſame day Sir *Hugh Spenſer* took the Town 'of *Croylay*, where he and his Soldiers ſlew 400 Men at 'Arms, and kept the Town, where they found great ſtore 'of Victuals. The ſame night encamped the King of *Eng-'land* in the Foreſt of *Creſſy* upon the ſame water, for that 'the *French* Kings Hoſt came on the other ſide of the Town 'near unto our paſſage; but he would not take the water 'of us, and ſo marched toward *Abevyle*. And upon the *Fri-'day* next following, the King being ſtill encamped in the 'ſaid Foreſt, our Scuriers deſcried the *French* King, which 'marched toward us in four great Battels. And having then 'underſtanding of our enemies (as Gods will was) a little 'before the evening tide we drew unto the plain field, and 'ſet our Battels in aray; and immediately the fight began, 'which was ſore and cruel, and indured long, for our enemies 'behaved themſelves right nobly. But thanks be given to 'God, the Victory fell on our ſide, and the King our ad-'verſary was diſcomfited with all his Hoſt, and put to flight, 'where alſo was ſlain the King of *Bename*, the Duke of *Lo-'rain*, the Earl of *Dabeſon*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl 'of *Blois*, the Earl of *Arcot*, with his two Sons, the Earl of '*Damerler*, the Earl of *Navers*, and his Brother, the Lord 'of *Tronard*, the Archbiſhop of *Meymes*, the Archbiſhop 'of *Saundes*, the high Prior of *France*, the Earl of *Savoy*, 'the Lord of *Morles*, the Lord *de Guis*, Seigniour *de S. No-'vant*, Seigniour *de Roſinburgh*, with ſix Earls of *Almain*, 'and divers other Earls, Barons, Knights and Squires, whoſe 'names are unknown. And *Philip de Valois* himſelf, with 'another Marqueſs, which was called Lord Elector among 'the *Romans*, eſcaped from the Battel. The number of the 'Men at Arms which were found dead in the field, beſides 'the common Soldiers and footmen, were 1542. And all 'that night the King of *England* with his Hoſt, abode arm-'ed in the field where the Battel was fought. On the next 'morrow before the Sun roſe, there marched toward us 'another great Hoſt, mighty and ſtrong of the *Frenchmen*. 'But the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Norfolk* iſſu-'ed out againſt them in three Battels; and after long and 'terrible fight, them in like wiſe they diſcomfited, by Gods 'great help and grace (for otherwiſe it could never have 'been) where they took of Knights and Squires a great 'number, and ſlew above 2000, purſuing the chaſe three 'Leagues from the place where the Battel was fought. The 'ſame night alſo the King encamped himſelf again in the 'Foreſt of *Creſſey*, and on the morrow marched toward '*Boleine*, and by the way he took the Town of *Staples*; and 'from thence he marched toward *Calis*, where he intendeth 'to plant his Siege, and lay his Battery to the ſame. And 'therefore our Sovereign Lord the King willeth and com-'mandeth you, in all that ever you may, to ſend to the 'ſaid Siege Victuals convenient. For after the time of our 'departing from *Chaam*, we have travelled through the 'Country, with great peril and danger of our people, but 'yet always had of Victual plenty, thanks be to God there-'fore. But now as the caſe ſtandeth, we partly need your 'help to be refreſhed with Victuals. Thus fare you well. 'Written at the Siege before the Town of *Calis* the 14*th.* 'day of *September.*

After the Siege and winning of *Poiſie*, the third day of *September An.* 1346. the King through the midſt of *France* directed his paſſage unto *Calis*, as by the tenor of this Letter you

Ann. 1346

The Siege of Calis.

you hear, and beſieged the ſame. Which Siege he continued from the 3d. of *September* aforeſaid, till the 3d. day of *Auguſt* next enſuing, upon the which day it was rendred up unto the ſaid *Edward* the 3d. and ſubdued unto the Crown of *England*, as after, the Lord willing, ſhall more appear.

*David* K. of *Scots* invadeth *England*

In the mean time, during the Siege of *Calis*, *David* the *Scotiſh* King, at the requeſt of the *French* King, with a great Army braſt into the North parts of *England*; and firſt beſieging the Town of *Lidel*, within ſix days obtained the greateſt part of the Town; and there taking all that he could find, with Sir *Walter Salby* a valiant Knight, which was the keeper of the Hold, he cauſed him uncourteouſly to be put to the Sword; and ſo from thence proceeded further into *England*; till at length being met withal by *William Surch* Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lord *Percy*, and the Lord *Nevil*, with other Nobles of thoſe parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the Plain near to *Durham*, the ſeventeenth day of *October* in the year above ſaid, through the gracious hand of Chriſt, there they were ſubdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the Earls of *Murrife* and *Stratheron*, with the flower of all the Chivalry, and principal Warriors of *Scotland* were ſlain.

The *Scots* overthrown.

*David* the *Scotiſh* K. taken priſoner

Alſo the foreſaid King *David*, with the Earls of *Mentiffe* and *Fiffes*, and other Lords, and *William Douglaſs Maſklime*, *Fleming*, and *William Douglaſs*, and other many more Men of Arms were taken Priſoners; and ſo the miſchief which they intended to other, fell upon their own heads.

During moreover, the ſaid Siege of *Calis*, the foreſaid Pope *Clement* the 6th. writing to the King of *England*, went about under the pretence of peace to ſtop his proceedings: whoſe Letters follow here under written.

## *The Letter of the Pope to the King of* England, *in the behalf of the* Frenchmen.

'*Clement* the Biſhop, Servant of Gods Servants, To 'his well-beloved Son in Chriſt, *Edward* the puiſſant 'King of *England*, Salutation and Apoſtolical Bleſſing. If 'you diligently conſider, dear Son, (as ought a Catholick 'Prince to do) the ſlaughter of ſuch an innumerable ſort, 'bought with the precious bloud of Chriſt our Redeemer; 'the loſs of their ſubſtance and ſouls, and the lamentable 'perils which the diſſentions and Wars ſtirred up between 'you and our well-beloved Son *Philip*, the noble King of '*France*, have brought upon us, and yet daily do without 'intermiſſion; and alſo the bewailing of ſo many poor peo- 'ple, crying out of Orphans and Pupils, lamentation of Wi- 'dows, and other miſerable People which be robbed and 'ſpoiled, and almoſt famiſhed; what exclamation they 'make with tears running down their Cheeks, yelling and 'crying unto God for help; as alſo the deſtruction of 'Churches, Monaſteries and holy places, holy Veſſels, and 'other ornaments unto Gods ſervice dedicated; the ſacrile- 'legious Robberies, Sackings, and Impriſonings, the ſpoil- 'ing of holy Churches, and religious perſons, with many 'other ſuch innumerable, deteſtable, execrable miſchiefs, 'offending the eies of the Divine Majeſty; all which, if 'your Princely heart would conſider and well remember; 'with this alſo, that Catholick Faith (eſpecially in the Eaſt 'parts) and the Chriſtians there abiding by means of the 'ſame diſſentions and Wars, deſtitute of the helps of ſuch 'Catholick Men as are in the Weſt parts, are ſo afflicted of 'the Infidels, ſeeing the other parts of *Chriſtendom* ſo trou- 'bled with cruel Perſecutions, yea, and more cruel than 'ever it hath been (although in theſe times to amplifie this 'our Faith in the ſaid Eaſt parts is cruel Perſecution ſhew- 'ed, more than hath been of many years paſt) doubtleſs we 'believe it would pity your heart. And to the end that ſuch 'and ſo great evils ſhould no further proceed; nor yet that 'ſo great good might be done by dilating of our foreſaid 'faith in theſe times ſhould be let and hindred, we deſire 'you that you would apply your mind to make ſome agree- 'ment and peace with the foreſaid King. For if (my well- 'beloved Son) God hath given unto you proſperous ſuc- 'ceſs and fortune, ye ought rather to humble than to extol 'your ſelf; and be ſo much the more readier to incline to his 'peace, and to endeavour your ſelf to pleaſe God, which 'loveth peace, and delighteth in peaceable Men; and to eſ- 'chew the foreſaid evils, which without doubt do grievouſly 'offend him. Furthermore, we marvel greatly, that unto our { KING Ed. 3. } 'reverend Brother *Anibaldus* Biſhop of *Tuſculane*, and our 'beloved Son *Stephen*, of the Title of S. *John* and *Paul*, 'Prieſt and Cardinal of the Apoſtolical See, being ſent as 'Legates by us and the ſame See Apoſtolical, to intreat a 'Peace, who diligently and faithfully labouring for the ſame, 'as lovers of verity, juſtice and equity, and therewithal, re- 'guarders of your honour, could not be ſuffered touching the 'intreaty of the ſame Pecace, to come unto your Graces pre- 'ſence.

'Wherefore we deſire your Kingly Highneſs more ear- 'neſtly, and for the mercy of God, with more vehemence 'require the ſame; that you taking up the foreſaid horrible 'evils, and preventing the ſweetneſs of piety and compaſſi- 'on; may eſcape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which 'were to be feared, if you ſhould perſevere in your former 'evils, as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for 'Peace, for which our foreſaid Cardinals were ſent unto 'you (howbeit ſecretly, leſt it ſhould be any derogation to 'your honour) we deſire you to condeſcend thereunto, and 'that with all your affection you will incline your mind 'to the ſame, ſo pleaſant unto God, ſo deſired of the world, 'as alſo to you, the foreſaid King, and unto the Catholick 'faith profitable. And that the ſame peace by Gods help 'grace eſtabliſhed and made perfect, you might allay your 'puiſſant ſtrength about Gods buſineſs in the foreſaid Eaſt 'parts (ſo good occaſion ſerving, as before is ſaid, in theſe 'our times) being ſo apt advancements of your honour, and 'happy increaſing of your Princely Name; for we have 'heard it of you reported, that you behave your ſelf fer- 'vently in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that 'you will write unto us again touching the premiſſes, and 'the purpoſe of your intention touching the ſame. Dated at 'Avinion the 18th. of *February*, and 5th. year of our Pepacy.

## The Anſwer of the King of *England*, to the foreſaid Letter of the Pope.

K. Edward anſwereth to the Pope.

*Moſt holy Father, we underſtand by the Letters of the reverend Fathers in God, the Biſhop of* Tuſculane, *and* Stephen *of the Title of S.* John *Prieſt, Cardinals and Legates of the Court of* Rome, *as alſo by the Letters of your Holineſs ſent unto us, that ye marvel greatly for that your ſaid Legates were of purpoſe ſent unto us, and commanded to intreat of a Peace between our adverſary of* France *and us, that we would not ſuffer them ſecretly to talk with us, for the ſafeguard of our honour; the intention of your heart being to make the foreſaid peace; compaſſing and bewailing therein the death of Chriſtian Men, the loſs of their goods, the peril of their ſouls, the lamentable wailings of the poor, of* Orphans, *of Widows, and deſtruction of other pitiful perſons, the pillage and robberies of Churches, and other miſchiefs innumerable, and namly, the diminiſhing of Chriſtian faith in the Eaſt parts, which by the War between our adverſary of* France *and us is ſore decayed, as the ſaid Letters plainly do import. And that foraſmuch as God hath given us triumphant fortune, ſo much the more we ought to abaſe and humble our heart, and to be the readier to make and incline to a peace. As touching theſe things, holy Father, we give you holineſs to underſtand, that as well unto your foreſaid Legates, as other meſſengers ſent from you unto us, we have offered unto every of them reaſonable ways of peace, and every day declare the ſame, and that not ſecretly, but openly. For we doubt not to let our purpoſe be underſtood; for he that is the high Judge both of him and us, in whoſe diſpoſition all things lie, hath given unto us the Crown of* France *to our right and proper heritage. The which right our foreſaid adverſary hath by force of long time detained from us, we ſeeking to obtain the ſame in peaceable wiſe; and yet do, if we might obtain the ſame in any good manner, rather for the benefit of Chriſtian Men, and that the foreſaid evils might ceaſe, which by his wrongful means only have increaſed and grown. Yet notwithſtanding, as before this time you know, we aſſented to a Truce, with certain Articles contained in the ſame writing; all this he hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong ſuffice him which he offereth us in our foreſaid Heritage, but he indeavoureth himſelf, during the ſaid Truce, to invade our Realm of* England, *and other our Lands; and furthermore, maintaineth the* Scots, *and aideth them to the*

*utter*

KING Edw. 3

*utter deſtruction of us, our People and Lands aforeſaid; wherein we were inforced for the ſafeguard of our People and Lands, by ſuch lawful means as we may, to defend our ſelves, and put him from his wicked purpoſe. And furthermore for the ſame, our quarrel being in the hands of God, have we come againſt him to conquer our Inheritance of* France; *over whom God hath given us divers Victories, as we have truſted he would by his right-wiſe judgment and power; which thing he hath ſhewed upon us, (all chance of fortune ſet apart) in reſpect of our rightful Title therein, and without our deſerts: wherefore with all humility of heart we give him thanks always therefore, moſt devoutly night and day praiſing his holy name; for we acknowledge the ſame cometh not by our ſtrength and force. Wherefore, moſt holy Father, we deſire your Holineſs, and, ſo much as in us lieth, require the ſame, that you that ſupply the place of the Son of God in earth, and have the government of the ſouls of all Chriſtian men, and ought to be upright and equal towards all men, without exception of perſons, that ye, I ſay, will receive good information and true, of the objections aboveſaid, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our ſaid adverſary of* France *may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to us herein, and may be by your aid redreſſed, and that he in this his wrong have no maintenance and aid at your hand. For if it be ſo, we then appeal unto the Judge of Judges, which ſuffereth for a time wrongs to be done for the ſinful default of Man, but in the end redreſſeth the ſame, leaving no good deed unrewarded, nor evil unpuniſhed; moſt humbly requiring him to be to us a true and upright Judge of all our controverſies, for his mercies ſake, as in the mean time we repoſe our full truſt and confidence in him. The holy Spirit of God, &c.*

The K. appealeth from the Pope to God.

Offers made to the men of Flanders.

Moreover, during yet the Siege of *Calis*, the *French* King had ſent certain offers to the Men of *Flanders*, that if they would relinquiſh the King of *England*, and adhere to him:

*Firſt*, He would remit all their former tranſgreſſions.

*Secondly*, He would unburden them of their indict.

*Thirdly*, He would ſend unto them ſuch plenty of Corn, that what was ſold for 12 ſhillings with them, ſhould be ſold for 4 ſhillings, and that for ſix years.

*Fourthly*, He would ſtore them with plenty of *French* Wooll to make Cloth for a ſmall price; and that they might ſell the ſaid Cloths, both in *Flanders* and in *France*, and that the *Frenchmen* ſhould uſe the ſame Cloth, forſomuch as all other manner of Cloth ſhould be forbidden in *France*, ſo long as any of that (made of *French* Wooll) might be found.

*Fifthly*, He would reſtore to them theſe three Cities, *Inſulam*, *Bovocum* and *Betony*.

*Sixthly*, He would defend them from all their adverſaries; and in pledge of the ſame would ſend them mony beforehand.

*Seventhly*, Such as were able and forward men among them, he would retain and promote them, &c.

But theſe offers, ſeeming to proceed more of fair words to ſerve the preſent turn, than of any hearty truth, were not received. Then the Lord *John*, Prince and Heir to the *French* King, during the foreſaid Siege of *Calis* above mentioned, coming with a mighty Army of *Frenchmen*, ſet upon the Men of *Flanders* and *Engliſhmen* in the Town of *Caſſels*. In the which conflict, during from morning to noon, the *Frenchmen* were vanquiſhed, and the young *Dolphin* driven back from whence he came. Of whoſe number divers were ſlain and taken priſoners. Where on the other ſide (through the Lords defence) not one is reported to be grievouſly wounded.

The Dolphin with the *French* diſcomfited at *Caſſels*.

Ann. 1347

This paſſed on, not long after, about the ſeventh day of *June*, *An.* 1347. King *Edward* continuing ſtill his Siege againſt *Calis*, *Philip* the *French* King came down with a mighty Army, purpoſing to remove the Siege; where, not far off from the *Engliſh* Hoſt, he encamped himſelf. Which done, two Cardinals, *Ambaldus* and *Stephanus* (procured for the ſame purpoſe) going between the two Kings, gave to the King of *England* thus to underſtand; That if he would condeſcend to any reaſonable way of peace, the *French* King was ready to offer ſuch honeſt proffers unto him, as to reaſon and to his contentation ſhould ſeem agreeable. But in concluſion, when it came to talk, the Nobles could not agree upon the conditions. Wherefore the *French* King, ſeeing no other remedy, cauſed it to be ſignified to King *Edward*; that between that preſent *Tueſday* and the next *Friday*, if he would come forth into the field he ſhould have Battel given him. Thus the place being viewed of four Captains of either Hoſt for the Battel to be fought; it fo fell, that the *French* King on *Wedneſday* at night, before the Battel ſhould joyn, ſecretly by night ſetting his pavilions on fire, returned back with his Army out of the ſight of the *Engliſhmen*.

The *French* K. flieth before the Battel.

Upon the *Friday* following, they which were beſieged in the Town of *Calis*, ſeeing the King to be retired (upon whoſe help they truſted, being alſo in great penury and famine for lack of victuals, and otherwiſe in much miſery vehemently diſtreſſed) ſurrendered the Town to the Kings hands: who like a merciful Prince, only detaining certain of the chief, the reſt with the whole Commons he let go with Bag and Baggage, diminiſhing no part of their goods, ſhewing therein more Princely favour to them, than they did of late in Queen *Marys* days unto our Men, in recovering the ſaid Town of *Calis* again.

The town of *Calis* won.

After the winning thus of *Calis*, as hath been premiſed, King *Edward*, remaining in the ſaid Town a certain ſpace, was in conſultation concerning his Voyage and proceeding further into *France*. But by means of the foreſaid Cardinals, Truce for a certain time was taken, and inſtruments made (ſo provided) that certain Noblemen as well for the *French* King, as for the King of *England*, ſhould come to the Pope, there to debate upon the Articles. Unto the which King *Edward*, for peace ſake, was not greatly diſagreeing. Which was *Anno* 1347. *Ex Tho. Walſing.*

Truce concluded between *England* and *France*.

The next year following, which was *An.* 1348. fell a ſore Plague, which they call the firſt general Peſtilence in the Realm of *England*. This Plague (as they ſay) firſt ſpringing from the Eaſt, and ſo proceeding Weſtward, did ſo mightily prevail here in this Land, beginning firſt at *Dorceſter*, and the Countrys thereabout, that every day lightly twenty, ſome days forty, ſome ſixty, and more dead Corpſes were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the firſt day of *Auguſt*, by the firſt of *November* it came to *London*. Where the vehement rage thereof was ſo hot, and did increaſe ſo much, that from the firſt day of *February*, till about the beginning of *May*, in a Churchyard then newly made by *Smithfield*, about 200 dead Corpſes every day were buried, beſides them which in other Church-yards of the City were laid alſo. At length by the grace of Chriſt, ceaſing there, it proceeded from thence to the *North* parts. Where alſo the next year after, *An.* 1349. it ſwaged.

Anno 1348

A vehement peſtilence in *England*.

Now called the *Charterhouſe* Church yard

After this, in the next year enſuing, *An.* 1350. the Town of *Calis* was, by Treaſon of the keeper of the Caſtle, almoſt betrayed and won from the *Engliſhmen*. Within the compaſs of which year died *Philip* the *French* King. After whom King *John* his Son ſucceeded in the Crown. Who the next year after, under falſe pretence of friendſhip, cauſed the Conſtable of *France* Earl of *Ewe*, to be beheaded; who being taken priſoner before in war by *Engliſhmen*, and long detained in priſon in *England*, was licenſed by K. *Edward* to viſit his Country of *France*. In the ſame year the Town of *Gwines* was taken by *Engliſhmen*, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and aſleep.

Ann. 1350

*Calis* almoſt loſt by treaſon.

The death of the *French* K.

Ann. 1351

The Town of *Gwines* taken.

The year next following, the Marſhal of *France* with a great Army was put to flight by Sir *Roger Bentele* Knight, and Captain in *Britain*, having but only 600 Soldiers with him. In this Battel were taken 9 Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen 140. The *Frenchmen* and *Britains* by this Victory were exceedingly diſcouraged, and their pride cut down.

Ann. 1352

Victory of Sir Roger *Bentele*.

In the year after, was *Henry* firſt made Duke of *Lancaſter*, which before was Earl of *Darby* and *Lancaſter*. Alſo divers good Ordinances were appointed in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. Which after, by avarice and partial favour of the head men, were again undone.

Firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*

Concord and agreement about the year 1354. began to come well forward, and Inſtruments were drawn upon the ſame between the two Kings. But that the matter being brought up to Pope *Innocent* the ſixth, partly by the quarrelling of the *Frenchmen*, partly by the winking of the Pope, which ever held with the *French* ſide, the conditions were repealed, which were theſe: That to the King

Anno 1354.

Pope *Innocent* 6.

King of *England* all the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, with other Lands there, ſhould be reſtored without Homage to the *French* King. And that King *Edward* again ſhould ſurrender to him all his right and title, which he had in *France*; whereupon roſe the occaſion of great War and Tumult which followed after between the two Realms.

*Chron. Adami Merimouth canonici D. Pauli de geſtis Edw. 3.*

{Ann. 1355}

It followed after this, the year of our Lord 1355. that King *Edward* hearing of the death of *Philip* the *French* King, and that K. *John* his Son had granted the Dukedom of *Aquitain* to *Charles* his eldeſt Son and Dauphin of *Vienna*, ſent over Prince *Edward* with the Earls of *Warwick*, of *Saliſbury*, of *Oxford*, and with them a ſufficient number of able Soldiers into *Aquitania*. Where he being willingly received of divers, the reſt partly by force of ſword he ſubdued, partly received, ſubmitting themſelves to his protection.

*The third Voyage of K. Edward into France.*

Not long after this, in the ſame year, word being brought to King *Edward*, that *John* the *French* King was ready to meet him at S. *Omers*, there to give him Battel, he gathered his power, and ſet over to *Calis* with his two Sons, *Leonel* Earl of *Wilton*, and *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*, and with *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *&c.* Who being come to Saint *Omers*, the *French* King with a mighty Army of his *Francklings*, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired back; waſting and deſtroying behind them, to the intent that the *Engliſh* Army in purſuing them, ſhould find no Victuals. By reaſon whereof, King *Edward* following him by the ſpace of nine or ten days unto *Hadem* (when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor Victuals for forrage for his Army) he returned unto *Calis*; where war again being offered in the name of the King, upon unſtable conditions, and yet the ſame not performed, King *Edward* ſeeing the ſhrinking of his enemy, from *Calis* croſſed the Seas into *England*, where he recovered again the Town of *Barwick*, which the *Scots* before by ſubtil train had gotten. At which time was granted unto the King in Parliament, 50 *s.* for every Sack or Pack of Woull that ſhould be carried over, for the ſpace of ſix years together. By the which grant, the King might diſpend every day by eſtimation above 100 Marks ſterling. And foraſmuch as every year 100000 Sacks of Woull were thought to be tranſported out of the Realm, the ſumm thereof for ſix years ſpace was eſteemed to mount to 1500000 pound ſterling.

*The French K refuſeth to join in Battel with K. Edward.*

*Fifty ſhillings for every Sack of Woull carried out of England.*

*The cuſtom of Wooll for ſix years 1500000 l. ſterling to K. Edward.*

{Ann. 1356}

The ſame year, when King *Edward* had recovered *Barwick*, and ſubdued *Scotland*, Prince *Edward* being in *Gaſcoine*, made toward the *French* King. Who, notwithſtanding by the way all Bridges were caſt down, and great reſiſtance made; yet the victorious Prince made way with his Sword, after much ſlaughter of the *Frenchmen*, and many Priſoners taken, at length joyning with the *French* King at *Poytiers*, ſcarce with 2000, gave the overthrow to the *French* King with 7000 Men of Arms and more. In which conflict, the *French* King himſelf, and *Philip* his Son, with Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, the Archbiſhop of *Senon*, 11 Earls, 22 Lords were taken. Of other Warriers and Men of Arms 2000. Some affirm, in this conflict were ſlain 2 Dukes, of Lords and Noblemen 24. of men of Arms 2002; of other Soldiers about 8000. The common report is, that more *Frenchmen* were there taken Priſoners, than were the number of them which took them. This noble Victory gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all Men.

*The French King taken Priſoner by Prince Edw.*

It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpoſe of this Hiſtory, to comprehend in order all the doings of this King, with the circumſtances of his Victories, of the bringing in of the *French* King into *England*, of his abode there, of the ranſom levied on him, and of *David* the *Scotiſh* King; of which, the one was rated at three millions of Scutes, the other at an hundred thouſand Marks, to be paid in ten years, how the Staple was after tranſlated to *Calis*, with ſuch like. I refer them that would ſee more, to the Chronicle of *Tho. Walſing.* of St. *Albans*, of *John Froyſard*, *Adam Merimouth*, who diſcourſe all this at large.

*Every Scute valuing ſix ſhilling eight pence.*

Thus having diſcourſed at large all ſuch Martial Affairs and Warlike Exploits, incident in the Reign of this King betwixt him and the Realms of *France* and *Scotland*: now, to return again to our matters Eccleſiaſtical, it followeth in order to recapitulate and notifie the troubles and contentions growing between the ſame King and the Pope, and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons in matters touching the Church in order of years remaining in the Tower, taken out of the Records, as followeth. As where firſt in the fourth year of his Reign, the King wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to this effect: That whereas King *Edward* the firſt his Grandfather did give to a Clerk of his own, being his Chaplain, the Dignity of Treaſurer of *York*, the Archbiſhoprick of *York* being then vacant and in the Kings hands, in the quiet poſſeſſion whereof the ſaid Clerk continued, until the Pope miſliking therewith, would have diſplaced him, and promoted to the ſame Dignity a Cardinal of *Rome*, to the manifeſt prejudice of the Crown of *England*; the King therefore ſtraitly chargeth the Archbiſhop of *York* not to ſuffer any matter to paſs, that may be prejudicial to the donation of his Grandfather, but that his own Clerk ſhould injoy the ſaid dignity accordingly, upon pain of his Highneſs diſpleaſure.

The like precepts were alſo directed to theſe Biſhops following, *videlicet*, to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, *Monſieur Marmion*, Archdeacon of *Richmond*, Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, the Prior of *Lewen*, the Prior of *Lentoy*, to Maſter *Richard Benitworth*, to Maſter *Iherico de Concore*, to the Popes Nuncio, to Maſter *Guido* of *Calma*. And withal, he wrote his Letters unto the Pope, as touching the ſame matter, conſiſting in three parts. Firſt, in the declaration and defence of his Right and Title to the donation and gift of all manner of Temporalties, of Offices, Prebends, Benefices and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical, holden of him *in capite*, as in the right of his Crown of *England*. Secondly, In expoſtulating with the Pope for intruding himſelf into the aforeſaid right of the Crown of *England*, intermedling with ſuch Collations, contrary to right and reaſon, and the example of all his predeceſſors which were Popes before. Thirdly, Intreating him that he would henceforth abſtain and deſiſt from moleſting the Realm with ſuch Novelties and ſtrange Uſurpations; and ſo much the more, for that, in the Publick Parliament lately holden at *Weſtminſter*, it was generally agreed upon, by the univerſal aſſent of all the Eſtates of the Realm, that the King ſhould ſtand to the defence of all ſuch Rights and Juriſdictions as to his Regal Dignity and Crown any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth year of the Reign of this King, Pope *Benedict* the twelfth ſendeth down Letters touching his new Creation, with certain other matters and requeſts to the King; whereunto the King anſwering again, declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding moreover, that his purpoſe was to have ſent unto him certain Embaſſadors for congratulation of the ſame. But being otherwiſe occupied by reaſon of Wars, could not attend his Holineſs requeſts, notwithſtanding he minded to call a Parliament about the Feaſt of *Aſcenſion* next, where, upon the aſſembly of his Clergy and other Eſtates, he would take order for the ſame, and ſo direct his Embaſſadors to his Holineſs accordingly.

The next year after, which was the tenth year of his Reign, the King writeth another Letter to the Pope; that foraſmuch as his Clergy had granted him one years tenth for the ſupportation of his Wars, and for that the Pope alſo had the ſame time to take up the payment of ſix years Tenths granted him by the Clergy a little before, therefore the Pope would vouchſafe at his requeſt to forbear the exaction of that mony for one year, till that his Tenth for the neceſſities of his Wars were diſpatched.

The ſame year he wrote alſo to the Pope to this effect: That whereas the Prior and Chapter of *Norwich* did nominate a Clerk to be Biſhop of *Norwich*, and ſent him to *Rome* for his inveſtiture, without the Kings knowledge; therefore the Pope would withdraw his conſent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the Kings peculiar Juriſdiction and Prerogative.

After this, in the ſixteenth year of this King, it happened that the Pope ſent over certain Legates to hear and determine matters appertaining to the right of patronages of Benefices; which the King perceiving to tend to the no ſmall derogation of his right, and the liberties of his Subjects, writeth unto the ſaid Legates, admoniſhing and requiring them not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing unad-

{ O Edw. 3 } unadviſedly, otherwiſe than might ſtand with the lawful ordinances and cuſtoms of the Laws of his Realm, and the freedom and liberties of his Subjects.

Writing moreover the ſame year to other Legates being ſent over by the Pope to treat of Peace between the King and the *French* King, with requeſt that they would firſt make their repair to the *French* King, who had ſo oftentimes broken with him, and prove what conformity the *French* K. would offer; which if he found reaſonable, they ſhould ſoon accord with him: otherwiſe he exhorted them not to enter into the Land, nor to proceed any further in that behalf.

The year following, which was the ſeventeenth of his Reign, enſueth another Letter to the Pope, againſt his proviſions and reſervations of Benefices, worthy here to be placed and ſpecified, but that the ſumm thereof is before ſet down, to be found in the *Page* 440.

The year following, another Letter likewiſe was ſent by the King to the Pope, upon occaſion taken of the Church of *Norwich*, requiring him to ſurceaſe his reſervations and proviſions of the Biſhopricks within the Realm, and to leave the Elections thereof free to the Chapters of ſuch Cathedral Churches, according to the ancient Grants and Ordinances of his noble Progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth year of this Kings Reign, there came to the preſence of the King certain Legates from *Rome*, complaining of certain Statutes paſt in his Parliament, tending to the prejudice of the Church of *Rome*, and the Popes Primacy, *viz.* That if Abbots, Priors, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Patrons of Benefices ſhould not preſent to the ſaid Benefices within a certain time, the lapſe of the ſame ſhould come to the Ordinary or Chapter thereof; or if they did not preſent, then to the Archbiſhop, if the Archbiſhop likewiſe did fail to preſent, then the gift to pertain not unto the Lord Pope, but unto the King and his Heirs. Another complaint alſo was this, That if Archbiſhops ſhould be ſlack in giving ſuch Benefices as properly pertained to their own Patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewiſe ſhould appertain to the foreſaid King and his Heirs. Another complaint was, That if the Pope ſhould make void any Elections in the Church of *England* for any defect found therein, and ſo had placed ſome honeſt and diſcreet perſons in the ſame, that then the King and his Heirs was not bound to render the Temporalties unto the parties placed by the Popes proviſion. Whereupon the Pope being not a little aggrieved, the King writeth unto him, certifying that he was miſinformed, denying that there was any ſuch Statute made in that Parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would confer with his Prelates and Nobles, and thereof would return anſwer by his Legates.

In the 20*th.* year of his Reign, another Letter was written to the Pope by the King, the effect whereof in few words to expreſs it, was this; to certifie him that, in reſpect of his great charges ſuſtained in his Wars, he hath by the counſel of his Nobles, taken into his own hands the fruits and profits of all his Benefices here in *England*.

To proceed in the order of years, in the twenty ſixth year of this King, one *Nicholas Heath* Clerk, a buſie-headed body, and a troubler of the Realm, had procured divers Biſhops, and others of the Kings Councel to be cited up to the Court of *Rome*, there to anſwer ſuch complaints as he had made againſt them. Whereupon commandment was given by the King to all the Ports of the Realm for the reſtraint of all Paſſengers out, and for ſearching and arreſting all perſons bringing in any Bulls or other Proceſs from *Rome*, tending to the derogation of the dignity of the Crown, or moleſtation of the Subjects: concerning which *Nicholas Heath*, the King alſo writeth to the Pope his Letters, complaining of the ſaid *Heath*, and deſiring him to give no ear to his lewd complaints.

The ſame year the King writeth alſo to the Popes Legate reſident in *England*, requiring him to ſurceaſe from exacting divers ſummes of Mony of the Clergy, in the name of firſt fruits of Benefices.

The 31*ſt.* year of this Kings Reign, the King by his Letters complaineth to the Pope of a troubleſome fellow named *Nicholas Stanway*, remaining in *Rome*, which by his ſlanderous complaints procured divers Citations to be ſent into the Realm, to the great diſturbance of divers and ſundry honeſt Men. Whereupon he prayeth and adviſeth the Pope to ſtay himſelf, and not to ſend over ſuch haſty Citations upon every light occaſion.

To paſs further to the 38*th.* year of the ſame King, thus we find in the Rolls; That the King the ſame year took order by two of his Clergy, to wit, *John a Stock*, and *John of Norton* to take into their hands all the Temporalties of all Deanries, Prebends, Dignities and Benefices being then vacant in *England*, and to anſwer the profits of the ſame to the Kings uſe.

The ſame year an Ordinance was made by the King and his Council, and the ſame was proclaimed in all Port-Towns within the Realm, *That good and diligent ſearch ſhould be made, that no perſon whatſoever coming from the Court of Rome, &c. do bring into the Realm with him any Bull, Inſtrument, Letters Patents, or other Proceſs, that may be prejudicial to the King, or any of his Subjects: Nor that any perſon, paſſing out of this Realm toward the Court of* Rome, *do carry with him any Inſtrument or Proceſs that may redound to the prejudice of the King or his Subjects; and that all perſons paſſing to the ſaid Court of* Rome, *&c. with the Kings ſpecial Licence, do notwithſtanding promiſe and find Surety to the Lord Chancellor, that they ſhall not in any wiſe attempt or purſue any matter to the prejudice of the King or his Subjects, under pain to be put out of the Kings protection, and to forfeit his Body, Goods and Chattels, according to the Statute thereof made* Anno 27.

And thus much concerning the Letters and Writings of the King, with ſuch other domeſtical matters, perturbations and troubles paſſing between him and the Pope, taken out of the publick Records of the Realm, whereby I thought to give the Reader to underſtand the horrible abuſes, the intolerable pride, and the unſatiable avarice of that Biſhop, more like a proud Lucifer than a Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt, in abuſing the King, and oppreſſing his Subjects with Exactions unmeaſurable; and not only exerciſing his Tyranny in this Realm, but raging alſo againſt other Princes, both far and near, amongſt whom neither ſpared he the Emperor himſelf. In the ſtory and acts of which Emperor *Ludovicus*, mentioned a little before, *page* 425, whom the Pope did moſt arrogantly excommunicate upon *Maundy Thurſday*, and the ſelf-ſame day placed another Emperor in his room; relation was made of certain learned Men which took the Emperors part againſt the Pope. In number of whom was *Marſilius Patavinus, Guillermus Ockam, Johannes Gandavenſis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landenſis, Ulricus Hangenor* Treaſurer of the Emperor, *Dantes, Aligerius, &c.* Of whom *Marſilius Patavinus* compiled and exhibited unto the Emperor *Ludovick* a worthy work intituled *Defenſor pacis*, written in the Emperors behalf againſt the Pope. Wherein (both godly and learnedly diſputing againſt the Pope) he proveth all Biſhops and Prieſts to be equal, and that the Pope hath no ſuperiority above other Biſhops, much leſs above the Emperor: That the Word of God ought to be only the chief Judge in deciding and determining cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; that not only ſpiritual perſons, but Laymen alſo being godly and learned, ought to be admitted unto General Councils; That the Clergy and the Pope ought to be ſubject unto Magiſtrates; that the Church is the Univerſity of the faithful, and that the Foundation and Head of the Church is Chriſt, and that he never appointed any Vicar or Pope over his Univerſal Church; That Biſhops ought to be choſen every one by their own Church and Clergy; That the Marriage of Prieſts may lawfully be permitted; That S. *Peter* was never at *Rome*; That the Clergy and Synagogue of the Pope is a Den of Thieves; That the Doctrine of the Pope is not to be followed, becauſe it leadeth to deſtruction; And that the corrupt manners of the Chriſtians do ſpring and flow out of the wickedneſs of the Spiritualty, *&c.* He diſputeth moreover, in another work, of free Juſtification by Grace; and extenuated merits, ſaying, that they are no cauſes efficient of our Salvation, but only *ſine qua non*, that is to ſay, that works be no cauſe of our Juſtification, but yet our Juſtification goeth not without them. For the which his Doctrine moſt ſound and Catholick, he was condemned by the Pope, *Anno* 1324. by the Popes Decree *Extravagant, cap. Licet inter doctrinam.*

*Marſilius Patavinus* Author of the Book called, *Defenſor pacis.*

Articles of *Marſilius* againſt the Pope.

Merits cauſe of ſalvation.

*ſine qua non.*

*Marſilius* condemned of the Pope.

*Extravagt. Licet inter doctrinam.*

Con-

Concerning the which Man and his Doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to Hiſtory, to the intent Men may ſee that they which charge this Doctrine now taught in the Church with the note of novelty or newneſs, how ignorant and unskilful they be in the Hiſtories and order of times forepaſt.

*Johannes Gundavenſis* condemned by the Pope

In the ſame part of condemnation at the ſame time alſo was *Johannes de Gunduno, Anno* 1330. and contained alſo in the foreſaid *Extravagant* with *Marſilius Patavinus*. Which *Johannes* wrote much upon *Ariſtotle* and *Averrois*, and his Books are yet remaining. And no doubt but he wrote alſo of Divinity, but it is not unlike that theſe works have been aboliſhed.

*Guillelmus Ockam* wrote againſt the Pope.

In the ſame number and catalogue cometh alſo *Guillelmus Ockam*, who was in the year of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned, *pag.*424. and wrote likewiſe in defence of *Ludovicus* the Emperor againſt the Pope; and alſo in defence of *Michael*, General of *Grayfriers*, whom the Pope had excommunicated and curſed for an Heretick. Divers Treatiſes were by the ſaid *Ockam* ſet forth, whereof ſome are extant and in Print, as his Queſtions and Diſtinctions; ſome are extinct and ſuppreſſed (as *Aſcentius* reporteth) *quod eſſent aliquando aſperiora*. Some again be publiſhed under no name of the Author, being of his doing; as the Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk; wherein it is to be conjectured, what Books and Works this *Ockam* had collected againſt the Pope. Of this *Ockam*, *John Sleidane* in his Hiſtory inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whoſe words be theſe: *William Ockam*, in time of *Ludovicus* the fourth, Emperor, did flouriſh about the year of our Lord 1326. who among other things wrote of the authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. In the which Book he handleth theſe eight Queſtions very copiouſly; Whether both the adminiſtrations of the Biſhops office, and of the Emperors, may be in one Man? Secondly, Whether the Emperor taketh his power and authority only of God, or elſe of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope and Church of *Rome* have power by Chriſt to ſet and place Kings and Emperors, and to commit to them their Juriſdiction to be exerciſed? Fourthly, Whether the Emperor being elected, hath full authority upon the ſaid his Election, to adminiſter his Empire? Fifthly, Whether other Kings beſides the Emperor and King of *Romans*, in that they are conſecrated of Prieſts, receive of them any part of their power? Sixthly, Whether the ſaid Kings in any caſe be ſubject to their Conſecrators? Seventhly, Whether if the ſaid Kings ſhould admit any new Sacrifice, or ſhould take to themſelves the Diadem without any further Conſecration, they ſhould thereby loſe their Kingly right, and title? Eighthly, Whether the ſeven Princes Electors give as much to the Election of the Emperor, as ſucceſſion rightfully giveth to other Kings? Upon theſe Queſtions he diſputeth and argueth with ſundry Arguments and ſundry reaſons on both ſides, at length he decideth the matter on the part of the Civil Magiſtrate; and by occaſion thereof entreth into the mention of the Popes Decrees extravagant; declaring how little force or regard is to be given thereunto.

*Michael* general of the *Gray-friers*, excommunicated for an Heretick

*Aſcentius in prefatione ejus autoris.*

The Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk, of *Ockam's* making.

Eight queſtions diſputed by *Ockam*.

*Gregorius Ariminenſis* maintained the ſame Doctrine now received.

*Ex Trithem.*

*Trithemius* maketh mention of one *Gregorius Ariminenſis*, a learned and a famous and right godly Man; who not much differing from the age of this *Ockam*, about the year of our Lord 1350. diſputed in the ſame Doctrine of Grace and Free-will as we do now, and diſſented therein from the *Papiſts* and *Sophiſters*, counting them worſe than *Pelagians*.

*Andreas de Caſtro* and *Burdianus*, both Goſpellers 200 years agoe.

Of the like judgment, and in the ſame time was alſo *Andreas de Caſtro*, as appeareth *ſuper lit.*1. *Sent. diſt.*45. and *Burdianus* upon the Ethicks of *Ariſtotle*; which both maintained the grace of the Goſpel, as is now in the Church received above 200 years ſince.

*Eudo* Duke of *Burgundy* againſt the Popes Decrees about 200 years ſince.

*Ex Carole Molineo.*

And what ſhould I ſpeak of the Duke of *Burgundy*, named *Eudo*, who at the ſame time *An.*1350. perſwaded the *French* King not to receive in his Land the new found Conſtitutions, Decretal and Extravagant, nor to ſuffer them within his Realm: whoſe ſage counſel then given, yet remaineth among the *French* Kings records, as witneſſeth *Carol. Molineus*.

*Dantes* an Italian Writer againſt the Pope.

*Dantes* an *Italian* Writer, a *Florentine*, lived in the time of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, about the year of our Lord 1300. and took part with *Marſilius Patavinus* againſt three ſorts of Men, which he ſaid were enemies to the truth: that is, the Pope; ſecondly, the order of religious Men, which count themſelves the children of the Church, when they are the children of the Devil their Father: thirdly, the Doctors of Decrees and Decretals. Certain of his Writings be extant abroad, wherein he proveth the Pope not to be above the Emperor, nor to have any right or Juriſdiction in the Empire. He proveth the donation of *Conſtantine* to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did ſtand with any law or right; for the which he was taken of many for an Heretick. He complaineth moreover very much, the preaching of Gods Word to be omitted, and inſtead thereof, the vain fables of Monks and Friers to be preached and believed of the people, and ſo the flock of Chriſt to be fed not with the food of the Goſpel, but with wind. *The Pope*, ſaith he, *of a Paſtor is made a Wolf, to waſte the Church of Chriſt, and to procure with his Clergy, not the Word of God to be preached, but his own Decrees.* In his Canticle of Purgatory, he declareth the Pope to be the Whore of *Babylon*. And to her Miniſters, to ſome he applieth two Horns, to ſome four. As to the Patriarchs, whom he noteth to be the Tower of the ſaid Whore Babylonical. *Ex libris Dantis Italice.*

Donation of *Conſtantine*, a thing forged.

The Pope the Whore of *Babylon*.

Hereunto may be added the ſaying out of the Book of *Fornandus*, imprinted with the foreſaid *Dantes*; that for ſomuch as Antichriſt cometh not before the deſtruction of the Empire, therefore ſuch as go about to have the Empire extinct, are in ſo doing fore-runners and meſſengers of Antichriſt. *Therefore let the* Romans (ſaith he) *and their Biſhops beware, leſt their ſins and wickedneſs ſo deſerving, by the juſt judgment of God, the Prieſthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the Prelates and Princes of* Germany *take heed, &c.*

*Ex lib. Fornandi.*

An admonition to the *Romans*.

And becauſe our adverſaries which object unto us the newneſs of our Doctrine ſhall ſee and perceive the courſe and form of this Religion now received, not to have been either ſuch a new thing now, or a thing ſo ſtrange in times paſt: I will add to theſe above recited, Maſter *Taulerus* a Preacher of *Argentine* in *Germany*, *Anno* 1350. Who, contrary to the Popes proceedings, taught openly againſt all mens merits, and againſt Invocations of Saints, and preached ſincerely of our free Juſtification by Grace; referring all Mans truſt only to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all ſuperſtition.

Taulerus of *Germany*, a Preacher againſt the Popes proceedings.

*Franciſcus Petrarcha.* *Vide* 20 epiſtolam Franciſci Petrarchæ.

*Rome* the Mother and Nourſe of Error.

With whom alſo may be adjoyned *Franciſcus Petrarcha*, a Writer of the ſame Age, who in his Works and his *Italian* Meeter, ſpeaking of *Rome*, calleth it the Whore of *Babylon*, the School and Mother of Error, the Temple of Hereſie, the Neſt of Treachery, growing and increaſing by the oppreſſing of others: and ſaith further, that ſhe, (meaning the Popes Court) extolleth her ſelf againſt her Founders; that is, the Emperors who firſt ſet her up, and did ſo inrich her; and ſeemeth plainly to affirm, that the Pope was Antichriſt, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any Man, than to be made Pope. This *Franciſcus* was about the year of our Lord 1350.

*Johannes de rupe ſciſſa.* *John* caſt into Priſon.

And if time would ſerve us to ſeek out old Hiſtories, we ſhould find plenty of faithful witneſſes, of old and ancient time, to give witneſs with us againſt the Pope, beſide the other above rehearſed: as *Johannes de rupe ſciſſa*, *An.*1340. Who for rebuking the Spiritualty for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was caſt into Priſon.

The Church of *Rome* the Whore of *Babylon*.

*Illyricus* a Writer in our days, teſtifieth that he found and read in an old Pamphlet, that the ſaid *Johannes* ſhould call the Church of *Rome* the Whore of *Babylon*; and the Pope to be the Miniſter of Antichriſt; and the Cardinals to be the falſe Prophets. Being in Priſon, he wrote a Book of Propheſies, bearing the Title; *Vade mecum in tribulationem*: in which Book (which alſo I have ſeen) he propheſied and admoniſhed, affliction and tribulation to hang over the Spiritualty. And he pronounceth plainly, that God will purge his Clergy, and will have Prieſts that ſhall be poor, godly, and that ſhall faithfully feed the Lords Flock: Moreover, that the goods of the Church ſhall return again to the Laymen. He propheſied alſo the ſame time, that the *French* King and his Army ſhould have an overthrow; which came likewiſe to paſs during the time of his Impriſonment. Of this *Johannes de rupe*, writeth *Froyſard* in his time, and alſo *Wickliff*; of whoſe Propheſies much more may be ſaid at more leiſure (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

The deformation of the Church before propheſied.

About

{KING Edw.3} *Conradus Hager.*

About the ſame year of our Lord 1340. in the City of *Herbipoli*, was one named Maſter *Conradus Hager*. Who (as appeareth by the old Bulls and Regiſters of *Otho* Biſhop of the ſaid City) is there recorded to have maintained and taught the ſpace of twenty four years together, the Maſs to be no manner of Sacrifice: neither that it profiteth any Man either quick or dead, and that the money given of the dead for Maſſes, be very Robberies and Sacrileges of Prieſts, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poor. And he ſaid moreover, that if he had a Stove full of gold and ſilver, he would not give one farthing for any Maſs. For the ſame his Doctrine, this good Preacher was Condemned and incloſed in-priſon: what afterward became of him, we do not find.

The Maſs to be no Sacrifice.

*Conradus Hager priſon. Ex Vſſ. quibuſdam Epiſc. Herbipoli.*

There is, among other old and ancient Records of antiquity belonging to this preſent time, a certain Monument in Verſes Poetically compiled, but not without a certain Moral, Intituled, *Panitentiarius Aſini*, The Aſſes Confeſſor; bearing the date and year of our Lord in this number, *Completus, Anno.* 1343. In this Treatiſe are brought forth the Wolf, the Fox, and the Aſs, coming to ſhrift and doing penance. Firſt, The Wolf confeſſeth himſelf to the Fox, who eaſily doth abſolve him from all his faults, and alſo excuſeth him in the ſame. In like manner the Wolf, hearing the Foxes ſhrift, ſhewed to him the like favour again. After this cometh the Aſs to Confeſſion, whoſe fault was this; That he being hungry took a ſtraw out from the ſheaf of one that went in peregrination unto *Rome*. The Aſs both repenting of this fact, and becauſe he thought it not ſo hainous as the faults of the other, he hoped the more for his abſolution. But what followed? After the ſilly Aſs had uttered his crime in Auricular Confeſſion, immediately the diſcipline of the Law was executed upon him with ſeverity: neither was he judged worthy of any Abſolution, but was apprehended upon the ſame, ſlain, and devoured. Whoſoever was the Author of this fabulous tale, he had a myſtical underſtanding of the ſame; for by the Wolf no doubt was meant the Pope: But the Fox was reſembled to the Prelates, Curteſans, Prieſts, and the reſt of the Spiritualty. Of the Spiritualty the Lord Pope is ſoon abſolved, as contrarily, the Pope doth ſoon Abſolve them in like manner. By the Aſs is meant the poor Laity, upon whoſe back the ſtrait cenſure of the Law is ſharply executed; eſpecially when the *German* Emperors come under the Popes Inquiſition, to be examined by his diſcipline, there is no Abſolution, nor Pardon to be found, but in all haſte he muſt be depoſed, as in theſe ſtories may partly appear before. And though the matter be not the weight of a ſtraw, yet what ſaith the Holy Father the Wolf, if it pleaſe him to make any matter of it?

*Panitentiarius Aſini.*

The Popé and his ſpiritualty confederate againſt the Laity.

The Pope maketh the Emperor and Lay men Aſſes.

*Immenſum ſcelus eſt, injuria quam peregrino*
*Feciſti, ſtramen ſubripiendo ſibi.*
*Non advertiſti quod plura pericula paſſus,*
*Plurima paſſurus quod peregrinus erat.*
*Non advertiſti quod ei per maxima terræ*
*Et pelagi ſpacia, ſit peragranda via.*
*Non advertiſti ſanctos, nec limina ſancta;*
*Sanctorum ſanctam ſed nec Hieruſalem.*
*Ille retranſivit eadem loca, tam violentum*
*Ex inopinato ſenſit adeſſe malum.*
*De Papataceo, cujus protectio talem*
*Conduxit cujus tu vilipendis opem.*
*Totius Eccleſiæ fuerit quam nuncius iſte,*
*Pertulo abſtraxit gramine damna viæ, &c.*

And thus they, aggregating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermoſt, flie upon the poor Aſs and devour him. By the which apology, the tyrannical and fraudulent practiſes of theſe Spiritual Romaniſts are lively deſcribed.

*Gerhardus Ridder a writer againſt Monks and Friers.*

Not long after theſe above reherſed, about the year of our Lord 1350. *Gerhardus Ridder* wrote alſo againſt the Monks and Friers a Book, Intituled, *Lacryma Eccleſiæ*: wherein he diſputeth againſt the foreſaid Religious Orders, namely againſt the begging Friers; proving that kind of life to be far from Chriſtian Perfection, for that it is againſt Charity to live upon others, when a Man may live by his own labors: And affimeth them to be Hypocrites, filthy livers, and ſuch as for mans favor, and for lucre ſake, do mix with true Divinity, Fables, Apocryphaes, and Dreams of Vanity. Alſo that they, under pretence of long prayer, devour Widows Houſes, and with their Confeſſions, Sermons and Burials, do trouble the Church of Chriſt manifold ways. And therefore perſwaded the Prelates to bridle and keep ſhort the inordinate licence and abuſes of theſe monaſtical perſons, *&c.*

Yet I have made no mention of *Michael Seſenus*, Provincial of the Gray Friers, nor *Petrus de Corbaria*, of whom writeth *Antoninus, in quarta parte ſummæ*, and ſaith they were condemned in the extravagant of Pope *John*, with one *Johannes de Poliaco*. Their Opinions, ſaith *Antoninus*, were theſe, That *Peter* the Apoſtle was no more the head of the Church, than the other Apoſtles: And that Chriſt left no Vicar behind him or head in his Church: And that the Pope hath no ſuch authority to correct and puniſh, to inſtitute or depoſe the Emperor: *Item*, That all Prieſts, of what degree ſoever, are of equal authority, power and juriſdiction by the inſtitution of Chriſt: but by the inſtitution of the Emperor, the Pope to be ſuperior, which by the ſame Emperor alſo may be revoked again. *Item*, That neither the Pope nor yet the Church may puniſh any Man, *punitione coactiva*: That is, by extern coaction; unleſs they receive licence of the Emperor. This foreſaid *Michael*, general of the Gray Fryers, wrote againſt the Tyranny, Pride, and Primacy of the Pope, accuſing him to be Antichriſt, and the Church of *Rome* to be the Whore of *Babylon*, drunk with the blood of Saints. He ſaid there were two Churches, one of the wicked flouriſhing, wherein reigned the Pope; the other of the godly afflicted. *Item*, That the verity was almoſt utterly extinct; And for this cauſe he was deprived of his dignity, and condemned of the Pope. Notwithſtanding, he ſtood conſtant in his aſſertions. This *Michael* was about the year of our Lord 1322. And he left behind him many fautors and followers of his Doctrine, of whom a great part were ſlain by the Pope: ſome were condemned, as *William Ockam*; ſome were burned, as *Johannes de Caſtilione*, and *Franciſcus de Arcatara*. *In extravag. Joan.* 23.

*Michael Ceſenas, Petrus de Corbaria, Johannes de Poliaco.*

The opinion of *Michael* againſt the Pope.

*Michael Ceſenas* deprived and condemned of the Pope.

Martyrs. *Johannes de Caſtilione, Franciſcus de Arcatara* burned.

With him alſo was condemned, in the ſaid extravagant, *Johannes de Poliaco* above touched, whoſe aſſertions were theſe: That the Pope could not give licence to hear Confeſſions to whom he would, but that every Paſtor in his own Church ought to ſuffice. *Item*, That Paſtors and Biſhops had their authority immediately from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and not from the Pope. *Item*, That the conſtitution of Pope *Benedict* the 11*th*. wherein he granteth larger priviledges to the Friers above other Paſtors, was no declaration of the Law, but a ſubverſion. And for this he was by the ſaid Friers oppreſſed, about the year of our Lord, 1322.

After *Simon Mepham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* before mentioned, who lived not long, ſucceeded *John Stratford*. After whom came *John Offord*, who lived but ten months. In whoſe room ſucceeded *Thomas*, and remained but one year, *Anno.* 1350. And after him *Simon Iſlip* was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by Pope *Clement* the *6th*. who ſate 17 years, and builded *Canterbury* College in *Oxford*. Which *Simon Iſlip* ſucceeded the Biſhop of *Ely*, named *Simon Langham*, who within two years was made Cardinal. In whoſe ſtead Pope *Urban* the 5*th*. ordained *William Wittleſey* Biſhop of *Worceſter* to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *An.* 1366. In which year, *William* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* elected and founded the new College in *Oxford*.

Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* the one ſucceeding the other.

New College in *Oxford* founded, *Anno.* 1366.

Again, in the order of the Popes, next unto Pope *Clement* the *6th*. before mentioned, about the ſame time, *An.* 1353. ſucceeded Pope *Innocent* the *6th*. In the firſt year of which Pope, two Friers Minors or Franciſcans were burned at *Avinion*, *Pro opinionibus* (as mine Author ſaith) *erroneis, prout D. Papæ & ejus Cardinalibus videbatur.* 1. For certain Opinions, as ſeemed to the Pope and his Cardinals, Erronious. *Ex Chron. Walſ.* Of the which two Friers I find, in the Chronicles *De actis Rom. pontificum*, and in the Hiſtory of *Premonſtratenſis*, that the one was *Johannes Rochtaylada*; or rather, as I find in *Catal. teſtium*, cited out of the Chronicle of *Henricus de Herfordia*, his name to be *Hayabalus*. Who being (as he recordeth) a Frier Minorite, began firſt in the time of Pope *Clement* the *6th*. *An.* 1345. to preach and affirm openly, that he

Pope *Innocent* the 6*th*. Two Franciſcans burned at *Avinion*.

*Johannes Rochtaylada* Martyr. *Ex Chron. Henrici de Herfordia.*

was by Gods revelation charged and commanded to preach; that the Church of *Rome* was the Whore of *Babylon*, and the Pope with his Cardinals to be very Antichriſt. And that Pope *Benedict*, and the other before him his predeceſſors were damned; with other ſuch like words tending much againſt the Popes tyrannical majeſty. And that the foreſaid *Hayabalus* being brought before the Popes face, conſtantly did ſtand in the ſame, ſaying, That he was commanded by Gods revelation ſo to ſay, and alſo that he would preach the ſame if he might. To whom it was then objected, That he had ſome Heretical Books, and ſo was committed to priſon in *Avinion*. In the time of his accuſation it happned that a certain Prieſt, coming before the Pope, caſt the Popes Bull down before his feet, ſaying; Lo here, take your Bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have labored now theſe three years withal, and yet notwithſtanding, for all this your Bull, I cannot be reſtored to my right. The Pope hearing this, commanded the poor Prieſt to be ſcourged, and after to be laid in priſon with the foreſaid Frier. What became of them afterward, the foreſaid Writer *Henricus de Herfordia* maketh no mention. But I may probably conjecture this Prieſt and this Frier, *Rochtayladus*, or rather *Hayabalus*, were the two, whom mine Author *Thom. Walſ.* writeth to be burned at this time in *Avinion*, about the firſt beginning of this Pope *Innocentius* the ſixth. Of this *Rochtaylada* I thought good here to infer the teſtimony and mention of *John Froyſard*, written of him in his firſt Volume, Chapter 211. in theſe words:

The Church of *Rome* declared to be the Whore of *Babylon* by Gods revelation. *Rochtaylada* with another Frier Martyred.

A Prieſt for caſting the Popes Bull before the Popes feet, ſcourged, caſt in priſon, and after burned at *Avinion*.

{Anno 1354}

There were (ſaith *Froyſard*) a Frier Minor, full of great Clergy in the City of *Avinion*, called Frier *John* of *Rochtaylada*, the which Frier Pope *Innocent* the ſixth held in priſon in the Caſtle of *Baignour*, for ſhewing of many marvails after to come; principally he ſhewed many things to fall unto the Prelates of the Church for the great ſuperfluity and pride, that was then uſed among them. And alſo he ſpake many things to fall of the Realm of *France*, and of the great Lords of Chriſtendom, for the oppreſſions that they did to the poor common people. This Frier, ſaid he, would prove all his ſaying by the authority of the *Apocalypſe*, and by other Books of Holy Saints and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt: he ſhewed many things hard to believe, and many things fell after as he ſaid. He ſaid them not as a Prophet, but he ſhewed them by authority of antient Scriptures, and by the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, who gave him underſtanding to declare the antient Prophets, and to ſhew to all Chriſtian people the years and times when ſuch things ſhould fall. He made divers Books founded on great Sciences and Clergy, whereof one was made the year of our Lord 1346. wherein were written ſuch marvels, that it were hard to believe them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when he was demanded of the wars of *France*, he ſaid that all that had been ſeen was not like that ſhould be ſeen after. For he ſaid that the wars in *France* ſhould not be ended, till the Realm were utterly waſted and ſpoiled in every part. The which ſaying was well ſeen after, for the noble Realm of *France* was ſore waſted and ſpoiled, and ſpecially in the term that the ſaid Frier had ſet. The which was in the years of our Lord 135, 657, 58, and 59. He ſaid in thoſe years, the Princes and Gentlemen of the Realm ſhould not for fear ſhew themſelves againſt the people of low eſtate, aſſembled of all Countries without head or captain; and they ſhould do as they liſt in the Realm of *France*; the which fell after, as ye have heard, how the companions aſſembled them together, and by reaſon of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great Captains.

*Ex Joanne Froyſardo volu. 1. cap. 211.*

About the ſame time happned in *France* a certain contention between the *French* Prelates, and the Friers of *Paris*, teſtified and recorded by *Godfridus de Fontanis*; the brief effect of which ſtory is this: The Prelates of *France* Conventing and Aſſembling together in the City of *Paris*, after a long deliberation among themſelves, cauſed by the Beadles to be called together all the Students, Maſters, and Batchelors of every faculty, with the chief heads alſo of all the Religious Houſes and Friers in the Univerſity of *Paris*. Who being all there Congregated together in the Biſhop of *Paris* his Houſe, where there were preſent four Archbiſhops, and twenty Biſhops: firſt ſtood up the Biſhop of *Biturecenſe*, who, there making his Sermon, took for his Theam the place of Saint *Paul* to the *Epheſians*; *Fratres, ut ſciatis quæ ſit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo & profunditas charitatis*, &c. and concluded thereupon, firſt, that true charity would compel them to ſee and provide for their flocks. Secondly, That the vigor of Charity would arm them to withſtand errors. Thirdly, he concluded, That by duty of Charity they were bound to give their lives for the ſouls of their flock committed to their charge. Fourthly, That by the ſame Charity every Man ought to hold himſelf content with that which was his own, and not to intermeddle or buſie himſelf further than to him appertained or belonged to his Office. For there (ſaith he) all Order Eccleſiaſtical is diſſolved, whereas Men, not containing themſelves in their own Precincts, preſume in other Mens Charges where they have nothing to do. But this Charity (ſaith he) now adays waxeth cold, and all Eccleſiaſtical Order is confounded and utterly out of order. For many there be, which now adays preſume to thruſt in themſelves where they have nothing to do; ſo that now the Church may ſeem a monſter. For as in a natural body appeareth a monſter, where one member doth the office of another; ſo in the ſpiritual body which is the Church, it may be thought likewiſe. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers majors and minors, do take upon them to uſurp and occupy the office to us eſpecially appertaining; namely, whereas the Scripture warneth us all, none to take upon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as *Aaron* was. Wherefore we have heretofore oftentimes cauſed the ſaid Friers both by the King himſelf in his own perſon, and alſo by other Nobles to be ſpoken to and deſired to ſurceaſe from doing and intermeddling in our Office, and yet they would not, but have preached againſt our wills through all our Dioceſs, and have heard Confeſſions, ſaying, That they have the Popes priviledge to bear them out therein. For the which cauſe we come to you, and not we here preſent only, but alſo we have the hand-writing, and the full conſent of all other our fellow Biſhops throughout the Kingdom of *France*, to complain to you of this ſo great inſolence and preſumption of the Friers. For that as we are, you ſhall be. Neither do I think that there be any of us Prelates here now, which have not ſometime been taken out of this Univerſity of yours. We have deſired moreover, and cauſed to be deſired of the foreſaid Friers, that they would ſend their priviledges to the See Apoſtolical, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the Lord Pope: which they refuſed alſo to do. Wherefore to the intent you may the better underſtand and ſee what their priviledges be, and how far they do extend, we have appointed the ſaid priviledges here openly to be read unto you.

{KING Edw. 3}

A Sermon of the Biſhop of *Bytern* to the Students of *Paris* againſt the Friers.

That is the Dominick Friers, and the Franciſcan Friers.

Then ſtood up another in the publick place, and there read the priviledges of both the Orders: and afterward read alſo the conſtitution of Pope *Innocent* the third, written in the fifth of the Decretals, and beginneth, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, &c. Which conſtitution was repugnant and contrary to the foreſaid priviledges, as he there manifeſtly proved, declaring how both the priviledges were derogatory to that conſtitution.

The conſtitution of Pope *Innocent* 3.

*Omnis utriuſque ſexus.*

This done, then roſe up the Biſhop *Ambianenſis*, a great Lawyer, who, diſcourſing from Article to Article, there proved by good Law, that the ſaid conſtitution ſtood in his full force and vigor, and ought not to be infringed by the Friers priviledges in any part. And therefore by the vertue of that conſtitution, that the Friers ought not ſo miſorderly to intrude themſelves in hearing Confeſſions, in injoyning of penance, and preaching in Churches and Dioceſſes, without ſpecial licence of the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and curate of the Pariſh: unto whoſe words never a Frier at that time replyed again. And ſo the Biſhop proceeding to his concluſion, deſired the Univerſity to aſſiſt them in that caſe, wherein they were all determined (ſaith he) to ſtand firmly to the ſhedding of their blood, in reſiſting that miſorder and injuries of the Friers. This happned the ſixth day of *December* which they dedicated to Saint *Nicolas*.

The Friers priviledges proved contrary to the Popes conſtitution.

The Biſhop *Ambianenſis*.

Friers ought not to preach in Churches without ſpecial licence of them to whom the Church belonged.

*Ex ſcripto magiſtri de Fontanis.*

A contention in *France* between the Prelates and the Friers there.

The

KING Edw. 3

The next day being *Sunday*, one of the Order of the Minorites or Franciſcans, went to the Church of the Minorites or preaching Friers: where he made a Sermon (which was never ſeen before, the one Order to come and reſort to the other) beginning in the foreſaid matter to reply, and to expound in order through every Article as well as he could; adding moreover and ſaying, That they went not ſo far in their priviledges, as they lawfully might. And he ſaid moreover, That what time the ſaid priviledges were in obtaining in *Rome*, the Biſhop *Ambianenſis* was there preſent himſelf, reſiſting the ſame with all his power; yea all the Prelates alſo of *France* ſent and wrote up to the Court againſt the ſame, and yet did not prevail. For when the Friers there preſently declared and opened to the Pope in what manner and how far they had uſed their priviledges; the Pope the ſame time ſaid, *Placet*, that is, agreed unto the ſame. And now (ſaith he) the Prelates require and demand of us to ſend up our priviledges to the Court; which were great folly in us. For in ſo doing, what ſhould we elſe but give place and occaſion, to revoke again the authority which is given into our hands already? Furthermore, our Warden and Maſter is now lately dead, and the Maſter here of the Dominick Friers, is not now preſent. Wherefore we dare not determine in ſuch a weighty cauſe (touching the priviledges of our Order) without the preſence of them. And therefore we deſire you of the Univerſity to hold us therein excuſed, and not to be ſo lightly ſtirred againſt us, for we are not the worſt and vileſt part of the Univerſity, *&c.*

The Friers reply againſt the Prelates.

The next day, being the *8th.* day of the ſame month, is alſo dedicate to the Conception of our *Lady*: upon which day it was determined likewiſe, that one of the Dominick Friers ſhould Preach in the Church of the Franciſcan or Gray Friers, and ſo he did: tending to the ſame end, as the other Frier in the other Church had done before. Whereto it may ſeem the Proverb well anſwered, wherof we read in the Goſpel: *Facti ſunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipſa die.*

How and Pilate were made friend in crucifying of Chriſt.

It was not long after, that the Feaſt of S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle followed, in whoſe Vigil all the heads of the Univerſity again were warned the third day after to congregate together in the Church of Saint *Bernard* at the Sermon time. Which being done, and the Aſſembly meeting together, another Sermon was made by a Divine of the Univerſity, whoſe Theam was, *Prope eſt Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*, &c. Wherein he with many words and great authorities argued againſt them that would not be obedient unto their Prelates, *&c.* The Sermon being ended, then roſe again the Biſhop *Ambianenſis*, who proſecuted the reſt of the Theam, and coming to the word *in veritate* divided it into three parts, according to the common Gloſs of the Decretals:

Another Sermon againſt the Friers.

Biſhop Ambianenſis. *In veritate, &c.*

*Eſt verum vitæ, dictæ, doctrinæ, juſtitiæque,*
*Primum ſemper habe; duo propter ſcandala linque.*

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of Canonical Scriptures and out of the Law, and by evident demonſtration of experience; that the Friers firſt had no verity of life, becauſe they were full of Hypocriſie; neither had they verity of Doctrine, becauſe in their heart they bare gall, and in their tongue honey: neither verity of Juſtice, becauſe they uſurped other Mens Offices. And thus concluding with the ſame, he cauſed again to be read the ſaid priviledges, with the Conſtitution above ſpecified. And ſo expounding place by place, he did argue and prove that the ſaid conſtitution in no part was evacuate or infringed by the priviledges aforeſaid. Which thing being declared, he added moreover, That whereas the Friers ſay (ſaith he) that I ſhould be preſent in the obtaining of the priviledges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thrice thereof, I went to the Pope reclaiming and requiring the ſaid priviledges to be revoked: but the next day after, it ſo pleaſed the Pope to ſend me out abroad upon weighty affairs, ſo that then the matter had no end. After that, we ſent alſo other Meſſengers with our Letters, for the ſame cauſe unto the Court of *Rome*, whom the Friers ſay not to have prevailed, but they lie therein. For the ſaid Meſſengers again brought us Letters, from the chief of the Court of *Rome*, ſealed with their Seals: which Letters we have divers times preſented to our King, and will ſhortly ſhew them unto you all. In the which the Lord Pope hath promiſed the ſaid priviledges either to be utterly abrogate, or elſe to be mitigated with ſome more plain interpretation; of the which we truſt ſhortly to have the publick Bull or Writ from the Pope.

Verity in three parts conſiſteth.

The Friers proved with a lie.

At laſt, the ſaid Biſhop required and deſired of all there, of what Dioceſs or Country ſoever they were, that they would Copy out the foreſaid priviledges, and ſend them abroad into their Countries, that all Men might ſee what they were, and how far they did extend. In fine the matter coming into open diſputation, it was concluded by Maſter *Giles* one of the *Auſtine* Friers (who was thought to be moſt reaſonable of all the other Friers) in this wiſe, that after his Sentence the Prelates were in the truer part, &c. *Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.*

The Friers priviledges confuted in diſputation at *Paris.*

Concerning this wrangling contention between the Univerſity and Friers of *France* here before mentioned, whereof partly the original cauſe may be underſtood, by that which hath been ſaid, to riſe upon certain priviledges granted by Popes to the Friers, to intermeddle in matters of Pariſh Churches; As to hear Confeſſions, to Preach and Teach, with power thereunto annexed to gather for their labour, to Bury within their Houſes, and to receive Impropriations, *&c.* becauſe it were too long here to deſcribe the full circumſtances thereof, alſo becauſe the ſaid contention did indure a long time, not only in *France*, but alſo came over into *England*: the whole diſcourſe thereof more amply (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in the beginning of the next Book following, when we come to the ſtory of *Armachanus.*

A ſeditious commotion between the Townſmen and the Scholars in the Univerſity of *Oxford.*

About what time and year this brawl was in the Univerſity of *Paris* between the Friers and Prelates there, as hath been declared; the like contention happned alſo in the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the year above prefixed, 1354. ſave only that the ſtrife among the Maſters of *Paris*, as it roſe upon Friarly Ceremonies, ſo it went no further than brawling words and matter of Excommunition: but this tumult, riſing of a drunken cauſe, proceeded further unto bloody ſtripes. The firſt original whereof began in a Tavern, between a Scholar and the good Man of the Houſe; Who falling together in altercation, grew to ſuch height of words, that the ſtudent *(contra jus hoſpitii)* poured the wine upon the head of the Hoſt, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occaſion given, eſtſoons parts began to be taken between the Townſmen and the Scholars. Inſomuch that a grievous ſedition and conflict followed upon the ſame; wherein many of the Townſmen were wounded, and to the number of twenty ſlain. Divers alſo of the Scholars were grievouſly hurt. The ſpace of two days this hurly-burly continued. Upon the ſecond day certain Religious and devout perſons ordained a ſolemn Proceſſion General, to pray for peace. Yet notwithſtanding all that Proceſſion, as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which proceſſion (the skirmiſh ſtill waxing hot) one of the ſtudents, being hardly purſued by the Townſmen, for ſuccour in his flight came running to the Prieſt or Frier, which carried about (as the manner was) the Pixe; thinking to find refuge at the preſence of the Tranſubſtantiated God of the Altar there carried inboxed. Notwithſtanding, the God being not there preſent, or elſe not ſeeing him, or elſe peradventure being aſleep, the Scholar found there ſmall help. For the Townſmen in heat of the chaſe, forgetting belike the vertue of the Popes Tranſubſtantiation, followed him ſo hard, that in the preſence of the Pixe they brake his head, and wounded him grievouſly. This done, at length ſome peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morrow following, other Townſmen in the Villages about, joyning with the Townſmen of *Oxford*, confederated together in great force and power to ſet upon the ſtudents there, and ſo did, having a black flag born before them, and ſo invaded the Univerſity Men. Whereupon the Scholars being overmatched, and compelled to flee into their Halls and Hoſtles, were ſo purſued by their enemies, that twenty of the doors of their Halls and Chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded (and as it is ſaid) ſlain and thrown into Privies; their Books with Knives and Bills

Proceſſion for Peace. The Holy Proceſſion would bring no Peace.

Tranſubſtantiation will not help in time of need.

A conqueſt of the Scholars of *Oxford.*

Th Univerſity of *Oxford* diſſolved for a time.

cut all in pieces, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the ſtudents of that Univerſity being conquered by the Townſmen of *Oxford*, and of the Country about, departed and left the Univerſity. So that for a time the Schools there, and all School acts, did utterly ceaſe from all exerciſe of ſtudy, except only *Merton* College-Hall, with a few other remaining behind.

This being done the *12th.* day of *February*, the Queen at the ſame time being at *Woodſtock* was brought to bed, and purified on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* with great ſolemnity of Juſting. About which time the Biſhop of *Lincoln* their Dioceſan, hearing of this exceſſive outrage, ſendeth his inhibition to all Parſons and Prieſts, forbidding them throughout all *Oxford*, to celebrate Maſs or any Divine Service in the preſence of any Lay perſon within the ſaid Town of *Oxford*, interdicting withal the whole Town. Which Interdiction indured the ſpace of a whole year and more.

The Town of *Oxford* interdicted.

The King alſo ſent thither his Juſtices to examine and inquire of the matter. Before whom divers Lay-men and of the Clergy were indicted, and four of the chief Burgeſſes of the ſaid Town were indicted, and by the Kings commandment ſent to the Tower of *London*, and were there impriſoned. At length through much labor of the Nobles, the King ſo took by the matter, that ſending his writings unto all Sheriffs in *England* he offered pardon to all and ſingular Sudents of that Univerſity, (whereſoever diſperſe) for that tranſgreſſion: Whereby the Univerſity in ſhort time was repleniſhed again as before. Moreover it was granted to the Vice-Chancellor or Commiſſary (as they term him) of the Town and Univerſity of *Oxford*, to have the Aſſize of Bread, Ale, Wine, and all other Victual, the Major of the ſaid Town being excluded. Alſo it was granted and decreed, that the Commons of *Oxford* ſhould give to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, 200. pound ſterling, in part of ſatisfaction for their exceſſes: reſerved notwithſtanding to every one of the Students his ſeveral action againſt any ſeveral perſon of the Townſmen, *&c.*

Granted to the Commiſſary of *Oxford* to have the aſſiſe of bread and Ale and other privileges about the Major of the Town.

About the year of our Lord 1354. the King, with the conſent of his Council, revoked home again out of *Flanders* the Staple of Wool, with all things thereunto appertaining, and ſtabliſhed the ſame in ſundry places within the Realm, namely in *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chichiſter*, *Briſtow*, *Lincoln*, and in *Hull*. Which *Staple* after *An.* 1362. was tranſlated over into *Calis*.

Of *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* mentioned a little before, *pag.* 445. I read in the ſaid Author above ſpecified, That he by his Letters Patent directed to all Parſons and Vicars within his Province; ſtraightly charged them and their Pariſhoners, under pain of Excommunication, not to abſtain from bodily labor, upon certain Saints days, which before were wont to be Hallowed and Conſecrated to unthrifty idleneſs. *Item*, That to

A wholeſome decree of a good Archbiſhop not to abſtain *from* bodily labor upon certain Holy days.

Prieſts ſhould be given no more for their yearly ſtipend, but three pound ſix ſhillings and eight pence, which made divers of them to rob and ſteal, *&c. Anno.* 1362. The next year following, which was 1363. the foreſaid King *Edward* kept his Parliament at *London* in the month of *October*: wherein was prohibited, that gold nor ſilver ſhould be worn in Knives, Girdles, Brooches, Rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might diſpend 10 pound by year. *Item*, That none ſhould wear either Silks or coſtly Furrs, except ſuch as might diſpend 100 pounds by year. Alſo that Merchant Venturers ſhould not export over any Merchandiſe out of the Realm, or ſeek for Wines in other Countries, whereby other Nations ſhould be conſtrained rather to ſeek to us, *&c.* But none of this did take any great effect.

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A Parliament.

After this *Simon Iſlip*, as is above recorded, followed *Simon Langham*, then *William Wittleſey*, after whom next in the place ſucceeded *Simon Sudbury*.

Simon Sudbury Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Much about the ſame time the Nuns of Saint *Bridget* Order began firſt. About which time alſo was builded the Queens College in *Oxford*, by Queen *Philippa* of *England*, Wife to King *Edward* the third; *Circa annum Domini* 1360.

The Nuns of S. *Bridgets* Order.

Moreover in the time of this Pope *Innocent*, Frier *John Lyle* Biſhop of *Ely*, moved with certain injuries (as he thought) done to him by the Lady *Blanch*, made his complaint to the Pope. Who ſending down his Cuſſe to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and other Prelates to be executed upon the adverſaries of the Biſhop of *Ely*, commanded them, That if they did know any of the ſaid adverſaries dead and buried (that notwithſtanding) they ſhould cauſe the ſame to be taken up: which alſo they performed accordingly, of whom ſome had been of the Kings Council. Wherefore the King being diſpleaſed, and not unworthily, did trouble and moleſt again the ſaid Prelates. This coming to the Popes hearing, certain were directed down from the Court of *Rome*, in the behalf of the foreſaid Biſhop of *Ely*: who meeting with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Kings Treaſurer, delivered unto him, being armed, Letters from the Biſhop of *Rome*, the tenor whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinently avoided away. But certain of the Kings Servants purſuing, did overtake them: of whom ſome they impriſoned, ſome they brought to the Juſtices, and ſo they were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appear what reverence the Popes Letters, in this Kings days, had in this Realm of *England*. *Ex Chro. Walſing.* This Pope *Innocent* ordained the Feaſt of the Holy Spear, and of the Holy Nails.

This Lady Blanch was Dutcheſs of Lancaſter.

Dead men Excommunicated by the Pope.

The Popes Meſſengers hanged.

The Feaſt of the Spear and of the Holy Nails.

And here to make an end of this Fourth Book, now remaineth after our order and cuſtom before begun, to proſecute the race of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, in this foreſaid Fourth Book contained, beginning, where before we left, *pag.* 193. at *Lanfrancus*.

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# A Table of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* in the Fourth Book contained.

34. *Lanfrancus.* 19.

*Polydor. Virg. lib.* numbereth this *Lanfrancus* to be the thirty third Archbiſhop. But by the count of other Authors (namely by the Chronicle of the Monk of *Dover*) he ſeemeth to be deceived, as he was in the 28. years of *Dunſtan*, which indeed did ſit but nineteen or twenty at the moſt. This error of *Polydore* ſeemeth to come by leaving out either *Effius*, which was the 23*th.* or by leaving out *Elfricus*, which was the 26*th.* as in ſome Authors I find.

Moreover, here is to be noted, that although the ſaid *Elfricus* were left out, yet *Lanfrancus* cannot be 33.

Note alſo, That in the Table of the third Book before, after *Siricius*, you muſt put in *Sanctus Aluredus*. Which in order of Archbiſhops I left out in the end of the third Book, *page* 191.

This *Lanfrancus* was an *Italian*, and a ſtout Champion of the Pope. After his ſtubborn diſſention with *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* he wrote againſt *Berengarius*, Intituling his Book, *Opus Scintillarum*, *page* 196.

Alſo the ſame *Lanfrank* builded the new Church at *Canterbury*, and pluckt down the old. By him was builded the Church of S. *Gregory*. At length he was expulſed by King *William Rufus*.

35. *Anſelmus.* 20.

Of this *Anſelmus*, and the ſtrife between him and the King, look in the *page* 209.

36. *Radulphus.* 8.

Under *Rad* the Order of *Ciſtercians* began.

37. *Guliel-mus Curboil.* 13.

By this *William* the new work of the Church of Saint *Martins* at *Dover* was builded.

38. *Theobaldus.* 24.

By This *Theobald*, Monks were firſt brought into the Church of *Dover*. He was expulſed by King *Stephen*. In his time the Church of Saint *Gregory* was burned at *Canterbury*.

39. *Thomas Becket.* 9.

Of the life and death of this *Becket*, ſee the *page* 232.

Ex Chron. Radenſi

*Ex Crickeladenſi: Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis Martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis ejus miracula prædicaret, interminantes minas mortis ſeu maximarum pœnarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuiſſe Martyrem, & miracula ejus prædicantibus*, &c.

40. *Richard.* 10.

This *Richard* was a Monk: in his time *Chriſts Church* in *Canterbury* was burned.

41. *Baldwinus.* 7.

Between this *Baldwin* and the Monks was great diſcord. He ſuſpended the Prior from his Priorſhip, and two and twenty Monks from all Service. He cauſed the Sub-Prior with all his adherents to be Excommunicated through all *Kent*.

42. *Hubertus.* 14.

In the time of this *Hubert* the Chapel of *Lambeth* was pluckt down. Alſo the Church of *Dover* was burned.

This *Stephen*, with the Monks of *Canterbury*, were expulſed by King *John*.

This *Stephen*, intending to give Orders in the Chappel of *Lambeth*, was ſtopped by the Monks of *Canterbury*, through their appeal and prohibition. Wherefore he required *Euſtace* Biſhop of *London* to Miniſter the ſame Orders in the Church of S. *Paul*.

43. *Stephanus Langton.* 22.

In his time fell great variance between the Monks of *Rocheſter* and the Monks of *Canterbury*, for the Election of their Biſhop, which Election the Monks of *Canterbury* would not admit before the *Rocheſter* Monks had preſented the Biſhops ſtaff in the Church of *Canterbury*; ſo that both the Churches ſent their Meſſengers to the Court of *Rome*.

44. *Richardus Magnus.* 4.

At the Conſecration of this *Richard*, contention roſe between the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and the Biſhop of *Bath*, who ſhould Conſecrate him.

*Item*, Between the ſaid *Richard* and the Monks of *Canterbury* fell a grievous diſcord, about certain Liberties belonging to the Archbiſhop.

The ſaid Archbiſhop, for certain quarels againſt the King, went up to *Rome*, who died in *Tuſcia*.

After this *Richard* the Election of three Archbiſhops was diſannulled at *Rome*, of *Radulphus de Nova Villa*, of *John* Prior of *Canterbury*, of *John Blund*.

45. *Edmund* of *Abenden.* 7.

This *Edmund* was called Saint *Sdmund*, at whoſe Election the Prior of *Dover* thinking to be preſent, as at the marriage of his Mother, was not permitted by the Monks of *Canterbury*. For the which injury he appealed and went to *Rome* to complain, not againſt the Elect, but againſt the Election: where he obtained of the Pope, for all the Priors and Succeſſors of *Dover* to have full intereſt in the Election of the Archbiſhops, beſides other priviledges which he obtained, percaſe not without ſome good ſtore of money. Afterward the Monks of *Canterbury* accuſed him to the Archbiſhop, as though he ſtood againſt the perſon of the Elect, and ſo obtained of the Archbiſhop being angry with him, to have brought him under the Chapter of *Canterbury*, there to be puniſhed. Whereupon the Prior, ſeeing himſelf ſo deſtitute of all help of Lawyers, was conſtrained in the foreſaid Chapter to cry *peccavi*. Then being ſuſpended from his Priorſhip, he was at length ſent home from *Dover*, being compelled firſt to ſet his hand to a certain compoſition between him and the foreſaid Monks.

The ſaid *Edmund* Archbiſhop, having alſo ſome quarrel againſt the King, went up to *Rome*, and died before his coming home.

In the time of this *Boniface*, Pope *Gregory* wickedly granted to King *Henry* the Third (for the getting of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which belonged not to him to give, nor to the other to take) tenths of goods temporal and ſpiritual, for five years. *Item*, All the firſt years fruits of Churches that ſhould be vacant for five years. *Item*, Half of all the goods of Beneficed Men, not reſident at their Benefices. *Item*, All Legacies not diſtinctly given. And yet the Kingdom of *Sicily* never came to his hands, which belonged to *Manfredus*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor. Striſe there was between this *Boniface* and the Prior of *Canterbury*.

*Item*, Between him and the Biſhop of *Roff*. *Item*, Between him and the Chapter of *Lincoln*: all which was after agreed; *Chro. Doverenſ. fol.* 20. *pag.* 2.

Strife alſo in *Wincheſter*; about chuſing the Biſhop after the death of *Ayonarus* the Kings Brother.

46. *Bonifacius.* 25. Strife alſo in the Convocation which *Boniface* did hold at *Lambeth*. In the which Council were recited the Statutes of *Octobonus*, and other new Statutes made; againſt which *John Hemelingford* the Kings Chaplain with other more, and Prince *Edward* on the Kings behalf, did appeal. *Chron. Dover. fol.* 21.

Under this *Boniface* Archbiſhop, *Tunbridge* and *Hadlo* firſt came under the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Maſter *John* of *Exeter* bought the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* for 6000. Marks; which being known, he was fain to pay the ſame ſumm again to the Pope, and ſo was ſent home.

*Boniface* the Archbiſhop being in the parts of *Subaudia*, *An.* 1262. there fell another altercation between the Prior and Chapter of *Canterbury* on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of *Dover* on the other part. Which two Houſes almoſt were never in quiet, and all about certain liberties and priviledges; as for making the Sub-Prior, for receiving in of Monks, and for Viſitations of the Church of *Dover*.

*An.* 1268. *Boniface* Archbiſhop Interdicted the City of *London*, becauſe in the ſame City the Archbiſhop of *York* did hold up his Croſs, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being there preſent, the King holding then his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

This Archbiſhop died in the parts of *Subaudia*

*John* Prior of *Canterbury* was Elected by the Monks againſt the Kings mind, but by the Pope refuſed.

*Adam Chilinden* was Elect, but he reſigned his Election to the Pope.

In the time of this *Robert Kilwarby*, appeal was taken againſt the Chapter of *Canterbury* by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of *Worceſter*, and *Exeter*; for the which cauſe the ſaid Biſhops went up to *Rome* to proſecute the Appeal. The matter was, becauſe they did not their obedience to the Monks of *Canterbury*, the See being empty.

*Walter Giffard* Archbiſhop of *York*, going toward the General Council, bare up his Croſs through the middle of *Kent*, in the time of this *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno.* 1272.

47. *Robert Kilwarby.* Frier. 6. By Pope *Gregoty* the 10*th.* in the General Council at *Lions*, all the Orders of Friers were put down, Four Orders only excepted, that is, *Dominicks*, *Franciſcans*, *Carmalites*, and *Auguſtines*.

This *Robert Kilwarby* by the commandment of Pope *Nicholas* was made Cardinal of *Rome*, Biſhop of *Porvenſis*.

An untruth in *Polydore Virgil.* Where is to be noted an untruth in *Polydore Virgil*, which ſaith, That he was made Cardinal by Pope *Gregory*, which could not be.

*Robert Burnel* Biſhop of *Bath* was Elected, but by the Pope refuſed; For whom *John Peckham* a Grey-Frier, was placed by Pope *Nicholas*.

In the firſt year of this Frier *Peckham*, *W. Wikewane* Archbiſhop of *York* coming from his Conſecration at *Rome* to *Dover*, bare up his Croſs through the midſt of *Kent*, whereat was no little ado.

*Robert Gernemine* Archdeacon of *Canterbury* went to Law at *Rome* for the liberties and poſſeſſions of his Archdeaconſhip two years, and there died.

In this time alſo another wrangling fell between the Monks of *Canterbury* and the Monks of *Dover*, in the time of this *John Peckham*, for admitting certain Novices of *Dover* into Orders. *Ex chr. Monach. Dover. fol.* 42.

This *Peckham*, holding a Council at *Lambeth*, Ordained divers Statutes, and cauſed the Ordinances of the Council of *Lions*, and of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his predeceſſor to be obſerved.

Great grief and hatred was between this *Peckham* and *Thomas* Biſhop of *Hereford*: who being Excommunicated by *Peckham*, appealed to *Rome*, and went to the Pope.

The Prior and Covent of *Canterbury* made their appeal againſt this Archbiſhop *Peckham*, that he ſhould not conſecrate *Walter le Schamel* new Elect Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in any other place, except only in the Church of *Canterbury*, but by their leave and licence firſt obtained. Notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop, nothing regarding their appeal, proceeded in the Conſecration of the ſaid Biſhop near to the Town of *Reding*, whereupon the Prior and Covent ceaſed not to proſecute their appeal againſt the Archbiſhop.

48. *John Peckham.* 13. Between *Richard Ferrings* Archdeacon of *Canterbury* of the one party, and the Barons of *Dover* of the other party, the ſame year fell out another like wrangling, for that the Archdeacon claimed to viſit the Church of *Dover*: contrarily the Barons affirmed, That none had nor ſhould have to do there to or order or diſpoſe in Spiritual matters, but only the Archbiſhop, and the Prior and Convent of Saint *Martin*. *Ex eod. Chron. fol.* 46.

After the death of *William Whicwane* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John de Roma* ſucceeded after him; and coming from his Conſecration at *Rome* to *Dover*, bare his Croſs through the middle of *Kent*, contrary to the inhibition of *John Peckham*.

This *Robert*, which was Archbiſhop in the later time of King *Edward* the Firſt, for certain diſpleaſure of the King conceived againſt him, departed the Realm, and in his baniſhment remained two or three years. And about the beginning of the Reign of King *Edward* the Second was reſtored again: *Anno.* 1309. *Ex Chron. Rich.* 2. Thus few Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* we find, with whom Kings have not had ſome quarrel or other. The cauſe between the King and him (ſaith mine Author) was this: That the King accuſed him to Pope *Clement* to diſturb his Realm, and to take part with Rebels, &c. *Ex Chron. S. Albani.*

49. *Robert Winchelſey.* 19. This *Robert* alſo Excommunicated *Walter*, Biſhop of *Coventry*, for holding with the King and *Peter Gaveſton* againſt the Ordinances of the Barons; wherefore the ſaid Biſhop appealed to the Pope, againſt whom the Archbiſhop ſent *Adam Merimouth*.

In the time of this *Robert* Archbiſhop, the Order of Templars were aboliſhed by Pope *Clement* the 5*th.* in the Council of *Vienna* with this Sentence definitive:

*Quam-*

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*Quantum de jure non poſſumus, tamen ad plenitudinam poteſtatis dictum ordinem reprobamus.*

After the deceaſe of *Robert Winchelſey*, who departed *Anno* 1312, *Thomas Cobham* a learned man was Elected by full conſent of the Monks: who came to *Avinion* to have his Election Confirmed. But the Pope reſerving the vacant Seat in his own hands, put in *Walter Reynald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, who Governed the Seat 15 years.

The Chronicler of St. *Albans*, Recordeth alſo, how in the days of this Archbiſhop, *Anno* 1319, certain Lepers conſpiring with the *Turks* and *Jews* went about to impotionate, and infect all Chriſtendom, by invenoming their Fountains, Lakes, Pits, Barrels, and ſuch other places. Of the which crime divers of them being Convict were worthily burned in *France*.

50. *Gualter Reynald.* 15

About the which year, the ſaid Author maketh alſo Relation, how in the Realm of *England* much murrain fell among the Beaſts: inſomuch, that the Dogs eating upon their fleſh (infected belike by the Waters and Fountains) fell down dead incontinently. Neither durſt men for that cauſe almoſt taſte of any Beef: *An.* 1318, 1319. *Ex Ch. Alban.*

This *Walter* Archbiſhop taking part with the Queen *Iſabel* againſt King *Edward* her Husband, died the ſame year in which he was depoſed: *An.* 1237. *Ex Chro. Sanct. Albani.*

After *Walter* the Archbiſhop, as affirmeth the Chronicle of St. *Alban*, ſucceeded *Simon Mepham*. Of whom I marvel that *Polydore* maketh no word nor mention: belike he ſate not long: after followed *John Stratford*.

In the Story of *Adam Merimouth*, it is Recorded that this *John Stratford*, intending to viſit the Dioceſs of *Norfolk*, was not received by the Biſhop, the Chapter and Clergy there alledging that he obſerved not the ordinary Canon therein.

51. *John Stratford.* 29.

To whom the Archbiſhop ſaid again, He had the Popes Letters, and ſhewed the ſame. But the other anſwered, That thoſe Letters were falſly obtained and tended to the ſuppreſſion of the Clergy, and therefore they would not obey: wherefore the Archbiſhop Excommunicated the Biſhop, and Suſpended the Prior, and Interdicted the Covent: *An.* 1347.

52. *John Offord* 10 Months.

Maſter *John Offord*, Chancellor of *England*, was Elected and Confirmed Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, but not Conſecrated, and ſate but ten months, about the year of our Lord, 1350, *Peſtilentia in Anglia.*

53. *Thomas Braidwarden.* 1.

This *Thomas Braidwarden* following after *John Stratford*, ſate not long, but died within 10 months of the Plague, as they ſay. Which was called then the firſt great Plague in *England*, raging ſo ſore in all quarters, that it was thought ſcarce the tenth part of men to be left alive.

The firſt great Plague in England.

In the time of *Simon Iſlyppe*, which followed after *Braidwarden*, King *Edward*, *Anno* 1362, is reported, after the blind Superſtition of thoſe days, to offer in the Church of *Weſtminſter* the Veſtiments wherein St. *Peter* did Celebrate Maſs. Which belike were well kept from Moths, to laſt ſo long. *Ex Ch. Alban.*

The Veſtiments wherein St. *Peter* ſaid Maſs, or elſe the Papiſts do lye.

54. *Simon Iſlyppe.* 17.

The ſame *Simon Iſlyppe* among other Conſtitutions, Ordained through all Churches and Chappels under pain of Excommunication; that no man ſhould abſtain from Bodily labours upon certain Saints days, as is before touched: which Fact of his is not a little noted in our Monkiſh Hiſtories.

This *Simon* builded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford.*

*Canterbury* Colledge builded in *Oxford.*

# The concluſion of this Fourth Book.

The concluſion of this Book. Antichriſt in his pride.

*Foraſmuch as Satan being Chained up all this while for the ſpace of a Thouſand Years, beginneth about this time to be looſed and to come abroad, according to the fore-warning of St.* John's Revelation: *Therefore to conclude the Fourth Book, wherein ſufficiently hath been deſcribed the exceſſive pride and pomp of Antichriſt, flouriſhing in his ruff and ſecurity, from the time of* William *Conqueror hitherto: Now (Chriſt willing and aſſiſting us thereunto) we mind in theſe later Books hereafter following, in order of Hiſtory to expreſs the later Perſecutions and horrible Troubles of the Church, raiſed up by* Satanas *in his miniſter Antichriſt; with the reſiſtance again of Chriſts Church againſt him. And ſo to proſecute (by the merciful Grace of Chriſt) the proceeding and courſe of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruin of the ſaid Antichriſt. To the intent that if any be in ſuch error to think that Antichriſt is yet to come, he may conſider and ponder well the Tragical Rages, the miſerable and moſt ſorrowful Perſecutions, Murthers, and Vexations of theſe later Three Hundred Years now following, and then I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt, and know that not only Antichriſt is already come, but alſo will know where he ſitteth, and how he is now falling apace (the Lord Chriſt be thanked for ever) to his decay and confuſion.*

The looſing out of Satan.

THE

# THE FIFTH BOOK,

## CONTAINING

## The laſt Three Hundred Years from the looſing out of Satan.

The fifth Book.

THUS having diſcourſed in theſe former Books the order and courſe of Years, from the firſt tying up of Satan unto the Year of our Lord 1360. I have a little overpaſſed the ſtint of time in the Scripture, appointed for the looſing out of him again. For ſo it is written by St. *John*, *Apoc.* 20. that *after a thouſand years, Satan the old Dragon ſhall be let looſe again for a ſeaſon*, &c.

The years and time of looſing out Satan examined.

For the better explanation of the which Myſtery, let us firſt conſider the context of the Scripture: afterward let us examine, by Hiſtory and courſe of Times, the meaning of the ſame: And firſt, to recite the words of the *Apocalypſe*, the Text of the Propheſie is this, *Chap.* 20.

*Apoc.* 20.

*And I ſaw an Angel deſcending from heaven, having a key of the bottomleſs pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he took the Dragon the old Serpent, which is the Divel and Satanas, and bound him for a thouſand years, and put him in the bottomleſs dungeon and ſhut him up, and ſigned him with his ſeal, that he ſhould not more ſeduce the Gentiles, till a thouſand years were expired. And after that he muſt be looſed again for a little ſpace of time. And I ſaw ſeats, and they ſate upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and the ſouls I ſaw of them which were beheaded for the teſtimony of Jeſus*, &c.

By theſe words of the *Revelation*, here recited, three ſpecial times are to be noted.

*Firſt*, The being abroad of Satan to deceive the World.

*Secondly*, The binding up of him.

*Thirdly*, The looſing out of him again, after a thouſand years conſummate, for a time.

The place of the *Apoc.* 20. expounded, for the looſing out of Satan.

Concerning the intepretation of which times, I ſee the common opinion of many to be deceived by ignorance of Hiſtories, and ſtate of things done in the Church; they ſuppoſing that the chaining up of Satan for a thouſand years, ſpoken of in the *Revelation*, was meant from the Birth of Chriſt our Lord. Wherein I grant that Spiritually the ſtrength and dominion of Satan, in accuſing and condemning us for ſin, was caſt down at the Paſſion and by the Paſſion of Chriſt our Saviour, and locked up not only for a thouſand years, but for ever. Albeit, as touching the malicious hatred and fury of that Serpent, againſt the outward bodies of Chriſts poor Saints (which is the heel of Chriſt) to afflict and torment the Church outwardly; That I Judge to be meant in the *Revelation* of St. *John*, not to be reſtrained till the ceaſing of thoſe terrible Perſecutions of the Primitive Church. At what time it pleaſed God to pity the ſorrowful affliction of his poor flock, being ſo long under Perſecution, the ſpace of three hundred years, and ſo to aſſwage their griefs and torments. Which is meant by binding up of Satan, worker of all thoſe miſchiefs: underſtanding thereby, that for ſo much as the Divel, the Prince of this World, had now by the Death of Chriſt the Son of God loſt all his power and intereſt againſt the Soul of man, he ſhould turn his furious rage and malice, which he had to Chriſt, againſt the People of Chriſt (which is meant by the heel of the ſeed, *Gen.* 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet ſhould not be for ever, but for a determinate time, when as it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to bridle the malice, and ſnaffle the power of the old Serpent, and give reſt unto his Church for the term of a thouſand years. Which time being expired, the ſaid Serpent ſhould be ſuffered looſe again for a certain or a ſmall time, *Apoc.* 20.

What the looſing of Satan doth mean in Scripture.

And thus to Expound this Prophetical place of Scripture I am led by three reaſons:

Three reaſons.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt is, For that the binding up of Satan, and cloſing him in the bottomleſs pit by the Angel, importeth as much that he was at liberty, raging and doing miſchief before. And certes thoſe ſo terrible and ſo horrible Perſecutions of the Primitive Time univerſally through the whole World, during the ſpace of three hundred years of the Church, do declare no leſs. Wherein it is to be thought and ſuppoſed, that Satan all that time, was not faſtened and cloſed up.

The ſecond reaſon.

The ſecond reaſon, moving me to think that the cloſing up of Satan was after the ten Perſecutions of the Primitive Church, is taken out of the twelfth Chapter of the *Apocalypſe*: Where we read, That after the Woman (meaning the Church) had travelled forth her man-child the old Dragon the Divel, the ſame time being caſt down from Heaven, drawing the third part of the Stars with him, ſtood before the Woman with great anger, and perſecuted her (that is, the Church of God) with a whole flood of water, (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments) and from thence went moreover to fight againſt the reſidue of her ſeed, and ſtood upon the Sands of the Sea; whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked up.

The third reaſon. *Apoc.* cap. 13.

The third reaſon I Collect out of the *Apocalypſe* thirteenth Chapter; where it is written of the Beaſt, ſignifying the Emperial Monarchy of *Rome*, that he had power to make War forty and two months. By the which months is meant, no doubt, the time that the Dragon, and the perſecuting Emperors ſhould have in afflicting the Saints of the Primitive Church. The computation of which forty two months (counting every month for a Sabbath of years; that is, for ſeven years, after the order of Scripture) riſeth to the ſum (counting from the Paſſion of the Lord Chriſt) of three hundred years, lacking ſix; at what time *Maxentius* the laſt Perſecutor in *Rome*, fighting againſt *Conſtantinus*, was drowned with his Soldiers, like as *Pharaoh* perſecuting the Children of *Iſrael* was drowned in the red Sea. Unto the which xlii months, or Sabbaths of years, if ye add the other ſix years wherein *Licinius* perſecuted in the *Eaſt*; ye ſhall find juſt three hundred years, as is ſpecified before in the firſt Book of this Volume, *pag.* 96.

xlii months in the *Apoc.* cap. 13. examined.

What time Satan was tied up.

After the which forty and two months, being expired, manifeſt it is that the fury of Satan; that is, his violent malice and power over the Saints of Chriſt, was diminiſhed and reſtrained univerſally through the whole World.

Thus then the matter ſtanding evident, that Satan after 300 years, counting from the Paſſion of Chriſt, began to be chained up, at what time the perſecution of the Primitive Church began to ceaſe: now let us ſee how long this binding up of Satan ſhould continue, which was promiſed in the Book of the *Revelation* to be a thouſand years. Which thouſand years, if ye add to the xlii months of years, that is, to 294 years; they make 1294 years after the Paſſion of the Lord. To theſe moreover add the 30 years of the age of Chriſt, and it cometh to the year of our Lord 1324, which was the year of the letting out of Satan, according to the Propheſie of the *Apocalypſe*.

About the time and year Satan was let out by the count of the *Apocalypſe*.

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## A Table containing the time of the Perſecution both of the Primitive, and of the later Church, with the count of years from the firſt binding up of Satan, to his looſing again, after the mind of the Apocalypſe.

The firſt Perſecution of the Primitime Church, beginning at the 30 year of Chriſt, was Prophecied to continue 42 months, that is, *Anno* 294

The ceaſing of the laſt Perſecution in the Primitive Church.

The ceaſing of the laſt Perſecution of the Primitive Church by the death of *Licinius* the laſt perſecuter, began *Anno* 324, from the Nativity of Chriſt, which was from the 30 year of his age. 294. 294

The binding up of Satan after peace given to the Church, counting from the 30 years of Chriſt, began *An.* 294

The binding up of Satan.

And laſted a thouſand years, that is, counting from the thirtieth year of Chriſt, to the year 1294

The time of looſing of Satan.

About which year Pope *Boniface* the eighth was Pope, and made the ſixth Book of the *Decretals*, confirmed the orders of Friers, and priviledged them with great freedoms, as appeareth by his conſtitution, *Super cathedram*. *An.* 1294

The time of Antichriſt, examined.

Unto the which count of years doth not much diſagree that which I found in a certain old Chronicle propheſied and written in the later end of a Book; which Book was written, as it ſeemeth, by a Monk of *Dover*, and remaineth yet in the cuſtody of *William Carie*, a Citizen of *London*; alledging the Propheſie of one *Hayncardus* a Gray Frier, grounded upon the Authority of *Joachim* the Abbot, Propheſying that Antichriſt ſhould be born the year from the Nativity of Chriſt 1260. Which is, counting after the Lords Paſſion, the very ſame year and time when the orders of Friers both *Dominicks* and *Franciſcans* began firſt to be ſet up by Pope *Honorius* the third, and by Pope *Gregorius* the ninth, which was the year of our Lord, counting after his Paſſion. 1226

And counting after the Nativity of the Lord, was the year 1260

Whereof theſe Verſes in the Author were written:

Verſes Propheſying of the coming of Antichriſt.

*Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,*
*Et decies ſeni poſt partum virginis almæ:*
*Tunc Antichriſtus naſcetur dæmone plenus.*

And theſe Verſes were written, as appeareth by the ſaid Author, *An.* 1285.

Theſe things thus premiſed for the looſing out of Satan, according to the Propheſie of the *Apocalypſe*, now let us enter (Chriſt willing) to the declaration of theſe later times which followed after the leting out of Satan into the World. Deſcribing the wondrous perturbations and cruel tyranny ſtirred up by him againſt Chriſts Church; alſo the valiant reſiſtance of the Church of Chriſt againſt him and Antichriſt, as in theſe our Books here under-following may appear.

The Argument of the Book after looſing.

The argument of which Books conſiſteth in two parts; Firſt, To entreat of the raging fury of Satan now looſed, and of Antichriſt; againſt the Saints of Chriſts fighting and travelling for the maintainance of Truth, and Reformation of the Church. Secondly, To declare the decay and ruin of the ſaid Antichriſt, through the Power of the Word of God, being at length, either in a great part of the World overthrown: or at leaſt univerſally in the whole World detected.

Anno 1360

Thus then to begin with the year of our Lord 1360, wherein I have a little, as is aforeſaid, tranſgreſſed the ſtint of the firſt looſing out of Satan: we are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darkneſs, beginneth ſome Reformation of his Church, by the diligent induſtry of ſundry his faithful and learned ſervants: of whom divers already we have fore-touched in the former Book before; as namely, *Guliel. de Sancto Amore*, *Marſilius Patavinus*, *Ockham*, *Robertus Gallus*, *Robertus Groſthead*, *Petrus de Cugneriis*, *Johannes Rupeſciſſanus*, *Conradus Hager*, *Johannes de Poliaco*, *Ceſenas*, with other more; which withſtood the corrupt errors, and intolerable enormities of the Biſhop of *Rome*, beſide them which about theſe times were put to death by the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, as *Chaſtilio* and *Franciſcus de Arcatara* in the Book before Recorded; alſo the two *Franciſcans*, Martyrs, which were burned at *Avinion*, mentioned *pag.* 357.

A brief rehearſal of faithful learned men, which withſtood the proceedings of the Pope.

Now to theſe (the Lord willing) we will add ſuch other Holy Martyrs and Confeſſors, who following after in the courſe of years with like zeal and ſtrength of Gods Word, and alſo with like danger of their lives, gave the like reſiſtance againſt the enemy of Chriſts Religion, and ſuffered at his hands the like perſecutions. Firſt, beginning with that godly man, whoſoever he was, the Author of the Book (his name I have not) Intituled, *The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman*; written as it appeareth, about this preſent time.

The Author of the Ploughmans Prayer not known.

Which Book as it was faithfully ſet forth by *William Tindal*, ſo I have as truly diſtributed the ſame abroad to the Readers hands: neither changing any thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the Phraſe thereof. Although the oldneſs and age of his ſpeech and tearms be almoſt grown now out of uſe; yet I thought it ſo beſt, both for the utility of the Book to reſerve it from oblivion, as alſo in his own Language to let it go abroad, for the more credit and teſtimony of the true antiquity of the ſame. Adding withal in the Margent for the better underſtanding of the Reader, ſome interpretation of certain difficult tearms and ſpeeches, which otherwiſe might perhaps hinder or ſtay the Reader. The matter of this complaining Prayer of the Ploughman thus proceedeth:

### *An old ancient writing, Intituled,* The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman.

An old Book, Intituled, *The Ploughmans Prayer*, written as it ſeemeth about *Wicliffes* time. The complaint of *Iſaiah* applied to theſe times.

*JEſus Chriſt that was ybore of the maid* Mary, *have on thy poor ſervants mercy and pity, and help them in their great need to fight againſt ſin, and againſt the Divel that is Author of ſin; and more neeedneſs there never was to cry to Chriſt for help, than it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God ſaid by* Iſaiah *the Prophet*, Ye riſeth up earlich to follow drunkenneſs, and to drink till it be even, the harp and other minſtrelſies beeth in your feaſts and wine. But the work of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keep to the works of his hands: And therefore my people is take priſoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren dry for thirſt, and therefore hell hath drawn abroad their ſoul, and hath yopened his mouth without any end. *And eftſoons ſaith* Iſaiah *the Prophet*, The word is ſloten away, and the highneſs of the people is ymade ſick, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they have broken my laws, and ychanged my right, and han deſtroyed mine everlaſting bond and † forward between them and me. And therefore curſing ſhall devour the earth, and they that wonneth on the earthly ſhallen done ſin. And therefore the earth tilyars ſhullen waxe wood, and few men ſhullen ben yleft upon the earth. *And yet ſaith* Iſaiah *the Prophet*, This ſaith God, Forasmuch as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is far from me; And they han ydrad more mens commandment, than mine, and more draw to their doctrines, than mine; Therefore will I make a great wondring unto this people, wiſdome ſhall periſh away from wiſe men, and underſtanding of ready men ſhall be yhid. *And ſo it ſeemeth that another ſaying of* Iſaiah *is fulfilled here, as God bad him go teach the people, and ſaid*, Go forth and ſay to this people: Ears have ye, and underſtand ye not; and eyes ye have, and ſight ne know ye not. Make blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and cloſe their eyen, leſt he ſee with his eyne, and yheare with his ears, and underſtand with his heart, and be yturned, and yeh heal him of his ſickneſs. *And* Iſaiah *ſaid to God*, How long Lord ſhall this be? *And God ſaid*, For

† Forward, that is, Covenant.

to

to that the Cities ben deſolate withouten a wonnier, and an houſe without a man.

*Here is mychel nede for to make ſorrow, and to cry to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt heartilech for help and ſuccour, that he wole forgive us our ſins, and give us grace and conning to ſerven him better hereafter. And God of his endleſs mercy give us grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Chriſts Law in helping of mens ſouls; for we beth lewd men and ſinful men, and uncunning, and if he woll be our help and our ſuccour, we ſhullen well perform our purpoſe. And bleſſed be our Lord God that hideth his wiſdom from wiſe men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to ſmall Children, as Chriſt teacheth in the Goſpel.*

The Law of Chriſt ſtandeth on two parts.

*Chriſten men have a Law to keep, the which Law hath two parties. Believe in Chriſt that is God, and is the foundment of their Law, and upon this foundment, as he ſaid to* Peter, *and the Goſpel beareth witneſs, he woll byelden his Church, and this is the firſt party of Chriſts Law. The ſecond party of this Law beth Chriſts Commandments that beth written in the Goſpel, and more verilich in Chriſten mens hearts.*

*And as touching the Beleve, we beleven that Chriſt is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleven nevertheleſs that in the Godhead there bene Three Perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and all theſe Three Perſons ben one God, and not many gods, and all they beth ylich Mighty, ylich Good, and ylich Wiſe, and ever have ben, and ever ſhullen ben. We beleven this God made the World of nought, and man he made after his own likeneſs in* Paradiſe, *that was a Land of bliſs, and gave him that Land for his Heritage, and bad him that he ſhould not eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, that was * amid* Paradiſe. *Then the Divel, that was fallen out of Heaven for his pride, had envy to Man, and by a falſe ſuggeſtion he made Man eat of this Tree, and break the Commandment of God, and tho was Man overcome of the Divel, and ſo he loſt his Heritage, and was put out thereof into the World that was a Land of travel, and of ſorrow under the fiends thraldome, to be puniſhed for his treſpaſs. There Man followed wickedneſs and ſin, and God for the ſin of Man ſent a flood into this World, and drownd all mankind ſave eight ſouls. And after this flood he let men multiply in the World, and ſo he aſſayed whether man dread him or loved him, and among other he found a man, that hight* Abraham: *this man he proved whether he loved him and dread him, and bad him that he ſhould offeren* Iſaac *his Son upon an Hill; and* Abraham *as a true ſervant fulfilled the Lords Commandment: and for his buxumneſs and truth, God ſware unto* Abraham *that he would multiply his ſeed as the gravel in the Sea, and as the Stars of Heaven, and he behight to him and to his Heirs the Land of beheſt for Heritage for ever, gif they wolden ben his true ſervants and keep his heſts. And God † hold him forward, for* Iſaac, Abraham's *Son, begat* Jacob *and* Eſau: *and of* Jacob, *that is ycleped* Iſrael, *comen Gods People that he choſe to be his ſervants, and to whom he behight the Land of beheſt. This people was in great thraldome in* Egypt *under* Pharaoh *that was King of* Egypt: *and they orieden to God that he ſhould deliveren them out of that thraldome, and ſo he did: for he ſent to* Pharaoh, Moſes *and his Brother* Aaron, *and bad him deliver his People to done him Sacrifice: and tofore* Pharaoh *he made* Moſes *done many wonders, or that* Pharaoh *would deliver his People, and at the laſt day by night he delivered his People out of thraldome, and led them through a deſert toward the Land of beheſt, and there he gave them a Law, that they ſhoulden liven after, when they comen into their Country, and in their way thitherward, the Ten Commandments God wrote himſelf in two Tables of Stone: the remnant of the Law he taught them by* Moſes *his ſervant, how they ſhould do everichone to other, and gif they treſpaſſed againſt the Law, he ordained how they ſhoulden be puniſhed. Alſo he taught them what manner Sacrifices they ſhould do to him, and he choſe him a People to ben his Prieſts, that was* Aaron *and his Children, to done Sacrifices in the Tabernacle, and afterward in the Temple alſo. He choſe him the remnant of the Children of* Levi *to ben ſervants in the Tabernacle to the Prieſt, and he ſaid; When ye come into the Land of beheſt, the Children of* Levi *they ſhullen have none Heritage amongſt their Brethren, for I would be their part, and their heritage, and they ſhullen ſerve me in the Tabernacles by days and by nights, and he ordained that Prieſts ſhould have a part of the Sacrifices that were offered in the Tabernacle, and the firſt begotten Beaſts, both of Men and Beaſts, and other things, as the Law telleth. And the other Children of* Levi, *that ſerved in the Tabernacle, ſhould have Tithings of the people in their livelode, of the which Tithings they ſhould given the Prieſts the tenth part in form of offering. The Children of* Levi, *both Prieſts and other, ſhould have Houſes and Crofts, and Leſſewes for their Beaſts in the Land of beheſt, and none other Heritage: and ſo God gave them their Land of beheſt, and bad them that they ne ſhould worſhip no other than him: ſo he bad them that they ſhould keep his Commandments; and gif they did ſo, all their Enemies about them ſhould dreed them, and be their ſervants. And gif they worſhipped falſe gods, and ſo forſaken his Laws, he behight them that he would bring them out of that Land, and make them ſerve their Enemies; but yet he ſaid he would not benemen his mercy away from them, if they would cry mercy and amend their defaults; and all this was done on Gods ſide.*

* Amid Paradiſe, that is, in the midſt of Paradiſe.

Abraham.

† Hold him forward, that is, promiſe with him.

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God's love to man.

*And here is much love ſhowed of God to man. And who ſo looketh the* Bible, *he ſhall find thus man ſhowed him little love againward: for when they were comen into their Heritage, they forgaten their God, and worſhipped falſe gods. And God ſent to them the Prophets and his Servants * feile times to bid them withdrawen them from their ſins, and other they have ſlowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in Priſon: and oft-times God took upon them great vengeance for their ſins; and when they cried after helpen to God, he ſent them help and ſuccour. This is the general proceſs of the* Old Teſtament, *that God gave to his People by* Moſes *his ſervant. And all this* Teſtament *and this doing ne was but a ſhadow and figure of a* New Teſtament *that was given by Chriſt. And it was byhoten by* Jeremiah *the Prophet, as St.* Paul *beareth witneſs in the* Epiſtle *that he writeth to the* Jews. *And* Jeremiah *ſaith in this wiſe;* Lo days ſhall come, God ſaith, and I will make a new band to the houſe of Iſrael, and to the houſe of Judah, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I took their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden veine, and I had Lordihip over them. But this ſhall be the forward that I wold make with them after thoſe days: I will give my laws with them in their inwardneſs, and I will written them in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they ſhould be my people: and after that a man ſhall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (*God ſaith*) from the leaſt to the moſt, ſhall know me, for I will forgiven them their ſins, and will no more think on their ſins.*

* Feile times, that is, oft-times.

*This is the* New Teſtament, *that Chriſt both God and Man, born of the Maid* Mary, *he taught here in this World to bring man out of ſin, and out of the Divels thraldome and ſervice to Heaven, that is a Land of Bliſs and Heritage, to all tho that beleeven on him, and keepen his Commandments, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the Third Day he aroſe again from death to life, and ſet* Adam *and* Eve, *and many other folk out of Hell, and afterward he came to his Diſciples, and comforted them. After, he ſtied up to Heaven to his Father, and tho he ſent the Holy Ghoſt amongſt his Diſciples; and in time coming, he will come and demen all mankind after their works, and after the words he ſpake upon earth;* ſome to bliſs, within body and in ſoul ever withouten end; and ſome to pain withouten end, both in body and in ſoul.

*This is our beleeve and all Chriſten mens, and this beleeve is the firſt point of the* New Teſtament, *that ych Chriſten man is hold ſtedfaſtly to believe, and rather to ſuffer the death, than forſaken this beleeve; and ſo this beleeve is the Bread of Spiritual life, in forſaking ſin, that Chriſt brought us to life.*

*But forasmuch as mans living ne ſtondeth not all only ch by Bread, he hath ygiven us a draught of Water of Life to drink. And who that drinketh of that Water he ne ſhall never afterward ben athurſt. For this Water is the clear teaching of the Goſpel, that encloſeth ſeven Commandments.*

*The firſt is this:* Thou ſhalt love thy God over all other things, and thy Brother as thy ſelf, both enemy and friend.

Special Precepts or Leſſons of the Goſpel.

*The*

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*The ſecond Commandment is of meeekneſs, in the which Chriſt chargeth us*, to forſake lordſhip upon our Brethren, and other worldly worſhips; *and ſo he did himſelf.*

*The Third Commandment is*, In ſtonding ſtedfaſtlich in truth, and forſaking all falſeneſs.

*The fourth Commandment is*, To ſuffer in this World diſeaſes and wrongs, withouten againſtondings.

*The fifth Commandment is*, Mercy to forgiven our Brethren their treſpaſs, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeance.

*The ſixth Commandment is*, poorneſs in ſpirit, but not to ben a begger.

*The ſeventh Commandment*, is chaſtity; *that is*, a forſaking of fleſhlich likings diſpleaſing to God. *Theſe Commandments encloſen the Ten Commandments of the old, and ſomewhat more.*

*This Water is a bleſſed drink for Chriſten mens Souls. But more harm is, much folk would drink of this Water, But they mowe not come thereto: for God ſaith by* Ezekiel *the Prophet*, When ich geve to you the moſt clean waters to drink, ye troubled that water with your feet, and that water is ſo defouled, ye geve my ſheep to drink. But the clean water is yhid fro the ſheep, and but gif God clear this, it is dread left the ſheep dyen for thurſt. *And Chriſt that is the Wiſdome of the Father of Heaven, and Well of this Wiſdome, that come from Heaven to Earth to teach man this Wiſdome, through the which man ſhould overcome the ſleights of the Divel, that is the principal enemy of mankind; have mercy and pity of his people, and ſhew, if it be his will, how this water is troubled, and by whom: and * ſith clear this water that his ſheep mowne drinken hereof, and kele the thirſt of their Souls. Bleſſed were our Lord ben, for he hath ytaught us in the Gospel, that ere then he would come to the univerſal dome, then ſhould come many in his Name, and ſayen, that they weren Chriſt; and they ſhoulden done many wonders, and begilen many men; and many falſe Prophets ſhoulden ariſen and beguilen much folk.*

Chriſts ſheep ſtopped from clean water, and compelled to drink ruddle.

* Sith, that is, afterward.

*A Lord, yblefſed mote thou ben of everich Creature: which ben they that have yſaid that they weren in Chriſt, and have thus begiled thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, they that ſayen that they ben in thy ſtead, and † bineme thy worſhip, and maken the people worſhippen them as God, and have hid thy Laws from thy people: Lord, who durſt ſit in thy ſteed, and benemen thee thy Worſhip and thy Sacrifice, and durſt maken the people worſhippen them as Gods? The Sauter tells, That God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodilich Sacrifices and Holocauſtes; but God ſaith*; Yeld to me Sacrifice of hering, and yeld to God thine avowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ich will defend thee, and thou ſhalt worſhip me.

† Benemen, that is, take away.

*The * hering of God ſtandeth in three things. In loving God over all other things; in dreading God over all other things; in truſting in God over all other things.*

* Hering, that is, worſhipping.

*Theſe three points Chriſt teacheth in the Goſpel. But I trow men loven him but a little. For who ſo loveth Chriſt, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for Hereſie and Folly, and keepeth mens words. Alſo men dreden more men and mens Laws and their curſings, than Chriſt and his Laws and his Curſings. Alſo men hopen more in men and mens helps, than they do in Chriſt and in his help. And thus hath he, that ſetteth in Gods ſtede, bynomen God theſe three herynges, and makes men loven him and his Laws more than Chriſt and Chriſts Law, and dreaden him alſo. And there as the people ſhulden yeeld to God their avowes, he ſaith, he hath power to aſſoylen them of their avowes, and ſo this Sacrifice he † nemeth away from God. And there as the people ſhould cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their crying to God, and bynemeth God that Worſhip. This day of tribulation is when man is fallen through ſin into the Divels ſervice, and then we ſhullen cry to God after help, and axen forgiveneſs of our ſin, and make great ſorrow for our ſin, and ben in full will to do ſo no more, ne none other ſin, and that our Lord God wole forgiven us our ſin, and maken our ſoul clean. For his mercy is endleſs.*

The honoring of God ſtandeth in three things

† Nemeth, that is, taketh.

*But Lord, here men have benomen thee much worſhip: for men ſeyn that thou ne might not clean aſſoylen us of our ſin: But if we knowledgen our ſins to Prieſts, and taken of them a Penance for our ſin, gif we mowen ſpeak with them.*

Againſt auricular confeſſion.

*A Lord, thou forgave ſometime* Peter *his ſins, and alſo* Mary Magdalen, *and many other ſinful men without ſhriving to Prieſts, and taking Penance of Prieſts for their ſins. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man have bynomen thee thy might. And we lewd men beleven, that there is no man of ſo great power, and gif any man maketh himſelf of ſo great power, he heighteth himſelf above God. And St.* Paul *ſpeaketh of one that ſitteth in the Temple of God, and heighten him above God; and gif any ſuch be, he is a falſe Chriſt.*

Sins forgiven without ſhrift.

* Heighteth, that is, exalteth.

*But hereto ſeyn Prieſts, that when Chriſt made clean Leprous men, he bade them go and ſhew them to Prieſts. And therefore they ſeyn that it is a Commandment of Chriſt, that a man ſhould ſhewen his ſin to Prieſts. For as they ſeyn, lepre in the old Law betokenneth ſin in this new Law. A Lord God, whether thine Apoſtles knew not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddeſt commanded men to ſhriven them to Prieſts, and they ne taught not that Commandment to the People, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow they knowen well that it was none of thy Commandments, ne needful to heal of mans Soul. And as me thinketh, the Law of Lepre is nothing to the purpoſe of ſhriving: for Prieſts in the old Law hadden certain points and tokens to know whether a man were Leprous or not: and gif they were Leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other clean men, for to that they weren clean; and then they hadden power to receiven him among his Brethren, and offeren for him a Sacrifice to God.*

Objection of the Prieſts to maintain ſhrift. Anſwer to the Objection.

*This is nothing to the purpoſe of ſhriving. For there is but one Prieſt, that is Chriſt, that may know in certain the Lepre of the Soul. Ne no Prieſt may make the Soul clean of her ſin, but Chriſt that is Prieſt after* Melchiſedec's *order: ne no Prieſt here beneath may ywis for certain whether a man be clean of his ſin, or clean aſſoiled, but gif God tell it him by Revelation. Ne God ordained not that his Prieſts ſhould ſet men a Penance for their ſin, after the quantity of the ſin, but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wot well that God is much unworſhipped thereby. For men truſt more in his abſolutions, and in his years of grace, than in Chriſts abſolutions and thereby is the people much appaired. For now the ſorrow man ſhould make for his ſin, is put away by this ſhrift: and man is more bold to do ſin for truſt of this ſhrift, and of this bodilich Penance.*

Penance for ſin, is man

*Another miſchief is, That the people is ybrought into this belief, that one Prieſt hath a great power to aſſoylen a man of his ſin and clennere, than another Prieſt hath.*

Miſchiefs that come by auricular confeſſion.

*Another miſchief is this, That ſome Prieſt may aſſoylen them both of ſin and pain: and in this they taken them a power that Chriſt granted no man in Earth, ne he ne uſed it dought on Earth himſelf.*

Poeiſh Prieſts charged with Simony.

*Aother miſchief is, that theſe Prieſts ſellen forgiveneſs of mens ſins and abſolutions for mony; and this is an Hereſie accurſed that is ycleped ſimony: and all thilk Prieſts that axeth price for granting of Spiritual Grace, * beth by holy Laws deprived of their Prieſthood, and thilke that aſſenteth to this Hereſie. And he they ware; for* Helyſe *the Prophet took no mony of* Naaman, *when he was made clean of his Lepre; but* Gieſi *his ſervant; and therefore the Lepre of* Naaman *abode with him and with his Heirs evermore after.*

* Beth, that is be.

*Here is much matter of ſorrow, to ſee the people thus far ylad away from God and worſhupen a falſe God in Erth, that by might and by ſtrength hath ydone away the great Sacrifice of God out of his Temple: of which miſchief and diſcomfort,* Daniel *maketh mention, and Chriſt beareth thereof witneſs in the Goſpel. Who that readeth it, underſtand it. Thus we have ytold apertly, how he that ſaith he ſitteth in Chriſts ſtede † bynemeth Chriſt his Worſhip, and his Sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worſhupen him as a God on Earth.*

† Bynemeth, that is taketh away.

" Cry we to God, and knowledge we our ſins everich " one to other, as St. *James* teacheth, and pray we heartich to God everichone one for other, and then we ſhu" len hopen forgiveneſs of our ſins. For God that is " endleſs in mercy ſaith, *That he ne will not a ſinful " mans death, but that he be turned from his ſin and li" ven.* And therefore, when he came down to ſave man" kind, he gave us a Law of love and of mercy; and

" bade

" bade, gif a man do a treſpaſs, amend him privilich, and " gif he leve not his ſin, amend him before witneſs, and " gif he amendeth not, men ſhould tell to the Church; " and gif he ne amendeth not then, men ſhould ſhone his " company as a Publican, or a man that is misbeleeved: " and this Law was yfigured in the Law of Lepre; who " that reads it, he may ſee the ſooth.

" But Lord God, he that ſitteth in thy ſtede hath undo " thy Law of mercy and love; Lord, thou biddeſt loven " Enemies as our ſelf; and ſheweſt in the Goſpel there as " the *Samaritan* had mercy on the *Jew*. And thou " biddeſt us alſo prayen for them that curſen us, and that " defamen us, and purſuen us to death. And ſo Lord thou " diddeſt, and thine Apoſtles alſo. But he that clepeth " himſelf thy Vicar on Earth, and head of thy Church, he " he hath undone thy Law of love and mercy. For gif we " ſpeaken of loving our Enemies, he teacheth us to fight " with our Enemies, that Chriſt hath forboden. He curſeth " and deſireth vengeance to them that ſo doth to him. Gif " any man purſueth him, he curſeth him, that it is a ſorrow " a Chriſten man to hearen the curſings that they maken, " and Blaſphemies in ſuch curſing. Of what thing that " I know, I may bear true witneſs.

The Pope breaketh the Law of love and mercy.

" But gif we ſpeak of loving of our Brethren, this is " undone by him that ſaith he is Gods Vicar in Earth. " For Chriſt in the Goſpel biddeth us, that we ſhoulder " clepen us no Father upon Earth: but clepen God our " Father, to maken us love perfitlich together. And he " clepeth himſelf Father of fathers, and maketh many Re- " ligions, and to everich a Father. But whether is Love " and Charity encreaſed by theſe Fathers and by their Re- " ligions, or elſe ymade leſs? For a Frier ne loveth not a " Monk, ne a Secular man neither, nor yet one Frier " another that is not of the Order, and it is againward,

The Pope would be a Father, but he beareth no Son.

" A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in " theſe Religions: For Lord, what Charity haven ſuch " men of Religion, that known how they mown again- " ſtand ſin, and fleen away from their Brethren that ben " more uncunning than they ben, and ſufferen them to tra- " vellen in the World withouten their counſel as Beaſts? " Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but but little " Charity, and then is there little Perfection. Lord God, " when thou were on Earth, thou were among ſinful men to " drawen them from ſin and thy Diſciples alſo. And Lord, " I trow thou ne granteſt not one man more cunning than " another all for himſelf: and I wote well that lewd men " that ben labourers, ne travel not alonich for himſelf. " Lord our belief is, that thou ne were not of the World, " ne thy teaching, neither thy ſervants that livden after thy " teaching. But all they forſaken the World, and ſo every " Chriſten man muſt. But Lord, whether thou taughteſt " men to forſake their Brethrens company and travel of the " World, to liven in eaſe and in reſt, and out of trouble " and anger of the World, by their Brethrens travel, and " ſo forſaken the World?

To forſake the World, is not to live in eaſe from company.

" A Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken a " poor eſtate and travel, to ben afterward a Lord of his " Brethren, or been a Lords fellow, and dwelling with " Lords, as doth men of theſe new Religions. Lord thou " ne taughteſt not men of thy Religion thus to forſake the " World, to liven in perfection by themſelf in eaſe, and " by other mens travel. But Lord they ſayen they ben " ybound to thy ſervice, and ſerven thee both night and " day in ſinging their Prayers, both for themſelf and for " the other men, that done them good both quick and " dead, and ſome of them gone about to teach thy peo- " ple when they haven leiſure.

" A Lord, gif they be thy ſervants; whoſe ſervants ben " we that cannot preien as they done? And when thou " were here on Earth for our nede, thou taughteſt thy ſer- " vants to preien thy Father privilich and ſhortlich: and gif " there had been a better manner of preying, I trow thou " wouldeſt have taught it in help of thy people. And Lord " thou reproveſt Hypocrites that preyen in long prayer, and " in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou " ſeyſt in the Goſpel; *Wo to you Phariſes hypocrites*. And " Lord thou ne chargedſt not thy ſervants with ſuch man- " ner ſervice: but thou ſeyſt in the Goſpel, *that the Pha- " riſies worſhopen thee with their lips, and their heart is " far from thee*. For they * chargen more mens traditions " than thy Commandment.

* Chargen, that is, they cate for.

" And Lord, we lewd men han a belief, that thy good- " neſs is endleſs: and gif we keepen thine heſtes, then ben " we thy true ſervants: and though we preyen thee but a " little and ſhortlich, thou wilt thinken on us, and granten " us that us nedeth, for ſo thou † behited us ſometime. " And Lord I trow, that pray a man never ſo many quaint " prayers, gif he ne keep not thine heſts, he is not thy " good ſervant. But gif he keep thine heſts, then he is " thy good ſervant. And ſo me thinketh, Lord, that " praying of long prayers ne is not the ſervice that thou " deſireſt, but keeping of thine heſts: and then a lewd " man may ſerve God as well as a man of Religion, " though that the Ploughman ne may not have ſo much " Silver for his prayer as men of Religion. For they " * kunnen not ſo well preiſen their praiers as theſe other " chapmen: but Lord, our hope is, that our prayers be " never the worſe, though it be not ſo well ſold as other " mens prayers.

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† Behited, that is, promiſed.

True ſervice of God ſtandeth not in long Prayer, but in keeping Gods Commandments

* Kunnen, that is, they can.

" Lord, *Ezekiel* the Prophet ſaith, *That when he ſpake " to the people thy words, they turned thy words into ſongs " and into tales*. And ſo Lord men done now: they ſing " in meriliche thy words, and that ſinging they clepen thy " ſervice. But Lord I trow that the beſt ſingers he heri- " eth thee not moſt: but he that fulfilleth thy words, he " † herieth thee full well, though he weep more than " ſing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy " Commandments be more pleaſing ſervice to thee than " the ſinging of thy words. And would God that men " would ſerve him in ſorrow for their ſins, and that they " ſhoulden afterward ſerven thee in mirth. For Chriſt " ſaith; ybleſſed ben they that maken ſorrow, for they " ſhoulden ben ycomforted. And wo to them that ben " merry, and have their comfort in this world. And " Chriſt ſaid, that the world ſhould joyen, and his ſer- " vants ſhoulden be ſorry, but their ſorrow ſhould be turn- " ed into joy.

Singing in Churches, falſly called Gods ſervice.

† Herieth, that is, worſhippeth. Weeping for ſin, better ſervice than ſinging in Church.

" A Lord, he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar upon Earth " hath yordained an order of Prieſts to do thy ſervice in " Church to force thy lewd people in ſinging Matteins, " Evenſong, and Maſs. And therefore he chargeth lewd " men in pain of curſing, to bring to his Prieſts Tithings " and Offerings to finden his Prieſts, and he clepeth " that Gods part, and due to Prieſts that ſerven him in " Church.

" But Lord, in the old Law the Tithings of the lewd " people ne were not due to Prieſts, but to that other Childer " of *Levi* that ſerveden thee in the Temple, and the Prieſt " hadden their part of Sacrifices, and the firſt bygeten Beaſts " and other things as the Law telleth. And Lord St. Paul " thy ſervant ſaith, That the order of the Prieſthood of " *Aaron* ceaſed in Chriſts coming and the Law of that " prieſthood. For Chriſt was end of Sacrifices yoffered " upon the Croſs to the Father of Heaven, to bring man " out of ſin, and become himſelf a Prieſt of *Melchiſedeks* " order. For he was both King and Prieſt, without be- " ginning and end; and both the Prieſthood of *Aaron* and " alſo the Law of that Prieſthood ben ychanged in the " coming of Chriſt. And S. *Paul* ſaith it is reproved, for " it brought no man to perfection. For blood of Goats, " ne of other Beaſts ne might done away ſin, for to that " Chriſt ſhed his blood.

" A Lord Jeſus; whether thou ordeneſt an order of Prieſts " to offren in the auter thy fleſh and thy blood to bringen " men out of ſin, and alſo out of pein? And whether thou " geve them alonelich a power to eat thy fleſh and thy " blood, and whether none other man may eat thy fleſh " and thy blood withouten leve of Prieſts? Lord, we be- " leven, that thy fleſh is very meat, and thy blood very " drink; and who eateth thy fleſh, and drinketh thy blood, " dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth " this Bread ſhall live without end. But Lord thine Di- " ſciples ſaid; this is a word; but thou anſwereſt them and " ſaideſt; when ye ſeeth man ſoon ſtiven up there he was- " rather, the Spirit is that maketh you live, the words that " ych have ſpoken to you ben ſpirit and life. Lord, ybleſ- " ſed mote thou be, for in this word thou teacheſt us that " he that keepeth thy words, and doth after them, eateth " thy fleſh, and drinketh thy blood, and hath an ever- " laſting life in thee. And for we ſhoulden have mind of " this living, thou gaveſt us the Sacrament of thy fleſh and " blood, in form of Bread and Wine at thy Supper, before

The Order of Prieſts, not made to offer Chriſts body

that

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" that thou ſhouldeſt ſuffer thy death, and took Bread in " thine hand, and ſaideſt; *Take ye this, and eat it, for* " *it is my body*: and thou tookeſt Wine, and bleſſedſt it, " and ſaid; *This is the blood of a new and an everlaſting* " *Teſtament, that ſhall be ſhed for many men in forgive-* " *neſs of ſins: as oft as ye done this, do ye this in mind* " *of me.*

The Sacrament of the body of the Lord abuſed.

" A Lord, thou ne bede not thine Diſciples maken this " a ſacrifice, to bring men out of peines, gif a Prieſt offred " thy body in the Altar; but thou bed them go and * " Fullen all the folk in the name of the Father, and the " Son and the Holy Ghoſt, in forgiveneſs of their ſins; and " Teach ye them to keep thoſe things that ych have com- " manded you. And Lord, thine Diſciples ne ordained " not Prieſts principallich to make thy body in Sacrament, " but for to teach the people, and good Husbandmen that " well govern their Houſholds, both Wives and Children, " and their meiny, they ordeined to be Prieſts to teachen " other Men the Law of Chriſt, both in word, in dede, " and they lived ein as true Chriſtian men, every day they " eaten Chriſts body, and drinken his blood, to the ſuſte- " nance of living of their Souls, and other whiles they " token of the Sacrament of his body in form of Bread and " Wine, in mind of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

* Fullen, that is, Baptiſes.

Prieſts principally ſene to Preach, not to ſay Maſs, or to make the Lords body.

" But all this is turned upſedown: for now whoſo will " liven as thou taughteſt, he ſhall ben holden a fool. And " gif he ſpeak thy teaching, he ſhall ben holden an Here- " tick, and accurſed. Lord, have no longer wonder " hereof, for ſo they ſeiden to thee when thou were here " ſometime. And therefore we moten take in patience " their words of Blaſphemy as thou diddeſt thy ſelf, or " elſe we were to blames And trulich Lord I trow, that if " thou were now in the World, and taughteſt as thou did- " deſt ſometime, thou ſhouldeſt ben done to death. For thy " teaching is damned for Hereſie of wiſe Men of the World, " and therefore moten thy needs ben Hereticks that teachen thy " lore, and all they alſo that travalien to live thereafter.

He that ſpeaketh Gods teaching, is holden an Hereticke.

" And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, help thine un- " kunning and lewd ſervants, that wolen by their power " and their kunning help to deſtroy ſin. Leve Lord, ſith " thou madeſt Woman in help of Man, and in a more " frail degree than Man is, to be governed by Mans reaſon: " What perfection of charity is in theſe Prieſts and in Men " of Religion, that have forſaken ſpouſhod that thou or- " deineſt in Paradiſe betwixt man and woman, for per- " fection to forſaken travail, and liven in eaſe by other " Mens travail? For they mow not do bodilich works for " defouling of their hands, with whom they touchen thy " precious body in the Altar.

" Leve Lord, gif good men forſaken the company of " woman, and needs they moten have the governail of " man, then moten they ben ycoupled with ſhrews, and " therefore thy ſpouſehood that thou madeſt in cleanneſs " from ſin, it is now ychanged into liking of the fleſh. " And Lord, this is a great miſchief unto thy people. And " young Prieſts and men of Religion, for default of Wives, " maken many women horen, and drawn through their " enſample many other men to ſin, and the eaſe that they " liven in, and their welfare, is a great cauſe of this miſ- " chief. And Lord me thinketh, that theſe ben quaint " Orders of Religion, and none of thy Sect that wolen " taken horen, whilke God forſends, and forſaken Wives " that God ne forſendeth not; and forſaken travail that " God commands, and geven their ſelf to idlenes, that is " the Mother of all naughtineſs.

What inconvenience by the unmarried lives of Prieſts.

He complaineth of the idleneſs of Prieſts.

" And Lord, *Mary* thy Bleſſed Mother and *Joſeph* tou- " ched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their hands, " and liveden in as much cleanneſs of Soul, as our Prieſts " done now, and touched thy Body, and thou touchedeſt " them in their Souls. And Lord our hope is, that thou " goen not out of a poor Mans ſoul that travaileth for his " livelode with, his hands. For Lord, our belief is, that " thine Houſe is Mans ſoul, that thou madeſt after thine " own Likeneſs.

" But Lord God, Men maketh now great ſtonen Houſes " full of glaſen windows, and clepeth thilke thine Houſes " and Churches. And they ſetten in theſe Houſes Maw- " mets of ſtocks and ſtones, † tofore them they knelen " privilich and apert, and maken their prayers; and all " this they ſayen is thy worſhip, and a great † herying " to thee. A Lord, thou forbideſt ſometime to make ſuch " Mawmets, and who that had yworſhipped ſuch, had " ben worthy to be dead.

What is the true Church of Chriſt.

† Tofore, that is before.

" Lord in the Goſpel thou ſayſt, that true * heriers " of God ne herieth him not in that Hill belide *Samaria*, " ne in *Hieruſalem* neither, but true heriers of God heri- " eth him in ſpirit and in truth. And Lord God, what " herying is it to bilden thee a Church of dead Stones, " and robben thy quick Churches of their bodilich live- " lood? Lord God, what herying is it, to cloth Maw- " mets of ſtocks and of ſtones in ſilver and in gold, and " in other good Colours? And Lord I ſee thine Image " gone in cold and in hete, in clothes all to broken, with- " out ſhone and hoſen, an hungred and athruſt. Lord " what herying is it to teende tapers and torches before " blind Mawmets that mowen not ſeyen? And hide thee " that art our light and our lantern towards Heaven, and " put thee under a buſhel, that for darkneſs we ne may " not ſeen our way toward bliſs? Lord what herying is it " to kneel tofore Mawmets that mow not yheren, and " worſhepen them with prayers, and maken thine quick " Images kneel before them, and aſken of them abſoluti- " ons and bleſſings, and worſhepen them as Gods, and " putten thy quick Images in Thraldom and in travail " evermore as beaſts, in cold and in heate, and in feeble " fare to finden them in liken of the world? Lord what " herying is it to feteh deed Mens bones out of the ground, " there as they ſhoulden kindelich rotten, and ſhrinen " them in gold and ſilver; and ſufferen the quick bones " of thine Images to rot in priſon for default of clothings? " And ſuffren alſo thy quick Images to periſh for default " of ſuſtenance, and rooten in the hoorehouſe in abomi- " nable lechery? Some become thieves and robbers, and " manquellers, that mighten ben yholpen with the gold " and ſilver that hongeth about deed Mens bones, and " other blind Mawmets of ſtocks and ſtones.

* Herying, that is, worſhipping. † Heriers, worſhippers.

He complaineth of Images in Churches.

" Lord, here ben great abominations that thou ſhewdiſt " to *Ezechiel* thy Prophet, that Prieſts done in thy Temple, " and yet they clepen that thine herying. But leve Lord, " me thinketh that they loven thee little that thus defoulen " thy quick Images, and worſhepen blind Mawmets.

" And Lord, another great miſchief there is now in the " world, an hunger that *Amos* thy Prophet ſpeaketh of; " that there ſhall comen an hunger in the Earth, not of " Bread, ne thruſt of drink, but of hearing of Gods " Words. And thy ſheep woulden be refreſhed, but their " ſhepheards taken of thy ſheep their livelode, as tythings, " &c. And liven themſelves thereby where them liketh.

He complaineth of falſe Paſtors that live by their flock, but feed not them.

" Of ſuch ſhepheards thou ſpeaketh by *Ezechiel* thy " Prophet, and ſeyeſt; Woe to the ſhepheards of *Iſrael* " that feden himſelf, for the flocks of ſheep ſhoulden by " yfed of their ſhepheards: but ye eaten the Milk, and " clothen you with their Wool, and the fat ſheep ye ſlow, " and my flock ye ne fede not, the ſick ſheep ye ne healed " not thilke that weren to broken ye ne knit together, " thilke that periſhed ye ne brought not again; but ye " ratled them with ſternſhip and with power. And ſo the " ſheep be ſprad abroad in devouring of all the Beaſts " of the field. And *Jeremy* the Prophet ſaith; Woe to " ſhepheard that deſpearſeth abroad and teareth the flock " of my * Leſew.

* Leſew, that is, Paſture.

" A Lord, thou were a good ſhepheard, for thou put- " teſt thy ſoul for thy ſheep. But Lord, thou teldeſt that " thilke that comen not in by the dore ben night thieves " and day-theenes, and a theeſe, as thou ſeyeſt, cometh " not but for to ſteal, to ſlein, and to deſtroy. And *Ze-* " *chery* the Prophet ſaith; that thou wouldeſt reren up a " ſhepheard unkunning, that ne wol not hele thy ſheep that " † beth ſick, ne ſeek thilke that beth loſt. Upon his " Arm is a ſwerd, and upon his right eye; his Arm ſhall wax " dry, and his right eye ſhall leſe his light. O Lord, help, for " thy ſheep beth at great miſchief in the ſhepheards defaut.

† Beth, that is, be.

" But Lord, there cometh hired men, and they ne " ſeden not thy ſheep in thy plenteous Leſew, but feden " thy ſheep with * Swevens, and falſe miracles and tales. " But at thy truth they ne comen not: for Lord, I trow " thou ſendeſt them never. For have they hire of thy " ſheep, they ne careth but little of the feeding and the keep- " ing of thy ſheep. Lord, of theſe hired men ſpeaketh " *Jeremy* the Prophet, and thou ſeyeſt that word by him; " I ne ſend them not, and they tonne † Blive; I ne ſpeak " unto them, and they prophecíden. For if they had-

Againſt hirelings. * Swevens, that is, Dreams.

† Blive, quickly.

" den ſtonden in my Counſel, and they had made my
" words known to the puple, ech would have turned
" them away from their yvill way, and from their wick-
" ed thoughts. For Lord, thou ſeyſt that thy words ben
" as fire, and as an hammer breaking ſtones. And Lord,
" thou ſayſt; Loe I to theſe Prophets meeting ſwevens of
" leſing, that have ytold her ſwevens, and have begiled
" my puple in their leſing, and in their falſe miracles, when I
" neither ſent, ne bed them. And theſe have profitet
" nothing to my puple. And as *Jeremy* ſaith; From
*Meſt, moſt. " the leaſt to the * meſt all they ſtudien covetice, and from
" the Prophet to the Prieſt all they done gile.

" A Lord, here is much miſchief and matere of ſorrow;
" and yet there is more. For gif a lewd man would teach
" thy people truth of thy words, as he is yhold by thy
" commandment of Charity, he ſhall be forboden and
Popiſh Prieſts neither teach themſelves, nor will ſuffer others beſides themſelves to teach. " put in priſon gif he do it. And ſo Lord, thilke that
" have the key of conning, have ylockt the truth of thy
" teaching under many wardes, and yhid it from thy chil-
" dren. But Lord, ſith thy teaching is ycome from Heaven
" above, our hope is, that with thy grace it ſhall break
" theſe wards, and ſhew him to thy puple, to kele both
" the hunger and thruſt of the Soul. And then ſhall no
" ſhepheard, ner no falſe Hirid-man begile thy puple no
† Thighteſt, promiſed. * Weten, know. " more. For by thy Law I write, as thou † thighteſt
" ſometime, that from the leaſt to the meſt, all they
" ſhullen knowen thy will, and * weten how they ſhullen
" pleaſe thee evermore in certain.

" And leve Lord, gif it be thy will help at this need,
" for there is none help but in thee. Thus Lord, by him
" that maketh himſelf thy Viker in Earth, is thy com-
" mandment of love to thee and our Brethren ybroken;
" both to him and to thy puple. But Lord God mercy
† Tweln, that is, two. " and patience, that beth † twein of thy commandments,
" beth deſtroyed, and thy puple hath forſake mercy. For
" Lord, *David* in the *Sauter* ſaith; Bleſſed beth they that
" done dome and rightfulneſs in everich time.

" O Lord, thou haſt ytaught us as rightfulneſs of
" Heaven, and haſt ybeden us forgeven our Brethren as
" oft as they treſpaſſen againſt us. And Lord, thine old Law
" of Juſtice was, that ſuch harm as a Man did his Bro-
" ther, ſuch he ſhould ſuffer by the Law, as eye for an eye,
" and tooth for a tooth. But Chriſt made an end of
" this Law, that one Brother ſhould not deſire wracke of
" another: But not that he would that ſin ſhould ben
" unpuniſhed, for thereto hath he ordained Kings and
" Dukes, and other lewd Officers under them; whilke
" as S. *Paul* ſaith, ne carien not the ſwerd in vain, for
" they ben the Miniſters of God, and wrakers to wrath,
" to them that evil done. And thus hath Chriſt ymade
" an end of this old Law, that one Brother may not ſuen
* For, that is, but. " another himſelf, * for that to wreken without ſin,
" for breaking of Charity. But this Charity Lord hath
" thy Vicar ybroke, and ſays that we ſinnen, but gif we
" ſuen for our right. And we ſee, I wot, that thou
" taughteſt us ſometime to give our mantel alſo, ever that
" we ſhoulden ſuen for our Coat. And ſo Lord beleven
" we, that we ben ybonden to done by thy Law, that is
" all Charity, and Officers duty is to defenden us from
" thilke thecuery, though we complainen not. But Lord,
" thy Law is turned upſedown.

He complaineth for puniſhing little faults, and to let great faults eſcape. " A Lord, what dome is to ſlean a theeſe that take a
" mans Cattel away from him, and ſufferen a Spouſe-
" breaker to live, and a lecherour that killeth a womans
" ſoul? And yet thy Law ſtoned the Spouſe-breakers and
" leacherous, and let the Theeves liven and have other
" puniſhment.

" A Lord, what dome is it to ſlean a theeſe for ſtealing
" of an Horſe, and to let him live unpuniſhed, and to
" mainetaine him that robbeth thy poor people of their
" livelode, and the ſoul of his food?

If he be an Heretick that breaketh Mans law, what is the Pope that breaketh Gods law? A lewd Man, that is, a Lay man. " Lord, it was never thy dome to ſayen, that a Man is
" an Heretick, and Curſed for breaking of Mans law, and
" demen him for a good Man for breaking thy Heſts.

" Lord, what dome is it to Curſe a lewd Man if he ſmite
" a Prieſt, and not Curſe a Prieſt that ſmiteth a lewd Man
" and leeſeth his Charity?

" Lord, what dome is it to Curſe the lewd people for
" tithings, and not Curſe the parſon that robbeth the
" people of tithings, and teacheth them not Gods Law, but
" feedeth them with painting of ſtone walls, and Songs of
" Latin, that the people known not?

" Lord, what dome is it to puniſh the poor Man for his { KING Edw. 3.
" treſpaſs, and ſuffer the Rich to continue in his ſin for
" a quantity of Money?

" Lord, what dome is it to ſlean an uncunning lewd
" Man for his ſin, and ſuffer a Prieſt, other a Clerk that
" doth the ſame ſin, ſcape a live? Lord the ſin of the Prieſt
" or of the Clerk is greater treſpaſs than it is of a lewd un-
" cunning Man; and greater enſample of wickedneſs to
" the common people?

Againſt the Canon law. " Lord, what manner people be we, that neither keep
" thy domes and thy rightfulneſs of the old Teſtament,
" that was a law of dread, nor thy domes and thy right-
" fulneſs of thy new Teſtament, that is a Law of love and
" of mercy: But have another Law, and taken out of both
" thy Laws, that is liking to us, and remnant of heathen
" Mens laws? And Lord this is a great miſchief.

" O Lord, thou ſayeſt in thy Law, deme ye not and ye
" ſhould not be demed; for the ſame meſure that ye meten
" to other men, men ſhall meten to you again-ward:
" and Lord thou ſayeſt that by their work we ſhould
" know them; and by what we know that thou com-
The Popes law againſt Gods law, in cauſing Men to accuſe themſelves. " manded us not to demen mens thoughts, nor their works,
" that were not againſt thy Law expreſly. And yet Lord
" he, that ſaith he is thy Vicar, will demen our thoughts,
" and ask us what we think: not of the Lord, of thy
" Heſts, for they caren little for them, but of him and of
" his, whilke they ſate above thine, and maken us accuſen
" our ſelf, or elſe they willen accurſen us, for our accuſers
" mowen we not known. And Lord, thou ſayeſt in thine
Mowen, that is, may. " old Law, that under two witnes at the leaſt, or three,
" ſhould ſtand every matter; and that the witnes ſhoulden
" ever be the firſt that ſhoulden help to kill them.

" And when the Scribes and the Phariſes ſometimes
" brought before thee a woman that was ytake Spouſe-
" breaking, and exeden of thee a dome, thou didſt write
" on the Earth, and then thou gave this dome; He that
" is without ſin, throw firſt at her a ſtone: and Lord, they
" went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou
" forgave the woman her treſpaſs, and bade her go forth,
" and ſin no more.

Tooke i. e. ope, that is, took heed. " Sweet Lord, if the Prieſt tooke keepe to thy dome, they
" would be agaſt to demen men as they done. O Lord, if
" one of them break a commandment of thy Law, he
" will ask mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for
" the ſin, for peine of death were too little. O Lord, how
" daren they demen any Man to the death for breaking of
" their Laws, other aſſent to ſuch Law? For breaking of
The Breaking of the Popes law more puniſhed than the breaking of Gods law. " thy Law they will ſet penance, or pardon them, and
" maintaine them as often as they treſpaſſen. But Lord,
" if a Man once break their Laws, or ſpeak againſt them,
" he may done penance but once, and after be burnt.
" Trulich Lord thou ſayeſt, but if every one of us forgive
" not other his treſpaſs, thy Father will not forgeven us
" our ſins. And Lord when thou hong on the Croſs, thou
" prayedſt to thy Father to have mercy on thy Enemies.

" And yet they ſein Lord, that they demen no Man to
" the death, for they ſain, they ne mowne by their Law
" demen any Man to the death. A leeve Lord, even ſo ſaiden
" their Foreſathers the Phariſes, that it ne was not lawful
" for them to kill any Man: and yet they bidden *Pilate* to
" done thee to the death againſt his own conſcience, for he
" would gladly have yquit thee, but for that they threatned
" him with the Emperor, and broughten againſt thee
" falſe witnes alſo: and he was an Heathen Man.

" O Lord, how much truer dome was there in *Pilat*,
" that was an heathen Juſtice, than in our Kings and Ju-
" ſtices that woulden demen to the death, and burn in the
For to, that is, therefore. " fire him that the Prieſts deliveren unto them withouten
" witnes, or preſe? For *Pilat* ne would not demen thee;
" for that the Phariſes ſayden that gif thou ne haddeſt not
Pilat more commended than the Pope. " ben a miſdoer, we ne would not deliver him unto thee;
" for to broughten in their falſe witneſs againſt thee. But
" Lord, as thou ſaidſt ſometime that it ſhould ben lighter
" at Domes-day to *Tyro*, and to *Sydon*, and *Gomorra*, than
" to the Cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles:
" So I dred, it ſhall be more light to *Pilat* in the dome
" than to our Kings and Domes-men, that ſo demen with-
" out witnes and preſe. For Lord, to demen thy folk for
" Hereticks is to holden thee an Heretick; and to brennen
" them, is to brennen thee: for thou ſaidſt to *Paul* when he
" perſecuted thy people; *Saul, Saul, wherefore perſecuteſt*

" thou

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" *thou me?* And in the dome thou ſhalt ſay; that ye have " done to the leaſt of mine, ye have don to me.

" Thus Lord is thy mercy and juſtice foredone by him " that ſaith he is thy Vicar in Earth: For he neither keep- " eth it himſelf, nor nill not ſuffer other to do it.

" The third commandment, that is, patience and ſuf- " ferance, is alſo ybroken by this Vicar. Lord thou bid- " deſt ſufferen both wrongs and ſtrokes withouten again- " ſtanding; and ſo thou diddeſt thy ſelf to geven us en- " ſampie to ſufferen of our Brethren. For ſuffering nouriſh- " eth love, and again-ſtandeth debate. All thy laws is " love, or elſe the thing that draweth to love.

" But Lord, men teachen, that men ſhoulden pleten for " their right, and fighten alſo therefore; and elſe they " ſeyn, men ben in peril, and thou bid in the old Law " men fight for their Countrey. And thy ſelf haddeſt two " ſwords in thy company, when thou ſhouldeſt go to thy " paſſion; that as theſe Clerks ſein, betokeneth a ſpiritu- " al Sword, and a temporal Sword, that thou gave to thy " Vicar, to rule thy Church with.

The Pope breaketh patience.

" Lord, this is a ſleight ſpeech; but Lord we beleeven " that thou art King of bliſs, and that is thine Heretage and " mankinds countrey; and in this World we ne ben but " ſtrangers and Pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this " World, ne thy Law neither, ne thy true Servants that " keepen thy Law. And Lord, thou were King of *Juda* by " Heretage, if thou wouldeſt have yhad it; but thou forſook " it, and pletedeſt not therefore, ne fought not therefore.

" But Lord, for thy kind Heretage, and mankindes " country, that is a Land of bliſs, thou foughteſt migh- " tilich. In battel thou overcame thy Enemy, and ſo thou " won thine Heritage. For thou that were a Lord migh- " tieſt in battel, and alſo Lord of vertues, are rightfullich " King of bliſs; as *David* ſaith in the Pſalter. But Lord " thine Enemy ſmote thee diſpitefullich, and had power of " thee, and hang thee upon the Croſs as thou hadſt ben a " theefe and benomin thee all thy clothes, and ſtieked thee " to the Heart with a Spear.

" O Lord, this was an hard aſſault of a battel, and " here thou overcome by patience mightilich thin Ene- " mies; for thou ne wouldeſt not done againſt the will of " thy Father. And thus Lord thou taughteſt thy Servants " to fight for their Countrey. And Lord this fighting " was in figure ytaught in the old Law. But Lord, men " holden now the ſhadow of the old fighting and leaven " the light of thy fighting, that thou taughteſt openlich " both in word and in deed.

" Lord, thou gave us a ſword to fighten againſt our Ene- " mies for our Countrey, that was thine holy Teaching, " and Chriſtien mens law. But Lord thy ſword is put in " a ſheath, and in Prieſts ward, that have forſake the fight- " ing that thou taughteſt. For as they ſeyn, it is againſt " their order to ben Men of Arms in thy battel, for it is un- " ſeemelich, as they ſeyn, that thy Vicar in Earth, other " his Prieſts ſhulden ſuffer of other men. And therefore

Chriſts Vicar and his Prieſts will ſuffer nothing.

" gif any man ſmite him, other any of his Clerks, he ne " taketh it not in patience, but anon he ſmiteth with his " ſword of curſing, and afterward with his bodelich ſword, " he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is " a fighting againſt kind, and much againſt thy teaching.

" O Lord, whether axſedeſt thou after ſwords in the " time of thy paſſion to againſtond thine Enemies? nay " forſooth thou Lord. For *Peter*, that ſmote for great " love of thee, had no great thank of thee for his ſmit- " ing. And Lord, thou were mighty enough to have " againſtond thine Enemies, for through thy looking " they fellen down to the ground, Lord yblefſed mote " thou be. Here thou teacheſt us that we ſhoulden ſuffren: " for thou were mighty ynow to have againſtond thine " Enemies, and thou haddeſt wepen, and thy men weren " hearty to have ſmitten.

" O Sweet Lord, how may he for ſhame clepen him- " ſelf thy Vicar and Head of the Church, that may not " for ſhame ſuffer? Sith thou art a Lord, and ſufferedſt of " thy ſubjects, to given us enſample, and ſo did thy true " ſervants.

Two temporal ſwords given to *Peter*.

" O Lord whether geve thou to *Peter* a ſpiritual ſword " to Curſe, and a temporal ſword to ſle mens bodies? " Lord, I trow not, for then *Peter* that loved thee ſo " much, would have ſmit with thy ſwords. But Lord, " he taughten us to bleſſen them that curſen us, and " ſuffren and not ſmiten. And Lord, he fed thy people " as thou bed him, and therefore he ſuffred the death as " thou didſt.

" O Lord, why clepeth any Man him *Peters* ſucceſſor, " that hath forſaken patience, and feedeth thy people " with curſing, and with ſmiting? Lord thou ſaideſt in " thy Goſpel, when thy Diſciples knewen well that thou " were Chriſt, and that thou muſteſt go to *Jeruſalem*, " and ſufferen of the Scribes and Phariſes, ſpittings, re- " proofes, and alſo the death. And *Peter* took thee " aſide, and ſaid; God forbid that. And Lord, thou " ſaydeſt to *Peter*, Goe behind me *Sathanas*, thou " ſclaundereſt me in *Iſrael*. For thou ne ſavoureſt not " thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wit it is unreaſonable, that thou or " thy Vicar, gif thou madeſt any on Earth, ſhoulden " ſuffren of your ſuggets.

Thilke things, thoſe things.

" A Lord, whether thou ordeineſt an order of fighters " to turn men to the beliefe? Other ordeineſt that Knights " ſhoulden ſwear to fight for thy words?

Faith cometh not by outward force.

" A Lord, whether bed thou, that gif any Man turn to " the faith, that he ſhould geve his goods and cattel to the " Vicar that hath great Lordſhips, and more than him " needeth? Lord I wot well, that in the beginning the " Churchmen that were converted threwen adown their " goods afore the Apoſtles feete. For all they weren in " charity, and none of them ſaid this is mine, ne *Peter* " made himſelf no Lord of theſe goods.

" But Lord, now he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar " upon Earth, and ſucceſſor to *Peter*, hath ybroke thy " commandment of Charity, for he is become a Lord. " And he hath alſo broken thy commandment of mercy, " and alſo of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into miſ- " chief and thraldom, for our Chieftaine hath forſaken " War and Arms, and hath treated to have peace with our " Enemies.

Pope breaketh the rule of charity, of mercy, and of patience.

" A Lord, gif it be thy will, draw thy ſword out of his " ſheath, that thy Servants may fight therewith againſt " their Enemies, and put cowardiſe out of our hearts: and " comfort us in battaile, or than thou come with thy ſword " in thy mouth, or take vengeance on thine Enemies. " For gif we ben accorded with our Enemies till that time " come, it is dread leſt thou take vengeance both of them " and of us together. A Lord, there is no help now in " this great miſchiefe but only in thee.

Or than, before that

" Lord, thou geveſt us a commandment of truth, in " bidding us ſay yea, yea, nay, nay, and ſwear for no- " thing. Thou geve us alſo a maundment of meekneſs, " and another of pooreneſs: but Lord, he that clepeth " himſelf thy Vicar on Earth, hath both ybroken theſe " commandments; for he maketh a Law to compel men " to ſwear, and by his Laws he teacheth that a man, to " ſave his life, may forſwear and lie. And ſo Lord, " through comfort of him and his laws, the people ne " dreadeth not to ſwear and to lie, ne oft times to for- " ſwearen them. Lord here is little truth.

The Pope breaketh the Law of ſwearing.

" O Lord, thou haſt ybrought us to a living of Souls " that ſtands in beleeving in thee, and keeping thy " Heſts, and when we breaken thy Heſts; then we ſlen " our ſouls: and leſs harm it were to ſuffer bodilich " death.

" Lord, King *Saul* brake thine Heſts, and thou took " his Kingdom from his Heires evermore after him, and " give it to *David* thy Servant, that kept thine Heſts. " And thou ſaidſt by *Samuel* thy Prophet to *Saul* the King, " that it is a manner of worſhipping of falſe Gods to break " thy Heſts. For who that loveth thee over all things, " and dreadeth thee alſo, he nole for nothing breake thine " Heſts.

Nole, that is would not.

" O Lord, gif breaking of thine Heſts be herrying of " falſe Gods, I trow that he that maketh the people break " thine Heſts, and commandeth that his Heſts ben kept " of the people, maketh himſelf a falſe God on Earth; " as *Nebugodonoſor* did ſometime that was King of " *Babylon*.

" But Lord, we forſaken ſuch falſe Gods, and beleven " that there ne ben no mo Gods than thou: and though " thou ſuffer us a while to ben in diſeaſe for knowledging " of thee; we thanken thee with our heart, for it is a " token that thou loveſt us, to given us in this world ſome " penance for our treſpaſs.

" Lord, in the old Law, thy true ſervants took the death,
" for they would not eaten Swines fleſh that thou haddeſt
" forbidde them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in us to
" eaten unclean mete of the ſoule, that thou haſt forbid?
" Lord thou ſaidſt, he that doth ſin is ſervant of ſin, and
" then he that lieth in forſwearing himſelf, is ſervant of
" leſing, and then he is ſervant to the Divel, that is a lier
" and Father of leſings. And Lord, thou ſayeſt, no man
" may ſerve two Lords at once. O Lord then, every lier
" for the time that he lieth, other forſweareth himſelf,
" and forſaketh thy ſervice for dread of his bodily death,
" becometh the Divels ſervant.

Servant of ſervants, the Popes ſtile abuſed.

" O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himſelf
" ſervant of thy ſervants, and in his doing he maketh him
" a Lord of thy ſervants. Lord thou were both Lord and
" Maſter, and ſo thou ſaid thy ſelf; but yet in thy warks
" thou were as a ſervant. Lord this was a great truth,
" and a great meekneſs: but Lord, bid thou thy ſervants
" that they ſhould not have Lordſhip over their brethren.
" Lord thou ſaydſt Kings of the Heathen men han Lordſhip
" over their ſubjects, and they that uſe their power be
" cleped well doers.

" But Lord, thou ſaidſt it ſhould not be ſo amongſt
" thy ſervant. But he that were moſt, ſhould be as a
" ſervant. Thou Lord, thou taughteſt thy Diſciples to be
" meek. Lord in the old Law thy ſervants durſt have no
" Lordſhip of their brethren, but if that thou bid them:

Thralles, that is to ſay, bond men.

" and yet they ſhould not do to their brethren as they did
" to thralles that ſerved them. But they ſhould do to their
" brethren that were their ſervants, as to their own bre-
" thren: for all they were *Abrahams* Children: and at a
" certain time, they ſhould let their brethren paſs from
" them in all freedom, but if they would wilfullich abide
" ſtill in ſervice.

" O Lord, thou gave us in thy coming a Law of perfect
" love, and in token of love thou clepedſt thy ſelf our
" brother. And to make us perfect in love, thou bid that
" we ſhould clepe to us no Father upon Earth, but thy
" Father of Heaven we ſhould clepe our Father. Alas,
" Lord, how violently our brethren, and thy children ben
" now put in bodily Thraldom, and in deſpite as beaſts
" evermore in grievous travel to find proud men in eaſe.
" But Lord, if we take this deſoule and this diſeaſe in pati-
" ence, and in meekneſs, and keep thine Heſts, we hope
" to be free. And Lord give our brethren grace to come

Pride of Prieſts.

" out of Thraldom of ſin, that they fall in through the
" deſiring and uſage of Lordſhip upon their brethren. And
" Lord, thy Prieſts in the old Law had no Lordſhips a-
" mong their brethren, but Houſes and Paſtures for their
" beaſts: but Lord our Prieſts now have great Lordſhips,
" and put their brethren in greater Thraldom than lewd
" men that be Lords. Thus is meekneſs forſaken.

" Lord, thou biddeſt in the Goſpel, that when a man
" is bid to the Feaſt, he ſhould ſit in the loweſt place, and
" then he may be ſet higher with worſhip, when the Lord
" of the Feaſt beholdeth how his geſts ſitteth. Lord it
" is dread that they, that ſit now in the higheſt place,
" ſhould be bid in time coming ſit beneath: and that will
" be ſhame and villany for them. And it is thy ſaying,
" thoſe that hyeth himſelf ſhould be lowed, and thoſe
" that lowen himſelf hould be an heyghed. O Lord,
" thou biddeſt in thy Goſpel to beware of the Phariſes,
" for it is a point of pride contrary to meekneſs. And
" Lord, thou ſayeſt that they love the firſt ſittings at ſuppers,
" and alſo the principal Chaires in Churches, and greetings
" in cheeping, and to be cleped Maſters of men. And
" Lord, thou ſayeſt be ye not cleped Maſters, for one is
" your Maſter, and that is Chriſt, and all ye be brethren:
" and clepe ye to you no Father upon Earth, for one is

Meekneſs commended in Miniſters.

" your Father that is in Heaven. O Lord, this is a bleſſed
" Leſſon to teach men to be meek.

Vicar in Earth not colerable in the Pope.

" But Lord, he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar on Earth,
" he clepeth himſelf Father of Fathers againſt thy forbid-
" ding. And all thoſe worſhips thou haſt forbad. He
" approveth them, and maketh them Maſters to many,
" that teach thy people their own teaching, and leave thy
" teaching that is needful, and hidden it by quaint Gloſſes

Swevens, that is, ydreames.

" from thy lewd people and feed thy people with ſwevens
" that they meet, and tales that doth little profit but much
" harm to the people. But Lord, theſe gloſers object, that they
" deſire not the ſtate of maſtery to be worſhipped there-
" by, but to profit the more to thy people, when they
" preach thy word. For as they ſuggen the people will
" believe more the preaching of a Maſter that hath taken a
" ſtate of ſchool, than the preaching of another man that
" hath not taken the ſtate of maſtry.

KING Edw. 3.

" Lord, whether it be any need that maſters bearen
" witneſs to thy teaching, that it is true and good? O
" Lord, whether may any maſter now by his eſtate of
" maſtry, that thou haſt forboden, draw any man from
" his ſin, rather then another man that is not a maſter, ne
" wole be none; for it is forbodden him in thy Goſpel.
" Lord thou ſendeſt to maſters to preach thy people; and
" thou knowledgiſt in the Goſpel to thy Father, that he
" hath hid his wiſdom from wiſe men and redy men;
" and ſhewed it to little children. And Lord, maſters
" of the law hylden thy teaching folly, and ſaiden that
" thou wouldeſt deſtroy thy people with thy teaching.
" Trulich Lord, ſo theſe maſters leggeth now; for they
" have written many Books againſt thy teaching, that is
" truth; and ſo the Prophecy of *Jeremy* is fulfilled when

Maſterſhip and Lordſhip in preachers.

" he ſaith; Trulich the falſe points of the maſters of
" the law hath wrought leaſing. And now is the time
" come that S. *Paul* ſpeaketh of, where he ſaith;
" Time ſhall come when men ſhall not ſuſtain whole-
" ſome teaching; But they ſhullen gather to hepe maſters
" with hatching ears, and from truth they ſhullen turnen
" away their hearing, and turn them to tales, that ma-
" ſters have maked to ſhown their maiſtry and their
" wiſdom.

" And Lord, a man ſhall believe more a mans works
" than his words, and the deed ſheweth well of theſe
" maſters, that they deſiren more maiſtery for their own
" worſhip, than for profit of the people. For when
" they be maſters, they ne preachen not ſo oft as they did
" before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is be-
" fore rich men, there as they mown beare worſhip and
" alſo profit of their preaching. But before poor
" men they preachen but ſeldem, when they ben ma-
" ſters: and ſo by their works we may ſeen that they ben
" falſe gloſers.

Falſe gloſers.

" And Lord, me thinketh that who ſo wole keepen
" thine Heſts, him needeth no gloſes: but thilke that
" clepen themſelf Chriſten men, and liven againſt thy
" teaching and thine Heſts, needelich they more gloſe thine
" Heſts, after their living, other elſemen ſhulden openlich
" yknown their Hypocriſie and their falſhod.

" But Lord, thou ſayſt that there is nothing yhid that
" ſhall not be ſhewed ſometime. And Lord bleſſed
" mote thou be: For ſomewhat thou ſheweſt us now of
" our miſchiefes that we been fallen in through the wiſe-
" doms of maſters, that have by ſleights ylad us away
" from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were the
" maſter of Heaven, taught us for love, when thou
" were here ſometime to heal of our ſouls, withouten
" error or Hereſie. But maſters of worlds wiſedom
" and their founder have ydamned it for Hereſie and for
" error.

" O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to re-
" prove thy wiſedom and thy teaching. And Lord, me
" thinketh that this *Nabugodonoſor* King of *Babylon*, that
" thus hath reprooved thy teaching and thine Heſts, and
" commandeth on all wiſe to keepen his Heſts, maken thy
" people hearen him as a God on Earth, and maketh them
" his thralls and his ſervants.

" But Lord, we lewd men known no God but
" thee, and we with thine help and thy grace forſaken
" *Nabugodonoſor* and his Laws. For he in his proud
" eſtate wole have all men under him, and he nele be
" under no man. He ondoth thy Laws that thou or-
" daineſt to ben kept, and maketh his own Laws as
" him liketh: and ſo he maketh him King above all
" other Kings of the Earth, and maketh men to worſhip-
" pen him as a God, and thy great ſacrifice he hate ydone
" away.

Nele, that is, will not.

" O Lord, here is thy commandment of meekneſs miſ-
" chiſlich to broke: and thy bleſſed commandment of
" poornes is alſo to broken, and yhid from thy people.
" Lord, *Zechary* thy Prophet ſaith, that thou that ſhould-
" eſt be our King, ſhouldeſt ben a poor man, and ſo thou
" were: for thou ſaideſt thy ſelf; Foxes have dens, and
" Birds of Heaven neſts, and Mans ſon hath not where

Poverty of Chriſt not followed.

" to

KING Edw. 3 " to ligge his head on. And thou ſaideſt, ybleſſed ben poor
" men in ſpirit, for thy Kingdom of Heaven is therein:
" and woe to rich men, for they han their comfort in
ourtiſe. " this world. And thou bad thy Diſciples to ben war of
" all covetiſe, for thou ſaydeſt, in the abundance of mans
" having, ne is not his lifelode. And ſo thou teacheſt,
" that thilke that han more then them needeth to their
" living liven in coyetiſe. Alſo thou ſayſt, but gif a man
" forſake all things that he oweth, he ne may not ben
" thy Diſciple. Lord, thou ſayſt alſo, that thy word,
" that is ſown in rich mens hearts, bringeth forth no fruit;
" for riches and the buſineſs of this world maken it with-
" outen fruit.

" O Lord, here ben many bleſſed teachings to teach
" men to ben poor, and love poorneſs. But Lord harm
Povert, counted folly. " is, poor men and poorneſs ben ybated, and rich men
" ben yloved and honored: and gif a man be a poor man,
" men holden him a man withouten grace; and gif a
" man deſireth poorneſs, men holden him but a fool:
" and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious
" man, and thilke that ben buſie in getting of riches, ben
" yholden wiſe men and ready; But Lord, theſe rich men
" ſayen, that it both leful to them to gather riches togi-
" ther. For they ne gathereth it for themſelf, but for
" other men that ben needy, and Lord their works
" ſhewen the truth. For if a poor needy man would
" borrowen of their riches, he nele lean him none of his
Nele, that is, will not. " good; but gif he mow be ſeker to have it again by a
" certain day.

" But Lord, thou bed that a man ſhould lend, and not
" hoping yelding again of him that he lendeth to: and
" thy Father of Heaven wole quite him his mede. And
" gif a poor man ask a rich man any good, the rich man
" will give him but a little, and yet it ſhall be little worth.
" And Lord me thinketh that here is little love and charity,
" both to God and to our Brethren.

" For Lord, thou teacheſt in thy Goſpel, that what
" men do to thy ſervants, they done to thee. A Lord, gif a
God is ſerved of the worſt. " poor man axe good for thy love, men giveth him a lit-
" tle of the wurſt. For theſe rich men ordeinen both
" Bread and Ale for Gods men of the wurſt that they have.
" O Lord, ſith all good that men hath, cometh of thee;
" how dare any man geve thee of the wurſt, and keep to
" himſelf of the beſt? How may ſuch men ſay that they
" gatheren riches for others need, as well as himſelf, ſith
" their works ben contrary to their words? And that is
" no greater truth. And be ye ſeker theſe goods, that
" rich man han, they ben Gods goods, ytake to your
" keeping, to look how he wolen be ſetten them to the
" worſhipping of God. And Lord, thou ſayeſt in the
" Goſpel, that who ſo is true in little, he is true in that
" thing that is more: and who that is falſe in a little thing,
" who wole taken him toward things of a greater value?
A leſſon for them that have goods, well to ſpend them. " And therefore be ye ware that han Gods goods to keep.
" Spend ye thilke trulich to the worſhip of God, leſt ye
" leeſen the bliſs of Heaven, for the untrue diſpending of
" Gods goods in this world.

" O Lord, theſe rich men ſeggen that they don much
Seggen, that is, do ſay. " for thy love. For many poor labourers ben yfound by
" them, that ſhoulden fare felelich, ne we not they and
" their readineſs. Forſooth me thinketh that poor laborers
" giveth to theſe rich men, moren then they given them
" againward. For the poor men more gone to his labour
" in cold and in heat, in wete and dry, and ſpend his
" fleſh and his blood in rich mens works, upon Gods
" ground, to find the rich man in eaſe, and in liking,
" and in good fare of meat, of drink, and of clothing.
" Here is a great gift of the poor man, for he giveth his
" own body. But what giveth the rich man againward?
" Certes feeble meat, and feeble drink, and feeble cloth-
" ing. What ever they ſeggen, ſuch be their works,
" and here is little love. And whoſoever looketh well
" about, all the world fareth as we ſeggen: and all
" men ſtudieth on every ſide, how they may wex rich
" men: and everich man almoſt is aſhamed to ben holden
" a poor man.

" And Lord, I trow for thou were a poor man, men
" token little regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord
" thou came to give us a *New Teſtament* of love; and
" therefore it was ſemelich that thou came in poorneſs, to
" prove who would love thee, and kepen thy heſts. For
" gif thou haddeſt ycome in forme of a rich man and of a
" Lord, men wold rather for thy dread than for thy love,
" have yclept thine heſts. And ſo Lord, now thou might
The poverty of Chriſt rightly conſidered. " well yſee which loven thee as they ſhould in keeping
" thine heſts. For who that loveth thee in thy poorneſs
" and in thy lowneſs, needs he mote love thee in thy Lord-
" ſhip and Highneſs.

" But Lord, the World is turned upſe downe, and
" men love poor men but a little, ne poorneſs neither.
" But men be aſhamed of poorneſs; and therefore Lord,
" I trow that thou art a poor King. And therefore I
" trow that he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar on Earth,
" hath forſaken poorneſs, as he hath do the remnant of
" thy Law, and is become a rich man and a Lord, and
A poor King and a proud Vicar, how joyn theſe two toge-ther? " maketh his Treaſure upon the Earth, that thou for-
" biddeſt in the Goſpel; and for his Right and Riches,
" he will plete, and fight and curſe. And yet Lord he will
" ſegge, that he forſaketh all things that he oweth, as
" thy true Diſciple mete done after thy Teaching in the
" Goſpel.

" But Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken
" his Goods, and plete for them, and fight, and curſe.
" And Lord, he taketh on him power to aſſoile a man
" of all manner of things, but if it be of debt. Truly
Chriſt a ſervant upon Earth, the Pope a Lord. " Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of Charity. For
" who that beth in Charity, poſſeſſeth thy Goods in com-
" mon, and not in proper at his Neighbours need. And
" then ſhall there none of them ſegge this is mine, but it
" is Gods that God granteth to us to ſpenden it to his
The Pope for his right and riches will plead, fight and curſe. " Worſhip. And ſo if any of them borroweth a portion
" of thoſe Goods, and diſpendeth them to Gods Worſhip,
" God is apayed of this ſpending, and alloweth him
" this true doing. And if God is payed of that diſ-
" pending, this is the principal Lord of thoſe Goods, how
" dare any of his Servants axen thereof accounts, other
" challenge it for it? Serten, of one thing I am incer-
" teine, that theſe that charge ſo much det of worldly cat-
" tel, they know little of Chriſts Law of Charity: for if
" Ich am a Baily of Gods Goods in the World; If I ſee
" my Brother in need, I am hold by Charity to part
" with him of theſe Goods to his nede: and if he ſpend-
" eth them well to the Worſhip of God. I mote be well
" apaid, as though I my ſelf had had ſpended them to the
" Worſhip of God. And if the principal Lord is well
" payed of my Brothers doing, and the diſpending of his
" Goods, how may I ſegge for ſhame that my Brother is
" dettour to me of the Goods that I took him to ſpend
" in Gods Worſhip at his nede? And if my Brother ſpend-
" eth amiſs the Goods that I take him, I am diſcharged of
" my deliverance of the Goods, if I take him in Charity
" thilke Goods at his nede. And I am hold to be ſory of
" his evil diſpending, ne I may not axen the Goods, that
" I took him at his nede in forme of det, for at his
" need they were his as well as mine. And thus is my
Propriety of goods here, is not taken away but charity is required to help the need of our neighbor. " Brother yhold to done to me gif he ſee me in nede,
" and gif we bed in Charity, little ſhould we chargen of
" det. And ne we ſhould not axen ſo dets, as men that
" know not God: and then we be poor in forſaking all
" things that we own. For gif we ben in Charity, we
" wollen nother fight nor curſe, ne plete for our goods
" with our Brethren.

" O Lord, thus thou taughteſt thy Servants to liven;
" and ſo they liveden while they hadden good Shepherds,
" that fedden thy Sheep, and robbed them not of their
" lifelod, as *Peter* thy good Shepherd and thy other
" Apoſtles. But Lord, he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar
" upon Earth, and Succeſſor to *Peter*, he robbeth thy
" Puple of their bodilich lifelode, for he ordeineth
" proud Shepherds to liven in eaſe by the tenth party of
" poor mens travel: and he giveth them leave to liven
" where them liketh. And gif men no wolen wil-
" fullich given them the Tythings, they wolen had them
" againſt their will by maſtery and by ourling, to maken
" them rich.

" Lord, how may any man ſegge that ſuch Shep-
" herds that loven more the wolle than the Sheep, and
" feeden not thy Sheep in body, ne in ſoul, ne ben ſuch
" ravenors and Thieves? And who may ſegge, that the
The Pope maintainer of thieves and robbers. " Mainteinor of ſuch Shepherds ne is not a Maintenor
" of Thieves and Robbers? How wole he aſſoile
" Shepherds of their robbing, without reſtitution of

" their goods, that they robben thy ſheep of againſt their
" will? Lord of all ſhepheards, bleſſed mote thou be.
" For thou lovedſt more the ſheep then their wolle. For
" thou feedeſt thy ſheep both in body and ſoul. And for
Chriſt a good Shepherd indeed " love of thy ſheep, thou took thy death to bring thy ſheep
" out of Wolves mouths. And the moſt charge that thou
" gove to *Peter* was to feed thy ſheep. And ſo he did
" truelich, and took the death for thee and for thy ſheep.
" For he came into the fold of ſheep by thee that were
" the door. And ſo I trow a few other did as he did,
" though they clepen themſelf ſucceſſors to *Peter*; for
Compariſon between the Popes Shepherds and Chriſt. " their works ſhowen what they ben. For they rob-
" ben and ſleen and deſtroyen; they robben thy ſheep
" of the tenth part of their travel, and feeden them-
" ſelfs in eaſe. They ſleen thy ſheep, for they pyenen
" them for hunger of their ſoul to the death. They
" deſtroyen the ſheep, for with might and with ſtern-
" ſhip they rulen thy ſheep; that for dred they ben
" diſperſed abroad in Mountains, and there the wild
" beaſts of the field deſtroyeth them for default of a good
" ſhepheard.

" ℂ O Lord, gif it be thy will deliver thy ſheep out of
" ſuch ſhepheards ward that retcheth not of thy ſheep, ſo
" they han their wolle to make themſelf rich. For thy
" ſheep ben in great miſchief, and foule accombred with
" their ſhepheards.

* But for, that is, but becauſe. " ℂ * But for thy ſhepheards wolden be excuſed they
" have ygetten them hired men to feed thy people, and
" theſe comen in ſheepes clothing. But dredleſs their
† Within forth, that is, inwardly " works ſhewen that † within forth they ben but Wolfes.
" For han they their hire, they ne retcheth but a little
" how ſorrilich thy ſheep ben kept. For as they ſeggen
" themſelf, they ben but hired men that han no charge
" of thy ſheep. And when they ſhulden feden thy ſheep
* Leſew, paſture. " in the plenteous * leſew of thy teaching, they ſtonden
" between them and their leſew, ſo that the ſheep ne han
" but a ſight of thy leſew, but eaten they ſhall not there-
" of. But they feden them in a ſorry ſowre leſew of leſings
" and of tales. And ſo thy ſheep fallen into grievous
" ſickneſs through this evil leſew. And gif any ſheep
" break over into thy leſew to taſten the ſweetneſs thereof,
" anone theſe hired men drive him out with hounds.
" And thus thy ſheep by theſe hired men ben ykept out
" of their kindlich leſew, and ben yfed with ſowre graſs
" and ſorry barren leſew. And yet they feden but ſeldom,
" and when they han ſorrilich fed them, thiey taken great
" hire, and gone away from thy ſheep and letten them a
" worth.

" And for dread leſt thy ſheep wolden in their ab-
" ſence go to thy ſweet leſew, they han encloſed it all
" about ſo ſtronglich and ſo high, that there may no
† A *Welſh* Leper. " ſheep comen there within, but gif it be a * waliſch
" leper of the Mountains, that may with his long Legs
" lepen over the vallys. For the hired men ben full cer-
" tain, that gif thy ſheep had once ytaſted the ſweetneſs
" of thy leſew: They ne would no more bene yfed of
" theſe hired men in their ſowre leſewes, and therefore
" theſe hired men kepen them out of that leſew. For
Wolves in Lambskins deſcribed. " haden the ſheep once ytaſten well of that leſew, they
" wolden without a leader go thider to their mete, and
" then mote theſe hired men ſechen them another labor to
" live by than keeping of ſheep. And they ben fell and
" ware ynow thereof, and therefore they feeden thy ſheep
" with ſowre meat that naught is, and hiden from thy
" ſheep the ſweetneſs of thy leſew. And ſo though theſe
" hired men gon in ſheepes clothing, in their works they
" ben Wolves, that much narm done to thy ſheep as we
" have ytold.

" ℂ O Lord, they comen as ſheep, for they ſeggen
" that they ben poor and have forſaken the world to li-
" ven perfitlich as thou taughteſt in the Goſpel. Lord
" this is ſheepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughteſt
" not a man to forſaken the travellous living in poor-
" neſs in the world, to liven in eaſe with riches by
" other mens travel, and have Lordſhip on their brethren.
" For Lord, this is more to forſaken thee and go to the
" world.

He complaineth againſt the vallant beggers the Fryers. " ℂ O Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſake
" the world to liven in poorneſs of begging by other mens
" travel that ben as feeble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne
" taughteſt not a man to live in poorneſs of begging, that
" were ſtrong enough to travel for his livelode. Ne
" Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a man to ben a beg-
" ger to begge of men more than him needeth to
" build great Caſtles and make great Feaſts to thilke that
" han no need.

" ℂ O Lord, thou ne taughteſt not men this poorneſs,
" for it is out of Charity. But thy poorneſs, that thou
" taughteſt, nouriſheth Charity. Lord, ſith *Paul* ſaith,
" That he that forſaketh the charge of thilke that bene
" * homelich with him, hath forſaken his Faith, and is
" worſe than a misbelieven man: How then now theſe
" men ſeggen that they believen in Chriſt, that han for-
" ſaken their poor feeble friends, and let them live in travel
" and in diſeaſe, that travelled full ſore for them, when
" they weren young and unmighty to helpen themſelf?
" And they wolen live in eaſe by other mens travel, ever-
" more begging withouten ſhame.

" ℂ Lord thou ne taughteſt not this manner poorneſs,
" for it is out of Charity. And all thy Lawis Charity
" and thing that nouriſheth Charity, and theſe Shepherds
" ſend about to keep thy Sheep, and to feden them other
" whiles in bareine leſewes. Lord thou ne madeſt non-
" ſuch Shepherds, ne Keepers of the Sheep that fred ſor-
" rilich thy Sheep, and for ſo little travel taken ſo great
" hire, and ſithen all the year afterward, do what them
" liketh, and let thy Sheep periſh for default of keeping.

" But thy Shepherds abiden ſtill with their Sheep, and
" feeden them in thy plenteous leſew of thy teaching, and
" gone before thy Sheep, and teachen them the way into
" plenteous and ſweet leſew, and keepen thy Flock from
" ravening of the wild Beaſts of the field.

" O Lord deliver the Sheep out of the ward of theſe
" Shepherds, and theſe hired men, that ſtonden more to
" keep their riches that they robbeth of thy Sheep, than
" they ſtonden in keeping of thy Sheep.

" O Lord when thou come to *Jeruſalem*, ſometime
" thou drove out of the Temple Sellers of Beaſts and of
" other Chaffare, and ſaidſt, Mine Houſe ſhould ben
" cleped an Houſe of Prayers, but they maden a Den of
" Thieves of it. O Lord thou art the Temple in whom
" we ſhould praien thy Father of Heaven. And *Salo-*
" *mons* Temple, that was ybelded at *Jeruſalem*, was
" Figure of this Temple. But Lord, he that clepeth
" himſelf thy Vicar upon Earth, and ſaith that he occupi-
" eth thy place here on Earth, is become a Chapman in
" thy Temple, and hath his Chapmen walking in divers
" Countries to ſellen his Chaffare, and to maken him rich.
" And he ſaith, Thou gave him ſo great a Power above
" all other men, That whatever he bindeth other un-
" bindeth in Earth, thou bindeth other unbindeſt the
" ſame in Heaven. And ſo of great Power he ſelleth
" other men forgiveneſs of their ſin. And for much
" money he will aſſoilen a man ſo clean of his ſin, that
" he * behoteth men of the bliſs of Heaven withouten
" any pain after that they be dead, that given him much
" money.

Biſhopricks and Chirches, and ſuch other Chaffares he
" ſelleth alſo for money, and maketh himſelf rich. And
" thus he beguiled the puple.

O Lord Jeſus here is much untruth, and miſchief, and
" matter of ſorrow. Lord thou ſaideſt ſometime, that
" thou wouldeſt be with thy Servants unto the end of the
" world. And thou ſaideſt alſo, there as tweine or three
" ben ygraded togedder in thy name, that thou art in the
" midale of them. A Lord, then it was no need to thee
" to maken Liefetenant, ſith thou wolte be evermore
" amongſt thy Servants.

" Lord, thou axedſt of thy Diſciples, who they trow-
" ed that thou were. And *Peter* anſwered and ſaid,
" That thou art Chriſt Gods Son. And thou ſaidſt to
" *Peter*, Thou art yblefſed *Simon Barjona*, for fleſh and
" blood ne ſhowed not this to thee, but my Father
" that is in Heaven. And I ſay to thee, That thou art
" *Peter*, and upon this Stone ych would bilde my
" Church, and the Gates of Hell he ſhullen not availen
" agens it.

" And to thee ych wole geve the Keys of Heaven, and
" what ever thou bindeſt upon Earth ſhall be bound in
" Heaven, and what ever thou unbindeſt on Earth, ſhall
" be unbounden in Heaven. This Power alſo was granten
" unto the other Diſciples, as well as to *Peter*, as the

" Gospel

KING Edw. 3.

* Home. * Lich, that is, as his Hea-thold.

Wilful Poverty abhorred.

The poverty of good Shepherds.

The Pope a Chapman in Gods Temple.

* Behoteth, that is, promiſeth.

Note good Reader, if Chriſt be where two or three be gathered in his Name, what need is there of a Lieutenant?

The place of giving to Peter the Keys, expounded.

KING *Edw.3*

"Goſpel openlich telleth. In this place men ſeggen that "thou granted to *Peters* Succeſſors the ſelve Power that "thou gave to *Peter*. And therefore the Biſhop of *Rome*, "that ſaith he is *Peters* Succeſſors, taketh this Power to "him to binden and unbinden in Earth what him "liketh. But Lord, ych have much wonder how he "may for ſhame clepen himſelf *Peters* Succeſſor: for *Peter* "knowledged that thou were Chriſt and God, and kept "the Heſts of thy Law: but theſe han forſaken the Heſts "of thy Law, and hath ymaken a Law contrary to thine "Heſts of thy Law. And ſo he maketh himſelf a falſe "Chriſt, and a falſe god in Earth. And I trow thou gave "him no Power to undo thy Law. And ſo in taking "this Power upon him, maketh him a falſe Chriſt and "*Antichriſt*.

The Pope proved a falſe Anti-chriſt in Earth.

"For who may be more agens Chriſt, than he that "in his words maketh himſelf Chriſts Vicar in Earth; "and in his werkes undoth the Ordinance of Chriſt, and "maketh, men believen that it is needful to the heal of "mens Souls, to believen that he is Chriſts Vicar in Earth? "for ever he bindeth in Earth, is ybounden "in Heaven, and under this colour he undoth Chriſts "Law, and maketh men always to keepen his Law and "Heſts.

The Popes abomination deſcribed.

"And thus may yſeen that he is againſt Chriſt, "and therefore he is *Antichriſt* that maketh men wor-"thippen him as a god on Earth, as the proud King "*Nabugodonoſor* did ſometime, that was King of *Ba-"bylon*. And therefore we lewde men that knowen "not God but thee Jeſus Chriſt, believen in thee that "art our God, and our King, and our Chriſt, and thy "Laws; and forſaken *Antichriſt*, and *Nabugodonoſor* that "is a falſe god, and a falſe Chriſt, and his Laws hen con-"trary to thy preaching.

"And Lord ſtrength thou us againſt our enemies. For "they ben about to maken us forſaken thee and thy Law, "other elle to putten us to death.

"O Lord, onlich in thee is our truſt to help us in this "miſchief, for thy great goodneſs that is withouten "end.

"Lord thou ne taughteſt not thy Diſciples to aſſoilen "men of their ſin, and ſetten them a Penance for their "ſin, in Faſting, ne in Praying, ne other Almous Deed; "ne thy ſelf, ne thy Diſciples, uſeden no ſuch Power "here on Earth. For Lord, thou forgive men her ſins, "and bede him ſin no more. And thy Diſciples * ful-"leden men in thy Name, in forgiveneſs of her "ſins. Nor they took no ſuch Power upon them as "our Prieſts dare now. And Lord, thou ne aſſoiledſt no "man both of his ſin and of his pain, that was due for "his ſin, ne thou grantedſt no man ſuch power here on "Earth.

* Fulleden, that is, baptized.

Purgatory.

"And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a Purga-"tory, and any Earthlich man had power to deliver ſin-"ful men from the peines of Purgatory, he ſhould, "and he were in Charity, ſaven everich man that "were in way of Salvation from thilke peines, ſith they "make them greater than any bodilich peines of this "World. Alſo gif the Biſhop of *Rome* had ſuch a "Power, he himſelf ſhuld never comen in Purgatory, "one in Hell. And ſith we ſee well that he ne hath no "Power to keepen himſelf, ne other men nother out of "theſe bodilich peines of the World, and he may go to "Hell for his ſin as another man may: I ne believe not, "that he hath ſo great Power to aſſoylen men of "their ſin as he taketh upon him aboven all other "men. And I trow that in this he higheth himſelf above "God.

Selling of Biſhopricks and Benefices.

"As touching the ſelling of Biſhopricks, and Parſo-"nages, I trow it be a point of Falſehed. For againſt "Gods Ordinance he robbeth poor men of a portion "of their ſuſtenance, and ſelleth it, other giveth it, to find "proud men in idleneſs that don the lewd puple little "profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben "thy commandments of truth, of meekneſs, and of poor-"neſs undone by him, that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar here "upon Earth.

"A Lord, thou gave us a Commandment of chaſtice, "that is, a forſaking of fleſhlich luſt. For thou broughteſt "us to a living of Soul, that is, ygoverned by the word. "For Lord, thou ordeineditſt women more frele than "man to ben ygoverned by mans rule, and his help, to "pleaſe thee and keep thine Heſts. Ne thou ne ordeineditſt "that a man ſhould deſire the company of a woman, and "maken her his wife, to liven with her in his luſtis, as "a Swine doth or a Horſe. And his wife ne like him "not to his luſtes, Lord ne gave not a man leave to "departen him from his wife, and taken him ano-"ther.

Marriage.

"But Lord, thy Marriage is a common accord be-"tween man and woman, to liven together to their "lives end, and in thy Service either the better for others "help, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben "joyned by thee, and thilke that God joyneth, may "no man depart. But Lord, thou ſaieſt, That gif a "man ſee a woman to coveten her, then he doth with "the woman lechery in his heart. And ſo Lord, gif a "man deſire his wife in covetiſe of ſuch luſts, and not to "fly from Whoredome, his Weddins is lechery, ne thou "ne joyneſt them not together. Thus was *Raquels* "Daughter ywedded to ſeven Husbands that the Devil "inſtrangled. But *Toby* took her to live with her in "cleanneſs, and bringing up of her Children in thy "Worſhip, and on him the Devil ne had no power. For "the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through "God.

A Leſſon how to marry.

"A Lord, the people is far ygo from this manner "of Wedding. For now men wedden their wives for "Fairneſs, other for Riches, or ſome ſuch other fleſh-"lich luſts. And Lord, ſo it preveth by them for the "moſt part. For a man ſhall not find two wedded in "a Land, where the Husband loves the Wife, and the "Wife is buxum to the man, as they ſhoulden after the "law of Marriage. But other the man loves not his "wife, or the wife if not buxum to her man. And thus "Lord is the rule of prefe, that never faileth no preve "whether it be done by thee or no. And Lord, all this "miſchief is common among thy people, for that they "know not thy Word, but their Shepherds and hired "men fedden them with their * ſwevens and leaſings. "And Lord, where they ſhoulden gon before us in "the field, they ſeggen their Order is too holy for thy "Marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himſelf thy Vi-"car upon Earth will not ſuffren Prieſts to taken them "wives, for that is againſt his Law: But Lord, he will "diſpenſen with them to kepen horen for a certain ſum "of money. And Lord, all Whoredom is forfended in "thy Law. And Lord, thou never forfendedſt Prieſts "their wives, ner thy Apoſtles neither. And well I "wote in our Land, Prieſts hadden wives until *An-"ſelmus* days in the year of our Lord God, 1129. as "*Huntingdone* writes. And Lord, this makes people for "the moſt part believen, that Lechery is no ſin. There-"fore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt ſend "us Shepherds of thine own, that wolen feeden thy "Flock in thy leſew, and gon before themſelf, and ſo "written thy Law in our hearts, that from the leaſt to "the moſt all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, "geve our King and his Lords heart to defenden thy "true Shepherds and thy Sheep from out of the Wolves "mouths, and Grace to know thee that art the true "Chriſt, the Son of thy heavenly Father, from the "*Antichriſt*; that is, the Son of Pride. And Lord, "geve us thy poor Sheep patience and ſtrength to "ſuffer for thy Law, the cruelneſs of the miſchievous "Wolves. And Lord, as thou haſt promiſed, ſhorten theſe "days. Lord we axen this now, for more need was there "never.

* Swevens, that is, dreams.

Prieſts had wives till the time of *Anſelmus*.

I doubt not, gentle Reader, but in reading this godly Treatiſe above prefixed, the matter is manifeſt and plain of it ſelf without any further Explication, what is to be thought and judged of this Vicar of Chriſt, and Succeſſor of *Peter*, whom we call the Biſhop of *Rome*: whoſe life here thou ſeeſt not only to be diſordered in all Points, ſwarving from the ſteps and example of Chriſt the Prince and Biſhop of our Souls, but alſo whoſe Laws and Doctrines are ſo repugnant and contrary to the Precepts and Rule of the Goſpel, that almoſt there is no convenience between them: as in the peruſing of this complaining Prayer, thou maiſt notoriouſly underſtand. Wherefore having no need to ſtand in any further expreſſing

expreſſing of this matter, but leaving it to thine own conſideration and diſcretion, I will ſpeed my ſelf (Chriſt willing) to proceed toward the time of *John Wickliffe* and his Fellows, taking by order of years as I go, ſuch things by the way, as both happened before the ſaid time of *Wickliffe*, and alſo may the better prepare the mind of the Reader, to the entring of that ſtory. Where firſt I think it not inconvenient to infer a Prophetical Parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the Author morally applieth unto the Biſhop of *Rome*. To what Author this Prophecy or Moral is to be aſcribed, I have not certainly to affirm. Some ſay, that *Rupeſciſſanus* (of whom mention is made before) was the Author thereof, and alledge it out of *Froyſard*; but in *Froyſard* as yet I have not found it. In the mean ſeaſon, as I have found it in *Latin* expreſſed, becauſe it painteth out the Pope ſo rightly in his feathers and colours; as I thought the thing was not to be omitted, ſo I took this preſent place, as moſt fit (although peradventure miſſing the order of years a little) to inſert the ſame. The effect of which Parable followeth here underwritten.

In the time of Pope *Innocent* the Sixth above ſpecified, this *Joannes de Rupeſciſſa*, a Fryer, among other his Propheſies marvelouſly foreſpake (as alledgeth *Froyſard*, who both heard and ſaw him) of the taking of *John* the *French* King Priſoner, and brought forth many other notable Collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in the Church to come. And at what time the Pope kept him at *Avinion* in priſon (where *Froyſard* is ſaid to ſee him, and to ſpeak with him) the ſaid *Froyſard* heard in the Popes Court this example and parable recited by the foreſaid Fryer *Rupeſciſſanus*, to the two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinal *Hoſtienſis*, and Cardinal *Auxercenſis*, which followeth theſe words:

A parable propheſying the deſtruction of the Pope.

*When on a certain time a Bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other Birds bearing thereof, came to viſit her: and for that they ſaw her to be a marvelous fair and beautiful Bird, they counſelled together how they might beſt do her good, ſith by no means without feathers ſhe might either fly, or live commodiouſly. They all wiſhed her to live for her excellent form and beauties ſake, inſomuch that among them all there was not one, that would not grant ſome part of her own feathers to deck this Bird withall: yea, and the more trim they ſaw her to be, the more feathers ſtill they gave unto her, ſo that by this means ſhe was paſſing well penned and feathered, and began to fly. The other Birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to fly abroad, were marvelouſly delighted therewith. In the end this Bird ſeeing her ſelf ſo gorgeouſly feathered, and of all the reſt to be had in honour, began to wax proud and haughty. Inſomuch that ſhe had no regard at all unto them, by whom ſhe was advanced: yea, ſhe punged them with her beak, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the Birds ſitting in Council again, called the matter in queſtion, demanding one of another what was beſt to be done touching this unkind Bird, whom they lovingly with their own feathers had decked and adorned: affirming that they gave not their feathers, to the intend that ſhe, thereby puft up with pride, ſhould contemptuouſly deſpiſe them all. The* Peacock *therefore anſwereth firſt*, Truly, *ſaith he*, for that ſhe is bravely ſet forth with my painted feathers, I will again take them from her. *Then ſaith the* Faulcon, And I alſo will have mine again. *This ſentence at length took place among them all, ſo that every one plucked from her thoſe feathers which before they had given, challenging to them their own again. Now this proud Bird, ſeeing her ſelf thus to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her haughty ſtomach, and humbly to ſubmit her ſelf openly, confeſſing and acknowledging, that of her ſelf ſhe had nothing; but that her feathers, her honour and other Ornaments was their gift: ſhe came into the world all naked and bare, they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they receive them again. Wherefore in moſt humble wiſe ſhe deſireth pardon, promiſing to amend all that is paſt, neither would ſhe at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride ſhe might leeſe her feathers again. The gentle Birds, that before had given their feathers, ſeeing her ſo humble and lowly, being moved with pity, reſtored again the feathers which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition,* We will gladly, *ſay they*, behold thy flying among us, ſo long as thou wilt uſe thine Office with humbleneſs of mind, which is the chiefeſt comelineſs of all the reſt: But this have thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extol thy ſelf in pride, we will ſtraight-ways deprive thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee into thy former ſtate wherein we found thee. *Even ſo, Oh you Cardinals (ſaith* Joannes Rupiſciſſanus*) ſhall it happen unto you: for the Emperors of the* Romans *and* Almains, *and other Chriſtian Kings, Potentates, and Princes of the Earth, have beſtowed upon you Goods, Lands and Riches, that ſhould ſerve God, but you have poured it out, and conſumed it upon Pride, all kind of Wickedneſs, Riot and Wantonneſs.*

The Popes compared to a Bird feathered with other Birds feathers.

The firſt riſing of the Pope.

The proud Proſperity of the Pope.

The decay of the Pope deſcribed.

{KING Edw. 3}

## *Armachanus.*

The life and ſtory of *Armachanus*, Archbiſhop and Primate of Ireland.

IN the Catalogue of theſe learned and zealous Founders of Chriſt againſt *Antichriſt* above rehearſed, [illegible] the Lord about this time began to raiſe up for the Reformation of his Church, being then far out of frame; I cannot forget nor omit ſomething to write of the reverend Prelate, and famous Clerk, *Richard Armachanus*, Primate and Archbiſhop of *Ireland*: a man for his Life and Learning ſo memorable, as the condition of thoſe days then ſerved; that the ſame days then as they had but few good, ſo had they none almoſt his better. His name was *Richard Fizraf*, made Primate and Archbiſhop, as is ſaid of *Ireland*. Firſt brought up in the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the ſtudy of all liberal Knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit under *John Bakenthorpe* his Tutor and Inſtructor. In this time the begging-Fryers began greatly to multiply and ſpread, unto whom this *Bakenthorpe* was ever a great enemy: whoſe ſteps the Scholars alſo following, began to do the like. Such was the capacity and dexterity of this *Fizraf*, that he, being commended to King *Edward* the Third, was promoted by him, firſt, to be Archdeacon of *Lichfield*, then to be the Commiſſary of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; at length to be Archbiſhop of *Armach* in *Ireland*. He being Archbiſhop, upon a time had a Cauſe to come up to *London*: at what time here in the ſaid City of *London* was contention between the Fryers and the Clergy about preaching and hearing Confeſſions, &c. Whereupon, this *Armachanus*, being requeſted to preach, made ſeven or eight Sermons; Wherein he propounded nine Concluſions againſt the Fryers, for the which he was cited up by the Fryers before this Pope *Innocent* the Sixth to appear; and ſo he did: who before the face of the Pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing, the ſame Concluſions, and therein ſtood conſtantly unto the death, as the words of *John Wickliffe* in this *Trialogo* do well teſtifie in this wiſe, *Ab* Anglorum *Epiſcopis conductus* Armachanus *novem in Avione Concluſiones coram* Innocentio *6. & ſuorum Cardinalium cœtu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicavit, verboque ac ſcriptis ad mortem uſque defendit.* The like alſo teſtifieth of him *Waldenus in faſciculo zizaniorum.* Alſo *Volateranus* reporteth the ſame. *Gulielmus Botonerus* teſtifying of him in like manner, ſaith, That *Armachanus* firſt reproved begging-Fryers for hearing the confeſſions of profeſſed Nuns, without licence of their Superiors, and alſo of married women without knowledge of their Husbands. What dangers and troubles he ſuſtained by his Perſecutors, and how miraculouſly the Lord delivered him from their hands; inſomuch, that they meeting him in the open ſtreets, and in clear day-light, yet had no power to ſee him, nor to apprehend him. In what peril of Thieves and Searchers he was, and yet the Lord delivered him; yea, and cauſed his money, being taken from him, to be reſtored again to him by portions in time of his neceſſity and famine: And in what dangers he was of the Kings Officers, which coming with the Kings Letters, laid all the Havens for him; and how the Lord Jeſus delivered him, ſhewing him by what ways, and how to eſcape them, to the number of ſixteen, and yet how the Lord gave him to triumph over all his enemies: how the Lord alſo taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of *Ariſtotles* ſubtilty, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures of God. All this, with much more, he himſelf expreſſeth in a certain prayer or confeſſion made to Chriſt

The commendation of *Armachanus*.

*Armachanus* cited by the Fryers to appear before the Pope.

The troubles and perſecutions of *Armachanus*.

*Armachanus* perſecuted manifold ways by the Lord.

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Christ Jesus our Lord, in which he describeth almost the whole history of his own life, Which prayer I have to shew in old written-hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as time serveth, to publish the same. The beginning of the prayer in *Latin* is this:

The prayer of *Armachanus.*

*Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Jesu piissime, Jesu potentissime, Jesu dulcissime; qui dixisti, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. Via sine devio; veritas sine nubilo; & vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti; Tute veritatem me docuisti; Et tute vitam mihi promisisti. Via eras mihi in exilio; Veritas eras in consilio; Et vita eris mihi in præmio.* With the rest that followeth in the foresaid prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited up by the Fryers to the Pope, you have partly heard. Now what were his Reasons and Arguments wherewith he defended his Cause in the Popes presence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof, first, I must put the Reader in remembrance of the Controversie mentioned before in the story of *Gulielmus de sancto Amore*, *pag.* 357. Also in the story of the University of Oxford contending against the Fryers, *pag.* 446. For so long did this Controverlie continue in the Church, from the year, 1240. when the *Oxford*-men began first to stand against the Fryers, to the time of this *Armachanus*; that is, to the year, 1360. and after this time yet more increased. So it pleased the secret Providence of God (for what cause he best knoweth) to suffer his Church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controversies of no great importance; either to keep the vanity of mens wits thus occupied from idleness; or else to prepare their minds by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more grave and weighty. Like as now in these our Queens days we see what Tragedies be raised up in *England* about forms and fashions of Ministers wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same. Even so at this time happened the like stir about the Liberties and Priviledges of the Fryers, which not a little troubled and occupied all the Churches and Divines almost thorow *Christendom*. The which controverlie, to the intent it may better be understood (all the circumstances thereof being explained) we will first begin from the original and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of years, upon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied in gathering more matter, and brast out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter; first, it is to be understood, that in the year of our Lord, 1215. under Pope *Innocent* the Third, was called a General-Council at *Laterane*, mentioned before, *pag.* 288. in the days of King *John*. In the which Council among many other things, was constituted a certain Law or Canon, beginning *Omnis utriusque sexus, &c.* the tenor of which Canon in *English* is thus:

*Can. omnis utriusque sexus, Sext. de Pœnit.*

*Be it decreed, That every faithful Christian, both man and woman coming to the years of discretion, shall confess himself alone of all his sins to the Priest of his own proper Parish, once in the year at least: and that he shall endeavour by his own self to fulfil the pennance, whensoever he receiveth the Sacrament of Eucharist, at least at the time of* Easter. *Unless by the assent of his Minister, upon some reasonable cause, he abstain for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lack the communion of the Church being alive, and Christian-burial when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, That this wholsome Constitution shall be published accustomably in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or blindness make to himself a Cloke of Excuse. And if any shall confess himself to any other Priest than of his own Parish upon any just cause, let him ask and obtain first licence of his own Priest: otherwise, the Priest shall have no power to bind him or to loose him, &c.*

Note here, be calleth it not the Sacrament of the Altar.

In the time of this *Innocentius*, and of this *Lateran* Council, was *Dominick*, the first Author and Founder of the preaching-Fryers; who laboured to the said Pope *Innocent* for the confirmation of his Order, but did not obtain in his life time.

The next year after this *Lateran* Council died Pope *Innocent*, *An.* 1216. after whom came *Honorius* the Third. Who in the first year of his Popedom confirmed the Order of the Fryer *Dominick*, and gave to him and his Fryers Authority to preach, and to hear confessions, with divers other priviledges more. And under this Pope, which governed ten years, lived *Dominick* five years after the confirmation of his Order, and died, *Anno* 1221. About which year the Order of the *Franciscan-Fryers* began also to breed, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

*Fryer-Dominick* in the time of Pope *Innocent* the Third, obtained not the confirmation of his Order.

The Order of *Fryer-Dominick* first confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the Third.

The Order of *Franciscans* confirmed shortly after the *Dominicks*.

After this *Honorius*, next followed Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, about the year of our Lord, 1228. who for the promoting of the foresaid Order of *Dominicks*, gave out this Bull, in tenour as followeth:

The Bull of Pope *Gregory* in the behalf of the *Dominick-Fryers*.

Gregorius *Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his reverend Brethren, Archbishops, Bishops, and to his welbeloved Children, Abbots Priors, and to all Prelates of Churches, to whomsoever these Presents shall come, greeting, and Apostolical blessing. Because* * *Iniquity hath abounded, and the Charity of many hath waxt cold; Behold, the Lord hath raised up the Order of our welbeloved Children the preaching-Fryers, who not seeing things of their own, but pertaining to Jesus Christ, to the extirping aswell of Heresies, as to the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences, have dedicated themselves to the preaching of the* † *Word of God. We therefore minding to advance their sacred purpose, &c. And followeth, commanding you to see the said persons, gently to be received among you; and that your Flocks committed to your Charge do receive devoutly the seed of Gods Word out of their mouth, and do confess their sins unto them, all such as list, whom we have authorised to the same, to hear Confessions, and to enjoyn Penance, &c.* Dat. Perusii. An. Pont. nostri 8.

* Iniquity hath abounded at Rome.

† Nay, to the preaching rather of mens traditions against the Word of God.

The Fryers authorised to hear confessions, and to enjoyn penance.

This Pope *Gregory* died about the year of our Lord, 1241. after whom came *Celestinus* the Fourth, and sate but 18 days: then came *Innocentius* the Fourth, and sate 11 years and six months. Who, although he began first to favour the Fryers; yet afterward being altered by certain Divines of Universities, Prelates of Churches, and Curates, he debarred them of their Liberties and Priviledges, and gave out again Precepts and Excommunications, as well against Fryers, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was dispatched and made away.

Pope *Innocent* the Fourth against the Fryers.

*Innocentius* being thus removed out of the way, about the year of our Lord, 1353. then succeeded Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, a great Maintainer of the Fryers, and sate seven years. He revoked and repealed the Acts and Writings of Pope *Innocent* his Predecessor, given forth against the Fryers; wherewith the Divines and Students of *Paris* being not well contented, stirred up four principal Doctors: The first and chief Captain was *Guliel. de Sancto Amore*, mentioned before, *pag.* 357. against whom wrote *Albertus Magnus*, and *Tho. Aquine*. And at last he was condemned by this foresaid Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, in the *Extrav. Non sine multa*: The second was *Simon Tornalensis*: The third *Godfridus de fontibus*: The fourth *Henricus de Gandavo*. These four with other their Complices, compiled a certain Book against the begging Order of Fryers, both *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, intituled, *De periculis Ecclesiæ*, containing fourteen Chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the last, with thirty nine Articles against the Fryers, we have already translated and expressed, *pag.* 362. Besides these thirty nine Articles, be other seven Articles moreover to the said Book annexed, under the name of the Students of *Paris* against the Fryers, proving why the said Fryers ought not to be admitted into their Society. Which seven Articles, because they are but short, I thought here better to place, than to omit them.

Pope *Alexander* the Fourth undoeth the acts of Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, his Predecessor.

*Extra. non sine multa. Gul. de sancto Amore. Simon Tornalensis, Godfridus de fontibus, Hen. de Gandavo*, four Champions against the Fryers.

## *Certain Articles given out by the Students of* Paris, *against the Fryers, why they should not be admitted to their Society.*

Articles of the Students of *Paris* against the Fryers.

First we say, they are not to be admitted to the Society of our School, but upon will and licence. For our Company or Fellowship ought not to be coactive, but voluntary, and free.

Secondly,

Secondly, We ſay they are not be admitted, forſomuch as we oft proved their Community manifold ways to be hurtful and incommodious.

Thirdly, Seeing they be of a diverſe Profeſſion from us (for they are called Regular, and not Scholaſtical) we therefore ought not to be joyned and aſſociate together in one Scholaſtical Office; foraſmuch as the Council of *Spain* doth ſay, *Thou ſhalt not plough with an Ox, and with an Aſs together.* Which is to ſay, Men of divers profeſſions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or ſtanding, for their ſtudies and conditions be diſagreeing and diſſevered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one Communion.

*Concilium Hiſpan.*

Fourthly, We affirm by the Apoſtle that they are not to be admitted, becauſe they work diſſentions and offences; for ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom. ult. We deſire you Brethren, that ye obſerve and take heed of ſuch as make diſſentions and offendicles about the Doctrine which you have learned by the Apoſtles, and avoid them: for ſuch ſerve not the Lord, but their own belly*, Gloſſ. *Some they flatter, ſome they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies.* That through their ſweet and pleaſant words, and by their Benedictions, they may deceive the hearts of the ſimple, *Gloſſ. That is, with their fine ſugered and trim couched words they ſet forth their own Traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the ſimple Innocents.*

The Fryers make diſſentions.

Fifthly, We ſay they are not to be admitted, for that we fear leſt they be in the number of them, which go about and devour mens houſes: for they thruſt in themſelves into every mans houſe, ſearching and ſacking the conſcience and ſtates of all perſons: and whom they find eaſie to be ſeduced, and women, ſuch they do circumvent, and lead them away from the counſels of their Prelates, binding them either in act or oath: from ſuch we are warned by the Apoſtle to avoid.

Fryers devoure mens houſes *Penetrantes domos.*

Sixthly, We ſay they are to be avoided, becauſe we fear they are falſe Prophets. Which being neither Biſhops, nor Pariſh-Prieſts, nor yet their Vicars, nor ſent by them, yet they preach (not ſent) againſt the mind of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 10. ſaying, *How ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* for elſe there appeareth in them no ſuch great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach uncalled. Seeing therefore that ſuch are ſo dangerous to the Church, they ought to be avoided.

Fryers preach uncalled.

Seventhly, We ſay they are not to be admitted, becauſe they be a people ſo curious in ſearching and inquiring of other mens doings and ſpiritual demeanor. And they yet be neither Apoſtles, nor yet Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, as Biſhops, nor of the number of the ſeventy two Diſciples of the Lord; nor their Succeſſors, that is, Pariſh-Prieſts, nor their Helpers, nor yet Vicars. Wherefore, ſeeing they live ſo in no Order, by the Sentence of the Apoſtle we are commanded to avoid them, 2 *Theſſ. ult.* where he ſaith, *We admoniſh and denounce unto you* (O *Brethren*) *in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; that is, as the *Gloſs* ſaith, *(We Command you by the Authority of Chriſt) that you withdraw your ſelves from every Brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition which you have received of us, &c.* Look upon the common gloſs of this place, and you ſhall find, that ſuch are to be avoided till time they amend from ſo doing, &c.

Fryers have no order of any calling in the Church.

Beſides theſe Articles above rehearſed, certain Propoſitions or Concluſions were alſo propounded in the Schools of *Paris* the ſame time, ſolemnly to be diſputed and defended againſt the Fryers: which, in a brief ſum of words to collect them, were theſe:

Certain concluſions in the Univerſity of *Paris* to be diſputed of againſt the Fryers.

Firſt, That the begging-Fryers were not in the ſtate of Salvation.

Secondly, That they were bound to labour with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdly, That they ought not to exerciſe the Office of Preaching, or to hear the Confeſſions of them that will come unto them, although being licenſed thereunto by the Biſhop of *Rome*, or by the Dioceſan: forſomuch as the ſame is prejudicial to the Miniſters and Prieſts of the Pariſhes.

All theſe aforeſaid Articles and Concluſions, with the Book ſet forth by theſe *Paris*-men, this Pope *Alexander* the Fourth condemned to be aboliſhed and burned, writing his Precepts to the *French* King, and alſo the Univerſity of *Paris*, in the favour of the Fryers; willing and commanding the ſaid Fryers to be reſtored to all their Priviledges and Liberties in as ample manner, as in Pope *Gregories* time before.

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Pope *Alexander* the Fourth a great favourer of the Fryers.

Not long after Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, followed *Clement* the Fourth, *Anno* 1263. and ſate three years: who alſo gave the priviledge to the Fryers, beginning, *Quidam temere, &c.* In which priviledge he condemneth them that ſay, that no man without licence of his Curate or Miniſter, ought to confeſs him to the Fryers, or that a Subject ought to ask licence of their Miniſters ſo to do, which was againſt the Canon *Omnis utriuſque ſexus, &c.* made by Pope *Innocent* the Third, before recited.

Another Priviledge given to the Fryers by Pope *Clement* the 4th. *Ex Clement. Quidam temere.*

After this *Clement* again came Pope *Martin* the Fourth, *Anno* 1281. who renewed again the Canon, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, in the behalf of the Curates againſt the Fryers.

Pope *Martin* the fourth holdeth with Curates againſt the Fryers.

This Pope *Boniface* the Eighth began to ſit *Anno* [illegible] and ſate eight years and nine months. Who taking part with the Fryers gave to them another Priviledge, beginning, *Supra Cathedram, &c.* In the which priviledge he licenſed the Fryers, that without licence of Vicars of Churches they ſhall firſt preſent themſelves to the Prelates to be admitted; by whom if they be refuſed the ſecond time, then they, upon ſpecial authority of this Pope, ſhall be priviledged, without either Biſhop or Curate, to preach, to bury, and to hear confeſſions, whoſoever will come to them revoking all that was decreed by his Predeceſſors before to the contrary.

Pope *Boniface* holdeth with the Fryers again *Clement. confiſ. Bonif. Super Cathedram.*

By this Pope *Boniface*, a certain *Dominick-Fryer* was made Cardinal, named *Nicolaus de Tervisio*, and after the death of *Boniface* he was alſo made Pope, *Anno* 1303. ſurnamed Pope *Benedictus* 11. who, ſeeing the conſtitution of *Boniface* his Predeceſſor to gender diſſention between the Prieſts and Fryers, made another conſtitution, beginning, *Inter cunctas, &c.* revoking the conſtitution of *Boniface* his Predeceſſor. Upon which conſtitution of Pope *Benedict*, *Joannes Monachus* making a gloſs, revoked alſo his other made upon the conſtitution of Pope *Boniface* before.

*Ex Clement. Inter cunctas Joan. Monach* revoketh his Gloſs.

Again, after this *Benedictus* the Eleventh, followed Pope *Clement* the Fifth, *Anno* 1305. and ſate nine years. Who, in his General-Council holden at *Vienna*, revoked the conſtitution of *Benedictus* his Predeceſſor, and renewed again the former Decree of *Boniface*, by a new conſtitution of his, beginning *Dudum a Bonifacio* 8. *&c.* Which conſtitution moreover was confirmed afterward by Pope *John* the 22*th*, *Anno* 1316. Which Pope alſo cauſed *Joannes de Poliaco* to recant.

Pope *Clement* the Fifth holdeth with the Fryers, and repealeth the Conſtitution of *Benedictus*. *Ex Clement. cap. Dudum.*

Upon this variable diverſity of the Popes (one diſſenting and repugning from another) roſe among the Divines and School-men in Univerſities great matter of contention, as well in the Univerſity of *Paris*, as the Univerſity of *Oxford* about the begging-Fryers, ſome holding one way, ſome another way. But eſpecially five principal Opinions be noted of learned men, who, then diſputing againſt the Fryers, were condemned for Hereticks, and their Aſſertions reproved.

The firſt was the Opinion of them which defended, that the Fryers might not by the Licence of the Biſhop of *Rome* and of the Prelates preach in Pariſhes, and hear confeſſions. And of this opinion was *Guliel. de ſancto Amore*, with his Fellows, who, as it is ſaid, were condemned.

Five diverſe opinions of learned men in this age holding againſt the Fryers.

The ſecond Opinion was this, that Fryers, although not by their own authority, yet by the priviledge of the Pope, and of the Biſhop, might preach and hear confeſſions in Pariſhes, but yet not without licence of the Pariſh-Prieſts. Of this opinion was *Bernardus*, gloſſing upon the Canon, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, afore mentioned.

The ſecond opinion. *Bernardus ſuper cap. Omnis utriuſque.*

The third Opinion was, that Fryers might preach and hear confeſſions without licence of the Pariſh-Prieſts; but yet the ſaid Pariſhioners notwithſtanding were bound, by the Canon *Omnis utriuſque ſexus* to repeat the ſame ſins again, if they had no other, to their own proper Curate; and of this opinion were many, as *Godf.*

The third opinion.

*de*

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*Joan. de Poliaco.*

*de fontibus*, *Henr. de Gandavo*, *Joannes Monachus cardi*: *Joannes de Poliaco*, which *Joannes de Poliaco* Pope *John* the 22*th* cauſed openly in *Paris* to recant and retract.

*Ex libro fratris Egelberti.*

This *Joannes de Poliaco* Doctor of Divinity in *Paris*, being complained of by the Fryers for certain Articles or Aſſertions, was ſent for to the Pope: where time and place being to him aſſigned, he, in the audience of the Pope and of frierly Cardinals and other Doctors, was ſtraitly examined of his Articles. To make the ſtory ſhort, he, at length ſubmitting himſelf to the authority of the terrible See of *Rome*, was cauſed to recant his Aſſertions openly at *Paris*: his Aſſertions which he did hold were theſe.

### *The three Aſſertions of* Joannes de Poliaco, *which he was cauſed by the Pope to recant at* Paris.

*John de Poliaco cauſed to recant by Pope John 22.*

Whereof the firſt was, they which were confeſſed to Fryers, although having a general Licence to hear Confeſſions, were bound to confeſs again their ſins to their own Pariſh-Prieſt, by the Conſtitution *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, *&c.*

The ſecond was, that the ſaid Conſtitution *Omnis utriuſque ſexus* ſtanding in his force, the Pope could not make, but Pariſhioners were bound once a year to confeſs their ſins to their Prieſt. For the doing otherwiſe importeth a contradiction in it ſelf.

*His three Aſſertions.*

The three Aſſertions of John de Poliaco, againſt the Fryers.

The third was, that the Pope could not give general Licence to hear Confeſſions ſo, but that the Pariſhioner ſo confeſſed was bound to reiterate the ſame confeſſion made, unto his own Curate. Which he proved by theſe places of the Canon Law, 25. *queſt.* 1. *Quæ ad perpetuam.* Thoſe things which be generally ordained for publick utility, ought not to be altered by any change, &c. *Item*, the Decrees of the ſacred Canons, none ought to keep more than the Biſhop Apoſtolical, &c. *Ibidem. Item*, to alter or to ordain any thing againſt the Decrees of the Fathers, is not in the authority or power, no not of the Apoſtolical See, *Ibidem.*

25. q. 1. *Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra ſtatuta patrum condere vel omittere aliquid non hujus quidem ſedis poteſt auctoritas.*

The fourth Opinion.

The fourth Opinion was, that the Fryers by the Licence of the Pope and of the Biſhops might lawfully hear Confeſſions, and the people might be of them confeſſed and abſolved. But yet notwithſtanding, it was reaſon, convenient, honeſt, and profitable, that once in the year they ſhould be confeſſed to their Curates (although being confeſſed before to the Fryers) becauſe of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, eſpecially at *Eaſter*. Of which opinion was *Gulielmus de monte Landuno*. *Henricus de Gaudano* alſo held it not only to be convenient, but alſo that they were bound ſo to do.

*Gulielmus de monte Landuno, Henricus de Gaudano.*

The fifth Opinion.

The fifth Opinion was, that albeit the Fryers might at all times, and at *Eaſter* alſo, hear Confeſſions as the Curates did; yet it was better and more ſafe, at the time of *Eaſter*, to confeſs to the Curates, than to the Fryers. And of this opinion was this our *Armachanus*, of whom we preſently now intreat.

And thus have ye, as in a brief ſum, opened unto you, what was the matter of contention between the Fryers and the Church-men. What Popes made with the Fryers, and what Popes made againſt them. Moreover, what learned men diſputed againſt them in *Paris*, and other places, and what were their Opinions.

The matter of contention about the Fryers ſtood in four Points: Firſt, preaching without Licence of Curates. Secondly, in hearing Confeſſion. Thirdly, in burying. Fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

| Popes that maintained the Fryers. | | Popes that maintained Curates. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Were *Honorius* | 3 | Were *Innocentius* | 3 |
| *Gregorius* | 9 | *Innocentius* | 4 |
| *Alexander* | 4 | *Martinus* | 4 |
| *Clemens* | 4 | *Benedictus* | 11 |
| *Boniface* | 8 | | |
| *Clemens* | 5 | | |

### The learned men that diſputed againſt the Fryers.

Were *Gulielmus de S. Amore.*, *Bernardus ſuper capitulum, Omnis utriuſque ſexus.*, *Godfridus de Fontibus.*, *Henricus de Gandavo.*, *Gulielmus de Landuno.*, *Joannes Monachus Cardin.*, *Joannes de Poliaco.*, *Armachanus.* — All theſe were condemned by the Popes, or elſe cauſed to recant.

Theſe conſiderations and circumſtances hitherto premiſed, for the more opening of this preſent cauſe of *Armachanus* ſuſtained againſt the idle beggerly Sects of Fryers, in whom the Reader may well perceive *Antichriſt* plainly reigning and fighting againſt the Church: it now remaineth, that as I have before declared the travels and troubles of divers godly learned men in the Church ſtriving againſt the ſaid Fryers, continually from the time of *Gulielmus de Amore*, hitherto; ſo now foraſmuch as this our *Armachanus* laboured, and in the ſame Cauſe ſuſtained the like Conflict with the ſame *Antichriſt*, we likewiſe collect and open his Reaſons and Arguments uttered in the Conſiſtory, and in the Audience of the Pope himſelf, wherewith he maintaineth the true Doctrine and Cauſe of the Church againſt the peſtiferous canker creeping in by theſe Fryers after ſubtil ways of hypocriſie, to corrupt the ſincere ſimplicity of Chriſts holy Faith and perfect Teſtament. The which Reaſons and Arguments of his, with the whole proceſs of his doings, I thought good and expedient for the utility of the Church more amply and largely to diſcourſe and proſecute, for that I note in the Sects, Inſtitutions, and Doctrine of theſe Fryers, ſubtil poyſon to lurk, more pernicious and hurtful to the Religion of Chriſt and Souls of Chriſtians, than all men peradventure do conſider.

*Ex libro cui titulus, Defenſorium curatorum.*

Thus *Armachanus*, joyning with the Clergy of *England*, diſputed and contended with the Fryers here of *England*, *Anno* 1358. about a double matter. Whereof the one was concerning confeſſion and other excheats which the Fryers incroached in Pariſh-Churches againſt the Curates, and publick Paſtors of Churches. The other was concerning wilful beggery and poverty, which the Fryers then took upon them, not upon any neceſſity, being otherwiſe ſtrong enough to work for their living, but only upon a wilful and affected profeſſion. For the which cauſe the Fryers appealed him up to the Court of *Rome*. The occaſion whereof thus did riſe.

It befel that *Armachanus*, upon certain buſineſs coming up to *London*, found there certain Doctors diſputing and contending about the begging of Chriſt our Saviour. Whereupon he, being greatly urged and requeſted oft times thereunto, at requeſt made ſeven or eight Sermons unto the people at *London*, wherein he uttered nine concluſions: whereof the firſt and principal concluſion was, touching the matter of the Fryers Priviledges in hearing confeſſions. His concluſion was this:

Firſt, That if a doubt or queſtion be moved for hearing confeſſions, which of two places is rather to be choſen; The Pariſh-Church is to be preferred before the Church of the Fryers.

Secondly, being demanded, Whether is to be taken (to hear the confeſſion of the Pariſhioners, the Parſon or Curate, or the Fryer) it is to be ſaid, rather the Parſon or the Curate.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his humane converſation was always poor, but that he loved not poverty, or did covet to be poor.

Fourthly, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did never beg, wilfully profeſſing to be poor.

Fifthly, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did never teach wilfully to beg, or to profeſs wilful beggery.

The ſixth concluſion was, That Chriſt our Lord held the contrary, that men ought not wilfully or purpoſely, without meer neceſſity, to beg.

Seventhly, That it is neither wiſdom nor holineſs, for any man to take upon him wilful beggery perpetually to be obſerved.

The eighth, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Obſervants, or Fryers minorites, to obſerve wilful poverty.

The laſt concluſion was, touching the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, which condemned the Libel of the Maſters of *Paris*: that the ſame Bull touched none of theſe ſeven laſt Concluſions.

*Armachanus cited up to the Pope by the Fryers.* Upon theſe nine Concluſions premiſed, *Armachanus* being appealed, cited, and brought up to the preſence of the Pope, began to prove the ſame his foreſaid concluſions or aſſertions under proteſtation made, that his intention was *The proteſtation of Armachanus.* not to affirm any thing contrary to the Chriſtian Faith, or to the Catholick Doctrine, or that ſhould be prejudicial or deſtructive to the Orders of the begging-Fryers, ſuch as were approved by holy Church, or confirmed by the high Biſhops; but only his intention was, to have the ſaid Orders reduced to the purity of their firſt Inſtitution. Concerning which matter, he deſired his Reaſons to be heard; which if they ſhould be found weaker than the Reaſons of the Fryers, the puniſhment ſhould be his. If otherwiſe, that then the Fryers might juſtly be rewarded for their ſlanderous Obtrectation and publick Contumelies, and injurious dealings both privately and publickly wrought and ſought againſt him: and ſo taking for his theme, *Nolite* His Theme. *judicare ſecundum faciem, ſed juſtum judicium judicate, &c.* That is, *Judge not after the outward face, but judge* *John* 7. *true Judgment, &c. John* the ſeventh; he entreth to the The firſt concluſion proponed. probation of his concluſion; firſt, beginning with the former concluſion; that the Pariſh-Church was a place more fit and convenient for the confeſſions or burials of the Pariſhioners to be uſed, than any other exempt Church or Probation. place of the Fryers. Which he proved by three Cauſes; Firſt, for the more ſureneſs or certainty to the conſcience of Certainty. the Pariſhioners confeſſed. Secondly, for the more utility Utility. and profit of him. Thirdly, for the leſs incommodity in- Commodity ſuing by confeſſions taken in Pariſh-Churches, than in Fryers Churches.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſion confirmed. As touching the firſt, for the more aſſuredneſs and certainty, thus he argued upon the place of *Deut.* 12. *Unto* *Deut.* 12. *that place which the Lord your God ſhall aſſign of all your Tribes, to place his Name and dwell therein; thither ſhall you reſort, to offer up your Oblations, Tythes, &c.* And in the ſame place God ſaith, *See thou offer not thy Sacrifice in every place that liketh thee, but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the Tribes; and thou ſhalt do in all things as I command thee.* Alſo *Levit.* 4. 5. upon the words of *Levit.* 4. & 5. which be theſe, *Who-* *ſoever ſinneth of ignorance ſhall offer to the Prieſt, and he ſhall pray for him, and he ſhall be forgiven, &c.* Upon theſe places thus he argued; that foraſmuch as the Sacraments of the Church are to be frequented and uſed in no other place, but only in that, which by God himſelf peculiarly is aſſigned and commanded for the ſame; and ſeeing that elect place in the Law repreſenteth the Pariſh-Churches; neither can it be proved that the Fryers Church is the place preſcribed of God, but only permitted by Biſhops of *Rome*; he concluded therefore, that Pariſh-Churches for confeſſions and burials were more ſure and certain to the conſcience of Pariſhioners, than the exempt places of the Fryers.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſion confirmed by another reaſon. By another reaſon alſo he confirmed the ſame, for that the Pariſh-Church ſtandeth free from the Popes Interdict, ſo do not the Churches of the Fryers as which ſtand not ſo clear, but that they are under ſuſpition and doubt of the Popes Interdict; by the *Decretal*, *De ſepulturis in ſexto cap. Animarum periculis.* In which *Decretal*, all ſuch conventual Churches and Church-yards of Fryers be interdicted, which do induce any perſon or perſons, either by Oath or Promiſe made, to chooſe their burying places in their Churches, as commonly the Fryers are reported to do: for elſe what Pariſhioner would forſake his own Church and Pariſh where his Anceſtors do lie, to be buried among the Fryers, if the Fryers did not induce them ſo to do? { KING } { 1. Edw. 3 }

The ſecond part of the firſt concluſion confirmed. Moreover, for the ſecond part, concerning the utility of the place, that he confirmed doublewiſe; firſt, for that confeſſion, made within the Pariſh-Church, hath a double merit of Obedience, both for obeying the Commandment of God in opening his confeſſion (thus he ſpeaketh according to the blindneſs of that time, for that auricular confeſſion hath any Commandment of God cannot be proved) and alſo in obeying the Commandment of God in obſerving the place by him appointed, the which ſecond merit of Obedience lacketh in the Fryers part. Secondly, he proved it to be greater utility for a Pariſhioner to confeſs him in his Pariſh-Church, than with the Fryers; becauſe commonly the number of Chriſtian-people praying is ten times more in Pariſh-Churches. Whereby it is to be thought, that each ſingular perſon may better be helped through more prayers, than in the Oratories of Fryers, &c. Another confirmation of the ſecond part of the firſt Article.

The third part of the firſt concluſion proved. Further, as touching the third part of the firſt concluſion or Article he proved, that it had fewer incommodities every man to reſort to his Pariſh-Church than to the Fryers; for that both great utility, and more certainty (as hath been proved) did inſue thereof: which two being taken away, (as muſt needs, in reſorting to the Fryers Church) then two ſpecial commodities ſhould be hindred, and ſo great incommodities thereof ſhould follow. And thus much for the place of the Fryers.

The ſecond Concluſion or Article. Now to the ſecond concluſion or Article, touching the perſon of the Fryer, and of the ordinary Curate. If the queſtion be, which of theſe two is to be preferred in the Office of Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration; the opinion of *Armachanus* was, that the ordinary Curate was better, than the extraordinary Fryer, and that for the three foreſaid reſpects, to wit, for certainty or aſſurance, for utility, and for incommodity to be avoided. Three reſpects or cauſes to be proved.

Firſt, that it is more ſafe and ſure for the Pariſhioners, to reſort to their Ordinary or Pariſh-Prieſt: he argued by three Reaſons, Firſt, becauſe the perſon of the lawful Ordinary or Prieſt, is expreſly of God commanded, where the perſon of the Fryer is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, becauſe the Pariſhioner may more truſt to his ordinary Curate; as who is more bound and obliged to provide, and to be careful for him, than any other extraordinary perſon. Thirdly, becauſe in the perſon of the ordinary Curate, commonly there is no doubt of any Interdict to bind him; whereas contrary in the Fryers behalf there is good matter to doubt, whether he ſtand bound under the Popes Cenſure of Excommunication or not, and that for divers Cauſes, as by the *cap. Religioſi, in Clementinis de decimis.* *Ca. Religioſi Clement. de decim.* Where it is decreed, That all ſuch religious men which having no Benefices or Cure of Souls, preſume to impropriate unto them Glebe-land, or other Tythes due unto Churches, and not appertaining to them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumvention) do incur the Sentence of Excommunication, *ipſo facto.* Alſo by another *Cap. Religioſi, De privilegiis, in Clement.* Where *Inſtrument. ne do privilegiis, cap. Religioſi.* it is ſaid, That all ſuch religious men are excommunicated *De facto*, whoſoever do abſolve any, againſt whom The Fryers proved to be excommunicated by the Popes Law. the Sentence of Excommunication hath been denounced by the Statute Provincial, or Synodal; as it is commonly ſaid, that the Fryers hearing mens confeſſions are accuſtomed to do, in looſing them whom the Cenſure of Prelates or their Officials have bound. Whereof the ſaid *Armachanus* bringeth forth example of his own Dioceſs: *For I* (ſaid he) *in mine own Dioceſs of* Armach *have as good as two thouſand under me, who by the Cenſure of Excommunication every year denounced againſt wilful Murtherers, common Thieves, burners of mens Houſes, and ſuch like Malefactors, ſtand accurſed: of all which number notwithſtanding, ſcarcely fourteen there be which come to me, or to any about me for their Abſolution. And yet all they receive the Sacraments as others do, and all becauſe they be abſolved, or becauſe they fain themſelves to be abſolved by none other than by Fryers; who in ſo doing are proved to be under the danger of Excommunication, both the Fryers, and alſo the Pariſhioners, if they knowing thereof do conſent to their error.*

Alſo

{KING Edw. 3}

Alſo out of the ſaid *Clementines* by three other places in one Chapter, he proved the Friers to be Excommunicate, to wit, in the Chapter *Cupientes, De pœnis in Clement.* In the which Chapter, Firſt, all ſuch Religious men are Excommunicate, which in their Sermons preſume to withdraw their hearers from their Tythes-paying, due unto Churches. Secondly, In the ſaid Chapter all ſuch Friers are ſuſpended from Preaching, and ſo are Excommunicate, which within a certain time did not make a Concion to ſuch as come to their Confeſſions, they paying their Tythes truly and duly to the Church. Thirdly, In the foreſaid Chapter alſo, all ſuch Religious perſons be bound in Excommunication, which induce men by any manner of means, either by vow, oath, or promiſe, to chuſe their burials within their Churches, or not to change the ſame, if they have made any ſuch promiſe before. In all which three points he proved the Friers to be culpable and Excommunicate.

*Cap. Cupientes de pœnis Clement.*

*The Friers proved to be Excommunicated by the Popes Law.*

Moreover, that it is the more ſure way for the Pariſhioners to reſort to their appointed Curates, than to the Friers, he argued thus: For that the Pariſh-Prieſt or Curate, being better acquainted with his own Pariſhioner than is a ſtranger, can better judg of the nature and diſpoſition of his diſeaſe, and miniſter to him due Phyſick of penance for the ſame, and alſo will be more careful in curing him.

*Another proof that the Pariſhioner more ſafely go to his Curate, than to the Friers.*

Thus the firſt part of the ſecond concluſion or article being proved and argued, *Armachanus* proceedeth further to prove the ſecond part; that it is better for the Pariſhioners to leave the Friers, and to reſort to their own Paſtors. Which he proved by eight or nine Reaſons.

*The ſecond part of the ſecond concluſion proved.*

Firſt, For that the ordinary Paſtor is properly appointed of God unto that Miniſtry; whereas the Frier is but only permitted of man thereunto.

Secondly, For that in reſorting to the Ordinary of the Pariſh is a double reward of merit, whereas in coming to the Friers there is but one.

Thirdly, Becauſe the Ordinary is more bound to his own flock, and is to be thought to be more tender and careful over them than a ſtranger.

Fourthly, Becauſe in reſorting to the perſon of his own Ordinary there is more aſſurance and certainty (as is above declared) than to another.

*Innocen. cap. Si animarum.*

Fifthly, Becauſe (as *Innocentius*, *Cap. Si Animarum*, ſaith) the coming to the Curate or Paſtor Ordinary is more eaſie and light, both in the night, and in neceſſity.

Sixthly, Forſomuch as the Pariſhioner muſt needs come to his Curate at ſome time, and eſpecially being in neceſſity, it is expedient and profitable that his former life before were known to him, rather than to the other.

Seventhly, For that (as the ſaid *Innocentius* affirmeth) it ſtriketh more ſhame of his ſin to the Pariſhioner to be confeſſed to his Curate whom he ſeeth every day, than to a Frier unknown.

Eighthly, Becauſe it is more profitable, eſpecially for them that live in Matrimony, that he which heareth the confeſſion of the one, ſhould hear alſo the confeſſion of the other. So that hearing the confeſſion of them both, as a ſpiritual Phyſician taking two Cures in one body, may better know what ſpiritual counſel is to be miniſtred to the one after he hath cured the other, *&c.*

*The third part of the ſecond concluſion argued.*

Theſe things thus proved before, then *Armachanus* conſequently proceedeth to the third part; arguing how that greater detriments and inconveniences do enſue by Confeſſions, Burials, and other Eccleſiaſtical functions exerciſed by the Friers, than by Paſtors and Secular Curates, ſerving in Pariſhes. About the which matter the ſaid *Armachanus* learnedly and worthily inferreth a long diſcourſe, proving and inferring how pernicious theſe Orders of Friers are to the whole ſtate of the Church, and what miſchief cometh by the priviledges of certain Popes, which have priviledged them to intermeddle in the office and function of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, to preach and to take alms and tythes of the people, and Impropriations from the Church. All which his reaſons and arguments to proſecute in order as he hath left them in writing, would make a matter of a large Book. Notwithſtanding becauſe it ſhall not be unfruitful both for the time preſent, and the poſterity, to know the manifold detriments and diſcommodities received by theſe Friers, and to know what great benefit God hath done for us in unburdening the Church of this monſtrous generation; and eſpecially becauſe the Book of *Armachanus* is rare otherwiſe to be found, intituled, *Defenſorium Curatorum*; I have briefly therefore contracted out of the ſame certain of his reaſons, ſuch as ſeemed moſt appertaining and moſt worthy of noting.

*Defenſorium Curatorum. Armachanum.*

And firſt, alledging the authority of *Innocent* the 4*th*; he importeth four inconveniences riſing by the Friers, which be theſe; Contempt of the people againſt their Ordinaries; decreaſing of Devotion; taking away of ſhame from the people by confeſſing to the Friers; detaining of Oblations, ſuch as the people are wont to give at their Confeſſions and Burials, and which by right belong to the Pariſh Churches.

*Item*, By the ſaid priviledges of the Popes, granted to the Friers, many other great enormities do riſe. As firſt, becauſe thereby the true ſhepherds do not know the faces of their flock.

*Cap. Ddum*

*Item*, By the occaſion of theſe priviledges given to the Friers, great contention, and ſometimes blows riſe between the Friers and ſecular Curates, about Titles, Impropriations, and other avails.

*The harms that come to the world by the Friers, declar'd.*

*Item*, By the occaſion of the foreſaid priviledges, divers young men as well in Univerſities as in their Fathers houſes, are allured craftily by the Friers their Confeſſors to enter their Orders; from whence afterward they cannot get out though they would, to the great grief of their Parents, and no leſs repentance to the young men themſelves. The example whereof *Armachanus* in the ſaid his Treatiſe inferreth of a certain ſubſtantial *Engliſhman* being with him at his Inn in *Rome*; who having a Son at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which was enticed by the Friers to enter into their Order, could by no means after releaſe him out. But when his Father and his Mother would come unto him, they could not be ſuffered to ſpeak with him, but under the Friers cuſtody. Whereas the Scripture commandeth plainly, that whoſo ſtealeth any man and ſelleth him (being thereof convicted) ſhall be put to death, *Exod.* 21. And for the ſame cauſe the Father was compelled to come up to *Rome* to ſeek remedy for his Son. And thus, ſaith *Armachanus*, it may appear what damage and detriments come by theſe Friers unto the common people.

*Example of the Friers theft in Oxford.*

And no leſs inconvenience and danger alſo by the ſaid Friers riſeth to the Clergy; forſomuch as Lay-men, ſeeing their Children thus to be ſtollen from them in the Univerſities by the Friers, do refuſe therefore to ſend them to their ſtudies; rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to follow the Plow, than ſo to be circumvented and defeated of their Sons at the Univerſity, as by daily experience (ſaith he) doth manifeſtly appear. For whereas in my time (ſaith *Armachanus*) there were in the Univerſity of *Oxford* thirty thouſand Students; now are there not to be found ſix thouſand. The occaſion of which ſo great decay is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe but to this circumvention only of the Friers above mentioned.

*Friers Hinderers of Univerſities*

*30000 Students in Oxford, in the time of Armachanum.*

Over and beſides this, another inconvenience as great or greater the ſaid *Armachanus* inferred to proceed by the Friers through the decay of Doctrine, and knowledg in all manner of Faculties, and Liberal Sciences, which thus he declared: For that theſe begging Friers through their priviledges obtained of the Popes to preach, to hear Confeſſions, and to Bury; and through their Charters of Impropriations, did grow thereby to ſuch great riches and poſſeſſions by their begging, craving, catching, and intermedling with Church-matters, that no Book could ſtir of any Science, either of Divinity, Law, or Phyſick, but they were both able and ready to buy it up. So that every Covent having a great Library full ſtuffed and furniſhed with all ſorts of Books, and being ſo many Covents within the Realm, and in every Covent ſo many Friers increaſing daily more and more; by reaſon thereof it came to paſs that very few Books or none at all remain for other Students. Which by his own experience he thus teſtifieth, ſaying, That he himſelf ſent forth to the Univerſity four of his own Prieſts or Chaplains, who ſending him word again, that they could neither find the Bible, nor any other good profitable Book of Divinity meet for their ſtudy, therefore were minded to return home to their Country; and one of them, he was ſure, was returned by this time again.

*The Friers a great cauſe of decay of learning.*

*Books not to be gotten for the Friers.*

*Example what lack of Books cometh by the Friers.*

The Friers guilty in three faults: 1. Diſobedience. 2. Avarice. 3. Pride. *Armachanus* chargeth the Friers with diſobedience.

Furthermore, as he hath proved hitherto the Friers to be hurtful both to the Laity, and to the Clergy; ſo proceeding farther, he proveth them to be hurtful alſo to themſelves: And that in three points, as incurring the vice of diſobedience againſt God, and againſt their own rule; the vice of avarice, and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he proſecuted in a long diſcourſe.

Firſt (ſaith he) they are diſobedient to the Law of God, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours houſe, ox, nor aſs, nor any thing that is his*: In that they procure the Popes Letters to preach in Churches, and to take Burials from Churches, with licence annexed withal to receive the avails which riſe of the ſame, which properly belongeth to the right of Pariſh-Prieſts.

Friers diſobedient to the rule of Scripture.

*Item*, They are diſobedient to this rule of the Goſpel: So do to other, as thou wouldeſt have done to thee.

*Item*, They be diſobedient againſt their own rule, which being founded upon ſtrait poverty and beggery, this licenſe obtained for them to require neceſſaries of the people for their labours, is repugning againſt the ſame foundation.

*Item*, They be diſobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which ſaith, *Let no man take honour unto him, except he be called*, as *Aaron*. Alſo St. *Paul* ſaith, *How ſhall they preach, unleſs they be ſent?* And how obſerve they this rule of obedience, who profeſſing to keep the perfection of the Goſpel, yet contrary to the Goſpel procure to themſelves privileges to run before they be ſent?

*Item*, To their own rule they are diſobedient; for where their Chapter ſaith, that if any will take upon them this Order, and will come to our Brethren; let our Brethren firſt ſend them to the Provincials to be examined of the Catholick Faith and Sacraments of the Church, *&c.* Contrary whereunto the Friers have procured a priviledg, that not only the Provincials, but other inferiors alſo may take unto them indifferently, whom they can catch; ſo far without all examination, that almoſt at this day there is no notable houſe of Friers, wherein is not either a whole, or half a Covent of Lads and Boys under ten years old, being circumvented, which neither can skill of the Creed nor Sacraments.

Friers diſobedient to their own profeſſion.

Again, the rule of *Francis* ſaith, that his Brethren Obſervants muſt obſerve not to preach in the Dioceſs of any Biſhop, without the conſent of the Biſhop. And moreover, the ſaid *Francis* in his Teſtament ſaith, That if he had as much wiſdom as *Solomon*, and found poor Secular Prieſts in the Pariſhes where they dwell, yet he would not preſume to preach without their will, and alſo would fear, love and honour them, and all other as his Maſters, and ſo they be. *Hæc ille.* Againſt which rule how the Friers do diſobey, how little they reverence Biſhops or Secular Prieſts, what privileges, exemptions, and immunities they procure againſt them, the world may ſee and judg.

*Item*, When none may be admitted to preach, or to hear Confeſſions, unleſs they be entred into Orders; and ſeeing by the common Law of the Church, none muſt be admitted into holy Orders, except he have ſufficient title of living and clothing; the Friers therefore having no ſuch title (being wilful beggers) do diſobey in both reſpects, that is, both in entring into ſuch Orders without convenient title, and in exerciſing the office of Preaching without ſuch lawful Orders.

Moreover, the foreſaid *Francis* to his Teſtament commandeth thus: I command (ſaith he) firmly by vertue of obedience, to all and ſingular my Brethren whereſoever they be, that none of them preſume to obtain in the Court of *Rome* any Letter or writing, either by himſelf, or by any other means, neither for the Church, nor for any other place, nor under any colour of preaching, nor yet for the perſecuting of their own bodies, *&c.* Againſt which Teſtament of *Francis*, the *Franciſcans*, in procuring their priviledges from the Biſhop of *Rome*, have incurred manifeſt diſobedience as all the world may ſee. Neither will this objection ſerve them, becauſe the Pope hath diſpenſed with *Francis* rule. For if the Teſtament of *Francis*, as he ſaith, came from God (and ſo ſhould God have three Teſtaments) how then can the Pope repeal his precept, or diſpenſe with his rule, when by the rule of the Law, *Par in parem non habet imperium?*

Secondly, Concerning the vice of avarice, manifeſtly it may be proved upon them (ſaith *Armachanus*) for elſe ſeeing ſo many charges belong to the office of a Secular Pariſh Prieſt, as to miniſter the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, to viſit the ſick with extream unction, to baptize Children, to wed, with ſuch other, wherein ſtandeth as great devotion; how then happeneth it that theſe Friers, making no labour for theſe, only procure to themſelves priviledges to preach in Churches, to hear Confeſſions, and to receive licenſe to bury from Pariſh-Churches, but becauſe there is lucre and gain in theſe to be looked for, in the other is none?

*Armachanus* chargeth the Friers with avarice.

Another proof.

Which alſo may appear by this, for otherwiſe if it were for meer devotion only, that they procure licenſe to bury from Pariſh-Churches, and to preach; why then have they procured with all licenſe to take offerings, oblations and legacies for their Funerals? And for their preaching, why have they annexed alſo licenſe to require and take of the people neceſſaries for their labour, but only avarice is the cauſe thereof?

Another proof.

Likewiſe for hearing of Confeſſions, when all good Chriſtians have enough to know their own faults, and nothing luſt to hear the faults of other; it is probably to be ſuppoſed by this their priviledg of hearing all mens confeſſions, that they would never have been ſo deſirous of procuring that priviledg, were it not that theſe Friers did feel ſome ſweetneſs and gain to hang upon the ſame.

Another proof.

*Item*, where the rule of Frier *Francis* forbiddeth them to company with any woman, to enter into Monaſteries, to be God-fathers and Goſſips to men and women; how cometh it that they contrary to their rule enter into the ſecret Chambers of Queens, and other women, and are made to know the moſt ſecret counſels of their doings, but that avarice and commodity have ſo blinded their eyes, and ſtirred their hearts.

*Armachanus* chargeth the Friers with pride.

Thirdly, That the Friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the ſaid *Armachanus* proved thus:

To ſeek or to procure any high place in the Church, is a point of pride and ambition. *Chryſoſt. in opere perfectio: Nunquam ſine ambitione deſideratur primatus in Eccleſia.*

The Friers ſeek and procure a high place in the Church.

*Ergo*, The Friers are proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proveth, To have the ſtate of preaching and hearing confeſſions is in the Church a ſtate of honour.

The Friers ſeek and have procured the ſtate of preaching and hearing Confeſſions.

*Ergo*, The Friers ſeek and procure an high place in the Church, *&c.*

The third Concluſion or Article.

His third Concluſion was, that the Lord Chriſt in his humane converſation was always poor, not for that he loved or deſired poverty for it ſelf, *&c.* Wherein this is to be noted, that *Armachanus* differed not from the Friers in this, that Chriſt was poor, and that he loved poverty; but herein ſtood the difference, in manner of loving, that is, whether he loved poverty for it ſelf, or not. Wherein the foreſaid *Armachanus* uſed four probations.

Firſt, forſomuch as to be poor is nothing elſe but to be miſerable, and ſeeing no man coveteth to be in miſery for it ſelf; therefore he concluded that Chriſt deſired not poverty for it ſelf.

*Ariſt. Ethic. Lib. 1.*

His ſecond reaſon was derived out of *Ariſtotle*: Nothing (ſaith he) is to be loved for it ſelf, but that which (all commodities being ſecluded which follow thereupon) is voluntarily ſought and deſired. But take from poverty all reſpect of commodities following the ſame, it would be ſought neither of God nor man. *Ergo*, he concluded, Chriſt loved no poverty for it ſelf.

Thirdly again, No effect of ſin, ſaid he, is to be loved for it ſelf. But poverty is the effect of ſin. *Ergo*, poverty was not loved of Chriſt for it ſelf.

Fourthly, No privation of the thing that is good, is to be loved for it ſelf. Poverty is the privation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches (for God himſelf is principally rich): *Ergo*, Poverty for it ſelf was not loved of Chriſt.

The fourth Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers.

The fourth Concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lord and Saviour did never beg wilfully. Which he proveth by ſundry reaſons.

Firſt, For that Chriſt in ſo doing ſhould break the Law, which ſaith, Thou ſhalt not covet thy Neighbours houſe, his wife, his ſervant, his maid, his ox, his aſs, or any

KING Ed. 3. any thing that is his, *Exod.* 20. Into the danger of which Commandment he that beggeth voluntarily muſt needs incur.

2. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged voluntarily, he ſhould have committed ſin againſt another Commandment, which ſaith, *There ſhall be no beggar, nor needy perſon among you*, &c. *Deut.* 6.

3. *Item*, Chriſt in ſo doing ſhould have tranſgreſſed the Emperors Law, under which he would himſelf be ſubject (as appeareth by giving, and bidding tribute to be given to *Ceſar*) foraſmuch as the ſame Emperors Law ſaith, There ſhall no valiant beggar be ſuffered in the City.

4. *Item*, If Chriſt had been a wilful beggar, he had broke the Law of loving his neighbour; whom he had vexed, having no need. For whoſo without need asketh or craveth of his neighbour, doth but vex him, in ſuch ſort he would not be vexed himſelf. Which Chriſt would never do.

5. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had moved ſlander thereby to his own Goſpel, which he with Miracles [illegible]; for then they that ſaw his Miracle in feeding 5000 in the wilderneſs, would have thought much with themſelves how that miracle had been wrought, if he which fed other, either could not, or would not feed himſelf.

6. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himſelf condemneth by *Paul*, for ſo we read, 1 *Tim.* 6. that *Paul* condemneth them, which eſteem piety to be gain and lucre. Which all they do, that under the colour of piety, hunt or ſeek for gain, when otherwiſe they need not.

7. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had offended in declaring an untruth in ſo doing; for he that knoweth in his mind that he needeth not indeed that thing which in word he asketh of other, declareth in himſelf an untruth, as who in word pretendeth to be otherwiſe than he is in very deed; which Chriſt without doubt never did, nor would ever do.

8. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, that is, having no true need thereunto, than had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, ſeeming to be that he was not, and to lack when he did not; or elſe to be a true beggar in very deed, not able to ſuffice his neceſſity. For he is a true beggar indeed, which being conſtrained by meer neceſſity is forced to ask of other, that which he is not able to give to himſelf. But neither of theſe two agreeth to Chriſt.

*Ex vita S. Clementis.* 9. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully, then why did *Peter* rebuke the Mother of St. *Clement* his Diſciple, finding her to ſtand among the beggers, whom he thought to be ſtrong enough to labour with her hands for her living, if ſhe in ſo doing had followed the example of Chriſt?

*Clements Example contrary to the Friers.* 10. *Item*, If Chriſt had begged wilfully: And if the Friers do rightly define perfection of the Goſpel by wilful poverty, then was *Clement* St. *Peters* Succeſſor to blame, which laboured ſo much to remove away beggery and poverty from among all them that were converted to the faith of Chriſt, and is ſpecially for the ſame commended of the Church.

*15 Queſt. Cap. 1.* 11. Again, why did the ſaid *Clement*, writing to *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, command ſo much to obey the Doctrine and Examples of the Apoſtles; who as he ſheweth in that Epiſtle, had no begger nor needy perſon amongſt them, if Chriſtian perfection (by the Friers Philoſophy) ſtandeth in wilful beggery?

12. *Item*, If Chriſt the High Prieſt had begged wilfully, then did the holy Church err wittingly, which ordained that none without ſufficient title of living and clothing, ſhould be admitted to holy Orders. And moreover, when it is ſaid in the Canonical Decrees, that the Biſhop or Clerk that beggeth bringeth ſhame upon the whole Order of the Clergy.

13. *Item*, If Chriſt had wilfully begged, then the examples of wilful poverty had pertained to the perfection of Chriſtian life, which is contrary to the old Law, which commandeth the Prieſts (which lived then after the perfection of the Law) to have poſſeſſions and tythes to keep them from beggery.

14. *Item*, If Chriſt did wilfully beg, then beggery were a point of Chriſtian perfection. And ſo the Church of God ſhould err, in admitting ſuch Patrimonies and Donations given to the Church, and ſo in taking from the Prelates their perfection.

15. Again, what will theſe Friers which put their perfection in begging, ſay to *Melchiſedech*, who without begging or wilful poverty, was the High Prieſt of God, and King of *Salem*, and prefigured the Order and Prieſthood of Chriſt?

16. And if beggery be ſuch a perfection of the Goſpel (as the Friers ſay) how cometh it, that the Holy Ghoſt given to the Apoſtles, which ſhould lead them into all truth, told them no word of this beggarly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned thereof throughout the whole Teſtament of God?

17. Moreover, where the Prophet ſaith, *I never did ſee the juſt man forſaken, nor his ſeed go begging their bread:* how ſtandeth this with the juſtice of Chriſt, which was moſt perfectly juſt, if he ſhould be forſaken, or his ſeed go beg their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abominable Doctrines of Friers *Franciſcan*, which put their perfection in wilful begging?

18. Finally, do we not read that Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to preach without ſcrip or wallet, and bid them ſalute no man by the way? Meaning that they ſhould beg nothing of any man: Did not the ſame Chriſt alſo labour with his hands under *Joſeph*? St. *Paul* likewiſe did he not labour with his hands, rather than he would burden the Church of the *Corinthians*? And where now is the Doctrine of the Friers, which putteth the ſtate of perfection in wilful begging?

*The fifth Concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.*

The fifth Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers, was this, That Chriſt never taught any man wilfully to beg, which he proved thus: It is written, *Act.* 1. Chriſt began to do and to teach. If Chriſt therefore, which did never wilfully beg himſelf, as hath been proved, had taught men otherwiſe to do; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

*Item*, If Chriſt which never begged himſelf wilfully, had taught men this Doctrine of wilful begging contrary to his own doing; he had given ſuſpition of his Doctrine, and miniſtred ſlander of the ſame, as hath been proved in the fourth Concluſion before.

Moreover, in ſo teaching, he had taught contrary to the Emperors juſt Law, which expreſly forbiddeth the ſame.

*The ſixth Concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.*

The ſixth Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers was, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt teacheth us, that we ſhould not beg wilfully, which he proveth by ſeven or eight Reaſons.

Firſt, Where it is written, *Luk.* 14. *When thou makeſt a Feaſt call the poor, weak, lame, and blind; and thou ſhalt be bleſſed: for they have not wherewith to reward thee again.*

To this alſo pertaineth the Decree of the Apoſtle, 2 *Theſ.* 3. *He that will not work, let him not eat.* Furthermore, the ſame Apoſtle addeth in the ſame place: *For you have us for example, how we were burdenous to no man, neither did we eat our bread freely, but with labour and wearineſs, toiling both day and night, and all becauſe we would not burthen you*, &c.

4. *Item*, where we read in the Scripture the ſlothful man reprehended, *Prov.* 6. *Why ſleepeſt thou, O ſluggard? thy poverty and beggery is coming upon thee like an armed man*, &c. And again in the ſame Book of *Proverbs*, *The ſlothful man* (ſaith the Scripture) *for cold would not go to the Plow, therefore he ſhall beg in ſummer, and no man ſhall give him*, &c. Alſo in the ſaid Book of *Proverbs*, the laſt Chapter, *The diligent labouring woman is commended, whoſe fingers are exerciſed about the rock and ſpindle.* And all theſe places make againſt the wilful begging of ſturdy Friers.

*The Rule of Frier Francis.*

5. *Item*, Frier *Francis* their own founder in his own Teſtament ſaith, And I have laboured with mine own hands, and will labour, and will that all my Frierlings ſhall labour and live of their labour, whereby they may ſupport themſelves in an honeſt mean. And they that cannot work, let them learn to work, not for any coveteouſneſs to receive for their labour, but for example of good works, and to avoid idleneſs. And when the price of their labour is not given them, let them reſort to the Lords Table, and ask their alms from door to door, *&c.* Thus much in his

Teſtament. And in his rule he ſaith, Such brethren to whom the Lord hath given the gift to labour, let them labour faithfully and devoutly, *&c.* Wherefore *it is to* be marvelled how thoſe Friers with their wilful begging, dare tranſgreſs the rule and obedience of Frier *Francis* their great Grandfathers Teſtament.

6. *Item*, If Chriſt at any time did beg, or did lack, it was more becauſe he would uſe a miracle in his own perſon, than becauſe he would beg wilfully; as when he ſent *Peter* to the Sea to find a Groat in the fiſhes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to do, than to beg the Groat of the people, which he might ſoon have obtained.

7. *Item*, By divers other his examples he ſeemeth to teach the ſame, as where he ſaith, *The workman is worthy of his hire.* Alſo, *The workman is worthy of his meat*, *Mat.* 10. *Luk.* 10. And when he ſpake to *Zache*, that he would turn into his houſe. And ſo likewiſe in *Bethany* and all other places he ever uſed rather to burden his friends than to beg of other unacquainted.

8. *Item*, With plain precept thus he ſendeth forth his Diſciples, willing them not to go from houſe to houſe, *Luk.* 10. ſo as Friers uſe now to go. Many other Scriptures there be which reprove begging, as where it is ſaid, *The foot of a fool is ſwift to the houſe of his neighbour*, *Eccleſ.* 29. And in another place, *My child* (ſaith he) *ſee thou want not in the time of thy life, for better it is to die than to lack*, Eccleſ. 21.

9. *Item*, Where Chriſt counſelling the young man, bad him go and ſell that he had, and give to the poor, and follow him if he would be perfect; he doth not there call him to wilful begging, but calleth him to follow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The ſeventh Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers.

The ſeventh Concluſion of *Armachanus* is, That no wiſe nor true holy man can take upon him wilful poverty to be obſerved always, which he proveth by four reaſons.

Firſt, That wilful beggery was reproved both by the Doctrine of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles, as in the Concluſion before hath been declared.

2. *Item*, A man in taking upon him wilful beggery, in ſo doing ſhould lead himſelf into temptation, which were againſt the Lords-prayer. Foraſmuch as *Solomon*, Prov. 30. ſaith, *O Lord, beggery and great riches give me not, but only ſufficiency to live upon, leſt if I have too much, I be driven to deny thee, and ſay, Who is the Lord? Again, if I have too little, I be forced thereby to ſteal, and perjure the name of my God.* Wherefore ſaith *Eccleſ.* 27. *For need many have offended.* And therefore they that chuſe wilful poverty, take to them great occaſion of temptation.

Wilful beggery not to be permitted.

3. *Item*, They that take wilful poverty upon them, when they need not, induce themſelves voluntarily to break the Commandment of God, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours houſe, &c.* Again, where it is commanded, *There ſhall be no beggar among you*, &c.

4. *Item*, He that taketh upon him needleſly and wilfully to beg, maketh himſelf unapt to receive holy Orders, having (as is ſaid) no ſufficient title thereunto, according to the Laws of the Church.

The eighth Concluſion of *Armachanus* againſt the Friers.

The eighth Concluſion of this matter, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Friers obſervant, to obſerve wilful beggery. Which (ſaith he) may be proved, for that Frier *Francis*, both in his Rule and in his Teſtament being left to his *Franciſcans*, doth plainly prefer labour before begging.

The ninth Concluſion of *Armachanus*. Touching this Book of the Maſters of *Paris* condemned, look p. 405. *Ex Clement. Quia quorundam.* Pope *Nicholas* the third revoketh the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the fourth.

The ninth and laſt Concluſion of this matter is, That the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, which condemneth the Book of the Maſters of *Paris*, impugneth none of theſe Concluſions premiſed. For the proof thereof he thus inferred.

1. Firſt, That Pope *John* the 24*th*, in his Conſtitution, beginning thus, *Quia quorundam*, affirmeth expreſly, how Pope *Nicholas* the Third revoked and called back the ſaid Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, and all other writings of his, touching all ſuch Articles, which in the ſame foreſaid Conſtitution of this Pope *John* be contained and declared. Wherein alſo is declared how ſtrait the poverty of the Friers ought to be, which they call wilful poverty.

2. *Item*, It is manifeſt and notorious to all men, how the ſaid Pope *Nicholas* the Third, in his Declaration ſheweth how the Friers both ought to labour with their hands, and how moreover the ſaid Friers ought not to preach within the Dioceſs of any Biſhop, whereſoever they be reſiſted. Which being ſo, the concluſion appeareth that the Bull of Pope *Alexander* the Fourth, as touching theſe Articles, is void and of none effect. Beſides the which Articles, there is nothing elſe in the ſaid Bull of *Alexander* (that I remember) which impugneth any of theſe Concluſions premiſed.

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Many things mo (ſaid he) I had beſides theſe, both to object and to anſwer again to the ſame, and ſo confirm more ſurely and firmly theſe my reaſons and affections premiſed. But I have already too much wearied your Holineſs, and your reverend Lordſhips here preſent. Wherefore I conclude and humbly and devoutly beſeech you according to my former petition premiſed in the beginning of this matter, that you judg not after the outward face, but judg ye true judgment, *Joh.* 7. *Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus Defenſorium Curatorum.*

The end and concluſion of the Oration of *Armachanus* before the Pope. *Ex defenſorio Curatorum.*

## *Notes to be obſerved in this former Oration of* Armachanus.

Notes to be obſerved.

*BY this Oration of* Armachanus *the Learned Prelate, thus made before Pope* Innocent *and his Cardinals, divers and ſundry things there be for the utility of the Church worthy to be obſerved. Firſt, what troubles and vexations came to the Church of Chriſt by theſe Friers. Alſo what perſecution followeth after by the means of them againſt ſo many Learned men and true ſervants of Chriſt. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrarietie was among the Popes, and how they could not agree among themſelves about the Friers. Fourthly, what peſtiferous Doctrine ſubverting well near the Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt. Fifthly, what decay of Miniſters in Chriſts Church, as appeareth*, pag. 469. *Sixthly, what robbing and circumventing of mens children, as appeareth*, pag. 469. *Seventhly, what decay of Univerſities, as appeareth by* Oxford, p. 469. *Eighthly, that damage to Learning and lack of Books to Students came by theſe Friers, as appeareth*, p. 469. *Ninthly, to what pride, under colour of fained humility, to what riches, under diſſimuled poverty they grew, here is to be ſeen. Inſomuch that at length through their ſubtil and moſt dangerous hypocriſie they crept up to be Lords, Archbiſhops, Cardinals, and at laſt alſo Chancellors of Realms, yea and of moſt ſecret Counſel with Kings and Queens, as appeareth*, pag. 470.

Contrariety among the Popes.

*All theſe things well conſidered, now remaineth in the Church to be marked, that forſomuch as theſe Friers (with their new found Teſtament of Frier* Francis) *not being contented with the Teſtament of God in his Son Chriſt, began to ſpring the ſame time when as Satan was propheſied to be let looſe by order of the Scripture, whether therefore it is to be doubted that theſe Friers make up the body of Antichriſt, which is propheſied to come in the Church or not; which is much leſs to be doubted, becauſe whoſo liſt to try ſhall find, that of all other enemies of Chriſt, of whom ſome be manifeſt, ſome be privy, all be together cruel, yet is there no ſuch ſort of enemies which more ſleightly deceiveth the ſimple Chriſtian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, than doth this Doctrine of the Friers.*

Whether the Friers make up the body of Antichriſt or no.

But of this Oration of *Armachanus* enough. Which Oration what ſucceſs it had with the Pope, by Story it is not certain. By his own life declared it appeareth that the Lord ſo wrought that his enemies did not triumph over him. Notwithſtanding, this by Story appeareth, that he was ſeven or eight years in baniſhment for the ſame matter, and there died in the ſame at *Avinion*, of whom a certain Cardinal hearing of his death, openly proteſted that the ſame day a mighty pillar of Chriſts Church was fallen.

The death of godly *Armachanus*.

The teſtimony of a Cardinal upon *Armachanus*.

After the death of *Armachanus*, the Friers had contention likewiſe with the Monks of *Benedicts* Order about the ſame year 1360, and ſo removed their cauſe, both againſt the Monks, and againſt the Univerſity of *Oxford*, unto the Court of *Rome*; wherein, ſaith the Author, they lacked another *Richard*. *Ex Botonero*. By this that appeareth to be true, which is teſtified in the firſt Tome of *Wald.* that long debate continued between the Friers and the Univerſity of *Oxford*: Againſt whom firſt ſtood *Robert Groſted* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, above mentioned, then *Sevallus* of *York*, *Johan. Baconthorp*, and now this *Armachanus*, of whom here preſently

*Ex Chron. Reg. Rich. 2.*

Friers againſt the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

Engliſh writers againſt the Friers.

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fently we intreat. And after him again *John Wickliffe*, of whom (Chriſt willing) we will ſpeak hereafter. *Ex Waldeno.* Againſt this foreſaid *Armachanus* wrote divers Friers, *Roger Conaway* a *Franciſcan*, *John Heyldeſhame* a *Carmelite*, *Galfridus Harby* a Frier *Auguſtine*. Alſo Frier *Engelbert* a *Dominican*, in a Book intituled, *Defenſorium Privilegiorum*, and divers others. I credibly hear of certain old *Iriſh* Bibles tranſlated long ſince into the *Iriſh* Tongue; which if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this *Armachanus*. And thus much of this Learned Prelate and Archbiſhop of *Ireland*, a man worthy for his Chriſtian zeal of immortal commendation.

Friers that write againſt *Armachanus*.

Teſtified by certain *Engliſhmen* which are yet alive and have ſeen it.

Pope *Urban* the Fifth. Anno 1360.

After the death of this *Innocent*, next was Poped in the See of *Rome* Pope *Urban* the fifth, who by the Fathers ſide was an *Engliſhman*. This *Urban* had been a long waiter in the Court of *Rome*; and when he ſaw no promotion would light upon him, complaining to a certain friend of his, he made to him his mone, ſaying, That he thought verily, if all the Churches of the world ſhould fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after ſeeing him to be Pope and Inthronized in his threefold Crown, cometh to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, ſaith, That where his Holineſs had moned his fortune to him, That if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall upon his head: Now (ſaith he) God hath otherwiſe ſo diſpoſed that all the Churches in the world are fallen upon your head, *&c.*

*Urban* complaineth that no promotion would fall upon him.

An anſwer again to *Urban* being made Pope.

This Pope maintained and kindled great wars in *Italy*, ſending *Egidius* his Cardinal and Legate, and after him *Arduinus* a *Burgundian* his Legate and Abbot with great puiſſance and much money againſt ſundry Cities in *Italy*: By whoſe means the Towns and Cities which before had broken from the Biſhop of *Rome* were oppreſſed; alſo *Barnabes* and *Galeaceus* Princes of *Millain* vanquiſhed. By whoſe example other being ſore feared, ſubmitted themſelves to the Church of *Rome*. And thus came up that wicked Church to her great Poſſeſſions, which her Patrons would needs father upon *Conſtantine* the godly Emperour.

*Ex Sabel. Ænead. 9. lib. 8.*

How the Church of *Rome* came by their Royal poſſeſſions.

In the time of this Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and in the ſecond year of his raign, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1364, I find a certain Sermon of one *Nicholas Orem*, made before the Pope and his Cardinals on *Chriſtmas*-Even. In the which Sermon the learned man doth worthily rebuke the Prelates and Prieſts of his time, declaring their deſtruction not to be far off, by certain ſigns taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the ſayings of the Prophets, ſpoken againſt the wicked Prieſts of the *Jews*, he doth aptly apply againſt the Clergy of his time, comparing the Church then preſent to the Spiritual ſtrumpet ſpoken of in the ſixteenth Chapter of the Prophet *Ezechiel*. And proveth in concluſion the Clergy of the Church then to be ſo much worſe than the old Synagogue of the *Jews*, by how much it is worſe to ſell the Church and Sacraments, than to ſuffer Doves to be ſold in the Church. With no leſs judgment alſo and learning he anſwereth to the old and falſe objections of the Papiſts, who albeit they be never ſo wicked, yet think themſelves to be the Church which the Lord cannot forſake. All which things to the intent they may the better appear in his own words, I have thought good here to tranſlate and exhibit the Sermon as it was ſpoken before the Pope.

*Nicolaus Orem.*

## *A Copy of a Sermon made before Pope* Urban *the Fifth, the fourth Sunday in* Advent 1364, *by* Nicholas Orem.

A Sermon made before the Pope. *Iſa.* 56.

JUxta eſt ſalus mea, ut veniat, & juſtitia, *&c.* That is, *My ſaving health is near at hand to come, and my righteouſneſs to be revealed*, &c. *Iſa.* 56. After the ſentence of St. *Paul*, Rom. 2. and in divers other places before the Nativity of Chriſt, the whole world was divided into two ſorts of men, the *Jews* and Gentiles. The *Jews* who waited for the opening of the door of Paradiſe by the blood of the Saviour to come. The Gentiles, who yet ſitting in darkneſs were to be called to light, and to be juſtified by faith, as it is written, Rom. 5.

The world divided into two ſorts of men before the Incarnation of Chriſt.

This Salvation pertaining both to the *Jew* and Gentile, God promiſed before time to the Fathers by the Prophets, to ſtir up the deſire thereof in their hearts the more, and to increaſe their firm hope and faith in the ſame. As firſt in *Mich.* 6. the voice of the Lord crieth, *Health and ſalvation ſhall be to all men which fear my name.* And *Iſa.* 46. *I will give in Sion ſalvation, and in Jeruſalem my glory, &c.* with divers ſuch other places like. And forſomuch as hope which is deferred many times, doth afflict the ſoul, and conceiveth wearineſs of long deferring; he therefore propheſying of the neerneſs of the coming thereof, ſaith moreover, *Iſa.* 14. *His time is neer at hand to come.* Alſo *Abacuc.* 2. *He will come and will not tarry.* With many ſuch other places more. So then the holy Fathers being in *Limbo*, looked and hoped that he ſhould bring out them that ſat bound, and which in the houſe of priſon ſat in darkneſs, as is read, *Iſa.* 41. Then the time drew on in which came the fulneſs of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this myſtery being hidden from the world, and from generations, *Col.* 1. Wherefore the Lord in this Text doth both certifie our Fathers of the coming of our Saviour, and doth comfort them touching the neerneſs thereof, and alſo teacheth the juſtification of the Gentiles by faith approaching now near at hand, according to the words of my Text, *Juxta eſt ſalus mea, &c.* Which words were fulfilled then, what time the Lord did manifeſt his ſalvation, and did reveal his righteouſneſs in the ſight of all the Gentiles. And it is divided into three parts: Of which the firſt ſpeaketh of the neerneſs of his coming, where it is ſaid, *Juxta eſt ſalus*, &c. The ſecond concerneth the myſtery of the Advent of Chriſt and his Incarnation, where he ſaith, *Ut veniat*, &c. Thirdly, is conſidered the ſeverity of God, his terrible revenging judgment to be revealed, where he ſaith, *Ut reveletur*, &c. which is to be expounded of his primitive juſtice, whereof ſpeaketh *Amos* the fifth Chapter, ſaying, *And judgment ſhall be revealed like a flood, and righteouſneſs like a ſtrong ſtream.* Wherefore for our contemplation let us receive with joy the ſolemnity of his holy Vigil, the Word I ſay of God the Father, that is, Chriſt. To whom it is ſaid, *Iſa.* 49. *I have given thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be my ſalvation through the ends of the world.* Again, *Iſa.* 46. *My ſalvation ſhall not ſlack*, &c.

Diviſion. 1. *Juxta eſt.* 2. *Ut veniat.* 3. *Ut reveletur*

Amos 5.

As touching the neerneſs thereof, it is in theſe days opened to us by the Goſpel, where we read in St. *Matthew*, *When the Virgin Mary was eſpouſed unto Joſeph, before they did come together, ſhe was found with child by the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it was evident to underſtand, that our Saviour ought ſhortly to proceed out of the chaſt womb of the Virgin, according as the Prophet did foretell, ſaying, *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bring forth a Son*, &c. For like as the Grape when it waxeth great and full, is near to the making of Wine; and the flower when it ſhooteth abroad, it haſteth to the fruit; ſo the ſalvation of the world, in the ſwelling and growing of the Virgins womb, began to draw nigh to mankind. For then appeared the grace and benignity of our Saviour, when his Mother was found to have in her womb by the Holy Ghoſt, as is declared, in that which followeth by the Angel, ſaying, *For that which is born of her is of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Touching the ſecond part of that which is ſaid, *Ut veniat*: this may be applied to the contemplation of the myſtery of Chriſt coming in the fleſh. Whereof ſpeaketh *Aggeus* the Prophet, *Chap.* 2. *He ſhall come who is deſired and looked for of all Nations*, &c. Albeit the ſame alſo may be applied to the ſecond *Advent*, ſpoken of the third of *Eſay*, *The Lord ſhall come to judgment*, &c. In memorial whereof the fourth Sunday was dedicate in the old time of the Fathers. And of this day of judgment it is written in the Prophet *Sophon. Cap.* 2. *The day of the Lord is near, great and mighty, it is approaching at hand, and wondrous ſhort*, &c. And albeit not it ſelf, yet it may be expounded in tribulations that go before, as preambles unto the ſame; as *Gregory* ſaith, The laſt tribulation is prevented with many and ſundry tribulations going before, although the end of all be not yet.

The ſecond part of his Theme. *Aggeus* 2.

The third part of his Sermon.

'Wherefore now coming to the third part of my Sermon or Theme, let us ſee of thoſe tribulations that go 'before the laſt coming of Chriſt, if there be any ſuch 'tribulation approaching nigh at hand, whereof this laſt 'part of my Theme may be verified, where is ſaid, *Ut re-* 'veletur, that my righteouſneſs ſhall be revealed, to wit, 'the righteouſneſs primitive, that righteouſneſs may be 'brought, and the Prophecy of *Daniel* fulfilled, *Dan. 9.* 'Concerning which matter four things here come in order 'to be declared.

1. *Ut reveletur.*

'Firſt, Concerning the revealing of tribulation, accor- 'ding to that part of my Theme, *Ut reveletur*, &c.

2. *Ut juxta eſt.*

'Secondly, Concerning the nearneſs of the tribulation 'coming, according to that part of my Theme, *Quia* 'juxta eſt, &c.

3. *Ut veniat.*

'Thirdly, Of the falſe opinions of ſome upon this part 'of my Theme, *Ut veniat*, &c.

4. *Salus.*

Fourthly, What means and conſultation we ought to 'take, *Ut juxta eſt ſalus.*

The firſt part of the ſubdiviſion.

'As for the firſt, it is ſo notorious and ſo common in the 'Scriptures that the Church ſhould ſuffer and abide tribu- 'lation, that I need not here to ſtand in alledging any 'thing touching either the cauſes to be weighed, or the 'term to be conjectured thereof. As concerning the which

Two rules to be noted.

'cauſes I will give two rules to be noted before, for the 'better opening of that which is to follow: The firſt rule

The Kingdom of *Iſrael* ſignifying the falſe Church.

'is, that by the two Kingdoms of the Nation of the *He-* 'brews, which were in the old time, to wit, by the King- 'dom of *Iſrael*, whoſe head was *Samaria*, is ſignified in 'the Prophets the erroneous Synagogue: And by the King-

The Kingdom of *Juda* ſignifieth the right Church.

'dom of *Juda*, of whoſe ſtock came Chriſt, whoſe head me- 'tropolitan was *Jeruſalem*, is ſignified the true Church. 'And this rule is not mine, but is an authentick gloſs of 'St. *Jerome*, and alſo is the rule of *Origen* in the laſt Ho- 'miſly upon the Old Teſtament, and is approved by the 'Church.

The ſecond rule.

'The ſecond rule is, that by the Brodel-houſe and forni- 'cation mentioned in the Prophets, is ſignified Simony, and 'abuſed Diſpenſations, and Promotions of perſons unwor- 'thy, for lucres ſake, or elſe for any other partial favour, 'which be unlawful ways, by all laws of the world, to come 'to office and honour. *Merx dicitur namque a merendo*; 'that is, for gain or price is derived of gaining; for the 'which gain or price that is ſold, which by nature ought 'not to be ſold. Therefore to give any thing for reſpect of 'gain or hire, which ought to be given freely for vertues 'ſake, is a kind of ſpiritual corruption, and as a man would

Eſay 1.

'ſay, an whoriſh thing; whereof the Prophet *Eſay* com- 'plaineth, ſpeaking of *Jeruſalem*, and ſaying, *The city*

Oſee 9.

'*which once was faithful and full of judgment, how is it* 'now become an whoriſh city? And in like manner *Oſee* 'alſo the Prophet, *Cap. 9. Jeruſalem thou haſt fornicated* 'and gone an whoring from thy God. *Thou haſt loved like* 'an harlot to get gain in every barn of corn. And in many 'other places of Scripture, where fornication cannot be 'otherwiſe expounded.

'Theſe two rules thus premiſed, now let us mark the 'Scriptures, and according to the ſame judg of the whole 'ſtate of the Church, both that is paſt, and that is to come: 'Firſt, intreating of the cauſes of tribulation to come: Se- 'condly, of the vicinity of time of the ſaid tribulation to 'come.

Five ſtates of the Church deſcribed.

'And firſt, concerning the ſtate of the Church, and of 'cauſes of tribulation, thus ſaith the Lord in the Prophet, 'Ez. 16. ſpeaks to the Church under the name of *Jeruſa-* 'lem, *In the day of thy birth I came by thee, and ſaw thee* 'trodden down in thine own blood, &c. Here he ſpeaketh 'of the time of the Martyrdom of the Church. Then it fol- 'loweth, *After this thou waſt cleanſed from thy blood, thou* 'waſt grown up, and waxen great; then waſhed I thee 'with water, I purged thy blood from thee (ſpeaking of 'ceaſing of perſecution) *I anointed thee with oyl, I gave* 'thee change of raiments, I girded thee with white ſilk, I 'decked thee with coſtly apparel, I put rings upon thy fin- 'gers, a chain about thy neck, ſpangles upon thy forehead, 'and ear-rings upon thine ears. Thus waſt thou deckt with 'ſilver and gold, and a beautiful crown ſet upon thine head. 'Marvellous goodly waſt thou and beautiful, even a very 'Queen waſt thou: For thou waſt excellent in my beauty, 'which I put upon thee, ſaith the Lord God, &c. This Pro- 'phecy, or rather Hiſtory ſpeaketh of and declareth the proſ- 'perity of the Church.

1. The Martyrdom of the Church. 2. The proſperity of the Church.

'And now hear the corruption and tranſgreſſion of the 'Church, for ſo it followeth, *But thou haſt put confidence* 'in thine own beauty, and played the harlot, when thou hadſt 'gotten thee a name. Thou haſt committed whoredom with 'all that went by thee, and haſt fulfilled their deſires; yea, 'thou haſt taken thy garments of divers colours and deck- 'ed thine altars therewith, whereupon thou mighteſt fulfill 'thy whoredom of ſuch a faſhion as never was done, nor 'ſhall be. Which whoredom can in no wiſe be expounded 'for carnal, but ſpiritual whoredom. And therefore ſee how 'lively he hath painted out the corruption and falling of 'the Church.

{KING Edw. 3.} 3. The corruption of the Church.

'And therefore followeth now the correction and pu- 'niſhment of the Church. It followeth, *Behold I ſtretch* 'out my hand over thee, and will diminiſh thy ſtore of 'food, and deliver thee over into the wills of the Philiſtines, 'and of ſuch as hate thee: And they ſhall break down thy 'ſtues, and deſtroy thy Brodel-houſes, (that is, the place 'wherein thou didſt exerciſe this wickedneſs) they ſhall ſtrip 'thee out of thy clothes: All thy fair beautiful jewels ſhall 'they take from thee, and ſo let thee ſit naked and bare, &c.

4. The correction of the Church.

Ezek. 16.

'Here is plainly to beſeen what ſhall happen to the Church, 'and more followeth in the ſaid Chapter. *Thine elder ſiſ-* 'ter is Samaria, ſhe and her daughters upon thy left hand: 'But the youngeſt ſiſter that dwelleth on thy right hand is 'Sodom with her daughters, whoſe ſins were theſe, Pride, 'fulneſs of meat, abundance and idleneſs, neither reached 'they their hand to the poor. And yet neither Sodom thy 'ſiſter, with her daughters, hath done ſo evil as thou and 'thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is, the Syna- 'gogue) done half of thy ſins; yea thou haſt exceeded them 'in wickedneſs. Take therefore and bear thine own confuſi- 'on, &c. Again in *Ezek.* 23. after the Prophet had deſcri- 'bed at large the wickedneſs, corruption, and puniſhment 'of the Synagogue, turning to the Church, he ſaith, *And* 'when her ſiſter ſaw this, ſhe raged and was mad with 'luſt, love of riches, and following voluptuouſneſs. Her for- 'nication and whoredom ſhe committed with Princes and 'great Lords, clothed with all manner of gorgebus appa- 'rel; ſo that her paps were bruiſed, and her breſts were 'marred. And then ſpeaking of her puniſhment, he ſaith, 'Then my heart forſook her, like as my heart was gone 'from her ſiſter alſo. And moreover, repeating again the 'cauſe thereof, he addeth, *Thy wickedneſs and thy forni-* 'cation hath wrought thee all this, &c.

Ezek. 23.

'The like we find alſo in *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and in 'all the other Prophets, who propheſying all together in 'one meaning, and almoſt in one manner of words; do 'conclude with a full agreement and propheſie to come, 'that the Church ſhall fall, and then be puniſhed for her 'great exceſſes, and be utterly ſpoiled, except ſhe repent of 'all her abominations. Whereof ſpeaketh *Oſeas*, Ch. 2. *Let* Oſee 2.

'*her put away her whoredom out of her ſight, and her ad-* 'voutry from her breſts, leſt I ſtrip her naked, and ſet her 'even as ſhe came naked into the world, (that is, in her 'primitive poverty.) So if ſhe do it not, it ſhall follow of 'her as in the Prophet *Nahum*, Ch. 3. *For the multitude of* Nahum 3.

'*the fornication of the fair and beautiful harlot, which is* 'a miſtris of witchcraft, yea and ſelleth the people through 'her whoredom, and the Nations through her witchcraft. 'And it followeth upon the ſame, *Behold I come upon thee,* 'ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and will pull thy clothes over thy 'head, that thy nakedneſs ſhall appear among the heathen, 'and thy ſhame amongſt the Kingdoms, &c.

The reformation of the Church.

'Wherefore by theſe it is to be underſtood that upon this 'Church the primitive juſtice of God is to be revealed here- 'after. And thus much of the firſt of the four members 'above touched.

Certain notes and ſigns, that the tribulation of the Church draweth near.

'Now to the ſecond member of my Theme, *Juxta eſt*; 'concerning the nearneſs of time. Although it is not for us 'to know the moments and articles of time; yet by certain 'notes and ſigns peradventure it may be collected and ga- 'thered, that which I have here to ſay. For the tradition 'whereof, firſt I ground my ſelf upon the ſaying of the A- 'poſtle *Paul*, 2 *Theſ.* 2. where he writeth, *That unleſs there* 2 *Theſ.* 2. 'come a defection firſt, &c. By the which defection, *Jerome* Except there come a defection firſt: how it is to be underſtood. 'ultima quæſt. ad inquiſitiones Januarii, gathereth and ex- 'poundeth allegorically, the deſolation of the Monarchy of 'Rome: Between the which deſolation, and the perſecution of 'the Church by Antichriſt, he putteth no mean ſpace. And 'now what is the ſtate of that Commonwealth, if it be

'com-

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'compared to the majeſty of that it hath been, judge your 'ſelves. Another gloſs there is that ſaith, how by that de- 'fection is meant; that from the Church of *Rome* ſhall 'come a departing of ſome other Churches.

2d. Note or token.

'The ſecond note and mark is this, when the Church 'ſhall be worſe in manners than was the Synagogue; as ap- 'peareth by the ordinary gloſs upon the third of *Jeremy*, 'where it is written, *The backſlider Iſrael may ſeem juſt 'and righteous in compariſon of ſinful Judah.* That is, the 'Synagogue in compariſon of the Church of God. Where- 'fore writeth *Origen* ſaying, Think that to be ſpoken of us 'what the Lord ſaith in *Ezek.* 16. *Thou haſt exceeded thy 'ſiſters in thine iniquities.* Wherefore now (to compare the 'one with the other) Firſt, ye know how Chriſt rebuked 'the *Phariſes*, who, as *Jerome* witneſſeth, were then the Cler- 'gy of the *Jews*, of covetouſneſs, for that they ſuffered Doves 'to be ſold in the Temple of God. Secondly, for that they 'feigned honour God with their lips, and not with their heart, 'and becauſe they ſaid, but did not. Thirdly, he rebuked them, 'for that they were hypocrites. To the firſt then, let us ſee 'whether it be worſe to ſell both Church and Sacraments 'than to ſuffer Doves to be ſold in the Temple or not. The '2d. whereas the *Phariſes* were rebuked for honouring God 'with their lips, and not with their heart; there be ſome 'which neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips; 'and which neither do well, nor yet ſay well, neither do 'they preach any word at all, but be dumb dogs, not able to 'bark, impudent and ſhameleſs dogs, that neither have e- 'nough, ſuch Paſtors as have no underſtanding, declining and 'ſtraying all in their own way, every one given to covetouſ- 'neſs from the higheſt to the loweſt. And 3dly, As for hy- 'pocriſie there be alſo ſome, whoſe intolerable pride and 'malice is ſo manifeſt and notorious, kindled up like a fire, 'that no cloak or ſhadow of hypocriſie can cover it, but are 'ſo paſt all ſhame, that it may be well verified of them, 'which the Prophet ſpeaks, *Thou haſt gotten thee the face 'of an Harlot, thou wouldſt not bluſh, &c.*

The Synagogue and Church compared together in manners.

3d. Note or token.

'The third ſign and token of tribulation approaching 'near to the Church, may well be taken of the too much 'unequal proportion ſeen this day in the Church. Where 'one is hungry and ſtarveth, another is drunk. By reaſon 'of which ſo great inequality, it cannot be that the ſtate of 'the Church, as it is now, can long indure. For like as in 'good harmony, to make the Muſick perfect, is required a 'moderate and proportionate equality of voices, which if it 'do much exceed, it taketh away all the ſweet melody; ſo 'according to the ſentence of the Philoſopher, *by too much 'immoderate inequality or diſparity of Citizens, the Com- 'monwealth falleth to ruine.* Contrary, *where mediocrity, 'that is, where a mean inequality with ſome proportion is 'kept, that policy ſtandeth firm and more ſure to continue.* 'Now, among all the politick regiments of the Gentiles, I 'think none is to be found in Hiſtories, wherein is to be 'ſeen ſo great and exceeding odds, as in the policy of 'Prieſts; of whom ſome be ſo high, that they exceed all 'Princes of the earth; ſome again be ſo baſe, that they are 'under all Raſcals, ſo that ſuch a Policy or Commonwealth 'may well be called *Oligarchia.*

*Oligarchia*, is where a few bear all the ſway, and all the reſt be nothing worth.

'This may we plainly ſee and learn in the body of Man, 'to the which *Plutarchus* (writing to *Thracinius*) doth 'ſemblably compare the Commonwealth. In the which bo- 'dy if the ſuſtenance received ſhould all run to one mem- 'ber, ſo that that member ſhould be too much exceedingly 'pampered, and all the other parts too much pined, that 'body could not long continue; ſo in the body of the wealth 'Eccleſiaſtical, if ſome who be the heads be ſo enormly over- 'grown in riches and dignity, that the weaker members of 'the body be ſcant able to bear them up, there is a great to- 'ken of diſſolution and ruine ſhortly. Whereupon cometh 'well in place the ſaying of the Prophet *Eſay*; *Every head 'is ſick, every heart is full of ſorrow*; of the which head 'it is alſo ſpoken in the Prophet *Amos*, *Chap.* 6. *Wo be to 'the ſecure, proud and wealthy in Sion, and to ſuch as think 'themſelves ſo ſecure upon the Mount of Samaria, taking 'themſelves as heads and rulers over other, &c.* And more- 'over in the ſaid Prophet *Eſay* it followeth, *From the top of 'the head to the ſole of the foot there is no whole part in all 'the body*, to wit, in the inferiours, becauſe they are not able 'to live for poverty; in the ſuperior, becauſe for their ex- 'ceſſive riches, they are left from doing good. And it fol- 'loweth in the ſame place, *but all are wounds, and botches, 'and ſtripes.* Behold here the danger coming, the wounds of 'diſcord and diviſion, the botch or ſore of rancour and en- 'vy, the ſwelling ſtripe of rebellion and miſchief.

Eſay 1.

Amos 6.

'The fourth ſign is the pride of Prelates. Some there 4th. Sign. 'have been which fondly have diſputed of the poverty of 'Chriſt, and have inveighed againſt the Prelates, becauſe they 'live not in poverty of the Saints. But this fancy cometh 'of the ignorance of moral Philoſophy and Divinity, and of 'the defect of natural prudence; for that in all Nations, 'and by common Laws, Prieſts have had, and ought to 'have wherewith to ſuſtain themſelves more honeſtly than 'the vulgar ſort, and Prelates more honeſtly than the Sub- 'jects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great 'Horſes, their Troops of Horſemen, their ſuperfluous pomp 'of their waiting-men and great Families, which ſcarcely 'can be maintained without pride, neither can be ſuſtained 'with ſafe juſtice, and many not without fighting and in- 'juries inconvenient; not much unlike to that as *Juſtine* 'the Hiſtorian writeth of the *Carthaginenſes*, *The family* '(ſaith he) *of ſo great Emperors, was intolerable to ſuch a 'free City.* In ſemblable wiſe, this great pride in the Church 'of God (eſpecially in theſe days) doth move not ſo few to 'due reverence, as many to indignation; and yet more to 'thoſe things aforeſaid, which think no leſs but to do Sacri- 'fice to God, if they may rob and ſpoil certain fat Prieſts 'and perſons, namely, ſuch as neither have Nobility of 'bloud, and leſs learning to bear themſelves upon, but are li- 'ers, ſervile and fraudulent, to whom the Lord ſpeaketh by 'his Prophet *Amos* 4. *Hear you fatted kine of Samaria, ye 'that do poor men wrong, and oppreſs the needy, the day ſhall 'come upon you, &c.*

Pride of Prelates noted.

Amos 4.

The fifth ſign is, the tyranny of the Prelates and Preſi- 5th. Sign. 'dents, which as it is a violent thing, ſo it cannot be long 'laſting. For as *Solomon* ſaith, *Cap.* 16. *For it was requi- 'ſite that (without any excuſe) deſtruction ſhould come upon 'thoſe which exerciſed tyranny.* The property of a Tyrant 'is not to ſeek the commodity of his Subjects, but only his 'will and profit. Such were the Paſtors that fed not the 'Lords flock, but fed themſelves; of whom and to whom 'ſpeaketh the Prophet *Ezek.* 34. *Wo be unto thoſe paſtors 'of Iſrael that feed themſelves. Should not the ſhepherds feed 'the flocks?* With many other threatnings againſt them in 'the ſaid Chapter. Wo be unto them which rejoice at the 'tranſgreſſions of ſuch whom it lieth in their power to 'condemn, neither do they ſeek what he is able to pay, to 'whom crieth *Michas* the Prophet, *Cap.* 3. *Ye hate the good 'and love the evil, ye pluck off mens ſkins, and the fleſh 'from the bones, ye eat the fleſh of my people, and flay off 'their ſkin, ye break their bones, ye chop them in pieces as it 'were into a caldron, and as fleſh into the pot, &c.* And 'therefore the foreſaid *Ezekiel* pronounceth, *Behold, I will 'my ſelf come upon the Shepherds and require my Sheep 'from their hands, and make them ceaſe from feeding my 'Sheep, yea the Shepherds ſhall feed themſelves no more, for 'I will deliver my Sheep out of their mouths, ſo that they 'ſhall not devour them any more.*

Cap. 16.

The tyranny of Prelates noted.

Ezek. 34.

Mich. 3.

Ezek. 34.

'The 6th. ſign is in promoting of the unworthy, and of 6th. Sign. 'neglecting them that be worthy. This, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, Promoting of unworthy Miniſters. 'is a great cauſe many times of the diſſolution of common- 'weals. And oftentimes it ſo happeneth in the Wars of 'Princes, that the contempt and ſmall regarding of the va- 'liant, and the exalting of others that be leſs worthy, in- 'gendreth divers kinds and kindlings of ſedition. For by 'the reaſon partly of the ſame, partly of the other cauſe a- 'bove recited, we have read not only in Books, but have 'ſeen with our eies, divers flouriſhing Cities well near ſub- 'verted; whereas good men be not made of, but are vexed 'with ſorrow and grief by the evil; the contention at length 'braſteth out upon the Prince, as *Haymo* reciteth out of *Ori- 'gen.* This always hath been the perverſe incredulity of 'mans hard heart, and that not only in hearing, but alſo in 'ſeeing; yet will they not believe that other have periſhed, 'unleſs they alſo periſh themſelves.

*Haymo.*

'The ſeventh ſign is, the tribulation of outward policy 7th. Sign. 'and commotions of the people, which in a great part is 'now happened already. And therefore foraſmuch as *Se- 'neca* ſaith, *Men do complain commonly that evils only 'come ſo faſt*; It is to be feared leſt alſo the Eccleſiaſtical 'policy be afflicted not only outwardly, but alſo in it ſelf; 'and ſo that be fulfilled in us, that in *Jeremy* is prophelied, 'Chap. 4. *Murther is cried upon of murther, and the whole 'land*

Jerem. 4.

'*land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly.* And *Ezek.7.Wherefore I will bring cruel tyrants from among the Heathen, to take their Houses in possession; I will make the pomp of the proud to cease, and their Sanctuaries shall be taken. One mischief and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumour shall come after another; then shall they seek Visions in vain at their Prophets, the Law shall be gone from their Priests, and wisdom from their Elders,&c.*

Ezek.7.

8. Sign.

'The eighth sign is, the refusing of correction, neither will they hear their faults told them, so that it happened to the Princes and Rulers of the Church, as it is written in the Prophet *Zech. ca.7. They stopped their ears that they would not hear, yea they made their hearts as an Adamant stone, lest they should hear the law and words which the Lord of Hosts sent in his holy Spirit by the Prophets aforetime.* Also *Esay* witnessing after the same effect, *chap.* 30. saith, *For it is an obstinate people, lying children, and unfaithful children that will not hear the law of the Lord, which say to the Prophets, meddle with nothing, and tell us nothing, that is true and right, but speak friendly words to us, &c.* All this shall be verified when the Prelates begin to hate them that tell them truth, and have knowledge; like unto such of whom *Amos* speaketh, *Chap.*5. *They bear him evil will that reproveth them openly, and whoso telleth them the plain truth, they abhor him.* And therefore saith the Lord to the Church of *Jerusalem, Ose* 4. *Seeing thou hast refused understanding, I have refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my Priest. And forsomuch as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so shall it be like Priest, like people,&c.* And many other sayings there be in the Prophets, speaking of the dejecting and casting down of the Priestly honour.

Zech.7. Refusing of correction in the Clergy. Esa. 30. Truth shent. Amos 5. Ose 4.

Lack of learned Priests.

'Besides these foresaid signs and tokens hitherto recited, there be also divers others; as the backsliding from righteousness, the lack of discreet and learned Priests, promoting of children into the Church, with such other like. But these being already well noted and marked, you may easily judge and understand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and clear from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the Word of the Lord be true according to my Theme, *Juxta est justitia mea ut reveletur, My righteousness is near at hand to be revealed,&c.* And thus much of the second part.

The third part or member of the subdivision.

'Now to the third part or member of my subdivision, which is concerning the false and perilous opinions of some, upon this word of my Theme, *ut veniat, &c.* Which opinions principally be four, repugning all against the truth of the Canonical Scripture.

The first opinion.

'The first opinion is of such men, who having too much confidence in themselves, do think and perswade with themselves, that the Prelates be the Church which the Lord will always keep and never forsake, as he hath promised in the persons of the Apostles, *Matth.*28. saying, *And I will be with you to the end of the World, &c.* But this is to be understood of faith, whereof Christ speaketh, *Luke* 21. *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail.* Whereof we read *Eccles.*40. *Faith shall stand for ever,&c.* And albeit charity wax never so cold, yet faith notwithstanding, shall remain in few, and in all distresses of the world; of the which distresses, our Saviour doth prophesie in many places to come. And lest peradventure some should think themselves to be safe from tribulation, because they be of the Church; this opinion the Lord himself doth contrary in *Jerem.7. Trust not* (saith he) *in false lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord.* And a little after, *but you trust in words and lying counsels which deceive you, and do you no good.*

The Church where it is, and in whom it consisteth. Eccl. 40. Jerem.7.

The second opinion.

'The second opinion is of them, which defer time; for this they will grant, that the Church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly; thinking thus with themselves, that these causes and tokens afore recited, have been before at other times as well in the Church. For both by *Gregory* and *Bernard*, holy Doctors, in time past, the Prelates have been in like sort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pomp and pride, for the promoting of persons and children unfit unto Ecclesiastical functions, and other vices more, which have reigned before this in the Church of God more than now, and yet by God his grace the Church hath prospered and stood. Do ye not see, that if an house have stood and continued ruinous a long season, it is never the more near the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreover, many times it cometh so to pass, in Realms and Kingdoms, that the posterity is punished for the sins of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the book of *Lamentations,Chap.*5. *Our fathers have sinned, and are now gone, and we must bear their wickedness,&c.* Against this cogitation or opinion, well doth the Lord answer by the Prophet *Ezekiel,Chap.*12. saying, *Behold thou son of Man, the house of Israel saith in this manner; Tush, as for the Vision that he hath seen, it will be many a day ere it come to pass; it is far off yet, the thing that he prophesieth. Therefore say unto them, thus saith the Lord God, The words that I have spoken shall be deferred no longer, look what I have said shall come to pass, saith the Lord, &c.* We have seen in our days things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath been seen in other times also, as we read written in the book of *Lament. ch.*4. *The Kings of the earth, nor all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed, that the enemy and adversary should have come in at the gates of the City, for the sins of her Priests, and for the wickedness of her elders, that have shed innocents bloud within her,&c.* By *Jerusalem*, as is said is meant the Church.

KING Edw.3. Thren.5. Ezek.12. Thren.4

The third opinion or error.

'The third opinion or error is very perilous and perverse, of all such as say *veniat*, let come that will come; let us conform our selves to this world, and take our time with those temporizers which say in the Book of *Wisdom,Sap.*2. *Come let us enjoy our goods and pleasures that be present, and let us use the creature as in youth quickly, &c.* Such as these be are in dangerous case, and be greatly prejudicial to good men in the Church. And if the Heads and Rulers of the Church were so vile to have any such detestable cogitation in them, there were no place in Hell too deep for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the blood of so many Martyrs, inlarged and increased with the vertues and merits of so many Saints, and indued so richly with the devotion of so many secular Princes, and so long prospered hitherto; if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickedness well deserved of God to be cursed; yea here also in this present world to incur temporal tribulation and destruction, which they fear more; by the sentence of the Lord, saying to them in the Book of the *Proverbs,Chap.*1. *All my counsels ye have despised, and set my correction at nought; therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall upon you.*

Sap. 2. Prov. 1.

The fourth opinion or error.

'Fourthly, another opinion or error is of such as being unfaithful believe not that any such thing will come. And this error seemeth to have no remedy, but that as other things and other Kingdoms have their ends and limits set unto them, which they cannot overpass; so it must needs be, that such a domination and government of the Chuch have an end, by reason of the demerits and obstinacies of the Governours provoking and requiring the same; like as we read in the Prophet *Jeremy, Chap.*8. *There is no man that taketh repentance for his sin, that will so much as say, wherefore have I done this? But every man runneth forth still like a wild horse in battel.* And the Prophet *Jeremy* in the 13th.*Chap.* of his Prophesie, *Like as the man of Inde may change his skin, and the Cat of mountain her spots, so may ye, that be exercised in evil, do good.* Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the same Prophet, *Chap.*17. speaking of *Juda*, signifying the Church, *The sin of Judah* (saith he) *is written in the table of your hearts, and graven so upon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw*; which is as much to say, as indeleble, or *which cannot be rased out*; as also *Ezekiel* speaking of the punishment, *chap.*21. saith, *I the Lord have drawn my sword out of the sheath, and it cannot be revoked.* Notwithstanding, all these signifie no impossibility, but difficulty, because that wicked men are hardly converted; for otherwise the Scripture importeth no such inflexibility with God, but if conversion come, he will forgive. So we read in the Prophet *Jonas, Chap.*3. *Who can tell? God may turn and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath that we perish not.* And to the like effect saith the same Lord in *Jeremy,Chap.*26. *Look thou keep not one word back, if peradventure they will hearken and turn every man from his wicked way,*

Jerem. 8. Jer. 13. Jer. 17. Ezek.21. Jonas 3. Jer. 26.

that

{KING Edw.3} 'that *also may repent of the plague which I have determine* 'to bring upon them, *becauſe of their wicked inventions, &c.* For the further proof whereof, *Ninive* we 'ſee converted, and remained undeſtroyed, *&c.* Likewiſe 'the Lord alſo had revealed deſtruction unto *Conſtantinople* 'by ſundry ſigns and tokens, as *Auguſtine* in a certain Ser- 'mon doth declare. And thus for the third part or mem- 'ber of my diviſion.

The fourth part or member of the diviſion.

'Fourthly and laſtly, It remaineth that I declare ſome 'wholeſome concluding now upon the cauſes preceeding; 'That is, if by theſe cauſes and ſigns (heretofore declared) 'tribulation be prepared to fall upon the Church, then let 'us humble our minds mildly and wiſely. And if we ſo 'return with heart and in deed unto God, verily he ſhall 'reſcue and help after an ineſtimable wiſe, and will ſurceaſe 'from ſcourging us, as he promiſeth by his Prophet *Jer.* 18.

Jer. 18. *If that people againſt whom I have thus deviſed, convert from their wickedneſs, immediately I will repent* 'of the plague *that I deviſed to bring upon them,* ſpeaking 'here after the manner of Men, *&c.* Now therefore, for- 'aſmuch as tribulation and affliction is ſo near coming to- 'ward us, yea lieth already upon us, let us be the more di- 'ligent to call upon God for mercy. For I think verily 'theſe many years, there have not been ſo many and ſo deſ- 'piteful hearts and evil willers, ſtout, and of ſuch a rebelli- 'ous heart againſt the Church of God, as be now adays: 'neither be they lacking that would work all that they can

Eſay 5. 'againſt it, and lovers of new-fangleneſs; whoſe hearts the 'Lord happily will turn, that they ſhall not hate his people, 'and work deceit againſt his ſervants, I mean againſt Prieſts, 'whom they have now in little or no reputation at all, al- 'beit many yet there be, through Gods grace, good and 'godly; But yet the fury of the Lord is not turned away, 'but ſtill his hand is ſtretched out. And unleſs ye be con- 'verted, he ſhaketh his Sword, he hath bent his Bow, and

Eſay. 30. 'prepared it ready. Yet the Lord ſtandeth waiting, that 'he may have mercy upon you, *Eſay* 30. And therefore, 'as the greatneſs of fear ought to incite us, ſo hope of ſal- 'vation may allure us to pray and call upon the Lord, eſ- 'pecially now toward this holy and ſacred time and ſolem- 'nity of Chriſts Nativity: For that holy and continual 'prayer without intermiſſion is profitable, and the inſtant 'devotion and vigilant deprecation of the juſt man is of 'great force. And if terrene Kings, in the day of celebration 'of their Nativity, be wont to ſhew themſelves more liberal 'and bountiful, how much more ought we to hope well, 'that the heavenly King, of nature moſt benign, now at his 'Natal and Birth-day, will not deny pardon and remiſſion 'to ſuch as rightly call unto him.

Joſhua 7. 'And now therefore, as it is written in *Joſhua. Chap.* 7.

1 Kin. 25. 'Be ye *ſanctified againſt to morrow, &c.* And ſay unto 'him as it is written in the firſt Book of *Kings, Chap.* 25. '*Now let thy ſervants I pray thee find favour in thy ſight,* 'for *we come to thee in a good ſeaſon.* Moreover, ye may 'find that ye ask, if that ye ask that which he brought in 'the day of his Nativity; that is, the peace of the Church, 'not ſpiritual only, but alſo temporal; which the Angelical 'noiſe did ſound, and experience the ſame did prove, teſti- 'fied by *T. Livius, Plinius,* and other Heathen ſtory-wri- 'ters, which all marvelled thereat, ſaying, that ſuch an uni- 'verſal peace as that could not come on earth, but by the 'gift of God. For ſo God did forepromiſe in the Prophet

Eſay 66. 'Eſay, *Chap.* 66. *Behold, I will let peace into* Jeruſalem *like*

Pſal. 71. 'a water flood, *&c.* And in the *Pſal.* 71. *In his time righte-* 'ouſneſs *ſhall flouriſh, ye and abundance of peace, &c.*

'Therefore now (O reverend fathers in the Lord) and 'you here in this preſent Aſſembly, behold, I ſay, the day 'of life and ſalvation; now is the opportune time to pray 'unto God, that the ſame thing, which he brought into 'the world at his birth, he will grant in theſe days to his 'Church, that is, his peace. And like as *Niniveh* was 'ſubverted, and over-turned, not in members but in man- 'ners, ſo the ſame words of my Theam, *Juxta eſt juſti- 'tia mea ut reveletur,* may be verified in us, not of the pri- 'mitive juſtice, but of our ſanctification by grace; ſo that, as 'to morrow is celebrated the Nativity of our Saviour, our 'righteouſneſs may riſe together with him, and his bleſſing 'may be upon us, which God hath promiſed ſaying, *My 'ſaving health is near at hand to come, &c.* Whereof ſpeak-

Eſay 51. 'eth *Eſay* the Prophet, *Chap.* 51. *My ſaving health ſhall en- 'dure for ever, &c.* This health grant unto us, the Father, 'Son and Holy Ghoſt, *Amen.*

This Sermon was made by Maſter *Nicholas Orem* before Pope *Urban* and his Cardinals, upon the Even of the Nativity of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of *Advent*, in the year of our Lord 1364. and the ſecond of his Popedom.

In the 5*th.* year of this forenamed Pope *Urban*, began firſt the Order of the *Jeſuites*. And unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 1367. the Offices here in *England*, as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, and of the Privy Seal, were wont to be in the hands of the Clergy. But about this year, through the motion of the Lords in the Parliament, and partly (as witneſſeth mine Author) for hatred of the Clergy, all the ſaid Offices were removed from the Clergy to the Lords Temporal.

The Order of *Jeſuites.* {Anno 1367} The chief offices of the Realm tranſlated from the Clergy to the Lords Temporal.

After the death of Pope *Urban*, next ſucceeded Pope *Gregory* the 11*th.* who, among his other acts, firſt reduced again the Papacy out of *France* unto *Rome*, which had from thence been abſent the ſpace now of 70 years, being thereto moved (as *Sabellicus* recorderth) by the anſwer of a certain Biſhop, whom as the Pope ſaw ſtanding by him, he asked, why he was ſo long from his charge and Church at home, ſaying that, *it was not the part of a good Paſtor, to keep him from his flock ſo long.* Whereunto the Biſhop anſwering again, ſaid, *And you your ſelf, being the chief Biſhop, who may and ought to be a ſpectacle to us all, why are you from the place ſo long where your Church doth ly?* By the occaſion whereof the Pope ſought all means after that to remove and to rid his Court out of *France* again to *Rome*, and ſo he did.

Pope *Gregory* the 11th. {Anno 1370.} The Papacy reduced again from *France* to *Rome.*

This *Gregory* 11*th.* in a certain Bull of his ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, maketh mention of one named *Militzius* a *Bohemian*, and ſaith in the ſame Bull, that this *Militzius* ſhould hold opinion and teach *Anno* 1366, that Antichriſt was already come. Alſo that the ſaid *Militzius* had certain Congregations following him; and that in the ſame Congregations were certain Harlots, who being converted from their wickedneſs, were brought to a godly life. Which Harlots being ſo converted, he uſed to ſay, were to be preferred before all the holy religious Virgins. And therefore he commanded the Archbiſhop to excommunicate and perſecute the ſaid *Militzius*, which in foretime had bin a religious Man of *Prague*, and after forſook his Order, and gave himſelf to preaching, and at length was by the foreſaid Archbiſhop impriſoned.

*Militzius* a *Bohemian*, for the truth perſecuted by the Pope. *Ex Bulla Gregorii* 11.

*Jacobus Miſnenſis*, a learned Man and a Writer in the time of *John Hus*, maketh mention of this *Militzius*, and calleth him a worthy and a famous Preacher. Alſo he citeth many things out of his Writings, in the which Writings this good *Militzius* thus declareth of himſelf, how he was moved and urged by the Holy Ghoſt to ſearch out by the ſacred Scriptures, concerning the coming of Antichriſt. And that he was compelled by the ſame holy Spirit publickly to preach at *Rome*, and alſo before the Inquilitor there to proteſt plainly, that the ſame great Antichriſt, which is propheſied of in the holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreover his ſaying was, '*That the Church through negligence of the Paſtors was deſolate, did abound in temporal riches, but in ſpiritual riches was empty.* Alſo, *That in the Church of Chriſt were certain Idols which deſtroyed* Jeruſalem, *and defaced the Temple, but hypocriſie cauſed that thoſe Idols could not be ſeen.* Alſo, *That many there were which denied Chriſt, becauſe that knowing the truth, yet for fear of men they durſt not confeſs their conſcience, &c.* And thus much of good *Militzius*, living in the time of *Gregory* 11*i* and King *Edward* the third, *An.* 1370.

The coming of Antichriſt propheſied.

The which King of *England*, holding a Parliament in the third year of this Pope, ſent his Embaſſadors to him, deſiring him, that he from henceforth would abſtain from his Reſervations of Benefices uſed in the Court of *England*; And that ſpiritual Men, within this Realm promoted unto Biſhopricks, might freely enjoy their Elections within the Realm, and be confirmed by their Metropolitans, according to the ancient cuſtom of the Realm. Wherefore upon theſe, and ſuch other like, wherein the King and the Realm thought themſelves much grieved, he deſired of the Pope ſome remedy to be provided, *&c.* Whereunto the Pope returned a certain anſwer again unto the King, requiring by his meſſengers to be certified again of the Kings mind concerning the ſame. But what anſwer it was, it is not in the ſtory expreſſed, ſave that the year following, which was 1374, there was a tractation at *Burges* upon certain of the ſaid

K. *Edward* complaineth of the Popes reſervation of Benefices

The Pope put from his reſerving of Benefices in *England*. *Quare impedit.*

ſaid Articles between the King and the Pope, which did hang two years in ſuſpence; and ſo at length it was thus agreed between them, that the Pope ſhould no more uſe his reſervations of Benefices in *England*, and likewiſe the King ſhould no more conſer and give Benefices upon the Writ, *Quare impedit, &c.* But as touching the freedom of Elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, mentioned in the year before, thereof was nothing touched.

As touching theſe Reſervations, Proviſions and Collations, with the Elections of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Beneficed Men, and other, wherewith the Pope vexed this Realm of *England*, as before you have heard; the King by the conſent of the Lords and Commons, in the 25*th.* year of his Reign enacted; that according to a Statute made in the 30*th.* year of his Grandfather *Edward* the firſt, wherein was made an Act againſt the ravenous pillage of the Pope, through the ſame Proviſions, Reſervations and Collations, *&c.* but not put in execution: By the which Proviſions, the ſtate of the Realm decreaſed more and more, the Kings Royalty and Prerogative was greatly obſcured and diminiſhed, innumerable treaſure of the Realm tranſported, aliens and ſtrangers placed in the beſt and fatteſt Biſhopricks, Abbeys and Benefices within the Realm; and ſuch, as either for their Offices in *Rome*, as Cardinalſhips, and ſuch like, could not be here reſident, or if reſident, yet better away for cauſes infinite, as partly have been touched before; he not only revived the ſaid Statute made by *Edward* the firſt his Grandfather, but alſo inlarged the ſame. Adding thereunto very ſtrait and ſharp penalties againſt the offendors, therein, or in any part thereof, as exemption out of the Kings protection, loſs of all their Lands, Goods and other poſſeſſions, and their bodies to be impriſoned at the Kings pleaſure; and further, whoſoever was lawfully convict, or otherwiſe, for want of appearance by Proceſs directed forth, were within the lapſe of this Statute or *Præmunire* (for ſo bare the name thereof) ſhould ſuffer all and every ſuch moleſtations and injuries, as men exempted from the protection of the King. Inſomuch, that whoſoever had killed ſuch Men, had been in no more danger of law therefore, than for the killing of any Outlaw, or one not worthy to live in a Commonweal. Like unprofitable members were they then, yea, in that time of ignorance, eſteemed in this Commonweal of *England* which would offer themſelves to the wilful ſlavery and ſervile obedience of the Pope; which thing in theſe days, yea and that amongſt no ſmall fools, is counted more than Evangelical holineſs. He that liſt to peruſe the Statute, and would ſee every branch and Article thereof at large diſcuſſed and handled, with the Penalties therefore due; let him read the Statute of Proviſion and *Præmunire* made in the 25*th.* year of this Kings days. And let him read in the Statutes made in the Parliaments holden the 27*th.* year, and 38*th.* year of his Reign; And under the ſame Title of Proviſion and *Præmunire* he ſhall find the Popes Primacy and Juriſdiction within this Realm more nearly touched, and much of his Papal power reſtrained: Inſomuch that, whoſoever for any cauſe or controverſie in law, either ſpiritual or temporal, the ſame being determinable in any of the Kings Courts (as all matters were) whether they were perſonal or real citations, or other, ſhould either appeal or conſent to any appellation to be made out of the Realm to the Pope or See of *Rome*; ſhould incur the ſaid penalty and danger of *Præmunire*. Divers other matters wherein the Pope is reſtrained of his uſurped power, authority and juriſdiction within this realm of *England*, are in the ſaid Titles and Statutes expreſſed, and at large ſet forth, who ever liſt to peruſe the ſame, which for brevities ſake I omit, haſting to other matters.

The law of *Præmunire*, with the penalty thereof.

The Popes Primacy here in *England* bridled

About this time, being the year of our Lord 1370. lived holy *Bridget*, whom the Church of *Rome* hath canonized not only for a Saint, but alſo for a Propheteſs; who notwithſtanding, in her Book of Revelations, which hath bin oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the Pope, and of the filth of his Clergy, calling him a murtherer of ſouls, a ſpiller and a piller of the flock of Chriſt, more abominable than the *Jews*, more cruel than *Judas*, more unjuſt than *Pilate*, worſe than Lucifer himſelf. The See of the Pope ſhe prophelieth ſhall be thrown down into the deep like a Millſtone; and that his aſſiſter ſhall burn with brimſtone; Affirming, that the Prelates, Biſhops and Prieſts are the cauſe why the Doctrine of Chriſt is neglected, and almoſt extinguiſhed. And that the Clergy have turned the Ten Commandments of God into two words, to wit, *Da pecuniam*, that is *Give mony*. It were long and tedious to declare all that ſhe againſt them writeth. Among the reſt which I omit, let this ſuffice for all, whereas the ſaid *Bridget* affirmeth in her Revelations, that when the holy Virgin ſhould ſay to her Son, how *Rome* was a fruitful and fertil field; yea, ſaid he, but of Weeds only and Cockle, *&c.*

S. Bridget.

*Ex lib. revelationum Divæ Bridgitiæ.*

KING 1 *Ed.* 3.

*Da pecuniam.*

*Rome* a fertil ground of Weeds and Cockle.

To this *Bridget* I will joyn alſo *Catharina Senenſis*, an holy Virgin, which lived much about the ſame time. *An.* 1379. Of whom writeth *Antoninus part.* 3. This *Katharine*, having the ſpirit of Prophecy, was wont much to complain of the corrupt ſtate of the Church, namely of the Prelates of the Court of *Rome*, and of the Pope; prophecying before of the great Schiſm which then followed in the Church of *Rome*, and dured to the Council of *Conſtance*, the ſpace of thirty nine years; alſo of the great Wars and Tribulation, which inſued upon the ſame. And moreover, declared before, and foretold of this ſo excellent Reformation of Religion in the Church now preſent. The words of *Antoninus* be theſe: *After the Virgin in her going to* Rome *had told her Brother of the Wars and Tumults that ſhould riſe in the Countries about* Rome, *after the ſchiſm of the two Popes; I then curious to know of things to come, and knowing that ſhe underſtood by Revelation what ſhould happen, demanded of her I pray you (good Mother) ſaid I, and what ſhall befal after theſe troubles in the Church of God? And ſhe ſaid:*

*Catharina Senenſis.*

*An.* 1379. *Antoninus part.* 3. *tit.* 23. *cap.* 3. *§.* 3. *biſtor.*

The reformation of Religion prophecied of before.

*By theſe Tribulations and Afflictions, after a ſecret manner unknown unto Man, God ſhall purge his holy Church, and ſtir up the ſpirit of his elect. And after theſe things; ſhall follow ſuch a reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a renovation of holy Paſtors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof, maketh my Spirit to rejoyce in the Lord. And as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the Spouſe, which now is all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and deckt with moſt rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faithful ſhall be glad and rejoyce to ſee themſelves ſo beautified with ſo holy Shepherds. Yea, and alſo the Infidels then, allured by the ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, ſhall return to the Catholick fold, and be converted to the true Biſhop and Shepherd of their Souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this ſtorm he will give to his a great calm. And after ſhe had thus ſpoken, ſhe ſtaid, and ſaid no more.*

The Prophecy of Katherine.

Note.

Beſides theſe aforenamed, the Lord, which never ceaſeth to work in his Church, ſtirred up againſt the malignant Church of *Rome*, the ſpirits of divers good and godly Teachers, as *Matthias Pariſienſis*, a *Bohemian* born, who about the year of our Lord 1370. wrote a large Book of Antichriſt, and proveth him to be already come, and noteth the Pope to be the ſame. Which Book one *Illiricus* a Writer in theſe our days hath, and promiſeth to put it in Print. In this Book he doth greatly inveigh againſt the wickedneſs and filthineſs of the Clergy, and againſt the neglecting of their duty in governing the Church. The Locuſt mentioned in the *Apocalyps* he ſaith, be the hypocrites reigning in the Church. The works of Antichriſt, he ſaith, be theſe, the fables and inventions of Men reigning in the Church, the Images and feigned Reliques that are worſhipped every where. *Item*, That men do worſhip every one his proper Saint and Saviour beſide Chriſt, ſo that every Man and City almoſt hath his divers and peculiar Chriſt. He taught and affirmed moreover, that godlineſs and true worſhip of God are not bound to place, perſons or times, to be heard more in this place than in another, at this time more than at another, *&c.* He argueth alſo againſt the Cloiſterers, which leaving the only and true Saviour, ſet up to themſelves their *Franciſcans*, their *Dominicks*, and ſuch other, and have them for their Saviours, glorying and triumphing in them, and feigning many forged lies upon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monks and Friers for neglecting or rather burying the Word of Chriſt, and inſtead of him, for celebrating and ſetting up their own rules and Canons; affirming it to be much hurtful to true godlineſs, for that Prieſts, Monks and Nuns do account themſelves only ſpiritual, and all other to be Lay and Secular, attributing only to themſelves the opinion of holineſs,

*Matthias Pariſienſis* a Writer againſt the Pope. Antichriſt already come. The Doctrine and proteſtation of *Matthias.*

and

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and condemning other Men, with all their politick adminiſtration, and the office as prophane in compariſon of their own. He further writeth that Antichriſt hath ſeduced all Univerſities and Colledges of Learned Men, ſo that they teach no ſincere Doctrine, neither give any light to the Chriſtians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to paſs, that God yet once again will raiſe up godly teachers, who being fervent in the Spirit and zeal of *Helias*, ſhall diſcloſe and refute the errors of Antichriſt, and Antichriſt himſelf, openly to the whole World. This *Matthias* in the ſaid Book of Antichriſt, alledgeth the Sayings and Writings of the Univerſity of *Paris*, alſo the Writings of *Gulielmus de ſancto Amore*, and of *Militzius* afore noted.

*Johannes Mountziger Proteſteth againſt the Pope.*

Anno 1384.

About the ſame time, or ſhortly after, *An.* 1384. we read alſo of *Joannes* of *Mountziger*, Rector of the Univerſity of *Ulme*, who openly in the Schools in his Oration propounded that the body of Chriſt was not God, and therefore not to be worſhipped as God with that kind of worſhip called *Latreia*, as the Sophiſter termeth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he alſo defended by writing; affirming alſo, that Chriſt in his Reſurrection took to him again all his blood which in his Paſſion he had ſhed. Meaning thereby to infer, that the blood of Chriſt, which in many places is worſhipped, neither can be called the blood of Chriſt, neither ought to be worſhipped. But by and by he was reſiſted and withſtood by the Monks and Friers; who by this kind of idolatry were greatly inriched, till at length the Senate and Council of the City was feign to take up the matter between them.

*Nilus* the Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*.

*Nilus* was Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, and lived much about this time. He wrote a long work againſt the *Latines*, that is, againſt ſuch as took part and held with the Church of *Rome*. His firſt Book being written in *Greek* was afterward tranſlated into *Latine*, and lately now into *Engliſh*, in this our time. In the firſt Chapter of this Book, he layeth all the blame and fault of the diſſention and ſchiſm between the Eaſt and the Weſt Church, upon the Pope. He affirmed that the Pope only would command what him liſted, were it never ſo contrary to all the old and ancient Canons; that he would hear and follow no mans advice; that he would not permit any free Councils to be aſſembled, &c. And that therefore it was not poſſible, that the controverſies between the *Greek* Church and *Latine* Church ſhould be decided and determined.

In the ſecond Chapter of his Book, he purpoſely maketh a very learned diſputation. For firſt, he declareth that he, no whit at all by Gods Commandment, but only by humane law, hath any dignity, more than hath other Biſhops; which dignity, the Councils, the Fathers, the Emperors have granted unto him. Neither did they grant the ſame for any other conſideration more, or greater ordinance, than for that the ſame City then had the Empire of all the whole world, and not at all for that *Peter* ever was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, That the ſame primacy or prerogative is not ſuch and ſo great, as he and his Sycophants do uſurp unto themſelves. Alſo he refuteth the chiefeſt propoſitions of the *Papiſts* one after another. He declareth, That the Pope hath no dominion more than other Patriarchs have, and that he himſelf may err as well as other mortal Men; and that he is ſubject both to Laws and Councils, as well as other Biſhops. That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperor, to call general Councils; and that in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes he could eſtabliſh and ordain no more than all other Biſhops might. And laſtly, that he getteth no more by *Peter*'s ſucceſſion, than that he is a Biſhop, as all other Biſhops after the Apoſtles be, *&c.*

*Jacobus Miſuenſis* and *Militzius*.

I cannot among other, following here the occaſion of this matter offered, leave out the memory of *Jacobus Miſuenſis*, who alſo wrote of the coming of Antichriſt. In the ſame he maketh mention of a certain learned Man, whoſe name was *Militzius*, which *Militzius* (ſaith he) was a famous and worthy Preacher in *Praga*. He lived about the year 1366. long before *Huſs*, and before *Wickliff* alſo. In the ſame his writings he declareth, how the ſame good Man *Militzius* was by the holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moved to ſearch out of the holy Scriptures the manner and coming of Antichriſt: and found that now in his time he was already come. And the ſame *Jacobus* ſaith, That the ſaid *Militzius* was conſtrained by the Spirit of God to go up to *Rome*, and there publickly to preach. And that afterward before the Inquiſitor he affirmed the ſame. That the ſame mighty and great Antichriſt, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come.

He affirmed alſo, that the Church, by the negligence of the Paſtors ſhould become deſolate; and that iniquity ſhould abound, that is, by reaſon of Mammon, maſter of iniquity. Alſo, he ſaid that there were in the Church of Chriſt Idols, which ſhould deſtroy *Jeruſalem*, and make the Temple deſolate, but were cloked by hypocriſie. Further, that there be many which deny Chriſt, for that they keep ſilence; neither do they hear Chriſt, whom all the world ſhould know, and confeſs his verity before Men, which alſo wittingly do detain the verity and juſtice of God.

*Militzius* perſecuted by the Pope.

There is alſo a certain Bull of Pope *Gregory* the 11*th.* to the Archbiſhop of *Praga*; wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and perſecute *Militzius* and his auditors. The ſame Bull declareth, that he was once a Canon of *Praga*, but afterward he renounced his Canonſhip, and began to preach; who alſo, for that he ſo manifeſtly preached of Antichriſt to be already come, was of *John* Archbiſhop of *Praga* put in Priſon, declaring what his error was: To wit, how he had his company or congregation to whom he preached, and that amongſt the ſame were certain converted Harlots, which had forſaken their evil life, and did live godly and well, which Harlots he accuſtomed in his Sermons to prefer before all the bleſſed Virgins that never offended. He taught alſo openly, that in the Pope, Cardinals, Biſhops, Prelates, Prieſts, and other religious Men was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only he, and ſuch as held with him, taught the true way of Salvation. His Poſtil in ſome places is yet to be ſeen. They alledge unto him certain other inconvenient Articles, which notwithſtanding, I think the adverſaries, to deprave him withal, have ſlanderouſly invented againſt him. He had, as appeared by the foreſaid Bull, very many of every ſtate and condition, as well rich as poor, that cleaved unto him.

*Henricus de Haſſia.*

About the year of our Lord 1371. lived *Henricus de Jota*, whom *Gerſon* doth much commend, and alſo his companion *Henricus de Haſſia*, an excellent learned and famous Man. An Epiſtle of this *Henricus de Haſſia*, which he wrote to the Biſhop of *Normacia*, *Jacobus Cartſienſis* inſerted in his Book *De erroribus Chriſtianorum*. In the ſame Epiſtle the Author doth greatly accuſe the ſpiritual Men of every Order, yea and the moſt holy of all other, the Pope himſelf, of many and great vices. He ſaid, that the Eccleſiaſtical Governours in the Primitive Church were compared to the Sun ſhining in the day time; and the Political Governours, to the Moon ſhining in the night. But the ſpiritual Men, he ſaid that now are, do neither ſhine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darkneſs do obſcure both the day and the night, that is, with their filthy living, ignorance and impiety. He citeth alſo out of the Prophecy of *Hildegardis* theſe words: *Therefore doth the Devil in himſelf ſpeak of you Prieſts; Dainty Banquets and Feaſts, wherein is all voluptuouſneſs, do I find amongſt theſe men; Inſomuch that mine eies, mine ears, my belly, and my veins be even filled with the froth of them, and my breaſts ſtand aſtrut with the riches of them, &c.* Laſtly, ſaith he, *they every day more and more, as Lucifer did, ſeek to climb higher and higher; till that every day with him more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.*

The Citizens of *Moguntine.*

About the year of our Lord 1390. there were burned at *Bringa* 36 Citizens of *Moguntina*, for the Doctrine of *Waldenſis*, as *Bruſſius* affirmeth; which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the Pope to be that great Antichriſt, which ſhould come; Unleſs peradventure the Pope ſeemed then to be more evidently convicted of Antichriſtianity, than at any other time before he was revealed to be.

A brief rehearſal of ſuch as were put to death for holding againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, before the time of *Wickliffe*.

For the like cauſe, many other beſide theſe are to be found in ſtories, which ſuſtained the like perſecutions by the Pope, if leiſure would ſerve to peruſe all that might be ſearched. As where *Maſſeus* recordeth of divers to the number of an hundred and forty; which in the Province of *Narbone* choſe rather to ſuffer whatſoever grievous puniſhment by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the *Romiſh* Church, contrary to the upright truth of the Scripture.

What

What ſhould I here ſpeak of the 24 which ſuffered at *Paris An.* 1210? Alſo in the ſame Author is teſtified that *An.*1211. there were 400 under the name of Hereticks burned, 80 beheaded, Prince *Americus* hanged, and the Lady of the Caſtle ſtoned to death.

Moreover, in the Chronicles of *Hoveden*, and of other Writers, be recited a marvellous number, which in the Countries of *France* were burned for Hereticks. Of whom, ſome were called *Publicans*, ſome *Catharites*, ſome *Paterines*, and other by other names. What their aſſertions were, I find no certain report worthy of credit.

*Eckhardus a friar burned*

In *Trithemius* it is ſignified of one *Eckhardus* a *Dominican* Frier, who, not long before *Wickliff*'s time, was condemned and ſuffered for Hereſie at *Heidelburgh*, *An.*1330. who as he differeth not much in name, ſo may he be ſuppoſed to be the ſame, whom other do name *Beghardus*, and is ſaid to be burned at *Erphord*.

Of *Albingenſes* becauſe ſufficient mention is made before, of whom great number were burned about the time of King *John*, I paſs them over.

*An Hermit diſputing againſt the Popes Sacraments. Ranulphus.*

Likewiſe, I let paſs the Hermite, of whom *John Bacon* maketh relation, in his 2. *Diſt. Quæſt.* 1. Who, diſputing in *Pauls* Church, affirmed *That thoſe Sacraments which were then uſed in the Church, were not inſtituted by Chriſt*, *An.* 1306. Peradventure it was the ſame *Ranulphus*, mentioned in the Flower of Hiſtories, and is ſaid to die in Priſon; for the time of them doth not much differ.

In *Boetius*, why the Pope ſhould ſo much commend a certain King, becauſe for one man he had ſlain 400, cutting away the Generals from the reſt, I cannot judge, except the cauſe were that, which the Pope calleth Hereſie.

But to let theſe things overpaſs that be uncertain, becauſe neither is it poſſible to comprehend all them which have withſtood the corruption of the Popes See, neither have we any ſuch firm teſtimony left of their doings, credibly to ſtay upon: We will now (Chriſt willing) convert our ſtory to things more certain and undoubted; grounding upon no light reports of feeble credit, nor upon any fabulous Legends without authority; but upon the true and ſubſtantial Copies of the publick Records of the Realm, remaining yet to be ſeen under the Kings moſt ſure and faithful cuſtody. Out of the which Records ſuch matter appeareth againſt the *Popiſh* Church of *Rome*, and againſt his uſurped authority, ſuch open ſtanding and crying againſt the ſaid See, and that not privily, but alſo in open Parliament, in the days of this King *Edward* the third; that neither will the *Romiſh* people of this our age eaſily think it to be true when they ſee it, neither yet ſhall they be able to deny the ſame, ſo near ſtandeth the force of thoſe Records.

*Ex Archivis Regiæ Majeſtatis.*

*Partial diſſimulation in our Hiſtories of the Church of England.*

Ye heard a little before, *p.* 433. how *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being ſent for, and required by the King to come unto him, refuſed ſo to do. What the cauſe was why he denied to come at the Kings ſending, is neither touched of *Polydore Virgil*, nor of any other Monkiſh Chronicler, writing of thoſe acts and times. Whoſe part had bin, faithfully to have diſpenced the ſimple truth of things done to their poſterity. But that which they diſſemblingly and colourably have concealed, contrary to the true law of ſtory, the true cauſe thereof we have found out by the true Parliament Rolls, declaring the ſtory thus.

*Ex anno 6. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 1.*

King *Edward* the 3*d*. in the 6*th*. year of his Reign, hearing that *Edward Bailiol* had proclaimed himſelf King of *Scotland*, required counſel of the whole ſtate, to wit, whether it were better for him to aſſail *Scotland*, and to claim the demeſne or demains of the ſame; or elſe by making him party to take his advantage, and thereby to enjoy the ſervice, as other his anceſtors before him had done. For this cauſe he ſummoned a Parliament of all eſtates to meet at *York*, about the beginning of *December*. Where the King was already come, waiting for the coming of ſuch as were warned thereunto. For the want of whoſe coming the Parliament was rejourned till *Monday*, and from thence to *Tueſday* next enſuing. But forſomuch as moſt of the States were abſent, the Aſſembly required the continuance of the Parliament, until the *Utas* of Saint *Hilary* then enſuing at *York*, which was granted. And ſo a new Summons was eſpecially awarded to every perſon with ſpecial charge to attend, ſo that the affairs of the King and the Realm might not be hindred, becauſe of the debate between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Archbiſhop of *York*, for the ſuperior bearing of their croſs.

In concluſion, for all the Kings ſummoning, none other of all the Clergy came, but only the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and of *Carlile*, and Abbots of *York* and *Selby*. So that hereunto came not the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, nor any other of his Province, and all for bearing the Croſs. Whereby the ſame was not only a loſs to the opportunity to *Scotland*; but alſo an importable charge to the whole eſtate by a new aſſembly. And thus much out of the Records, whereby thou mayſt eaſily judge (prudent Reader) what is to be thought of theſe Pope-holy Catholick Church-men, being of the Popes brood and ſetting up; whom ſuch frivolous cauſes of contention ſtir up both to ſuch diſquietneſs among themſelves, and alſo to ſuch diſobedience againſt their Prince; excuſe them who can. *Ex An. 6. Regis Edwardi 3.*

{KING} {Edw. 3}

*The Archbiſhop of Canterbury came not to the Parliament at York, and all for bearing the Croſs.*

It followeth moreover, in the ſame Records, concerning the abandoning of the Popes proviſions; how that the Commons find great default at Proviſions coming from *Rome*, whereby ſtrangers were enabled within this Realm to enjoy Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and ſhew divers inconveniences inſuing thereby, namely, the decay of daily Alms, the tranſporting of the Treaſure to nouriſh the Kings enemies, the diſcovering of the ſecrets of the Realm, and the diſabling and impoveriſhing of the Clerks within this Realm.

*Ex an. 17. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 39.*

*The Popes proviſions reſtrained, tit. 39.*

They alſo ſhew how the Pope had in moſt covertwiſe granted to two new Cardinals within this Realm (and namely to Cardinal *Peragotz*) above ten thouſand Marks of yearly Taxes. They therefore required the King and Nobles to find ſome remedy, for that they never could ne would any longer bear thoſe ſtrange oppreſſions, or elſe to help them to expel out of this Realm the Popes power by force.

*The Church of England ſpoiled by the Pope and his forreiners.*

Hereupon the King, Lords and Commons, ſent for the Act made at *Carlile*, in the 35*th*. year of King *Edward* the firſt, upon the like complaint; thereby forbidding that any thing ſhould be attempted or brought into the Realm, which ſhould tend to the blemiſhing of the Kings prerogative, or to the prejudice of his Lords or Commons. And ſo at this time the Statute called the Act of Proviſion, was made by common conſent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any Bulls, or ſuch Trinkets from the Court of *Rome*, or the uſing, enjoying, or allowing of any ſuch Bill, Proceſs, Inſtruments, or ſuch Ware, as thereby at large doth appear. Whereof ſufficiently is touched before *Pag.*400.

*The Act of K. Edward the firſt revived for præmunire. tit.60.*

The penalty of which Statute afterward followed in the next Parliament, *An. Reg. Ed.*18. *tit.*32. the which penalty was this: the tranſgreſſors thereof were to lie in perpetual priſon, or to be forejured the Land; And that all Juſtices of Aſſiſe, Goal-delivery, and *Oyer* and *Determiner* may determine the ſame. Required withal, that the ſame Act of proviſion ſhould continue for ever.

*An. Reg. Ed. 3. 18. tit. 32.*

*Item*, In the ſaid 18*th*. year of the Reign of King *Edward*, *tit.*34. it was moreover propounded; that if any Archbiſhop, or any perſon religious, or other, do not preſent within 4 Months ſome able Clerk to any Dignity, where any perſon hath obtained from *Rome*, any Proviſion, Bull, *&c.* but forceaſe the ſame; that then the King may preſent ſome able Clerk.

*Preſentation within 4 months, an. reg. 18. tit. 34.*

*Item*, It was propounded in the ſaid Parliament, *An.*18. *Reg. Ed.*3. That if any Biſhop elect ſhall refuſe to take any ſuch Biſhopricks, otherwiſe than by ſuch Bull; that then ſuch elect ſhall not enter ne enjoy his Temporalties without his ſpecial liſence.

*No election to be taken by the Pope but only by the King, An. reg. 18. tit. 35.*

Alſo that the King ſhall diſpoſe all ſuch Benefices and Dignities of ſuch aliens his enemies, as remain in the Country of his enemies, and imploy the profits thereof to the defence of the Realm.

*Diſpoſitions of Benefices only in the Kings hand, an. 18. Ed. 3. tit. 36.*

Moreover, it was propounded, that Commiſſioners be ſent to all the Kings Ports, to apprehend all ſuch perſons as ſhall bring in any ſuch inſtrument from *Rome*, and to bring them forthwith before the Council to anſwer thereto.

*Bulls from Rome forbidden, an. 18 reg. Ed. 3. tit. 37.*

Propounded furthermore, that the Deanry of *York*, which is to be recovered by judgment in the Kings Court, may be beſtowed upon ſome able Man within the Realm, who will maintain the ſame againſt him (meaning the Cardinal, who holdeth the ſame by proviſion from *Rome*, being the enemy to the King, and to the Realm) and that the profits may be imployed to the defence of the Realm.

*The Deanry of York taken from the Cardinal, an. 18. Reg. Ed 3. tit. 38.*

The

KING *Edw.* 3. The Kings anſwer and agreement to the foreſaid Petitions.

The Kings anſwer. To all which petitions anſwer was made in form following, It is agreed by the King, Earls, Barons, Juſtices, and otherwiſe Men of the Realm, that the petitions aforeſaid be made in ſufficient form of Law, according to the petitions aforeſaid.

Note that the Biſhops do not here named, and yet the Parliament ſtandeth in force.

¶ Note in this anſwer of the King (good Reader) that at the grant hereof the conſent of the Biſhops is neither named, nor expreſſed, with the other Lords of the Parliament: and yet the Parliament ſtandeth in his full force, notwithſtanding.

## *Notes of the Parliament holden in the Twentieth year of King* Edward *the Third.*

Alien Monks to avoid, &c. 20. *Ed.* 3. *tit.* 10.

TO paſs further, in the twentieth year of the Kings Reign in the Parliament holden the ſame year, it was propounded; That all alien Monks ſhould avoid the Realm by the day of S. *Michael*, and that their livings ſhould be diſpoſed, to young *Engliſh* Scholars. The livings of theſe the King took to his hands.

The Livings of ſtrangers graſped taken into the Kings hand, *tit.* 21.

*Item*, That the King may take the profits of all other ſtrangers livings, as Cardinals and others, during their lives. The profits of whom were alſo in the Kings hands.

The Livings of *Romiſh* ſtrangers diſpoſed to *Engliſh* men *tit.* 32, 33.

That ſuch Aliens enemies, as be advanced to Livings here in *England* (being in their own Countries, Shoemakers, Taylers, or Chamberlains to Cardinals) ſhould depart before *Michaelmas*, and their Livings be diſpoſed to poor *Engliſh* Scholars. The Livings alſo of theſe remained in the Kings hands.

The Commons denyed to pay any payment to any Cardinals, lying in *France* to entreat of War or Peace, which alſo was granted of the Kings part as reaſonable.

Cardinals deprived of their Livings in *England*, *tit.* 34.

*Item*, propounded and fully agreed, That the yearly advancement of two thouſand marks (granted by the Pope to two Cardinals, out of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*) ſhould be reſtrained, and ſuch as ſhall purſue therefore to be out of the Law.

Likewiſe enacted and agreed, That no *Engliſh* Man ſhould take any thing in farm of any Alien Religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of their counſel, on pain of perpetual impriſonment.

Enacted further, That no perſon ſhould bring into the Realm, to any Biſhop or other, any Bull, or any other Letters from *Rome*, or from any Alien; unleſs he ſhew the ſame to the Chancellor or Warden of the Cinque Ports, upon loſs of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the ſaid Parliament the Biſhops were commanded, before the next Convocation, to certifie unto the Chancery the names of ſuch Aliens, of their Benefices, and the values of the ſame.

## *Notes of the five and twentieth year of King* Edward *the Third.*

*Ex Archiis. An. Reg. Ed.* 3.

THE Parliament of the 25. year, was begun the ſixth day of *February*, the 25*th.* year of King *Edward* the Third. In the which Parliament beſide other matters moe, was propounded; that remedy might be had againſt the Popes reſervations by which brocage and means the Pope received the firſt fruits of all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities: A more Conſumption to the Realm, than all the Kings Wars.

The Popes firſt fruits and reſervations more hurtful to the Realm than all the Kings wars, *tit.* 14.

To break off all Appeals to *Rome*, *tit.* 14.

Alſo that the like remedy might be had againſt ſuch as in the Court of *Rome* preſume to undo any judgment given in the Kings Court, as if they enforced to undo the Laws of the Realm.

Whereunto it was anſwered, That there was ſufficient remedy provided by Law.

## *Notes of the eight and thirtieth year of King* Edward *the Third.*

The requeſt of the King for cauſes not to be determined at *Rome*, *tit.* 7.

IN the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the 38*th.* year of *Edward* the Third, in the Utaves of *Hilary* (*Simon* Biſhop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellor) it was required by the Kings own mouth, and declared to the whole Eſtates; How daily citation and falſe ſuggeſtions were made to the Pope, for matters determinable in his Courts within the Realm, and for procuring proviſions to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient Laws, to the ſpoiling of his Crown, to the daily conveying away of the Treaſure, to the waſting of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, to the withdrawing of Divine Service, Alms, Hoſpitality, and other acceptable works, and to the daily increaſe of all miſchiefs: Wherefore, in perſon by his own mouth the King required the whole Eſtate to provide hereof due remedy.

What miſchiefs come by tranſporting cauſes to *Rome*, *tit. eodem.*

It is to be noted finally in this Parliament of the 38*th.* year, that the Act of Proviſors, brought in this Parliament, although in the Printed Copy, *Chap.* 1, 2, 3, 4. it doth agree with the Record, in manner; yet in the ſaid Records unprinted are moe biting words againſt the Pope: a myſtery not to be known of all Men.

The printed Statute of proviſion not agreeing in all terms againſt the Pope with the Record, *tit.* 9.

## *Notes of the fortieth year of King* Edward *the Third.*

IT followeth moreover in the ſaid Acts of King *Edward* the Third, and in the 40*th.* year of his Reign, another Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter* the 3*d.* of *May*, *An.* 1366. the Biſhop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellor and Speaker. Who in the ſecond day of the ſaid Aſſembly in the preſence of the King, Lords and Commons, declared; how the day before generally they underſtood the cauſe of this their Aſſembly, and now more particularly ſhould underſtand the ſame; ſpecially how that the King underſtood, that the Pope (for the homage which King *John* made to the See of *Rome* for the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the tribute by him granted) meant by Proceſs to cite the King to *Rome*, to anſwer thereto. Wherein the King required their advices, what were beſt for him to do, if any ſuch thing were attempted. The Biſhops by their ſelves required a reſpite of anſwer, until the next day. So did the Lords and Commons every of them by their ſelves.

*Ex An. Reg. Ed.* 40. *tit. videlicet.* 7.

The Pope mindeth to ſend for the King up by Proceſs.

The ſame next day the whole Eſtates re-aſſembled together, and by common conſent enacted in effect following, *viz.* Foraſmuch as neither King *John*, nor any other King, could bring his Realm and people in ſuch thraldom and ſubjection, but by common aſſent of Parliament, the which was not done; and therefore was done againſt his Oath at his Coronation (beſide many other cauſes:) If therefore the Pope ſhould attempt any thing againſt the King, by Proceſs or other matter indeed; That the King with all his Subjects ſhould with all their force and power reſiſt the ſame.

King *John* could not without conſent of Parliament become tributary to the Pope, *tit.* 8.

Agreed by parliament, that the King by force ſhould reſiſt the Pope.

Here moreover is not to be omitted, how in the ſaid preſent Parliament the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* on the one ſide, and the Friers of the four Orders Mendicants in the ſaid Univerſities on the other ſide, made long complaints the one againſt the other to the King in Parliament, and in the end ſubmitted themſelves to the Kings Order.

Braul between the four orders of Friers and the two Univerſities *Ex tit.* 10.

After which, the King upon full digeſting of the whole matter (by aſſent of Parliament) took order; that as well the Chancellor and Scholars, as the Friers of thoſe Orders in the ſaid Univerſities, ſhould in all Graces and other School Exerciſes uſe each other in friendly wiſe, without any rumor as before. That none of thoſe Orders ſhould receive any Scholars into their ſaid Orders, being under the age of eighteen years.

That the ſaid Friers ſhall take no advantage, ne procure Bulls, or other Proceſs from *Rome*, againſt the ſaid Univerſities, or proceed therein.

The Friers ſubject to the Kings Order only in all their controverſies, Parliament, *tit.* 12.

And that the King have power to redreſs all controverſies between them from thenceforth; and the offenders to be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the King, and of the Council.

## *Notes of the fiftieth year of King* Edward *the Third.*

IN proceſs of the foreſaid Acts and Rolls, it followeth more, that in the 50*th.* year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the year of our Lord 1376. another great Parliament was Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* the 24*th.* of *April*: where, Sir *John Knyvet* being Lord Chancellor of *England*, a certain long Bill was put up againſt the uſurpations of the Pope, as being the cauſe of all

*Ex Archivis Regiæ Majeſtatis, An.* 50. *Reg. Ed.* 3 *tit.* 94.

Againſt the uſurpation of the Pope. The Pope cauſe of all miſchiefs in *England*. The Treaſure of the Realm conveyed away by the Popes meanes, *tit.* 97.

the plagues, murrions, famine, and poverty of the Realm, ſo as thereby was not left the third perſon, or other commodity within the Realm that lately was.

2. That the Taxes paid to the Pope of *Rome* for Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, do amount to five-fold as much, as the Tax of all profits which appertain to the King, by the year, of his whole Realm; And that for ſome one Biſhoprick or other Dignity, the Pope, by way of tranſlation and death, hath three, four, or five ſeveral Taxes.

That the brokers of that ſinful City for money promote many Caitiffs (being altogether unlearned and unworthy) to a thouſand Marks Living by year, where the the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty Marks, whereby learning decayeth.

4. That Aliens (enemies to this Land) who never ſaw ne care not to ſee their Pariſhioners, have thoſe Livings, whereby they deſpiſe Gods ſervice, and convey away the Treaſure, and are worſe than *Jews* or *Saracens*.

5. Alſo it was put up in the ſaid Bill to be conſidered, That the Laws of the Church would have ſuch Livings to be beſtowed for Charity only, without praying or paying.

6. That reaſon would that Livings given of Devotion ſhould be beſtowed in Hoſpitality.

7. That God had committed his ſheep to the Pope, to be paſtured, and not ſhorn or ſhaven.

The Pope giveth example to ſell Benefices, *tit.* 99.

8. That Lay Patrons, perceiving the Covetouſneſs and Simony of the Pope, do thereby learn to ſell their Benefices unto Beaſts, none otherwiſe than Chriſt was ſold to the *Jews*.

Ineſtimable that the Pope hath here out of *England*, *tit.* 100.

9. That there is none ſo rich a Prince in Chriſtendom, that hath the fourth part of ſo much treaſure, as the Pope hath out of this Realm for Churches, moſt ſinfully.

10. Over and beſides in the ſaid Bill, repeating again the tender zeal for the honour of the Church; were declared and particularly named, all the plagues which have juſtly fallen upon this Realm, for ſuffering the ſame Church to be ſo defaced, with declaration that it will daily increaſe without redreſs.

Reformation of the Church of *England* deſired in the Parliament, *tit.* 101.

11. Whereupon with much perſwaſion this was deſired, to help to re-edifie the ſame: and the rather for that this was the year of Jubile, the 50*th.* year of the Kings Reign, the year of joy and gladneſs, than the which there could be no greater.

12. The means how to begin this was to write two Letters to the Pope; the one in Latine under the Kings Seal, the other in French under the Seals of the Nobles, importing their particularities, and requiring redreſs; of the which Letter of the Lords the effect may be ſeen in a like Letter mentioned before, *pag.* 436.

Acts made for no money to be tranſported, *tit.* 103.

13. And for a further accompliſhment hereof, to enact, that no money were carried forth of the Realm by Letter of Lumbardy or otherwiſe, on pain of forfeiture and impriſonment, and to Enact the Articles hereafter enſuing.

14. The King hath heretofore by Statute provided ſufficient remedy, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the Holy Father the Pope, and ſo mindeth to do from time to time, until he hath obtained as well for the matters before, as for the Articles enſuing, being in a manner all one.

Againſt the Popes Lieger ſpies and Collectors, *tit.* 104.

15. That the Popes Collector and other ſtrangers the Kings enemies, and only Lieger ſpies for *Engliſh* Dignities, and diſcloſing of the ſecrets of the Realm may be touched.

The Popes Collection, what it cometh to, *tit.* 105.

16. That the ſame Collector being alſo receiver of the Popes pence, keepeth a Houſe in *London*, with Clerks and Officers thereto, as it were one of the Kings ſolemn Courts, tranſporting yearly to the Pope twenty thouſand Marks and moſt commonly more.

The beſt dignities in *England* in the Cardinals, *tit.* 106.

17. That Cardinals and other Aliens remaining at *Rome*, whereof one Cardinal is Dean of *York*, another of *Salisbury*, another of *Lincoln*, another Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, another Archdeacon of *Dureſm*, another Archdeacon of *Suffolk*, another Archdeacon of *York*, another Prebendary of *Thame* and *Naſſington*, another Prebendary of *Bucks* in the Church of *York*, have divers of the beſt Dignities of *England* and have ſent over to them yearly twenty thouſand Marks, over and above that which *Engliſh* Brokers lying here have.

The Pope maintaineth the Kings enemies with the Kings money, *tit.* 107.

18. That the Pope (to ranſom the *French*-men the Kings Enemies, who defend *Lumbardy* from him) doth always at his pleaſure Levy a Subſidy of the whole Clergy of *England*.

{KING Edw. 3} The Popes Practice in *England* to make mony, *tit.* 108.

19. That the Pope for more gain maketh ſundry tranſlations of all the Biſhopricks and other Dignities within the Realm.

20. That the Popes Collector hath this year taken to his uſe the firſt fruits of all Benefices, by collation or proviſion.

The Law of Premunire to be renewed.

21. To renew all the Statutes againſt Proviſors from *Rome*; ſith that the Pope reſerveth all the Benefices of the world for his own proper gifts, and hath this year created twelve new Cardinals; ſo as now there are thirty, where was wont to be but twelve, and all thoſe Cardinals, except two or three, are the Kings enemies.

Againſt the Popes uſurpation, *tit.* 12.

22. That the Pope in time will give the Temporal Manors of thoſe Dignities to the Kings Enemies, ſith he ſo dayly uſurpeth upon the Realm, and the Kings Regalities.

23. That all Houſes and Corporations of Religion, who unto the Kings Reign now had free Election of heads, the Pope hath incroached the ſame to himſelf.

*Engliſh* Treaſury ſpent with the Popes Legates, *tit.* 13.

24. That in all Legacies from the Pope, whatſoever the *Engliſh* Clergy beareth the charge of the Legacie and all for the goodneſs of our money.

No good money in the Realm for the Pope and Card. *tit.* 14.

25. And ſo it appeareth, that if the money of the Realm were as plentiful as ever it was; the Collectors aforeſaid, with the Proctors of Cardinals, would ſoon convey the ſame.

The Popes Collector or Proctor driven out of the Realm, *tit.* 15.

26. For remedy hereof it may be provided, That no ſuch Collector or Proctor do remain in *England*, on pain of life and member. And that no *Engliſh*-man, on the like pain, become any ſuch Collector or Proctor, or remain at *Rome*.

The Popes Collector to be examined.

27. For better information hereof, and namely touching the Popes Collector, for that the whole Clergy being obedient unto him, dare not diſpleaſe him: It were good, that Sir *John Strenſale*, Parſon of Saint *Botolphs* in *Holborn*, may be ſent to come before the Lords and Commons of this Parliament. Who being ſtraitly charged, can declare much more; for that he ſerved the ſame Collector in Houſe five years.

*Engliſh*-men good Aſſes.

¶ And thus much of this Bill touching the Popes matters: whereby it may appear, not to be for nought that hath been upon us reported by the *Italians* and other ſtrangers, which uſed to call *Engliſh-men* good Aſſes: for they bare all burthens that be laid upon them.

Order taken in *London* againſt uſury, *tit.* 158.

*Item*, in the ſaid Parliament it was provided alſo, That ſuch order as is made in *London* againſt the horrible vice of uſury, may be obſerved throughout the whole Realm.

Complaint againſt the Biſhop of *York* and his Officers for their exceſſive taking for their admiſſions, *tit.* 171. Ex Archivis Reg. Edw. 3. Reg. 5. tit. 36.

The Commons of the Dioceſs of *York* complain of the outragious taking of the Biſhop and his Clerks, for admiſſions of Prieſts to their Benefices.

Againſt the Popes proviſions from *Rome*, Anno. Reg. 51.

To theſe Records of the Parliament above prefixed, of the fiftieth year of this King *Edward*, we will adjoyn alſo other Notes collected out of the Parliament in the year next following, which was 51. and the laſt year of this Kings life and Reign, *An.* 1377. the 27*th.* of *January*: Although in the printed Book, theſe Statutes are ſaid to be made at the Parliament holden, as above, in the fiftieth year: which is much miſtaken, and ought to be referred to the one and fiftieth year, as by the Records of the ſaid year manifeſtly doth appear.

The effect of the Chancellor Oration.

In which Parliament, the Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, being Lord Chancellor, making a long Oration, taking his Theam out of S. *Paul*, *Libenter ſuffertis incipientes*, *&c.* Declaring in the ſaid Oration many things; as firſt, in ſhewing the joyful news of the old Kings recovery; then declaring the love of God toward the King and Realm, in chaſtiſing him with ſickneſs: Afterward ſhewing the bleſſing of God upon the King in ſeeing his Childrens Children; Then by a ſimilitude of the head and members, exhorting the people as the members of one body to conform themſelves unto the goodneſs of the head; Laſtly, he turned his matter to the Lords and the reſt, declaring the cauſe of that Aſſembly: That foraſmuch as the *French* King had Allied himſelf with the *Spaniards* and *Scots*, the Kings enemies, which had prepared great powers, conſpiring to blot out the *Engliſh* Tongue and name, the King therefore was willing to have therein their faithful counſel.

This

KING *Edw.* 3. The cauſe of this Parliament chiefly for the Popes uſurpation againſt the King.

This being declared by the Biſhop; Sir *Robert Aſhton* the Kings Chamberlain, declaring that he was to move them from the King, for the profit of the Realm (the which words percaſe lay not in the Biſhops mouth, for that it touched the Pope) *viz.* By proteſting firſt, That the King was ready to do all that ought to be done for the Pope. But for that divers uſurpations were done by the Pope to the King his Crown, and Realm, as by particular Bills in this Parliament ſhould be ſhewed, he required of them to ſeek redreſs.

Againſt the Pope his proviſions from *Rome An. Reg.* 51. *tit.* 35.

In this preſent Parliament petition was made by the Commons, that all Proviſors of things from *Rome*, and their Miniſters, ſhould be out of the Kings protection.

The Kings Anſwer.

Whereunto the King Anſwered, That the Pope had promiſed redreſs, which if he did not, the Laws then ſhould ſtand.

Againſt the Pope his diſpenſations. *An.*

It was alſo in that Parliament required, That every perſon of what ſex ſoever, being profeſſed of any Religion, continuing the habit of fifteen years, may upon the tryal of the ſame in any of the Kings Courts, be in Law utterly fore-barred of all inheritance, albeit he have diſpenſation from the Pope. Againſt which diſpenſation, is the chief grudge. Whereunto the King and the Lords anſwered, ſaying, That they would provide.

*Item*, In the ſaid Parliament was propounded, That the Statute of Proviſors made at any time may be executed, and that remedy may be had againſt ſuch Cardinals, as have within the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, purchaſed reſervations, with the clauſe of *Anteferri* to the value of twenty or thirty thouſand Scutes of Gold againſt the Popes Collector: who was wont to be an *Engliſh*-man, and now is a meer *French*, reſiding at *London*, and conveyeth yearly to the Pope twenty thouſand Marks, or twenty thouſand Pounds, who this year gathereth the firſt fruits whatſoever. Alledging the means to meet with theſe reſervations and novelties, as to command all ſtrangers to depart the Realm during the Wars; that no *Engliſh*-man become their Farmor, or ſend to them any money without a ſpecial licence, on pain to be out of the Kings protection. Whereunto was anſwered by the King, that the Statutes and Ordinances, therefore made, ſhould be obſerved.

By this *Anteferri*, that is, premunire, is meant the preheminence above the King. The Popes Law of preeminere, which now we corruptly call premunire, debarred by the King, *tit.* 71.

*Ex actis Parliamenti in An. Reg. Ed. Tertii* 15. *tit.* 24.

In theſe Rolls and Records of ſuch Parliament as were in this Kings time continued, divers other things are to be noted much worthy to be marked, and not to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Wherein the Reader may learn and underſtand the ſtate of the Kings juriſdiction here within this Realm, not to be ſtraitned in thoſe days (although the Pope then ſeemed to be in his chief ruff) as afterward ſince in other Kings days was ſeen. As may appear in the Parliament of the fifteenth year of this King *Edward* the Third, and in the Twenty fourth Article of the ſaid Parliament: where it is to be read, That the Kings Officers and Temporal Juſtices did then both puniſh Uſurers, and impeached the Officers of the Church for bribery, and for taking money for temporal pain, probate of Wills, ſolemnity of Marriage, *&c.* all the pretenſed liberties of the Popiſh Church to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Puniſhment of the Clergy in the temporal mens hands.

Clerks ſubject to temporal Law.

Furthermore, in the Parliament of the 25*th.* year it appeareth, That the liberties of the Clergy, and their exemptions in claiming the deliverance of Men by their Book under the name of Clerks, ſtood then in little force, as appeared by one *Hauktine Homby* Knight: who, for impriſoning one of the Kings Subjects till he made fine of twenty pound, was therefore executed, notwithſtanding the liberty of the Clergy, which by his Book would have ſaved him, but could not.

The like alſo appeared by judgment given againſt a Prieſt at *Nottingham*, for killing of his Maſter.

And likewiſe by hanging certain Monks of *Combe*. *Ex Parliam. An.* 23. *Ed.* 3.

The arraignment of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury An.* 13. *Ed.* 3. *tit.* 49.

*Item*, In the Parliament of the 15*th.* year by apprehending of *John Stratford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Arraignment: concerning which his Arraignment all things were committed to Sir *William* of *Kildisby*.

Beſides theſe truths and notes of the Kings Parliaments, wherein may appear the toward proceedings of this King and all his Commons againſt the pretenſed Church of *Rome*; this is moreover to be added to the commendation of the King, how in the Volumes of the Acts and Rolls of the King it appeareth; That the ſaid King *Edward* the Third ſent alſo *John Wickliff*, Reader then of Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, with certain other Lords and Ambaſſadors over into the parts of *Italy*, to treat with the Popes Legates concerning affairs betwixt the King and the Pope with full commiſſion: the tenor whereof here followeth expreſſed.

*John Wickliff* ſent with the Kings Ambaſſadors by the King.

*REX Univerſis, ad quorum notitiam præſentes literæ pervenerint*, &c.

In Engliſh thus:

*The King to all and ſingular to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting. Know ye, that we repoſing aſſured confidence in the fidelity and wiſdom of the Reverend Father* John *Biſhop of* Bangor, *and other our loving and faithful ſubjects, M.* John *Wickliff, Reader of the Divinity Lecture, M.* John Guntur *Dean of* Segobyen, *and M.* Simon Moulton *Doctor of Law, Sir* William Burton *Knight, M.* John Belknap, *and M.* John Honnington, *have directed them as our Ambaſſadors and ſpecial Commiſſioners to the parts beyond the Seas. Giving to the ſaid our Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners, to fix or five of them, of whom I will that the ſaid Biſhop ſhall be one, full power and authority, with commandment ſpecial, to treat and conſult mildly and charitably with the Legates and Ambaſſadors of the Lord Pope touching certain affairs. Whereupon of late we ſent heretofore the ſaid Biſhop, and* William Ughtred *Monk of* Dureſme, *and M.* John Shepy *to the See Apoſtolical: And hereof to make full relation of all things done and paſt in the ſaid Aſſembly, that all ſuch things which may tend to the honour of Holy Church and the advancement of our Crown and this our Realm, may by the aſſiſtance of God and wiſdom of the See Apoſtolical be brought to good effect, and accompliſhed accordingly.* Witneſs our ſelves, *&c.* at *London*, dated the 26*th.* day of *July* in the forty eighth year of our Reign.

By the which it is to be noted, what good will the King then bare to the ſaid *Wickliff*, and what ſmall regard he had to the ſinful See of *Rome*.

Of the which *John Wickliff*, becauſe we are now approached to his time, it remaineth conſequently for our Story to entreat of, ſo as we have heretofore done of other like valiant Souldiers of Chriſts Church before him.

## *John Wickliff.*

Here begin-neth the ſtory of *John Wickliff.*

AFter all theſe heretofore recited, by whom (as ye have heard) it pleaſed the Lord ſomething to work againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to weaken the pernitious ſuperſtition of the Friers: it now remaineth conſequently, following the courſe of years, orderly to enter into the ſtory and tractation of *John Wickliff* our Country-man, and other moe of his time, and ſame Country, whom the Lord (with the like zeal and power of ſpirit) raiſed up here in *England*, to detect more fully and amply the poyſon of the Popes Doctrine, and falſe Religion ſet up by the Friers. In whoſe opinions and aſſertions, albeit ſome blemiſhes perhaps may be noted; yet ſuch blemiſhes they be, which rather declare him to be a Man that might err, than which directly did fight againſt Chriſt our Saviour, as the Popes proceedings and Friers did. And what Doctor or learned Man hath been from the prime age of the Church ſo perfect, ſo abſolutely ſure, in whom no opinion hath ſometime ſwarved awry? And yet be the ſaid Articles of his neither in number ſo many, nor yet ſo groſs in themſelves and ſo Cardinal, as thoſe Cardinal enemies of Chriſt perchance do give them out to be; if his Books which they aboliſhed, were remaining to be conferred with thoſe blemiſhes, which they have traſted to the worſt, as evil-will never ſaid the beſt.

The blemiſhes of *Wickliff* made worſe than they be.

This is certain and cannot be denied, but that he, being the publick Reader of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, was for the rude time wherein he lived, famouſly reputed for a great Clerk, a deep School-man, and no leſs expert in all kind of Philoſophy. The which doth

The teſtimony of *Walden* an enemy in commendation of *Wickliff*.

not only appear by his own moſt famous and learned Writings and Monuments, but alſo by the confeſſion of *Walden* his moſt cruel and bitter Enemy. Who in a certain Epiſtle written unto Pope *Martin* the fifth, ſaith, *That he was wonderfully aſtoniſhed at his moſt ſtrong Arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reaſons*, &c. And thus much out of *Walden*. It appeareth by ſuch as have obſerved the order and courſe of times, that this *Wickliff* flouriſhed about the year of our Lord 1371, *Edward* the Third Reigning in *England*: for thus we do find in the Chronicles of *Caxton*: In the year of our Lord 1371. (ſaith he) *Edward* the Third, King of *England* in his Parliament was againſt the Popes Clergy: He willingly hearkned and gave ear to the voyces and tales of Hereticks with certain of his council: conceiving and following ſiniſter opinions againſt the Clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he taſted and ſuffered much adverſity and trouble. And not long after in the year of our Lord (ſaith he) 1372, he wrote unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, that he ſhould not by any means intermeddle any more within his Kingdom, as touching the reſervation or diſtribution of Benefices, and that all ſuch Biſhops as were under his dominion, ſhould injoy their former and antient liberty, and be confirmed of their Metropolitans, as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt, *&c.* Thus much writeth *Caxton*. But as touching the juſt number of the year and time, we will not be very curious or carful about it at this preſent. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in moſt deſperate and vile eſtate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkneſs of God his Truth had over-ſhadowed the whole Earth, this Man ſtepped out like a valiant Champion, unto whom it may juſtly be applyed that is ſpoken in the Book called *Eccleſiaſticus*, of one *Simon* the Son of *Onias*: *Even as the morning Star being in the midſt of a Cloud, and as the Moon being full in her courſe, and as the bright beams of the Sun; ſo doth he ſhine and gliſter in the Temple and Church of God.*

The time of *John Wickliff*.

{Ann. 1371}

{Ann. 1372}

*Ex Caxtone.*

Thus doth Almighty God continually ſuccor and help, when all things are in deſpair: being always (according to the Prophecy of the *Pſalm*) a helper in time of need. The which thing never more plainly appeared, than in theſe later days and extream age of the Church; when as the whole ſtate and condition, not only of worldly things, but alſo of Religion, was depraved and corrupted. That like as the diſeaſe named *Lethargus* amongſt the Philitians, even ſo the ſtate of Religion amongſt the Divines, was paſt all Mans help and remedy. The only name of Chriſt remained amongſt the Chriſtians, but his true and lively Doctrine was as far unknown unto the moſt part, as his name was common unto all Men. As touching Faith, Conſolation, the end and uſe of the Law, the Office of Chriſt, of our impotency and weakneſs, of the Holy Ghoſt, of the greatneſs and ſtrength of Sin, of true Works, Grace and free juſtification by Faith, of liberty of a Chriſtian Man, wherein conſiſteth and reſteth the ſum and matter of our profeſſion, there was no mention, nor any word almoſt ſpoken of. Scripture, Learning, and Divinity, was known but unto a few, and that in the Schools only, and there alſo turned and converted almoſt all into Sophiſtry. Inſtead of *Peter* and *Paul*, Men occupied their time in ſtudying *Aquinas* and *Scotus*, and the Maſter of Sentences. The world leaving and forſaking the lively power of Gods ſpiritual Word and Doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward Ceremonies and humane Traditions, wherein the whole ſcope, in a manner, of all Chriſtian perfection did conſiſt and depend. In theſe was all the hope of obtaining ſalvation fully fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Inſomuch that ſcarcely any other thing was ſeen in the Temples or Churches taught or ſpoken of in Sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certain ſhadowed Ceremonies upon Ceremonies, neither was there any end of there heaping.

A deſcription of *Wickliff*'s time.

The people were taught to worſhip no other thing but that which they did ſee; and did ſee almoſt nothing which they did not worſhip.

The Church being degenerated from the true Apoſtolick inſtitution above all meaſure (reſerving only the name of the Apoſtolick Church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreme tyranny; whereas the poverty and ſimplicity of Chriſt was changed into cruelty and abomination of life. Inſtead of the Apoſtolick gifts and continual labors and travels, ſloath, idleneſs and ambition was crept in amongſt the Prieſts. Beſide all this, there aroſe and ſprung up a thouſand ſorts and faſhions of ſtrange Religions, being the only root and Well-head of all ſuperſtition. How great abuſes and depravations were crept into the Sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worſhip ſimilitudes and ſigns of things for the very things themſelves: and to adore ſuch things as were inſtituted and ordained only for memorials? Finally, what thing was there in the whole ſtate of Chriſtian Religion ſo ſincere, ſo ſound and pure, which was not defiled and ſpotted with ſome kind of ſuperſtition? Beſides this, with how many bonds and ſnares of daily new fangled Ceremonies were the ſilly Conſciences of Men, redeemed by Chriſt to liberty, ſnared and ſnarled? Inſomuch that there could be no great difference almoſt perceived between Chriſtianity and Jewiſhneſs, ſave only the name of Chriſt: ſo that the ſtate and condition of the Jews might ſeem ſomewhat more tolerable than ours. There was nothing ſought for out of the true Fountains, but out of the durty puddels of the *Philiſtines*; The Chriſtian people were wholly carried away as it were by the Noſes, with meer decrees and conſtitutions of Men, even whither as pleaſed the Biſhops to lead them, and not as Chriſts Will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and over-whelmed with error and darkneſs. And no great marvel; for why, the ſimple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the Holy Scripture, thought it ſufficient enough for them, to know only theſe things which were delivered them by their Paſtors and Sheepherds, and they on the other part taught in a manner nothing elſe, but ſuch things as came forth of the Court of *Rome*; whereof the moſt part tended to the profit of their Order, more than to the glory of Chriſt.

All good things defiled and ſpotted with ſuperſtition.

The Chriſtian Faith was eſteemed or counted none other thing then, but that every Man ſhould know that Chriſt once ſuffered, that is to ſay, That all Men ſhould know and underſtand that thing which the Divels themſelves alſo knew. Hypocriſie was counted for wonderful Holineſs. All Men were ſo addict unto outward ſhews, that even they themſelves, which profeſſed the moſt abſolute and ſingular knowledge of the Scriptures, ſcarcely did underſtand or know any other thing. And this did evidently appear, not only in the common ſort of Doctors and Teachers, but alſo in the very heads and Captains of the Church; whoſe whole Religion and Holineſs, conſiſted in a manner in the obſerving of days, meats, and garments, and ſuch like Rhetorical circumſtances, as of place, time, perſon, *&c.* Hereof ſprang ſo many ſorts and faſhions of Veſtures and Garments; ſo many differences of colours and meats, with ſo many Pilgrimages to ſeveral places, as though S. *James* at *Compoſtella* could do that, which Chriſt could not do at *Canterbury*: or elſe that God were not of like power and ſtrength in every place, or could not be found, but being ſought for by running gadding hither and thither. Thus the Holineſs of the whole year was tranſported and put off unto the *Lent* ſeaſon. No Country or Land was counted Holy, but only *Paleſtina*, where Chriſt had walked himſelf with his corporal feet. Such was the blindneſs of that time, that Men did ſtrive and fight for the Croſs at *Hieruſalem*, as it had been for the chief and only force and ſtrength of our Faith. It is a wonder to read the Monuments of the former times, to ſee and underſtand what great troubles and calamities this Croſs had cauſed almoſt in every Chriſtian Commonwealth. For the *Romiſh* Champions never ceaſed, by writing, admoniſhing, and counſelling, yea and by quarrelling, to move and ſtir up Princes to mind War and Battel, even as though the Faith and belief of the Goſpel were of ſmall force, or little effect without that wooden Croſs. This was the cauſe of the expedition of the moſt noble Prince King *Richard* unto *Hieruſalem*. Who being taken in the ſame journey, and delivered unto the Emperor, could ſcarcely be ranſomed home again for 30 Marks, *pag.* 280. In the ſame enterpriſe or journey, *Frederick* the Emperor of *Rome*, a Man of moſt excellent vertue, was much endammaged, *Anno.* 1179. And alſo *Philip* the King of *France* ſcarcely returned home again in ſafety,

The Captains of the Church ſeduced as well as the inferior ſort.

*Paleſtina* deemed holy for Chriſts walking there.

*Richard* King of *England.*

*Frederick* the Emperor of *Rome.*

*Philip* King of *France.*

{KING Edw. 3} ſafety, and not without great loſſes: ſo much did they eſteem the recovery of the Holy City and Croſs.

Upon this alone all Mens eyes, minds, and devotions were ſo ſet and bent, as though either there were no other Croſs but that, or that the Croſs of Chriſt were in no other place but only at *Jeruſalem*. Such was the blindneſs and ſuperſtition of thoſe days, which underſtood or knew nothing but ſuch as were outwardly ſeen: whereas the profeſſion of our Religion ſtandeth in much other higher matters and greater myſteries. What is the cauſe why that *Urbanus* did ſo vex and torment himſelf, becauſe that *Antioch*, with the the Holy Croſs, was loſt out of the hands of the Chriſtians. For ſo we do find it in the *Chronicles*, at what time as *Jeruſalem* with King *Guido* and the Croſs of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the *Sultan*, *Urbanus* took the matter ſo grievouſly, that for very ſorrow he died. In whoſe place ſucceeded *Lambertus*, which was called *Gregory* the eighth, by whoſe motion it was decreed by the Cardinals, that (ſetting apart all riches and voluptuouſneſs) they ſhould Preach the Croſs of Chriſt, and by their Poverty and Humility firſt of all ſhould take the Croſs upon them, and go before others into the Land of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe are the words of the Hiſtory; whereby it is evident unto the vigilant Reader, unto what groſſneſs the true knowledg of the ſpiritual Doctrine of the Goſpel was degenerate and grown in thoſe days; how great blindneſs and darkneſs was in thoſe days, even in the firſt primacy, and ſupremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*: as though the outward ſucceſſion of *Peter* and the Apoſtles had been of greater force and effect to the matter. What doth it force in what place *Peter* did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every Man ſhould labour and ſtudy with all their endeavour to follow the life and confeſſion of *Peter*: And that Man ſeemeth unto me to be true ſucceſſor of *Peter* againſt whom the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail. For if that *Peter* in the Goſpel do bear the type and figure of the Chriſtian Church (as all Men in a manner do affirm) what more fooliſh or vain thing can there be; than through private uſurpation to reſtrain and to bind that unto one Man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it ſelf free and open to ſo many?

*The knowledg of the Goſpel groſsly expounded by the Romaniſts.*

*The riſing up of Wickliff in troublous time.*

Thus in theſe ſo great and troublous times and horrible darkneſs of ignorance, what time there ſeemed in a manner to be no one ſo little a ſpark of pure Doctrine left or remaining; this aforeſaid *Wickliff* by Gods providence ſprang and roſe up: through whom the Lord would firſt waken and raiſe up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deep ſtreams of humane Traditions. Thus you have here the time of *Wickliff*'s original.

*Wickliff a Divine of Oxford.*

Which *Wickliff*, after he had now a long time profeſſed Divinity in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and perceiving the true Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel to be adulterate and defiled with ſo many filthy inventions of Biſhops, ſects of Monks, and dark errors: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himſelf (with many ſecret ſighs, and bewailing in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world) could no longer ſuffer or abide the ſame; he at the laſt determined with himſelf to help and to remedy ſuch things as he ſaw to be wide and out of the way. But foraſmuch as he ſaw that this dangerous medling could not be attempted or ſtirred without great trouble, neither that theſe things, which had been ſo long time with uſe and cuſtom rooted and grafted in Mens minds, could be ſuddenly plucked up or taken away, he thought with himſelf that this matter ſhould be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his original at ſmall occaſions, thereby opened himſelf a way or mean to greater matters. And firſt he aſſailed his adverſaries in Logical and Metaphyſical queſtions, diſputing with them of the firſt form and faſhion of things, of the increaſe of time, and of the intelligible ſubſtance of a creature, with other ſuch like Sophems of no great effect: but yet notwithſtanding, it did not a little help and furniſh him, which minded to diſpute of greater matters. So in theſe matters firſt began *Keningham* (a *Carmelite*) to diſpute and argue againſt *John Wickliff*.

By theſe originals, the way was made unto greater points, ſo that at the length he came to touch the matters of the Sacraments, and other abuſes of the Church. Touching which things this holy Man took great pains, proteſting (as they ſaid) openly in the Schools, That it was his chief and principal purpoſe and intent, to revoke and call back the Church from her Idolatry to ſome better amendment; eſpecially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. But this Bile or ſore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world. For firſt of all, the whole glut of Monks and begging Friers were ſet on a rage and madneſs, which (even as Hornets with their ſharp ſtings) did aſſail this good Man on every ſide; fighting (as is ſaid) for their Altars, Paunches and Bellies. After them the Prieſts, and then after them the Archbiſhop took the matter in hand, being then *Simon Sudbury*; who for the ſame cauſe deprived him of his Benefice, which then he had in *Oxford*. Notwithſtanding, he being ſomewhat friended and ſupported by the King, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friers, and of the Archbiſhop all this while of his firſt beginning, till about the year of our Lord, 1377. After which time, now to proſecute likewiſe of his troubles and conflict, firſt I muſt fetch about a little compaſs, as requiſite is, to infer ſome mention of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter* the Kings Son, Lord *Henry Percy*, which were his ſpecial maintainers.

*Wickliff deprived of his Benefice at Oxford by S. Sudbury. Ex Chron. de Albani.*

*Duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henry Perry, great maintainers of J. Wickliff.*

As years and time grew on, King *Edward* the Thrid which had Reigned now about 51 years, after the deceaſe of Prince *Edward* his Son, who departed the year before, was ſtricken in great age, and in ſuch feebleneſs withal, that he was unwildy through lack of ſtrength to govern the affairs of the Realm. Wherefore a Parliament being called the year before his death, it was there put by the Knights and other the Burgeſſes of the Parliament becauſe of the miſgovernment of the Realm (by certain greedy perſons about the King, raking all to themſelves, without ſeeing any juſtice done) that twelve ſage and diſcreet Lords, and Peers, ſuch as were free from note of all avarice, ſhould be placed as Tutors about the King, to have the doing and diſpoſing under him (ſix at one time, and in their abſence, ſix at another) of matters pertaining to the publick Regiment. Here by the way, I omit to ſpeak of *Alice Perris* the wicked Harlot, which as the ſtory reporteth) had bewitched the Kings heart, and governed all, and ſate upon cauſes her ſelf through the diveliſh help of a Frier Dominck: who by the Duke of *Lancaſter* was cauſed to be taken, and was convicted, and ſhould have ſuffered for the ſame, had not the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Friers (more regarding the liberty of their Church, than the puniſhment of vice) reclaimed him for their own priſoner. This *Alice Perris*, notwithſtanding ſhe was baniſhed by this Parliament from the King, yet afterward ſhe came again, and left him not, till at his death ſhe took all his Rings upon his fingers and other jewels from him, and ſo fled away like an Harlot. But this of her by the way.

*Alice Perris the Kings Concubine. The King bewitched by a woman through the help of a Frier.*

*The property of an Whore.*

Theſe twelve Governors by Parliament aforeſaid being appointed to have the tuition of the King, and to attend the publick affairs of the Realm, remained for a certain ſpace about him; till afterward it ſo fell out, that they being again removed, all the Regiment of the Realm, next under the King, was committed to the Duke of *Lancaſter* the Kings Son. For as yet *Richard*, the Son of Prince *Edward*, lately departed, was very young and under age.

*Twelve Governors aſſigned about the King.*

This Duke of *Lancaſter* had in his heart of long time conceived a certain diſpleaſure, againſt the Popiſh Clergy; whether for corrupt and impure Doctrine ioyned with like abominable exceſs of life, or for what other cauſe, it is not preciſely expreſſed. Only by ſtory the cauſe thereof may be gueſſed to riſe by *William Wickam* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The matter is this.

*Ex Chron. Monaſterii Albani.*

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (as the ſaying went then) was reported to affirm, That the foreſaid *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was not the Son of King *Edward*, nor of the Queen. Who, being in Travail at *Gaunt*, had no Son (as he ſaid) but a Daughter: which the ſame time by lying upon of the Mother in the Bed, was there ſmothered. Whereupon, the Queen, fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, cauſed a certain Man Child of a Woman of *Flanders* (born the very ſame time) to be conveyed, and brought unto her inſtead of her Daughter

*A practice of the Prelates againſt the Duke of Lancaſter.*

aforeſaid. And ſo ſhe brought up the Child whom ſhe bare not, who now is called Duke of *Lancaſter*. And this (ſaid the Biſhop) did the Queen tell him, lying in extreams on her death-bed under ſeal of Confeſſion; charging him if the ſaid Duke ſhould ever aſpire to get the Crown, or if the Kingdom by any means ſhould fall unto him, he then ſhould manifeſt the ſame, and declare it to the world, that the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* was no part of the Kings blood, but a falſe heir of the King. This ſlanderous report of the wicked Biſhop, as it favoureth of a contumelious lye, ſo ſeemeth it to proceed of a ſubtile zeal toward the Popes Religion, meaning falſhood. For the foreſaid Duke, by favouring of *Wickliff*, declared himſelf to be a profeſſed enemy againſt the Popes profeſſion: Which thing was then not unknown, neither unmarked of the Prelates and Biſhops then in *England*. But the ſequel of the Story thus followed:

*W. Wickham B. of Wint. deprived.*

This ſlanderous villany of the Biſhops report being blazed abroad, and coming to the Dukes ear: he therewith being not a little diſcontented (as no marvel was) ſought again, by what means he could, to be revenged of this forenamed Biſhop. In concluſion, the Duke having now all the government of the Realm under the King his Father, in his own hands, ſo purſued the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that by Act of Parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his Temporal Goods; which Goods were aſſigned to Prince *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, the next inheritor of the Crown after the King; and furthermore he inhibited the ſaid Biſhop not to approach near to the Court by twenty miles. Further as touching this Biſhop, the ſtory thus proceedeth: Not long after in the year of our Lord, 1377, a Parliament was called by the means of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, upon certain cauſes and reſpects: in which Parliament great requeſt and ſute was made by the Clergy for the deliverance of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. At length when a Subſidy was asked in the Kings name of the Clergy, and requeſt alſo made in the Kings behalf for ſpeedy expedition to be made for the diſſolving of the Parliament, the Archbiſhop therefore accordingly convented the Biſhops for the tractation thereof. To whom the Biſhops with great lamentation complaining for lack of their fellow and Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Whoſe injury, ſaid they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole Church; And therefore denied to joyn themſelves in tractation of any ſuch matters, before all the members together were united with the head. And (ſeeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwiſe do. And ſeemed moreover to be moved againſt the Archbiſhop for that he was not more ſtout in the cauſe, but ſuffered himſelf ſo to be cited of the Duke.

*Biſhops hold together. Liberties of the Church a great matter.*

*B. of Wint. ſent for to the convocation.*

The Archbiſhop although having ſufficient cauſe to excuſe himſelf, wherefore not to ſend for him (as alſo he did) becauſe of the perils which might enſue thereof: yet being inforced and perſwaded thereunto, by the importunity of the Biſhops, directed down his Letters to the foreſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, willing him to reſort unto the Convocation of the Clergy. Who being glad to obey the ſame, was received with great joy of the other Biſhops. And at length by the means of *Alice Perris*, the Kings Paramour above mentioned, (giving to her a good quantity of money) the ſaid *Wincheſter* was reſtored to his own Temporalties again.

*John Wickliff ſent for by the Duke of Lancaſter.*

As the Biſhops had thus ſent for *Wincheſter*, the Duke in the mean time had ſent for *John Wickliff* who, as is ſaid, was then the Divinity Reader in *Oxford*, and had commenced in ſundry acts and diſputations contrary to the form and teaching of the Popes Church in many things: who alſo for the ſame had been deprived of his Benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in *Oxford*, firſt in his Lectures and Sermons to intreat of, and wherefore he was deprived, were theſe: That the Pope had no more power to Excommunicate any man than hath another. That if it be given by any perſon to the Pope to Excommunicate, yet to abſolve the ſame is as much in the power of another Prieſt as in his. He affirmed moreover, That neither the King nor any Temporal Lord could give any perpetuity to the Church, or to any Eccleſiaſtical perſon: for that when ſuch Eccleſiaſtical perſons do offend, *habitualiter*, continuing in the ſame ſtill, the Temporal powers ought and may meritoriouſly take away from them, that before hath been beſtowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practiſed before here in *England* by *William Rufus*. Which thing (ſaid he) if he did lawfully, why may not the ſame alſo be practiſed now? If he did it unlawfully, then doth the Church err (ſaith he) and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his aſſertions more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter. The ſtory which aſcribed to him theſe aſſertions being taken out (as I take it) of the Monaſtery of S. *Albans*, addeth withal: That in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a diſſembler (ſaith he) and an hypocrite. Why he ſurmiſeth him to be an hypocrite, the cauſe was this:

*Example of W. Rufus.*

*Ex hiſto. Monaſterii D. Albani.*

*Firſt*, Becauſe he reſorted much to the Orders of the begging Friers, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their poverty.

*Secondly*, Becauſe he and his fellows uſually accuſtomed in their preaching to go barefoot, and in ſimple ruſſet Gowns.

By this I ſuppoſe, may ſufficiently appear to the indifferent, the nature and condition of *Wickliff*, how far it was from the ambition and pride, which in the ſlanderous Pen of *Polydore Virgil* reporting in his *19th*. Book of him, that becauſe he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the Church (conceiving therefore indignation againſt the Clergy) he became their mortal enemy. How true was this, he only knoweth beſt, that rightly ſhall judge both the one and the other.

*The ſlanderous Pen of Polydore.*

In the mean time, by other circumſtances and parts of his life, we may alſo partly conjecture what is to be thought of the Man. But howſoever it was in him either true or falſe; yet it had been *Polydores* part either not ſo intemperately to have abuſed his Pen, or at leaſt to have ſhewed ſome greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing elſe but flying fame, ſo raſhly to defame a Man whoſe life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithful Story-writer.

*Wickliff falſely charged with ambition by Polydore.*

But to return from whence we digreſſed. Beſide theſe his opinions and aſſertions above recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to be brought in order; he began alſo then ſomething nearly to touch the matter of the Sacrament, proving that in the ſaid Sacrament, the accidents of Bread remained not without the ſubject of ſubſtance; both by the Holy Scriptures, and alſo by the authority of the Doctors, but ſpecially by ſuch as were moſt ancient. As for the later Writers, that is to ſay, ſuch as have written upon that argument under the thouſand years ſince Chriſts time, he uterly refuſed; ſaying, That after theſe years Satan was looſed and ſet at liberty. And that ſince that time the life of Man hath been moſt ſubject and in danger of errors: and that the ſimple and plain truth doth appear and conſiſt in the Scriptures, whereunto all humane Traditions whatſoever they be, muſt be referred, and ſpecially ſuch as are ſet forth and publiſhed now of late years. This was the cauſe why he refuſed the later Writers of Decretals, leaning only to the Scriptures and ancient Doctors: moſt ſtoutly affirming out of them, That in the Sacrament of the body which is celebrate, with bread, the accidents not to be preſent without the ſubſtance. That is to ſay, That the body of Chriſt is not preſent without the bread, as the common ſort of Prieſts in thoſe days did dream. As for his Arguments what they were, we will ſhortly at more opportunity by Gods Grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the Poet ſpeaketh very truly) had gotten *John Wickliff* great diſpleaſure and hatred at many Mens hands; and eſpecially of the Monks and richeſt ſort of Prieſts.

*Wickliff begineth to touch the matter of the Sacrament.*

*The later writers of the Church to be miſdoubted. The accidents not to be in the Sacrament without the ſubſtance.*

Albeit through the favour and ſupportation of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, he perſiſted hitherto in ſome mean quiet againſt the Wolviſh violence and cruelty: Till at laſt about the year of our Lord, 1376, the Biſhops ſtill urging and inciting their Archbiſhop *Simon Sudbury*, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him alſo not to ſtir any more in thoſe ſorts of matters, had obtained by Proceſs and order of Citation to have him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appear, after their uſual form, was to him aſſigned.

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The Duke having intelligence that *Wickliff* his client should come before the Bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weak against such a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of Friers, four Bachelors of Divinity, out of every order one to join them with *Wickliff* also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said *Wickliff* to appear, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth of *February*: *John Wickliff* went accompanied with the four Friers aforesaid, and with them also the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, Lord Marshal of *England*; the said Lord *Percy* also going before them to make room and way where *Wickliff* should come.

*Ex Hist. Monachi D. Albani ex accommodato D. Matth. Archiep. Cant.*

Thus *Wickliff* (through the Providence of God) being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the Bishops sate; whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to fear nor shrink awhit at the company of the Bishops there present, who were all unlearned (said they) in respect of him. For so proceed the words of my foresaid Author, whom I follow in this Narration: neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harm. With these words, and with the assistance of the Nobles, *Wickliff*, in heart incouraged, approached to the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the Lords (for all the puissance of the high Marshal) unneth with great difficulty could get way through: Insomuch that the Bishop of *London* (whose name was *William Courtney*) seeing the stir that the Lord Marshal kept in the Church among the people, speaking to the Lord *Percy*, said, That if he had known before what Mastries he would have kept in the Church, he would have stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the Bishop the Duke disdaining not a little, answered to the Bishop again, and said, That he would keep such mastry there, though he said nay.

Striving for the Lords to pass by the people.

*W. Courtney* Bishop of *London.*

The words of the Bishop of *London* to the Lord *Percy.*

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies Chappel; where the Dukes and Barons were sitting together with the Archbishops and other Bishops. Before whom the foresaid *John Wickliff*, according to the manner, stood to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the Lord *Percy*, bidding him to sit down, saying, That he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the Bishop of *London*, cast eftsoons into a furnish chase with those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to Law or Reason, that he, which was cited there to appear to answer before his Ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them: Insomuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

*Wickliff* bid to sit down before the Bishops.

*Wickliff* denied by the Bishop of *London* to sit down.

Strife between the Lord Marshal and Bishop of *London.*

The people set in a stir.

Then the Duke, taking the Lord *Percies* part, with hasty words began also to take up the Bishop. To whom the Bishop again nothing inferior to reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought; but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scoulding, that to use the words of mine Author, *Erubuit Dux quod non potuit prævalere litigio. i.* that the Duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the Bishop in bawling and railing, and therefore fell to plain threatning, meanacing the Bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the Prelacy of *England*. And speaking moreover unto him: Thou (said he) beareſt thy self so brag upon thy Parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves. For his Parents were the Earl and Countess of *Devonshire*. To whom the Bishop again answered, That to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his Parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the Duke softly whispering in the Ear of him next by him, said, That he would rather pluck the Bishop by the Hair of his Head out of the Church, than he would take this at his Hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the *Londoners* overheard him. Whereupon being set in rage, they cried out, saying, That they would not suffer their Bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose their lives, than that he should so be drawn out by the hair. Thus that Council, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the Clock. And the Duke with the Lord *Percy* went to the Parliament; where the same day before dinner, a Bill was put up in the name of the King by the Lord *Thomas Woſtock*, and Lord *Henry Percy*, that the City of *London* should no more be governed by a Mayor, but by a Captain, as in times before. And that the Marshal of *England* should have all the ado in taking the Arrests within the said City, as in other Cities besides, with other Petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the Liberties of *London*. Which Bill being read, *John Philpot*, Burgess then for the City, standeth up, saying to them which read the Bill, That that was never seen so before; and adding moreover, That the Mayor would never suffer any such things, or other Arrest to be brought into the City, with more such words like stoutness.

This Bishop of *London* was *W. Courtney* son to the Earl of *Devonshire.*

The Duke threatneth to draw their Bishop by the hair out of the Church.

*Londoners* take part with their Bishop.

Petitions put up in the Parliament against the City of *London.*

The next day following the *Londoners* assembled themselves in a Council, to consider among them upon the Bill for changing the Mayor, and about the Office of the Marshal, also concerning the injuries done the day before of to their Bishop.

Hasty counsel of the *Londoners.*

In which mean time they being busie in long Consultation of this matter, suddainly and unawares entred in the place two certain Lords, whether to come to spy, or for what other cause the Author leaveth it uncertain, the one called Lord *Fitz-Walter*, the other Lord *Guy Brian*. At the first coming in of them the vulgar sort was ready forthwith to fly upon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an Oath, declaring that their coming in was for no harm toward them. And so they were compelled by the Citizens to Swear to the City their truth and fidelity, contrary to the which Oath if they should rebel, they would be contented to forfeit whatsoever Goods and Possessions they had within the City.

This done, then began the Lord *Fitz-Walter* in this wise to perswade and exhort the Citizens; first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to their City, not for the Oath only now newly received, but of old and ancient good will from his great Grand-fathers time. Besides other divers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principal tautors; forasmuch as whatsoever tendeth to their damage and detriment, redounded also no less unto his own; for which cause he could not otherwise chuse, but that what he did understand to be attempted against the publick Profit and Liberties of the City, he must needs communicate the same to them. Who unless they with speedy circumspection do occur and prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turn in the end to their no small incommodity. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which he could in no wise but admonish them of; which was this, necessary to be considered of them all, how the Lord Marshal *Henry Percy* in his place within himself had one in Ward and Custody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said Lord Marshal was not allowed any such Ward or Prison in his House, within the Liberties of the City. Which thing if it be not seen to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would in fine breed to such a prejudice unto their Customs and Liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, reform the injury thereof.

The Oration of the Lord *Fitz-Walter* to the *Londoners.*

These words of the Lord *Fitz-Walter* were not so soon spoken, but they were as soon taken of the rash Citizens; who in all hasty fury running to their Armor and Weapons, went incontinently to the House of the Lrod *Percy*, where, breaking up the Gates, by violence they took out the Prisoner, and burned the Stocks wherein he sate, in the midst of *London*. Then was the Lord *Percy* sought for; whom (saith the Story) they would doubtless have slain if they might have found him. With their Bills, and Javelins all corners and privy Chambers were searched, Beds and Hangings torn asunder. But the Lord *Percy* (as God would) was then with the Duke, whom one *John Ryer* the same day with great instance had desired to Dinner.

The *Londoners* not finding him at home, and supposing that he was with the Duke at *Savoy*, in all hasty heat turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to

The Citizens of *London* break up the Lord *Percy* his House at *Savoy.*

Gods provision in saving his servants.

The House of the Duke of *Lancaster* searched by the *Londoners.*

to the Dukes Houſe; where alſo in like manner they were diſappointed of their cruel purpoſe. In the mean while as this was doing, cometh one of the Dukes men running in poſt haſte to the Duke and to the Lord *Percy*, declaring what was done. The Duke being then at his Oyſters, without any further tarrying, and alſo breaking both his ſhins at the Form for haſte, took Boat with the Lord *Percy*, and by Water went to *Kingſtone*, where then the Princeſs with *Richard* the young Prince did lie. Who there declared unto the Princeſs all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the *Londoners* as it was. To whom ſhe promiſed again, that ſuch an order ſhould be taken in the matter, as ſhould be to his contentation. At what time the Commons of *London* thus as is ſaid, were about the Dukes Houſe at *Savoy*, there meeteth with them a certain Prieſt, who marvelling at the ſuddain rage and concourſe, asked what they ſought. To whom anſwer was given again of ſome, that they ſought for the Duke and the Lord Marſhal, to have of them the Lord *Peter de la Mare*, whom they wrongfully had detained in Priſon. To this the Prieſt anſwered again more boldly than opportunely: That *Peter* (ſaid he) is a falſe Traitor, to the King, and worthy long ſince to be hanged. At the hearing of theſe words the furious people with a terrible ſhout cried out upon him, that he was a Traitor and one that took the Dukes part, and ſo falling upon him with their Weapons, ſtrived who might firſt ſtrike him. Who after they had wounded him very ſore, ſo being wounded they had him into Priſon, where within few days upon the ſoreneſs of his wounds he died.

The Duke and Lord *Percy* fly to the Prince.

A Prieſt in the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Houſe cruelly killed.

Neither would the rage of the people thus have ceaſed, had not the Biſhop of *London*, leaving his Dinner, come to them at *Savoy*, and putting them in remembrance of the bleſſed time (as they term it) of *Lent*, had perſwaded them to ceaſe and to be quiet.

The villany of the *Londoners* againſt the Duke.

The *Londoners* ſeeing that they could get no vantage againſt the Duke, who was without their reach; to wreak their anger they took his Arms, which in moſt deſpiteful ways they hanged up, in the open places of the City in ſign of reproach, as for a Traitor. Inſomuch that when one of his Gentlemen came through the City, with a Plate containing the Dukes Arms, hanging by a Lace about his Neck, the Citizens not abiding the ſight thereof, caſt him from his Horſe, and pluckt his Eſcutcheon from him, and were about to work the extremity againſt him, had not the Mayor reſcued him out of their hands, and ſent him home ſafe unto the Duke his Maſter. In ſuch hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of *London*.

The meſſage of the Princeſs to the *Londoners*.

After this the Princeſs, underſtanding the hearts and broil of the *Londoners* ſet againſt the foreſaid Duke, ſent unto *London* three Knights, Sir *Albred Lewer*, Sir *Simon Burle*, and Sir *Lewes Cliffort*, to entreat the Citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The *Londoners* anſwered, That they, for the honour of the Princeſs, would obey and do with all reverence what ſhe would require. But this they required and enjoyned the Meſſengers to ſay to the Duke by word of mouth: that he ſhould ſuffer the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* afore-mentioned, and alſo the Lord *Peter de la Mare*, to come to their anſwer, and to be judged by their Peers. Whereby either they might be quit if they were guiltleſs; or otherwiſe if they be found culpable, they might receive according to their deſerts after the Laws of the Realm. What grief and diſpleaſure the Duke conceived and retained in his mind thereof: Again, what means and ſuit the *Londoners* for their part made to the old King for their Liberties: What Rimes and Songs in *London* were made againſt the Duke: How the Biſhops at the Dukes requeſt were moved to Excommunicate thoſe malicious ſlanderers: And moreover how the Duke at laſt was revenged of thoſe contumelies and injuries: How he cauſed them to be brought before the King: How ſharply they were rebuked for their miſdemeanour by the worthy Oration of the Lord Chamberlain, *Robert Aſton*, in the preſence of the King, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, with divers other States the Kings Children, and other Nobilities of the Realm: In concluſion, how the *Londoners* were compelled to this at length, by the common aſſent and publick charges of the City, to make a great Taper of Wax, which, with the Dukes Arms ſet upon it, ſhould be brought with Solemn Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Paul*, there to burn continually before the Image of our Lady: And at laſt, how

The Duke revenged of the *Londoners*.

both the ſaid Duke and the *Londoners* were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new King: with the kiſs of peace, and the ſame reconcilement publickly denounced in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, and what joy was in the whole City thereof: Theſe, becauſe they are impertinent and make too long a digreſſion from the matter of *Wickliff*, I cut off with brevity, referring the Reader to other Hiſtories namely of St. *Albans*, where they are to be found at large.

KING *Edw.* 3 The *Londoners* cauſed to bear a Taper of Wax in proceſſion in honour of the Duke.

As theſe foreſaid for brevity ſake I paſs over, ſo will not be long, and yet cannot omit that, which happened the ſame time and year to the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to the intent that this Poſterity now may ſee, to what pride the Clergy of the Popes Church was then grown. The ſame time as this broil was at *London*, the Biſhop of *Norwich* a little after the time of *Eaſter* coming to the Town of *Lennam*, belonging to his Lordſhip: being not contented with the old accuſtomed honour due unto him, and uſed of his predeceſſors before in the ſame Town, required moreover with a new and unuſed kind of magnificence to be exalted: Inſomuch that when he ſaw the chief Magiſtrate or Mayor of that Town to go in the ſtreets with his Officer going before him, holding a certain Wand in his hand tipped at both ends with black Horn, as the manner was; he reputing himſelf to be Lord of that Town (as he was) and thinking to be higher than the higheſt, commanded the honour of that Staff due to the Mayor, to be yielded and born before his Lordly perſonage. The Mayor or Bailiff, with other the Townſmen, courteouſly anſwered to him again, That they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibit that reverence unto him, and would ſo do, if he firſt of the King and Council could obtain that Cuſtom, and if the ſame might be induced after any peaceable way with the good wills of the Commons and Body of the Town: Otherwiſe ſaid they, as the matter was dangerous, ſo they durſt not take in hand any ſuch new alteration of ancient Cuſtoms and Liberties, leſt the people (which is always inclinable and prone to evil) do fall upon them with ſtones, and drive them out of the Town. Wherefore kneeling on their knees before him, there humbly they beſought him that he would require no ſuch thing of them: that he would ſave his own honour and their lives, who otherwiſe if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the Biſhop, youthful and haughty, taking occaſion by their humbleneſs, to ſwell the more in himſelf, anſwered, That he would not be taught by their counſel, but that he would have it done, though all the Commons (whom he named Ribals) ſaid nay. Alſo he rebuked the Mayor and his Brethren for Mecocks and daſtards, for ſo fearing the vulgar ſort of people.

A ſtory of the Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Example of Pride in the Clergy.

The concourſe of the Townſmen toward the Biſhop.

The ſtout anſwer of the Biſhop to the Townſhip.

The Citizens perceiving the wilful ſtoutneſs of the Biſhop, meekly anſwering again, ſaid, They minded not to reſiſt him, but to let him do therein what he thought good: only they deſired him that he would Licenſe them to depart, and hold them excuſed for not waiting upon him, and conducting him out of the Town with that reverence which he required. For if they ſhould be ſeen in his company, all the ſuſpition thereof would be upon them, and ſo ſhould they be all in danger, ſo much as their lives were worth. The Biſhop not regarding their advice and counſel, commanded one of his men to take the Rod born before the Mayor, and to carry the ſame before him. Which being done, and perceived of the Commons, the Biſhop after that manner went not far, but the rude people running to ſhut the Gates, came out with their Bows, ſome with Clubs and Staves, ſome with other inſtruments, ſome with Stones, and let drive at the Biſhop and his men, as faſt as they might; in ſuch ſort, that both the Biſhop and his Horſe under him with moſt part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this jolly Prelate, ruffling in his new Scepter, was received and welcomed there. That is, he was ſo pelted with Bats and ſtones, ſo wounded with Arrows, and other inſtruments fit for ſuch a skirmiſh, that the moſt part of his men, with his Mace-bearer, all running away from him, the poor wounded Biſhop was there left alone, not able to keep his old power, which went about to uſurp a new power more than to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true in all, ſo is it well exemplified here, which is commonly ſaid, and as it is commonly ſeen, that Pride will have a fall, and Power uſurped will never ſtand. In like manner, if the Citizens of

The Tow of *Lennam* riſeth a gainſt the Biſhop.

Pride will have a fal Power u- ſurped w never ſta

*Rome*,

{KING Edw. 3} *Rome*, following the example of theſe *Lennam*-men, as they have the like cauſe, and greater, to do by the uſurped power of their Biſhop, would after the ſame ſawce handle the Pope, and unſcepter him of his Mace and regality, which nothing pertaineth to him; they in ſo doing both ſhould recover their own liberties, with more honor at home, and alſo win much more commendation abroad. *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.*

The uſurped power of the Pope would have a bridle.

This Tragedy with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at *Lennam*, which was a little after *Eaſter*, (as is ſaid) about the month of *April*, *An.* 1377. the ſame year upon the 12*th.* day of the month of *June* next after, died the worthy and victorious Prince King *Edward* the Third, after he had Reigned 51 years. A Prince no more aged in years than renowned for many ſingular and Heroical vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his ſingular meekneſs and clemency towards his ſubjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentleneſs and mercy without all rigor or auſtere ſeverity. Among other Noble and Royal Ornaments of his nature, worthily and copiouſly ſet forth of many, thus he is deſcribed by ſome, which may briefly ſuffice for the comprehenſion of all the reſt: *Orphanis erat quaſi pater, afflictis compatiens, miſeris condolens, oppreſſos defendens, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna.* That is, *To the Orphans he was as a Father, compaſſent to the afflicted, mourning with the miſerable, relieving the oppreſſed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of need*, &c. But chiefly above all other things in this Prince, in my mind, to be commemorate is this, that he above all other Kings of this Realm, unto the time of King *Henry* the eighth, was the greateſt briller of the Popes uſurped power, and outragious oppreſſions: during all the time of which King, neither the Pope could greatly prevail in this Realm, and alſo *John Wickliff* was maintained with favour and aid ſufficient.

{Anno 1377} The death of King Edward.

But before we cloſe up the ſtory of this King, there cometh to hand that which I thought good not to omit, the noble purpoſe of the King in requiring a view to be taken in all his Dominions of all Benefices and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical remaining in the hands of *Italians* and Aliens, with the true valuation of the ſame, directed down by Commiſſion; whereof the like alſo is to be found in the time of King *Richard* the Second, the tenor of which Commiſſion of King *Edward* I thought here under to ſet down for worthy memory.

## *The King directed Writs unto all the Biſhops of* England *in this form.*

{Anno 48 Edwardi Tertii.} *EDward by the Grace of God, King*, &c. *To the Reverend Father in Chriſt* N. *by the ſame Grace Biſhop* L. *Greeting. Being willing upon certain cauſes to be certified what and how many Benefices as well Archdeaconries and other Dignities, as Vicarages, Parſonages, Prebends and Chappels, within your Dioceſs, be at this preſent in the hands of* Italians *and other ſtrangers, what they be, of what value, and how every of the ſaid Benefices be called by name; and how much every of the ſame is worth by the year, not as by way of Tax or extent, but according to the true value of the ſame; and likewiſe of the names of all and ſingular ſuch ſtrangers being now Incumbents or occupying the ſame and every of them; moreover the names of all them, whether* Engliſh-*men or ſtrangers, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they be, which have the occupation or diſpoſition of any ſuch Benefices with the fruits and profits of the ſame, in the behalf, or by the authority of any the foreſaid ſtrangers by way of farm, or title, or procuration, or by any other ways or means whatſoever, and how long they have occupied or diſpoſed the ſame; and withal if any the ſaid ſtrangers be now reſidents upon any Benefices; we command you, as heretofore commanded you, that you ſend us a true certificate of all and ſingular the premiſes, into our High Court of Chancery under your Seal diſtinctly and openly, on this ſide the Feaſt of the* Aſcenſion *of our Lord next coming, without further delay: returning unto us this our Writ withal.* Witneſs our ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the 16*th.* day of *April* in the 48*th.* year of our Reign of *England*, and over *France* the 35*th.* year.

By vertue hereof, Certificate was ſent up to the King into his Chancery, out of every Dioceſs of *England*, of all ſuch Spiritual Livings as were then in the occupation either of Priors Aliens, or of other ſtrangers; whereof the number was ſo great, as being all ſet down, it would fill almoſt half a Quier of Paper. Whereby may appear that it was high time for the King to ſeek remedy herein, either by treaty with the Pope or otherwiſe; conſider ſo great a portion of the revenues of his Realm was by this means conveyed away and employed either to the relief of his Enemies, or maintenance of the Foreigners: amongſt which number the Cardinals of the Court of *Rome* lacked not their ſhare; as may appear by this which followeth.

The Lord *Francis* of the title of *S. Sabine*, Prieſt and Cardinal of the Holy Church of *Rome*, doth hold and enjoy the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *Lichfield*, in the juriſdiction of *Lichfield*, which is worth five hundred Marks by the year; and the Prebend of *Brewood*, and the Parſonage of *Adbaſton* to the ſame Deanry annexed, which Prebend is worth by the year fourſcore Marks, and the Parſonage twenty pounds; which Deanry with the Prebends and Parſonage aforeſaid, he hath holden and occupied by the ſpace of three years. And one Maſter *De Ingris* a ſtranger, as Proctor to the ſaid Cardinal, doth hold and occupy the ſame Deanry with other the premiſes with the appurtenances, by name of Proctor during the years aforeſaid, and hath taken up the fruits and profits, for the ſaid Cardinal, dwelling not in the Realm. *Coventry and Lichfield.*

Lord *William* Cardinal of S. *Angelo*, a ſtranger, doth hold the Archdeaconry of *Suffolk*, by vertue of proviſion Apoſtolical, from the Feaſt of Saint *Nicholas* laſt paſt; he is not reſident upon his ſaid Archdeaconry. And the ſaid Archdeaconry, together with the Procurations due by reaſon of the Viſitation, is worth by year, 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* And Maſter *John* of *Helimington*, *&c.* doth occupy the Seal of the Official of the ſaid Archdeaconry, *&c.* *Norwich.*

Lord *Reinald* of S. *Adrian* Deacon Cardinal, hath in the ſaid County the Parſonage of *Godalmonge*, worth by year forty pound, and one *Edward Teweſte* doth farm the ſaid Parſonage for nine years paſt. *Surren.*

The Lord *Anglicus* of the Holy Church of *Rome* Prieſt and Cardinal, a ſtranger, was Incumbent, and did hold in poſſeſſion the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *York*, from the 11*th.* day of *November*, *Anno.* 1366. and is yearly worth according to the true value thereof, four hundred pounds; and M. *John* of *Stoke*, Canon of the ſaid Church, doth occupy the ſaid Deanry and the profits of the ſame, in the name or by the authority of the ſaid Lord Dean, *&c.* But the ſaid Dean was never reſident upon the ſaid Deanry ſince he was admitted thereunto. *Ebor.*

*Item*, Lord *Hugh* of our Lady in Deacon and Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth poſſeſs the Prebend of *Driffild* in the ſaid Church of *York* from the ſeventh day of *June*, *An. Dom.* 1363. from which day, *&c.* *John* of *Gisbourne*, and *George Conpemanthorp*, *&c.* do occupy the ſaid Prebend, worth by year one hundred pounds; the ſaid Lord *Hugh* is not reſident upon the ſaid Prebend.

*Item*, Lord *Simon* of the title of S. *Sixt* Prieſt and Cardinal, *&c.* doth poſſeſs the Prebend of *Wiſtow* in the ſaid Church of *York*, worth by year 100 *l.* And the foreſaid Maſter *John* of *Stoke* doth occupy the foreſaid Prebend and the profits thereof, *&c.* But the ſaid Lord *Simon* is not reſident upon the ſaid Prebend. *Saribus*

*Item*, Lord *Francis* of the title of S. *Sabine*, Prieſt and Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth poſſeſs the Prebend of *Stranſal* in the ſaid Church of *York*, worth by year 100 Marks. And Maſter *William* of *Merfield*, *&c.* doth occupy the ſaid Prebend, *&c.* but the ſaid Lord *Francis* is not reſident upon the ſaid Prebend.

Lord *Peter* of the title of S. *Praxed*, Prieſt and Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth hold the Archdeaconry of *York*, worth by year 100 *l.* and M. *William* of *Merfield*, *&c.* for farmers.

The Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *Sar.* with Churches and Chappels underwritten to the ſame Deanry annexed, doth remain in the hands of Lord *Reginald* of the title of S. *Adrian* Deacon and Cardinal, and ſo hath remained theſe 2 years, who is never reſident; his Proctor is one *Lawrence de Ingris*, a ſtranger, and is worth by year 254 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.*

*Richard*

*Richard* Biſhop doth hold the Vicarage of *Meere* to the Deanry annexed, and hath holden the ſame for nineteen years, worth by year 40 *l.*

*Robert Codfor*, farmer of the Church of *Heightredbury*, to the ſame annexed, worth by year 50 *l.*

The Deanry of *Sarisbury.*

The Church of *Stoning* and the Chapel of *Reſcomp* to the ſame Deanry annexed, worth by year 70 Marks.

The Chappel of *Herſt* to the ſame Deanry annexed, worth by year 40 *l.*

The Chappel of *Wokenbame* to the ſame Deanry annexed, worth by year 36 *l.*

The Chappel of *Sanhurſt*, worth by year 40 *s.*

The Church of *Godalining*, to the ſame Deanry annexed, in the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, worth by year 40 *l.*

Treaſurer of the Church of *Sar.*

The dignity of Treaſurer in the Church of *Sarum*, with Church and Chappels underwritten to the ſame annexed is in the hands of Lord *John* of the title of S. *Mark* Prieſt and Cardinal, and hath ſo continued twelve years, who was never reſident in the ſame, worth by year 136 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Church of *Fighelden* to the ſame annexed, worth by year, 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Church of *Alwardbury* with the Chappel of *Putton*, worth by year 10 *l.*

The Prebend of *Calve* to the ſame Treaſurer annexed, worth by year 100 *l.*

The Archdeaconry of *Berck*, in the Cathedral Church of *Sarisbury*, with the Church of *Mordon* to the ſame annexed, is in the hands of the Lord *William* of the title of S. *Stephen*, who was never reſident in the ſame, worth by year eight ſcore Marks.

The Archdeaconry of *Dorſet* in the Church of *Sariſbury*, with the Church of *Giſſiche* to the ſame annexed, in the hands of Lord *Robert*, of the title of the Twelve Apoſtles, Prieſt and Cardinal, and is worth by year 103 Marks.

The Prebend of *Woodford* and *Wyvelford* in the Church of *Sarisbury*, is in the hands of *Robert* the Cardinal aforeſaid, and is worth 40 Marks.

The Prebend of *Heiworth* in the Church of *Sarisbury* is in the hands of the Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio* who is never reſident, and is worth by year 80 *l.*

The Prebend of *Netherbarnby* and *Beminſter*, in the Church of *Sarisbury*, one *Hugh Pelgrini* a ſtranger did hold twenty years and more, and was never reſident in the ſame, worth by the year eight ſcore Marks.

The Church Prebendary of *Gillinham* in the Nunnery of *Salisbury* lately holden of Lord *Richard* now Biſhop of *Ely*, is in the hands of the Lord *Peter* of the title of Saint *Praxed*, Prieſt and Cardinal, *&c.* worth by the year 80 *l.*

Canterbury.

Lord *William* of the Holy Church of *Rome* Cardinal, a ſtranger, doth hold the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury*, and is not reſident; the true value of all the yearly fruits, rents and profits, is worth ſeven hundred Florens.

Bath and Wells.

The Lord Cardinal of *Canterbury* is Archdeacon of *Wells*, and hath annexed to his Archdeaconry the Churches of *Hewiſh*, *Berwes*, and *Southbrent* which are worth by year, with their procuration of viſitations of the ſaid Archdeaconry, 160 *l.*

*Item*, The Lord Cardinal is Treaſurer of the Church of *Wells*, and hath the moity of the Church of *Mertock* annexed thereunto, worth by year 60 *l.*

*Item*, The Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio* is Archdeacon of *Tawnton* in the Church of *Wells*, and is worth by year with the procurations and the Prebend of *Mylmerton* to the ſame annexed, 80 *l.*

Like matter is alſo found in the time of King *Richard* the Second, upon what occaſion it is uncertain: but as it ſeemeth by record that of time; A new Pope being come in place, he would take no knowledge of any matter done by his Predeceſſors, that might any way abridge his commodity. And therefore this King was forced to begin anew, as may appear by this following.

An. 2. Rich. 2. The Archdeaconry of *Stow.*

Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio* is Prebendary of the Prebend of *Soringham*, together with a portion of S. *Mary* of *Stow* to the ſame annexed; the fruits whereof by common eſtimate be worth by year, 165 *l.* Maſter *John* Vicar of *Coringham*, and Maſter *Robert* Parſon of *Kettelthorp*, and *W. Thurly*, be Farmers.

Lord Cardinal *Albanen* is Prebendary of the Prebend of *Sutton*, the Fruits whereof be commonly eſteemed worth by year 400 Marks. *Roger Skyret* of *Buckingham*, and *William Bedeford* of *Sutton* do Farm the ſame Prebend. The Lord Cardinal *Glandacen* is Prebendary of the Prebend of *Naſſington*, worth by eſtimation 300 Marks. *Robert* of *Naſſington*, and *John* Son of *Robert* of *Abethorp*, do occupy the ſame Prebend.

KING Ric. 2.

The Archdeaconry of Northampton.

Lord Cardinal *Nonnacem* is Parſon of *Adderbury*, worth by eſtimation, 100 *l.* *Adam Robelyn* Clerk, is his Proctor, and occupieth the ſame.

Lord Cardinal of S. Prebendary of *Thame*, worth yearly by common eſtimation, 200 Marks, *John Heyward* and *Thomas* a Lay-man, do occupy the ſame Prebend.

In the Archdeaconry of Oxon.

Lord *Peter de Yeverino*, Cardinal, is Prebendary of *Ayleſbury*, worth yearly by common eſtimation Marks, Holy *Duſe* of *Aylesbury* doth occupy the ſame Prebend.

In the Archdeaconry of York.

The Cardinal of S. *Angelo* hath the Archdeaconry of *Stuff.* and is worth by year by common eſtimation an hundred Marks.

In the Dioceſs of Lincoln.

Lord Cardinal *Neminacem* Treaſurer of the Church of *Sar.* hath the Archdeaconry of *Sar.* the Church of *Figheldon* to his dignity annexed, which is let to *Grace*, late Wife of *Edmund Swayne* deceaſed, paying yearly 50 Marks. He hath alſo, in the ſame Archdeaconry and County, the ſaid Church of *Alwerbury*, with the Chappels of *Putton* and *Farld* to the ſame annexed, which is let to farm to the Prior of the Houſe of *Ederoſe* for the yearly rent of 23 *l.* he hath alſo the Prebend of *Calve* in the ſaid Archdeaconry and County, worth by year, 100 pound, and farmer thereof is *Raymund Peregrine.*

In the Dioceſs of Sar.

Lord Cardinal of *Agrifolio*, Hath the Archdeaconry of *Berk*, worth by year 120 Marks, and it remaineth in his own hands. *Item*, He hath the Prebend of *Worth*, worth by year a hundred pound; *Raymund Peregrine* is Farmer there.

Lord Cardinal *Gebanen* hath the Prebends of *Woodford* and *Willeford* in the County of *Wiltſhire*, let to farm to *John Bennet* of *Sar.* worth by year 40 Marks.

Lord *Andomer de Rupy* is Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, to the which Archdeacon belongs the Church of *Lymin* within the ſame Dioceſs, worth by year after the taxation of the tenth, 20 *l.* The Church of *Tenham*, worth by year after the ſaid taxation, 130 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* The Church of *Hakington* near *Canterbury*, worth by year twenty Marks. The Church of Saint *Clement* in *Sandwich*, worth by year after the taxations aforeſaid eight Marks. The Church of Saint *Mary* in *Sandwich*, worth by year eight pound, of the which the ſaid Archdeacon receiveth only ſix Marks. The profits of all which premiſſes S. *William Latimer* Knight hath received, together with the profits ariſing out of the juriſdiction of the Archdeaconry, worth by year, 20 *l.*

In the Dioceſs of Canterbury.

*Anglicus* of the Church of *Rome*, Prieſt and Cardinal, hath the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of *York*, worth by year 373 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And the Prebend of *Southcane*, valued yearly at 160 Marks.

In the Dioceſs of York.

Lord Cardinal *Gebaven* doth hold the Church of *Wermouth*, and Archdeaconry of *Durham*, worth by year 200 Marks. And *John* of *Chambre*, and *Thomas* of *Harington* of *Newcaſtle* be the Farmers and Proctors of the ſaid Cardinal.

In the Dioceſs of Durham.

*Ex Bundelio Brevium Regis de An.* 2. *Rich.* 2. *part.* 1.

## *King RICHARD the Second.*

King Richard II.

AFTER King *Edward* the Third ſucceeded his Son, *Richard* the Second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven years: who in the ſame year of his Fathers deceaſe with great pomp and ſolemnity was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *An.* 1377. who, following his Fathers ſteps was no great diſfavourer of the way and Doctrine of *Wickliff*: albeit at the firſt beginning, partly through the iniquity of time, partly through the Popes Letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithſtanding ſomething he did in that behalf, more perhaps than in the end he had thank for of the Papiſts, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appear. But as times do change, ſo changeth

{KING Ric. 2} changeth commonly the ſtate and ſtate of Man. The Biſhops now ſeeing the aged King to be taken away, during the time of whoſe old age all the government of the Realm depended upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*; And now the ſaid Biſhops again ſeeing the ſaid Duke, with the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Marſhal*, to give other Offices, and to remain in their private houſes without intermedling, thought now the time to ſerve them, to have ſome vantage againſt *John Wickliff*; who hitherto, under the protection of the foreſaid Duke and Lord Marſhal, had ſome reſt and quiet. Concerning the ſtory of which *Wickliff*, I truſt, (gentle Reader) it is not out of thy memory what went before, *pag.* 487. how he being brought before the Biſhops, by the means of the Duke and Lord *Henry Percy*, the Council was interrupted, and brake before nine of the Clock. By reaſon whereof *Wickliff* at that time eſcaped without any further trouble. Who notwithſtanding, being by the Biſhops forbid to deal in that Doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows going barefoot, and in long Friſe Gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whoſe Sermons theſe Articles moſt chiefly at that time were collected.

The Biſhops take vantage of time.

The firſt Articles collected out of *Wickliffs* Sermons.

That the Holy Euchariſt, after the Conſecration, is not the very body of Chriſt, but figuratively.

That the Church of *Rome* is not the head of all Churches more than any other Church is: Nor that *Peter* hath any more power given of Chriſt, than any other Apoſtle hath.

*Item*, That the Pope of *Rome* hath no more in the Keys of the Church, than hath any other within the Order of Prieſthood.

*Item*, If God be, the Lords Temporal may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away their Temporalties from the Church-men offending *habitualiter*.

*Item*, If any Temporal Lord do know the Church ſo offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the Temporalties from the ſame.

*Item*, That all the Goſpel is a rule ſufficient of it ſelf to rule the life of every Chriſtian Man here, without any other rule.

*Item*, That all other rules, under whoſe obſervances divers Religious perſons be governed, do add no more perfection to the Goſpel, than doth the white colour to the Wall.

*Item*, That neither the Pope, nor any other Prelate of the Church, ought to have priſons wherein to puniſh tranſgreſſors.

The Articles of *John Wickliff* ſent to the Pope.

Beſides theſe Articles, divers other concluſions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by Biſhops at *England*, which they ſent diligently to Pope *Gregory* at *Rome*: Where the ſaid Articles being read and peruſed, were condemned for Heretical and erroneous by three and twenty Cardinals.

Pope *Gregory* the 11th.

*Wickliff* called before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

In the mean time the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſending forth his citations, as is aforeſaid, called before him the ſaid *John Wickliff* in the preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Lord *Percy*; who, upon the declaration of the Popes Letters made, bound him to ſilence, forbidding him not to intreat any more of thoſe matters. But then through the diſturbance of the Biſhop of *London* and the Duke, and Lord *Percy*, that matter was ſoon diſpatched, as hath been above recorded, *pag.* 487. And all this was done in the days and laſt year of King *Edward* the Third, and Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh.

{Anno 1378} The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1378. being the firſt year of King *Richard* the Second, the ſaid Pope *Gregory* taking his time, after the death of King *Edward*, ſendeth his Bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one Maſter *Edmund Stafford*, directed unto the Univerſity of *Oxford*, rebuking them ſharply, impertinently, and like a Pope, for ſuffering ſo long the Doctrine of *John Wickliff* to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked ſickle of their Catholick Doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands, by the Popes Meſſenger aforeſaid; the Proctors and Maſters of the Univerſity, joyning together in conſultation, ſtood long in doubt, deliberating with themſelves whether to receive the Popes Bull with honor, or to refuſe and reject it with ſhame.

*Edmund Stafford* bringer of the Popes Bull.

The Maſters of *Oxford* doubt whether to receive or reject the Popes Bull.

*I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the Authors of this ſtory whom I follow; what exclamations, what wondrings and marvels they make at theſe* Oxford *Men, for ſo doubting at a matter ſo plain, ſo manifeſt of it ſelf, (as they ſay) whether the Popes Bull ſent to them from* Rome *was to be received or contrary. Which thing to our Monkiſh writers ſeemed then ſuch a prodigious wonder, that they with bluſhing cheeks are fain to clit off the matter in the midſt with ſilence.*

The Copy of this wild Bull, ſent to them from the Pope, was this:

## *Gregory* the Biſhop, the ſervant of Gods ſervants, to his well-beloved Sons, the Chancellor and Univerſity of *Oxford*, in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, Greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction.

The Popes mad Bull ſent to Oxford.

*WE are compelled not only to marvel, but alſo to lament, that you, conſidering the Apoſtolical Seat hath given unto your Univerſity of* Oxford *ſo great favour and priviledge, and alſo for that you flow as in a large Sea in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and Catholick Faith (without the which there is no ſalvation) by your great negligence and ſloth will ſuffer wild Cockle, not only to grow up among the pure Wheat of the flouriſhing field of your Univerſity, but alſo to wax ſtrong and choke the Corn. Neither have ye any care (as we are informed) to extirp and pluck the ſame up by the roots, to the great blemiſhing of your renowned name, the peril of your ſouls, the contempt of the Church of* Rome, *and to the great decay of the antient Faith. And further (which grieveth us) the increaſe of that filthy weed was more ſharply rebuked and judged of in* Rome, *than in* England *where it ſprang. Wherefore let there be means ſought by the help of the faithful, to root out the ſame. Grievouſly it is come to our ears, that one* John Wickliff, *Parſon of* Lutterworth *in* Lincoln *Dioceſs, a profeſſor of Divinity (would God he were not rather a Maſter of Errors) is run into a kind of deteſtable wickedneſs, not only and openly publiſhing, but alſo vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breaſt, diverſe profeſſions, falſe and erroneous concluſions, and moſt wicked and damnable Hereſies. Whereby he might defile the faithful ſort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the ſtate of the Church, and utterly ſubvert the ſecular policy. Of which his miſchievous Hereſies ſome ſeem to agree (only certain names and terms changed) with the perverſe opinions, and unlearned Doctrine of* Marſilius *of* Padua, *and of* John Gandune, *of unworthy memory, whoſe Books were utterly aboliſhed in the Realm of* England, *by our predeceſſor of happy memory* John *the* 22th. *which Kingdom doth not only flouriſh in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and ſhining in pureneſs of Faith; accuſtomed always to bring forth Men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, Men notable in devotion, and defenders of the Catholick Faith. Wherefore we will and command you by our writing Apoſtolical in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favour, indulgences and priviledges granted unto you and your Univerſity from the ſaid See Apoſtolical; that hereafter ye ſuffer not thoſe peſtilent Hereſies, and thoſe ſubtil and falſe concluſions and propoſitions, miſconſtruing the right ſenſe of faith and good works (howſoever they term it, or what curious implication of words ſoever they uſe) any longer to be diſputed of, or brought in queſtion; Leſt if it be not withſtood at the firſt, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare Medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately, or cauſe to be apprehended the ſaid* John Wickliff, *and deliver him to be detained in the ſafe cuſtody of our well-beloved brethren, the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Biſhop of* London, *or either of them. And if you ſhall find any gainſayers, corrupted with the ſaid Doctrine (which God forbid) in your ſaid Univerſity within your juriſdiction, that ſhall obſtinately ſtand in the ſaid errors; that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to ſafe cuſtody, and otherwiſe to do in this caſe as it ſhall appertain*

The Pope complaineth of *John Wickliff*.

*Marſilius Paduanus, Joan de Gandune* noted.

Here the wild Bull ſtriketh.

*pertain unto you: So as by your careful proceedings herein, your negligence paſt concerning the premiſes may now fully be ſupplied and recompenced with preſent diligence. Whereby you ſhall not only purchaſe unto you the favour and benevolence of the ſeat Apoſtolical, but alſo great reward and merit of Almighty God.*

Yeven at *Rome* at S. *Maries* the greater, xi. *Kalend.* of *June*, and in the 7*th.* year of our Conſecration.

Beſide this Bull ſent to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the ſaid Pope *Gregory* directed moreover his Letters the ſame time to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Simon Sudbury*, to the Biſhop of *London* named *William Courtney*, with the concluſions of *John Wickliff* therein incloſed, commanding them, by vertue of thoſe his Letters Apoſtolical, and ſtraitly enjoyning them to cauſe the ſaid *John Wickliff* to be apprehended, and caſt into priſon; and that the King and the Nobles of *England* ſhould be admoniſhed by them, not to give any credit to the ſaid *John Wickliff*, or to his Doctrine in any wiſe.

*Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *W. Courtney* Biſhop of *London*.

Beſide this Bill or Bull of the Pope, ſent unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and to the Biſhop of *London*, bearing date, 11. *Kalend. Jun.* and the ſeventh year of the Reign of the Pope; I find moreover in the ſaid ſtory two other Letters of the Pope concerning the ſame matter, but differing in form, ſent unto the ſame Biſhops and all bearing the ſame date, both of the day, year, and month of the Reign of the ſaid Pope *Gregory*. Whereby it is to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid Pope either was very exquiſite and ſolicitous about the matter, to have *Wickliff* to be apprehended, which wrote three divers Letters to one perſon, and all in one day, about one buſineſs; or elſe that he did ſuſpect the bearers thereof; the ſcruple whereof I leave to the judgment of the Reader.

Three ſundry Letters of the Pope to one perſon, about one matter.

Furthermore, beſide theſe Letters written to the Univerſity, and to the Biſhops, he directeth alſo another Epiſtle bearing the ſame date unto King *Edward*; as one of my ſtories ſaith, but as another ſaith, to King *Richard*, which ſoundeth more near to the truth, foraſmuch as in the ſeventh year of Pope *Gregory* the 11*th.* which was the year of our Lord, 1378. King Edward was not alive. The Copy of his Letters to the King here followeth.

## The Copy of the Epiſtle ſent by the Biſhop of *Rome* to *Richard* King of *England*, to perſecute *John Wickliff*.

The Popes Letter to K. *Richard* againſt *John Wickliff*.

*UNTO his Welbeloved Son in Chriſt*, Richard, *the moſt noble King of* England, *health*, &c.

*The Kingdom of* England, *which the moſt hihgeſt hath put under your power and governance, being ſo famous and renowned in valiancy and ſtrength, ſo abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches, but much more glorious, reſplendent and ſhining through the brightneſs and clearneſs of all godlineſs and faith, hath accuſtomed always to bring forth Men indued with the true knowledge and underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the Catholick Faith: The which have not only directed and inſtructed their own people through their wholeſome Doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods Commandments; but alſo we have heard by the report and information of many credible perſons (to our great grief and heart ſorrow) that* John Wickliff *Parſon of* Lutterworth, *in the Dioceſs of* Lincoln, *profeſſor of Divinity (I would to God he were no author of Hereſie) to be fallen into ſuch a deteſtable and abominable madneſs, that he hath propounded and ſet forth diverſe and ſundry concluſions full of errors, and containing moſt manifeſt Hereſie, the which do tend utterly to ſubvert and overthrow the ſtate of the whole Church. Of the which, ſome of them (albeit under coloured phraſe and ſpeech) ſeem to ſmell and ſavour of perverſe opinions, the fooliſh doctrine of condemned memory of* Marſilius *of* Padua, *and* John *of* Ganduno, *whoſe Books were by Pope* John *the* 22th. *our predeceſſor, a Man of a moſt happy memory, reproved and condemned*, &c.

Hitherto, gentle Reader, thou haſt heard how *Wickliff* was accuſed by the Biſhop. Now you ſhall alſo hear the Popes mighty reaſons and arguments, by the which he did confute him, to the King. It followeth.

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*Therefore, forſomuch as our Reverend Brethren the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Biſhop of* London *have received a ſpecial commandment from us, by our authority to apprehend and commit the forenamed* John Wickliff *unto priſon, and to tranſport his confeſſion unto us: if they ſhall ſeem in the proſecution of this their buſineſs to lack your favour or help, we require and moſt earneſtly deſire your Majeſty, even as your moſt noble predeceſſors have always been moſt earneſt lovers of the Catholick Faith (whoſe caſe or quarrel in this matter is chiefly handled) that you would vouchſafe (even for the reverence of God, and the Faith aforeſaid, and alſo of the Apoſtolick Seat, and of our perſon) with your help and favour to aſſiſt the ſaid Archbiſhop and all other that ſhall go about to execute the ſaid buſineſs. Whereby beſides the praiſe of Men, you ſhall obtain an Heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the See aforeſaid.* Dated at *Rome* at S. *Mary* the greater, the 11*th Kal.* of *June* in the 7*th.* year of our Biſhoprick, *An.* 1378.

Here is preſoning, but no teaching

The Articles included in the Popes Letters, which he ſent to the Biſhops, and to the King againſt *Wickliff*, were theſe which in order do follow.

## The Concluſions of *J. Wickliff*, exhibited in the Convocation of certain Biſhops at *Lambeth*.

Certain Concluſions of John Wickliff.

*ALL the whole race of Mankind here on Earth, beſides Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordain, That* Peter *and all his off-ſpring ſhould politickly rule over the world for ever.*

2. *God cannot give to any Man for him and his heirs any Civil Dominion for ever.*

3. *All writings invented by Men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impoſſible*

4. *Every Man, being in grace juſtifying, hath not only right unto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right indeed above all the good things of God.*

5. *A Man cannot only miniſtratoriouſly give any temporal or continual gift, either as well to his natural Son, as to his Son by imitation.*

6. *If God be, the temporal Lords may lawfully and metitoriouſly take away the riches from the Church when they do offend* habitualiter.

7. *We know that Chriſt's Vicar cannot, neither is able by his Bulls, neither by his own will and conſent, neither by the conſent of his College, either to make able or diſable any Man.*

8. *A Man cannot be Excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be firſt and principally Excommunicate by himſelf.*

9. *No Man ought, but in Gods cauſe alone, to Excommunicate, ſuſpend, or forbid, or otherwiſe to proceed to revenge by any Eccleſiaſtical cenſure.*

10. *A Curſe or Excommunication doth not ſimply bind, but in caſe it be pronounced and given out againſt the adverſary of Gods Law.*

11. *There is no power given by any example, either by Chriſt or by his Apoſtles, to Excommunicate any ſubject, ſpecially for denying of any temporalties, but rather contrariwiſe.*

12. *The Diſciples of Chriſt have no power to exact, by any civil authority, temporalties by cenſures.*

13. *It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope, or any other Chriſtian do pretend by any means to bind or to looſe, that thereby he doth ſo bind and looſe.*

14. *We ought to believe that the Vicar of Chriſt doth at ſuch times only bind and looſe, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and Ordinance of Chriſt.*

15. *This ought univerſally to be believed, that every Prieſt rightly and duly ordered, according unto the Law of Grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may miniſter the Sacraments, and conſequently Abſolve*

any

KING Ric. 2.

*any man confeſſing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the ſame.*

16. *It is lawful for Kings, in cauſes licenſed by the law, to take away the temporalties from the ſpiritualty, ſinning* habitualiter, *that is, which continue in the cuſtom of ſin, and will not amend.*

17. *Whether they be temporal Lords, or any other men whatſoever they be, which have endowed any Church with temporalties; it is lawful for them to take away the ſame temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid ſin, notwithſtanding any Excommunication or other Eccleſiaſtical cenſure; forſomuch as they are not given but under a condition.*

18. *An Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, and alſo the Biſhop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his Subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accuſed either of the Clergy or of the Laity.*

* * *

Theſe Letters with the Articles incloſed being thus received from the Pope, the Biſhops took no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themſelves, and that in open profeſſion before their provincial Council, that all manner reſpects of fear or favour ſet apart, no perſon neither high nor low ſhould let them, neither would they be ſeduced by the intreaty of any Man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cauſe they would execute moſt ſurely upright juſtice and equity: yea albeit preſent danger of life ſhould follow thereupon. But theſe ſo fierce braggs, and ſtout promiſes, with the ſubtil practices of theſe Biſhops, which thought them ſo ſure before, the Lord (againſt whom no determination of Mans counſel can prevail) by a ſmall occaſion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the Examination being come; a certain perſonage of the princes Court, and yet of no great Noble birth, named *Lewes Clifford*, entring in among the Biſhops, commanded them that they ſhould not proceed with any definitive ſentence againſt *John Wickliffe*. With which words they all were ſo amazed, and their Combs ſo cut, that (as in the Story is mentioned) they became ſo mute and ſpeechleſs, as men having not one word in their mouths to anſwer. And thus by the wonderous work of God his providence, eſcaped *John Wickliffe* the ſecond time out of the Biſhops hands; and was by them clearly diſmiſſed upon his declaration made of his Articles, as anon ſhall follow.

The ſtout braggs of the Biſhops overthrown.

*Wickliffe again called before the Biſhops. Lewes Clifford.*

*John Wickliffe again delivered from the Biſhops.*

Moreover, here is not to be paſſed over, how at the ſame time, and in the ſaid Chappel of the Archbiſhop at *Lambeth*, where the Biſhops were ſitting upon *John Wickliffe*, the Story writing of the doing thereof, addeth theſe words, ſaying: *Non dico cives tantum Londinenſes, ſed viles ipſius civitatis ſe impudenter ingerere præſumpſerunt in eandem capellam & verba facere pro eodem, & iſtud negotium impedire, conſiſi, ut reor, de ipſorum præmiſſa negligentia prælatorum, &c.* That is, I ſay not only, that the Citizens of *London*, but alſo the vile abjects of the City preſumed to be ſo bold in the ſame Chappel at *Lambeth*, where the Biſhops were ſitting upon *John Wickliffe*, both to intreat for him, and alſo to let and ſtop the ſame matter; truſting, as I ſuppoſe, upon the negligence which they ſaw before in the Biſhops, &c.

Over and beſide, here is not to be forgotten, how the ſaid *John Wickliffe*, the ſame time of his Examination, offered and exhibited unto the Biſhops in writing a proteſtation, with a declaration or expoſition of his own mind, upon the ſaid his Articles, the effect hereof followeth.

## *The Proteſtation of* John Wickliffe.

The Proteſtation of *John Wickliffe.*

FIrſt I proteſt (as I have often before done) that I do mind and intend with my whole Heart (by the grace of God) to be a true Chriſtian, and as long as breath ſhall remain in me, to profeſs and defend the Law of Chriſt. And if it ſhall happen that through ignorance or otherwiſe I ſhall fail therein: I deſire my Lord God of pardon and forgiveneſs. And now again as before alſo, I do revoke and make retractation; moſt humbly ſubmitting my ſelf under the correction of our Holy mother the Church. And forſomuch as the ſentence of my faith, which I have holden in the ſchools and elſewhere, is reported even by Children, and moreover is carried by children even unto *Rome*: therefore leſt my Dear beloved Brethren ſhould take any offence by me, I will ſet forth in writing the ſentence and articles, for the which I am now accuſed and impeached: the which alſo even unto the death I will defend, as I believe all Chriſtians ought to do, and ſpecially the Biſhop of *Rome* and all other Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church. For I do underſtand the concluſions after the ſenſe and manner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures and holy Doctors, the which I am ready to expound: And if they ſhall be found contrary to the faith, I am ready to revoke, and ſpeedily to call them back again.

## *An Expoſition upon the Concluſions of* John Wickliffe, *exhibited by him to the Biſhop.*

Expoſition of *John Wickliffe* upon his concluſions.

1. *ALL the race of mankind here in Earth, beſide Chriſt, hath no power ſimply to ordain, that* Peter, *&c.* This concluſion of it ſelf is evident, foraſmuch as it is not in Mans power to ſtop the coming of Chriſt to his final Judgment, but he muſt needs come, according to the Article of our Creed, to judge both the quick and the dead. And then (as the Scripture teacheth) ſhall furceaſe all civil and politick rule here; I underſtand the temporal and ſecular Dominion pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortal life. For ſo do the Philoſophers ſpeak of civil Dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called ſometimes perpetual: yet becauſe in holy Scripture, and in uſe of the Church, and in the Books of Philoſophers moſt commonly that is taken to be perpetual, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which ſenſe the Church ſingeth *Gloria patri, &c. Nunc, & in perpetuum*; I alſo after the ſame ſignification do take here this word (perpetually) and ſo is this concluſion conſonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in Mans power to ordain the courſe and voyage of the Church, here perpetually to laſt.

Expoſition of the ſecond concluſion.

2. *God cannot give to any man, &c.* To the Second concluſion I anſwer, underſtanding civil Dominion, as in the concluſion before. And ſo I hold, that God firſt by his ordinate power cannot give to any perſon civil Dominion here for ever. Secondly, by his abſolute power it is not probable that he will ſo do: Forſomuch as he cannot ever detain his ſpouſe in perpetual priſon of this life, nor always defer the final beatitude of his Church.

3. *To the Third concluſion. Many writings or charts invented by men, as touching perpetual Heritage civil, be unpoſſible.* The verity of this concluſion is incident. For we muſt not Canonize all manner of charts whatſoever, as Catholick, or Univeral: for then it were not lawful by any means to take away or ſequeſter things given by Chart or charter, when any doth unjuſtly occupy the ſame. And ſo if that ſtand confirmed and ratified by the Faith of the Church, great occaſion thereby ſhould be miniſtred to men ſo chartered, to truſt to their temporal Charts; and ſo might grow thereby much liberty and licence to ſin. For like as by ſome ſuppoſition every truth is neceſſary: So by the ſame ſuppoſition every falſe thing is poſſible, as it is plain by the Teſtimony of the Scripture, and of holy Doctors ſpeaking of neceſſity of things to come.

4. *Every man being in grace juſtifying finally, hath not only right unto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right indeed over all the good things of God.* In gratia gratificante finaliter.

The verity hereof is evident, by holy Scripture, *Mat.* 24. Where verity promiſeth to every man entring into his joy: verily (ſaith he) I tell you, he ſhall ſet and place him over all the goods he hath. For the right and title belonging to the Communion of Saints in their countrey (he meaneth in the Kingdom of Heaven) *Fundatur objective ſupra univerſitatem bonorum Dei*: That is, Hath his relation, as unto his object, to all the goods and poſſeſſion of God.

Note here he ſpeaketh only of the right of things in the countrey to come, and not in this exile.

5. *A man can but only miniſtratorionſly give any temporal Dominion or gift perpetual, as well to his own natural ſon, as to his ſon by imitation.* It is evident. For every man ought to recogniſe himſelf in all his works and doings, as an humble ſervant and miniſter of God. As the words of Scripture do teach us. Let a man ſo eſteem of us as the Miniſters of Chriſt.

Yea, ſo Chriſt himſelf did teach his chief Apoſtles to miniſter; but in their country the Saints ſhall give unto their fellow Brethren the Dominion of their goods, *Ut patet de ſuis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura*, according to the words of *Luke 6.* They ſhall give you, and put into your boſoms a good meaſure and perfect, well filled and heaped up, and running over.

*6. If God be, temporal Lords may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the goods of Fortune from the Church when they do offend* habitualiter.

This concluſion is Correlative with the firſt Article of our Faith: *I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.* Where I underſtand this word (may) in this concluſion after the manner of Authentick Scripture, which ſaith and granteth, *that God is able of theſe ſtones to raiſe up children to* Abraham; for otherwiſe all Chriſtian Princes were Hereticks. For upon this concluſion thus ſtandeth the reaſon: If God be, he is Omnipotent, and if he be Almighty, he is able to command the Lords temporal ſo to do: and if he may ſo command, then may they lawfully ſo take away ſuch goods, &c. And ſo by the vertue of the ſame principle, Chriſtian Princes have practiſed the ſaid ſentence upon the Churchmen heretofore, as did *William Rufus*, &c. But God forbid that any ſhould believe hereby my intention to have been, that ſecular Lords may lawfully take away what goods ſoever, and by what means ſoever, by their own naked authority at their pleaſure: But only by the Authority of the Church they may ſo do, in caſes and form limited by the Law.

*7. We know that it is not poſſible that the Vicar of Chriſt is able by his pure Bulls, &c.*

℣ This is manifeſt by the Catholick Faith; foraſmuch as the Church doth fully believe that the enabling of any man ought firſt to proceed and come of God; wherefore no Man being Chriſt his Vicar, hath any power in this matter, but only as Vicar in the name of the Lord, ſo far forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notifie unto the Church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any Man do any thing, not as Vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethink to be his author and head; it is a preſumption of *Lucifer*, forſomuch as Chriſt by his Apoſtle ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 3. All our ability or ſufficiency cometh of God. And ſo conſequently, it cometh not purely by the Miniſtery of his Vicarſhip, that he is enabled; but the ableneſs or unableneſs of him, being the Vicar of Chriſt, cometh to him another way from above.

*8. A Man cannot be Excommunicate to his hurt or undoing, except he be Excommunicate firſt and principally of himſelf.*

It is evident, forſomuch as all ſuch Excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his own ſin which is damnified: whereupon *Auguſtine* ſaith, *De verbis Domini Sermone* 51. Do not thou conculcate thy ſelf, and Man overcometh thee not. And moreover the Faith of the Church doth teach, *quod nulla ei nocebit adverſitas, ſi nulla dominetur iniquitas*: That is to ſay, No adverſity ſhall hurt, if no inquity hath the upper hand. And yet notwithſtanding, every Excommunication for many cauſes is alſo to be feared, although that the Excommunication of the Church, to the humble Man being Excommunicated, be not damnable but wholſome.

*9. No man ought but in Gods cauſe alone to Excommunicate, ſuſpend, &c.*

It is clear, foraſmuch as every juſt cauſe is the cauſe of God, whoſe reſpect ought chiefly to be weighed and pondred. Yea, the love of the perſon excommunicate, ought to ſurmount the zeal of revengement, and the deſire of all temporal goods whatſoever; for otherwiſe he that doth excommunicate, doth damnifie himſelf. To this *9th* concluſion notwithſtanding it is congruent, that a Prelate may excommunicate in the cauſe alſo of Man, ſo that his principal reſpect in ſo doing be had to the injury done to his God, as appeareth 13. *quæſt.* 4. *Inter querelas.*

*10. No curſe or Excommunication can bind ſimply, but in caſe it be given out againſt the adverſary of Chriſts Law.*

And it appeareth thus, becauſe that God doth bind ſimply every one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but only for tranſgreſſion of his Law. Whereunto it is conſonant notwithſtanding, that the cenſure of the Church doth not bind ſimply, but ſecondarily in that caſe and reſpect, as it is denounced againſt the adverſary of the members of the Church. { KING Ric. 2. }

*11. There is no example of Chriſt, which giveth power to his Diſciples to excommunicate any ſubject (eſpecially for denying of any temporalties) but contrary.*

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we believe that God is to be beloved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloved above all temporal goods of this world neceſſarily; for the Law of God cannot be contrary unto it ſelf.

*12. The Diſciples of Chriſt have no power by any civil coaction to exact temporal things by their cenſures.*

This appeareth by the faith of the Scripture, *Luke* 23. Where Chriſt did forbid his Apoſtles civilly to reign or to bear any Lordſhip. The Kings (ſaith he) of the Gentiles bear rule over them; but you not ſo. And after this ſenſe it is expounded of S. *Bernard*, of S. *Chryſoſtome*, and other holy Men: which concluſion notwithſtanding, yet may they exact temporal things by Eccleſiaſtical cenſures incidently, if caſe be that it appertain to the revengement of their God.

*13. It is not poſſible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Chriſtian do pretend to bind or looſe at their pleaſure by what means ſoever, that thereby he doth ſo bind and looſe.*

The contrary of this concluſion will deſtroy the whole Catholick Faith, importing no leſs but him to be a blaſphemer which ſo uſurpeth ſuch abſolute power of the Lord. And yet by this concluſion I intend not to derogate from the power of the Pope, or of any other Prelate of the Church, but that he may by the vertue of the head ſo bind and looſe: But do underſtand the conditional of this negative (to be impoſſible) after this ſenſe, that it cannot be that the Pope or any other Prelate of the Church can pretend by himſelf to bind or looſe (how and after what manner he liſt himſelf) except in ſuch ſort, that he do indeed ſo bind and looſe before God, as he doth pretend to do.

The power of all Prieſts toward God equal.

*14. We ought to believe, that the Vicar of Chriſt doth at ſuch times only bind and looſe, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and ordinance of Chriſt, &c.*

The reaſon thereof is this, becauſe otherwiſe it is unlawful for him ſo to do, except he ſhould do it in the vertue of that Law; and ſo conſequently, unleſs it be conformable to the Law and ordinance of Chriſt.

*Ord. ſacerdotalis non ſuſcipit magis & minus. Poteſtas ordinis. Poteſtas regiminis.*

*15. To this concluſion, this ought univerſally to be believed, that every Prieſt rightly and duly ordered hath power according to his vocation, &c.*

The reaſon hereof is this, becauſe that the order of Prieſthood in his own nature and ſubſtance receiveth no ſuch degrees, either of more or leſs. And yet notwithſtanding the power of inferior Prieſts in theſe days, is upon due conſideration reſtrained, and ſometimes again, in time of extream neceſſity, releaſed. And thus according to the Doctors, a Prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of juriſdiction or regiment. And according to this ſecond power, the Prelates are in a higher majeſty and regiment.

*16. It is lawful for Princes and Kings (in caſes by the Law limited) to withdraw temporal Commodities from Churchmen, abuſing the ſame* habitualiter.

The reaſon thereof is plain, for that temporal Lords ought rather to lean to ſpiritual Alms, which bringeth with it great fruit, than to temporal Alms, the caſe ſo ſtanding, that ſometime it were a neceſſary work of ſpiritual Alms, to chaſtiſe ſuch Clerks by taking from them their temporal livings, which uſe to abuſe the ſame, to the damnifying both of their ſoul and body. The caſes which the Law doth limit in this matter were the defect of correcting his ſpiritual Head, or els for lack of correcting the Faith of the Clerk which ſo offendeth, as appeareth. 16. *q.* 7. *filiis*, *Diſt.* 40. *cap. Si. Papa.* 16. *q. 7. filiis.*

*17. Whether they be temporal Lords, or any other men whatſoever, which have indued any Church with temporalties, &c.*

The truth thereof is evidently ſeen, for that nothing ought to ſtop a Man from the principal works of Charity neceſſarily, becauſe in every action and work of Man is to be underſtood a privy condition neceſſary of God, his good will concurring withal, as it is in the civil Law *de c. Conradi cap.* 5. *in fine collat.* x. And yet, God forbid, that

{KING Ric. 2.} that by these words occasion should be given to the Lords temporal to take away the goods of fortune from the Church.

18. *An Ecclesiastical Minister, yea, the Bishop of* Rome *may lawfully be rebuked of his Subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accused, either of the Clergy, or of the Laity.*

The proof of this is manifest hereby, because the said Bishop of *Rome* is subject to fall into the sin against the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, saving the Sanctitude, Humility and Reverence due to such a Father. For so long as our Brother is subject unto the infirmity of falling, he lieth under the Law of Brotherly correction. And when the whole College of Cardinals may be slothful in Ministring due correction for the necessary prosperity of the Church: it is apparent that the residue of the Body of the Church, which possibly may stand most of Lay men, may wholsomely correct the same, accuse and bring him to a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, *Dist.* 40. *Si Papa.* If the Pope do erre from the right Faith, &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to be supposed in the Lord Pope without manifest evidence: So again, such an obstinancy ought not to be supposed in him, possibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receive the wholsome Medicine of his superior, correcting him in the Lord. The practice of which conclusion also is testified in many Chronicles. Far be it from the Church of Christ, that verity should be condemned which soundeth evil to transgressors and other slothful persons, for then the whole Faith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus *John Wickliffe* in giving his exposition unto his foresaid propositions and conclusions, as is above prefixed, through the favour and diligence of the *Londoners*, either shifted off the Bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by the said Bishops, that he should not Teach or Preach any such Doctrine any more, for the offence of the Lay people.

Thus, this good Man, being escaped from the Bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his Godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the Church as he had begun.

Unto whom also (as it happened by the providence of God) this was also a great help and stay, for that in the same year, or in the beginning of the next year following, the foresaid Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh which was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. After whom ensued such a Schism in *Rome*, between two Popes, and other succeeding after them, one striving against another; that the Schism thereof endured the space of 39. years, until the time of the Council of *Constance*.

The death of Pope Gregory the 11th. A Schism in Rome.

The occasioner of which Schism first was Pope *Urban* the Sixth, who in the first beginning of his Popedom was so proud and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queens, and so set to advance his Nephews and kindred, with injuries to other Princes, that the greatest number of his Cardinals and Coutiers by little and little shrunk from him, and set up another *French* Pope against him, named *Clement*, who Reigned 11. years. And after him *Benedictus* the Thirteenth who Reigned 26. years. Again of the contrary side after *Urbanus* the Sixth, succeeded *Boniface* the Ninth, *Innocentius* the Eighth, *Gregory* the Twelth, *Alexander* the Fifth, *John* the Thriteenth.

Urbanus 6th Pope.

| Papæ. | Years. | Months. | Antipapæ. | Years. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Urbanus* 6. | 11. | 8. | *Clement.* | 11. |
| *Bonifacius* 9. | 14. | 9. | *Benedictus*, 13. | 26. |
| *Innocentius* 8. | 2. | 0. | | |
| *Gregorius* 12. | 2. | 7. | | |
| *Alexander* 5. | 0. | 11. | | |
| *Johannes* 13. | 5. | 10. | | |

As touching this Pestilent and most miserable Schism, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragical parts thereof, what trouble in the whole Church, what parts taking in every Countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of Priests and Prelates taken by Land and Sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof. How *Otho*, Duke of *Brunswick* and Prince of *Tarentum*, was taken and murthered. How *Joan* his Wife, Queen of *Jerusalem* and *Sicilia*, who before had sent to Pope *Urban*, beside other gifts at his Coronation, 40000 Duckets in pure Gold, was after by the said *Urban* committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled. What Cardinals were racked, and miserably without all mercy tormented on Gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what battels were fought between the two Popes, whereof 5000 on the one side were slain, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of five Cardinals together after long torments, and how the Bishop of *Aquilonensis*, being suspected of Pope *Urban*, for not Riding faster with the Pope, his Horse being not good, was there slain by the Popes commandment, sending his Souldiers unto him to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with divers other more Acts of horrible cruelty, hapning in the time of this abominable Schism, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by *Theodorick Niem*, who was near to the said Pope *Urban*, and present at all his doings, therefore as a thing needless I here pertermit; referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three Books of the said *Theodorick* above mentioned.

Was not here a jolly agreement?

Theodoricus a Niem, de schismate.

About the same time also, about three years after, there fell a cruel Dissention in *England*, between the Common people and the Nobilty, the which did not a little disturb and trouble the Common-wealth. In this tumult *Simon* of *Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place after succeeded *William Courtney*, which was no less diligent than his Predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out Hereticks. Notwithstanding in the mean season *Wickliff's* Sect increased privily, and daily drew to greater force, until the time that *William Barton* Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, about the year of our Lord 1380, had the whole Rule of that Universitty: who calling together eight Monastical Doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinity, putting the common Seal of the Universitty unto certain writings, set forth an Edict, declaring unto every Man, and threatning them under a greivous penalty, that no Man should be so hardy, hereafter to associate themselves with any of *Wickliff's* fautors or favourers: and unto *Wickliffe* himself he threatned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unless that they after three days Canonical admonition or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. The which thing when *Wickliffe* understood, forsaking the Pope and all the Clergy, he thought to appeal unto the Kings Majesty: But the Duke of *Lancaster* coming between, forbade him, that he should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himself unto the censure and judgment of his Ordinary. Whereby *Wickliffe* being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the middest of the waves, he was forced once again to make confession of his Doctrine: in the which his confession, to avoid the rigor of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and asswage the rigor of his Enemies.

Simon the Archbishop beheaded. William Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury.

Barton Chancellor of Oxford. {Anno 1380}

An edict against the Wickliviists.

The next year after, which was 1382, by the commandment of *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, there was a Convocation holden at *London*, whereas *John Wickliffe* was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally or not, I find it not in story certainly affirmed. The mandate of the Archbishop *William Courtney* (sent abroad for the conventing together of his Council) here followeth under-written, truly copied out of his own Registers.

{Anno 1382.}

*Memorandum*, That where as well amongst the Nobles as Commons of this Realm of *England*, there hath a certain brute been spread of divers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the Church, which tend to the subversion of the whole Church, and to our province of *Canterbury*, and also to the subversion of the whole Realm, being Preached in divers and sundry places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publickly: We *William* by Gods permission Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*,

The mandate of the Archbishop.

Ex Registro Archbishop William Courtney.

and Legate of the See Apoſtolical, being minded to execute our office and duty herein; have convocated or called together certain of our fellow Brethren and others a great many, as well Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, as Doctors of the Canon and civil Law, and thoſe whom we thought to be the moſt famous Men, skilfulleſt Men, and Men of ſoundeſt Judgment in Religion, that were in all the Realm, whoſe names hereunder enſue. And the ſame being (the 17*th* day of the Month of *May*) in the Year of our Lord 1382: in a certain Chamber within the Territories of the Priory of the Friers Preachers of *London*, before us and our foreſaid fellow Brethren aſſembled, then and there perſonally preſent: After that the ſaid concluſions (the Tenor whereof hereunder enſueth) were openly proponed, and diſtinctly and plainly read: We burthened our foreſaid fellow Brethren, Doctors and Bachelors, in the faith wherein they ſtood bound to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and as they would anſwer before the High Judge in the day of Judgment, that they ſhould ſpeak their opinions touching the ſaid concluſions, and what every of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premiſſes, the foreſaid our Brethren the Biſhops, Doctors and Bachelors reaſſembled before us the 21*ſt* day of the ſame Month in the foreſaid Chamber, the foreſaid Concluſions being again and again repeated and plainly read; by us and by the common conſents of us all it remaineth publiſhed and declared, that ſome of the ſaid concluſions are heretical, and otherſome erroneous and contrary to the determination of the Church, as hereafter moſt manifeſtly ſhall appear. And foraſmuch as by ſufficient information we find and perceive, that the ſaid concluſions in many places of our ſaid Province have been, as is ſaid, both taught and preached; and that divers other perſons do hold and maintain the ſame, and be of Hereſie vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected: we have thought good, as well generally as ſpecially, to ſend out this Proceſs underwritten.

## The names of the Jurors were theſe.

*Imprimis* Eight Biſhops, *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Durham*, *Exceter*, *Hereford*, *Sarum*, *Rocheſter*, and Frier *Botleſham*. *B.*

*Item*, Three Friers Preachers, *Siward*, *Paris*, *Langley*.

*Item*, Four Minorities, *Folvile*, *Carlel*, *Friſly*, *Bernwel*.

*Item*, *Auguſtine* Friers four, *Aſhborne*, *Bowkin*, *Woldley*, *Hornington*.

*Item*, Carmelites Four, *Glanvile*, *Dis*, *Loney*, *Kiningham*.

*Item*, Monks four, *Wels*, *Ramſey*, *Bloxam*, *Marton*.

*Item*, Doctors of the Canon and civil Law, fourteen, *Appelby*, *Waltrom*, *Baketon*, *Chadeſen*, *Tregiſion*, *Stow*, *Blanchard*, *Rocombey*, *Lidford*, *Welbourne*, *Flainburgh*, *Motrum*, *Brandon* and *Prophet*.

*Item*, Bachelors of Divinity ſix, *Humbleton*. *Pickwech*, *Lindlow*, *Wich*, *Chiſeden*, *Tomſon*.

The Articles of *John Wickliffe* here above ſpecified, whereof there were ten which were by theſe Friers condemned as Heretical, the reſt as Erroneous, here in order follow, and are theſe. Although it may be thought, that ſome of them were made worſe by their ſiniſter collecting, than he meant them in his own works and writings.

## *The Articles of* John Wickliff, *condemned as Heretical.*

1. THe ſubſtance of material Bread and Wine, doth remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after the conſecration.

2. The accidents do not remain without the ſubject in the ſame Sacrament, after the conſecration.

3. That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal perſon.

4. That if a Biſhop or a Prieſt be in deadly ſin, he doth not Order, Conſecrate, nor Baptize.

5. That if a Man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confeſſion is but ſuperfluous and unprofitable unto him. KING *Ric.* 2. This Article either is ſlanderouſly reported, or elſe can hardly be defended.

6. That it is not found or ſtabliſhed by the Goſpel, that Chriſt did make or ordain Maſs.

7. If the Pope be a reprobate and evil Man, and conſequently a Member of the Devil; he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful Chriſtians, except peradventure it be given him from the Emperor.

8. That ſince the time of *Urban* the ſixth, there is none to be received for Pope, but every Man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own Law. He meaneth Church goods not to be ſo peculiar to Miniſters, but that they may be taken away if they ſo deſerve.

9. That it is againſt the Scripture, that Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters ſhould have any temporal poſſeſſions.

## *The other Articles of* John Wickliff, *condemned as Erroneous.*

10. THat no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any Man except he knew him firſt to be Excommunicate of God.

11. That he, which doth ſo Excommunicate any Man, is thereby himſelf either an Heretick or Excommunicated.

12. That a Prelate or Biſhop Excommunicating any of the Clergy, which hath appealed to the King or the Council, is thereby himſelf a Traitor to the King and Realm.

13. That all ſuch, which do leave off Preaching or hearing the Word of God or Preaching of the Goſpel for fear of Excommunication; they are already Excommunicated, and in the day of Judgment ſhall be counted as Traitors unto God.

14. That it is lawful for any Man, either Deacon or Prieſt, to Preach the Word of God without Authority or Licence of the Apoſtolick See or any other of his Catholicks.

15. † That ſo long as a Man is in deadly ſin, he is neither Biſhop nor Prelate in the Church of God. † This Article peradventure was not ſo ſtraightly meant of him as it was gathered of them as is aforeſaid.

16. * Alſo that the temporal Lords may, according to their own will and diſcretion take away the temporal goods from the Churchmen whenſoever they do offend.

17. That tenths are pure alms, and that the Pariſhioners may, for offence of their Curates, detain and keep them back, and beſtow them upon others, at their own will and pleaſures. * This Article expounded the ninth Article above.

18. Alſo, that all ſpecial Prayers applied to any private or particular perſon, by any Prelate or religious Man, do no more profit the ſame perſon, than general or univerſal Prayers do profit others, which be in like caſe or ſtate unto him.

19. Moreover, in that any Man doth enter into any private Religion, whatſoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt and unable to obſerve and keep the Commandments of God.

20. That holy Men, which have inſtituted private religions, whatſoever they be (as well ſuch as are indued and poſſeſſed, as alſo the Order of begging Friers having no poſſeſſions) in ſo doing, have grievouſly offended.

21. That religious Men, being in their private Religions, are not of the Chriſtian Religion.

22. That Friers are bounden to get their living by the labour of their Hands, and not by begging.

23. That whoſoever doth give any Alms unto Friers, or to any begging obſervant, is accurſed, or in danger thereof.

## The Letter of the Archbiſhop directed to the Biſhop of *London*, againſt *John Wickliff* and his adherents.

WIlliam *by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan of all* England, *and of the Apoſtolical See Legate. To our Reverend Brother by the Grace of God Biſhop of* London, *Salutation. The Prelates of the Church ought to be ſo much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lords flock committed unto them; how much the more they ſhall underſtand* A Letter of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, againſt *Wickliffe*.

*the*

{KING Ric. 2.}

*the Wolves, being clothed in ſheeps apparel, fraudulently to go about to worry and ſcatter the ſheep. Truly by the continual cry and bruted fame (which it grieveth me to report) it is come to our knowledge that although by the Canonical Sanctions, no Man being forbidden or not admitted, ſhould either publickly or privately without the Authority of the Apoſtolical See or Biſhop of that place, uſurpe or take upon him the Office of a Preacher: Some notwithſtanding, ſuch as are the children of damnation, being under the vale of blind ignorance, are brought into ſuch a doting mind, that they take upon them to Preach, and are not affraid to affirm and teach diverſe and ſundry propoſitions and concluſions here under recited, both heretical, erroneous and falſe, condemned by the Church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy Church, which tend to the ſubverting of the whole State of the ſame, of our Province of* Canterbury, *and to the deſtruction and weakning of the tranquility of the ſame; and that as well in the Churches, as in the Streets, as alſo in many other prophane places of our ſaid Province, generally, commonly, and publickly, do Preach the ſame, infecting very many good Chriſtians, cauſing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the Catholick Church, without which there is no ſalvation. We therefore, conſidering that ſo pernicious a miſchief, which may creep amongſt many, we ought not to ſuffer, and by diſſimulation to paſs over, which may with deadly contagion ſlay the ſouls of men, leſt their blood be required at our hands; are willing ſo much as God will permit us to do, to extripate the ſame. Wherefore, by the Counſel and conſent of many of our Brethren and Suffragans, we have convented divers and ſundry Doctors of Divinity, as alſo profeſſors and other Clerks of the Canon and civil Laws, the beſt learned within the Realm, and of the moſt ſoundeſt opinion and judgment in the Catholick Faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the foreſaid concluſions. But foraſmuch as the ſaid concluſions and aſſertions, being in the preſence of us, and our fellow Brethren and other convocates openly expounded, and diligently examined, were in the end found by the Common council and conſent as well of them as of us, and ſo declared that ſome of thoſe concluſions were heretical, and ſome of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the Church, as hereunder are deſcribed. We will and command your brotherhood and by vertue of holy Obedience ſtraitly injoyn all and ſingular our Brethren, and Suffragans of our body and Church of* Canterbury, *that with all ſpeedy diligence you poſſibly can, you likewiſe enjoyn them (as we have enjoyned you) and every of them. And that every one of them in their Churches and other places of their City and Dioceſs do admoniſh and warn, and that you, in your Church and other Churches of your City and Dioceſs do admoniſh and warn as we by the Tenor of theſe preſents do admoniſh and warn the firſt time, the ſecond time, and the third time; and yet more ſtraitly do warn, aſſigning for the firſt admonition one day, for the ſecond admonition another day, and for the third admonition Canonical and peremptory, another day; That no Man from henceforth of what eſtate or condition ſoever, do hold, preach, or defend the foreſaid Hereſies and errors or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not ſent to preach, nor that he hear or hearken to the Hereſies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or lean unto him either publickly or privately; but that immediately he ſhun him, as he would avoid a Serpent putting forth moſt peſtiferous poiſon, under pain of the greater Curſe, the which we command to be thundred againſt all and every one which ſhall be diſobedient in this behalf, and not regarding theſe our monitions, after that thoſe three days be paſt which are aſſigned for the Canonical monition, and that their delay, fault or offence committed require the ſame: And then according to the Tenor of theſe writings, we command both by every one of our fellow Brethren and our Suffragans in their Cities and Dioceſs, and by you in your City and Dioceſs, (ſo much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the uttermoſt both ye and they cauſe the ſame Excommunications to be pronounced. And Furthermore we will and command our foreſaid fellow Brethren, and all and ſingular of you apart by our ſelves, to be admoniſhed, and by the aſperſion of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt we likewiſe admoniſh you; that according to the inſtitution of the Sacred Canons, every one of them in their Cities and Dioceſs, be a diligent inquiſitor of this heretical pravity; and that every one of you alſo in your Cities and Dioceſs be the like inquiſitor of the foreſaid heretical pravity. And that of ſuch like preſumption they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalf) with effect do proceed againſt the ſame, to the honour and praiſe of his name that was Crucified, and for the preſervation of the Chriſtian Faith and Religion.*

Had ye tried them by the truth, you ſhould have found them otherwiſe.

He that kileth you ſhall think he doth God good ſervice.

Yea rather for the honour of your Pope and the deſtruction of Chriſtian Faith.

Here is not to be paſſed over the great miracle of Gods divine admonition or warning; for when as the Archbiſhop and Suffragans, with the other Doctors of Divinity and Lawyers, with a great company of babling Friers and religious perſons were gathered together to conſult as touching *John Wickliffs* Books, and that whole Sect; When as I ſay, they were gathered together at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*, to begin their buſineſs, upon S. *Dunſtans* day after Dinner, about two of the Clock, the very hour and inſtant that they ſhould go forward with their buſineſs, a wonderful and terrible Earthquake fell throughout all *England*: Whereupon diverſe of the Suffragans, being feared by the ſtrange and wonderful Demonſtration, doubting what it ſhould mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpoſe. But the Archbiſhop (as chief Captain of that Army, more raſh and bold than wiſe) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpoſe, did confirm and ſtrengthen their hearts and minds, which were almoſt daunted with fear, ſtoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterpriſe. Who then diſcourſing *Wickliffs* Articles, not according unto the Sacred Cantons of the holy Scripture, but unto their own private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave ſentence, that ſome of them were ſimply and plainly Heretical, other ſome half Erroneous, other Irreligious, ſome Seditious, and not conſonant to the Church of *Rome*.

An Earthquake what time *Wickliffe* was examined. *Ex Chron. mon. Aban.*

*Item*, The Twelth day of *June*, in the year aforeſaid, in the Chamber of the Friers Preachers, the foreſaid Maſter *Robert Rigge*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and *Thomas Brightwel* profeſſors of Divinity (being appointed the ſame day and place, by the foreſaid Reverend Father in God Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) appeared before him in the preſence of the Reverend Father in God, Lord *William* by the Grace of God Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and divers other Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and of the Canon and civil Law, whoſe names are before recited. And firſt the ſaid Chancellor by the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being examined what his opinion was touching the foreſaid Articles, publickly affirmed and declared, that certain of thoſe concluſions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other Doctors and Clerks afore mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the foreſaid *Thomas Brightwel* was examined, which upon ſome of the Concluſions at firſt ſomwhat ſtaggered, but in the end being by the ſaid Archbiſhop diligently examined upon the ſame, did affirm and repute the ſame to be heretical and erroneous, as the foreſaid Chancellor had done. Another Bachelor of Divinity alſo there was named *N.* ſtammering alſo at ſome of thoſe concluſions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the judgment of the foreſaid Chancellor and *Thomas* as is above declared. Whereupon the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, willing to let and hinder the peril of ſuch hereſies and errors, delivered unto the foreſaid Chancellor, there being publickly read, his Letters Patents to be executed, the Tenor whereof in theſe words doth follow.

Determination upon the Articles of *Wickliff*.

WIlliam *by the Grace of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolical See, To our welbeloved Son in Chriſt the Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *within the Dioceſs of* Lincoln, *Greeting, Grace, and Benediction. The Prelates of the Church, about the Lords flock committed to their charge, ought to be ſo much more vigilant as that they ſee the Wolf, clothed in ſheeps attire, fraudulently go about to worry and ſcatter the ſheep. Doubtleſs, the*

A Letter of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to the Chancellor of *Oxford*.

*common fame and brute is come unto our ears, &c.* Ut in mandato præcedenti. *We will therefore and command, ſtraitly enjoyning you, that in the Church of our bleſſed Lady in* Oxford, *upon thoſe days in the which accuſtomably the Sermon is made, as alſo in the Schools of the ſaid Univerſity upon thoſe days the Lectures be read, ye publiſh and cauſe by others to be publiſhed to the Clergy and people, as well in their Vulgar-Tongue, as in the Latin-Tongue, manifeſtly and plainly without any curious implication, the ſame heretical and erroneous Concluſions, ſo repugnant to the determination of holy Church, as is aforeſaid; to have been and be condemned; which Concluſions we alſo declare by theſe our Letters to be utterly condemned. And that furthermore you forbid, and canonically admoniſh and cauſe to be admoniſhed, as we by the tenour of theſe preſents do forbid and admoniſh you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, and preach, or defend the Hereſies and Errors above ſaid, or any of them, either in School or out of School by any ſophiſtical Cavillation or otherwiſe: or that any admit to preach, hear or hearken unto* John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, *Canon regular, or* John Aſhton, *or* Lawrence Redman, *which be vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of Hereſie, or elſe any other whatſoever, ſo ſuſpected or defamed; or that either privately or publickly they either aid or favour them or any of them, but that incontinently they ſhun and avoid the ſame as a Serpent which putteth forth moſt peſtiferous poiſon. And furthermore we ſuſpend the ſaid ſuſpected perſons from all ſcholaſtical act, till ſuch time as they ſhall purge themſelves before us in that behalf: and that you denounce the ſame publickly by us to have been and be ſuſpended; and that ye diligently and faithfully enquire of all their Fautors and Favourers, and cauſe to be enquired throughout all the Halls of the ſaid Univerſity. And that when you ſhall have intelligence of their Names and Perſons, that ye compel all and every of them to abjure their Outrages by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and other pains Canonical whatſoever, under pain of the greater Curſe, the which againſt all and ſingular the rebellious in this behalf, and diſobeying our monitions, we pronounce: ſo that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf deſerve the ſame (the ſaid monition of ours being firſt ſent) which in this behalf we eſteem and allow Canonical, that then and again according to the effect of theſe our Letters, &c. The abſolution of all and ſingular ſuch, which ſhall incur the Sentence of this Inſtrument by us ſent forth (which God forbid) we ſpecially reſerve unto our ſelves: exhorting you the Chancellor by the aſperſion of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, that to the uttermoſt of your Power hereafter you do your endeavour, that the Clergy and people being ſubject unto you, if there be any which have ſtraied from the Catholick Faith by ſuch Errors, may be brought home again to the laud and honour of his Name that was Crucified, and preſervation of the true Faith. And further our will is, that whatſoever you ſhall do in the premiſſes, in manner and form of our Proceſs in this behalf it be had and done: and that you for your part, when you ſhall be required thereunto, plainly and diſtinctly do certifie us by your Letters Patents, having the tenour hereof.*

Make ſure work.

The Concluſions and Articles here mentioned in this Letter are above prefixed. Of which ſome were condemned for heretical, ſome for erroneous.

After this, within few days the foreſaid Archbiſhop *William Courtney* directed down his Letters of Admonition to *Robert Rigge* Commiſſary of *Oxford*, for the repreſſing of this Doctrine: which yet notwithſtanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praiſed) doth remain: the Copy of his monition to the Commiſſary here out of his own Regiſter followeth.

## The monition of the Archbiſhop unto the foreſaid Chancellor.

Another Letter of the Archbiſhop to the Comiſſary of *Oxford.*

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Whereas we* Will. *by the permiſſion of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Lord Primate of* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolical See, by the conſent of our Suffragans, have cauſed to be aſſembled together divers Clerks both ſecular and regular of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *within our Province of* Canterbury, *and other Catholick perſons to inform us of, and upon certain Concluſions heretical and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and publiſhed in divers places of the ſaid Province of* Canterbury, *to the ſubverſion of the whole State of the Church, and our ſaid Province: And whereas alſo mature deliberation had upon the ſame, by the Common Council of the ſaid our Suffragans and their Convocates, it was declared, that certain of the ſaid Concluſions, have been and be condemned, ſome for heretical, and ſome for erroneous, and notoriouſly repugnant to the determination of the Church, which we alſo our ſelves have declared to be damnable: And have underſtood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou* Robert Rigge, *Chancellor of the Univerſity aforeſaid, haſt and doſt incline partly to the foreſaid damnable Concluſions, whom alſo we in this part have partly ſuſpected, doſt intend to moleſt theſe our Clerks above ſpecified, and others adhering unto us in this behalf as they ought to do, through thy ſubtil and ſophiſtical imaginations, ſundry and manifold ways; therefore we admoniſh thee Maſter* Robert Chancellor *aforeſaid, the firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily, that thou doſt not grieve, let, or moleſt, judicially or extrajudicially, apertly or privily, or cauſe to be grieved, let, and moleſted, or procure directly or indirectly by thy ſelf or any other, as much as in thee lieth to be grieved, the foreſaid Clerks ſecular or regular, or ſuch as favour them in the premiſſes, in their ſcholaſtical acts, or in any other condition whatſoever. And that thou ſuffer none hereafter to teach, maintain, preach or defend any ſuch Hereſies or Errors in the ſaid Univerſity, either within or without the Schools: Neither that thou do admit* John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Aſhton, or Lawrence Redman, *which are vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of Hereſie, or any other ſo ſuſpected or defamed unto that Office of Preaching; but that thou denounce the ſaid perſons to be ſuſpended, whom we have ſuſpended from all ſcholaſtical act, whilſt they clear their Innocency in this part before us, under the pain of the great Curſe, which we here in theſe writings denounce againſt thy perſon if thou ſhalt not obey thoſe our admonitions with effect, as thy crime, ſubtilty and offence in this behalf ſhall require according to this our admonition premiſed; which we repute in this part for Canonical, as well then, as now, and now as well as then; reſerving the abſolution of this ſentence Excommunicatory, if it happen to light upon thee, (as GOD forbid) ſpecially unto our ſelves. Teſtified with the hands of the Jurors, above in the* page 496. *before ſpecified.*

KING Ric. 2.

## *The Examination of* Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, *and* John Aſhton.

THE 18*th* day of the month and year aforeſaid, in the Chamber of the Preaching-Fryers afore-mentioned, before the foreſaid Archbiſhop in the preſence of divers Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and many Lawyers both Canon and Civil, whoſe names are under written, appeared M. *Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington,* and *John Aſhton* Bachelors of Divinity. Who after a corporal Oath taken to ſhew their judgment upon the Concluſions aforeſaid, were examined ſeverally, each one by himſelf, before the Archbiſhop. Who there required day and place to deliberate upon the Concluſions aforeſaid, and to give their anſwer unto the ſame in writing. And alſo required to have a Copy of the ſaid Concluſions to be delivered unto them. The which Copy the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* (being openly read unto them) received. Alſo the foreſaid M. *John Aſhton* likewiſe was examined, and judicially admoniſhed by the ſaid Archbiſhop by vertue of the Oath, that he, ſetting aſide all ſophiſtical words and ſubtilties, would ſay his mind fully and plainly upon the Concluſions aforeſaid. And being asked moreover by the ſaid Archbiſhop whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his Anſwers, as the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* had before; ſaid expreſly that he would not, but would anſwer preſently to thoſe Concluſions; and ſo

M. *John Aſhton* examined.

for

KING *Ric.* 2.

The anſwer of John Aſhton.

(for final anſwer ſaid, as concerning all theſe Concluſions (containing them all together) that his judgment was in this behalf to hold his peace. Wherefore the foreſaid Archbiſhop, reputing the ſaid *John* herein to be ſuſpected, admoniſhed him in form of words as followeth, *We admoniſh thee* John Aſhton, *whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriouſly ſuſpected of Hereſie, the firſt, the ſecond, and third time, that in our Province of* Canterbury *hereafter thou do not Preach publickly or privately without our ſpecial Licence, under pain of the greater Curſe, which we denounce here by theſe preſents againſt thy perſon, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then.* And conſequently, foraſmuch as the ſaid *John* being asked of the Archbiſhop, confeſſed that he had heard before of the publication of the Archbiſhops Mandate, wherein was contained that no perſon prohibited or not ſent ſhould preach hereafter; the foreſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned to him *Friday* next following, which was the 20*th* day of the ſame month, after dinner, to appear before him either at *Lambeth*, or in the ſame place, to ſay for himſelf wherefore he might not be pronounced for an Heretick, and for ſuch an one to be denounced through his whole Province. Alſo the ſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned to the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, the ſaid day and place to anſwer peremptorily, and to ſay fully and plainly to the concluſion aforeſaid, all ſophiſtication of words and diſputation ſet apart.

M. *Aſhton* moniſhed again to appear.

The Names of the Fryers that ſate upon them.

Fryers Preachers.

*Thomas Barnewell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whately, Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Haker.*

Carmelites three.

*Walter Diſh, John Kiningham, John Lovey.*

Auguſtine Fryers.

*Thomall Aſhborne*, Doctor.

20*th* of *June.*

In the twentieth day aforeſaid of the ſaid month of *June*, the year and place above prefixed, before the foreſaid Archbiſhop ſitting in his Tribunal Seat, in the preſence of divers Doctors of Divinity, and Lawyers both Civil and Canon, perſonally appeared Maſter *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington*, Bachelors of Divinity, and *John Aſhton*, Maſter of Art. Where the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, being required by the ſaid Archbiſhop to anſwer, and ſay fully and plainly their judgment upon the Concluſions prefixed, to which purpoſe the ſaid Archbiſhop had aſſigned to the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* the ſame Term, did exhibit to the ſaid Archbiſhop, there judicially ſitting, certain anſwers in writing contained after the manner of Indenture; the tenour whereof here under is contained, and after the ſame form anſwered to the ſame concluſions. The tenour of which Indenture, containing the foreſaid concluſions to them moved as afore, followeth in theſe words.

*Herford* and *Reppington* appear.

## *The Proteſtation of* Nicholas, Philip, *and* John, *with their Articles and Anſwers to the ſame.*

The proteſtation of *Herford* and *Aſhton* exhibited to the Archbiſhop.

WE proteſt here as before, publickly in theſe preſents, that we intend to be humble and faithful Children to the Church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the Church. And if it ſhall chance us at any time, which God forbid, to ſwarve from this our intention, we ſubmit our ſelves humbly to the correction of our reverend Father, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of all *England*: and of all other which have intereſt to correct ſuch Swarvers. This Proteſtation premiſed, thus we anſwer to the concluſions aforeſaid.

Articles with the anſwer.

That the ſubſtance of material Bread and Wine remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar after Conſecration.

After the ſenſe contrary to the Decretal, beginning *Firmiter credimus*, we grant that it is Hereſie.

That the accidents do not remain without the ſubject, after conſecration of the Sacrament.

After the ſenſe contrary to that Decretal, *Cum Marthe:* we grant that it is Hereſie.

That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really in his own corporal preſence.

Although this concluſion as the words ſtand, ſound to be probable and intelligible, yet in the ſenſe contrary to the Decretal in *Ele. Si dudum*, we grant that it is Hereſie. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, as touching alſo all other things, we profeſs that we will both in word and ſenſe hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy Church, and ſayings of the holy Doctors.

Obſtinately to affirm that it hath no foundation in the Goſpel, that Chriſt ordained the Maſs;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

That God ought to obey the Devil.

In this ſenſe, that God in his own Perſon or Eſſence, ought to obey the Devil with the obedience of neceſſity;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

If a man be duly contrite, that all external confeſſion is to him ſuperfluous and unprofitable;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

If the Pope be a Reprobate, and an evil man, and conſequently a Member of the Devil, he hath no Power over the faithful of Chriſt given to him of any, unleſs it be of *Cæſar*;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

That after Pope *Urban* the Sixth none is to be received for Pope, but that we ought to live after the manner of the *Grecians*, under our own Laws;

We grant that it is Hereſie.

To ſay that it is againſt the holy Scripture for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to have Temporal Poſſeſſions.

If obſtinacy be joyned withall, we grant that it is Hereſie.

That no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any man, unleſs he know him before to be excommunicated of God. We grant that it is an Error; Underſtanding this knowledge to ſignifie an experimental knowledge; ſo that herewith may ſtand the Decree of the Church. 11. *q.* 3. *Nemo Epiſco.*

That he which doth ſo Excommunicate, is thereby an Heretick or Excommunicate.

After the ſenſe, agreeing with the other before, we grant to be an Error.

That a Prelate Excommunicating a Clerk, which appealeth to the King or Council of the Realm, in ſo doing is a Traitor to God, the King, and the Realm;

We grant it is an error.

That they which leave off to preach, or to hear the Word of God and the Goſpel Preached, for the Excommunication of Men, are Excommunicate, and in the day of Judgment ſhall be counted for Traitors to God.

Underſtanding this concluſion univerſally, ſo as Scripture and Laws do underſtand ſuch indefinite propoſitions;

We grant it is an erorr.

To affirm that it is lawful for any Deacon or Prieſt to Preach the Word of God without the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, or Catholick Biſhop, or of any other whoſe Authority he knoweth ſufficient;

We grant it is an error.

To affirm that there is no civil Lord, no Biſhop nor Prelate, whileſt he is in Mortal ſin; We grant it is an error.

That temporal Lords may at their pleaſure take away the temporal Goods from the Churches, offending *habitualiter*; We grant it is an error, After this ſenſe, that they may ſo take away temporal Goods of the Churches, without the Caſes limited in the Laws of the Church and Kingdoms.

That the vulgar people may correct the Lord offending at their pleaſure: underſtanding by this word *May*, that they may do it by the Law, We grant it is an error, becauſe that ſubjects have no power over their Lords.

That Tithes be pure Alms, and that Pariſhioners may, for the offences of their Curates, detain the ſame, and beſtow them to others at their pleaſure: underſtanding by his word *May*, as before, to may by the Law, We grant it is an error.

That

That ſpecial prayers applied to any one perſon by Prelates or religious men, do no more profit than the general prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike: underſtanding this Concluſion univerſally negatively, and underſtanding by ſpecial prayers, the prayers made upon ſpecial devotion, and general prayers of general devotion: then after this ſenſe, no ſuch ſpecial prayers, applied to any one perſon, by ſpecial Orators, do profit more ſpecially the ſaid perſon, than general prayers do, which are made of the ſame, and for the ſame perſons, we grant it is an Error.

He that giveth Alms to the Fryers, or to any Fryer that preacheth, is Excommunicate; both he that giveth, and he that taketh: underſtanding this Propoſition univerſally, or conditionally, as is aforeſaid; we grant to be an Error.

That who ſo entreth into any private Religion whatſoever is thereby made more unapt and unmeet to obey the Commandments of God; we grant it is an Error.

That ſuch holy men as did inſtitute any private Religions whatſoever, as well of ſecular having poſſeſſions, as of Fryers having none, in ſo inſtituting did ſin: underſtanding this reduplicatively or univerſally, we grant it an Error. After this ſenſe, that what Saint ſoever did inſtitute private Religion, inſtituting the ſaid Religion upon that conſideration as they did, did ſin.

That religious men living in private Religions, be not of the Religion of Chriſt: underſtanding the Propoſition univerſally, as is aforeſaid; we grant it is an Error.

That Fryers are bound to get their Livings by the labour of their hands, and not by begging: underſtanding this Propoſition univerſally, as before; we grant it is an Error.

Theſe things have we ſpoken reverend Father and Lord, in all humility, under your gracious ſupportation and benign correction, according to our abilities and ſlender capacities for this preſent (the honour of GOD, the verity of our Belief, and ſafe Conſcience in all points reſerved) more humbly yet beſeeching you, that if any other thing there be, that ſeemeth meet unto your Excellency and Diſcretion to be more or otherwiſe ſaid and ſpoken, that your gracious Fatherhood would vouchſafe to inform us as Children by the Sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the Church, or authorities of the holy Doctors. And doubtleſs with ready Wills, and obedient Minds, we will conſent and agree unto your wholſome Doctrine. May it therefore pleaſe your Fatherhood, right reverend in God, according to the accuſtomed manner of your benignity, favourably to accept theſe our words and ſayings, foraſmuch as the foreſaid Concluſions were never by us either in Schools affirmed, or elſe in Sermons publickly preached.

## *Further Examinations and Proceedings againſt the foreſaid* Nicholas Herford, P. Reppington, *and* John Aſhton.

Further Examinations againſt the ſaid *Nicholas, Philip,* and *John, Nicholas Herford, Philip* Reppington, *John Aſhton* examined. 20. *Junii, Anno* 1382.

WHen all theſe Anſwers were made unto the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, for that they anſwered not unto the meaning and words of the firſt Concluſion expreſly, but contrary to the ſenſe of the decretal *Firmiter credimus*, were there judicially examined what their ſenſe and meaning was; but they would not expreſs the ſame. Then was it demanded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame Concluſion declared on the behalf of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, whether the ſame material bread *in numero*, which before the Conſecration is laid upon the Altar, remain in proper ſubſtance and nature, after the Conſecration in the Sacrament of the Altar; and likewiſe of the wine? To this the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* anſwered, *That for that time they could ſay no more therein, than that they already anſwered, as is before alledged in writing.* And for that unto the ſenſe and words of the ſecond Concluſion they anſwered not fully and expreſly, but in a ſenſe contrary to the Decretal *Cum Marthe:* being asked what was their meaning, they would not expreſs the ſame: therefore it was demanded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame Concluſion, declared in the behalf of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, whether thoſe corporal accidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the conſecration of them, were in the ſame bread and wine after the conſecration, or elſe were ſubjected in any other ſubſtance? To this they anſwered, *That better to anſwer, than before in their writings they already had, for that time they could not.* To the meaning alſo and words of the third Concluſion for that they anſwered not plainly and expreſly, but in ſenſe contrary to the Decretal in the *Clementines, Si dudum*, being asked what was that ſenſe and meaning, would not declare the ſame. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the ſenſe of the ſame Concluſion, declared on the behalf of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, Whether the ſame Body of Chriſt, which was aſſumed of the Virgin, be in the Sacrament of the Altar, *ſecundum ſeipſum*, even as he is really in carnal ſubſtance, proper eſſence and nature? To this they anſwered, *That for that time they could ſay no more than that they had ſaid, as before is ſpecified in writing.*

{KING} {*Ric.* 2.}

Furthermore, to the ſenſe and text of the ſixth Concluſion, for that they anſwered not fully and expreſly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the Devil or not: they ſaid, *Yea, as the obedience of love, becauſe he loveth, and puniſhed him as he ought.* And to prove that God ought ſo to obey the Devil, they offered themſelves to the fire.

To the 11*th* Concluſion, for that they anſwered not expreſly, being asked whether a Prelate might Excommunicate any man being in the ſtate of Grace: they ſaid, *Yea.*

Unto the 20*th* Concluſion, for that they anſwered not fully, ſimply, and expreſly; being demanded whether ſpecial or general prayers did moſt profit, and were of greater force; they would not ſay but that ſpecial.

Unto the laſt Concluſion, for that they anſwered neither ſimply, nor expreſly; and being demanded particularly, whether any Fryer were bound to get his living with his manual labour, ſo that it might not be lawful for them to live by begging; they would make no anſwer at all.

The judgments of the Doctors upon theſe Articles.

After that, the foreſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* demanded of all the foreſaid Doctors, what their judgment was touching the anſwers that were made upon all and ſingular ſuch Concluſions. All which Doctors and every of them ſeverally ſaid, *That all the anſwers given unto the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſixth Concluſions (as is before recited) were inſufficient, heretical and ſubtil; and that all the anſwers made ſpecially to the ninth, tenth, and laſt Concluſions, as is above mentioned, were inſufficient, erroneous, and perverſe.* Whereupon the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, conſidering the ſaid anſwers to be heretical, ſubtil, erroneous, and perverſe, accordingly as the ſaid Doctors (as is aforeſaid) had weighed and conſidered, admoniſhed the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* ſufficiently under this form of words.

Admonition and citation of the Archbiſhop againſt the Examinants.

*The name of Chriſt being called upon, we* William *by Gods permiſſion, Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, and through all our Province of* Canterbury, *Inquiſitor of all heretical Pravity, do ſufficiently and lawfully admoniſh and cite you* Nicholas Herford *and* Philip Reppington, *Profeſſors of Divinity, having this day and place aſſigned you by your own conſent and our prefixion, peremptorily to anſwer and to ſay fully and plainly your Opinions touching theſe Concluſions, whereunto we do refer you (all ſubtil, ſophiſtical, and logical words ſet apart) being thereunto ſworn, cited, and commanded. Which thing to do, without cauſe reaſonable or any licence given thereunto, you neither have been willing, nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuouſly refuſed to anſwer to ſome of thoſe Concluſions before us judicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commandment foreſaid. But for that ye have anſwered unto ſome of them heretically, and to other ſome erroneouſly, although not fully; we admoniſh and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that plainly and fully (all ſubtil, ſophiſtical and logical words ſet apart) you and every of you anſwer unto the ſame Concluſions, and unto that ſenſe and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwiſe ſuch Concluſions by you confeſſed deſerve, and that for the ſame Concluſions you ought to have.*

Which Admonition being made and done, for that the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* would make none other anſwer,

KING *Ric.* 2. answer, the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* concluded that buſineſs, prefixing and aſſigning unto the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, eight days ſpace; that is to ſay, until the 27*th* day of the ſame month, and that then they ſhould appear before the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereſoever within the ſame his Province of *Canterbury* he ſhould fortune to be, to hear his Decree that ſhould be made in that behalf. This done, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moniſhed and cited lawfully and ſufficiently, *John Aſhton* under the tenour of theſe words following.

Another day aſſigned for the examinants to appear.

Proceſs made by the Archbiſhop againſt *John Aſhton.*

In the Name of God; We *William* by Gods permiſſion, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, Legate of the See Apoſtolical, and through all our Province of *Canterbury*, of all heretical pravity chief Inquiſitor, do moniſh and cite thee *J. Aſhton*, Maſter of Art, and Student in Divinity, appearing before us, judicially to ſay and ſpeak the plain verity touching theſe Concluſions, to the which we do refer thee; and to the which we have cauſed thee to ſwear, laying thy hand upon a Book; as being alſo otherwiſe by us admoniſhed and commanded to keep this day and place by us appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone ſuch reaſonable cauſe (if thou haſt any) wherefore thou oughteſt not to be pronounced an Heretick. And ſufficiently and lawfully we moniſh and cite thee, the firſt, ſecond, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all ſubtil, ſophiſtical, and logical words ſet apart) do anſwer unto the ſame Concluſions under the pain that unto ſuch Concluſions belong, and on thy part confeſſed, and that thou for ſuch Concluſions oughteſt to ſuffer. Which monition being thus premiſed, the ſaid Archbiſhop read the firſt Concluſion; and of the ſaid *John* inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and hereupon he ſaid his mind concerning the foreſaid monition. Then the foreſaid *John Aſhton*, being often required by the Archbiſhop, that he would anſwer in the *Latin*-Tongue, to thoſe queſtions which were demanded of him, becauſe of the Lay-people that ſtood about him; he crying out in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, uttered frivolous and opprobrious Contumulies to move and excite the people againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop; as it ſhould ſeem. Neither did he unto the firſt Concluſion, nor unto any of theſe other Concluſions, effectually and pertinently ſeem to them to anſwer; but rather by ſubtilties and ſhifts, ſaying oftentimes, and as expreſly as *Luke* ſaid, it was ſufficient for him to believe as the holy Church believed. Then the ſaid Archbiſhop examined him upon the firſt Concluſion touching the Sacrament of the Altar; whether that after the words of Conſecration there remaineth material bread, particular bread, or univerſal bread? He ſaid the matter paſſed his underſtanding, and therefore ſaid, he would in that form and manner anſwer, and otherwiſe not: But amongſt other things, he ſpake in deriding-wiſe unto the ſaid Archbiſhop againſt this word *Material*, ſaying, *You may put that in your purſe, if you have any.* Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop calling that an unwiſe and fooliſh anſwer, as the reſt of the Doctors did (of whom mention was made before) the rather for that he was a Graduate in the Schools, farther proceeded againſt the ſaid *John Aſhton* in this wiſe.

*John Aſhton* ſeverally examined.

The Archbiſhop and his Fryers do flee the Engliſh Tongue for the people.

Whether material bread remain in the Sacrament.

And thou *John Aſhton* moniſhed and commanded by us, as is aforeſaid, after thine Oath taken, without any reaſonable cauſe or any other licence, neither wouldſt thou, nor yet wilt, but refuſedſt, and yet doſt contemptuouſly, to anſwer unto ſuch Concluſions before us; judicially according to our monition and commandment aforeſaid; we do hold all ſuch Concluſions to be by thee confeſſed, and thee the foreſaid *John*, with all thy foreſaid Concluſions, convicted. And therefore we do pronounce, and declare by Sentence giving, that thou *John Aſhton*, concerning thoſe Concluſions, which by us with good deliberation of divers Prelates our Suffragans, and alſo divers and ſundry Profeſſors of Divinity, and other wiſe men and learned in the Law, according to the Canonical Sanctions, being condemned and declared for an Heretick, and heretical haſt been, and ſtill art an Heretick, and thy Concluſions heretical. And as touching thy other Concluſions, by us heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare ſententially by theſe our Writings, that both thou haſt erred, and doſt err.

Upon the ſame 20*th* day of *June*, in the year and place above recited, the foreſaid Lord of *Canterbury* being deſirous, as he pretended, to be informed by *Thomas Hilman*, Bachelor of Divinity, there being preſent, and ſomewhat favouring the ſaid Maſter *John Aſhton*, what his Judgment and Opinion was touching the foreſaid Concluſions, prefixed and aſſigned unto the ſaid *Thomas* (for that time demanding the ſame deliberation and day) eight days after; that is to ſay, the 28*th* of the ſaid month, to appear before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereſoever within his ſaid Province of *Canterbury* he ſhould then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his judgment and opinion was touching the foreſaid Concluſions. *Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.*

Maſter *Thomas Hilman* ſuſpected to be a favourer of *John Aſhton.* The 20*th* day of *June*

Days given to *Thomas Hilman* to anſwer.

## *The Names of Fryers and Doctors aſſiſtant at the Examination aforeſaid.*

FRyers Obſervants, *Botleſham* Biſhop of *Navaton*, Fryer *John Langley*, *William Suard.*

Fryers of *Dominicks* Order, *John Kingham*, *John Lovey*, *Peter Stokes*, *Walter Diſh.*

Fryers *Carmelites*, *Thomas Aſhburn*, *Baukine*, *Robert Walbey.*

Doctors and Fryers *Auguſtines*, Maſter *John Barnet*, Maſter *Thomas Backton*, Maſter *John Blanchard*, Maſter *John Shillingford*, Maſter *Lidford*, Maſter *Thomas Southam.*

The *Fryday* next following, that is to ſay, the 28*th* day of *June*, the foreſaid M. *Nicholas*, *Philip*, and *Thomas Hilman*, appeared before the ſaid Archbiſhop and Lord Inquiſitor of *Canterbury*, in the Chappel of his Mannor of *Otford*, in the Dioceſs of *Canterbury* there ſitting in his Tribunal-Seat. To whom the ſaid Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaying, That becauſe at that time he had not the preſence and aſſiſtance of the Doctors in Divinity and of the Canon and Civil Law, he continued the ſaid buſineſs touching the ſaid *Nicholas*, *Philip* and *Thomas*, in the ſame ſtate wherein it was, till *Tueſday* next and immediately enſuing; that is to ſay, the firſt day of *July*, the year of our Lord aforeſaid: and prefixed unto the ſaid *Nicholas Philip*, and *Thomas Hilman* the ſame day to appear before him, whereſoever within his Province of *Canterbury* he ſhould then chance to be, to do that which upon the ſaid 28*th* day, they were purpoſed to do together or apart.

The 28*th* day of *June*, *An.* 1381.

The 1*ſt* day of *July*, *An.* 1382.

Which *Tueſday* being come, the foreſaid Archbiſhop in the chief houſe of his Church at *Canterbury*, before the hour of Nine with the Doctors, whoſe names are under contained, and other Clerks a great multitude; expected the foreſaid *Nicholas*, *Philip*, and *Thomas* long time, by the Beadle, calling them and looking after them; who nevertheleſs appeared not before two of the Clock after dinner the ſame day, continuing the foreſaid buſineſs in the priſtine ſtate till the ſame hour. At which hour the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, having Aſſiſtants the Doctors and Clerks under recited, examined the foreſaid Maſter *Thomas Hilman*, then and there judicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foreſaid Concluſions; who at them and the meaning of them ſomewhat ſtammering, at laſt to all and ſingular the ſame Concluſions then to him read and expounded, thus anſwered, *I ſuppoſe and judge all and ſingular thoſe Concluſions lately condemned by my Lord of* Canterbury *that now is, together with the council and conſent of his Clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, even as the ſame my Lord of* Canterbury *and other Doctors of Divinity, of the Canon and Civil Law, by common conſent and counſel have ſuppoſed and thought. And the ſame (being for Hereſies and Errors, as before is ſaid condemned) I do as much as in me is condemn; proteſting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of thoſe Concluſions, and in the ſame Faith live and die.* Then the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, then and there ſitting as Tribunal or Judge, pronouncing the ſaid Maſters, *Nicholas* and *Philip*, long in Court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing, guilty of Contumacy and Diſobedience; excommunicated them for the penalty of this their Contumacy, in tenour of theſe words following:

The anſwer of *Thomas Hilman.*

Nic. Herford and Philip Reppington, for not appearing, excommunicated.

We *William* by the Grace of God Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of *England*, Legate of the Apoſtolical

See,

...nounced the Archbiſhop.

See, and through all our Province of *Canterbury*; of all Heretical pravity chief Inquiſitor; do pronounce Maſter *Nicholas Herford* and Maſter *Philip Reppington*, Profeſſors of Divinity, having this day and place by our prefixion appointed to hear and decree in this buſineſs of Heretical pravity (being in Court by our Bedle long called and tarried for, and yet not appearing) to be ſtubborn and diſobedient perſons; and, for the penalty of this their contumacy, we do Excommunicate them and either of them by theſe preſents.

## *The denouncing of the Excommunication againſt* Nicholas Herford, *and* Philip Reppington.

The 12th day of *July*, *An.* 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at *Pauls* Croſs.

*William* by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c. To our beloved Son in Chriſt, whoſoever he be, that this inſtant Sunday ſhall Preach at *Pauls* Croſs in *London*, ſalutation grace and bleſſing. Forſamuch as we prefixed a certain competent day and place to Maſter *Nicholas Herford*, and Maſter *Philip Reppington*, Canon Regular of the Monaſtery of our Lady of *Leiceſter*, being Doctors of Divinity, and of Heretical pravity vehemently ſuſpected (after certain anſwers not fully made, but impertinent and nothing to the purpoſe, as alſo Heretical and Erroneous) in divers places of our ſaid Province commonly, generally, and publickly taught and preached; and that therefore they ſhould judicially appear before us, to do and to receive peremptorily in that behalf, what thing ſoever the quality of that buſineſs ſhould move us unto: and that we have for their contumacy in not appearing before us at that day and place, judicially appointed, as right therein required: We by theſe preſents command and commit unto you, firmly injoyning you, that when all the multitude of People ſhall be gathered together to hear your Sermon, that in the day and place appointed you publickly and ſolemnly denounce the foreſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*, holding up a Croſs, and lighting up a Candle, and then throwing down the ſame upon the ground, to have been ſo and in ſuch manner Excommunicated, and ſtill be.

Fare ye well. In our Mannor Houſe at *Lambeth*, the 13*th* day of *July*, the Year of our Lord, 1382. and firſt Year of our Tranſlation.

## The Citation againſt the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip*.

William *by the Grace of God, &c. To our Welbeloved Son M.* Robert Rigge, *Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *Salutation, &c. Foraſmuch as we have prefixed a competent day and place to M.* Nicholas Herford, *and M.* Philip Reppington, &c. *As before: We ſtraitly charge and command you, that you publickly and ſolemnly denounce in the Church of our Lady, and in the Schools of the Univerſity, the foreſaid* Nicholas *and* Philip *to have been by us Excommunicated, and ſtill be. And that you further cite, or cauſe to be cited peremptorily the foreſaid* Nicholas *and* Philip, *that they and every of them appear before us within* 15. *days after the date of this Citation, whereſoever it ſhall fortune us, within our ſaid Province of* Canterbury, *then to be: To hear and ſee how we mean to proceed againſt them, and every of them, concerning the foreſaid Heretical and Erroneous concluſions, according to the form of retroactions, and quality of the buſineſs in this behalf had and uſed. And that both of the day of the receit of this preſent Citation, of the manner and form thereof; or if that you ſhall apprehend by perſonal Citation the ſaid* Nicholas *and* Philip, *or either of them, or whether they ſhall be abſent and hide themſelves, as of every thing elſe, which in this behalf you ſhall think meet to be done; that between this and the Feaſt of S.* Laurence, *you clearly certifie us by your Letters Patents, containing the effect of theſe things.*

*Fare ye well. At our Mannor of* Lambeth, *the* 13*th day of* July *in the Year of our Lord* 1382. *and firſt Year of our Tranſlation.*

## The names of the Doctors and Friers aſſiſtants at this ſitting.

Seculars, M. *William Blankpaine*, M. *William Barton.*

Friers *Carmelites*, *Robert Every*, Prior, *John Rennyngham*, Prior, and *John Lunne.*

Friers *Minors*, *William Barnwel*, *John Rydden*, and *William Brunſcombe.*

Friers *Auguſtines*, *John Court*, *Patrington*, *Tomſon* and *Keepes.*

Againſt this blind Excommunication of the ſaid Archbiſhop the parties Excommunicate commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the Biſhop of *Rome*. Which appeal of theirs as inſufficient, or rather to him unpleaſant, the ſaid Archbiſhop utterly rejected (as might oftentimes overcometh right) proceeding in his preconceived Excommunication againſt them, and writing moreover his Letters to him that ſhould Preach next at *Pauls* Croſs, as is aforeſaid, to denounce and to publiſh openly the ſaid *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington* to be Excommunicate, for not appearing at their tearm aſſigned. Which was in the 13*th* day of the Month of *July*.

The Excommunication of *Herford* and *Reppington* denounced at *Pauls* Croſs.

13th day of *July*, 1382.

Which Archbiſhop moreover the ſaid year, the month and day aforeſaid, ſent alſo another Letter to M. *Rigge*, Commiſſary of *Oxford*, ſtraightly injoyning and charging him, not only to denounce the ſaid ſentence of Excommunication, and to give out publick Citation againſt them, but alſo to make diligent ſearch and inquiſition through all *Oxford* for them, to have them apprehended and ſent up to him, perſonally before him to appear at a certain day preſcribed for the ſame. Whereby may appear how buſie this Biſhop was in diſquieting and perſecuting theſe poor Men, whom rather he ſhould have nouriſhed and Cheriſhed as his Brethren. But as his labor is paſt, ſo his reward will follow, at what day the great Archbiſhop of our ſouls ſhall judicially appear in his Tribunal Seat, to Judge both the quick and the dead.

Other Letters of the Archbiſhop ſent to the Chancellor of *Oxford.*

The Archbiſhop not yet contented with this, doth moreover by all means poſſible ſolicite the King to joyn withal the power of his temporal Sword, for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the Popiſh Clergy had not Authority ſufficient, by any publick Law or Statute of this Land, to proceed unto death againſt any perſon whatſoever, in caſe of Religion, but only by the uſurped Tyranny and example of the Court of *Rome*. Where note (Gentle Reader) for thy better underſtanding the practice of the Romiſh Prelates in ſeeking the Kings help to further their bloody purpoſe againſt the good Saints of God. Which King being but young, and under years of ripe Judgment, partly induced, or rather ſeduced by importune ſute of the foreſaid Archbiſhop, partly alſo either for fear of the Biſhops (for Kings cannot always do in their Realms what they will) or elſe perhaps inticed by ſome hope of ſubſidy to be gathered by the Clergy, was content to adjoyn his private aſſent (ſuch as it was) to the ſetting down of an ordinance, which was indeed the very firſt Law that is to be found made againſt Religion and the profeſſors thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, *An.* 5. *Rich.* 2. Where among ſundry other Statutes then publiſhed, and yet remaining in the printed Books of Statutes, this ſuppoſed Statute is to be found, *cap.* 5. *& ultimo.*

Hitherto no Law to burn any Man for Religion.

The King circumvented by the Archbiſhop.

The firſt Law to be found practiſed by the Clergy for burning the profeſſors of religion. *An.* 5. *Rich. Secundi.*

*Item*, Foraſmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil perſons within the Realm, going from County to County, and from Town to Town, in certain habits under diſſimulation of great Holineſs, and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the places, or other ſufficient Authority, Preaching daily not only in Churches and Churchyards, but alſo in Markets, Fairs, and other open places where a great Congregation of people is, divers Sermons containing Hereſies and notorious Errors, to the great emblemiſhing of Chriſtian Faith and deſtruction of the Laws, and of the Eſtate of holy Church, to the great peril of the ſouls of the people, and of all the Realm of *England* as more plainly is found, and ſufficiently proved before the Reverend Father in God the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops and other Prelates, Maſters of Divinity, and Doctors of Canon and of civil Law, and a great

This Statute was made by the Clergy, without conſent or knowledge of the Commons.

KING *Ric.* 2.

a great part of the Clergy of the ſaid Realm, ſpecially aſſembled for this great cauſe; which perſons do alſo preach divers matters of ſlander, to ingender diſcord and diſſention betwixt divers Eſtates of the ſaid Realm, as well Spiritual as Temporal, in exciting of the people to the great peril of all the Realm: which Preachers being cited or ſummoned before the Ordinaries of the places, there to anſwer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their Summons and Commandments, nor care not for their Monitions nor Cenſures of the holy Church, but expreſly deſpiſe them; and moreover, by their ſubtil and ingenious words, do draw the people to hear their Sermons, and do maintain them in their Errors by ſtrong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and aſſented in this preſent Parliament, That the Kings Commiſſions be made and directed to the Sheriffs, and other Miniſters of our Sovereign Lord the King, or other ſufficient perſons learned, and according to the Certifications of the Prelates thereof, to be made in the *Chancery* from time to time, to arreſt all ſuch Preachers, and alſo their Fautors, Maintainers and Abbetters, and to hold them in arreſt and ſtrong priſon, till they will juſtifie themſelves according to the law and reaſon of holy Church. And the King willeth and commandeth, that the Chancellor make ſuch Commiſſions at all times, that he by the Prelates, or any of them ſhall be certified and thereof required, as is aforeſaid.

Note that this Statute was repealed afterwards at the inſtance of the Commons.

## *An Examination of the foreſaid ſuppoſed Statute, and of the invalidity thereof.*

WHich ſuppoſed Statute foraſmuch as it was the principal ground whereupon proceeded all the perſecution of that time; it is therefore not impertinent to examine the ſame more particularly, whereby it ſhall appear, that as the ſame was fraudulently and unduely deviſed by the Prelates only, ſo was it in like manner moſt injurioſly and unorderly executed by them. For immediately upon the publiſhing of this Law, without further warrant either from the King or his Council, Commiſſions under the Great Seal of *England* were made in this form, *Richard by the Grace of God, &c. ut patet, act. pag.* 541. *Witneſs my ſelf at* Weſtminſter *the 26th day of* June, *in the ſixth year of our Reign.* Without more words of warrant underwritten, ſuch as in like caſes are both uſual and requiſite, *viz. per ipſum Regem: per Regem & concilium: per breve de privato Sigillo.* All or any which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may be ſeen in the Kings Records of that time; it muſt therefore be done either by warrant of this foreſaid Statute, or elſe without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the ſaid Statute appointed the Commiſſions to be directed to the Sheriff, or other Miniſters of the Kings, or to other ſufficient perſons learned for the arreſting of ſuch perſons; the ſaid Commiſſions are directed to the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth Parties in the caſe, authorizing them further without either the words, or reaſonable meaning of the ſaid Statute, to impriſon them in their own houſes, or where elſe pleaſed them.

No uſual words of warrant affixed to this Commiſſion

Beſides alſo, what manner of Law this was, by whom deviſed, and by what authority the ſame was firſt made and eſtabliſhed, Judge by that that followeth, *viz.*

In the *Utas* of Saint *Michael* next following, at a Parliament ſummoned and holden at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth year of the ſaid King, among ſundry Petitions made to the King by his Commons, whereunto he aſſented, there is one in this form, *Article* 52.

The petition of the Commons for the repealing of the foreſaid Statute.

*Item*, prayen the Commons, That whereas an Eſtatute was made the laſt Parliament in theſe words, It is Ordained in this preſent Parliament, That Commiſſions from the King be directed to the Sheriffs, and other Miniſters of the King, or to other ſufficient perſons skilful, and according to the Certificates of the Prelates thereof, to be made unto the *Chancery* from time to time, to arreſt all ſuch Preachers, and their Fautors, Maintainers and Abbetters: And them to detain in ſtrong priſon, until they will juſtifie themſelves according to reaſon, and law of holy Church: And the King willeth and commandeth, that the Chancellor make ſuch Commiſſions at all times as he ſhall be by the Prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforeſaid. The which was never agreed nor granted by the Commons: but whatſoever was moved therein, was without their aſſent. That the ſaid Statute be therefore diſannulled. For it is not in any wiſe their meaning, that either themſelves, or ſuch as ſhall ſucceed them, ſhall be further juſtified or bound by the Prelates, than were their Anceſtors in former times, whereunto is anſwered, *il plaiſt al, Roy.* I. the King is pleaſed.

The Statute repealed.

The King ratifieth the repeal.

Hereby notwithſtanding the former unjuſt Law of *An.* 5. was repealed, and the fraud of the Framers thereof ſufficiently diſcovered: yet ſuch means was there made by the Prelates, that this Act of repeal was never publiſhed, nor ever ſithence imprinted with the reſt of the Statutes of that Parliament. Inſomuch as the ſaid Repeal being concealed, like Commiſſions and other Proceſs were made from time to time, by vertue of the ſaid Baſtard-Statute, as well during all the Reign of this King, as ever ſithence againſt the Profeſſors of Religion; as ſhall hereafter by the Grace of God appear in the ſecond year of King *Henry* the Fourth, where the Clergy purſued the like practice. And now again to the ſtory of our *Oxford* Divines, and of the Archbiſhop, to whom the King writeth his Letters Patents, firſt to the Archbiſhop, then to the Vice-Chancellor in *Oxford* as followeth.

## The Kings Letters Patents to the Archbiſhop.

The Kings Letters againſt the Favourers of *Wickliff.*

RIchard *by the Grace of God King of* England, *and Lord of* Ireland. *To all thoſe to whom theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, greeting. By the Petition of the reverend Father in God,* William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of* England, *exhibited unto us, we right well underſtand: That divers and ſundry Concluſions, very contrary to wholſome Doctrine, and redounding both to the ſubverſion of the Catholick Faith, the holy Church, and to his Province of* Canterbury, *in divers and ſundry places of the ſame his Province, have been openly and publickly preached, although damnably preached: Of the which Concluſions, ſome as Hereſies, otherſome as Errors have been condemned, but not before good and mature deliberation firſt therein had and uſed; and by common council of the ſaid Archbiſhop, his Suffragans, and many Doctors in Divinity, and other Clerks and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were ſententially and wholſomely declared. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop hath made his Supplication unto us; that both for the coertion and due caſtigation of ſuch as ſhall henceforth of an obſtinate mind, preach or maintain the foreſaid Concluſions, we would vouchſafe to put to the arm and helping hand of our Kingly Power. We therefore moved by the zeal of the Catholick Faith, whereof we be, and will be Defender, and unwilling that any ſuch Hereſies or Errors ſhould ſpring up within the Limits of our Dominion: Give and grant ſpecial Licence and Authority, by the tenour of theſe preſents, unto the foreſaid Archbiſhop, and to his Suffragans, to arreſt and impriſon either in their own priſons, or any other, all and every ſuch perſon and perſons, as ſhall either privily or apertly preach and maintain the foreſaid Concluſions, ſo condemned; and the ſame perſons ſo impriſoned there at their pleaſures to detain, till ſuch time as they ſhall repent them and amend them of ſuch heretical Pravities, or elſe it ſhall be of ſuch arreſts, by us and our Council otherwiſe determined and provided: Further charging and commanding all and ſingular our Liege-men, Miniſters and Subjects, of what ſtate and condition ſoever they be, upon their Fidelity and Allegiance, wherein they ſtand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counſel, or help the Preachers, or elſe Maintainers of the ſaid Concluſions ſo condemned, or their Favourers, upon pain and forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they obey and humbly attend upon the ſaid Archbiſhop, his Suffragans, and Miniſters, in the execution of theſe preſents; ſo that due and manifeſt publication againſt the foreſaid Concluſions and their Maintainers, without any perturbation, may be done and executed, as for the Defence of our Realm and Catholick Faith ſhall be thought moſt meet and requiſite. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made.*

The 16th day of June Anno 1382.

Witneſs our ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the *16th* of *June*, and ſixth year of our Reign.

*The*

## The Kings Letters Patents to the Vice-Chancellor.

Another Letter of the King to the Vice-Chancellor.

*THe King to the Chancellor and the Procurators of the Univerſity of* Oxford *which now be, or for the time being ſhall be greeting. Moved by the zeal of Chriſtian Faith, whereof we be, and always will be Defenders, and for our Souls health induced thereunto, having a great deſire to repreſs, and by condign puniſhment to reſtrain the Impugners of the foreſaid Faith, which newly and wickedly go about and preſume to ſow their naughty and perverſe Doctrine within our Kingdom of* England, *and to preach and hold damnable Concluſions, ſo notoriouſly repugnant and contrary to the ſame Faith, to the perverting of our ſubjects and people, as we underſtand: Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or elſe infect others. We have by theſe Preſents appointed you to be Inquiſitor-General (all the chief Divines of the ſaid Univerſity being your Aſſiſtants) and the ſame likewiſe to be done of all and ſingular the Graduates, Divines and Lawyers of the ſame Univerſity. And if they ſhall know any which be of the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Univerſity of* Oxford, *which be probably of them ſuſpected to be in the favour, belief, or defence of any Hereſie or Error, and ſpecially of any of the Concluſions publickly condemned by the reverend Father,* William, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *by the Council of his Clergy, or elſe of any other Concluſion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words; and that if henceforth you ſhall find any that ſhall believe, favour, or defend any of the foreſaid Hereſies or Errors, or any other ſuch like, or elſe which ſhall be bold to receive into their Houſes and Inns, Maſter* John Wickliffe, *Maſter* Nicholas Herford, *Maſter* Philip Reppington, *or Maſter* John Aſhton, *or any other noted by probable ſuſpition of any the foreſaid Hereſies, or Errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word: Or that ſhall preſume to communicate with any of them, or elſe to defend or favour any of ſuch Favourers, Receivers, Communicants, and Defenders, within ſeven days after the ſame ſhall appear and be manifeſt unto you, that you baniſh and expel them from the Univerſity and Town of* Oxford, *till ſuch time as they ſhall declare their Innocency before the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *for the time being, by manifeſt purgation. So notwithſtanding that ſuch as be compelled to purge themſelves, you certifie us and the ſaid Archbiſhop, under your Seals, from time to time within one month, that they be ſuch manner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the Halls of the ſaid Univerſity ye cauſe diligently to be ſearched and inquired out of hand; If any man have any Book or Tractation of the Edition, or compiling of the foreſaid M.* John Wickliffe, *or* N. Herford: *and that when and whereſoever ye ſhall chance to find any ſuch Book or Tractation, ye cauſe the ſame to be arreſted and taken, and unto the foreſaid Archbiſhop within one month (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatſoever) word for word, and ſentence for ſentence, to be brought and preſented. And therefore we ſtraitly enjoyn and command you, upon your Fidelity and Allegiance wherein ye ſtand bound unto us, and upon pain of forfeiture of all and ſingular your Liberties and Privileges of your ſaid Univerſity, and of all that ever you have beſides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premiſſes, and that well and faithfully you execute the ſame in manner and form aforeſaid. And that you obey the foreſaid Archbiſhop, and his lawful and honeſt Mandates, that he ſhall think good to direct unto you in this behalf, as it is meet ye ſhould. And we give in charge unto the Vice-Chancellor and Major of* Oxford *for the time being, and to all and ſingular our Sheriffs, and Under-Sheriffs, Bailiffs and Subjects by theſe preſents; that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premiſſes. In witneſs whereof, &c. Witneſs the King at* Weſtminſter *the thirteenth day of* July, *the ſixth year of his Reign.*

The 13th day of July, Anno 1382.

Beſides theſe Letters Patents, the ſaid young King moved by the unquiet importunity of the Archbiſhop, ſendeth moreover another ſpecial Letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors of the Univerſity of *Oxford*. Wherein, under a pretenſed zeal of Defence of Chriſtian Faith, he ſtraitly and ſharply enjoyneth and aſſigneth them (for the utter aboliſhing of thoſe Concluſions and Opinions) to make a general Inquiſition through the whole Univerſity, as well for the Parties aforeſaid, *John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Aſhton,* and ſuch others; as alſo for all other whom they know or judge to be ſuſpected of that Doctrine, or to be Maintainers, Receivers, and Defenders of the foreſaid Parties, or their Concluſions any manner of way; to the intent that they being ſo apprehended through their diligent ſearch may be within ſeven days of their Admonitions expulſed the Univerſity, and cited up to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, before him to appear and to ſtand to their Anſwers. Willing moreover and commanding the ſaid Vice-Chancellor and Proctors with other Regents their Aſſiſters, that if any perſon or perſons in any Houſe, Hall, or College, or in any other place ſhall be found to have any of their Books or Treatiſes compiled by the ſaid *John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, &c.* they will cauſe without delay the ſaid perſon or perſons with their Books, to be arreſted and attached, and preſented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foreſaid Archbiſhop, upon their Faith and Allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and ſingular the Liberties and Priviledges of the Univerſity appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the Archbiſhop aforeſaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his Injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawful and honeſt. Giving moreover in theſe our Letters charge and commandment to the Major, Bailiffs, and other the Inhabitants of *Oxford* to be Aſſiſtant and Attendant unto the foreſaid Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, touching the execution of the Premiſſes, bearing the date of the *14th* day of *July*, which was the year of our Lord, 1382.

KING Ric. 2.

Another ſharp Letter of King Richard ſent to Oxford againſt Wickliffe and his Fellows.

The effect of the Kings Letter briefly comprehended.

The perſons with their Books to be arreſted.

The 14th day of July, 1382.

## *Matters incident of* Robert Rigges, *Vice-Chancellor of* Oxford, Nicholas Herford, *and* Philip Reppington, *with others.*

THe Vice-Chancellor the ſame time in *Oxford* was M. *Robert Rigge*. The two Proctors were *John Huntman* and *Walter Diſh*; who then, as far as they durſt, favoured the Cauſe of *John Wickliffe* and that ſide. Inſomuch that the ſame time and year, which was *Anno* 1382. when certain publick Sermons ſhould be appointed cuſtomably at the Feaſt of the *Aſcenſion*, and of *Corpus Chriſti*, to be preached in the Cloyſter of Saint *Frideſwide* (now called *Chriſts Church*) before the people, by the Vice-Chancellor aforeſaid and the Proctors: the doings thereof the Vice-Chancellor aforeſaid and Proctors had committed to *Philip Reppington* and *Nicholas Herford*, ſo that *Nicholas Herford* ſhould preach on the *Aſcenſion-day*, and *Reppington* upon *Corpus Chriſti* day. Firſt, *Herford* beginning was noted to defend *John Wickliffe* openly to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no ſmall ado with Out-cries was amongſt the Fryers. This *Herford*, after he had long favoured and maintained *Wickliffes* part, grew firſt in ſuſpition amongſt the Enemies of the Truth. For aſſoon as he began ſomewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing, which tended to the defence of *Wickliffe*; by and by the *Carmelites*, and all the Orders of Religion were on his top, and laid not a few Hereſies unto his Charge; the which they had ſtrained here and there out of his Sermons, and had compiled together in a certain forme, by the hands of certain Notaries (through the induſtry and diligence of one *Peter Stokes* a *Carmelite*, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of miſchief, uproars, and debate, and diſſention,) After this the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* drew near; upon which day it was looked for that *Reppington* ſhould preach. This man was a Canon of *Leiceſter*, and had before taken his firſt Degree unto Doctorſhip, who preaching the ſame time at *Brodgates*, for the ſame Sermon he became firſt ſuſpected, and hated of the Phariſaical brood of the Fryers: but through the great and notable dexterity of his wit, (which all men did behold and ſee in him) accompanied with like modeſty and honeſty, he did ſo overcome, or at the leaſt aſſwage this cruelty and perſecution which was towards him, that ſhortly after, by the conſent of the whole Fellowſhip, he was admitted Doctor.

Robert Rigge Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

Nicholas Herford preaching on the Aſcenſion-day defended Wickliff.

Reppington firſt Canon of Leiceſter, after Biſhop of Lincoln.

Reppington commenced Doctor.

Who

KING *Ric. 2.*

Who aſſoon as he had taken it upon him, by and by he ſtepped forth in the Schools, and began immediately to ſhew forth and utter, that which he had long hidden and diſſembled. Proteſting openly, that in all moral matters he would defend *Wickliff*. But as touching the Sacrament he would as yet hold his peace, until ſuch time as the Lord ſhall otherwiſe illuminate the hearts and minds of the Clergy.

Now the day of *Corpus Chriſti* aforeſaid approaching near, when the Friers underſtood that this Man ſhould preach, fearing leſt that he would rub the galls of their Religion, they convented with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that the ſame day, a little before that *Philip* ſhould preach, *Wickliff*'s Concluſions, which were privately condemned, ſhould be openly defamed in the preſence of the whole Univerſity. The doing of which matter was committed to *Peter Stokes* Frier, Standard-bearer, and chief Champion of that ſide againſt *Wickliff*.

*Peter Stokes* Standard-bearer to the *Papiſts*.

There were alſo Letters ſent unto the Commiſſary, that he ſhould help and aid him in publiſhing of the ſame Concluſions, as is before declared.

Theſe things thus done and finiſhed, *Reppington* at the hour appointed, proceeded to his Sermon. In the which Sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered theſe ſayings, or to this effect:

Notes of the Sermon of *Reppington*.

*That the Popes or Biſhops ought not to be recommended above Temporal Lords.*

Alſo, *That in moral matters he would defend Maſter Wickliff as a true Catholick Doctor.*

Moreover, *That the Duke of* Lancaſter *was very earneſtly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all ſuch ſhould be received under his protection*; beſides many things more, which touched the praiſe and defence of *Wickliff*.

And finally, in concluding his Sermon, he diſmiſſed the People with this Sentence; *I will* (ſaid he) *in the ſpeculative Doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar, keep ſilence and hold my peace, until ſuch time as God otherwiſe ſhall inſtruct and illuminate the hearts of the Clergy.*

When the Sermon was done, *Reppington* entred into S. *Frideſwides* Church, accompanied with many of his friends; who, as the enemies furniſhed, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Frier *Stokes* the *Carmelite* aforeſaid, ſuſpecting all this to be againſt him, and being afraid of hurt, kept him within the Sanctuary of the Church, not daring as then, to put out his head. The Vicechancellor and *Reppington*, friendly ſaluting one another in the Church-porch, ſent away the People, and ſo departed every man home to his own houſe. There was not a little joy through the whole Univerſity for that Sermon; but in the mean time, the unquiet and buſie *Carmelite* ſlipt not his matter. For firſt by his Letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the Archbiſhop, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and deſiring his help and aid, pretermitting nothing whereby to move and ſtir up the Archbiſhops mind, which of his own nature was as hot as a Toſt, as they ſay, and ready enough to proſecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Beſides all this (three days after) with a fierce and bold courage, the ſaid Frier, breathing out threatnings and Hereſies againſt them, took the way unto the Schools, minding there to prove, that the Pope and the Biſhops ought to be prayed for before the Lords Temporal. Whilſt this Frier was thus occupied in the Schools, he was mocked and derided of all Men, and ſhortly after he was ſent for by the Archbiſhop to *London*; whom immediately after the Vicechancellor and *Brightwel* followed up, to purge and clear themſelves and their adherents, from the accuſations of this Frier *Peter*. At the length, they being examined upon *Wickliff*'s Concluſions that were condemned; they did all conſent, that they were worthily condemned. The Vicechancellor being afterward accuſed for the contempt of the Archbiſhops Letters, when as he perceived and ſaw that no excuſe would prevail to avoid that danger, humbling himſelf upon his knees, he deſired pardon. The which when he had now again (as is aforeſaid) albeit very hardly obtained; by the help of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* he was ſent away again with certain commandments, and Suſpenſions of Hereticks. Then began the hatred on either part ſomewhat to appear and ſhew, and ſpecially all men were offended, and in the tops of theſe Friers and Religious Men; unto whom, whatſoever trouble or miſchief was raiſed up, they did impute it as to the authors and cauſers of the ſame. Amongſt whom there was one *Henry Crompe*, a Monk *Ciſtercian*, a well learned Divine, which afterward was accuſed by the Biſhops of Hereſie. He at that time was openly ſuſpected by the Commiſſary, becauſe in his Lectures he called the Hereticks *Lollards* in his Acts (as they term them) in the School. Then he, coming by and by up to *London*, made his complaint unto the Archbiſhop, and to the Kings Council.

The Univerſity re-byeceth.

Whether the Lords Temporal were to be prayed for before the Biſhops.

The Frier derided and mocked in the Schools.

Religious Men firſt cauſers of this trouble.

*Hen. Crompe* firſt an accuſer of other, after accuſed himſelf for Hereſie.

Whereupon he obtaining the Letters of the King, and of his Council, by the vertue thereof (returning again to the Univerſity) he was releaſed and reſtored again to his former ſtate, the words of which Letter here followeth under written.

## *The Copy of the King's Letter.*

'THE King to the Vicechancellor and Procurators of 'the Univerſity of *Oxford*, greeting. Whereas we 'of late underſtanding by the grievous complaint of *Hen-* 'ry *Crompe* Monk, and Regent in Divinity within the ſaid 'Univerſity, how that he, being aſſiſted by the Reve- 'rend Father in God the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and 'by other Clerks and Divines in the City of *London*, to 'proceed in the condemnation of certain concluſions erro- 'neous and heretical, hath been therefore moleſted by 'you, and that you through ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of ſome ad- 'verſaries (pretending the peace of the ſaid Univerſity to 'have been broken by the ſaid *Henry* in his laſt Lecture) 'did therefore call him before you to appear and anſwer; 'and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as 'obſtinate, and convict of peace breaking, and have alſo 'ſuſpended the ſaid *Henry* from his Lectures, and all ſcho- 'laſtical Acts. And whereas we by our Writ did call you 'up for the ſame, to appear and anſwer before our Coun- 'cil unto the premiſes; and, all things being well tried 'and examined by the ſaid Council, it was found and de- 'termined, that all your proceſs againſt the ſaid *Henry*, was 'void and of none effect, and commandment given, that 'the ſaid *Henry* ſhould be reſtored and admitted again to 'his former Lectures and ſcholaſtical Acts, and to his pri- 'ſtine ſtate as you know. To the intent therefore that this 'Decree aforeſaid ſhould be more duly executed of your 'part, we here by theſe Preſents ſtraitly charge and com- 'mand you, that you ſpeedily revoking again all your Pro- 'ceſs againſt the ſaid *Henry* in the Univerſity aforeſaid, 'with all other that followed thereof, do admit and cauſe 'to be reſtored again the ſaid *Henry* to his ſcholaſtical Acts, 'his accuſtomed Lectures, and priſtine eſtate, without all 'delay, according to the form of the decree and determi- 'nation aforeſaid. Enjoyning you moreover, and your 'Commiſſaries or Deputies, and your ſucceſſors, and all 'other maſters regent and not regent, and other Preſidents, 'Officers, Miniſters and Scholars of the Univerſity afore- 'ſaid, upon your faith and allegiance you ow to us, that 'you do not impeach, moleſt or grieve, or cauſe to be griev- 'ed (any manner of way, privy or apert) the ſaid Frier 'Henry for the cauſes premiſed, or Frier *Peter Stokes Car-* 'melite, for the occaſion of his abſence from the Univer- 'ſity, or Frier *Stephen Packington Carmelite*, or any other 'religious or ſecular perſon favouring them, upon occaſion of 'any, either word or deed whatſoever, concerning the Doc- 'rine of Mr. *J. Wickliff*, *Nich. Herford*, and *Ph. Reppington*, 'or the reproof and condemnation of their Hereſies and Er- 'rors, or the correction of their favourers; but that you do pro- 'cure the peace, unity and quiet within the ſaid Univerſity, 'and chiefly between the religious and ſecular perſons; and 'that you with all diligence, nouriſh, increaſe and preſerve 'the ſame to the uttermoſt of your ſtrength. And that you 'in no caſe omit to do it accordingly, upon the forfeitures 'of all and ſingular the liberties and priviledges of the Uni- 'verſity aforeſaid.

The Kings Letter to the Vicechancellor and Proctors of *Oxf.*

*Hen. Crompe* complaineth to the Kings Council of the moſt ſecular Maſters of *Oxford*.

*Hen. Crompe*, *Peter Stokes*, *Carm. Stepe*. *Packington*, *Carm.* reſtored by the King to their ſcholaſtical Acts.

'Witneſs my ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the 'fourteenth day of *July*.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how Maſter *Rigges* Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, coming up with Maſter *Brightwel* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was there ſtraitly examined of the concluſions of *Wickliff*, where he notwithſtanding, through the help of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, obtained pardon, and was ſent away again with commandments and charges to ſeek out all the favourers of *John Wickliff*. This commandment being received, *Nicholas Herford*, and *Philip Reppington* (being privily warned by the ſaid Vicechancellor) in the mean ſeaſon conveyed themſelves out of ſight, and fled to the Duke of *Lancaſter* for ſuccour and help; but the Duke, whether for fear, or for what cauſe elſe I cannot ſay, in the end forſook his poor and miſerable Clients.

*Herford and Reppington fled to the Duke of Lancaſter.*

In the mean time, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great ſearch and inquiſition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them whereſoever they might be found. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Courtney*, directed out his Letters firſt to the Vicechancellor of *Oxford*, then to the Biſhop of *London* named *Robert Braybroke*; charging them not only to excommunicate the ſaid *Nicholas* and *Philip* within their juriſdiction, and the ſaid Excommunication to be denounced likewiſe throughout all the Dioceſs of his Suffragans: but alſo moreover, that diligent ſearch and watch ſhould be laid for them, both in *Oxford* and in *London*, that they might be apprehended; requiring moreover by them to be certified again, what they had done in the premiſes. And this was written the 14*th.* day of *July*, *Anno* 1382. *Ex Regiſt.*

*Letters of the Archbiſhop to the Vicechancellor.*
*Letters of the Archbiſhop to the Biſhop of London.*
*Robert Braybroke* Biſhop of *London.*
*The 14th. day of July, Anno 1382.*

Unto theſe Letters received from the Archbiſhop diligent Certificat was given accordingly, as well of the Biſhop of *London* his part, as alſo of the Vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this:

## The Letter Certificatory of the Vicechancellor to the Archbiſhop.

*The Letter of R. Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford to the Archbiſhop.*

*TO the reverend father in Chriſt, Lord* William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See*, Robert Rigges, *Profeſſor of Divinity, and Vicechancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *greeting with due honour. Your Letters bearing the date of the fourteenth of* July *I have received; by the authority whereof I have denounced, and cauſed to be denounced effectually, the foreſaid* Nicholas *and* Philip *to have been, and to be excommunicate publickly and ſolemnly in the Church of S.* Mary, *and in the Schools, and to be cited alſo perſonally, if by any means they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent ſearch laid for them of my part, to have them perſonally cited and apprehended, I could not find neither the ſaid Mr.* Nicholas, *nor Mr.* Philip, *who have hid or conveyed themſelves, unknown to me, as here is well known. Whereof I thought here to give ſignification to your Fatherhood. Sealed and teſtified with the Seal of mine office. From* Oxford *the 25th. of* July.

*The 25th. day of July, Anno 1382.*

*Herford and Reppington repulſed from the Duke of Lancaſter.*

In the mean time *Nicholas Herford* and *Reppington* being repulſed of the Duke, and deſtitute (as was ſaid) of his ſupportation, whether they were ſent, or of their own accord went to the Archbiſhop, it was uncertain. This I find in a Letter of the foreſaid Archbiſhop, contained in his Regiſter; that *Reppington* the 23d. day of *October*, the ſame year 1382. was reconciled again to the Archbiſhop, and alſo by his general Letter was releaſed, and admitted to his ſcholaſtical Acts in the Univerſity. And ſo was alſo *John Aſhton*, of whom (Chriſt willing) more ſhall follow hereafter. Of *Nicholas Herford* all this while I find no ſpecial relation.

*The 23d. day of Octob. Reppington releaſed by the Archbiſhop.*
*J. Aſhton reconciled by the Archbiſhop.*

In the mean time, about the twenty third of the Month of *September* the ſaid year, the King ſent his Mandate to the Archbiſhop for collecting of a Subſidy, and to have a Convocation of the Clergy ſummoned againſt the next Parliament, which ſhould begin the 18*th.* day of *November*. The Archbiſhop likewiſe, on the 15*th.* day of *October*, directed his Letters Monitory (as the manner is) to *Robert Braybroke* Biſhop of *London*, to give the ſame admonition to all his Suffragans, and other of the Clergy within his Province, for the aſſembling of the Convocation aforeſaid.

*A Parliament ſummoned the 15th. of Octob. 1382.*

All which done and executed, the Parliament begun, being holden at *Oxford* the eighteenth day of *November*, where the Convocation was kept in the Monaſtery of *Frideſwide* in *Oxford*. In the which Convocation the Archbiſhop, with other Biſhops there ſitting in their *Pontificalibus*, declared two cauſes of that their preſent Aſſembly, the one (ſaith he) to repreſs Hereſies, which began newly in the Realm to ſpring, and for correcting other exceſſes in the Church. The other cauſe (ſaid he) was to aid and ſupport the King with ſome neceſſary Subſidy of Mony to be gathered, which thus declared, the Convocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19*th.* of *November*.

KING *Ric.* 2.
*The Convocation of S. Frideſwide in Oxford the 18th. day of Nov.*

At the ſaid day and place, the Archbiſhop with the other Prelates, aſſembling themſelves as before: the Archbiſhop after the uſed ſolemnity, willed the Procurators of the Clergy, appointed for every Dioceſs, to conſult within themſelves, in ſome convenient ſeveral place, what they thought for their parts touching the redreſs of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren, *&c.*

*The 19th. of November Anno 1382.*

Furthermore, forſomuch (ſaith he) as it is ſo noiſed through all the Realm, that there were certain in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which did hold and maintain concluſions (as he calleth them) Heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other Lawyers and Doctors of Divinity; he therefore aſſigned the Biſhops of *Sarum*, *Hereford*, and *Rocheſter*, with *William Rugge* then Vicechancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford* (for belike *Robert Rigge* was then diſplaced) as alſo *William Berton*, and *John Middleton* Doctors; giving them his full authority with curing and banning to compel them to ſearch, and to enquire with all diligence and ways poſſibly, over all, and ſingular whatſoever, either Doctors, Bachelors, or Scholars of the ſaid Univerſity, which did hold, teach, maintain and defend, in Schools, or out of Schools, the ſaid Concluſions Heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give Certificate truly and plainly touching the premiſes. And thus for that day the Aſſembly brake up to the next, and ſo to the next, and the third being *Monday*, the 24*th.* day of *November*; *Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.*

*Rob. Rigges diſplaced from the Vicechancelorſhip.*
*Inquiſition made at Oxford.*
*The 24th. day of Nov. Anno 1382.*

On the which day, in the preſence of the Prelates and the Clergy in the Chapter houſe of St. *Frideſwide*, came in *Philip Reppington* (otherwiſe called of the Brethren afterward *Rampington*) who there abjured the Concluſions and Aſſertions aforeſaid, in this form of words as followeth.

In Dei nomine, Amen. *I* Philip Reppington, *Canon of the Houſe of* Leiceſter, *acknowledging one Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, do curſe and alſo abjure all Hereſy, namely theſe Hereſies and errors under written, condemned and reproved by the Decrees Canonical, and by you moſt reverend Father, touching which hitherto I have been defamed; condemning moreover, and reproving both them and the Authors of them, and do confeſs the ſame to be Catholically condemned. And I ſwear alſo by theſe holy Evangeliſts, which here I hold in my hand, and do promiſe, never by any perſwaſions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the ſaid concluſions underwritten; but do and will ſtand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy Catholick Church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and beſides, all ſuch as ſtand contrary to this faith, I do pronounce them with their Doctrine and Followers worthy of everlaſting curſe. And if I my ſelf ſhall preſume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premiſes, I ſhall be content to abide the ſeverity of the Canons. Subſcribed with mine own hand, and of mine own accord,* Philip Reppington. And thus the ſaid *Rampington* was diſcharged, who afterward was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and became at length the moſt bitter and extream Perſecutor of this ſide, of all the other Biſhops within the Realm, as in proceſs hereafter may appear.

*The Abjuration of Phil. Reppington.*
*Philip Reppington after his abjuration, became a terrible Perſecutor.*

After the Abjuration of this *Reppington*, immediately was brought in *John Aſhton* Student of Divinity; who being examined of thoſe Concluſions, and willed to ſay his mind, anſwered, *That he was too ſimple and ignorant, and therefore would not, and could not anſwer any thing clearly or diſtinctly to thoſe Concluſions.* Whereupon the Archbiſhop aſſigned to him Doctor *William Rugge* the Vicechancellor and other Divines, ſuch as he required himſelf,

*A ſhort time my Lord, for a man in one forenoon to learn a faith againſt his Conſcience.*
*The Abjuration of J. Aſhton.*

KING *Ric. 2.*

himſelf, to be inſtructed in the myſtery of thoſe concluſions againſt the afternoon; who then, appearing again after Dinner before the Archbiſhop and the Prelates, did in like ſort and form of words abjure as did *Reppington* before.

Of this *John Aſhton* we read, that afterward, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in Priſon, or was burned, we have yet no certainty to ſhew. This is certain, by the plain words of the Chronicle of S. *Albans*, that when the Archbiſhop with his Doctors and Friers ſate in examination upon this ſaid *John Aſhton* in *London*, the *Londoners* brake open the door of the Conclave, *ipſumque Archiepiſcopum in civitate ſedentem impediverunt, cum proceſſum feciſſet contra Johannem Aſhton, &c.* That is, *And did lett the Archbiſhop himſelf ſitting in the City of* London, *when he would have made proceſs againſt* John Aſhton, *An.* 1382. And thus much of *John Aſhton.*

*Ex Chr. Mon. D. Alb. J. Aſhton.* The *Londoners* open the door *where* the Archbiſhop ſate againſt *J. Aſhton.*

As touching *Nicholas Herford*, during the time of this Convocation he did not appear; and therefore had the ſentence of excommunication. Againſt which he put his appeal from the Archbiſhop to the King and his Council. The Archbiſhop would not admit it, but finding ſtays and ſtops, cauſed him to be apprehended and incloſed in Priſon. Notwithſtanding through the will of God and good means, he eſcaped out of the Priſon, returning again to his former exercise and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and ſecret manner as he could. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, thundring out his bolts of Excommunication againſt him, ſending to all Paſtors and Miniſters, willing them in all Churches, and on all Feſtival days, to divulge the ſaid Excommunication againſt him to all Men; he writeth moreover, and ſendeth ſpecial charge to all and ſingular of the Laity, to beware that their ſimplicity be not deceived by his Doctrine, but that they like Catholick children will avoid him, and cauſe him of all other to be avoided.

*Nic. Herford* would not appear.
*Nic. Herford* appealed from the Archbiſhop. *N. Herford* caſt into priſon.
*Herford* eſcapeth out of Priſon.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addreſſeth alſo his Letter unto the King, requiring alſo the aid of his temporal ſword to chop off his Neck, whom he had already caſt down. See and note, Reader, the ſeraphical charity of theſe Prieſtly Prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Chriſt. And yet theſe be they which, waſhing their hands with *Pilate*, ſay, and pretend, *Nobis non licet interficere quenquam*; *it is not our parts to kill any man.* The Copy of the Letter written to the King is this:

## The Letter of the Archbiſhop to the King.

The cruel Letter of the Archbiſhop to the King againſt *N. Herford.*

TO *the moſt excellent Prince in Chriſt, &c.* William, &c. *Greeting in him by whom Kings do reign, and Princes bear rule. Unto your Kingly celſitude by the tenor of theſe preſents we intimate, that one Maſter* Nicholas Herford *Doctor of Divinity, for his manifeſt contumacy and offence in not appearing before us being called at the day and place aſſigned, is therefore inwrapped in the ſentence of the greater curſe, publickly by our ordinary authority; and in the ſame ſentence hath continued now forty days, and yet ſtill continueth with obdurate heart, wickedly contemning the keis of the Church, both to the great peril of his ſoul, and to the pernicious example of other. Forſomuch therefore, as the holy Mother the Church hath not to do, or to proceed any further in this matter, we humbly deſire your Kingly Majeſty to direct out your Letters for the apprehending of the ſaid excommunicate, according to the cuſtom of this Realm of* England, *wholeſomely obſerved and kept hitherto; to the intent that ſuch, whom the fear of God doth not reſtrain from evil, the diſcipline of the Secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending. Your Princely celſitude the Lord long continue. From* Lambeth *the* 15*th. of* January.

This is not to ſeek again that which is loſt by the rule of *Ezekiel.*

To this Letter of the Archbiſhop might not the King (gentle Reader) thus anſwer again, and anſwer well?

Probatoria. Why the King might have anſwered again.

'YOur Letters with your complaint and requeſts in the 'ſame contained, we have received and well conſider-'ed: For the accompliſhing whereof ye ſhall underſtand, 'that as we are readily bent to gratifie and ſatisfie your mind 'in this behalf on the one ſide; ſo we muſt beware again 'on the other, that our authority be not abuſed, either to 'oppreſs before we know, or to judge before we have tried. 'Wherefore forſomuch as you in your Letters do excite 'and ſharpen the ſevere diſcipline of our ſecular ſword a-'gainſt one *Nicholas Herford*, for his not appearing before 'you; and yet ſhewing in the ſaid your Letters no certain 'cauſe to us what you have to charge him withal: we there-'fore following the example of *Alexander Magnus*, or ra-'ther the rule of equity in opening both our ears indiffe-'rently, to hear as well the one part as the other, doth aſſign 'both to him, when as he may be found, and to you, when 'ye ſhall be called, a term to appear before us. To the in-'tent that the controverſie between you and him, ſtanding 'upon points of religion, being tried by the true Touchſtone 'of Gods holy word, due correction indifferently may be 'miniſtred according as the offence ſhall be found. In the 'mean time, this we cannot but ſomething marvel at in your 'ſaid Letters: Firſt, to ſee you Men of the Church, and An-'gels of peace, to be ſo deſirous of blood. Secondly, to con-'ſider you again ſo fierce in proſecuting the breach of your 'law; and yet ſo cold in purſuing the breach of the expreſs 'law of God and his Commandments. Thirdly, to behold 'the unſtable doubleneſs in your proceedings, who pretend-'ing in your publick ſentence to become as intreaters for 'them to us in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that we will 'withdraw from them the rigour of our ſeverity, yet in 'your Letters be they which moſt ſet us on. If not appear-'ing before you be ſuch a matter of contumacy in caſe of 'your law, that it is in no caſe to be ſpared; what ſhould 'then our Princely diſcipline have done to Men of your call-'ing? *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich*, being at *Canter-'bury*, was ſent for by our ſpecial commandment, to come 'to our ſpeech, who denied to come, and yet we ſpared 'him. *John Stratford* Archbiſhop, your predeceſſor, being 'required of our Progenitor King *Edward* the 3d. to come 'to him at *York*, would not appear; by the occaſion where-'of *Scotland* the ſame time was loſt, and yet was he ſuffer-'ed. The like might be ſaid of *Robert Winchelſey* in the 'days of King *Edward* the firſt, and of *Edmond* Archbi-'ſhop of *Canterbury*, in the days of King *Henry* the third; '*Stephen Langton* was ſent for by King *John* to come, he 'came not. The like contumacy was in *Becket* toward K. 'Henry the ſecond. Alſo in *Anſelm* toward K. *Henry* the 'firſt. All theſe for their not appearing before their Princes 'ye do excuſe, who notwithſtanding might have appeared 'without danger of life; this one man for not appearing 'before you, you think worthy of death, whoſe life you 'would have condemned notwithſtanding, if he had appear-'ed. If the Squiril climing to the Tree from the Lions claws 'would not appear, being ſent for to be devoured, it is no 'reaſon that the Eagle therefore ſhould ſeiſe upon him with-'out any juſt cauſe declared againſt the party. Wherefore, 'according to this and to that aforeſaid, when he ſhall ap-'pear, and you be called, and the cauſe juſtly weighed, due 'execution ſhall be miniſtred.

Biſhops of *Canterbury* appeared not before their Kings, and yet they were not perſecuted.

And thus far concerning *Nicholas Herford*, and the other aforeſaid: But all this mean while what became of *John Wickliff* it is not certainly known. Albeit, ſo far as may be gathered out of *Walden*, it appeareth that he was baniſhed and driven to exile. In the mean time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, whereſoever he was, as by his Letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to Pope *Urban* the ſixth. In the which Letter he doth purge himſelf, that being commanded to appear before the Pope at *Rome*, he came not; declaring alſo in the ſame a brief confeſſion of his faith. The Copy of which Epiſtle here followeth.

## The Epiſtle of *John Wickliff* ſent unto Pope *Urban* the ſixth, *Anno* 1382.

The Epiſtle of *J. Wick.* to Pope *Urban.*

*VErily I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold, and ſpecially unto the Biſhop of* Rome; *the which forſomuch as I do ſuppoſe to be ſound and true, he will moſt willingly confirm my ſaid faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the ſame.*

*Firſt, I ſuppoſe that the Goſpel of Chriſt is the whole body of Gods Law; and that Chriſt, which did give that ſame law himſelf, I believe to be a very Man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the Goſpel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and bid the*

*Biſhop of* Rome, *forſomuch as he is the Vicar of Chriſt here in earth, to be bound moſt of all other Men unto that law of the Goſpel. For the greatneſs amongſt Chriſts Diſciples did not conſiſt in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Chriſt in his life and manners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Chriſt for the time of his pilgrimage here was a moſt poor man, abjecting and caſting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Goſpel of St.* Matthew, *the 8th. Chapter, and the 2d. of the* Corinthians, *the 8th. Chapter.*

The true Diſciples of Chriſt ſeek no honour.

*Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the Pope himſelf, or any of the holy men, but in ſuch points as he hath followed the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. For* Peter *and the Sons of* Zebede, *by deſiring worldly honour, contrary to the following of Chriſts ſteps, did offend, and therefore in thoſe errors they are not to be followed.*

*Hereof I do gather, as a counſel, that the Pope ought to leave unto the ſecular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole Clergy; for ſo did Chriſt, and eſpecially by his Apoſtles. Wherefore if I have erred in any of theſe points, I will moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelf unto correction, even by death, if neceſſity ſo require; and if I could labour according to my will or deſire in mine own perſon, I would ſurely preſent my ſelf before the Biſhop of* Rome; *but the Lord hath otherwiſe viſited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than Men. Forſomuch then as God hath given unto our Pope juſt and true Evangelical Inſtinctions, we ought to pray that thoſe motions be not extinguiſhed by any ſubtile or crafty device.*

*And that the Pope and Cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will ſo ſtir up our Pope* Urban *the ſixth, as he began, that he with his Clergy may follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewiſe may faithfully follow them in the ſame. And let us ſpecially pray, that our Pope may be preſerved from all malign and evil counſel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his houſhold would give him. And ſeeing the Lord will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our power, much leſs then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able; forſomuch as that is the plain condition and manner of Antichriſt.*

The Pope occupied ſo in ſchiſmatical Wars, that he had no leiſure to other matters.

Thus much wrote *John Wickliff* unto Pope *Urban*. But this Pope *Urban*, otherwiſe termed *Turbanus*, was ſo hot in his Wars againſt *Clement* the *French* Pope his adverſary, that he had no leiſure, and leſs liſt, to attend unto *Wickliff*'s matters. By the occaſion of which Schiſm, God ſo provided for poor *Wickliff*, that he was in ſome more reſt and quietneſs. Concerning which ſchiſmatical Wars of theſe Popes, foraſmuch as we have here entred into the mention thereof, it ſhall not be impertinent from the order of our ſtory, digreſſing a little from the matter of *John Wickliff*, to touch ſomething of the tragical doings of theſe two holy Popes, ſtriving for the Triple Crown; to the intent that the Chriſtian Reader (judging by their fruits and proceedings) may ſee and underſtand what difference is between theſe Popes, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For though in the ſtory of the Goſpel it is read, *that certain of the Diſciples did ſtrive which ſhould be the greater*; yet neither do we read that one of them took ever Weapon againſt the other; and moreover, in the ſaid ſtory of the Goſpel it doth appear, that they, for ſo ſtriving as they did, were therefore ſharply rebuked of our Saviour Chriſt, and were taught by him another leſſon.

Difference between the Apoſtles and the Popes in ſtriving for preheminence.

{Ann. 1383}

The Pope ſet to War.

About the beginning of the next year following, which was *Anno* 1383. Pope *Urban* ſetting all his ſtudy how to repreſs and conquer the contrary Pope his adverſary, being then at *Avinion* (ſeeing all his other means to fail, and that his Croſs-keies could do no good) took to him the Sword of *Romulus*, and ſet upon him with open War. And firſt deviſing with himſelf whom he might beſt chuſe for his chief Champion; he thought none meeter for ſuch affairs than *Henry Spencer*, being then Biſhop of *Norwich*, a young and ſtout Prelate, more fitting for the Campaning Cure, than for the peaceable Church of Chriſt, as partly alſo might appear before by his acts done at *Lennam*, in ſtriving for the Mayors Mace, mentioned before *pag.* 488. Unto this Biſhop of *Norwich* the Pope had ſent his Bulls about this time, to Croiſy whomſoever would go with him into *France*, to deſtroy the Antipope which named himſelf *Clement*, and to make War againſt all thoſe that took his part. Which Bulls, for that they gave unto him ſuch great authority, he cauſed to be publiſhed in the Parliament houſe, and cauſed the Copies of the ſame to be ſent all about, and to be ſet up and faſtned upon all the Church Doors and Monaſtery Gates, that all Men might read them. In the which Bulls theſe priviledges were granted, the Copy whereof here followeth:

{KING Ric. 2.}

1. *Imprimis*, That the ſaid Biſhop of *Norwich* may uſe his Sword againſt the Antipope, and all his adherents, favourers and counſellors, and with violence put them to death.

The very fruits of Antichriſt.

2. *Item*, That he hath full power to enquire of all and ſingular ſuch Schiſmaticks, and to put them in Priſon, and to confiſcate all their Goods, moveable and immoveable.

3. *Item*, That he hath power and authority to deprive all lay men that are ſuch Schiſmaticks of all manner of ſecular Offices whatſoever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient perſons.

4. *Item*, That he may deprive all ſuch Clerks, and declare them to be ſchiſmaticks, and in this behalf to give and beſtow their Benefices either with Cure or without Cure, their dignities, perſonages or offices, to other perſons more meet for the ſame.

5. *Item*, He hath power and authority over lay perſons that are exempt, and Clerks both ſecular and regular, yea although they be Friers Mendicants, or Maſters and Profeſſors of other Houſes or Hoſpitals of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem*, or S. *Mary* of *Flanders*, or Profeſſors of what Order ſoever elſe.

6. *Item*, He hath power to diſpence with what ſecular Clerk ſoever, being beneficed either with Cure or without Cure, and alſo with ſuch as have dignities, perſonages, or offices, being regulars either exempt or not exempt, that every one of them may be abſent with him from their Dignities and Benefices, *&c.* under the ſtandard of the Croſs, without licence of any of their Prelates required, and yet to receive and take the entire commodities of their Benefices, as though they had been perſonally reſident upon the ſame.

7. *Item*, There is granted to all that paſs the Seas in this quarrel, either at their own expences, or at the expences of any other, full remiſſion of their ſins; and as large priviledges are granted to all thoſe that go over the Sea with him, as to any that pay their mony, or go to fight for the Holy Land.

8. Alſo all ſuch as with their proper goods and ſubſtance ſhall give ſufficient ſtipend to able Soldiers, at the diſcretion of the foreſaid Lord Biſhop muſtered, or by any other his Deputy, although he himſelf be not perſonally at this buſineſs aforeſaid; yet ſhall he have like remiſſion and indulgence, as they which have been perſonally with him in this expedition.

9. *Item*, All they are partakers of this remiſſion, which ſhall give any part of their goods to the ſaid Biſhop to fight againſt the ſaid Schiſmaticks.

10. *Item*, If any ſhall chance to die in the journey that are Soldiers under the ſaid ſtandard of the Croſs, or elſe before the quarrel by ſome means be finiſhed; they ſhall fully and wholly receive the ſaid grace, and ſhall be partakers of the foreſaid remiſſion and indulgence.

11. *Item*, He hath power to excommunicate, ſuſpend and interdict what perſons ſoever be rebellious or diſturbers of him in the execution of his power and authority committed unto him, of what dignity, ſtate, degree, preheminence, order, place or condition ſoever they ſhall be; whether they ſhall be either of Regal, Queenly or Imperial Dignity, or of what dignity elſe ſoever, either eccleſiaſtical or mundane.

12. *Item*, He hath power and authority to compel and inforce what religious perſon ſoever, and to appoint them, and ſend them over Sea, if it ſeem good to him; yea although they be profeſſors of the Friers Mendicants, for the execution of the premiſes.

The

KING *Ric.* 2.

## The Popes Abſolution by the Biſhop pronounced.

Chriſts Paſſion hath here no place.

*BY the authority Apoſtolical to me in this behalf committed, We Abſolve thee* A. B. *from all thy ſins confeſſed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldeſt be confeſſed if they came into thy memory; and we grant unto thee plenary remiſſion of all manner of ſins, and we promiſe unto thee thy part of the reward of all juſt men, and of everlaſting Salvation. And as many priviledges as are granted to them that go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant unto thee; and of all the prayers and benefits of the Church, the univerſal Synod, as alſo of the holy Catholick Church, we make thee partaker.*

This outragious or rather outragious Biſhop, armed thus with the Popes Authority, and prompt with his priviledges, in the year aforeſaid 1383. about the time of Lent came to the Parliament, where great conſultation and contention, and almoſt no leſs ſchiſm, was about the Voyage of this *Popiſh* Biſhop in the Parliament, than was between the Popes themſelves. In the which Parliament many there were, which thought it not ſafe to commit the Kings People and Subjects unto a rude and unskilful Prieſt. So great was the diverſity of judgments in that behalf, that the Voyage of the ſaid Biſhop was protracted unto the Saturday before *Paſſion Sunday*. In the which *Sunday* was ſung the ſolemn Anthem, *Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adverſæ*; That is, *Behold the Croſs of the Lord, Fly away all you adverſaries.* After which *Sunday* the States ſo agreed amongſt themſelves by common Decree, that the Biſhop ſhould ſet forward in his Voyage, having to him given the Fifteenth which was granted to the King in the Parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the Parliament, this warlike Biſhop preparing before all things in a readineſs, ſet forward in this Pope-holy journey. Who about the Month of *May* being come to *Canterbury*, and there tarrying for a Wind in the Monaſtery of St. *Auguſtine*, received a Writ from the King that he ſhould return to the King, to know further of his pleaſure. The Biſhop fearing, that if he turned again to the King, his journey ſhould be ſtaid, and ſo all his labour and preparance loſt with great deriſion and ſhame unto him, thought better to commit himſelf to fortune with that little Army he had, than by tarrying to be made a laughing ſtock to his adverſaries. Wherefore he ſent word back again to the King, that he was now ready prepared, and well forward on his journey; and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talk which perad-venture ſhould be to no manner of purpoſe; and that it was more convenient for him to haſten in his journey to Gods glory, and alſo to the honour of the King. And thus recalling his Men unto him, entred forthwith the Seas, and went to *Calis*, where he waiting a few days for the reſt of his Army, after the receipt of them, took his journey firſt to the Town of *Gravenidge*; which he beſieged ſo deſperately, without any preparance of Engines of War, or counſel, of politick Men, skilful in ſuch affairs, that he ſeemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length, through the ſuperſtition of our Men, truſting upon the Popes Abſolution, he ſo hariſhly approached the Walls, and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were pitiouſly ſlain with Shot and Wild-fire; till at the end (the inhabiters being oppreſſed and vanquiſhed) our men entred the Town with their Biſhop, where they at his commandment deſtroying both Man, Woman and Child, left not one alive of all them, which remained in the whole Town. *Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hoſtes ita delerentur, quod unus ex eis non remanſit*; that is, *And ſo it came to paſs by the vertue of the Croſs, that our Men croyſed ſo prevailed againſt the enemies of the Croſs, that not one of them remained alive.* Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani

O bloudineſs of Antichriſt.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alb. in vita Ric. 2.

From *Gravenidge* this warlike Biſhop ſet forward to *Dunkirk*, where not long after the *Frenchmen* meeting with him, joyned with them in battel; in which battel (if the ſtory be true) twelve thouſand of the *Frenchmen* were ſlain in the Chaſe, and of our Men but ſeven only miſſing.

It would require a long tractation here to diſcourſe all things done in theſe *Popiſh* Wars. Alſo it would be no leſs ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upſtart Captain. But *certes*, lamentable it is to ſee the pitiful ſlaughter and murther of Chriſts people by the means of theſe pitileſs Popes, during theſe Wars in *France*. As when the Biſhop coming from *Dunkirk* to the Siege of *Ypres*, a great number of *Engliſhmen* there were loſt, and much Mony conſumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great ſhame and ignominy of the Biſhop. Again, after the Siege of *Ypres*, thus with ſhame broke up, the ſame Biſhop proceeding with a ſmall power to fight with the *French* Kings Camp, contrary to the counſel of his Captains, which counted him raſh and unskilful in his attempt, was faign to break company with them; whereby part of the Army went unto *Burburgh*, and the Biſhop with his part returned to *Gravenidge*; which both Towns ſhortly after were beſieged by the *French* Army, to the great loſs both of the *Engliſh* and *French* Men. In fine, when the Biſhop could keep *Gravenidge* no longer, the ſaid Biſhop with his Croyſies, croſſing the Seas, came home again as wiſe as he went. And thus making an end of this Pontifical War, we will return again from whence we digreſſed, to the ſtory and matter of *John Wickliff*.

Which *John Wickliff* returning again within ſhort ſpace, either from his Baniſhment, or from ſome other place where he was ſecretly kept, repaired to his Pariſh of *Lutterworth*, where he was Parſon; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, ſlept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384. upon *Silveſters* day.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this Man, as in divers other, whom the Lord ſo long preſerved in ſuch rages of ſo many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For ſo it appeareth by *Thomas Walden*, writing againſt him in his Tomes entituled *De Sacramentis contra Wiclevium*, that he was well aged before he departed, by that which the foreſaid *Walden* writeth of him in his Epilogue, ſpeaking of *Wickliff* in theſe words; *Ita ut cano placeret, quod juveni complacebat, &c.* That is, *ſo that the ſame thing pleaſed him in his old age, which did pleaſe him being young.* Whereby it ſeemeth that *Wickliff* lived till he was an old Man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

*Waldenſis tomo de Sacramentis.*

This *Wickliff* had written divers and ſundry Works, the which in the year of our Lord 1410. were burnt at *Oxford*, the Abbot of *Shrewsbury* being then Commiſſary, and ſent to overſee that matter. And not only in *England*, but in *Boheme* likewiſe, the Books of the ſaid *Wickliff* were ſet on fire by one *Subincus* Archbiſhop of *Prague*, who made diligent inquiſition for the ſame, and burned them; the number of the Volumes which he is ſaid to have burned, moſt excellently written, and richly adorned with boſſes of Gold, and rich Coverings (as *Eneas Silvius* writeth) were about the number of two hundred.

The number of *Wickliffs* Books came to 200 Volumes. *Eneas Silvius.*

*Johannes Cocleus* in his Book *De hiſtoria Huſſitarum*, ſpeaking of the Books of *Wickliff*, teſtifieth, that he wrote very many Books, Sermons and Tractations. Moreover, the ſaid *Cocleus* ſpeaking of himſelf, recordeth alſo, that there was a certain Biſhop in *England*, which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his cuſtody two huge and mighty Volumes of *John Wickliff's* Works, which for the quantity thereof might ſeem to be equal with the Works of Saint *Auguſtine*. *Hæc Cocleus.*

The Books of *Wickliff.*

Among other of his Treatiſes, I my ſelf alſo have found out certain, as *de ſenſu & veritate Scripturæ. Item, De Eccleſia. Item, De Euchariſtia confeſſio Wicklevi*, which I intend hereafter, the Lord ſo granting, to publiſh abroad.

As concerning certain Anſwers of *John Wickliff* which he wrote to King *Richard* the ſecond, touching the right and title of the King, and of the Pope; becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth:

## John Wickliff's *Anſwer unto King* Richard *the Second, as touching the right and title of the King and the Pope.*

IT was demanded whether the Kingdom of *England* may lawfully in caſe of neceſſity, for its own defence, detain and keep back the treaſure of the Kingdom, that it be not carried away to foreign and ſtrange Nations, the Pope himſelf demanding and requiring the ſame under pain of cenſure, and by vertue of obedience.

*Wickliff* ſetting apart the minds of learned Men, and what might be ſaid in the matter, either by the Canon law, or by the law of *England*, or the civil law; it reſteth (ſaith he) now only to perſwade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt by the principles of Chriſts law. And firſt I prove it thus: Every natural body hath power given of God to reſiſt againſt his contrary, and to preſerve it ſelf in due eſtate, as Philoſophers know very well. Inſomuch, that bodies without life are indued with ſuch kind of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardneſs is given to reſiſt thoſe things that would break them, and coldneſs to withſtand the heat that diſſolveth them. Forſomuch then, as the Kingdom of *England* after the manner and phraſe of the Scriptures ought to be one body, and the Clergy with the Commonalty the members thereof, it ſeemeth that the ſame Kingdom hath ſuch power given it of God; and ſo much the more apparently, by how much the ſame body is more precious unto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forſomuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpoſe, but that he may lawfully uſe the ſame to that end and purpoſe; it followeth that our Kingdom may lawfully keep back and detain their treaſure for the defence of it ſelf, in what caſe ſoever neceſſity doth require the ſame.

The Popes riches is but the alms of good men.

Secondly, The ſame is proved by the law of the Goſpel, for the Pope cannot challenge the treaſure of this Kingdom, but under the title of alms, and conſequently under the pretence of the works of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

Neceſſity taketh away the Popes alms.

But in caſe aforeſaid, the title of alms ought utterly to ceaſe: *Ergo*, the right and title of challenging the treaſure of our Realm ſhall ceaſe alſo in the preſuppoſed neceſſity. Forſomuch as all charity hath his beginning of himſelf, it were no work of charity, but of meer madneſs, to ſend away the treaſures of the Realm unto foreign Nations, whereby the Realm it ſelf may fall into ruine, under the pretence of ſuch charity.

It appeareth alſo by this, that Chriſt the Head of the Church, whom all Chriſtian Prieſts ought to follow, lived by the alms of devout women, *Luke* 7.8. He hungred and thirſted, he was a ſtranger, and many other miſeries he ſuſtained, not only in his members, but alſo in his own body, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, 2 *Cor.* 8. *He was made poor for your ſakes, that through his poverty you might be rich:* whereby in the firſt endowing of the Church, whatſoever he were of the Clergy that had any temporal poſſeſſions, he had the ſame by form of a perpetual alms, as both Writeings and Chronicles do witneſs.

Whereupon S. *Bernard*, declaring in his ſecond Book to *Eugenius*, that he could not challenge any ſecular dominion by right of ſucceſſion, as being the Vicar of Saint *Peter*, writeth thus; *That if Saint* John *ſhould ſpeak unto the Pope himſelf, as* Bernard *doth unto* Eugenius, *were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be ſo, that you do challenge it unto you by ſome other ways or means; but truly by any right or title Apoſtolical you cannot ſo do. For how could he give unto you that which he had not himſelf? That which he had he gave you, that is to ſay, care over the Church; but did he give you any lordſhip or rule? Hearken what he ſaith,* Not bearing rule *(ſaith he)* as Lords over the Clergy, but behaving your ſelves as examples to the Flock. *And becauſe thou ſhalt not think it to be ſpoken only in humility, and not in verity, mark the word of the Lord himſelf in the Goſpel,* The Kings of the people do rule over them, but you ſhall not do ſo.

Note well the ſaying here of Bernard.

*Here lordſhip and dominion is plainly forbidden to the Apoſtles, and dareſt thou then uſurp the ſame? If thou wilt be a Lord, thou ſhalt loſe thine Apoſtleſhip; or if thou wilt be an Apoſtle thou ſhalt loſe thy Lordſhip: for truly thou ſhalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt have both, thou ſhalt loſe both, or elſe think thy ſelf to be of that number, of whom God doth ſo greatly complain, ſaying,* They have reigned, but not through me; they are become Princes, and I have not known it. *Now if it do ſuffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou haſt thy glory but not with God. But if we will keep that which is forbidden us, let us hear what is ſaid,* He that is the greateſt amongſt you *(ſaith Chriſt)* ſhall be made as the leaſt, and he which is the higheſt ſhall be as the Miniſter; *and for example he ſet a child in the midſt of them. So this then is the true form and inſtitution of the Apoſtles trade; Lordſhip and rule is forbidden, miniſtration and ſervice commanded.*

KING Ric. 2.

The Pope muſt leave his Lordſhip, or elſe Apoſtleſhip; let him chuſe whether.

The manner of the Apoſtles.

By theſe words of this bleſſed Man, whom the whole Church doth reverence and worſhip, it doth appear that the Pope hath not power to occupy the Church goods, as Lord thereof, but as Miniſter, and Servant, and Proctor for the poor. And would to God, that the ſame proud and greedy deſire of rule and Lordſhip, which this Seat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way unto Antichriſt. For it is evident by the Goſpel, that Chriſt through his poverty, humility, and ſuffering of injury got unto him the children of his Kingdom.

How the Pope ought to occupy the Church goods.

The way to obtain the Kingdom of Chriſt.

And moreover, ſo far as I remember; the ſame bleſſed Man *Bernard*, in his Third Book, writeth alſo thus unto *Eugenius*, *I fear no other greater poiſon to happen unto thee, than greedy deſire of rule and dominion.*

This *Wickliff*, albeit in his life time he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none ſo cruel unto him, as the Clergy it ſelf. Yet notwithſtanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the baſe and meaneſt ſort, but alſo of the Nobility, amongſt whom theſe Men are to be numbred, *John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, John Mountegew*, who plucked down all the Images in his Church. Beſides all theſe, there was the Earl of *Salisbury*, who, for contempt in him noted towards the Sacrament, in carrying it home to his houſe, was enjoyned by *Radulph Ergon* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, to make in *Salisbury* a Croſs of ſtone, in which all the ſtory of the matter ſhould be written: and he every *Friday* during his life, to come to the Croſs barefoot, and bareheaded in his ſhirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do Penance for his fact. *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric.* 2.

J. Clenbon, Lewis Clif. Ford, R. Latimer, Sturius, Latimer, W. Nevil, John Mountegew.

The Earl of Salisbury.

The penance of the Earl of Salisbury.

The *Londoners* at this time ſomewhat boldly truſting to the Mayors authority, who for that year was *John* of *Northampton*, took upon them the office of the Biſhops, in puniſhing the vices (belonging to civil law) of ſuch perſons as they had found and apprehended in committing both Fornication and Adultery. For firſt they put the Women in the Priſon, which amongſt them was then named *Dolium*. And laſtly, bringing them into the Market-place, where every Man might behold them, and cutting off their golden locks from their heads, they cauſed them to be carried about the Streets, with Bag-pipes and Trumpets blown before them, to the intent they ſhould be the better known, and their companies avoided; according to the manner then of certain Thieves that were named *Appellatores*, (accuſers or appeachers of others that were guiltleſs) which were ſo ſerved. And with other ſuch like opprobrious and reproachful contumelies did they ſerve the Men alſo that were taken with them in committing the forenamed wickedneſs and vices. Here the ſtory recordeth how the ſaid *Londoners* were incouraged hereunto by *John Wickliff*, and others that followed his Doctrine, to perpetrate this act, in the reproach of the Prelates being of the Clergy. For they ſaid, that they did not only abhor to ſee the great negligence of thoſe to whom that charge belonged, but alſo their filthy avarice they did as much deteſt; which for greedineſs of Mony were choaked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to ſuch perſons by the laws appointed, ſuffered ſuch fornicators and inceſtuous perſons favourably to continue in their wickedneſs. They ſaid furthermore, that they greatly feared,

The fruits of good and true Doctrine.

KING *Ric. 2.* feared, leſt for ſuch wickedneſs perpetrated within the City, and ſo apparently diſſimuled, that God would take vengeance upon them, and deſtroy their City. Wherefore they ſaid, that they could do no leſs than purge the ſame; leſt by the ſufferance thereof God would bring a Plague upon them, or deſtroy them with the Sword, or cauſe the earth to ſwallow up both them and their City. *Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.* *Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alb.*

¶ This ſtory (gentle Reader) albeit the Author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful wiſe, to the great diſcommendation of the *Londoners* for ſo doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the ſame to memory; which ſeemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the *Londoners* that ſo did, and to the neceſſary example of all other Cities to follow the ſame. After theſe things thus declared, let us now adjoyn the teſtimonial of the Univerſity of *Oxford* of *John Wickliff*.

## *The publick teſtimony given out by the Univerſity of* Oxford, *touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of* John Wickliff.

*Ex 2. tomo operum Joa. Huſſ. fol. ult.*

'UNto all and ſingular the Children of our holy Mother the Church, to whom this preſent Letter ſhall come, the Vicechancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with the whole Congregation of the Maſters, wiſh perpetual health in the Lord. Forſomuch as it is not commonly ſeen, that the Acts and Monuments of valiant Men, nor the praiſe and merits of good Men ſhould be paſſed over and hidden with perpetual ſilence, but that true report and fame ſhould continually ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtrange and far diſtant places, both for the witneſs of the ſame, and example of others; Forſomuch alſo as the provident diſcretion of mans nature, being recompenced with cruelty, hath deviſed and ordained this buckler and defence againſt ſuch as do blaſpheme and ſlander other mens doings, that whenſoever witneſs by word of mouth cannot be preſent, the Pen by writing may ſupply the ſame.

'Hereupon it followeth, that the ſpecial good will and care which we bear unto *John Wickliff*, ſometime Child of this our Univerſity, and Profeſſor of Divinity, moving and ſtirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no leſs) with one mind, voice and teſtimony, we do witneſs, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life to have been moſt ſincere and commendable; whoſe honeſt manners and conditions, profoundneſs of learning, and moſt redolent renown and fame, we deſire the more earneſtly to be notified and known unto all faithful, for that we underſtand the maturity and ripeneſs of his converſation, his diligent labours and travels to tend to the praiſe of God, the help and ſafeguard of others, and the profit of the Church. *Great learning joyned with good life & godlineſs.*

'Wherefore we ſignifie unto you by theſe preſents, that his converſation (even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death) was ſo praiſe-worthy and honeſt, that never at any time was there any note or ſpot of ſuſpicion noiſed of him. But in his anſwering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himſelf laudably, and as a ſtout and valiant Champion of the faith; vanquiſhing by the force of the Scriptures, all ſuch, who by their wilful beggery, blaſphemed and ſlandered Chriſts Religion. Neither was this Doctor convict of any Hereſie, either burned of our Prelates after his burial. God forbid, that our Prelates ſhould have condemned a man of ſuch honeſty, for an Heretick, who, amongſt all the reſt of the Univerſity, had written Logick, Philoſophy, Divinity, Morality, and the ſpeculative Arts, without peer. The knowledge of which all and ſingular things we do deſire to teſtifie and deliver forth, to the intent that the fame and renown of this ſaid Doctor may be the more evident and had in reputation amongſt them unto whoſe hands theſe preſent Letters teſtimonial ſhall come. *The bones of Wickliff were not yet commanded by the council of Conſtance to be burned.* *Ex 2. tomo operum Jo. Huſſ. fol. ult.*

*In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters teſtimonial to be ſealed with our common Seal. Dated at* Oxford *in our Congregation-houſe, the 1ſt. day of* October, *in the year of our Lord* 1406.

## *The teſtimony and words of Mr.* John Huſs, *as touching Mr.* John Wickliff.

VERILY, as I do not believe, neither grant, that Mr. *John Wickliff* is an Heretick; ſo do I not deny, but firmly hope that he is no Heretick; forſomuch as in all matters of doubt I ought, as near as I can, to chuſe the beſt part. Wherefore I ſurely truſt, that Maſter *John Wickliff* is one of the number of them which are ſaved. The words of Chriſt move me thereunto,, ſaying *Mat.7. Do ye not judge, that ye be not judged*; and *Luke* the *6th. Do not condemn, and ye ſhall not be condemned*; and the words of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 4. *Do ye not judge before the Lord himſelf do come, the which ſhall open thoſe things that are hid in darkneſs, to manifeſt the privities of all hearts.* *The teſtimony and judgement of M. J. Hus concerning J. Wickliff.*

*Secondly*, The love and charity which I ought to bear unto my neighbour (loving him as my ſelf) doth move me thereunto. *Luke* 10.

*Thirdly*, His good fame and report moveth me, the which he hath of the good Prieſts of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar ſort; although not of the covetous, proud and luxurious Prelates.

*Fourthly*, His own works and writings do ſtir me thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole endeavour to reduce all Men unto the law of Chriſt, and ſpecially the Clergy, that they ſhould forſake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the Apoſtles lead the life of Chriſt.

*Fifthly*, His own proteſtations, which he doth oftentimes uſe in his ſentences, often repeating the ſame, do not a little move me.

*Sixthly*, His earneſt deſire and affection which he had unto the law of Chriſt, doth not a little allure me thereunto, diſputing of the verity thereof, the which cannot fail in any one jot or title. Whereupon he made a Book of the verity of the holy Scripture, approving, even unto the uttermoſt, the truth of Gods Law. *Lib. de ſenſu & veritate Scripturæ per J. Wickl.*

Wherefore, it were too fooliſh a conſequence to ſay, that becauſe the number of the Prelates and Clergy in *England*, *France* and *Boheme*, do count *John Wickliff* for an Heretick, that therefore he is an Heretick, *&c.* Like as the reaſon for burning of the Books; for it is written in the firſt Book of *Machabees*, the firſt Chapter, *That they did burn the books of the Lord, tearing them in pieces, and whoſoever was found to have kept any books of the teſtament or will of the Lord, or which obſerved and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the Kings commandment put to death.* If then the burning of the Books by wicked men, did argue, or prove the evilneſs of theſe Books, then was the law of God evil and naught. *Burning of Books proveth not by and by an Heretick.*

So likewiſe the burning of St. *Gregory's* Books, and divers other Saints and good Men, ſhould argue and prove that they were evil and naughty Men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that becauſe the Biſhops, Scribes and Phariſes, with the elders of the People, condemned Chriſt Jeſus as an Heretick, that therefore he is an Heretick: ſo likewiſe doth it not follow, of any other Man: The Biſhops, Maſters of Divinity, Monks and Prelates, condemned this Man as an Heretick; *Ergo* he is an Heretick. For this conſequence is reproved by *John Chryſoſtome*, which was twice condemned as an Heretick by the Biſhops and whole Clergy. Likewiſe St. *Gregory* in his Books, was condemned by the Cardinals. *A falſe conſequence reproved by Chryſoſtome.*

By like proof alſo, as they affirm by Mr. *John Wickliff* to be an Heretick, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* (a Man of worthy memory, and Progenitor of *Henry* King of *England*) ſhould alſo be an Heretick. For the ſaid Duke defended, favoured, and greatly loved Mr. *John Wickliff*: *Ergo*, the ſaid Duke is, or was an Heretick; the conſequence is good. The *Minor* is well known to the *Engliſhmen*. The *Major* appeareth in the Canon, where it is ſaid, *He which defendeth an Heretick, &c.* *John Duke of Lancaſter defender of John Wickliff.*

But theſe things ſet apart, I demand of the adverſary, whether Maſter *John Wickliff* be damned for ever or no? If he ſay, that he is damned, becauſe he is an Heretick; I propound this unto him, whether Maſter *John Wickliff* whilſt he lived, held any falſe Doctrine contrary to *J. Wickliff proved no Heretick.*

the

the holy Scripture? If he do affirm it, let him then ſhew what Doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obſtinately. But he ſhall find that in his Books he always wrote moſt commendable proteſtations againſt obſtinacy and ſtiff-neckedneſs. And by and by after, Maſter *John Stokes* in his *Intimation* ſaith, that Maſter *John Wickliff* in *England* is counted for an Heretick. This ſeemeth alſo falſe by the Letter teſtimonial of the Univerſity of *Oxford*: unto the which there is more credit to be given than unto him. And this ſhall ſuffice for this preſent.

¶ Now as we have declared the Teſtimony of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and of *John Hus*, concerning the praiſe of *John Wickliff*; it followeth likewiſe that we ſet forth and expreſs the contrary cenſures and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections againſt him, eſpecially of the Popes Council gathered at *Conſtance*, proceeding firſt in condemning his Books, then of his Articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The Copy of which their ſentence given againſt him by that Council here followeth.

The Council of *Conſtance* againſt *John Wickliff*.

## *The ſentence given by the Council of* Conſtance, *in condemning the Doctrine, and five and forty Articles of* John Wickliff.

The ſentence of the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *John Wickliff*.

THE moſt holy and Sacred Council of *Conſtance*, making and repreſenting the Catholick Church, for the extirpation of this preſent ſchiſm, and of all other errors and hereſies, ſpringing and growing under the ſhadow and pretence of the ſame, and for the reformation and amendment of the Church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, for the perpetual memory of the time to come.

We are taught by the Acts and Hiſtories of the Holy Fathers, that the Catholick Faith, without the which, as the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſaith, it is unpoſſible to pleaſe God, hath been always defended by the faithful and ſpiritual Souldiers of the Church, by the ſhield of faith, againſt the falſe worſhippers of the ſame faith, or rather perverſe impugners; which through their proud curioſity will ſeem to know more, and to be wiſer than they ought to be, and for the deſire of the glory of the world have gone about oftentimes to overthrow the ſame. Theſe kinds of wars and battels have been prefigured to us before in thoſe carnal wars of the *Iſraelites* againſt the Idolatrous people. For in thoſe ſpiritual wars the holy Catholick Church through the vertue and power of faith, being illuſtrate with the beams of the Heavenly light, by the Providence of God, and being holpen by the help and defence of the Saints and holy men, hath always continued immaculate, and (the darkneſs of errors, as her moſt cruel enemies being put to flight) ſhe hath moſt gloriouſly triumphed over all. But in theſe our days the old and unclean enemy hath raiſed up new contentions and ſtrifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whoſe Prince and Captain in time paſt was one *John Wickliff* a falſe Chriſtian; who during his life time, taught and ſowed very obſtinately many Articles contrary and againſt the Chriſtian Religion, and the Catholick faith. And the ſame *John Wickliff* wrote certain Books which he called a *Dialogue*, and a *Trialogue*, beſides many other Treatiſes and Works, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which he wrote the aforeſaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles; the which his Books for the publication and advancement of his perverſe Doctrine, he did ſet forth openly for every man to read. Whereby beſides many offences great hurt and damage of ſoul hath enſued in divers Regions and Countries, but ſpecially in the Kingdom of *England* and *Boheme*. Againſt whom the Maſters and Doctors of the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Prague*, riſing up in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of Schools, within a while after did reprove and condemn the ſaid Articles.

The Dialogue and Trialogue of *J. Wickliff*.

The Books of *Wickliff* condemned to be burned.

Moreover the moſt reverend Fathers the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, (for that time preſent) of *Canterbury*, *York* and *Prague*, Legates of the Apoſtolick See, in the Kingdom of *England* and *Boheme*, did condemn the Books of the ſaid *Wickliff* to be burnt. And the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Prague*, Commiſſary of the Apoſtolick See, did likewiſe in this behalf determine and judg. And moreover he did forbid that any of thoſe Books, which did remain unburned, ſhould be hereafter any more read. And again, thoſe things being brought to the knowledg and underſtanding of the Apoſtolick See, and of the General Council; the Biſhop of *Rome* in his laſt Council condemned the ſaid Books, Treatiſes and Volumes, commanding them to be openly burned. Moſt ſtraitly forbidding that any men which ſhould bear the name of Chriſt ſhould be ſo hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the ſaid Books or Treatiſes, Volumes or works, or by any means to uſe or occupy them; or elſe to alledg them openly or privily, but to their reproof and infamy. And to the intent that this moſt dangerous and filthy Doctrine ſhould be utterly wiped away out of the Church, he gave commandment throughout all places, that the Ordinaries ſhould diligently enquire and ſeek out by the Apoſtolick authority and Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, for all ſuch Books, Treatiſes, Volumes and Works. And the ſame ſo being found, to burn and conſume them with fire; providing withal, that if there be any ſuch found, which will not obey the ſame Proceſs to be made againſt them, as againſt the favourers and maintainers of Hereſies. And this moſt holy Synod hath cauſed the ſaid forty five Articles to be examined, and oftentimes peruſed, by many moſt reverend Fathers of the Church of *Rome*, Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, Maſters of Divinity, and Doctors of both Laws, beſides a great number of other learned men; the which Articles being ſo examined, it was found (as in truth it was) that many, yea and a great number of them, be notoriouſly for Heretical reproved and condemned by the holy Fathers; otherſome not to be Catholick, but erroneous; ſome full of offence and blaſphemy; certain of them offenſive unto godly ears, and many of them to be raſhful and ſeditious. It is found alſo that his Books do contain many Articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into the Church unſound and unwholſome Doctrine, contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the Church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, this ſacred Synod, ratifying and approving the ſentences and judgments of the Archbiſhops and Council of *Rome*, do by this their Decree and Ordinance perpetually for evermore condemn and reprove the ſaid Articles, and every one of them, his Books which he intituled his *Dialogue* and *Trialogue*, and all other Books of the ſame Author, Volumes, Treatiſes and Works, by what name ſoever they be intituled or called, the which we will here to be ſufficiently expreſſed and named. Alſo we forbid the reading, learning, expoſition, or alledging of any of the ſaid Books unto all faithful Chriſtians, but ſo far forth as ſhall tend to the reproof of the ſame; forbidding all and ſingular Catholick perſons, under the pain of curſe, that from henceforth they be not ſo hardy openly to preach, teach or hold, or by any means to alledg the ſaid Articles, or any of them, except (as is aforeſaid) that it do tend unto the reproof of them; commanding all thoſe Books, Treatiſes, Works and Volumes aforeſaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synod at *Rome*, as is afore expreſſed. For the execution whereof duly to be obſerved and done, the ſaid ſacred Synod doth ſtraitly charge and command the Ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every mans duty by the Canonical Laws and Ordinances.

What theſe Articles were here condemned by the Council, collected out of all his Works, and exhibited to that ſaid Council, to the number of forty five, the Copy of them following under written declareth.

Certain

{KING Rich. 2}

Words of authority without diſcretion.

Unwholeſome, becauſe they teach againſt the pomp of the Pope.

So thought the Souldiers perpetually to keep down Chriſt from riſing. O marvelous ſacred Synod.

Rub a galled Horſe on the back, and he will vvince. *At Rome, &c.* neither barrel better Herring. Though the Sepulcher be vvatched Chriſt will riſe

{KING Ric. 2.}

## *Certain other Articles gathered out of* Wickliffs *Books by his adverſaries, to the number of forty five, exhibited up to the Council of* Conſtance *after his death, and in the ſame Council condemned.*

Other Articles of *Wickliff* to the number of 45, condemned by the *Council* of *Conſtance*

BEſides the twenty four Articles above mentioned, there were other alſo gathered out of his Books, to the number of forty five in all, which his malicious adverſaries perverſly collecting, and maliciouſly expounding, did exhibit up to the Council of *Conſtance*; all which to repeat, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them as they ſtand in that Council, it ſhall not be ſuperfluous.

25. All ſuch as be hired for temporal living to pray for other, offend and ſin of Simony.

26. The prayer of the reprobate prevaileth for no man.

27. Hallowing of Churches, Confirmation of Children, the Sacrament of Orders be reſerved to the Pope and Biſhops only, for the reſpect of temporal lucre.

28. Graduations and Doctorſhips in Univerſities and Colleges as they be uſed, conduce nothing to the Church.

29. The Excommunication of the Pope and his Prelates is not to be feared, becauſe it is the cenſure of Antichriſt.

30. Such as found and build Monaſteries, do offend and ſin, and all ſuch as enter into the ſame, be members of the Devil.

31. To enrich the Clergy is againſt the rule of Chriſt.

32. *Silveſter* the Pope, and *Conſtantine* the Emperor were deceived, in giving and taking poſſeſſions into the Church.

33. A Deacon or a Prieſt may preach the word of God without the authority of the Apoſtolick See.

34. Such as enter into Order, or Religion Monaſtical, are thereby unable to keep Gods Commandments, and alſo to attain to the Kingdom of Heaven, except they return from the ſame.

35. The Pope with all his Clergy, having thoſe great poſſeſſions as they have, be Hereticks in ſo having, and the Secular powers in ſo ſuffering them do not well.

36. The Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan, neither is the Pope immediately the Vicar of Chriſt, nor of the Apoſtles.

37. The Decretals of the Pope be Apocrypha, and ſeduce from the faith of Chriſt, and the Clergy that ſtudy them be fools.

38. The Emperor and Secular Lords be ſeduced, which ſo inrich the Church with ſuch ample poſſeſſions.

39. It is not neceſſary to Salvation to believe the Church of *Rome* to be ſupreme head over all Churches.

40. It is but folly to believe the Popes Pardons.

41. All Oaths which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man, be unlawful.

42. *Benedict*, *Francis*, *Dominick*, *Bernard*, with all ſuch as have been Patrons of private Religion, except they have repented, with ſuch alſo as have entred into the ſame, be in a damnable ſtate, and ſo from the Pope to the loweſt Novices, they be altogether Hereticks.

Beſides theſe Articles, to the number of forty and five, condemned (as is ſaid) by the Council of *Conſtance*, other Articles alſo I find diverſly collected, or rather wreſted out of the Books and writings of *Wickliff*; ſome by *William Woodford*, ſome by *Walden*, by Frier *Tiſſington*, and other, whom they in their Books have impugned rather than confuted. In the number of whom *William Woodford* eſpecially findeth out theſe Articles, and writeth againſt the ſame, to the number of eighteen, as here under follow.

*W. Woodford* *Tho. Walden* *Tiſſington*, writers againſt *J. Wickliff.*

Articles againſt *Wickliff* by *Will. Woodford.*

1. The bread remaineth in his own ſubſtance, after the conſecration thereof upon the Altar, and ceaſeth not to be bread ſtill.

2. As *John* was figuratively *Helias*, and not perſonally; ſo the bread is figuratively the body of Chriſt, and not naturally. And that without all doubt it is as well a figurative ſpeech, to ſay, This is my body; as to ſay, This *John* is *Helias*.

3. In the Decree, *Ergo Berengarius*, the Court of *Rome* hath determined, that the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt is naturally true bread.

4. They which do affirm that the Infants of the faithful, departing without the Sacrament of Baptiſm, are not ſaved, be preſumptuous and fools in ſo affirming.

5. The adminiſtration of the Sacrament of Confirmation is not only reſerved to the Biſhops.

6. In the time of St. *Paul*, only two Orders of Clerks did ſuffice in the Church, Prieſts and Deacons. Neither was there in the time of the Apoſtles any diſtinction of Popes, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops; but theſe the Emperors pride did find out.

7. Such as in times paſt, either for covetouſneſs of temporal lucre, or in hope of mutual ſuccour by kindred, or for cauſe to excuſe their luſt (although they deſpaired of iſſue) were married; were not coupled together by true Matrimony.

8. The cauſes of Divorcement, either for ſpiritual conſanguinity, or for affinity, be not founded in Scripture, but are only Ordinances of men.

9. Theſe words, *I will take thee to wife*, are rather to be taken in contract of Matrimony, than theſe words, *I do take thee to wife*. And the contract with any party, by the words of the future tenſe, ought not to be fruſtrate for the contract with any party afterward made by the words of the preſent time.

10. There be twelve Diſciples of Antichriſt, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deans, Monks, Canons, Friers and Pardoners.

11. In the Book of *Numbers*, the 18 Chapter, and in *Ezechiel* 44 Chapter, it is commanded ſimply, that neither the Prieſts of *Aaron*, nor the Levites ſhould have any part of inheritance with other Tribes, but ſhould live meerly of Tythes and Oblations.

12. There is no greater Heretick or Antichriſt than that Clerk which teacheth, that it is lawful for Prieſts and Levites of the Law of Grace to be indued with Temporal poſſeſſions. And if there be any Hereticks, Apoſtates, or Blaſphemers, theſe Clerks be ſuch.

13. It is not only lawful for the Lords Temporal to take away goods of fortune from the Churchmen, ſinning uſually; but alſo they are bound ſo to do, under pain of eternal damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more ſerviceable to the Church, and more enamored with the love of Chriſt, is in the Church militant the greater, and the more near Vicar of Chriſt.

15. If Corporal Unction or anoyling were a Sacrament (as now it is fained to be) Chriſt and his Apoſtles would not have left the ordinance thereof untouched.

16. Unto the true Dominion ſecular is required the vertuous life of him that ruleth.

17. All things that happen do come abſolutely of neceſſity.

18. Whatſoever the Pope or his Cardinals can deduce clearly out of the Scripture, that only is to be believed, or to be done at their monition: and whatſoever otherwiſe they do command, is to be condemned as Heretical.

Beſides this *W. Woodford* afore-mentioned, divers other there were which wrote againſt theſe Articles of *Wickliff* aforeſaid, maintaining the Popes part, as ſeemeth for flattery, rather than following any juſt cauſe ſo to do, or ſhewing forth any reaſon or learning in diſproving the ſame. Notwithſtanding on the contrary part ſome there were again both learned and godly, which taking the part of *Wickliff*, without all flattery, defended the moſt of the ſaid Articles openly in Schools and other places, as appeareth by the works of *John Hus*; who in his publick determinations in the Univerſity of *Prague*, ſtood in defence of the ſame againſt all his adverſaries, as partly is here to be ſeen in theſe Tractations under following.

*Tractat. par. W. Woodford contra Trialogum Wickleui.*

The

## ¶ The publick defence of certain Articles of *John Wickliff*, in the first Act before the whole University of *Prague*, in *Charles* College.

### *The determination of* John Hus *upon the Fourteenth Article of* Wickliff, *as touching the Preaching and Hearing of the Word of God, made in the year of our Lord,* 1412.

The whole Universitie is against the judgment of the Doctors which condemned the 45 Articles.

FOrasmuch as to condemn the truth wittingly, or without reasonable examination, doth tend to great danger of salvation, as the Lord saith, *Luk. 6. Do ye not condemn, and ye shall not be condemned.* Therefore to avoid this great danger, the University of *Prague*, and the whole Communalty thereof, the Rector, Masters, Doctors, Bachelors and Students in their general assembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctors in their Council-house, requireth of the said Doctors a reasonable proof of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authority, or infallible reason, prove the falshood of every those five and forty Articles: The which being once done, the said University will agree to the said condemnation as just: For the University doth well know, that as *Augustine* saith in the end of his second Book of *Christian Doctrine*, whatsoever a man doth learn besides the holy Scriptures, if it be hurtful, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, he shall much more abundantly find those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marvellous depth, and marvellous profoundness of those most sacred Scriptures only.

*Aug. Lib. de Doct. Christ. Lib. 2.*

*Greg. Moral. Lib. 23.*

Thus writeth *Augustine*. And *Gregory* in his Three and twentieth Book of *Morals*, saith thus, God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoever thing may happen unto any man, and in the same hath by the examples of those which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reform their lives. Whereby it appeareth that if every of the five and forty Articles containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and untruth, the same is either plainly or darkly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, It followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the five and forty Articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy Scriptures. And whereas again St. *Augustine* writeth unto St. *Hierom*, in his Eighth Epistle, and the ninth Distinction, I (saith he) have learned to attribute this honour and reverence unto those writers only which are called Canonical, that I dare affirm none of them to have erred in their Works or Writings. As for all other Writers, I do so read them, that although they abound with never so much holiness, or excell in Doctrine, I do not by and by think it true, because they themselves do so judg; but if they can, by other Canonical Authors or probable reasons, perswade or prove that they do not digress from the truth.

Also the said *Augustine* in his Book *de Unico Baptismo, Lib.* 2. saith thus, Who doth not know or understand the holy Canonical Scripture to be contained in his own bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other Letters and Decrees of Bishops, *&c.* And a little after he hath the like saying, as for the Letters of other Bishops which have been written, or be written, (after the Canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reproved, both by the word of them that be more skilful in that matter, and also by the ancient authority of other Bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by General Councils, if it so chance that they in any point have erred and gone astray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of St. *Austin* and other like, *&c.* the University of *Prague* hath concluded and determined, that they will not receive the condemnation of the five and forty Articles, made by the Doctors in their Council-house as just and true, except they which condemned them, will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons upon every of the five and forty Articles.

Wherefore for the due examination of the foresaid condemnation, whether it be effectual or no, we will at this present take in hand the fourteenth Article of the number of the five and forty: which Article is this,

{KING Rec. 2.}

*They which leave off Preaching and hearing of the Word of God, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted the betrayers of Christ.*

The 14 Article of J. Wickliff.

This Article containeth, first, that all Priests, omitting the Preaching of the Word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

The defence of the 14 Article.

Secondly, It containeth that all such as do omit the hearing of the Word of God, for fear of Excommunication, are already Excommunicated.

Thirdly, That both these sorts of men in the day of judgment, shall be counted Traytors of Christ.

As concerning the first point, it is presupposed that the Preaching of the Word of God is commanded unto the Apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in *Mat.* 10. where it is said, *Jesus sent his twelve Disciples, commanding them and saying, Go and preach that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Also in the last of *Matthew*, and the tenth of *Luke*. Whereupon *Peter* the Apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandment for himself, and for the other Apostles and Successors, in the tenth of the *Acts*, saith thus, *He commanded us to preach and testifie, that it is he which is ordained of God the Judg both of the quick and the dead.* This commandment also the other Apostles did acknowledg, and specially the chosen vessel, pronouncing under a great threatning [illegible] *Wo be unto me if I do not preach the Gospel.* And Pope *Nicholas* considering that great threatning in 43 *Distinction*, saith, The dispensation and distribution of the Heavenly seed is commanded and injoyned to us. Wo be unto us if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing when as the Vessel of Election did fear and cry out upon, how much more ought all other inferiors to fear and dread the same? To the same purpose doth Saint *Gregory* write in his Pastoral in the Distinction, *Sit rector*. It is also evident by many other Doctors and holy men, as by Saint *Augustine*, *Hierome*, *Isidore*, *Bernard*, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

The preaching of the Gospel commanded of God.

*Greg. Dist. 44. cap. Sit rector.*

As touching the second point, That the hearing of the Word and Law of God is commanded unto the people, it is evident both by the old and new Law; for it is said in the 28 of the *Proverbs*, *He that turneth away his ear, and will not hear the Law of God, his Prayer shall be cursed.* And our Saviour rebuking the Scribes and Pharisees, concludeth thus in the eighth of St. *John*, saying, *He that is of God, heareth Gods word; but forsomuch as you are not of God, therefore you hear not his word.*

The hearing of the word commanded by God.

Thirdly, It is to be noted that Excommunication is a seperation from the Communion, the 11 *Quest.* 3. *Nihil. & Cap. Canonica.* And 27. Question, first, *Viduas*, 34. Question 3. *Cum Sacerdos.* And this Excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The [illegible] Excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the Mystical Body of Christ, and so from God through sin, according unto the 59 of *Esay*, *Your iniquities have made separation between your God and you.* And with this Excommunication doth the Apostle Excommunicate every man which doth not love the Lord Jesus Christ; saying in the first of the *Corinthians*, and last Chapter, *If any man do not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed.* The manifest and apert Excommunication may be divided into a manifest Excommunication by God, whereof it is spoken, *Mat.* 25. *Go ye cursed, &c.* And oftentimes else in the Law of God. Also into a manifest Excommunication by men, whereby the Prelate doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from the participation of the Communion of the Church; whereof this shall suffice at this present.

Excommunication.

Excommunication double.

Then as touching the first part of the Article, it is thus argued, *&c.*

The probation of the first part.

Whosoever forsake or leave the Commandments of God undone, they are Excommunicate of God. But the Priests which leave off the preaching of the Word of God for fear of the unjust Excommunication of men, do leave the Commandment of God undone. *Ergo*, those Priests which do leave off preaching of the Word are Excommunicated of God.

The

{KING Rich. 2.} The firſt part of this Article is true: The Major appeareth by the Pſalm, *Curſed be they which do decline and ſwerve from thy precepts.* The Minor is evident by the firſt Propoſition, which proveth that the preaching of the word of God is the Commandment of God injoyned unto thoſe Prieſts and Miniſters. Whereupon the ſaying of our Saviour, *Mat.* 15. is ſpoken unto them, *Wherefore do you tranſgreſs the Commandments of God for your own Traditions?* Leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of unjuſt Excommunication; and ſo diſhonouring the Father Chriſt, and the Mother the holy Church.

It is thus confirmed, All they which do omit or let ſlip any manner of work, principally and ſtraitly injoyned them of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under the cloak and colour of grace, for fear of any Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate. But Prieſts, and eſpecially Curates, admoniſhed by the Spirit of God, leaving off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the Excommunication of men, omit and leave off, for fear of the ſame Excommunication, a work principally and ſtraitly injoyned unto them of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under the cloak and colour of grace: *Ergo*, Prieſts, and ſpecially Curates and ſuch as be admoniſhed and warned by the Spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for fear of Excommunication, are Excommunicate. The conſequence is well known. The Major appeareth by the Pſalm, *Curſed be they which do decline and go away from thy Commandments.* The Minor is alſo evident again by the firſt ſuppoſition.

1. Apoſtles did not obey any wicked inhibition.

*Item*, If the Apoſtles of Chriſt had left off the preaching of the word of God for fear of the Excommunication of men, which the Lord did foreſhew unto them in the 16th of St. *John*, ſaying, *They ſhall Excommunicate you out of their Synagogues*: They had been Excommunicated of God: *Ergo*, by like evidence the Prieſts and Miniſters of Chriſt, being inſpired with the ſame ſpirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leave it undone for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate. The conſequence dependeth upon a ſimilitude. And the Antecedent is evident; for if the Apoſtles had left off preaching for fear of Excommunication, they had broken the Commandments of God; and ſo conſequently had been accurſed. Wherefore they willing to obſerve and keep the Commandments of God, and to put off the Excommunication of men, ſaid unto the High Prieſts, Elders, and Scribes at *Jeruſalem*, to *Annas*, *Caiphas*, to *John* and *Alexander*, and all other of the kindred of the Prieſts which were gathered together, and commanded them that they ſhould not preach nor teach in the name of Jeſus, *If it be juſt in the ſight of God, that we ſhould rather obey you than God, that judg you*, Act. 4. And in the fifth of the *Acts* they ſaid unto them, *We ought rather to obey God than man.* By this ſaying of the Holy Ghoſt it is concluded, that the Prieſts and Miniſters of Chriſt, inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the Holy Ghoſt, than thoſe that ſhall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to ſuffer the Excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon Pope *Anacletus* ſpake very well in this, as it is written, *Diſtinction* 43. We know (ſaith he) that many do go about to moleſt and trouble the Doctors and Teachers to this end, that they might utterly deſtroy them, and fulfill their own proper luſts and deſires; yet notwithſtanding the ſaid Doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or go back from their good doings and intent, knowing aſſuredly that bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake. Thus much writeth he. And for reverend *Bede* (upon theſe words, *Ye ſhall find an aſs tyed up, and an be-fole with her, looſe her and bring her unto me; and if any man ſay any thing unto you, ſay ye that the Lord hath need of them*), writeth thus: Here it is myſtically commanded unto the Doctors and Teachers, that if any adverſity do lett or hinder, or any man do prohibit or ſtop, that ſinners cannot be looſed from their bonds or ſnares, and be brought unto the Lord by the confeſſion of their faith, that they notwithſtanding ſhould not leave off preaching, but conſtantly and boldly affirm and ſay, that the Lord hath need of ſuch to edifie and build again his Church. For ſo did the Apoſtles; ſo likewiſe ought all the humble and meek Miniſters of Chriſt to do. And St. *Hierome* writing unto *Ruſticus* the Biſhop of *Narbone*, ſaith thus, Let no Biſhop from henceforth be puffed up or inflamed with the envy of Diveliſh temptation, if the Prieſts now and then do exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the Churches; or as it is ſaid, do bleſs the people: For unto him which ſhould deny unto me the doing hereof, I would ſay in this manner, He that will not that Prieſts ſhould do thoſe things which they are commanded by God, let him ſay that he is greater and above Chriſt. By the which words St. *Hierom* doth openly declare, that Prieſts are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the Churches. Secondly, That a Biſhop denying or forbidding the ſame to be done, ſpecially the Prieſts or Miniſters being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Chriſt. And therefore conſequently is not to be obeyed nor heard in his doings.

*Anacletus*, Diſt. 4.

*Hieronymus ad Ruſticum.*

If the Pope be an Heretick, the godly Biſhops may preach againſt him.

*Item*, Admit that the Pope be an Heretick, and teach perverſe and contrary Doctrine unto the holy Scriptures, and that the Biſhop be a Catholick man, unto whom the Pope giveth in commandment that he ſhall ſuffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion; as it hapned in Pope *Leo*, and Saint *Hilary* the Biſhop: Adding this alſo, That the Biſhop do execute the Popes commandment under pain of Excommunication; this notwithſtanding if the Catholick Prieſts, learned in the Law of God, do leave off preaching againſt the Popes Hereſies, for fear of Excommunication of men, they are already Excommunicate. The which thing is evident, forſomuch as they are accurſed through the conſent of their ſilence, as St. *Iſidore* ſaith, 11. *Queſt.* 1. He that doth conſent unto ſinners, or defendeth a ſinner, he ſhall be curſed both before God and man, and ſhall be puniſhed with a moſt ſevere rebuke. And in the 7 *Queſtion*, 4. *Omnis*, it is ſaid, He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, committeth no leſs fault than he which had before offended; for not only they which do commit the offence, but alſo they which conſent thereunto are judged partakers thereof. In like caſe Prieſts which do not preach againſt the Hereſie which the Pope teacheth, are dumb dogs, not able to open their mouths, or bark againſt the wolf, which will kill the ſheep of Jeſus Chriſt: *Ergo*, how can it then be otherwiſe, but they muſt needs be betrayers of the ſheep of their own ſhepherd.

Albeit the chief Prieſts be Adulterers, yet ought the Miniſters to preach againſt Adultery.

*Item*, Let it be ſo, that the Biſhop with the chief Prelates be adulterers, or otherwiſe open offenders, and that he together with his Prelates do command under pain of Excommunication, that none be ſo hardy to preach againſt adultery; in ſuch a caſe they which do omit their duty in preaching againſt Adultery, for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicated of God: *Ergo*, the firſt part of the Article is true. The Antecedent is proved: For our Saviour in the eighth of *Mark* ſaith thus, *He that acknowledgeth me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the ſon of man ſhall alſo acknowledg and confeſs him when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels.* Therefore he that ſhall confeſs Chriſt, and theſe words of Chriſt, *Mat.* 5. *You have heard that it was ſaid to them in old time, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery: But I ſay unto you, that every one which ſhall behold a woman to luſt after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart:* He, I ſay, that ſhall confeſs theſe things before an adulterous Biſhop with his chief Prelates, the which perchance are the wicked and adulterous generation, the Son of man ſhall alſo acknowledg him, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father, and ſo conſequently is he bleſſed. Contrariwiſe, he which for the fear of Excommunication of men will not confeſs Chriſt and his words, before the ſinful and adulterous generation is accurſed. The conſequence holdeth by the words of Chriſt, *Luk.* 9. *He that is aſhamed of me and my words, him ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed of, when he ſhall come in his Majeſty, and in the glory of his Father, and his holy Angels:* pronouncing that which is ſpoken, *Mat.* 25. *Verily I ſay unto you, I know you not; go you curſed into everlaſting fire.*

The example of Chriſt.

Alſo our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt did not omit, or leave off the preaching of the Kingdom of God for any pretended Excommunication of the Biſhops, Scribes and Phariſees; ſo likewiſe his true and humble Prieſts ought not to omit their preaching for any pretenſed Excommunication of men; the conſequence holdeth by the ſaying of Chriſt, *Joh.* 15. *Be ye mindful of the words which I have ſpoken unto you, the ſervant is not greater than his maſter: If they have perſecuted me, they will perſecute you alſo.* The Antecedent is apparent by the ſaying of Saint *John* in his

his ninth Chapter. Even now the *Jews* had conſpired, that whoſoever did confeſs him to be Chriſt, ſhould be Excommunicate. And likewiſe *Joh.7. Whether did any of the Princes or Rulers, or any of the Phariſees believe in him. But this people which knoweth not the Law are accurſed.*

The obedience of Chriſtian Prieſts toward their Prelates.

Alſo the humble and juſt Miniſters of God ought not, under pain of ſin, to ceaſe from the fruitful preaching of the Law of God for any unjuſt Excommunication, or unlawful Commandment; and it is proved thus: the humble and juſt Miniſters of Chriſt ought not to obey their Prelates in ſuch things as are contrary to God; as all the holy Doctors, and ſuch as are learned in the Law of God, do wholly with one conſent affirm. And forſomuch as an unjuſt Excommunication, and unlawful Commandment are againſt God, therefore the juſt and true Miniſters of God ought not to obey ſuch unlawful Excommunication and Commandments; and conſequently ought not to ceaſe for them from the fruitful preaching of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the ſame. Forſomuch as the Lord doth comfort them in the fifth of *Matthew*, ſaying thus, *Bleſſed and happy are ye when as men do curſe you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all kind of evil againſt you, making lies and ſlanders upon you for my ſake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.*

The power of preaching to edification ought not to ceaſe.

Alſo every Miniſter having power given him from above to preach the Goſpel, hath the ſame given unto him for the edifying of the Church, and not for the deſtruction of the ſame.

And the Apoſtle ſaith, 2 *Cor.*10. But every one leaving off the preaching of the Goſpel, for fear of any pretenſed Excommunication of men, ſhould fruſtrate the power given him for the edifying of the Church. And therefore in ſo doing he ſhould ſin againſt God and his Church, and conſequently ought rather to chuſe not to ceaſe from preaching for fear of any ſuch Excommunication, leſt that he be Excommunicate of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The preaching of the Goſpel is not to be left off for all the Popes prohibitions.

*Item*, Set caſe that the Pope doth command that there ſhall be no preaching in any place, then the Miniſters of Chriſt leaving off their preaching for fear of the Popes Curſe, are already Excommunicated of God; It is evident forſomuch as they have neglected the Commandment of God for the Commandment of men. And this caſe is poſſible: for by what reaſon the Pope may command under pain of Excommunication, that there ſhall be no preaching in ſome place, and namely in the Pariſh Churches; by the ſame reaſon he may command that no man ſhould preach in any place.

The firſt part is evident by the prohibition of Pope *Alexander*, who in his Bull did prohibit to preach the word of God unto the people in Chappels, although the ſaid Chappels were confirmed by the priviledg of the See Apoſtolick. The which Bull the Lord *Subincon*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, with his Canons, obtained. By theſe aforeſaid, the firſt part of the Article is evident, which is this, that all Prieſts omitting the preaching of the word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

The ſecond part of the Article.

The ſecond part of the Article is this, That all they which do omit the hearing of the word of God, for fear of the Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicate.

And it is proved thus: All ſuch as neglect the Commandments of God are Excommunicate. But they which neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication of men, are they which neglect the Commandments of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication are already Excommunicate.

Means neceſſary unto ſalvation are not to be omitted.

The Major is apparent by the 118 *Pſalm*, *Curſed be they which decline from thy Commandments*. And the Minor is evident by the ſecond Suppoſition, which ſaith, That the hearing of the word of God is commanded unto the people.

This is confirmed, All ſuch as omit the neceſſary means unto Salvation are Excommunicate: But ſuch as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication by men, be ſuch as do omit the neceſſary means unto ſalvation. Therefore in ſo doing they are Excommunicate. The conſequence is plain: the Major is made evident by this, That all ſuch as do omit the neceſſary means unto Salvation, do alſo neglect their Salvation, and ſo are out of the way of Salvation, and be Excommunicated of God. The Minor appeareth hereby, that to hear the word of God is the means moſt neceſſary unto Salvation, as the Apoſtle doth prove in his tenth Chapter to the *Romans*, *How*, ſaith he, *ſhall they believe on him, whom they never heard of? And how ſhall they hear without a Preacher?* And by and by after the Apoſtle inferreth unto the purpoſe, *That faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*

{KING Rich.2.}

A man ought to do nothing againſt his conſcience.

*Item*, Whatſoever is done contrary unto Conſcience, doth edifie unto eternal damnation; as it is ſaid, as touching the reſtitution of the ſpoiled goods, *Chap. Literas porro.* But to omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of Excommunication of men, is a thing which is done againſt Conſcience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the word of God, for Excommunication doth edifie unto eternal damnation, and therefore conſequently ought not to be done, for fear of any Excommunication. Wherefore a woman being judged unto a man, whom ſhe knoweth to be within the degrees of Conſanguinity, which Gods Law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that judgment, leſt that ſhe offend againſt God; but meekly and patiently to ſuſtain the Excommunication, as it appeareth in the Chapter before alledged. So likewiſe all true Chriſtians ought rather ſhun to offend againſt God, meekly to ſuffer the Excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpoſe alſo ſerveth that which is ſpoken in the 11 *Queſt.* 3. He that feareth the Omnipotent God, will not preſume by any means to do any thing contrary unto the Goſpel or Apoſtles, either unto the Prophets, or the Inſtitutions of the holy Fathers. By theſe premiſſes, the ſecond part of this Article is manifeſt, that all ſuch as do omit the hearing of the word of God for fear of Excommunication of men, are already Excommunicated.

The proofs of the third part.

And forſomuch as all Chriſtians being of lawful age, not repenting at the end, ſhall be counted in a manner as Traytors to Chriſt in the day of judgment, becauſe that they were unfaithful ſervants of Chriſt; therefore they which through fear omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God, for the Excommunication of men, ſhall be counted as Traytors to Chriſt, and ſhall render account thereof unto the Lord. Whereupon *Chryſoſtom* touching both thoſe ſorts in the 41 *Homely*, ſhewing how the Lord would have ſome to be teachers, and otherſome to be teachers, and otherſome to be diſciples, ſaith thus, For unto thoſe which he would have to be teachers, he ſpeaketh thus by his Prophet *Eſay*, *Ye Prieſts ſpeak to the hearts of the people, for if the Prieſts do not manifeſt all the truth unto the people, they ſhall render account thereof at the day of judgment: and likewiſe if the people do not learn the truth, they ſhall alſo give an account at the day of judgment.* It is alſo made more evident by him upon the tenth of *Matthew*, Do not fear them which kill the body, leſt that through the fear of death, you do not freely ſpeak that which you have heard, neither boldly preach them unto all men which you alone have heard in your ears. So that hereby alone it is evident that not only he is a betrayer of the truth, which tranſgreſſing the truth, doth openly ſpeak lyes inſtead of the truth; but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defend, is alſo a Traytor unto the Truth. For like as the Prieſt is a debtor to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord; even ſo the lay-man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the Miniſter, approved by the Scriptures; which if he do not, then is he a Traytor unto the truth: for ſtedfaſt belief with the heart prevaileth unto righteouſneſs; the confeſſion which is made with the mouth helpeth unto ſalvation. Thus much writeth *Chryſoſtom*; who together with the people meekly bearing the Excommunication of the Biſhops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him? and ſo by his word and his works he freely taught the truth, leſt he ſhould be a Traytor unto the truth, and conſequently be counted as a Traytor unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the day of Judgment. And thus the third part of the Article aforeſaid is manifeſt.

*Chryſoſtom* in his 41 Homily.

*Chryſoſtom* although he was excommunicate, yet he did preach.

*The*

{KING Ric. 2.}

## *The defenſion of the Fifteenth Article of* John Wickliff *by* John Hus.

The 15th Article of Wickliff.

IT is lawful for any Deacon or Prieſt to Preach the Word of God without the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, or of his Catholicks.

Firſt, I underſtand here by the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, properly his ſpecial conſent authoriſing. And likewiſe I underſtand by Authority of the Biſhop, a ſpecial conſent of the Biſhop authoriſing the ſaid Deacon or Prieſt to Preach.

The confirmation of the Article. Every man being lawfully called of the Church, ought to Preach the Word of God without the Popes licence.

Now as touching the truth of this Article, I thus argue: Like as after Matrimony once complete, the Man and Wife may lawfully, without any ſpecial licence of the Pope or Biſhop, procreate carnal children: So likewiſe Deacons or Prieſts, by the motion of God through the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, may lawfully without any ſpecial licence either of Pope or Biſhop, generate ſpiritual children. *Ergo*, this Article is true, and the Antecedent is thus proved. For as it is an acceptable work unto God for Man and Wife, without the ſpecial licence of the Pope or Biſhop, to generate carnal children; ſo it is acceptable unto him, that Deacons or Prieſts, by the motion of God through the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould lawfully generate ſpiritual children, without the ſpecial licence of the Pope, or of any other Biſhop: *Ergo*, the aſſumption is true.

But if any Man will deny this ſimilitude, let him ſhew the diverſity. Yea, as it is worſe not to receive or to choke the Seed of Gods word, than the Carnal ſeed; ſo contrariwiſe, it is better to receive and ſow abroad that Seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raiſed up unto God, than to receive or give Seed whereby Carnal children may be gotten. Whereupon our Saviour in the 10*th* of *Matthew* ſaith thus; *Whoſoever doth not receive you, neither heareth your words, wipe off the duſt from your feet: verily I ſay unto you, that in the day of judgment it ſhall be better unto the land of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *than to that city.*

Alſo a Deacon or Prieſt being ſtirred by the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, may Preach the Word of God without the ſpecial licence of the Pope or Biſhop. *Ergo*, it is lawful for him ſo to do. The conſequence is thus manifeſt; forſomuch as the Spirit of God, moving the Deacon or Prieſt unto the Preaching of the Goſpel, is of greater force than any prohibition of Pope or Biſhop invented by Man. *Ergo*, according unto the rule of the Apoſtles, they ought infallibly to be obedient unto the Spirit of Chriſt, which doth ſo move them thereunto, and rather to obey God than Man, *Acts* 5. Alſo by like reaſon, as *Heldad* and *Medad*; upon whom the Spirit of God did reſt, did lawfully prophecy without requiring any licence at *Moſes* hands, as it is written, *Numb.* 11. By the ſame reaſon may the meek Miniſter of Chriſt, upon whom the Spirit of God doth reſt, without the requiring of any licence either of the Pope or Biſhop, lawfully Preach the Word of God unto the people. And would to God in this behalf all Prelates had the Spirit of *Moſes*; for it is ſaid, *Numb.* 11. That when as *Heldad* and *Medad* were prophecying in the Tents, a child ran unto *Moſes*, and told him, ſaying; *Heldad* and *Medad* do prophecy in the Tents; and by and by *Joſua* the Son of *Nun*, the ſervant of *Moſes* which he had choſen out amongſt many, ſaid, My Maſter *Moſes*, forbid them: and he ſaid, Why enviеſt thou for my ſake? Would God that all the people could prophecy, and that the Lord would give them his Spirit. O would to God the Pope and Biſhops had the affections which this holy Man the friend of God had. Then would he not prohibit the meek Deacons and Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt to Preach the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. The like affection had the bleſſed Man *Gregory*, which in his 22*d* Book of Morals, writing upon theſe words of *Job*; And I have not afflicted the Soul of his Husbandmen, ſaith thus; The Husbandmen of this Earth are theſe, which being ſet in ſaſtfull Authority, with as fervent deſire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, do work by the preaching of grace, to the erudition of the holy Church, the which Husbandmen of this World not to afflict, is not to envy their labours and doings: neither ought the Ruler of the Church albeit he do challenge unto himſelf alone the title of Preaching, through envy gainſay others which do Preach truly and uprightly. For the Godly mind of the Paſtor, which ſeeketh not his own glory amongſt men, deſireth to be holpen: the which thing alſo the faithful Preacher doth wiſh, if it might by any means be brought to paſs, that the truth, which he alone cannot ſufficiently expreſs, all mens mouths might declare.

God grant that all the people may prophecy.

Wherefore, when as *Joſua* would have reſiſted the two which were prophecying in the hoſt, why doſt thou envy (ſaith he) for my ſake? For he did not envy that good in other which he himſelf had. Thus writeth S. *Gregory*.

The courſe of the word of God ought not to be ſtopped. *Bernard.*

Alſo the meek Miniſters of Chriſt have, by a ſpecial gift of God, knowledge and mind to Preach the Goſpel; but neither is it lawful for the Pope or Biſhop, or any other Man to lett or hinder them, leſt thereby they ſhould lett the Word of God, that it have not his free courſe. *Ergo*, this Article is true; for the King doth not ſo much rule over the goods of his ſubjects, no not of his own Sons, but that they may give Alms to whom they will; much leſs hath the Biſhop ſo great Authority over the knowledge of the meek Miniſter, with his other gifts of God, but that he may freely under the title of ſpiritual Alms Preach the Goſpel unto the people. *Ergo*, forаſmuch as it ſhould ſeem ſtrange, that a Biſhop ſhould forbid any Man to give any corporal Alms to the poor that are an hungred; much more ſtrange and marvellous would it be, if that he ſhould prohibit the ſpiritual Miniſter of Chriſt to give ſpiritual Alms, by the Preaching of the Goſpel of the Word of God.

*Item*, No Catholick Man ought to doubt, but that a Man able for the purpoſe, is more bound to teach them which are ignorant, to counſel and comfort the weak in Spirit, to correct ſuch as are unruly, to forgive thoſe that do them wrong, than to do any other work of mercy: Forſomuch then as he that hath ſufficient is bound, under pain of damnation, to give corporal Alms, as it appeareth *Matth.* 25. much more he, which is able, is bound to do ſpiritual Alms. And this Alms S. *Barnard*, writing unto *Eugenius* in his 3*d* Book, perceived to be very neceſſary for the Biſhop of *Rome*, whereas he ſaid thus; I fear no greater poiſon, nor greater ſword or miſchief will happen unto thee, than this unſatiable deſire of dominion. With what face then can the faithful Miniſter withdraw or keep back the ſpiritual Alms for the Pope and any other, even without the ſpecial licence of the Pope or of the Biſhop; which licence, through the far diſtance from the Pope, the Miniſters cannot ſo eaſily obtain or come by? For all prohibition of any Prelate, being broken through neceſſity, is not to be blamed, 11. *Queſt.* 3. *Interceſſor*, and alſo in the Chapter following.

*Item*, All authority of preaching given unto Deacons and Prieſts in their conſecration, were but vain, except that in caſe of neceſſity, without any ſpecial licence, they might Preach the Goſpel. It is evident, forſomuch as it is not lawful for them to uſe that Authority, by their adverſary, without a ſpecial licence. *Ergo*, it is given them in vain. The conſequence is evident by the common ſaying of the Philoſopher, That power is but vain, whereof proceedeth no uſe of action. But forаſmuch as this Article doth as it were depend upon the Article before paſſed, therefore this ſhall ſuffice to be ſpoken thereof at this preſent.

Objection.

But againſt the affirmations of both theſe Articles this is objected out of the 16. *Queſt.* 1. All faithful people, and ſpecially all Prieſts, Deacons, and all others of the Clergy, ought to take heed that they do nothing without the licence of their Biſhop. It is alſo objected out of the 5*th* Book of Decretals, *Tituli de hæreticis cap. Cum ex injuncto*; where it is ſaid, No Man ought to uſurp to himſelf indifferently the Office of Preaching, forſomuch as the Apoſtle ſaith; How ſhall they Preach, except they be ſent? Whereas alſo *Innocentius* doth declare, that it is not ſufficient for a Man to ſay, that he is ſent of God to Preach except he do ſhew the ſame. As touching the firſt point, the *Gloſs* doth ſufficiently anſwer upon this word, *without licence*; That is to be expounded, ſaith he without general licence; the which is obtained and given, when as a Biſhop doth appoint any Prieſt to govern the people, For thereby (ſaith he) it ſeemeth a Biſhop is thought to give him general power to Miniſter unto the people, and to Rule the Church. Thus much in the *Gloſs*. And to the ſame end and purpoſe

The anſwer to the objection.

poſe it is ſaid in the *7th Queſt.* 1. Chapter, *Epiſcopi*, Biſhops or Prieſts, if they come into the Church of another Biſhop to viſit the ſame, as it is ſaid *Gloſs* 1. *in honore ſuo*, Let them be received in their degree, and delired as well to Preach the Word, as to do any other conſecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, which is very well ſpoken in the ſame place; No man ought to uſurp unto himſelf the Office of Preaching, as a thing indifferent, For to uſurp, is unlawfully to uſe any thing. *Ergo*, the ſame Deacon or Prieſt doth then uſurp the Office of Preaching as indifferently, who living viciouſly, contrary unto Law the of Chriſt, or being ignorant of the Law of God, doth Preach either for gain, or covetouſneſs of living, either for his belly or dainty life, or for any vain glory: But he which doth live according unto the Laws of Chriſt, and being moved with the affection of ſincere Charity, intending purely the Honor of God, and the Salvation of himſelf and his neighbours, doth Preach no lies nor vain jeſts, or other things not authorizſed, but only the Law of Chriſt, and the minds of the holy Doctors. And he that doth ſo Preach, neceſſity occaſioning or moving him thereunto, in caſe there be no Pope or Biſhop, or in caſe poſſible to withſtand the Preaching of Hereticks or falſe Preachers, in ſo doing doth not uſurp the Office of Preaching; and in ſuch caſe there is no doubt but he is ſent of *God*. And this doth alſo anſwer unto that which is conſequently ſaid; that if any man will peradventure craftily anſwer, that ſuch Preachers are inviſibly ſent of God, although not viſibly of men, when as that inviſible ſending of God is much better than the viſible ſending of men: A man may reaſonably anſwer thereunto, that forſomuch as that internal ſending is ſecret, it is not ſufficient for a Man only to ſay that he is ſent of God, forſomuch as every Heretick may ſo ſay; but he ought to prove the ſame his inviſible calling by the working of ſome miracle, or by ſome ſpecial Teſtimony of the Scripture.

What is falſly to uſurp the Office of a Preacher.

Who is a true Miniſter of the Church.

Here it is to be noted, according to Saint *Auguſtine* in his *65th* Book of Queſt. unto *Oroſius*, that there are four kinds of ſending. The firſt is from God only, whereof we read in *Moſes* and other, which were inſpired by God. And this kind of ſending looſeth from the danger of the Statute: So that he whom the Spirit of God hath inſpired, this Prelate giving thanks may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon Pope *Urban* ſaid 19. Queſt. 2*d* There be (ſaid he) two Laws, the one publick, the other private. The publick Law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy Fathers, ſuch as is the canon Law, which is only given for tranſgreſſions. As for example, it is decreed in the Canons, that none of the Clergy ſhall go from one Biſhoprick unto another, without the Letters commendatory of his Biſhop; the which was ordained only for offenders, that no infamed perſons ſhould be received of any Biſhop. For they were wont, when they could not celebrate or do their Office under their own Biſhoprick, to go unto another: which now is forbidden by the Laws and Precepts. The private Law is that, which, by the inſtruction of the Holy Ghoſt, is written in the heart, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of many, which have the Law of God written in their hearts. And in another place; forſomuch as the Gentiles have not the Law of God, but naturally do thoſe things which are of the Law, they are Laws unto themſelves. And afterward he ſaith, the private Law is much more worthy than the publick Law. For the Spirit of God is a Law; And they which are moved by the Spirit of God, are led by the Law of God. And who is he, that can worthily reſiſt againſt the Holy Ghoſt? Whoſoever therefore is led by the Spirit of God, albeit his Biſhop do ſay him nay, let him go freely by our Authority; for the Law is not appointed for the juſt Man, for where as the Spirit of God is, there is liberty; and if ye be led by the Spirit of God, ye are not under the Law.

Four kinds of ſending or calling.

The common Law.

The private Law.

Private Law, that is the ſecret and inward working of Gods ſpirit in the heart.

The words of Pope *Urban*.

Behold, here it is affirmed, that the ſending by God, through inſpiration, is not bound under the bondage of the Law; for that Law is more worthy than the publick Law. Secondly, that the Law is made for Tranſgreſſors and Offenders, and not for the Juſt. Thirdly, that whoſoever is led by the Spirit of God, although his Biſhop ſtand againſt him, he may proceed unto a better life. Whereby it is evident, that a Deacon or Prieſt diſpoſed to Preach, and being led by the Spirit of God, may freely Preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, without the ſpiritual licence of his Biſhop. It is evident, forſomuch as it is good, that a Deacon or Prieſt do live well, and Preach fruitfully. *Ergo*, he may proceed from idleneſs unto the labor and Office of Preaching, and ſo unto a better life.

But whereas it is ſaid afore, that forſomuch as the inward ſending or calling is ſecret, therefore it is not ſufficient for a man barely to affirm only that he is ſent of God, when as every Heretick may ſo ſay; but it is neceſſary that he do confirm and prove his inviſible ſending by the working of ſome miracle, or by ſome ſpecial Teſtimony of the Scripture: Here is to be noted, that there are two kinds of Preachers; ſome true Preachers of our Saviour Chriſt and others ſeducers, of Antichriſt. The firſt ſort following their Maſter Chriſt, teach the people in truth. The other ſort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching Faith, reſiſt againſt the verity; and through covetouſneſs, by their fained words do make merchandize of the people. And theſe men do give, and ſhall give miracles, as our Saviour ſaith, *Matth.* 24. There ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and falſe Prophets, the which ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders, inſomuch that even the elect themſelves, if it were by any means poſſible, ſhould be brought into error. And the Apoſtle in the 2. to the *Theſſal.* 2. As touching their head Antichriſt, writeth thus: Whoſe coming ſhall be according to the operation of *Satan*, with all power and ſigns, falſe miracles, ſeducing unto iniquity thoſe which do periſh, becauſe they have not received the charity and love of truth, that they might be ſaved: Therefore will the Lord ſend upon them the operation of error, that they ſhall give credit unto lies: that all ſuch as have not believed the truth, but conſent unto wickedneſs, ſhould be judged. Behold how expreſly our Saviour by himſelf, and by his Apoſtle doth teach us, how the Diſciples of Antichriſt, with their head, ſhould ſhine through their great ſigns and wonders. But the true Diſciples of Chriſt ſhall not ſo do in the time of Antichriſt. For as Saint *Iſidor* ſaith in his firſt Book, 22. *De ſummo bono*: Before that Antichriſt ſhall appear, all vertues and ſigns ſhall ceaſe from the Church, that he may the boldlier perſecute the ſame, as an abject. For this profit ſhall all miracles and ſigns ceaſe under Antichriſt, that thereby the patience of the holy Men might be known, and the lightneſs of the reprobate, which are offended, my be opened, and alſo that the cruelty of the perſecutors ſhould be made more fierce. Thus writeth Saint *Iſidor*. And Saint *Gregory* in his *24th* Book of Morals ſaith; For why? By a terrible examination of Gods ſecret diſpenſation ſhall all ſigns of vertue or power be taken away from the holy Church, before that the *Leviathan* appear in that moſt wicked and damnable Man, whoſe ſhape he doth take upon him. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the vertue of long abſtinence is diminiſhed, the words of Doctrine are put to ſilence, and the wonderful works of miracles are extinguiſhed; which things nothing can utterly take away, but only the diſpenſation of God. But this diſpenſation is not ſo openly and manifoldly declared, as it hath been in times paſt; the which alſo is done by a marvellous diſpenſation, that through one only thing both Gods love and juſtice ſhould be fulfilled. For the power of miracles being a while taken away, the holy Church appeareth the more abject and forſaken, and the reward of good men doth ceaſe, which reverenced the ſame for the hope of heavenly riches, and not for any preſent ſigns: and that the minds of evil men againſt the ſame might the ſooner be known, which neglect to follow the inviſible things which the Church doth promiſe, whiles they be led with viſible ſigns.

Every man may pretend to be ſent of God immediately.

Two kinds of Preachers.

Of the ſigns and wonders of Antichriſt.

Why true miracles ſhall ceaſe under Antichriſt.

Forſomuch then as the humility of the faithful is as it were deſtitute of the multitude and appearing of ſigns by the terrible working of Gods ſecret diſpenſation, whereby mercy is given unto the good and juſt, wrath heaped upon the evil; Forſomuch then, as it is truly ſaid, that before this *Leviathan* ſhall plainly and manifeſtly come, poverty ſhall go before his face (for before that time the riches of miracles ſhall be taken away from the faithful.) Then ſhall that Ancient enemy ſhew himſelf againſt them by open wonders; that as he is extolled through ſigns and wonders, ſo ſhall he the more manly be vanquiſhed of the faithful, without any ſigns or miracles. Alſo in his *16th* Book upon theſe words, which the bleſſed man *Job* ſaid; Who ſhall reprehend his way before him, or who ſhall caſt in his teeth what he hath done? Whileſt he did ſpeak of the body of all evil, he ſuddenly converted his

ſpeech

KING Ric. 2.

The deſcription of Antichriſt out of S. Gregory.

ſpeech unto the head of all the wicked; for he did ſee that toward the end of the world *Satan* ſhould enter into man, whom the Scripture calleth Antichriſt, he ſhall be extolled with ſuch pride, he ſhall rule with ſuch power, he ſhall be exalted with ſuch ſigns and wonders, under the pretence of holineſs, that his doing cannot be controlled of men, forſomuch as his ſigns and tokens are joyned with power and terror, and with a certain ſhew of Holineſs. Wherefore he ſaith, who ſhall controul his ways before him, what man is he that dare once rebuke or check him, whoſe look or countenance is he afraid of? But notwithſtanding not only *Enoch* and *Elias*, the which are brought as example for his probation, but alſo the elect do argue and reprove his way, whiles that they do contemn, and by the force and power of their minds, reſiſt his malice. But forſomuch as this thing is not done by their own power and ſtrength, but by Gods help and grace, therefore it is very well ſaid: Who ſhall argue or reprove his ways before him? Who but only God? By whoſe help, the elect are aided and made able to reſiſt.

The proof of Holineſs.

And a little after, upon the ſame Book of *Job*, *Gregory* ſaith, inſomuch as holy men do withſtand his iniquity; It is not they themſelves which do ſo rebuke his ways, but it is he through whoſe help they are ſtrengthened. Alſo in his ſecond Book he ſaith; Now the holy Church doth not regard, but deſpiſe the ſigns and miracles of the Hereticks, if they do any; forſomuch as the Church doth ſufficiently underſtand, that it is no kind of Holineſs: For why? The proof of Holineſs is not to make ſigns or wonders, but to love every man as himſelf, to think truly of the very true God, and to think better of thy Neighbour than of thy ſelf: For true vertue and holineſs conſiſteth in love, and not in ſhewing of miracles. This the verity declareth ſaying; Hereby ſhall all men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye love one another: But he ſaith not, that hereby men ſhall know that ye are my Diſciples, becauſe ye work miracles; but contrariwiſe, if ye love one another: declaring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the mear charity and love of God, which maketh us the ſervants of God. Wherefore the chief Teſtimony of being Gods Diſciple is to have the gift of brotherly love. This thorowout doth Saint *Gregory* write, and oftentimes in other places he ſpeaketh very much of miracles, how that they ſhall ceaſe amongſt the juſt, and abound amongſt the wicked.

Signs common and indifferent to the Miniſters of Chriſt and Antichriſt.

Alſo *Chryſoſtom* in his 55*th Homily* ſaith thus; *It is a common and an indifferent work between the Miniſters of God and the Miniſters of the Divel, to caſt out Divels; but to confeſs the truth, and to work righteouſneſs, is the only work of the Saints and holy Men: therefore whomſoever thou doſt ſee caſting out of Divels, if he have not the confeſſion of the truth in his mouth, neither righteouſneſs in his hands, he is not a man of God: But if thou doſt ſee a man openly confeſſing and declaring the truth, and doing juſtice, although he do not caſt out any Divels, yet is he the man of God.* And it followeth, Let us know, that like as at the coming of Chriſt, before him the Prophets, and with him the Apoſtles wrought miracles through the Holy Ghoſt; for ſuch as the thing is which is ſtirred, ſuch ſent and ſavour will proceed from the ſame. He writeth alſo upon the beginning of *Matthew*, The whole world did marvel and wonder at three things, *That Chriſt roſe again after his death; that fleſh aſcended into Heaven; and that he did convert the whole World by his Twelve Apoſtles.* There are four cauſes which wrought the ſame; that is to ſay, the contempt of riches or money; the deſpiſing of pomp and glory, the ſeparation of themſelves from all worldly occupation and buſineſs, and the patient ſuffering of torments. Thus much writeth *Chryſoſtom* alſo. Alſo S. *Iſidore* in his firſt Book and 25*th* Chap. *De ſummo bono*, writeth thus. Like as in the Apoſtles, the marvellous effect and power of works was much more commendable than the vertue of their ſigns; even ſo now in the Church it is much better to live well, than to work any ſigns or miracles. And the cauſe why that the Church of God doth not at this preſent work miracles, as it did in the time of the Apoſtles, is this; that it was neceſſary at that time that the World ſhould believe miracles, and now at this preſent, every faithful believer ought to ſhine with good works, for to this end were ſigns and miracles then outwardly wrought, that their Faith thereby might be inwardly ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed: for whatſoever faithful man he be that ſeeketh to work miracles, he ſeeketh vain-glory to be praiſed of men, for it is written; Miracles are ſigns and tokens unto the infidels and unbelievers, and not unto the faithful. Thus much writeth *Iſidore*.

The principal miracles.

The cauſe why the Church now worketh not miracles.

*Item*, S. *Auguſtine* in his Book of confeſſions, ſaith thus; There is no greater miracle amongſt men, than to love our Enemies. By theſe words of theſe holy men a man may eaſily gather, that, both in our days, and in the time to come, the Diſciples of Antichriſt both do, and ſhall more flouriſh and ſhew themſelves by ſtrange ſigns and miracles, than the Diſciples of Chriſt, according to the ſaying of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; *There ſhall riſe up amongſt you falſe prophets, which ſhall work ſtrange miracles.* Secondly, it is approved that they are greater and ſtranger miracles, to confeſs the truth, and to do Juſtice, than to work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly it is gathered thereby, that whatſoever Miniſter or Deacon doth love his Enemies, contemneth riches, deſpiſeth the glory of the world, and flieth from all worldly troubles, meekly ſuſtaineth and ſuffereth moſt terrible and cruel threatnings and ſtrokes for the Goſpel ſake; he worketh miracles, having thereby a Teſtimony and witneſs, that he is the true Diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. And it is evident by the ſaying of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Mat. 5th Let your good works ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and glorifie your father which is in heaven.* And likewiſe *John 10th Truſt unto your good works.* Whereupon S. *Gregory*, in his firſt Book of Dialogues, writeth thus: *The eſtimation of a true life conſiſteth in the vertue of his works, and not in the ſhewing of ſigns.* Whereby it is fourthly concluded, by that which is aforeſaid, that it is a more effectual Teſtimony and witneſs for a Prieſt or Deacon that he is ſent of God to confeſs the truth, and follow Chriſt in the foreſaid vertues, than to caſt out Divels, or to do any other miracles, as it is evident by the ſaying of *Chryſoſtome* before alledged. Whomſoever thou doſt ſee to caſt out Divels, if the confeſſion or acknowledging of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteouſneſs nor juſtice in his hands, he is not a Man of God. This is alſo confirmed by the words of Chriſt. *Matth. 7. Many ſhall ſay unto me in that day; Lord, Lord, have not we propheſied in thy name; have not we caſt out divels in thy name; and have not we alſo wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will anſwer and ſay unto them; forſomuch as I have not known you at any time, Depart from me ye workers of iniquity.* And as touching the ſecond part, *Chryſoſtome* ſaith; *If you ſee a man confeſſing and preaching the truth, and working righteouſneſs, although he do not caſt out divels, he is a man of God.*

A greate miracle to love a mans Enemy.

The true miracles of Chriſts Miniſters.

Hereby it appeareth, that every Deacon, Prieſt, or Miniſter, confeſſing the truth, and working juſtice, hath a perfect and ſure Teſtimony that he is ſent of God; and that it is not neceſſary for him to approve this his ſending by the working of any miracle, in ſtead of working righteouſneſs; neither by any Teſtimonial, the which ſhould plainly declare him by name, that he was ſent of the Lord to Preach.

The Teſtimony of a true Prieſt.

The firſt part appeareth manifeſt by that which is already ſpoken, that all miracles in the time of Antichriſt ſhall ceaſe in the elect.

The ſecond part is alſo evident; forſomuch as none of the preſent Preachers can ſhew by the Scripture of the Law of God, that he is ſpecially named thereunto.

And likewiſe I do alſo affirm and ſay, as touching all Preachers which ſhall come hereafter, that they are not named by name. But let no man here object *Enoch* and *Elias*, which were ancient Preachers, and propheſied by the holy Spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cauſe ſufficient to prove, that this Prieſt or Deacon is ſent of God to Preach, becauſe he worketh miracles; ſo is it not a cauſe ſufficient to prove, that he is not ſent of God to Preach, becauſe he doth no miracles; but to confeſs the truth, to work righteouſenſs, to contemn the World with the glory thereof, patiently to ſuffer rebukes, is a ſufficient Teſtimony for any Prieſt or Deacon, having knowledge of the Law of God, freely to Preach the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, forſomuch as in ſuch caſe he is ſent of God. And this is the ſending which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of in

the 10. to the *Romans*; *How ſhould they preach, except they be ſent?* Whereupon the *Gloſs* of S. *Auguſtine* writeth thus; Theſe things ſerve to ſet forth Gods grace, declaring that all our goodneſs is prevented of grace.

For he ſaith, Belief cometh of hearing, hearing cometh of Preaching, and Preaching by the ſending of God; ſo that altogether wholly cometh out of the Fountain of Grace, and Preaching truly cometh of ſending. This hath the *Gloſs*: how ſhall they then Preach, without they be ſent of God? And this is evident, that the great and principal ſending is from God alone, as it is approved by *Moſes*.

The ſecond ſending is both from God and Man; as by the example of *Joſua* and others, which were ſent both by God and the Rulers to Preach.

The third ſending is from Man alone; the which is not founded in the Law of God, but in mens Traditions, which they rather eſteem.

The fourth ſending, which hath but the name only, is proper to them, which of themſelves unworthily uſurp the Office of Preaching, as thoſe falſe Prophets of whom God ſpeaketh in the 23. of *Jeremy*; I did not ſend them, and they ran: I ſpake not unto them, and they prophecied, if they had continued in my counſels, and had declared my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil ways, and wicked imaginations. And our Saviour ſpeaketh of theſe Prophets in *Matthew*, ſaying, *There ſhall ariſe falſe Prophets.* And *Peter* his true Vicar, in his ſecond Epiſtle and ſecond Chapter, propheſying unto the faithful Believers in Chriſt, ſpeaketh thus of them; There were amongſt the people falſe Prophets, as there ſhall be amongſt you alſo Maſters of lies, through whom the truth ſhall be blaſphemed and ſlandered; and that he might the better inſtruct the people to know them, he addeth, That they ſhall go about with fained words, for covetouſneſs ſake, to make merchandize of you.

The difference between the Miniſters of Chriſt and Antichriſt.

Wherefore every faithful man, diligently weighing theſe things in his mind, may now eaſily perceive how great a number of falſe Prophets there be, through whom the Chriſtian truth is blaſphemed, and all covetous dealing is exerciſed, and theſe are they which freely Preach lies. But the humble and true Miniſters of Chriſt, whereſoever they do appear, by and by are perſecuted, whereby the prophecy of the Apoſtle is verified, which is written in the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, the 3. All men, ſaith he, which deſire to live godly, ſhall ſuffer perſecution: But the evil men and Seducers ſhall proſper in their wickedneſs, running daily more and more into all kind of errors. The wicked have now ſo much prevailed, that they do Preach lies, making Hereticks of the faithful Chriſtians; neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, ſo that they do not Preach againſt the vices of the Prelates. How then can you ſay, that Antichriſt is not exalted above all that which is called God, ſuppreſſing the members of Chriſt, in his Office, fortifying and foſtering his members in lying? Therefore the true and faithful Diſciples of Chriſt ought to ſtand ready girt about their loins, and ſhooes upon their feet in defence of the Goſpel, taking the Sword in hand, which is the word of God. *Epheſ.* 6. And to fight againſt the crafts of Antichriſt, who goeth about utterly to extinguiſh the true Preaching of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The Miniſters of Antichriſt do cloke the vices of their Prelates.

## The ſecond diſputation in the Univerſity of *Pragne*, upon the ſeventeenth Article of *John Wickliff*, moſt fruitful to be read; proving by four and Twenty reaſons out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lords temporal have lawful authority and juriſdiction over the ſpirituality and Churchmen, both in taking from them, and correcting their abuſes according to their doings and deſerts.

"TO the Honour of Almighty God, and of our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, both for the trying out of truth, and "the profit of holy Mother the Church, according to the "Congregation of our Univerſity of *Prague*, which, avoiding always to do that which ſhall be prejudicial to the "truth, hath deferred to give their conſent unto the condemnation of the Forty five Articles, wiſhing even unto "this preſent ſufficient probation to be given of the condemnation of the ſaid Articles, and particularly of every "one of them. Whereupon the ſaid Univerſity doth always require due proof of the ſame, forſomuch as Pope "*Damaſus* in his Canon, Diſtinction ſixty eighth Chapter, "*Chorepiſcopi*, ſaith thus; That it is neceſſary that whatſoever thing ſtandeth not by due reaſon ſhould be rooted "out. Whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the "five and forty Articles, if it ſtand not with proof and ſufficient demonſtration for every Article, is neceſſary to be "rooted out.

The condemnation of the xlv. Articles, and therefore is not to be alloyed.

KING. *Ric.* 2.

"But if any man will object and ſay, that to require a "reaſon of every thing, is to derogate from Gods divine "power. Unto this objection Maſter *William* doth anſwer "himſelf in his Philoſophy, the firſt Book, almoſt at the end, "where he intreating of the place, in the ſecond Chapter of "*Geneſis*, God made man of the ſlime of the Earth, &c. "Hath theſe words; For in what point (ſay we) are we "contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we ſeek by reaſon to declare wherefore any thing is done, which is ſaid in the "Scriptures to be done? For if that a wiſe man ſhould ſay "that a thing is done, and do not declare how it is done, "and another man ſpeaketh the very ſelf ſame thing, and "declareth how it is done, what contrariety is there? But "forſomuch as they themſelves know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might have all men partakers "with them of their ignorance, they would have no man "to inquire it out. But they would have us believe as ignorant people, neither to ſeek any reaſon of our belief, that "the prophecy might be fulfilled: Such as the people is, "ſuch ſhall be the Prieſt. But we truly do ſay, that in all "things a reaſon is to be ſought, if it may by any means be "found. But if that any man do ſtay at any thing which "the Scriptures do affirm, let him commit the ſame unto faith, and unto the holy Ghoſt. For *Moſes* ſaith, If the "Lamb cannot be eaten, let it not be by and by conſumed "in the fire; but let him firſt call his Neighbour which "dwelleth next houſe unto him; and if they alſo be not "ſufficient to eat the Lamb, then let it be burned in the "fire. So likewiſe, when as we go about to ſeek any thing "as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of ourſelves to comprehend the ſame, let us call our Neighbours "which dwelleth next houſe unto us; that is to ſay, let us "ſeek out ſuch a one as dwelleth in the ſame Catholick faith "with us; and if then neither we, neither yet he be able to "comprehend the ſame, let it then be burned with the fire "of Faith.

An Allegory upon the *Paſchal Lamb.*

"But theſe men, albeit they have many Neighbours "dwelling near unto them, yet for very pride they will not "call any man unto them, chuſing rather to continue ſtill "ignorant, than to ask any queſtion. And if they do know "any man to enquire for his Neighbour in ſuch caſe, by "and by they cry out upon him as an Heretick; preſuming more upon their own heads, than having confidence "in their wiſdom. But I exhort you to give no credit unto "their outward appearance, for already it is verified in "them which the Satyrical Poet ſaith; No credit is to be "given unto the outward ſhew: For which of them all is "it that doth not abound with moſt ſhameful and deteſtable "vices? And in another place he ſaith; They are very "dainty of their ſpeech, and have great deſire to keep ſilence. And thus much hath M. *Wilhelmus*. Let all ſuch "hear whom this parable doth touch: for I with the reſt "of the Maſters, Bachelors, and Students of our Univerſity, "conſidering how hard a matter the condemnation of the "Forty five Articles of *Wickliff*, without reaſon, is, and how "grievous a thing it were if we ſhould thereunto conſent, "do call together my Neighbours, the Doctors of this "Univerſity, and all others which would object any thing "againſt the ſame, that we might preſently find out the "reaſon of the condemnation of this Article concerning the "taking away the temporalties from the Clergy.

A proteſtation, whereby he giveth light unto Reader, how the propoſition aforeſaid is to be underſtood, and addeth, that the goods of the Clergy are not utterly to be taken away, but in caſe they do abuſe the ſame.

"Notwithſtanding I do profeſs that it is not my intent, "like as it is not the meaning of the Univerſity to perſwade, "that Princes or ſecular Lords ſhould take away the goods "from the Clergy when they would, or how they would, "and convert them to what uſe they liſt. But our whole "intent is, diligently to ſearch out whether this Article, as "touching the taking away of temporalties from the Clergy, may have in it any true ſenſe, whereby it may be defended without reproof. Wherefore this Article, being "the ſeventeenth in the number of the Forty five, is, pro-

KING Ric. 2.

The seventeenth Article proved by 44. Arguments.

"propounded under this form: The Lords temporal "may at their own will and pleasure, take away the tem- "poral Goods from the Clergy, if they do offend, and "therein continue. It is thus proved: The Kings of the "*Old Testament* took away the temporal Goods at Gods "commandment from the Clergy; that is to say, from "the Priests offending. Therefore the Kings also of the "*New Testament*, at Gods commandment, may do the "like, when as the Priests of the new Law do offend. The "consequence dependeth upon a similitude. And the an- "tecedent is evident. First, it is proved by *Solomon* in the "3d of the *Kings*, 2. Chapter, which *Solomon* deposed *A-* "*biathar* the high Priest, because he had taken part with "*Adonias* the Brother of *Solomon* to make him King, "without the advice either of *David*, or of *Solomon* him- "self, which ought to reign, and set up *Sadoc* the Priest in "the place of *Abiathar*, because he had not consented with "*Abiathar* unto *Adonias*, as it is written in the 3d Book of "*Kings*, 1. Chapter, where it is said; *Adonias*, the Son "of *Agithe*, exalted himself, saying, I will Reign, and made "unto himself Chariots and Horsemen, and Fourty men "which should run before him; neither did his Father re- "buke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done "this? For he was very comely, being second Son, next to "*Absolom*, and his talk was with *Joab* the Son of *Sarvia* and "*Abiathar* the Priest, which took part with *Adonias*. But "*Sadoc* the Priest, and *Benaias* the Son of *Joiada*, and *Na-* "*than* the Prophet, and *Semei*, and *Serethi*, and *Felethi*, and "all the power of *Davids* Host, were not on *Adonias* part.

"This was the cause of the deposing of *Abiathar*, be- "cause he took part with *Adonias*, that he should be King "against *Solomon* the eldest Son of King *David*: Where- "fore it is written in the Third Book, and second Chapter "of the *Kings*; *The King said unto* Abiathar *the Priest*, "*Go your ways unto* Anathoth *thine own Field, for thou* "*art a Man of death; but this day I will not slay thee,* "*because thou hast carried the Ark of the Lord before my* "*Father* David, *and didst labour in all things wherein my* "*Father laboured*. Then did *Solomon* cast out *Abiathar*, "that he should be no more the Priest of the Lord; that "the Word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he spake "upon the house of *Heli* in *Silo*.

"Behold, the most prudent King *Salomon*, according to "the wisdom which was given him of God, did exercise "his power upon the said Priest, putting him out of his "Priesthood, and setting in his place *Sadoc* the Priest. This "was a greater matter than to take away the temporalties. "If then in the Law of Christ, which now reigneth over us, "a Bishop should likewise rebel against the true Heir of the "Kingdom, willing to set up another for King; why "should not the King or his Heir have power, in like case, "to take away the temporalties from him so offending?

*Nabuchadonozor.*

"*Item*, It is also evident by the King *Nabuchadonozor*, "which had power given him of God to lead away the "children of *Israel*, with their Priests and Levites, into "the Captivity of *Babylon*, as it is written in the 4th Book "of the Kings, 25. Chapter.

3. *Joas.*

"*Item*, It is read in the 4th Book of *Kings*, and 12th "Chap. How that *Joas* the most godly King of *Juda*, ac- "cording to the wisdom which God had granted him, took "away all the consecrate vessels which *Josaphat*, *Joram*, "and *Ochasias*, his Fore-fathers Kings of *Juda* had conse- "crated, and those which he himself had offered, and all the "Treasure that could be found in the Temple of the Lord, "and in the Kings Palace, and sent it unto *Azabel* King "of *Syria*, and he departed from *Jerusalem*. Mark how "this most holy King exercised his power, not only in ta- "king away the Temporalties of the Priests, but also those "things which were consecrate in the Temple of the Lord, "to procure unto the Common-wealth the benefit of peace.

4. *Ezechias.*

"*Item*, In the 4th Book, and 18th Chap. of the Kings, it "is written, how that the holy King *Ezechias* took all the "Treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in "the Kings Treasury, and brake down the Pillars of the "Temple of the Lord, and all the Plates of Gold which he "himself had fastned thereupon, and gave them unto the "King of the *Assyrians*; yet was he not rebuked of the "Lord therefore, as he was for his other sins, as it appeareth "in the 2d Book of *Paralip.* 32. Chap. Forsomuch then as "in time of necessity all things ought to be in common "unto Christians, it followeth that the secular Lords in case "of necessity, and in many other common cases, may law- "fully take away the moveable goods from the Clergy, "when they do offend.

5. "*Item*, It is also read in the 12th of S. *Matthew*, That "the Disciples of Jesus, to slack their hunger, upon the Sab- "bath day pulled the ears of corn, and did eat them, and "the Pharisees rebuked them therefore; unto whom Christ "answered, *Have ye not read what* David *did when he* "*was hungry, and those that were with him: How he* *David's* "*entred into the House of the Lord, and did eat the Shew-* "*bread, which it was not lawful for him, neither for* "*them that were with him to eat, but only for the Priests?* "This story is written in the first Book of the *Kings*, and "21. Chapter. And the commandment in the 12th Chapter "of *Deuteronomie*. Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawful in "time of necessity to use any thing, be it never so much "consecrate. Otherwise children by giving their movea- "bles to the consecration of any Temple, should not be "bound to help their Parents; which is contrary and a- "gainst the Gospel of S. *Matthew* in the sixteenth Cha- "pter; Whereas our Saviour sharply rebuked the Pharisees, "that for their own Traditions they did transgress the "commandment of God.

Case of necessity.

6. *Titus* and *Vespasian.*

"*Item*, *Titus* and *Vespasian* secular Princes had power "given them of God, twenty four years after the Lords Af- "cension, to take away the Temporalties from the Priests "which had offended against the Lords holy one, and "thereby also bereft them of their lives: And it seemeth "unto many, they did and might worthily do the same "according to Gods good will and pleasure. Then forso- "much as our Priests in these days may transgress and of- "fend as much, and rather more against the Lords anoin- "ted, it followeth, that by the pleasure of God, the secular "Lords may likewise punish them for their offence.

7. The example of Christ paying of Tribute.

"Our Saviour being King of Kings, and high Bishop, "with his Disciples, did give Tribute unto *Cæsar*, as it ap- "peareth in the 17th Chap. of S. *Matthews Gospel*, and "commanded the Scribes and Pharisees to give the like "unto *Cæsar*, S. *Matth.* 22. Whereby he gave example "unto all Priests that would come after him to render Tri- "bute unto their Kings: Whereupon blessed S. *Ambrose* "in his fourth Book upon these Words in the 5th of S. *Luke*, "(Cast out yout nets) writeth thus; There is another "kind of fishing amongst the Apostles, after which man- "ner the Lord commanded *Peter* only to fish, saying, "Cast out thy Hook, and that Fish which cometh first up, "take him. And then unto the purpose he saith; It is "truly a great and spiritual document, whereby all Chri- "stian men are taught, that they ought to be subject unto "the higher powers, and that no man ought to think that "the Laws of a King here on Earth are to be broken. For "if the Son of God did pay Tribute, who art thou so "great a man, that thinkest thou oughtest not to pay "Tribute? He payed Tribute which had no possessions; "and thou which daily seekest after the lucre of the World, "why dost thou not acknowledge the obedience and du- "ty of the World? Why dost thou through the arrogan- "cy of thy mind exalt thy self above the World, when "as, through thine own miserable covetousness, thou art "subject unto the World? Thus writeth S. *Ambrose*, and "it is put in the 11. q. 1. *Magnum quidem*. He also writeth "upon these words in *Luke* 20. *Shew me a peny, whose* "*Image hath it?* If Christ had not the Image of *Cæsar*, "why did he pay any Tribute? He gave it not of his own, "but rendred unto the World, that which was the Worlds: "and if thou wilt not be in danger of *Cæsar*, possess not "those things which are the Worlds; for if thou hast riches "thou art in danger of *Cæsar*.

S. *Ambrose's* mind.

Christ commanded Tribute to be paid unto the Emperor.

"Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing unto any Earthly "King, forsake all those things, and follow Christ. If "then all Ecclesiastical Ministers, having riches, ought to "be under the subjection of Kings, and give unto them "Tribute: It followeth that Kings may lawfully, by the "Authority which is given them take away their Tempo- "ralties from them.

"Hereupon S. *Paul*, acknowledging himself to be under "jurisdiction of the Emperor, appealed unto *Cæsar*, as it "appeareth, *Acts* 25.

*Paul* appealed to the Emperor.

"I stand, saith he, at *Cæsars* Judgment seat, there I "ought to be judged. Whereupon in the eighth Distinc- "on, Chapter *Quo jure*, S. *Ambrose* alledgeth, that all

S. *Ambrose* there in the 8. Distinct.

" things are lawful unto the Emperor, and all things under " his Power. For the confirmation whereof it is said,
*Dan.* 2. " *Daniel* second Chapter, The God of Heaven hath given " unto thee a Kingdom, Strength, Empire and Glory, " and all places wherein the Children of men do dwell, " and hath given into thy Power the Beasts of the field, " and Fowls of the Air, and set all things under thy Sub- " jection.

" Also in the 11. *question* and 1. he saith, If the Em-
9. " peror require Tribute, we do not deny that the Lands of " the Church shall pay Tribute; if the Emperor have need " of our Lands, he hath power to challenge them, let him " take them, if he will; I do not give them unto the Em- " peror, neither do I deny them. This writeth S. *Ambrose*, " expressly declaring that the secular Lord hath power at " his pleasure to take away the Lands of the Church; and " so consequently the secular Lords have power at their " own pleasures to take away the Temporal goods from " the Ecclesiastical Ministers, when they do offend.

10. S. *Augustine* " *Item*, S. *Augustine* writeth, If thou sayst, what have " we do with the Emperor? But now as I said, we speak " of mans Law. The Apostles would be Obedient unto " Kings, and honour them, saying, *Reverence your Kings*; " *and do not say, What have I to do with the King?* " What hast thou then to do with Possessions? By the " Kings Law thy Possessions are possessed. Thou hast said, " What have I to do with the King? but do not say, What " have thy Possessions to do with the King? For then hast " thou renounced the Laws of men, whereby thou didst " possess thy Lands. Thus writeth S. *Augustine* in his " eigth *Distinct.* by whose words it is manifest, that the " King hath power over the Church-goods, and conse- " quently may take them away from the Clergy trans- " gressing or offending.

11. Magistrates, Keepers of both Laws. " *Item*, in his three and thirtieth Epistle unto *Boniface*, " he saith, What sober man will say unto our Kings, Care " not you in your Kingdom, by whom the Church of the " Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it " pertaineth not unto you, who will be either a religious " man, or who will be a Church-Robber? Unto whom " it may be thus answered, Doth it not pertain unto us in " our Kingdom, who will either live a chast life, or who " will be an unchast Whoremonger? Behold, this holy
The duty of Kings to punish the Clergy. " man sheweth here how that it is the duty of Kings to " punish such as are Robbers of Churches, and consequent- " ly the proud Clergy when as they do offend.

12. " *Item*, he writeth in the 33. *quest.* 7. *Si de rebus*; " The secular Lords may lawfully take away the Temporal " goods from Hereticks; and forsomuch it is a case greatly " possible that many of the Clergy are users of Simony, and " thereby Hereticks, therefore the secular Lords may very " lawfully take away their Temporalties from them. For " what unworthy thing is it, saith S. *Augustine*, if the *Catho-* " *licks* do possess, according unto the will of the Lord, those " things which the Hereticks held? Forsomuch as this is " the word of the Lord unto all wicked men, *Mat.* 21. *The*
*Mat.* 21. " *Kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and given* " *unto a Nation, which shall do the righteousness thereof*; " is it in vain which is written in the eleventh Chapter of
*Wisdom* 11. " the Book of *Wisdom*? *The just shall eat the labours of* " *the wicked.*

An objection of the desire of other mens goods. " And whereas it may be objected as touching the de- " sire of other mens goods, S. *Augustine* answereth, That " by that evidence the seven Nations, which did abuse the " Land of Promise, and were driven out from thence by " the Power of God, may object the same unto the people " of God, which inhabit the same. And the *Jews* them- " selves, from whom, according unto the word of the " Lord, The Kingdom is taken away, and given unto a " people, which shall do the works of Righteousness, may " object the same unto the Church of Christ, as touching " the desire of other mens goods; but S. *Augustines* An- " swer is thus:

" *We*, saith he, *do not desire another mans goods; for-* " *somuch as they are ours by the Commandment of him,* " *by whom all things were made.* By like evidence the " Clergy having offended, their Temporal goods are " made the goods of others, for the profit of the Church.
S. *Augustine* 14. *quest* 4. " To this purpose also, according to Saint *Augustine* " serveth the fourteenth *question* 4. Unto a misbeliever it " is not a half-peny matter, but unto the Faithful is a " whole World of riches: shall we not then convince all
KING *Ric.* 2. " such to possess another mans goods, which seemed to " have gathered great riches together, and know not how " to use them? for that truly is not anothers, which is " possessed by right: and that is lawfully possessed, which " is justly possessed; and that is justly possessed, which is " well possessed. *Ergo*, all that which is evil possessed is " another mans, and he doth ill possess it, which doth evil " use it.

" If then any of the Clergy do abuse the Temporal " goods, the Temporal Lords may at their own pleasure, ac- " cording unto the rule of charity, take away the said Tem- " poral goods from the Clergy so transgressing. For then, " according to the Allegation aforesaid, the Clergy doth not " justly possess those Temporal goods, but the Temporal " Lords, proceeding according to the rule of charity, do " justly possess those Temporalties, forsomuch as all things " are the just mans, 1 *Cor.* 3. *All things*, saith the Apostle, " *are yours*; *whether it be* Paul, *or* Apollo, *or* Cephas, 1 *Cor.* 3. " *either the World, either Life or Death, or things present,* " *or things to come: for all things be yours, you be Christs,* By Gods Law. *Cuncta justo-* " *and Christ is Gods.* Also in the twenty third *question* 7. *rum ex di-* " *Quicunque*, it is written; *Juxta divino omnia sunt justo-* *vina dispo-* " *rum.* The words of S. *Augustine* in that place, *ad Vincen-* *sitione.* " *tium*, be these, Whosoever, saith he, upon the occasion of " this Law or Ordinance of the Emperor, doth molest or " persecute you, not for love of any charitable correction, " but only for hatred and malice to do you displeasure, I " hold not with him in so doing.

" And although there is nothing here in this earth, that " any man may possess assuredly, but either he must hold " it by Gods Law, by which *cuncta justorum esse dicuntur*; " that is, all things be said to pertain to the possession of " the Just: or else by mans Law, which standeth in the " Kings Power to set and to ordain, &c. Here, by the words " of S. *Augustine* alledged, ye see all things belong to the " possession of the Just, by Gods Law.

13. The Clergy subject unto the Emperor and King by means of their possessions. " *Item*, forsomuch as the Clergy by means of their pos- " sessions are in danger of the Emperor and King: it fol- " loweth, that if they do offend, the Emperor or King " may lawfully take away their possessions from them. " The consequence dependeth on this point, forsomuch as " otherwise they were not in subjection under the Emperor " or King: and the antecedent is manifest by the eleventh " *question* and first *Parag. His ita respondetur.* Whereas " it is specified in *Latin* thus, *His ita respondetur, Clerici* " *ex officio Episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus præ-* " *diorum Imperatori sunt obnoxii: ab Episcopo unctionem,* " *decimas, & primitias accipiunt; ab Imperatore vero* " *prædiorum possessiones nanciscuntur*: that is to say, The " Clergy by means of their Office are under the Bishop, but " by reason of their possessions they be subject unto the " Emperor: Of the Bishop they receive Unction, Tythes, " and First-fruits; of the Emperor they receive possessions. " Thus then it is decreed by the Emperial Law, That " Livelihoods should be possessed; whereby it appeareth, " that the Clergy by the possession of their Livelihoods " are in danger of the Emperor for him to take away from " them, or to correct them according to their deservings, " and to have the controulment of them, as it shall seem " good unto him.

14. Users of Simony are punished by the civil Magistrate. " *Item*, the Temporal Lords may take away the Tem- " poralties from such as use Simony, because they are He- " reticks. *Ergo*, this Article is true.

" The Antecedent is manifest, forsomuch as the Secular " Lords may refuse such as use Simony, and punish them " except they do repent. For by the decree of Pope *Pas-* *Paschasius* " *chasius* in the first and last *question* it appeareth, that all *in* 1. *q.* *ult.* *cap. pater.* " such as used Simony were to be refused of all faithful " people, as chief and principal Hereticks; and if they do " not repent after they be warned, they are also to be " punished by the extern Power. For all other faults and " crimes in comparison of Simony, be counted but light, " and seem small offences.

The Laity Correctors of the Clergy. " Whereupon the *Glosa*, expounding the same Text, " saith, That by this word *Extern*, is understood the Laity, " which have power over the Clergy, besides the Church, " as in the 17. *Distinct. Non licuit, & 23. quæst.* 5. *Prin-* " *cipes.* Whereby it is evident, that the Temporal Lords " may take away the Temporal goods from the Clergy " when as they do offend.

" *Item*,

KING *Ric.* 2.

*Gregory* writeth to the *French* Queen.

Wicked Prieſts the deſtruction of the people.

S. *Gregory* to the *French* King

"*Item*, S. *Gregory* in the Regiſter upon his ſeventh Book and ninth Chapter, writeth thus unto the *French* Queen: "For ſo much as it is written that righteouſneſs helpeth "the people, and ſin maketh them miſerable: then is that "Kingdom counted ſtable, when as the offence which is "known, is ſoon amended.

"Therefore, for ſo much as wicked Prieſts are the cauſe "of the ruine of the people, (for who ſhall take upon him, "to be Interceſſor for the ſins of the people, if the Prieſt "which ought to intreat for the ſame, have committed "greater offences) and under your Dominions the Prieſts "do live wickedly and unchaſtly: therefore that the of- "fence of a few might not turn to the deſtruction of "many, we ought earneſtly to ſeek the puniſhment of the "ſame. And it followeth, If we do command any perſon, "we do ſend him forth, with the conſent of your Autho- "rity, who together with other Prieſts, ſhall diligently "ſeek out, and according unto Gods word correct and "amend the ſame. Neither are theſe things to be diſſembled, "the which we have ſpoken of, for he that may correct "any thing, and doth neglect the ſame, without all doubt "he maketh himſelf partaker of the ſin or offence.

"Therefore foreſee unto your own Soul, provide for "your Nephews, and for ſuch as you do deſire to Reign "after you, provide for your Country, and with diligence "provide for the correction and puniſhment of that ſin, be- "fore our Creator do ſtretch out his hand to ſtrike.

"And in his next Chapter he writeth unto the *French* "King: Whatſoever you do underſtand to pertain either "unto the Honour and Glory of our God, to the reverence "of the Church, or to the honour of the Prieſts, that do "you diligently cauſe to be decreed, and in all points to be "obſerved. Wherefore once again we do move you, that "you command a Synod to be congregate, and as we "wrote lately unto you, to cauſe all the carnal Vices, which "reign amongſt your Prieſts, and all the wickedneſs and "Simony of your Biſhops (which is moſt hard to be con- "demned and reproved) utterly to be baniſhed out of your "Kingdom; and that you will not ſuffer them to poſſeſs "any more ſubſtance under your Dominion, than Gods "commandment doth allow.

"Behold how carefully bleſſed *Gregory* doth exhort the "Queen and the King to puniſh the Vices of the Clergy, leſt "through their negligence they ſhould be partakers of the "ſame; and how they ought to correct their Subjects. "For as it is convenient to be circumſpect and careful "againſt the outward enemies; even ſo likewiſe ought "they to be againſt the inward enemies of the Soul. And "like as in juſt War againſt the outward enemies it is "lawful to take away their goods, ſo long as they continue "in their malice; ſo alſo it is lawful to take away the "goods of the Clergy, being the inward enemy. The con- "ſequence is proved thus, for ſo much as the domeſtical "enemies are moſt hurtful.

"*Item*, it is thus argued; If God be, the Temporal Lords "may meritoriouſly and lawfully take away the Temporal "goods from the Clergy, if they do offend. For this point "let us ſuppoſe that we ſpeak of power, as the true authen- "thick Scripture doth ſpeak, *Mat.* 3. 9. *God is able even* "*of theſe ſtones to raiſe up Children to* Abraham.

"Whereupon it is thus argued; For if God be, he is "Omnipotent, and if he ſo be, he may give like power "unto the ſecular Lords. And ſo conſequently they may "meritoriouſly and lawfully uſe the ſame power. But leſt "that any man may object, that a proof made by a ſtrange "thing is not ſufficient; it is therefore declared how that "the Temporal Lords have power to take away their "Alms beſtowed upon the Church, the Church abuſing "the ſame, as it ſhall be proved hereafter. And firſt thus, "It is lawful for Kings, in caſes limited by the Law, to "take away the moveables from the Clergy when they do "offend: it is thus proved, For the Temporal Lords are "moſt bound unto the works of greateſt mercy moſt eaſie "for them: but in caſe poſſible, it ſhould be greater Alms "and eaſier Temporal Dominion, to take away their Alms "from ſuch as build therewithall unto eternal damna- "tion, through the abuſe thereof, than to give the ſaid "Alms for any bodily relief. *Ergo*, the aſſumption is true.

"Whereupon firſt this Sentence of the Law of Chriſt in "the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* the third Chapter "is noted, whereas the Apoſtle writeth thus; when we "were amongſt you, we declared this unto you, *That he* "*that would not work ſhould not eat.* Wherefore the law "of Nature doth licence all ſuch as have the Governance "of Kingdoms, to correct the abuſe of the Temporalties, "which would be the chief cauſe of the deſtruction of their "Kingdoms; whether the Temporal Lords, or any other, "had endowed the Church with thoſe Temporalties or "not. It is lawful for them in ſome caſe to take away the "Temporalties, as it were by way of Phyſick to withſtand "ſin, notwithſtanding any Excommunication, or other "Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; forſomuch as they are not en- "dowed but only with condition thereunto annexed.

When and how the title of any gift is loſt.

"Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the "endowing, or enriching of any Church, is, that God "ſhould be honoured: the which condition if it once fail, "the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is loſt, and "conſequently the Lord which gave the Alms ought "to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not "to lett the fulfilling of Juſtice. Secondly, according to the "Canon Law, *16. queſtion* 7. this Sentence is noted, where "it is thus ſpoken as touching the Children, Nephews, and "the moſt honeſt of the Kindred of him which hath build- "ed or endowed any Church: That it is lawful for them "to be thus circumſpect, that if they perceive the Prieſt "do defraud any part of that which is beſtowed, they ſhould "either gently admoniſh, or warn him, or elſe complain "of him to the Biſhop, that he may be corrected. But if "the Biſhop himſelf attempt to do the like, let them com- "plain of him to his Metropolitan: and if the Metropoli- "tan do the like, let them not defer the time to report it "in the ears of the King. For ſo ſaith the Canon, Let them "not defer to report it in the ears of the King. To what "end I pray you, but that he ſhould do correction? neither "is it to be doubted, but that correction doth more apper- "tain unto the King in this points for their good, whereof "he is chief Lord by a ſubſtraction proportional, according "to the fault or offence.

It is lawful for the civil Rulers to correct the Clergy.

"*Item*, it is thus proved; It is lawful for the ſecular "Lords by their power to do correction upon the "Clergy by ſome kind of fearful Diſcipline appertain- "ing to their ſecular power: *Ergo*, by like reaſon it is "lawful for them by their power to do ſuch correction, "by all kind of fearful Diſcipline pertaining unto their "ſecular power. For ſo much then as the taking of "their Temporalties is a kind of fearful diſcipline pertain- "ing unto the ſecular power; it followeth that it is law- "ful for them thereby to do ſuch correction. And conſe- "quently it followeth that the Truth is thus to be proved. "The conſequence is evident; and the antecedent is "proved by *Iſidore* 23. *queſt.* 5. *Principes.* Where it "is thus written, There ſhould be no ſecular powers "within the Church, but only for this purpoſe, that "whatſoever thing the Prieſts or Miniſters cannot bring "to paſs by Preachings or Teachings, the ſecular powers "may command the ſame by the terrour and fear of Diſ- "cipline. For oftentimes the heavenly Kingdom is pro- "fited and holden by the earthly Kingdom: that they "which are in the Church, and do any thing contrary "unto faith and diſcipline, by the rigour of the Princes "may be trodden down, and that the power of the Rulers "may lay that diſcipline upon the necks of the proud and "ſtiffnecked, which the utility and profit of the Church "cannot exerciſe or uſe.

"*Item*, all things that by power ought to work or "bring to any perfect end by the reaſonable meaſuring "of the mean thereto, may lawfully uſe by power the "ſubſtraction or taking away of the exceſs, and the ad- "dition of the want of the means, according as ſhall "be convenient or meet for the meaſure to be made. "For ſo much then as the ſecular Lords ought by their "power to provide for the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the "Chriſtian Clergy by the reaſonable meaſuring of their "Temporalties, which they are bound to beſtow upon "the Chriſtian Clergy, it followeth, that they may law- "fully by their power uſe the taking away or putting "unto of thoſe Temporalties according as ſhall be conve- "nient for the performance of that reaſonable matter.

"*Item*, it is lawful for the Clergy, by their power to "take away the Sacraments of the Church from the Laity "cuſtomably offending, for ſo much as it doth pertain "to the Office of the Chriſtian Miniſters by their power to

"miniſter

" miniſter the ſame unto the Lay-people. Wherefore, for
" ſo much as it doth pertain unto the Office of the Laity,
" according unto their power to miniſter, and give Tem-
" poralties to the Clergy of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle ſaith,
" 1 *Cor.* 9. It followeth, that it is alſo lawful for them
" by their power to take away the Temporalties from the
" Clergy, when they do cuſtomably ſin and offend.

20. " *Item*, by like power may he which giveth a ſtipend
" or exhibition, withdraw and take away the ſame from
" the unworthy Labourers, as he hath power to give the
" ſame unto the worthy Labourers: forſomuch then as
" Temporalties of the Clergy, are the ſtipends of the Laity;
" it followeth that the Lay-people may by as good autho-
" rity take away again the ſame from the Clergy, which
" will not worthily labour, as they might by their power
" beſtow the ſame upon thoſe which would worthily la-
" bour, according to the ſaying of the Goſpel, *Matth* 21.
" *The Kingdom ſhall be taken away from you, and given*
" *unto a people which ſhall bring forth the fruits there-*
" *of.*

21. " *Item*, it is alſo lawful for the ſecular Lords, by their
" power, to chaſtiſe and puniſh the Lay-people when they
" do offend, by taking away of their Temporalties accord-
" ing to the exigent of their offence, forſomuch as the Lay-
" people are ſubject under the Dominion of the Secular
" Lords, as appears, *Rom.* 13. and many other places, it is
" evident that it is lawful by their power to puniſh the
" Clergy, by taking away of their Temporalties, if their
" offence do ſo deſerve.

22. " *Item*, the true and eaſie direction of the Clergy unto
" the life of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and moſt profit-
" able unto the Laity, that the Clergy ſhould not live
" contrary unto Chriſts Inſtitution, ſeemeth to be the taking
" away of their Alms, and thoſe things which they had
" beſtowed upon them. And it is thus proved, That
" medicine is moſt apt to be laid unto the ſore, whereby
" the infirmity might ſooneſt be holpen, and were moſt
" agreeable unto the Patients: Such is the taking away
" of the Temporalties: *Ergo*, this Article is true. The
" minor is thus proved, forſomuch as by the abundance of
" Temporalties the Worm or Serpent of Pride is ſprung
" up, whereupon unſatiable deſire and luſt is inflamed,
" and therefrom proceedeth all kind of gluttony and le-
" chery. It is evident in this point, for ſo much as the
" Temporalties being once taken away, every one of
" thoſe ſins is either utterly taken away, or at the leaſt
" diminiſhed, by the contrary vertue induced and brought
" in. It ſeemeth alſo moſt pertinent unto the Laity, for
" ſo much as they ought not to lay violent hands upon
" their Miniſters, or to abject the Prieſtly Dignity, neither
" to judge any of the Clergy in their open Courts. It ſeem-
" eth alſo by the law of conſcience to pertain unto the Lay-
" people, for ſo much as every man, which worketh any
" work of mercy, ought diligently to have reſpect unto the
" ability of them that he beſtoweth his Alms upon; leſt
" that by nouriſhing or helping Loyterers, he be made par-
" taker of his offence. Whereupon, if Prieſts do not miniſter
" of their Spiritualties, as *Hoſtienſis* teacheth in his third
" Book, Of their Tythes, Firſt-Fuits and Oblations, the
" people ought to take away the Alms of their Tythes from
" them.

23. " *Item*, it is confirmed by the laſt Chapter of the ſeven-
" teenth queſtion, out of the decree of Rents appropriate
" unto the Church, *Quicunque*. Whereas the caſe is put
" thus, That a certain man having no Children, neither
" hoping to have any, gave all his goods unto the Church,
" reſerving unto himſelf the only uſe and profits thereof:
" it hapned afterward that he had Children and the Biſhop
" reſtored again his goods unto him not hoping for it.
" The Biſhop had it in his power, whether to render again,
" or no, thoſe things which were given him; but that
" was by the law of man, and not by the law of conſci-
" ence. If then by the decree of the holy Doctor S. *Au-*
" *guſtine* in his Sermon of the life of the Clergy, *Aurelius*
" the Biſhop of *Carthage* had no power by Gods Law to
" withhold that which is beſtowed upon the Church for
" the neceſſity of Children; by the which Law, the wan-
" ton, proud, and unſtable Clergy, being more than ſuffici-
" ently poſſeſſed and inriched, do detain and keep back the
" Temporalties to the detriment and hurt of their own
" ſtate, and of the whole Militant-Church, the ſecular
" Patrons being thereby to impoveriſhed, that they are com- } KING
" pelled by penury to rob and ſteal, to oppreſs their Tenants, } *Ric.* 2.
" to ſpoil and undo others, and oftentimes by very neceſſity
" are driven to beggery.

" *Item*, ſuppoſe that a Prieſt and Miniſter, how grievouſly
" ſoever he do offend, by what kind or ſign of offence
" ſoever it be, as it was in the caſe of Biſhop *Judas Iſca-*
" *rioth*, of the religious Monk *Sergius*, of Pope *Liberius* the
" Heretick, and many other Prieſts, of whom the Scrip-
" ture and Chronicles make mention, and daily experience
" doth teach us the ſame: it is evident, that, as it is ſup-
" poſed, the Prieſts in the Kingdom of *Boheme* grievouſly
" offending, it is the Kings Part, for ſo much as he is
" Supream Head next under God, and Lord of the King-
" dom of *Boheme*, to correct and puniſh thoſe Prieſts. And
" for ſo much as the gentleſt correction and puniſhment of
" ſuch as be indurate in their malice, is, the caſting
" away of their Temporal goods, it followeth, that it is
" lawful for the King to take away Temporalties. Where-
" fore it ſhould ſeem very marvelous and ſtrange, if that
" Prieſts riding about ſhould ſpoil Virgins, violently cor-
" rupt and defile honeſt Matrons; if in ſuch caſe it were
" not lawful for them to take away their Armors, Weapons,
" Horſes, Guns and Swords from them. The like reaſon
" were it alſo, if they had unlawfully conſpired the death
" of the King, or that they would betray the King unto his
" Enemies.

" *Item*, whatſoever any of the Clergy doth require or
" deſire of the ſecular Power, according unto the Law
" and Ordinance of Chriſt, the ſecular power ought to
" perform and grant the ſame. But the Clergy, being let-
" ted by riches, ought to require help of the ſecular power
" for the diſpenſation of the ſaid riches. *Ergo*, the ſecular
" power ought in ſuch caſe, by the Law of Chriſt, to take
" upon them the office or duty of getting, keeping, and
" diſtributing all ſuch manner of riches. The minor is
" hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but
" to that end, that they be helps, preferring and helping
" unto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore
" in caſe that ſecular poſſeſſion do hinder the Clergy from
" their duty, the ſecular power ought to take it away; for
" ſo did the Apoſtles, *Acts* the ſixth, ſaying, *It is not law-*
" *ful for us to leave the word of God untaught, and to*
" *miniſter unto Tables.*

" And thus hitherto hath *John Hus* proſecuted *Wick-*
" *liffs* Articles with long arguments and reaſons; and it
" were too long a travel, neither agreeable for this place,
" to alledge all the whole order of his reaſons and proofs,
" which he uſed in that diſputation, above the number of
" twenty more, beſides the teſtimonies of all the Writers be-
" fore recited, the which he alledgeth out of the Scriptures,
" Decretals, S. *Ambroſe* in his Book of Offices, S. *Auguſtine*
" in his fifth Book and fifth queſtion, and alſo unto *Ma-*
" *cedo*, *Iſidore*, the Council of *Nice*, *Gregory* his eleventh
" queſtion, *Bernard* unto *Eugenius* in his third Book, and
" out of *Lincolnienſis* the ſixty firſt Epiſtle, beſides
" many other more. The ſum of all which Teſtimonies
" tend unto this end, that he might utterly take away all
" earthly Rule and Dominion from the Clergy, and to
" bring them under the ſubjection and cenſure of Kings
" and Emperors, as it were within certain bonds, the which
" is not only agreeable unto equity and Gods word, but
" alſo profitable for the Clergy themſelves. He teacheth it
" alſo to be neceſſary, that they ſhould rather be ſubject
" under the ſecular power, than to be above them; becauſe
" that elſe it were dangerous, leſt that they being entangled
" with ſuch kind of buſineſs, they ſhould be an eaſier prey
" unto Satan, and ſooner trapped in his ſnares. And
" thereby it ſhould come to paſs, that the Governance and
" Principality of all things being at the length brought
" into the hands of the Clergy, the lawful Authority of
" Kings and Princes ſhould not only be given over unto
" them, but in a manner as it were grow out of uſe; ſpe-
" cially for ſo much as already, in certain Kingdoms and
" Commonwealths, the Eccleſiaſtical Power is grown unto
" ſuch height, that not only in *Boheme*, but alſo almoſt
" throughout all the Commonwealths, they do occupy the
" third, or at leaſt the fourth part of the Rents and Re-
" venues. And laſt of all, he alledgeth the Example of
" *Gregory* and of *Mauritius*, and afterward the Prophecy *Hildegardis*
" of *Hildegardis*, writing in this manner.

As

KING *Ric.* 2.

" As the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters do willingly receive reward and praiſe of Kings and Rulers for their good " deeds; ſo alſo ought they, when they do offend, willingly ſuffer and receive puniſhment at their hands for their " evil doings. The conſequence holdeth thus, For ſo " much as the puniſhment meekly and humbly received " for his offence doth more profit a man, than his praiſe " received for any good work. Whereupon Saint *Gre-* *Gregorius ad Mauritium.* " *gory* writeth thus unto *Mauritius* the Emperor, when " he did perſecute him, ſaying, *I believe that you do* " *pleaſe Almighty God ſo much the better, in ſo cruelly* " *afflicting me, which have been ſo evil a Servant unto* " *him.* If then this holy Pope did ſo humbly and meekly, " without any offence, ſuffer this affliction of the Emperor; " why ſhould not any of the Clergy, when they do offend, " meekly ſuſtain puniſhment at the Kings or Rulers hands, " under whom he is bounden to be ſubject? When as " the true Vicar of Chriſt ſaith, the firſt of *Peter* and ſe- " cond Chapter, *Be ye ſubject unto every Creature for* " *Gods cauſe, whether it be unto the King, as moſt excel-* " *lent, or unto the Rulers, as men ſent of God for the puniſh-* " *ing of the wicked, and to the praiſe of the good; for ſo* " *is the good will of God.*

*Pope Leo ſubmitteth himſelf unto the Emperor Ludovicus.*

" Whereupon Pope *Leo*, leaning unto this Rule, ſubmitted himſelf unto *Ludovicus* the Emperor, as it is " written in the ſecond queſtion 7. under theſe words, If " we have done any thing incompetently, or if we have " not obſerved the upright path and way of equity amongſt " Subjects, we will amend the ſame, either by your own " judgment, or elſe by the advice or judgment of thoſe " which you ſhall appoint for that purpoſe. For if we, " which ought to correct and puniſh other mens faults, do " commit more grievous our ſelves, we are not then the " Diſciples of the Truth (but with ſorrow we ſpeak it) we " ſhall be above all other the Maſters of Error.

" And in the tenth Diſtinction he writeth thus, As " touching the Obedience unto the Emperor, as concern- " ing the Precepts and Commandments of our Emperors, " and our Predeceſſors Biſhops (the which the *Gloſs* nameth " *Emperors*, which are anointed after the manner of Bi- " ſhops) to be obſerved and kept unbroken, we do profeſs " our ſelves by all means poſſible, as much as in us lieth, " or that we may and can, we will by the help of God " preſerve and keep them both now and ever. And if per- " adventure any man do inform, or hereafter ſhall inform " you otherwiſe, know you him aſſuredly to be a lyer and " ſlanderer.

" Mark how this devout and holy Pope, calling the " Emperors Biſhops, ſubmitted himſelf according to the " rule of Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle under the Obedience, and " alſo puniſhment of the Emperor. Wherefore then ſhould " not the Clergy of the Kingdom of *Boheme* ſubmit them- " ſelves under the Obedience of their King, for Gods cauſe, " to be puniſhed if they do offend; and not only ſubmit " themſelves unto the King, but alſo unto the Rulers; " and not only unto the Rulers, but unto every other " Creature? For by how much they do ſo humble and " abaſe themſelves in this world for Gods ſake, ſo much " the more ſhall they be exalted with him: but what is " the let thereof, but only pride, whereby *Antichriſt* doth " exalt himſelf, above the moſt humble and meek Lord " Jeſus Chriſt?

*The tyranny and pride of the Clergy.*

*The Prophecy of Hildegardis.*

" Alſo it ſeemeth to appear by that which is aforeſaid " upon the taking away of the Temporalties, out of the " Propheſie of *Hildegardis* the Virgin, the which he writ- " eth in his Books under *Eugenius* the Pope in the Council " of *Treverſe*, approved and allowed by many Biſhops of " *France*, *Italy* and *Almaine*, which were there preſent, " whereas alſo Saint *Bernard* himſelf was preſent; the " which Virgin propheſying, ſpake in this manner; The " Kings and other Rulers of the world, being ſtirred up " by the juſt Judgment of God, ſhall ſet themſelves againſt " them, and run upon them, ſaying, We will not have " theſe men to Reign over us with their rich Houſes and " great Poſſeſſions, and other worldly riches, over the " which we are ordained to be Lords and Rulers; and " how is it meet or comely that thoſe ſhavelings with their " ſtoles and chiſils ſhould have more Souldiers, or more or " richer Armour or Artillery than we? So is it not conve- " nient that one of the Clergy ſhould be a man of war, " neither a Souldier to be one of the Clergy. Wherefore let " us take away from them that, which they do not juſtly, " but wrongfully poſſeſs. And immediately after ſhe ſaith, " The Omnipotent Father equally divided all things; that " is to ſay, the Heavens he gave unto the heavenly Crea- " tures, and the Earth unto the earthly. And by this " means was there a juſt diviſion made between the Chil- " dren of men, that the Spirituality ſhould have ſuch things " as belong unto them, and the ſecular people, ſuch things " as are meet and neceſſary for them, ſo that neither of " theſe two ſorts ſhould oppreſs each other by violence; " for God doth not command, that the one Son or Child " ſhould have both the Cloke and the Coat, and the other " ſhould go naked, but he willed that the one ſhould have " the Cloke, and the other the Coat. Wherefore the ſe- " cular ſort ought to have the Cloke for the greateſs of " their worldly Cares, and for their Children, which daily " increaſe and multiply. The Coat he giveth unto the " Spirituality, that they ſhould not lack clothing, and that " they ſhould not poſſeſs more than neceſſity doth require. " Wherefore we judge and think it good, that all theſe " aforeſaid be divided by reaſon and equity. And whereas " the Cloke and the Coat are both found, there the Cloke " ſhould be taken away, and given unto the needy, that " they do not periſh for lack or want. Theſe aforeſaid " ſpake the Virgin *Hildegardis*, plainly foreſhewing the " taking away of the Temporalties from the Clergy by the " ſecular Lords, and ſhewing for what cauſe they ſhall be " ſo taken away. And what manner of diviſion ſhall be " made of thoſe things that are taken away, that they be " not conſumed, and ſpent unprofitably.

Forſomuch as mention is here made of *Hildegardis*, it ſhall not ſeem impertinent, moved by the occaſion hereof, to give forth unto the Reader ſuch things as we have found in certain old Volumes, touching her Prophecy of the coming of certain falſe Prophets, only meaning, as it ſeemeth, the begging-Fryers which ſprang up ſhortly after her time. The tenour whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

*Hildegardis propheſying of Fryers and Monks.*

" In thoſe days there ſhall riſe up a people without un- " derſtanding, proud, covetous, untruſty, and deceitful, the " which ſhall eat the ſins of the people, holding a certain " Order of fooliſh devotion, under the the fained Cloke " of beggery, preferring themſelves above all other, by " their fained devotion, arrogant underſtanding, and pre- " tended holineſs, walking without ſhamefaſtneſs, or the " fear of God, inventing many new miſchiefs, being ſtrong " and ſtout: but this Order ſhall be accurſed of all wiſe " men and faithful Chriſtians; they ſhall ceaſe from labour, " and give themſelves over unto idleneſs; chooſing rather " to live through flattery and by begging. Moreover, they " ſhall together ſtudy, how they may perverſly reſiſt the " Teachers of the Truth, and ſlay them together with the " Noblemen; how to ſeduce and deceive the Nobility, for " the neceſſity of their living and pleaſures of this world; " for the Devil will graft in them four principal Vices; that " is to ſay, flattery, envy, hypocriſies and ſlander. Flattery, " that they may have large gifts given them. Envy, when " they ſee gifts given unto other, and not unto them. Hy- " pocriſie, that by falſe diſſimulation, they may pleaſe men. " Detraction, that they may extol and commend themſelves, " and backbite others, for the praiſe of men, and ſeducing " of the ſimple. Alſo they ſhall inſtantly preach without " devotion or example of the Martyrs, and ſhall detract the " ſecular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church " from the true Paſtors, receiving Alms of the poor, diſeaſed " and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating themſelves with the " common people, having familiarity with women, in- " ſtructing them how they ſhall deceive their Husbands " and Friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and rob " their Husbands to give it unto them: for they will take " all theſe ſtollen and evil gotten goods, and ſay, *Give it* " *unto us, and we will pray for you*; ſo that they being curi- " ous to hide other mens faults, do utterly forget their own; " and alas, they will receive all things of Rovers, Pickers, " Spoilers, Thieves and Robbers, of ſacrilegious Perſons, " Uſurers, and Adulterers, Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Apoſtates, " Whores and Bawds, of Noblemen, Perjurers, Merchants, falſe " Judges, ſouldiers, tyrants, Princes, of ſuch as live contrary to

the

" the Law, and of many perverſe and wicked men, follow-
" ing the perſwaſion of the Devil, the ſweetneſs of ſin, a
" delicate and tranſitory life, and fulneſs even unto eternal
" damnation. All theſe things ſhall manifeſtly appear in them
" unto all people, and they day by day ſhall wax more wic-
" ked and hard-hearted; and when as their wickedneſs and
" deceits ſhall be found out, then ſhall their gifts ceaſe, and
" then ſhall they go about their houſes hungry, and as mad
" Dogs looking down upon the Earth, and drawing in
" their Necks as Doves, that they might be ſatisfied with
" bread: then ſhall the people cry out upon them, Woe be
" unto you ye miſerable Children of ſorrow, the world
" hath ſeduced you, the Devil hath bridled your mouths,
" your fleſh is frail, and your hearts without ſavour, your
" minds have been unſtedfaſt, and your eyes delighted in
" much vanity and folly, your dainty Bellies deſire delicate
" meats, your feet are ſwift to run unto miſchief. Remem-
" ber when you were apparently bleſſed yet envious, poor
" but rich, ſimple, mighty, devout Flatterers, unfaithful
" Betrayers, perverſe Detracters, holy Hypocrites, Subver-
" ters of the Truth, overmuch Upright, proud, unſhame-
" faſt, unſtedfaſt Teachers, delicate Martyrs, Confeſſors for
" gain, meek ſlanderers, religious, covetous, humble, proud,
" pitiful, hard-hearted, lyers, pleaſant Flatterers, Peace-
" breakers, Perſecutors, Oppreſſors of the Poor, bringing in
" new Sects, newly invented of your ſelves, mercileſs, wic-
" ked, Lovers of the world, Sellers of Pardons, Spoilers of
" Benefices, unprofitable Orators, ſeditious Conſpirators,
" Drunkards, deſirers of Honour, Maintainers of Miſchief,
" Robbers of the world, unſatiable Preachers, Men-pleaſers,
" Seducers of Women, and Sowers of Diſcord: for *Moſes*
" the glorious Prophet ſpake very well of you in his Song:
" A people without counſel or underſtanding; would to
" God they did know, underſtand, and foreſee the end.
" You have builded up on high, and when you could aſ-
" cend no higher, then did you fall; even as *Simon Ma-*
" *gus* whom God overthrew, and did ſtrike with a cruel
" Plague; ſo you likewiſe through your falſe Doctrine,
" naughtineſs, lyes, detractions and wickedneſs, are come
" to ruine: and the people ſhall ſay unto them, go ye
" Teachers of wickedneſs, Subverters of the Truth. Brethren
" of the *Sunamite*, Fathers of Hereſies, falſe Apoſtles, which
" have fained your ſelves to follow the life of the Apoſtles,
" and yet have not fulfilled it in any part, Sons of Iniquity,
" we will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for
" pride and preſumption hath deceived you, and inſatiable
" concupiſcence hath ſubverted your erroneous hearts. And
" when as yet ye would aſcend higher than was meet or
" comely for you, by the juſt Judgment of God you are
" fallen back into perpetual opprobry and ſhame.

" This bleſſed *Hildegardis*, whoſe Prophecy this is,
" flouriſhed about the year of our Lord, 1046. as it is
" written in *Martins Chronicles*.

Hugo de Sacram. part. 2. " Alſo *Hugo* in his ſecond Book *Of Sacraments*, in the
" ſecond part, third Chapter and ſeventh, ſaith, The Laity
" forſomuch as they intermeddle with earthly matters ne-
" ceſſary unto an earthly life, they are the leaſt part of the
" body of Chriſt. And the Clergy, for ſo much as they
" do diſpoſe thoſe things which pertain unto a ſpiritual
" life, are as it were the right ſide of the body of Chriſt.
" And afterward interpreting both theſe parts himſelf, he
" ſaith, A ſpiritual man ought to have nothing but ſuch as
" pertaineth unto God, unto whom it is appointed to be
" ſuſtained by the Tythes and Oblations which are offered
" unto God: but unto the Chriſtian and faithful Laity
" the poſſeſſion of the Earth is granted; and unto the
" Clergy the whole Charge of ſpiritual matters is commit-
" ted, as it was in the *Old Teſtament*. And in his ſeventh
" Chapter he declareth how that certain things are given
" unto the Church of Chriſt by the devotion of the faith-
" ful, the Power and authority of the Secular Power re-
" ſerved, leſt there might happen any confuſion; Forſo-
" much as God himſelf cannot allow any diſordered thing.
" Whereupon oftentimes the worldly Princes do grant the
" bare uſe of the Church, and oftentimes uſe power
" to exerciſe Juſtice; which the Clergy cannot exerciſe by
" any Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, or any other perſon of the
" Clergy, Notwithſtanding they may have certain Lay-
" perſons Miniſters unto that Office. But in ſuch ſort, ſaith
" he, that they do acknowledge the power which they
" have to come from the ſecular Prince or Ruler, and that
" they do underſtand their Poſſeſſions can never be alienate
" away from the Kings Power; but (if that neceſſity or
" reaſon do require) the ſame poſſeſſions in all ſuch caſe
" of neceſſity do owe him obeyſance and ſervice. For like
" as the Kings Power ought not to turn away the defence
" or ſafeguard which he oweth unto other: ſo likewiſe the
" poſſeſſions obtained and poſſeſſed by the Clergy, accord-
" ing to the duty and homage which is due unto the Pa-
" tronage of the Kings Power, cannot by right be denied.
" Thus much writes *Hugo*.

KING Ric. 2.

## In the third Act the ſame year, after the Feaſt of S. *Vitis*, as touching Tythes, &c.

### Tythes are pure Alms.

Alms. Mercy.

*UPon this Article it is to be noted, that forſomuch as Alms is a work of mercy, as S.* Auguſtine, *S.* Chryſoſtome, *and others do joyntly affirm, and that mercy (according to* Lincolnienſis *mind) for the preſent is a love or deſire to help the miſerable out of his miſery: and forſomuch as the miſery of Mankind is double; that is to ſay, ſpiritual and bodily, the which is the want or taking away of the goods; and the goods of man is either the goods of the Soul or of the Body; And the goods of the Soul is double (that is to ſay, the lightning of the mind, and the uprightneſs of affection) the miſery of the Soul is alſo double, as the darkneſs of ignorance, and a froward and wilful ſwarving from the Truth. And both the goods of the Soul are wont to be comprehended under one Title of name; that is to ſay,* Wiſdom; *and both the miſeries of the Soul under the name of* Folly. *Whereupon all the whole goodneſs of the Soul is Wiſdom, and all the whole miſery thereof is ignorance: The miſeries of the Body are, lack of meat; that is to ſay,* Hunger; *and lack of drink, called* Thirſt: *and briefly, all miſery is the want of ſome thing which is deſired. Alſo theſe are bodily miſeries, nakedneſs, lack of harbour, ſickneſs, and impriſonment. All the miſeries therefore being numbred together, are but one of the Soul, the which is folly and lack of wiſdom, and ſix of the Body, the which the Lord in the twenty fifth Chapter of S.* Matthew *doth plainly rehearſe. There are alſo commonly appointed ſeven bodily Alms; that is to ſay, to feed the hungry, to give drink unto the thirſty, to cloth the naked, to harbour the ſtranger or harbourleſs, to viſit the ſick, and to bury the dead, the which all together are contained in theſe Verſes:*

Two kinds of miſeries. Two kinds of goodneſs

Wiſdom. Folly.

The miſeries of the Mind and Body.

**Viſito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.**

*The which Verſe is thus Engliſhed, word for word:*

Viſit the Sick, the Hungry feed,
Give drink to the Thirſty, cloth the Naked,
Bury the Dead, the Captive redeem,
The Harbourleſs receive to thy Lodging.

*There be alſo ſeven other ſpiritual Alms appointed, which are theſe; To teach the ignorant; To counſel him that is in doubt; To comfort him which is in heavineſs; To correct the Offender; To forgive him which hath offended againſt thee; To bear thoſe which are grievous; And to pray for all men: The which are alſo contained in theſe Verſes following:*

What is Alms.

**Conſule, caſtiga, ſolare, remitte, fer, ora.**

*The which Verſe is thus Engliſhed, word for word:*

Inſtruct the Ignorant, the Weak confirm,
Comfort the heavy Heart, and correct Sin:
Forgive the Offender, bear with the Rude,
Pray for all men both Evil and Good.

*So that notwithſtanding under the ſame Counſels and Doctrine be comprehended. Thus writeth* Thomas *in the ſecond part of the ſecond* queſt. 23. art. 2.

*Secondly, it is to be noted that in this preſent Article our intent is only to intreat of bodily Alms, the which (as* Thomas *writeth in his ſecond Part, ſecond* queſt. 32. and 1.) *according unto ſome mens minds is thus defined;*

What Alms is.

*Alms*

{KING Ric. 2.} *Alms is a work whereby any thing is given unto the needy, of compaſſion, for Gods ſake. And for ſo much as this definition ſerveth as well for the ſpiritual as for the corporal Alms; therefore to the purpoſe, Alms is a work, whereby any thing is given unto the needy in body for compaſſion, and for Gods ſake. Or that is given of compaſſion or pity unto the bodily needy for Gods ſake.*

*Whereupon it is manifeſt that Alms, as Saint* Auguſtine *and other holy men ſay, is a work of mercy, as alſo to give Alms. As it appeareth by the name, for in the* Greek *it is derived from this word* Elemonia, *which is* Mercy: *for as in the* Latin, *this word* Miſeratio, *which ſignifieth pity, is derived of* Miſericordia, *which is*, Mercy; *ſo this word* Eleemoſyna, *which ſignifieth Alms, is derived of the* Greek *word* Elemonia, *which is to ſay*, Mercy; *and of the word* Syna, *which is to ſay*, Commandment, *as it were a commandment of mercy, or otherwiſe of this word* Elemonia. *By this Letter* I, *which is to ſay*, God, *and this word* Syna, *which is*, Commandment: *As if it were ſaid*, The Commandment of God, *as* Januenſis *in his Book intituled*, Catholicon *affirmeth.*

*For our Saviour doth command, in the* 11*th of* Luke *to give Alms, ſaying*, Give Alms, and behold all things are clean unto you: *leſt that in this point there may be any equivocation, it is ſuppoſed preſently, that the Alms given of men is a corporal Alms, given ſimply under the name of Alms.* Tythes. *Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tythes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of Fortune, given by a man ſimply under the name of Alms for Gods ſake.*

*Theſe things being thus noted and ſuppoſed, the Article is thus proved. Every gift of Fortune, or Temporal Gift ſimply given under the name of Alms, is Alms. But ſome Tythes are the Gift of Fortune, or Temporal Gift under the name of Alms. Therefore ſome Tythes are Alms. This conſequence is manifeſt of it ſelf. The major appeareth by the firſt ſuppoſition; And the minor by the ſecond.*

Item, *every Gift given by a man even of love, to relieve and help the miſerable out of his miſery, is an Alms. The tenth part of the goods of Fortune given by a man, ſimply under the name of Alms for Gods ſake, is given by the ſame man even of love, to help the miſerable out of his miſery: Therefore the tenth part of the goods of Fortune, being given by any man ſimply under the name of Alms for Gods ſake, is Alms. The conſequence is manifeſt. The major appeareth by this, that every ſuch gift is either a ſpiritual or bodily Alms. The minor ſeemeth hereby true, for ſomuch as many holy men have given, and do give, even for love to relieve the miſerable out of his miſery. Neither is it to be doubted but that ſuch kind of* S. Auguſtine proveth Tythes to be pure Alms. *Tythes are Alms. For Saint* Auguſtine *upon theſe words of the Lord in the Goſpel writeth thus*, Woe be unto you Phariſees, which do tythe Mint and Aniſe: *If they cannot be cleanſed without they believe in him, he which doth cleanſe his heart through faith, to what purpoſe is it that he ſaith*, Give Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you? *Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himſelf. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for Alms; the which any Chriſtian-man doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, when he ſpake theſe words to them, as unto men which would do no Alms. This the Lord foreknowing, ſaid*, Woe be unto you *Phariſees*, which tythe Mint and Rue, and all kind of herbs, and paſs over the Judgment and Charity of God; *For this it is to do Alms, if thou doſt underſtand it, begin with thy ſelf: For how canſt thou be merciful unto another, which art unmerciful unto thy ſelf? This writeth S.* Auguſtine, *plainly ſaying*, That Tythes are Alms.

*Auguſt. in Enchirid.* *Alſo in his* Enchiridion *in the ſeventy ſixth* Chapter *upon theſe words of Saint* Luke, *in the eleventh* Chapter; *Notwithſtanding that which is more than ſufficient, give in Alms, and all things ſhall be clean unto you; he ſaith thus, When he had rebuked them, that they waſhed themſelves outwardly, and inwardly were full of inquity and abomination, admoniſhing them, what, and how a man ought firſt to beſtow Alms upon himſelf, and firſt to cleanſe himſelf inwardly, he ſaith*; That which doth remain give in Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you. *Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had given them warning of, and what they had neglected to do, that they ſhould not judge him ignorant of their Alms, he ſaith*, Woe be unto you *Phariſees; as though he ſhould ſay, I verily gave you warning that you ſhould give ſuch Alms, whereby all things might be clean unto you; but woe be unto you which do tythe Mint, Rue, and all kind of herbs (for I do know theſe your Alms, that you ſhould not think with your ſelves that you had given me warning thereof) and neglect and paſs over the judgment and charity of God, by the which Alms ye might be cleanſed from all your inward filthineſs, and your bodies alſo which you do waſh, ſhould be clean, and all theſe things both inward, and alſo outward; as it is ſaid in another place, cleanſe that which is within, and the outward things ſhall be alſo clean.*

*But leſt that he ſhould ſeem to refuſe thoſe Alms which are given of the fruits of the earth, he ſaid*, You ought to have done theſe things; *That is to ſay, the judgment and love of God; and not to neglect the other, that is to ſay, the Alms of the fruit of the earth. This writeth Saint* Auguſtine, *expreſly calling the Tythes* Alms.

*Alſo* Chryſoſtome *upon the ſame words in the eleventh Chapter of S.* Luke, That which remaineth give in Alms; *he ſaith thus, Whereas it was ſpoken of the* Jewiſh *kind of cleanſing, it is wholly paſſed. But for as much as Tythes is a certain Alms, and the time was not yet expreſly come to kill the Sacrifices of the Law; for this cauſe he ſaith*, Ye ought to do thoſe things, and not to omit the other. *And S.* Thomas *alledgeth him in his gloſs upon S.* Luke. *And* Chryſoſtome *himſelf doth touch two points: Firſt, That Tythes are Alms. Secondly, That Tythes are in a manner lawful, for ſo much as the gift thereof unto the Prieſts did not ceaſe in the time of Chriſt.* Chryſoſtom. in 11. Luke.

*Alſo Saint* Auguſtine, *in a certain Sermon of giving Alms, ſaith thus, What is to ſay*, Give Alms, and behold, all things are clean unto you? *Let us give ear, and peradventure he doth expound it himſelf. When he had ſpoken theſe words, without doubt they thought within themſelves, who did give Alms, and how they did give it. They tythed all that they had, and took out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for Alms: the which no Chriſtian lightly doth. Mark what the* Jews *did, they tythed not only their Wheat, but their Wine and Oil; and not that only, but alſo vile things, at the Commandment of the Lord, as* Commin, Rue, *and* Aniſe; *of the which they took the tenth part, and gave it for Alms. I think therefore, for ſo much as they called unto their minds, and thought with themſelves, that our Lord Chriſt ſpake in vain unto them that they did no Alms, when as they knew their own works, that they tythed the ſmalleſt and worſt of all their fruits, and gave Alms thereof: they mocked him amongſt themſelves, becauſe he did ſpeak in ſuch ſort unto them, as unto men that did no Alms. The which the Lord foreſeeing, by and by added notwithſtanding: Woe be unto you* Scribes, Phariſees *and* Hypocrites, *which tythe your Mint, Commin, and Rue, and all kind of herbs, that you may know, I do underſtand your Alms. Truly, theſe are your Tythes, theſe are your Alms; you tythe out the leaſt and worſt of all your fruits, and have left the weighty matters of the Law undone. Here S.* Auguſtine *often expoundeth that Tythes are Alms; Alſo he writeth the like in his Book of* Homilies *in his ſixth* Homily.

Item, *for the proof of this Article, that Tythes are pure Alms, it is thus argued. For this Propoſition, Tythes are pure Alms, is indefinite; taking the truth for many of his Particularities; It is moſt certain that it is not damnable, but moſt Catholick, that God is ſomething; the which being falſe in all particulars, it is only true of that alone which doth ſurmount all kind.* Ergo, *by like reaſon this particular is true, tenths are pure Alms; For it is thus proved. Theſe tenths of a good Lay-man being wholly diſtributed by a faithful Miniſter unto a needy Lay-man, according to a good intent, how can they be but pure Alms, yea, and more pure than any Alms given by any of the Clergy being a Fornicator? The whole antecedent I ſuppoſe as poſſible, and doubtful unto the Condemners, if it be true.*

Item, *It is alſo thus proved; Theſe Tythes, and all other goods of Fortune, are pure Alms in reſpect of God. For ſo much as every man, Emperor and King is a begger of God. As S.* Auguſtine *doth oftentimes affirm, and conſequently if he do receive fruitfully any ſuch goodneſs at the hand of God, the ſame is pure Alms in reſpect of God: neither is there any faithful man that will deny the ſame, but that it ſimply followeth that the ſame is pure Alms before God,* Ergo *it is pure Alms.*

*It is alſo thus argued; All Tythes are by themſelves, and every part of them Alms; neither is there any reaſon contrary unto this, that they are Alms.* Ergo, *they are pure Alms. For they are by no other means or reaſon than Alms, if they be altogether themſelves Alms: For ſo much as it followeth, if they be by any other means or otherwiſe than Alms, then they are otherwiſe than ſome Alms, and for ſo much as they themſelves are ſome Alms, it followeth, that they are otherwiſe than they are indeed; the which is falſe.*

Suſtenance and clothing, given to the Apoſtles, was Alms, Ergo alſo Tythes.

*But now to paſs beyond the bounds of Logick, it is to be demanded, whether before the Church was endowed, or that ſuſtenance and clothing were given unto the Apoſtles, there was any pure Alms, or that they were given by any other means by bond of debt, amongſt them. And for ſo much as the reaſon is not to be fained, but that they were pure Alms, ſo afterward the cuſtom of the ſame thing according unto like reaſon doth not alter the kind of the reaſon. For ſo might Beggers challenge by cuſtom, beyond the purity of Alms, the Temporalties which they do beg. Neither doth debt utterly exclude the purity of Alms before God: for every man duly giving Alms doth as he ought to do: as every man duly receiving his Alms, ought ſo to receive it as according to Gods will. And ſimply to eſtabliſh any humane Title, upon the continuance of any ſuch Alms, it is altogether contrary unto the reaſon of Alms. Therefore they do continually obſerve, and keep the reaſon of the purity of Alms, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned doth not deſtroy the purity therof: wherefore there is no cauſe why it ſhould be denied that Tythes are pure Alms, except that the proud ſhould be marvelouſly extolled, contrary to the humility of Chriſt. For they do challenge, by the Title of their lack or want, ſo to be pleaſed for their Tythes. For ſo might the begging-Fryer, by the continuance of his daily begging, challenge according unto the like quantity or circumſtance. But it is no argument, that if the Curate do perform his corporal Miniſtry, that he ought therefore to challenge Tythes by any civil Title; becauſe that as well on the behalf of him which giveth the Tythe, as alſo on the behalf of the Curate, every ſuch miniſtry ought freely to be given, and not by any civil exchange. Forſomuch as it is not required, but that rather the compariſon of ſuch exchanges are repugnant; for ſo much as alſo no man freely giveth any Alms, except he do look for the duty of recompence, by the law of conſcience.*

Item, *all temporal goods beſtowed upon the Clergy by the Lay-people under condition, as the goods of the Church, are the Alms of them which give it; it is proved thus, for ſo much as all thoſe goods are the goods of the poor, as it appeareth by many ſayings of holy men and by the Laws.*

*But they were not the goods of the poor, after they were meer ſecular goods, but only by the mean of the work of mercy, whereby they were beſtowed upon the poor:* Ergo, *they were pure Alms. The conſequence dependeth upon the definition of pure Alms.*

Item, *all things changed to the uſe and power of another, either by Civil exchange or Evangelical is changed. But the Church-goods are ſo changed by one of theſe Miniſteries. But the Evangelical exchange is not to be fained; becauſe it is not done either by buying or ſelling, or any other civil exchange. Therefore there doth not remain but only a pure Gift, for hope of a heavenly Reward, the which is mercy, and ſo pure Alms. And it ſeemeth to follow conſequently, that all the Clergy receiving ſuch Alms are not only in reſpect of God, as all other men, but in reſpect of men, beggers. For they would not ſo inſtantly require thoſe Alms except they had need of them: neither ought we to be aſhamed thereof, or to be proud beggers; forſomuch as Chriſt touching his humanity became a begger for us, becauſe he declared his need unto his Father, ſaying, &c.*

Item, *when any King, Prince, Knight, Citizen, or any other man doth give unto the Clergy, or to any Prieſt for his ſtipend, he giveth the ſame unto the Church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetual Alms, that he ſhould attend to his vocation, preaching, praying, and ſtudying. But this kind of giving doth not ſuffice to ground any ſecular Dominion amongſt the Clergy; it followeth that the bare uſe remaineth in them, or the ſecular uſe without any ſecular power.*

*The major appeareth hereby, forſomuch as otherwiſe Alms ſhould not be a work of mercy. Whereby it may alſo appear, that tenths are pure Alms given to the Church, to the uſe of the poor.*

Tythes are to be given of the leaſt part of goods.

*And hereupon the holy men do ſay, That tenths are the Tributes of the needy Souls. Whereupon Saint* Auguſtine *in a Sermon made upon the reſtoring of Tythes ſaith,* The giving of Tythes, moſt dear Brethren, are the Tributes of the poor Souls, therefore pay your Tribute unto the poor. *And by and by after he ſaith,* Therefore who deſireth either to get any Reward, or to have any remiſſion of Sins by giving of his Tenths, let him ſtudy to give Alms even of the ninth part: ſo that whatſoever ſhall remain more than a competent living, and decent clothing, it be not reſerved for Riot, but that it be laid up in the heavenly treaſury, by giving it in Alms to the poor. For whatſoever God doth give unto us more than we have need of, he doth not give it us ſpecially for our ſelves; but doth ſend it us to be beſtowed upon others by our hands: if we do not give it, we invade another mans Poſſeſſions.

*Thus much writeth S.* Auguſtine, *and is repeated in the* 16. queſtion. 1. Decimæ.

*Alſo S.* Jerome *in an Epiſtle, and it is put in the* 16. queſtion, *and* 2. chap. *Quicquid.* Whatſoever the Clergy hath, it is the goods of the poor.

*Alſo Saint* Auguſtine *in his three and thirtieth Epiſtle unto* Boniface, *and it is alledged in the firſt queſtion and* 12.

*Alſo in the twenty third,* queſtion 7. If we do poſſeſs any thing privately the which doth ſuffice us, they are not ours, but the goods of the poor, whoſe Stewards we are, except we do challenge to our ſelves a property by ſome damnable Uſurpation. *The Gloſs upon that part of the* 23. queſtion 7. *ſaith,* The Prelates are but only the Stewards of the Church-goods, and not Lords thereof.

*Saint* Ambroſe *alſo upon this ſaying of the Goſpel,* Luke 16. Give account of your Bayliffſhip or Stewardſhip: *Hereby then do we learn, that they are not Lords, but rather Stewards and Bayliffs of other mens Subſtance.*

The Clergy are Stewards of the Church-goods, and not Lords thereof.

*And Saint* Jerome, *writing to* Nepotianus, *ſaith,* How can they be of the Clergy? which are commanded to contemn and deſpiſe their own Subſtance, and to take away from a friend, it is Theft; to deceive the Church it is Sacrilege, and to take away that which ſhould be given unto the poor.

*And Saint* Bernard *in his Sermon upon theſe words* (Simon Peter *ſaid unto Jeſus*, Chap. 17.) *ſaid,* Truly the goods of the Church, are the patrimony of the poor: and whatſoever thing the Miniſters and Stewards of the ſame, not Lords or Poſſeſſors, do take unto themſelves more than ſufficient for a competent living, the ſame is taken away from the poor by a ſacrilegious cruelty.

*And* Euſebius *in his Treatiſe upon the Pilgrimage of Saint* Jerome, *writeth thus,* If thou doſt poſſeſs a Garment, or any other thing more than extream neceſſity doth require, and doſt not help the needy, thou art a Thief and a Robber. *Wherefore dearly beloved Children, let us be Stewards of our Temporalties, and not Poſſeſſors.*

Iſidorus de ſummo bon.

*And* Iſidore *in his Treatiſe* De ſummo bono, *Chap.* 42. *ſaith,* Let the Biſhop know that he is the Servant of the people, and not Lord over them.

*Alſo in the fifth Book of Decretals,* extra de donationibus, ſub authoritate *Alexandri* tertii, Epiſcopi Pariſienſis, *he ſaith,* We believe that it is not unknown unto your Brotherhood, that a Biſhop, and every other Prelate is but a Steward of the Church-goods, and not Lord thereof. *By theſe ſayings of theſe holy men it is evidently declared. that not only Tythes, but alſo all other ſubſtance which the Clergy hath by gift or work of mercy, are pure Alms, which after the neceſſity of the Clergy once ſatisfied, ought to be tranſported unto the poor.*

*Secondly, It is declared how that the Clergy are not Lords and Poſſeſſors of thoſe goods, but Miniſters and Stewards thereof.*

*Thirdly, It is ſhewed, that if the Clergy do abuſe the ſame, they are Thieves, Robbers, and ſacrilegious Perſons, and except they do repent, by the juſt judgment of God they are to be condemned.*

Alid

{KING Richa.2.}

AND thus hitherto I may peradventure ſeem to have made ſufficient long recital out of *John Hus*, but ſo notwithſtanding that the commodity of thoſe things may abundantly recompence the prolixity thereof. Wherefore if I ſhall ſeem unto any man in the rehearſal of this diſputation to have paſſed very far the bounds of the Hiſtory, let him think thus of me, that at what time I took in hand to write of theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters, I could not omit theſe things which were ſo ſtraitly joyned with the cauſe of the Church.

Neither that I did make more account of the Hiſtory which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility whereunto I had chief reſpect. There were beſides theſe certain other Articles; whereupon the ſaid *John Hus* had very wiſely and learnedly diſputed; but theſe ſhall ſuffice us for this preſent. And for the reſidue we will paſs them over, to the intent we may the more ſpeedily return whereas our ſtory left; declaring what cruelty they uſed not only againſt the Books and Articles of *John Wickliff*, but alſo in burning his Body and Bones, commanding them to be taken up forty one years after he was buried, as appeareth by the Decree of the ſaid Synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex, as followeth.

*The order and manner of taking up y^e body of John Wickliff, and Burning his bones 41. years after his death.*

## *The Decree of the Synod of* Conſtance, *touching the taking up of the Body and Bones of* John Wickliff, *to be burned forty one years after he was buried in his own Pariſh at* Lutterworth.

The Decree of the Council for the burning of Wickliff's dead bones.

FOrſomuch as by the authority of the Sentence and Decree of the Council of *Rome*, and by the Commandment of the Church, and the Apoſtolical See, after due delays being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the ſaid *John Wickliff*, and his memory having firſt made Proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whoſoever would defend the ſaid *Wickliff*, or his memory, if there were any ſuch (but there did none appear; which would either defend him or his memory.) And moreover witneſſes being examined, by Commiſſioners appointed by Pope *John* and his Council, upon the impenitency and final obſtinacy and ſtubbornneſs of the ſaid *John Wickliff* (reſerving that which is to be reſerved, as in ſuch buſineſs the order of the Law requireth) and his impenitency and obſtinacy even unto his end, being ſufficiently proved by evident ſigns and tokens, and alſo by lawful witneſſes, and credit lawfully given thereunto. Wherefore at the inſtance of the Steward of the Treaſury, Proclamation being made to hear and underſtand the ſentence againſt this day, the ſacred Synod declareth, determineth, and giveth ſentence, that the ſaid *John Wickliff* was a notorious obſtinate Heretick, and that he died in his hereſie, curſing and condemning both him and his memory.

*Ex actis Concilii Conſtan.*

This Synod alſo decreeth and ordaineth, That the Body and Bones of the ſaid *John Wickliff*, if it might be diſcerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, ſhould be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any Church, according unto the Canon-Laws and Decrees. Which determination and ſentence definitive being read and pronounced, the Lord Preſident, and the foreſaid Preſidents of the four Nations, being demanded and asked whether it did pleaſe them or no? They all anſwered (and firſt *Hoſtienſis* the Preſident, and after him the other Preſidents of the Nations) that it pleaſed them very well, and ſo they allowed and confirmed all the premiſes, *&c.*

¶ What *Heraclitus* would not laugh, or what *Democritus* would not weep, to ſee theſe ſo ſage and reverend *Catoes* to occupy their heads to take up a poor mans body, ſo long dead and buried before, by the ſpace of forty one years? and yet peradventure were not able to find his right bones, but took up ſome other body, and ſo of a Catholick made an Heretick. Albeit herein *Wickliff* had ſome cauſe to give them thanks, that they would at leaſt ſpare him ſo long till he was dead, and alſo to give him ſo long reſpite after his death, forty one years to reſt in his ſepulcher before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to aſhes; which aſhes they alſo took and threw into the river. And ſo was he reſolved into three Elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguiſh and aboliſh both the name and Doctrine of *Wickliff* for ever. Not much unlike to the example the old Phariſees and Sepulcher-Knights, which when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him ſure never to riſe again. But theſe and all other muſt know, that as there is no counſel againſt the Lord; ſo there is no keeping down of verity, but it will ſpring and come out of duſt and aſhes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his Body, burnt his Bones, and drowned his aſhes; yet the Word of God, and truth of his Doctrine, with the fruit and ſucceſs thereof, they could not burn; which yet to this day, for the moſt part of his Articles, do remain; notwithſtanding the tranſitory Body and Bones of the man was thus conſumed and diſ-

diſperſed, as by this picture here above ſet forth to thine eyes (gentle Reader) may appear.

Theſe things thus finiſhed and accomplished, which pertain to the ſtory and time of *Wickliff*; let us now (by the ſupportation of the Lord proceed to intreat and write of the reſt, which either in his time or after his time, ſpringing out of the ſame Univerſity, and raiſed up (as ye would ſay) out of his aſhes were partakers of the ſame Perſecution. Of whom ſpeaketh *Thomas Walden* in his Book, *De Sacramentis & Sacramentalibus, Cap.* 53. where he ſaith, that after *Wickliff* many ſuffered moſt cruel death, and many mo did forſake the Realm.

*Ex Th. Walden, lib. de Sacrament.*

In the number of whom was *William Swinderby*, *Walter Brute*, *John Purvey*, *Richard White*, *William Thorpe*, *Raynold Pecock* Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*, and afterward of *Chicheſter*.

*Laurence Redman, David Sautre, John Aſchwarby, W. James, T. Brightwell, William Hawlam, Rafe Grenhurſt, J. Scut Phil. Norice.*

To this Catalogue alſo pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) *Laurence Redman* Maſter of Art, *David Sautre*, Divine, *John Aſchwarby* Vicar, as they call him, of St. *Mary* Church at *Oxford*, *Will. James* an excellent young man, well learned, *Thomas Brightwell*, and *William Hawlam* a Civilian, *Rafe Grenhurſt*, *John Scut*, and *Philip Norice*; which being Excommunicated by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, in the year of our Lord 1446, appealed unto a General or Oecumenical Council.

*Peter Paine.*

*Peter Paine* alſo, who flying from *Oxford* unto *Boheme*, did ſtoutly contend againſt the Sophiſters, as touching both kinds of the Sacrament of the laſt Supper; who afterward among the reſt of the Orators was one of the fourteen that was ſent unto the Council of *Baſil*: where by the ſpace of three days he diſputed upon the fourth Article, which was touching the Civil Dominion of the Clergy, *Anno* 1438. Alſo the Lord *Cobham*, &c. with divers others beſides, whoſe names are mentioned in the Kings Writ, ſent to the Sheriff of *Northampton*, which Writ of the King followeth in this tenor: *Rex Vicecomiti Northamptoniæ ſalutem*, &c. Forſomuch as *John Attyate* of *Chepingwarden*, *John Warryner*, *Ro. Brewood*, *&c.* being receivers and fautors of Hereticks, and eſpecially of *John Woodward* Prieſt, publickly defamed and condemned of Hereſie, will not be juſtified by the cenſures of the Church, as the reverend Father *John* Biſhop of *Lincoln* hath certified us: We therefore willing to withſtand all defenders and fautors of ſuch Hereſies, do will and command as well the forenamed, as namely the foreſaid *John Woodward* to be apprehended, ſtraitly charging the ſame to be impriſoned by their bodies, or otherwiſe puniſhed as ſhall ſeem good to the Juſtices, until they and every of them ſhall ſubmit themſelves to the obedience of the foreſaid Biſhop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not under pain of an hundred pound. Witneſs our ſelves: Yeaven at our Manor of *Langley* the eighth day of *March*, the twelfth year of our raign.

*Lord Cobham.*

To theſe above rehearſed, and other favourers of *Wickliff*, within this our Country of *England*, we may add alſo the *Bohemians*; forſomuch as the propagation of the ſaid Doctrine of *Wickliff* in that Country alſo took root, coming from *England* to *Boheme* by this occaſion, as in ſtory here followeth.

*The occaſion how the Doctrine of Wickliff came to Boheme.*

There chanced at that time a certain Student of the Country of *Bohemia* to be at *Oxford*, one of a wealthy houſe, and alſo of a noble ſtock; who returning home from the Univerſity of *Oxford* to the Univerſity of *Prague*, carried with him certain Books of *Wickliff*, *De Realibus Univerſalibus. De Civili Jure, & Divino. De Eccleſia. De quæſtionibus variis contra Clerum, &c.* It chanced the ſame time a certain Nobleman in the City of *Prague* had founded and builded a great Church of *Matthias* and *Matthæus*, which Church was called *Bethelem*, giving to it great Lands, and finding in it two Preachers every day, to preach both Holy-day and working-day to the people. Of the which two Preachers this *John Hus* was one, a man of great knowledg, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongſt them. Thus *John Hus* having familiarity with this young man, in reading and peruſing theſe Books of *Wickliff*, took ſuch pleaſure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this Author openly in the Schools, but alſo in his Sermons; commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heavenly man, wiſhing himſelf, when he ſhould die, to be there placed, whereas the ſoul of *Wickliff* ſhould be. And thus for the ſpreading of *Wickliffs* Doctrine enough.

*Wickleum vir bonus, ſanctus, cælo dignus.*

*The great affection of John Hus to John Wickliff.*

And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of *John Wickliff* in general. Now particularly and in order let us (by Chriſts grace) proſecute the ſtories and perſecutions of the ſaid parties aforenamed, as the courſe of their times ſhall require, firſt beginning with the valiant Champions *William Swinderby*, and *Walter Brute*.

## *The Hiſtory of* William Swinderby.

IN the year 1389, *William Swinderby* Prieſt, within the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, being accuſed and detected upon certain opinions, was preſented before *John* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and examined upon certain Articles in the Church of *Lincoln*, after the form and order of the Popes law, according to their uſual rite obſerved; his denouncers were theſe, Frier *Frisby* Obſervant, Frier *Hincely*, Auguſtine, and *Thomas Blaxton*, Dominican. The Articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words as they put them up, they might ſeem ſomething ſtrange here to be recited; yet to the intent that all men may ſee the ſpite and malice of theſe Spider-Friers, in ſucking all things to poyſon, and in forging that which is not true, as in proceſs (Chriſt willing) hereafter ſhall better appear by his anſwers, I thought good to notifie the ſame.

*Anno 1389. Ex Regiſtro Epiſc. Linc. W. Swinderby firſt examined. Denouncers of W. Swinderby, 3 Friers, Hincely, Blaxton.*

That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to impriſon any man; and that he ſo impriſoning is accurſed.

That if Pariſhioners do know their Curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their Tythes, or elſe they be fautors of his ſins.

That Tythes purely be alms, and in caſe that Curates be evil men, the ſame may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an evil Curate to curſe his Suget for withholding of Tythes, is nothing elſe, but to take with extortion wickedly, and unduly from them their money.

That no Prelate may curſe a man, except he know before that he is curſed of God.

That every Prieſt may abſolve any ſinner being contrite and is bound (notwithſtanding the inhibition of the Biſhop) to preach the Goſpel unto the people.

That a Prieſt taking any Annual penſion upon Covenant, is in ſo doing a Simoniack, and accurſed.

That any Prieſt being in deadly ſin, if he give himſelf to conſecrate the body of the Lord, committeth Idolatry rather than doth conſecrate.

That no Prieſt entreth into any houſe, but to evil intreat the wife, the daughter, or maid: and therefore he admoniſhed the good man of the houſe to take heed what Prieſt he let into his houſe.

Another Concluſion falſly to him objected, That a child is not truly baptized, if the Prieſt that baptizeth, or the Godfather or Godmother be in deadly ſin.

*Item*, That no man living againſt the Law of God is a Prieſt, however he were ordained Prieſt of any Biſhop.

Theſe Articles or Concluſions untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited againſt him by the Friers in the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Court. The which Articles although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the Proceſs fol'owing: Yet the Friers with their witneſſes ſtanding forth againſt him, declared him to be convict; bringing alſo dry wood with them to the Town to burn him, and would not leave him, before they made him promiſe and ſwear for fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them privily, nor apertly under pain of relapſe; and that he ſhould go to certain Churches to revoke the foreſaid Concluſions, which he never affirmed. As firſt in the Church of *Lincoln*, then in St. *Margarets* Church of *Leiceſter*; alſo in St. *Martins* Church in *Leiceſter*, and in our Ladies Churches at *Newark*, and in other Pariſh-Churches alſo of *Melton-Mowbray*, of *Haloughton*, *Hareburgh*, and *Lenthburgh*. Which penance being to him enjoyned, he did obediently accompliſh, with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under theſe words.

*W. Swinderby compelled by the Friers to abjure Articles which he never taught.*

The

KING *Ric.* 2.

## The Revocation of *William Swinderby*, whereunto he was forced by the Friers.

The forced abjuration of *W. Swinderby.*

I William Swinderby *Prieſt, although unworthy, of the Dioceſs of* Lincoln, *acknowledging one true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith of the Holy Church of* Rome, *do abjure all hereſie and error repugning to the determination of the Holy Mother Church, whereof I have been hitherto defamed, namely, the Concluſions and Articles above prefixed, and every one of them to me judicially objected, by the Commiſſary of the reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord* John *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* Lincoln; *and do revoke the ſame, and every one of them, ſome as heretical, ſome as erroneous and falſe, and do affirm and believe them to be ſo, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm publickly or privily the ſame. Neither will I make any Sermon within the Dioceſs of* Lincoln, *but asking firſt and obtaining the licenſe of the foreſaid reverend Father and Lord, the Biſhop of* Lincoln. *Contrary to the which if I ſhall preſume hereafter to ſay or do, to hold or preach, I ſhall be content to abide the ſeverity of the Canon, as I have judicially by the neceſſity of the Law, ſworn, and do ſwear*, &c.

Thus have you the Concluſions and Articles of this good man, falſly objected to him by the malicious and lying Friers; and alſo the retractation whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewiſe be conjectured, what credit is to be given to the Articles and Concluſions which theſe cavilling Friers, wreſting all things to the worſt, have objected and imputed both to *Wickliff* and all other of that ſort, whom they ſo falſly do defame, ſo ſlanderouſly do belye, and ſo maliciouſly do perſecute. After theſe thing thus done and wrought in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, it ſo befell that the ſaid *W. Swinderby* removed to the Dioceſs and Country of *Herford*; where he was as much or more moleſted by the Friers again, and by *John Treſnant* Biſhop of *Hereford*, as by the proceſs and ſtory here enſuing, ſet out at large out of their own Regiſters, may appear.

### *Here followeth the Proceſs of* John Treſnant, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *had againſt the aforſaid* William Swinderby *in the cauſe of Heretical pravity, as the Popiſh Hereticks call it.*

The proceſs of the B. of *Hereford* againſt *W. Swinderby.*

The flouriſhing Invocation of Gods name.

THE Glorious name of the Prince of Peace, and his counſel (whoſe counſellor no man is, and whoſe providence in his diſpolition is never deceived) being invocated. To all and ſingular believers of Chriſt, which ſhall ſee or hear this our proceſs under-written, *John* by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of *Hereford*, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Foraſmuch as God the Creator of all things, the keeper of juſtice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high Throne of his Providence the ſons of men, now through the fall of their firſt father prone and declining to diſhoneſt and filthy, and deteſtable miſchiefs, and to keep under their malice (which wicked tranſgreſſion did firſt gender) hath appointed divers preſidents of the world ſtabliſhed in ſundry degrees, by whom and their circumſpect providence mans audacity ſhould be reſtrained, innocency ſhould be nouriſhed amongſt the good, and terror ſhould be ſtricken into the wicked not to deceive; alſo that their power to hurt, and their inſolency ſhould be bridled in all places. And whereas amongſt many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are ſpecially bound to extend our ſtrength, chiefly that the Catholick faith may proſper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful; we therefore being excited through the information of many credible and faithful Chriſtians of our Dioceſs, to root out peſtiferous plants, as ſheep diſeaſed with an incurable ſickneſs, going about to infect the whole and ſound flock, are by the care of the ſhepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to ſay, Preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new Sect, vulgarly called *Lollards*, which under a certain cloked ſhew of holineſs, running abroad through divers places of our Dioceſs, and endeavouring to cut aſunder the Lords unſowed coat, that is to ſay, to rent the unity of the holy Church, and of the Catholick Faith, and alſo to tear in pieces with their tempeſtuous blaſts the power of Saint *Peter*, that is to ſay, to weaken the ſtrength of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtates and degrees, and the determination of the ſame holy Church, have wickedly preſumed and do preſume from day to day to ſpeak, to teach, to maintain, (and that which is more horrible to be uttered) to preach openly many things heretical, blaſphemies, ſchiſms, and ſlanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the Sacred Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, ſo that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteouſneſs and truth, in that they expound to the people the Holy Scripture as the letter ſoundeth, after a judicial ſort, otherwiſe than the Holy Ghoſt will have it, whereas the words wander from their proper ſignifications, and appear to bring in by gheſſing new meanings, whereas the words muſt not be judged by the ſenſe that they make, but by the ſenſe whereby they be made, whereas the conſtruction is not bound to the *Donates* rules; whereas faith is far placed from the capacity of reaſon: But they labour by their pernicious Doctrines and teachings publick and privy, to boyl out the poyſon of ſchiſms between the Clergy and the people: We to encounter againſt ſuch kind of Preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible ſeducers amongſt the people, advancing and rouſing up our ſelves in Gods behalf, and holy Mother Church, with the ſpiritual ſword, which may ſtrike them wiſely, and wound them medicinably, for their health and welfare; and namely *William Swinderby* Prieſt (ſo pretending himſelf to be) as a teacher of ſuch kind of pernicious Doctrine, and an horrible ſeducer amongſt the people; to whom perſonally appearing before us on the Wedneſday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of *June*, in the Pariſh-Church of *Kington* of our Dioceſs, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of hereſie, ſchiſm, and his perverſe Doctrines both manifeſt and privy; we therefore have cauſed many Caſes and Articles concerning the Catholick Faith to be miniſtred unto him, that he ſhould anſwer to the ſame at a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to ſay, on the Friday, being the laſt of the ſame month of *June* next following; aſſigned to him, at the Church of *Bodenhame* of the ſame our Dioceſs. Of which Caſes and Articles exhibited unto us by many of Chriſts faithful people, * zealous followers of the Catholick Faith, to make information to our office (which Caſes and Articles alſo were by us adminiſtred, as is before ſaid, to the ſame *William Swinderby*) the tenour thereof followeth, and is thus:

*Lollards* by the Popes interpretation, is a word derived of *Lolium.*

They counterfeit in the Prophets words as Apes do in Princes apparel.

Who expoundeth the Scripture more after the letter, let the Reader judg by *Hoc eſt corpus meum.*

If ſuch medicines ſhould be miniſtred to you, ye would con your Phyſician little thank.

{Anno 1391.}

* Such as were in Q. *Maries* days as *John Beard, J. Awaſter, Robin Papiſt*, and other like murderers.

¶ Reverend Father and high Lord, Lord *John*, by God ſufferance Biſhop of *Hereford*: It is lamentably declared unto your reverend Fatherhood on the behalf of Chriſts faithful people, your devout children of your Dioceſs of *Hereford*, that notwithſtanding the misbelief of very many *Lollards*, which have too long a time ſprung up here in your Dioceſs, there is newly come a certain child of wickedneſs, named *William Swinderby*; who by his horrible perſwaſions, and miſchievous endeavours, and alſo by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert as much as in him is the whole Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſtirreth up, with all his poſſible power, ſchiſm between the Clergy and the people. And that your reverend Fatherhood may be the more fully informed, what and what manner of man the ſame *William Swinderby* is; there be propoſed and exhibited hereafter to the ſame your Fatherhood, on the behalf of the ſame faithful people of Chriſt, againſt the ſame *William Swinderby*, Caſes and Articles. Which if the ſame *William* ſhall deny, then ſhall the ſame Caſes and Articles moſt evidently be proved againſt him by credible witneſs worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that thoſe being proved, the ſame Fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein, as to your Paſtoral office belongeth.

The denunciation of the Promoters to the Biſhop of *Hereford.*

Matters articulated againſt *W. Swinderby.*

*Inprimis*, the ſame *William Swinderby*, pretending himſelf Prieſt, was openly and publickly convicted of certain Articles and Concluſions being erroneous, ſchiſmatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times, before a multitude of faithful Chriſtian people. And the ſame Articles and Concluſions did he by force of Law revoke and abjure, ſome as heretical, and ſome as erroneous and falſe; avouching and believing them for ſuch, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm openly or privily any of the ſame Concluſions: And if by preaching or avouching he ſhould preſume to do the contrary; that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeverity of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially upon the Holy Goſpels.

2. Alſo the Concluſions, which by the ſame *William* were firſt openly taught and preached, and afterward abjured and revoked, as is aforeſaid, are contained before in the proceſs of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, even as they be there written word by word. And for the Caſes and Articles, they were conſequently exhibited by the forenamed faithful Chriſtian people againſt the ſaid *William Swinderby*, together with the Concluſions before ſaid, and hereafter written: of which Caſes and Articles the tenor here enſueth.

3. *Item*, The ſaid *William* contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worſe, and given up to a reprobate ſenſe, came into your Dioceſs, where he running about in ſundry places, hath preſumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach of his own raſhneſs many heretical, erroneous, blaſphemous, and other ſlanderous things contrary and repugnant to ſacred Canons, and the determination of the Holy Catholick Church. What thoſe things were, at what place and what time, it ſhall hereafter more particularly be declared.

*Item*, The ſame *William* notwithſtanding your Commandments and admonitions ſealed with your Seal, and to all the Curates of your Dioceſs directed, containing amongſt other things that no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he were, ſhould preſume to preach or to teach, or elſe expound the Holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places within your Dioceſs, without ſufficient authority, by any manner of pretence that could be ſought, as in the ſame your Letters Monitory and of inhibition (the tenour whereof hereafter enſueth) is more largely contained; which Letters the ſame *William* did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the Town of *Monemouth* of your Dioceſs, in the year of our Lord 1390, ſo that theſe your Letters, and the Contents thereof came to the true and undoubted knowledg of the ſame *William*; yet notwithſtanding hath the ſame *William* preſumed in divers places and times to preach within the ſame your Dioceſs, after and againſt your Commandment aforeſaid. The tenor of the ſame Letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

The Letter Monitory of the B. of *Hereford* inhibiting to preach without his licenſe.

JOHN *by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of* Hereford, *to the Dean and Chapter of our Church of* Hereford, *and to all and ſingular Abbots, Priors, Provoſts, Deans rural, Parſons and Vicars of Monaſteries, Priories, Churches, Colledges, and Pariſhes, and to other having Cure of Souls within the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford, *and to all and every other being within the ſame City and Dioceſs, greeting. Grace and bleſſing. Foraſmuch as the golden lawrel of teaching Doctoral is not from above indifferently every mans gift; neither is the office of preaching granted ſave to ſuch as are called, and eſpecially by the Church admitted thereunto: We do admoniſh and require you all and ſingular Clerks aforeſaid, and do ſtraitly enjoyn you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the Catholick faith, ſaving ſuch as the ſame office of preaching ſhall by the Authority Apoſtolical, or elſe your Biſhop, be ſpecially committed unto; but that as much as in you ſhall lie, you do by word and deed labour to lett thoſe that would attempt the contrary. And you Lords, Ladies, Knights, Barons, Eſquires, and all ſingular perſons, of what eſtate, degree, preheminence, or condition ſoever ye be, remaining within the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford, *we do beſeech and exhort in our Lord, that following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leven of the Phariſees.*

Would God both they and all men did beware of that leven.

Item, *According to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, Be not ye carried away with divers and ſtrange Doctrines; and that in the mean while (as ſaith the Apoſtle) you be not removed from the ſenſe of the holy ancient Fathers, leſt that any man by any means ſhould ſeduce you; but you agreeing together in one mind, ſee that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not ſpecially (as is aforeſaid) committed, ſhall attempt to inſtruct or in this your life to direct you into the Catholick Faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuſe you to be preſent at their aſſemblies, and ſhun ye their teachings, becauſe they be wicked and perverſe. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the ſacred Canons and Precepts of the holy Fathers, againſt ſuch as do the contrary.*

*Dated at* London *in the houſe of our habitation, under our Seal, the laſt day ſave one of* December, *in the year of our Lord* 1389, *and of our Conſecration the firſt.*

5. *Item*, The ſame *William* in his preaching to the people, on *Monday* being the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the Pariſh of *Whitney* of your Dioceſs, did hold and affirm, That no Prelate of the world, of what eſtate, preheminence or degree ſoever he were of, having cure and charge of ſouls, he being in deadly ſin, and hearing the confeſſion of any under his hand, in giving him abſolution, doth nothing: As who neither doth looſe him from his ſin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits, doth bind him by his ſentence, except the Prelate ſhall be free himſelf from deadly ſin, as St. *Peter* was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and looſe.

6. *Item*, The ſame *William* in many places ſaid and affirmed, in the preſence of many faithful Chriſtian people, that after the Sacramental words uttered by the Prieſt having the purpoſe to conſecrate, there is not made the very Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar.

7. *Item*, That accidents cannot be in the Sacrament of the Altar without a ſubject; and that there remaineth material bread there to ſuch as be partakers Communicant with the Body of Chriſt, in the ſame Sacrament.

8. *Item*, That a Prieſt being in deadly ſin, cannot be able by the ſtrength of the Sacramental words to make the Body of Chriſt, or bring to perfection any other Sacrament of the Church, neither yet to miniſter it to the members of the Church.

9. *Item*, That all Prieſts are of like power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminence.

10. *Item*, That only contrition putteth away ſin, if ſo be that a man ſhall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confeſſion is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſity to ſalvation.

11. *Item*, Inferiour Curates have not their power of binding and looſing immediately from the Pope or Biſhop, but immediately from Chriſt: And therefore neither can the Pope nor Biſhop revoke to themſelves ſuch kind of power, when they ſee time and place at their luſt and pleaſure.

12. *Item*, That the Pope cannot grant ſuch kind of Annual and yearly pardons; becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many years to the day of judgment, as are in the Popes Bulls or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of ſuch like value as they ſpeak of, and are praiſed to be.

13. *Item*, It is not in the Popes power to grant unto any perſon penitent forgiveneſs of the puniſhment of the fault.

14. *Item*, That perſon that giveth his alms to any, which in his judgment is not in neceſſity, doth ſin in ſo giving it.

15. *Item*, That it ſtands not in the power of any Prelate, of what Religion ſoever he be of, privately to give Letters for the benefit of his Order, neither doth ſuch benefit granted, profit them, to the ſalvation of their ſoul, to whom they be granted.

16. *Item*, That the ſame *William*, unmindful of his own ſalvation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certain deſart Wood, called *Dervallwood*, of your Dioceſs, and there in a certain Chappel not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage, hath in contempt of the Keys preſumed of his own raſhneſs to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17. *Item*, The ſame *William* hath alſo preſumed to do ſuch things in a certain prophane Chappel, being ſituate in the Park of *Newton* nigh to the Town of *Leintwarden*, of the ſame your Dioceſs.

*Upon*

{KING Rich. 2.}

*UPON Friday being the laſt of the Month of* June, *in the year above ſaid, about ſix of the Clock, in the ſaid Pariſh Church of* Bodenhone, *hath the ſaid* William Swinderby *perſonally appeared before us. And he willing to ſatisfie the term to him aſſigned, as before ſpecified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful Chriſtian people, many anſwers made and placed by the ſame* William *(in a certain Paper-book of the ſheet folded into four parts) to the ſaid Articles, and the ſame anſwers for ſufficient hath he already to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the Law of Chriſt. Which thing being done, the ſame* William *(without any moe with him) did depart from our preſence, becauſe that we at the inſtance of certain noble perſonages, had promiſed to the ſame* William *free acceſs, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of thoſe anſwers, and alſo free departing without prefixing of any term, or without citation, or elſe any other offence or harm in body or in goods.*

As for the tenour of the ſame anſwers, exhibited unto them by the ſame *William*, as is before ſpecified; we have here under annexed it word for word, and in the ſame old language uſed at that time, when it was exhibited. And it followeth in theſe words.

## *The Proteſtation of* William Swinderby, *with his Anſwers to the Articles by the Promoters laid againſt him to the Biſhop of* Hereford, *taken out of the Regiſters in the ſame old* Engliſh *wherein he wrote it.*

The proteſtation of William Swinderby, with his anſwers.

IN the name of God, *Amen.* I *William Swinderby* Prieſt unworthy, Covenanting and purpoſing wholly with all my heart to be a true Chriſtian man, with open confeſſion knowledging mine own defaults, and unwiſe deeds, making openly this Proteſtation, cleping God to record here before our worſhipful Biſhop *John* through the ſufferance of God Biſhop of *Hereford*, with witneſs of all this people; that it is not mine intent any thing to ſay or affirm, to maintain or to defend that is contrary to holy writ, againſt the belief of holy Church, or that ſhould offend the holy determination of Chriſts Church, or the true ſentences of holy Doctors. And if I have here before through mine uncunning been unordered, or by evil counſel been deceived, or any thing ſaid, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrary to the Law of God; wholly and fully for that time, for now and ever with full will I revoke it and withdraw it, as everich Chriſten man ſhould; Praying and beſeeching ech Chriſten man, to whom this writing ſhall come to, that gif I ought err (as God forbid that I do) or ever erred in any point contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought ſaid. And all the troths that I have ſaid according with the Law of God, that may maintain them, and ſtand by them for life or death to Gods worſhip, as a true Chriſten man ſhould, ſubmitting me meekly to the correction of our Biſhop, that here is, or of any other Chriſten man, after Chriſts laws and holy writ; in will ever ready to be amended; and with this proteſtation I ſay and anſwer to theſe Concluſions and Articles that here followen after, the which been put to me to anſwer to.

1 Objection.

The firſt is this, That I *William* of *Swinderby*, pretending (he ſaith) my ſelf a Prieſt was judicially convented of certain articles and concluſions of error, falſe, ſchiſmatick, and hereſie, by me in divers places and times preached (he ſaith) before multitudes of true Chriſten men; and the ſame articles and concluſions by need of law revoked and forſworn, ſome as hereſies, and ſome as errors and falſe; and ſuch I affirmed and believed them to be; and that none of them from that time forth I ſhould preach, teach, or affirm, openly or privily, ne that I ſhould make no Sermon to the people, ne preach, but by lawful leave asked and gotten; and if I would preſume in doing or affirming the contrary, then to the ſeverity of the Law I ſhould be buxom, as by need of the Law I ſwore.

To this I ſay, witneſſing that God is in heaven, to my wit and underſtanding, that I never preached, held, ne taught theſe concluſions and articles, the which falſly of Friers and of leacherous Prieſts were put upon me to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. For I was ordained by proceſs * yerſaid of their law, by the Biſhop and his Commiſſaries, ſo as I granted them to bring my Purgation of thirteen Prieſts of good fame. And ſo I did with a Letter and twelve Seals thereby, from the Mayor of *Leiceſter*, and from true Burgeſſes and thirty men to witneſs with me, as the Duke of *Lancaſter* knew and heard, the Earl of *Darby*, and other many great men that were that time in the Town, that I never ſaid them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I ſhould have made my Purgation, there ſtooden forth five Friers or moe, that ſome of them never ſaw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous Prieſts openly known, ſome living in their lechery twenty year (men ſayden) or more, as by their childer was openly known. Some of theſe they clepinden denunciations, and ſome weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falſly foreſworn, they ſuing buſily and crying with many another Frier, with great inſtance to give the dome upon me, to burn me, and boughten dry wood before, as men tolden in that Town; and theſe ſleights, and ſwearing, and money giving, as men ſayden, with favour of the Biſhop (by what law I wot not, but ſoothly not by Gods law) they ſayden they held me as convicted, and might not have forth my Purgation. So as I fully forſook them, and never granted that I ſaid them. Over this they made me ſwear, never to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, privily ne apertly; and that I would go to certain Churches to revoke the concluſions that I never ſaid, in ſlander of my ſelf, by great inſtance of the Friers. And ſo for dread of death, and for fleſhly counſel that I had, I aſſented, and ſo I did. And alſo they maden me to ſwear, that I ſhould not preach (by inſtance of the Friers) within that Dioceſs, withouten licenſe asked and granted; and never ſithen I did. And now the ſame concluſions bene rehearſed to me again; whether by Friers counſel I will not deme, God wot, but in ſlander of me it is; and therefore I will anſwer now (with Gods help) to the concluſion. Of the which the firſt is this.

* Yerſaid, that is, beforeſaid.

Witneſſes with *William Swinderby*, 13 Prieſts and 30 other with the Letter of the Mayor of *Leiceſter*, and Burgeſſes, with 12 Seals.

Theebaſtity of Votaries to be noted.

1. Concluſion.

*That men mowen aſken their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to priſon any man; and that he ſo impriſoning is accurſed.*

Anſwer. How debt is to be purſued.

So I ſaid not: but thus I have ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that whoſo purſues his brother with malice, priſoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy, that fain would pay it if he might, he ſinneth againſt Chriſts teaching, *Eſtote miſericordes, ſicut pater veſter miſericors eſt.*

2. Concluſion.

The ſecond Concluſion, that falſe Friers and lecherous Prieſts putten upon me was this: *That if the Parochians know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an evil man, they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and elſe they bene fautors of his ſins.*

Anſwer.

Thus I ſaid not, but on this wiſe, and yet I ſay with proteſtation put before: That if it be known openly to the people, that Parſons or Curates come to her Benefice by ſimony, and liven in notorie fornication, and done not their office and her duties to her Parochians by good enſample of holy life, in true preaching, living and reſidence, wending away from his Cure, occupied in ſecular office; he owes nought to have of the Parochians, tithes, ne offerings, ne hemowes, not to hold him for her Curate, ny hemowes, not to geven him tithes, leſt they bin guilty to God of conſent and maintaining of her open ſin. *Nemo militans Deo implicat ſe negotiis ſecularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. Quiſquis per pecuniam, & diſt. 80. cap. Siquis.*

3. Concluſion.

The third Concluſion was this, *That Friers and Prieſts putten upon me, that tithes purgly bene almeſſes: And in caſe that Curates bene evil men, they mowen leefully be given to other men, by temporal Lords, and other temporalities been done away from men of the Church, actually and openly treſpaſſing.*

Anſwer.

Thus I ſaid not in theſe terms: but thus I ſay with proteſtation made before, That it was medeful and leefful to ſecular Lords by way of charity, and power given to him of God, in default of Prelates that amend not by Gods law, curſed Curates that openly miſuſen the goods of Holy Church, that beene poor mens goods, and cuſtomably againſt the Law of God; the which poor men Lords ben holden to maintain and defend, to take away and withdraw from ſuch Curates poor mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms-deeds, and give them to ſuch

that duly ſerve God in the Church, and been needy in upbearing of the charge that Prelates ſhoulden do, and do it not. *Alter alterius onera portate, & ſic adimplebitis legem Chriſti.* And as anenſt taking away of Temporalities, I ſay, thus with proteſtation made before; that it is leeful to Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords of the World, to take away fro Popes, Cardinals, fro Biſhops and Prelates, poſſeſſions in the Church, their Temporalties, and their Alms that they have given them, upon condition they ſhoulden ſerve God the better, when they verily ſeene that their giving and their taking bene contrary to the law of God, to Chriſts living and his Apoſtles; and namely in that, that they taken upon them (that ſhoulden be next followers of Chriſt and his Apoſtles in poorneſs and meekneſs) to be ſecular Lords, againſt the teaching of Chriſt and S. *Peter*, *Luke* 22. *Reges gentium, & 1 Pet. 5. Neque dominantes in clero.* And namely, when ſuch Temporalties maken them the more proud, both in heart and in aray, then they ſhoulden been elſe, more in ſtriſe and debate againſt peace and charity, and in evil enſample to the world more to be occupied in worldly buſineſs; *Omnem ſolicitudinem projicientes in eum*; and draws them from the ſervice of God, from edifying of Chriſts Church, in impoveriſhing and making leſs the ſtate and the power of Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords that God hath ſet them in; in wrongful oppreſſion of Commons for unmightfulneſs of Realms, For *Paul* ſaith to Men of the Church (whoſe lore Prelates ſhoulden ſovereignly followen) *Habentes victum & veſtitum, his contenti ſimus.*

4th. Concluſion. The fourth Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts putten upon me falſly, *That an evil Curate curſing his Soget for withholding of Tithes is naught elſe, but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly money from them.*

Anſwer. Here may you ſee the falſhood of the *Papiſts*, gathering Articles againſt good men, which they never ſaid nor meant. Thus ſaid I not, but thus I ſaid, and yet do with proteſtation made before; that an evil Curate curſing his Parochians, unmighty to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pity, for his ſingular worldly winning againſt charity, and not for heed of their ſouls, there he is hold by his power reaſonably to help his needy Parochians, and doth nought of the Goods of the Church; wickedly and unduly he withholds from them that which is due to them by the law of God, *Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis; date, & dabitur vobis; verum mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit Dominus.*

5th. Concluſion. The fifth Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts falſly putten upon me; *That no man may curſe any man, but if he were wete him curſed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into ſentence of curſing in any manner.*

Anſwer. Thus ſaid I not, but thus I ſaid, and ſay with proteſtation put before; that no man ought to curſe any man but for charity and with charity, *Omnia veſtra cum charitate fiant.* And ſikerly I ſay, that no wrongful curſing of Pope, or any Prelate in earth binds anenſt God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curſen men, for that men will not do their ſingular will, unreaſonable bidding, with highneſs of heart and cruelty (ſtanding patience and charity in them that they curſen wrongfully) he is bleſſed of almighty God, and they themſelfe bene curſed, *Mat. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines, &c. Et in Pſalmo, Maledicent illi & tu benedices. Et Auguſtinus 11. q. 3. cap. Illud.*

Againſt.

6th. Concluſion. The ſixth Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts putten upon me falſly, *That ech Prieſt may aſſoil him that ſweneth, contrition had; and, notwithſtanding forbiddings of the Biſhop, * is holden to preach to the people the Goſpel.*

* Holden, that is, bound.

Anſwer. Thus I ſaid not, but thus I ſaid, and yet ſay, with proteſtation made before; That ech true Prieſt may counſel ſinful men, that ſhewen to him her ſins, after the wit and cunning that God had given him, to turn fro ſin to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Goſpel, I ſay, that no Biſhop ows to let a true Prieſt, that God had given grace, wit and cunning to do that office; for both Prieſts and Deacons, that God had ordained Deacons and Prieſts, ben holden by power given him of God to preach to the People the Goſpel, and namely and ſomely Popes, Biſhops, Prelates and Curates; For this is due to the people and Parochians, for to have and ask of hem, and they duly and freely owen to done it, *Mat. 5. Luke 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Marc. 16. Euntes in mundum universum. Et Mat. 5. Euntes autem prædicate. Et diſt. 21. cap. In novo teſtamento. Et Iſidor. de ſummo bono. 44. Et Chryſoſt. diſtinct. 34. ca. Nolite. Et Aug. diſtinct. 34. ca. Quiſquis. Et Greg. in ſuo paſtorali, ca. 38. Et Tollitano. ca. Ignorantia. Et Jerom. diſtinct. 95. ca. Ecce ego.* KING Ric. 2.

The ſeventh Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts falſly putten upon me; *That a Prieſt taking for annuel, through Covenant, in that, he is ſchiſmatick and curſed.*

This ſaid I, never in theſe terms, but thus I ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that no Prieſts ows to ſell by bargaining and covenant his ghoſtly travel, ne his maſſes, ne his prayers, ne Gods word, ne hallowings, baptiſm, ne confirming, order-giving, for weddings, for ſhrift, for houſel, or for ennointing; any worldly mens reward to ask or take for theſe, or for any of theſe, or for any ghoſtly thing, he errs and doth ſimony. *Ut patet 1. q. 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex concilio Triburenti. cap. Dictum eſt. Et Chriſtus evangelio vendentes & ementes ejecit de templo, Mat. 22.*

The eighth Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts putten unto me falſly, ſaying, that I believe ſadly as my ſelf ſays, *That ych Prieſt being in deadly ſin, yef hę put him to make Chriſts body, rather he does idolatry than makes it.*

Thus ſaid I not; but thus I ſaid, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before; that what Prieſt that puts himſelf preſumptuouſly and unworthily in deadly ſin, wittingly to miniſter and to receive that holy Sacrament, and ſo records hit curſedly and damnably, he receives his doom. *Qui manducat & bibit indigne, judicium ſibi manducat & bibit: 1 Cor. 11.*

The ninth Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts falſly putten upon me; *That no Prieſts enters into any houſe, but evil for to treat the wife, the daughter or the wench; and therefore they ſayden that I prayed the people, that their husbands ſhould beware that they ſuffer no Prieſt to enter into her houſe.*

And if I had ſaid thus, then I had prayed againſt my ſelf, for I come oft into mens houſes; but thus I ſaid, and yet I do, praying Chriſtian men to beware that they nouriſh nor maintain no lecherous Prieſt in their ſins; for there be where (as men well known) they ben maintained in many places, continuing homely with her Women. And iche man there ſaine they paine therefore a certain to the Biſhops alms. *Et ideo ait Iſido, 11. q. 4. qui conſentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud Deum & homines.*

The tenth Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts putten upon me falſly, *That a child is not verily baptiſed, if the Prieſt that baptiſeth, the Godfather or the Godmother, been in deadly ſin.*

God wot in Heaven they ſaid full falſe; but thus I ſaid, and yet I ſay, that the prayers that an evil Prieſt (living in lechery or other deadly ſin) over the child when it ſhall be hallowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good Prieſt. And though better and cleaner the Prieſt is, the Godfather and the Godmother; the more graciouſly God will hear him, if all they ben not greateſt nor moſt rich in the World. *Unde gg. 13. q. 7. cap. in gravibus. Cum eſt qui diſplicit ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus procul dubio ad deteriora provocatur.*

The eleventh Concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſts putten upon me falſly, *That no man living againſt the law of God is a Prieſt, however he were ordained Prieſt of any Biſhop.*

*Certes* this is falſe, for I ſaid never thus in theſe terms; but thus I ſaid, and thus I ſay with a proteſtation put before, that what ever Pope, or Cardinal, Biſhop or Prieſt, or any Prelate of the Church comes to his ſtate or dignity by Simony, and in Simony occupies that office, and holy Churches Goods; I ſay, that he is a thief, and that by the doom of God, and comes but to ſteal and kill, *Joh. 10. Fur non venit niſi ut furetur, & mactet, & perdat.* And furthermore I ſay, that what Pope, Cardinal, Biſhop, Prelate or Prieſt, in manner of living, or teaching, or laws making contrary to Chriſts living and his laws, or any other ground put in ruling of the Church of Chriſt, but

by

KING Ric. 2. by Christ and his laws, is very Antichrist, adversary to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. *Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus.* *Et patet 1.q.3.c. Si quis. Et 1.q.6.c. Ego autem. Quicunque.*

The true description who is Antichrist

But this worshipful Father Bishop of *Hereford*, that here is, says thus in his writing; That I *William* of *Swinderby*, notwithstanding the foresaid revocation and abjuration (not setting at heart, but from evil to worse, he says, perverted his Diocess) he says, I come running about by divers places; and by mine own folly he says, that I have presumet to preach many heresies, errors, blasphemies, schisms, and other diffames, and to holy Canons and determination of holy Church contrary and repugnant. Which, where, and when within forth more specially it shall be shewed, that ye be false enformed, that I have presumed in divers places of your Diocess to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, schisms and other diffames. And sir, all the Country knows whether this be sooth or not; for sir, I presume not, sithen it is the office of a Priest, by the law of Christ, to preach the Gospel; ne nought I did it for presumption, but for the charge that I have of God by Priesthood (if all I be unworthy) and to the worship of God, and help of Christen souls, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching, if I erred in this, I will be amended. And sir, touching your mandement that ye senden to me, there was sent none. And sir, I made never yet disobedience unto you, ne to your Ministers; and yet all I had, me ows more to obeyche to God than to you, in that ye bidden contrary to Christs bidding. And sir, as ye saine, that I had no mind of my hele, it is too lightly demet; for God forbid, but yet there be hele, more than in your bidding; for God wot, for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my mind. But sir, it seems me, that ye charge not by evidence of the punishing so greatly the breaking of Gods hests, as ye done of your own. And sir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted you to teach him (and her Curates did not) by the desire of the people that weren hungry and thirsty after Gods word, ichone to bear up others charge as Gods law bids: I preached not for disobedience to you, but sir, in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me do, in excusing of my self to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holy Church, with the protestation that I first made, I answer thus to the Articles that ye have put to me.

1st. Article. Anno 1390. Note here how the Papists use falsly to wrest good mens sayings and Articles.

The first is this, that I *William* of *Swinderby* the *Monday* the first of *August*, the year of our Lord 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of *Whitney* of your Diocess, held and affirmed (as ye sain) *That no Prelate of the world, of what state or degree that he be, having cure of souls, being in deadly sin, and hearing confession of his suget, does nought in assoiling him, ne he assoiles him not of his sin; and also in amending his suget, openly sinning, and him for his deserts cursing; his sentence binds not; but if that Prelate be as clean out of deadly sin as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gave power of binding and unbinding.*

Answer. The Popes binding, how far it extendeth.

I never thought this, ne spake this, ne heard it, to the time that I saw it written in our Book; and that will witness, the Lord of the Town that has the same Sermon written, and many Gentiles and other that harden me that day. But thus I said, and thus I say with protestation put before, that there is no man, Pope ne Bishop, Prelate ne Curate, that binds soothly verily and ghostly, but inasmuch as his binding or unbinding, accords with the Keies of Heven that God gave to *Peter*. And as S. *Gregory* says, that power han they only, that hold together the ensample of the Apostles with her teaching. *Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque solvendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti Apostoli, qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto sententiarum.*

Greg. lib. 4. Sent.

2d. Article. And what if he had said it?

The second Article that is put upon me, is this, that I should have said, preached and affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ, *That after the Sacramental words said of the Priest, having intention of consecration; That in the Sacrament of Gods Body, is not very Gods Body.*

Answer. This said I never God wot, and true men that have heard me.

3d. Article. The third Article is this, that our Bishop puts upon me, that I should have said in many places, and affirmed, *That accidents mow not be in the Sacrament of the Altar, without subject, and that material bread leaves not therewith Gods body in the Sacrament.*

Answer. This Conclusion I have not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I have not medled me of that matter, my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my belief with protestation put before, That the Sacrament of the Altar made by vertue of heavenly words, that Christ himself said in the Cene, when he made this Sacrament, that it is bread and Christs body, so as Christ himself says in the Gospel, and S. *Paul* says, and as Doctors in the common law have determined to this sentence. *Mat. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. Pa. 1 Cor. 10. & 11. de con. dist. 2. panis: & de consecr. dist. 2. Corpus. Io. 6. verus panis.*

Bread and Christs body in the Sacrament.

4th. Article. The fourth Article is this, that our Bishop accuseth me of, that I should have preached about and said, *That a Priest being in deadly sin may not by the strength of the Sacramental words make Gods body, or note other Sacrament of the Church, either perform to minister them to the members of the same.*

Answer. The wickedness of the Priest impairs no Sacrament. Thus I never said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it; for well I wot, the wickedness of a Priest may appaire no very Sacrament; but the wickedness of the Priests appaires himself, and all that boldness and example of his sin causen the people to liven the worse against Gods law. *Unde Greg. Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum convertitur.*

5th. Article. The fifth Article is this, that our Bishop puts unto me; *That all Priests ben of even power in all things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignity, or more passing in bigness of degree.*

Answer. Equality of Priests. *Certes*, no man would say thus as I suppose, no more did I, ne never heard it that I wot of; but this I say, with protestation made before; that what Priest lives most holily, next following the law of God, he is most lover of God, and most profitable to the Church. If men speaken of worldly power and lordships and worships, with other vices that reign therein; what Priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree so he be) he is most Antichrist of all the Priests that ben in earth. *Unde Augustinus ad Valerium scribens ait; Nihil est in hac vita, & maxime hoc tempore facilius & levius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Episcopi, Presbiteri, aut Decani officiis: sed si perfunctorie aut adulatorie, nihil apud Deum miserabilius, aut tristius & damnabilius.*

Aug. ad Valerium.

6th Article. The sixth Article is this, *That only contrition does away sin, if a man be duly contrite; and all outward confession by word is superfluous, and not required of need of health.*

Answer. Confession. God forgiveth sin. Aug. de consecr. dist. This conclusion said I never that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is never without charity and grace, does away all sins before done of that man that is verily contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise Priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needful and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting full to Gods mercy, and that he forgives thy sin. *Unde August. de confe. dist. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus, qui est agnus tollens peccata mundi.*

7th Article. The seventh Article is this, that I should say *That lower Curates have not here power of binding and assoiling by mean of Pope and Bishop, but of Christ without mony. And therefore neither Pope ne Bishop may revoke such manner power for time and place at her will.*

Answer. † Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding. Thus said I not, but † not for thy it seems me thus, that no man should grant any thing after his own will, ghostly ne bodily. But everich man should be well adviset, that he so grant nothing, but if it be the will of God that he grant it. And it is no doubt that ne God grants * by mean persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christs people. *Unde & Joh. 19. ait Pilatus, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te? Et Christus; Non haberes potestatem adversum me ullam, nisi esset tibi datum de super.*

*Something here lacketh in the copy.

8th. Article. The eighth Article that our Bishop puts me to, is this, that I should say, *That the Pope may not grant such manner indulgence of years, for there shall not be so many years unto the day of doom, as bene contained in his Bulls, or in the Popes indulgences, whereof it follows that Indulgeuces bene not so much worth as they semen, and bene preached.*

This

Anſwer. This Article I ſaid not thus; but I ſay, that the Pope may grant Indulgences written in his Letter of years, all ſo far forth, that he may grant him in Gods law ſo far to grant, and further not; years may he grant no mo than God hath ſet. If indulgence ben forgiveneſs of ſin, I wot well all only God forgives ſin. If it be releaſing of pains in purgatory ordainet of God, if God have bidden him releaſe ſo many, or ordained that he ſhould releaſe ſo many, he may then releaſe him. If it be in his own diſpoſing to releaſe whom him likes, and how much, then he may deſtroy Purgatory, and let none come there, and releaſe his own pain, as charities wots. So it ſeems he may be ſiker to be ſaved, if himſelf liſt. If any go to purgatory, then it ſeems he full fails charity. If Bulls been the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not ſo much worth, as they coſten there; for lightly they might be loſt, drenched or brend, or a Rat might eaten them; his indulgence then were loſt. Therefore, ſir, have me excuſet, I know not theſe terms; teach me theſe terms by Gods law, and truly I will learn them.

Againſt pardons.

9th Article. The ninth Article is this, that I ſhould have ſaid, *That it is not in the Popes power to grant to any man (doing penance) remiſſion from pain, ne from blame.*

The Pope proved a blaſphemer. Lewd I am, but this Article ſaid I not thus lewdly; but thus I ſay, that ſithen it is only due to God to give and to grant plenary remiſſion from pains and from blame; that whatever he be, Pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtakes upon him that power that is only due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himſelf Chriſt, and blaſphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he ſaid, *Aſcendam, & ero ſimilis Altiſſimo.* Farther I ſay, if the Pope hold men of arms, in maintaining his temporalties and lordſhip to venge him on hem that gilten and offenden him, and geves remiſſion to fight and to ſlay hem that contrarien hem, as men ſayden he did by the Biſhop of *Norwich*, not putting his Swerd into his ſheath, as God commanded *Peter*, *Mitte, &c.* he is *Antichriſtus*; for he does contrary to the commandments of Jeſus, that bade *Peter* forgive to his brother ſeventy ſithe ſeven ſithe, *Si peccaverit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies? &c. Et Chriſtus; non dico tibi ſepties, ſed ſeptuageſies ſepties.*

Of this Hen. Spencer Biſhop of Norwich, ſee pag 488.

10th Article The tenth Article is this, that our Biſhop puts to me, that I ſhould have ſaid, *That a man giving his alms to any man after his dome (not having need) ſins in ſo giving.*

Anſwer. This Article ſoothly I ſaid not in theſe terms; but of this matter I have ſpoken, and will with proteſtation made before on this wiſe; that it is needful to give alms to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghoſtly, but not to give it to ich ſhameleſs begger, ſtrong and mighty of body, to get his lifelode leveful and will not, and in what degree ſo he be, men owen not to give it to ſuch a one, that he unreaſonably asketh, for if he give it to him wittingly, he ſins as fautor of his idleneſs. *Unde Sap.12. Si benefeceris, ſcito cui benefeceris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.*

He meaneth of begging Friers.

Eleventh Article. The eleventh Article is this, that is put to me, that I ſhould have ſaid, *That it is not in the power of any Prelate of what ever private Religion, to grant Letters of the good deeds of her order, ne ſuch Benefices grauntet profits not to hele of ſouls, to hem that they ben grauntet to.*

Anſwer. I ſaid never thus in theſe terms; but thus I ſay with proteſtation, That Prelates of private Religion mowen graunt Letters of the good deeds of her order; but the ghoſtly mede that comes of good deeds they mow not graunt, for that is only propriet to God. And if they blind the people in misbelief for her worldly winning, wittingly behetting hem of her own graunt ghoſtly medes in heaven by her Letters and her Seal (uncertain, who ſhall be damned) but make the people bolder to ſin by truſt of her prayers; hit is none heal to the ſouls, but harms to that one and to that other. For God ſhall yeld to ech one after her werks. *Ipſe reddet unicuique ſecundum opera ſua.*

Good deeds of the order profit nothing.

Twelfth Article. The twelfth Article is this, that our Biſhop puts to me, *That I many times and oft have come* (he ſays) *to a deſart wood, cleped*, Derwalſwode *of his Dioceſs, and there in a Chapel not hallowed, but accurſet* * *ſhepherds hulk, by mine own folly*, he ſays, *have preſumed to ſing (but rather to curſe) in contempt of the Keys.*

* Or ſheep Coat.

Hereto I ſay, that this is falſly put upon me of him that told you this. For it is a Chappel where a Prieſt ſings certain days in the year with great ſolemnity; and certes, I never ſong therein ſeth I was born into this world.

KING Ric. 2.

Anſwer. The accuſers proved with a lie.

Thirteenth Article. The thirteenth Article is this, *That I ſhould alſo preſume to ſing in an unhallowed Chappel, that ſtonds in the Parſe of* Newton, *beſides the Town of* Leyntwardy *of this ſame Diceſs.*

Another lie. Truly I wot not where the place ſtonds.

Fourteenth Article. The fourteenth Article is this, *That I ſhould ſay, that no man owes to ſwear for any thing, but ſimply without Oath to affirm or to deny, and if he ſwear, he ſins.*

Anſwer. This Article ſaid I not that I have mind of, in this manner; but oft have I ſaid, and yet will, that men ſhould not ſwear by any creature by the law of God; and that no man ſhould ſwear in idel, as wellnigh all the people uſeth, and therefore methinks it is no need to comfort the people in ſweating. For from the old unto the young, and namely men of holy Church breken his heſt, and few Biſhops purſuen hem therefore.

To swear by no creature.

fifteenth Article. The fifteenth Article is this, that I ſhould have taught to true men of Chriſt, *That on no manney they ſhould worſhip the Image of him that was done on the Croſs, or the Image of the bleſſed Maid his Mother, or of other Saints into honour and worſhip of the ſame ordeinet in the mind of them. And oft ſithes the worſhip of ſuch image he was reprovet, ſaying and ſtrongly affirming, that Churchmen ſinnen and done idolatry.*

Anſwer. This concluſion have I not ſaid in theſe terms; but this I ſay with proteſtation, that God commands in his law in divers places, *Exod.20. Levit. 19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobiæ 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corin.10. Eſay 45. Jer.2.6.8. & 10.22. & ultimo Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac.2. & Threnorum 4. & peſtremo*; that men ſhould not worſhippen graven images that ben werks of mens hands; and alſo he bids, that men ſhould not make to hem graven images in likeneſs of the things that ben in Heaven, to that end to worſhippen hem; ſethen neither God ne Chriſt by his Manhood, gave never commandment to make theſe images, ne expreſs counſel, ne his Apoſtles in all his law, ne to worſhip ſuch that bene made. But well I wot, that by mens own relation, that have miſbelevet in hem, that many men ſinnen in maumetry, worſhipping ſuch dead images: † Not for thy, to tho men ben Images good to whom they have ben but Kalenders, and through the ſight of them they knowen the better and worſhippen oft God and his Saints. And to ſuch men they done harm that ſetten her hope and truſt in hem, or done any worſhip to hem againſt Gods law and his heſt. *Unde ait Gregorius in regiſtro, libro 10. in Epiſtola ad ſerenum Epiſcopum; Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe; adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc ſolicite fraternitas tua admoneat, ut ex viſione rei geſtæ ardorem compunctionis percipiant, ut in adoratione totius trinitatis proſternantur.*

Images not to be worſhipped.

† Not for thy, that is, notwithſtanding.

Greg. Regiſt. lib. 10.

These Concluſions, Points and Articles that I have under proteſtation, in this Book affirmed, I will ſtand by hem, and maintain hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the time that the contrary be provet duly by Gods law: And this proteſtation I make for my faith and my belief as I did at the beginning; that whenſoever this worſhipful or any other Chriſtian man ſhews me verily by Gods law the contrary of this, I will wholly forſake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better underſtanding of wiſer men, ready to be amended by the law of Jeſus Chriſt, and be a true Chriſten man, and faithful ſon of holy Church; and of theſe I beſeech you all bear witneſs where ye commen.

*Subſequentur vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus poſſet in propria perſona citari; ipſum Gulielmum viis & modis per Edictum publicum ad inſtar albi Prætoris in Eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali Herfordenſi & parochialibus Eccleſiis de Kington Croſte, & Whitney noſtræ Dioceſis, ubi idem Gulielmus ſolebat commorari, citari fecimus, prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cujus tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.*

W. Swinderby keeping from the Biſhop was cited as followeth.

KING *Ric.* 2.

## The Citation.

The tenor of the Citation.

'John by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of *Hereford*, to his dear Sons our Dean of *Leamſter*, to the Parſons of *Croft*, *Almady* and *Whitney*, and alſo to the Vicars of *Kingſton*, *Ladersley*, *Wiggemore* and *Monmouth Cliffords*, and of Sanit *Johns* Altar in our Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, and to the reſt of the Deans, Parſons, Vicars, Chaplains, Pariſh Prieſts, and to other, whoſoever in any place are appointed through our City and Dioceſs of *Hereford*, ſendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

'We bid and command, charging you ſtraitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cauſe to be cited peremptorily (and under the pain of Excommunication) *William Swinderby*, pretending himſelf to be a Prieſt; that he appear before us, or our Commiſſaries the 20*th*. day of this preſent Month of *July*, at North *Lodebury*, within our Dioceſs, with the continuance of the days following in other places alſo to be aſſigned unto him if it be expedient, till ſuch things as have been, and ſhall be laid againſt him, be fully diſcuſſed, to anſwer more at large to certain poſitions and articles, touching the Catholick Faith, and the holy Mother Churches determination, that have been exhibited and miniſtred unto the ſaid *William*. And to ſee and hear alſo many things that have openly in judgment before us, and a great number of faithful Chriſtians, by him been even in writing confeſſed to be condemned as heretical, falſe, ſchiſmatical and erroneous. And to ſee and hear poſitions and articles denied by the ſaid *William*, to be proved by faithful witneſſes, and other lawful trials againſt the ſaid *William*. And to receive for his falſe, heretical, erroneous and ſchiſmatical Doctrine, that Juſtice ſhall appoint, or elſe to ſhew cauſes why the premiſes ſhould not be done.

'And if the ſaid *William* lieth privily, or elſe cannot be ſo cited in his proper perſon; we will that in your Churches, when moſt people ſhall then come together to Divine Service, you openly with a loud voice, and that may be underſtood, cauſe the ſaid *William* peremptorily to be cited unto the premiſes, certifying the ſame *William*, that whether he ſhall appear the day and place appointed or no, we notwithſtanding will proceed unto the premiſes againſt the ſaid *William*, according to the canonical Decrees by form of law, in the abſence or contumacy of the ſaid *William* notwithſtanding. We will moreover, if the ſaid *William* ſhall appear at the ſaid day and place, as is aforeſaid, before us, friendly hear him, and honeſtly, and favourably, as far as we may with Gods leave, deal with him; granting free licence to come and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And ſee that you fully certifie us of the things that you or any of you ſhall do about the execution of this our commandment, and that by your Letters Patents ſigned with your Seal authentical, giving alſo faithfully to the ſaid *William*, or to his lawful Proctor, if he require it, a Copy of this our preſent commandment.

'Given at our houſe of *Whitburne* under our Seal the fifth day of the Month of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1391.

On *Thurſday* the 20*th* of *July*, in the year of the Lord aforeſaid, We in the Pariſh Church of North *Lidebury* aforeſaid, about ſix of the Clock ſitting in judgment, after that it was reported unto us, how the foreſaid *William* was perſonally taken and lawfully cited; cauſed the ſame *W.* then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear and receive ſuch things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwiſe that which Juſtice ſhould perſwade. And the ſaid *William* appeared neither by himſelf, nor by Proctor; but only by a ſervant (whoſe name we know not) he ſent a certain Schedule of Paper, made like an Indenture unto us, to excuſe him. After which Schedule, ſeen, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and in any wiſe notwithſtanding, we adjudged the ſaid *William* (after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour tarried for, and by no means appearing) worthily obſtinate; and for his obſtinacy, and for his ſtubborneſs, we aſſigned unto him the 29*th* day of *July*, in the Church of *Ponſley*, to appear before us with the foreſaid ſafeguard, to anſwer more fully to ſuch Articles, and otherwiſe to hear, receive and do as before is noted.

## The ſecond days Act.

Upon *Saturday* being the 29*th* of *July*, and in the year of the Lord aforeſaid, We *John* by Gods permiſſion the fore remembred Biſhop in the Church of *Pontesbury*, of our Dioceſs, at ſix of the clock, or thereabout, ſitting in judgment; made the ſaid *William* of *Swinderby* to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and aſſigned) he ſhould appear before us, to anſwer to the foreſaid Articles more fully, and to declare the ſaid Articles as the darkneſs of his anſwers did worthily require. And becauſe the ſaid *William* being called, and for a due time looked for, did make no means to appear, we pronounced him to be obſtinate, and for his obſtinateneſs (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding favour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the 8*th*. of *Auguſt*, then next following, at *Cleobury Mortemere* of the ſame our Dioceſs, unto the ſaid *William* for the ſame thing.

The ſecond ſitting againſt *Will. Swinderby*.

## The third days Act.

Upon *Tueſday* the 8*th* of *Auguſt*, the year aforeſaid, I *John* by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of *Hereford* aforeſaid, in the Church of *Cleobury Mortemer*, about ſix of the clock, ſitting in judgment, cauſed the foreſaid *William Swinderby* to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premiſes, according to the appointment of the ſame day that Juſtice ſhould adviſe, which *William* did not appear at all. Whereupon, we after that the ſaid *William* was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but appeared not at all, did judge him worthily (as of right appertained) obſtinate; and for his obſtinateneſs, aſſigned him the ſixteenth day of the ſame Month of *Auguſt* next following, in the Pariſh Church of *Whithorne* of the ſame our Dioceſs, to bring forth, or to ſee brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs, and to ſee all witneſſes brought forth, admitted and ſworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the foreſaid Articles, or at leaſtwiſe ſome of the ſame.

The third ſitting againſt *Will. Swinderby*.

## The fourth days Act.

Upon *Wedneſday* the 16*th*. day of the Month of *Auguſt* the year aforeſaid, We *John* the Biſhop in the Pariſh Church of *Whithorn* aforeſaid of our Dioceſs, ſitting in Judgment, cauſed the ſaid *William Swinderby* oftentimes to be called, who (as is aforeſaid) appeared not at all; whom, after that he was ſo called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appeared, we pronounced to be obſtinate. We received alſo by certain faithful Chriſtians, and zealous Men for the Catholick Faith of our Dioceſs, a certain proceſs made, and had at another time againſt the ſame *William*, before the reverend Father in God and Lord, Lord *John* by the grace of God, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, confirmed by the hanging on of the Seal of the ſame reverend Father, the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*. The tenor whereof word for word is contained before. And theſe faithful Chriſtians moreover againſt the obſtinateneſs of the ſaid *William Swinderby* brought forth diſcreet men, Mr. *William Leviet*, Parſon of the Pariſh Church of *Kyverſly*, and alſo *Edmund Waterdon*, Pariſh Chaplain of the Chappel of *N.* and *Roger Newton*, and *Hugh Sheppert*, Lay men of the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, asking inſtantly that they might be received for witneſſes, to prove ſome of the foreſaid Articles, whom againſt the obſtinateneſs of the ſaid *William Swinderby*, we thought good to receive and did receive, and their Oaths on the holy Goſpels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hand: And did diligently examine them in proper perſon ſeverally in form of law; whoſe ſayings and depoſitions are afterward brought in, and at the inſtance of the ſame faithful Chriſtians, we aſſigned the ſecond day of *September* then next following, to the ſaid *William Swinderby*, to ſay and alledge againſt the ſaid Proceſs, Witneſſes, and their ſayings, in the ſaid Church of *Whithorn*; decreeing that a Copy ſhould be made for him of theſe things that were brought forth, and of the depoſitions of the Witneſſes. *Here we fail in our Copy, till the Regiſter come to our hands again.*

The fourth ſitting againſt *Will. Swinderby*.

Of this proceſs mention is made before, *pag.* 531.

by

by the door, but wendeth upon another half, he is a night thief and a day thief. And there he telleth, how he that flyeth from the flock, is not the Sheepherd, but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the ſheep.

2d. Concluſion. * To the ſecond Concluſion that he ſaien is error or hereſie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of lordſhips of Prieſts that been evil livers.

Declaration I ſay, me ſeemeth that the Concluſion is true, and is this, that it were needful and leeful to ſecular Lords by way of charity, and by power given to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend nought by Gods Law; curſed Curates, that openly miſuſe the goods of the holy Church, that ben poor mens goods; and cuſtomably ayens the Law of God, (the which poor men Lords ben holden to maintain and defend) to take away, and to draw from ſuch Curates, poor mens goods in help of the poor, and their own wilful offerings, and their bodily alms deeds of worldly goods, and give them to ſuch as duly ſerven God in the Church, and ben ready in upbearing of the charge that Prelates ſhoulden do, and done it not. And as anences taking away of temporalties, I ſay thus, that it is leeful to Kings, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lords of the world, to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, from Biſhops, Prelates, and poſſeſſioners in the Church, their temporalties and their alms that they have given them upon condition, that they ſhoulden ſerve God the better; when they verily ſeen that their giving and taking ben contrary to the law of God, contrary to Chriſts living, and his Apoſtles; and namely, in that they taken upon them that they ſhoulden be next followers of Chriſt and his Apoſtles in poorneſs and meekneſs, to be ſecular Lords againſt the teaching of Chriſt and of Saint *Peter*. Truly me ſeemeth that all chriſten men, and namely Prieſts ſhoulden take keep, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The Prieſts of the old law were forbidden to have lordſhips among their brethren; for God ſaid, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Chriſt that was the higheſt Prieſt of the New Teſtament forſook worldly lordſhip, and was here in form of a ſervant, and forbad his Prieſts ſuch Lordſhips, and ſaid, *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non ſic*; that is, *The Kings of the Heathen bear dominion and rule, &c. but you ſhall not do ſo.* And as St. *Peter* ſaith, *Neque dominantes in clero, &c. Not bearing rule and dominion of the Clergy, &c.* So it ſeemeth me, that it is againſt both laws of God, that they have ſuch Lordſhips, and that their title to ſuch Lordſhips is not full good. And ſo it ſeemeth me, that if they have been thereto of evil living, it is no great peril to take away from them ſuch Lordſhips, but rather needful, if the taking away were in charity, and not for ſingular covetouſneſs, ne wrath. And I ſuppoſe, that if Friers that been bounden to their founders to live in poverty, would break their rule and take worldly Lordſhips; might not men lawfully take from them ſuch Lordſhips, and make them to live in poverty as their rule would? And forſooth, it ſeemeth me, that Prieſts oughten alſo well to keep Chriſts rule, as Friers owen to keep the rule of their founder. *Jeremy* witneſſeth, how God commended *Rechab*'s children, for that they would not break their faders bidding in drinking of wine; and yet *Jeremy* proffered them Wine to drink. And ſo I trow, that God would commend his Prieſts if they woulden forſake worldly Lordſhips, and holden them apayed with liſelot, and with clothing, and buſie them faſt about their heritage of Heaven. And God ſaith *Numer.* 18. *In terra eorum nihil poſſidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars & hæreditas veſtra in medio filiorum Iſrael, &c. Et Deut.* 18. *Non habebites Sacerdotes & Levitæ, & omnes qui de eadem tribu eſtis, partem & hæreditatem cum reliquo Iſrael; quia ſacrificia Domini & oblationes ejus comedunt, & nihil accipiunt de poſſeſſione fratrum ſuorum. Dominus enim ipſe hæreditas ipſorum, ſicut locutus eſt illis. Et Lucæ* 14. *Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciaverit omnibus quæ poſſidet, non poteſt meus eſſe diſcipulus. Et Jeronymus in Epiſtola* 34. *Et Bernardus libro* 20. *ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte* 2. *libri Secundi, cap.* 7. *Et* 12. *q. pri. cap. Duo ſunt: Et cap. Clericus. Et Bernardus in ſermone de Apoſtolis, ſuper illud; Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chryſoſt. ſuper Matth. Et [illegible]tus Teſtamentum.* That is, *You ſhall have no inheritance in that land, nor have no part amongſt them; I will be your part and inheritance amongſt the Children of Iſrael, &c. Deut.* 18. *The Prieſts and Levites, and all that be of the ſame Tribe, ſhall have no part nor inheritance with the reſt of Iſrael, becauſe they ſhall eat the Sacrifices of the Lord and his Oblations, and they ſhall take nothing for the poſſeſſion of their brethren. The Lord himſelf is their poſſeſſions, as he ſpake unto them.* And the 14*th.* Chapter of *Luke*, *Even ſo every one of you, which forſaketh not all that he poſſeſſeth, cannot be my Diſciple.* And *Jerome* in his 14*th.* Epiſtle hath the like words. And *Bernard* in his 20*th.* Book to *Eugenius* the Pope. And alſo *Hugo* in his Book *De Sacramentis*, the ſecond part of his ſecond Book the 7*th* Chapter. And alſo in the 12*th* firſt Chapter, *Duo ſunt*, and in the Chapter *Clericus*. And again *Bernard* in *Sermone de Apoſtolis*, upon this place, *Ecce nos reliquimus omnia*, *Behold we leave all, &c. Chryſoſtome* upon the Goſpel of S. *Matth.* &c.

Every gift given upon condition, is fruſtrate upon the breach of every ſuch condition.

If the Pope may take from the Friers, to cauſe them to keep St. *Francis* rule, may not the Emperor take from the Pope to cauſe him to keep *Chriſts* rule.

* The third Concluſion toucheth the matter of preaching of Prieſts, withouten leave of Biſhops, and is this, *That ſuch Prieſts may counſel ſinful men, that ſhewen to them their ſins, after the wit and cunning that God hath given, to turn hem from ſin to vertuous life.*

As touching preaching of the Goſpel, I ſay that no Biſhop oweth to lett a true Prieſt, that God hath giffen grace, wit and cunning to do that office. For both Prieſts and Deacons that God hath ordained Deacons or Prieſts bene holden, by power given to them of God, to preach to the people the Goſpel, and namely and ſoverenly, Popes, Biſhops, Prelates and Curates; for this is due to the people and the Pariſhioners, to have it and ask it. And hereto ſeemeth me, that Chriſt ſaid generally to [illegible] his Diſciples; *Ite & prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ, Go and preach the Goſpel to all creatures*, as well as he ſaid, *Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Go and baptiſe all Nations*; and alſo as well longeth preaching to Prieſts without leave of a Biſhop, as doth baptiſing; and then why may he not preach Gods Word withouten a Biſhops leave? And ſithen Chriſt bod his Prieſts preach, who ſhould forbidden them preach? The Apoſtles were forbidden of a Biſhop at *Jeruſalem*, to ſpeak more of the name of Jeſus, but *Peter* ſaid, *Si juſtum eſt in conſpectu Dei, vos potius audire quam Dominum, judicate*; that is, Whether it be juſt in the ſight of God to hear and obey you before the Lord, be your ſelves Judges. A Biſhop may not lett a Prieſt of giving bodily alms in his Dioceſs; much more may he not lett the doing of ſpiritual alms in his Dioceſs by Gods law. A Prieſt may ſay his Mattens withouten the Biſhops leave; for the Pope, that is above the Biſhop, hath charged Prieſts therewith: And me thinketh, that Chriſts bidding ſhould be all ſo much of charge as the Popes, *Mat.* 10. *Euntes autem prædicate. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar.* 16. *Euntes in mundum univerſum, &c. Lucæ* 10. *Et Anacletus Pap. Diſt.* 21. *cap. In Novo Teſtamento. Et Beda ſuper illud; Meſſis quidem multa. Et Iſidorus de ſummo bono, cap.* 44. *Et Gregorius in Canone diſt.* 43. *Præconis quippe officium ſuſcipit, &c. Et Chryſoſt. Diſtinct.* 43. *Nolite timere. Et Auguſt. diſt.* 34. *cap. Quiſquis. Et Gregorius in ſuo paſtorali, cap.* 38. *Qui enim eſt. Et Chryſoſtom. Hom.* 31. *& in Toletano Concilio: Ignorantia. Et Auguſt. In Prologo ſermonum ſuorum, & Hieronymus, diſt.* 9. *Ecce ego. Et Auguſt. ſuper id. Homo quidam peregrinus*; That is, *Go you forth and preach.* And again, *Behold I ſend you*, &c. *Mark* 16. *Go you into all the world*, &c. and *Luke* 10. *cap. in Novo Teſtamento.* And *Beda* upon this place *Meſſis quidem multa*; *the Harveſt is great.* Alſo *Iſidorus, De ſummo bono, cap.* 44. And *Gregorius* in the Canon *diſt.* 43. *Præconis quippe officium ſuſcipit*, &c. And *Chryſoſtome* in his 34*th* diſtinction, *Nolite timere.* And *Auguſtine* in his 34*th* diſtinction, *cap. Quiſquis.* And *Gregorius* in his paſtoral, *cap.* 39. *Qui enim eſt.* And *Chryſoſtome* in his 31*ſt.* Homily. *Et in Toletano Concilio, Ignorantia.* And *Auguſtine* in the prologue of his Sermons. And *Hierome* in the 95th. diſtinct. *Ecce ego.* And *Auguſtine* upon this place, *Homo quidam peregrinus*, a certain Traveller, &c.

A Prieſt admitted ought to preach, [illegible] Biſhop forbid, ſo that he preach the Word.

* The

KING Ric. 2. 4th. Concluſion.

* The fourth Concluſion toucheth the Sacrament of the Altar, and is this.

That wholly I believe that the Sacrament of the Altar, made by vertue of heavenly words, is bread and Chriſts body; ſo as Chriſt himſelf ſaith in the Goſpel, and as S. *Paul* ſaith, and as Doctors in the common law have determined; to this ſentence *John 6. Moſes hath not given you bread from Heaven, but my father will give you bread from Heaven.* He is the true bread that came down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the World. *My father giveth unto you bread indeed*; the very true bread of God is that, which came down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the World. *I am the bread of life*; *The bread which I will give is my fleſh.* And in the Canon of the Maſs, *Panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ*, the holy bread of life. And *Corinthians* the tenth Chapter and firſt Epiſtle, *The bread which we break, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of that bread*, &c. And Canon *De conſecratione*, diſtinct. 2. under the authority of *Hilarius* the Pope, *Corpus Chriſti quod ſumitur de altari*, &c. And *Auguſtine* in the foreſaid diſt. *That which is ſeen is bread*, &c. *That which faith requireth, is bread and is the body of Chriſt.* And in the foreſaid diſtinction, *cap. Omnia quæcunque*, &c. By theſe two ſentences it is manifeſtly declared, that that bread and this be not two, but one bread and one fleſh. Note the words, for that he ſaith the bread and fleſh. And the Author, *De divinis officiis*, and alſo *Auguſtine* in his Book *De remediis pœnitentiæ*; Why preparеſt thou thy teeth, &c? And *Ambroſe*, *De Sacramentis, de conſecratione, diſt. 2. Revera mirabile eſt*, &c. *This meat which you receive, and this bread of one which deſcended from Heaven, doth miniſter the ſubſtance of eternal life, and whoſoever ſhall eat the ſame ſhall not die everlaſtingly, and is the body of Chriſt.* Note how he ſaith, *and is the body of Chriſt.*

5th. Concluſion.

* The fifth Article telleth of forgiveneſs of ſins, and is this: That very contrition withouten charity and grace, do away all ſins before done of that man that is verily contrite; and all true confeſſion made by mouth outwardly to a wiſe Prieſt and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is needful and helping, that men ſhew their life to ſuch, truſting fully to Gods mercy, that he forgiveth the ſin.

Declaration

Remiſſion double.

And hereto I ſay, that there been two remiſſions of ſin; one that belongeth only to God, and that remiſſion is the cleanſing of the ſoul from ſin: and the other remiſſion, a certifying that one man certifieth another, that his ſins been forgiven of God, if he be ſorry with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leave them for ever; and this manner of forgiveneſs longeth to Prieſts. Of the firſt manner of forgiveneſs *David* ſaith, *And I ſaid, I will confeſs my unrighteouſneſs unto the Lord, and thou forgaveſt me my miſdeed.* And *Zechary* ſaith, *And thou, O child, ſhalt be called the Prophet of the higheſt*, &c. *To give knowledge of ſalvation unto his people for the remiſſion of their ſins, by the bowels of Gods mercy.* And *John* Baptiſt, *Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world.* And Saint *John* the Evangeliſt ſaith in his Epiſtle, *If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and cleanſe us from all our iniquity.* And it followeth, *If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jeſus Chriſt, and he it is that is the propitiation for our ſins.* And of the other remiſſion of ſins, Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpel, and ſaith, *Whoſe ſins ye forgive they ſhall be forgiven.* And mans forgiveneſs availeth little, but if God forgive our ſins through his grace.

6th. Concluſion.

* The ſixth Concluſion toucheth indulgences and pardons that the Pope granteth in his Bulls; and men callen it an Abſolution *A pœna & culpa.*

Declaration Either there is no Purgatory, or elſe the Pope is cruel & uncharitable.

The Popes powver can keep none from bodily pain. Ergo much leſs from ſpiritual.

Of this manner of ſpeech I cannot find in the Goſpel, ne in no place of holy Writ, ne I have not read that Chriſt uſed this manner of remiſſion, ne none of his Apoſtles. But as me ſeemeth, if the Pope had ſuch a power, ſithen the pains after a mans death been much greater than any bodily pains of the world; me thinketh he ſhould of charity keep men out of ſuch pains, and then men needed not to find ſo many vicious Prieſts, after their life, to bring their ſouls out of Purgatory. Another thing me thinketh, that ſith the Popes power ne may not keep us in this world from bodily pains, as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from ſorrow and other ſuch pains, how ſhould his power help us from ſpiritual pains, when we been dead? But for that no man cometh after his death to tell us the ſooth of what pain they been, men mow tell thereof what him luſt. Saint *John* ſaith in his *Apocalyps*, that he ſaw under the Altar the ſouls of them which were ſlain for the Word of God, and for the teſtimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice, ſaying, *How long Lord holy and true, doſt not thou revenge our blood of them which dwell on the earth?* And white ſtoles were given to every of them to reſt a while, till the number of their fellow ſervants and brethren ſhould be fulfilled, which alſo remained to be ſlain as they were, &c. Here ſeemeth it, that theſe ſouls were not aſſoiled *a pœna*, that is, from pain; for their deſire is not fulfilled. And they were bidden abide awhile, and that is a pain. And if Martyrs were not aſſoiled from pain, *it is* hard for any man to ſay, that he aſſoileth other men *a pœna*. Alſo good mens ſouls have not but ſpiritual bliſs, and they want bodily bliſs, until their Reſurrection in the day of doom. And after they deſired to have that bliſs, and abiden it, and that is pain to them. And I cannot ſee that the Pope hath power to bring him from this pain. But if any man can ſhew me, that he hath ſuch a power granted in the troth of holy Writ, I will gladly leeſen it.

If the Martyrs being dead, be not aſſured from grief of tarrying, much leſs can they aſſoil other from pains of Purgatory.

The Pope hath no powver ground. d upon Scripture to bring from pain of purgatory.

7th Concluſion.

* The ſeventh point ſpeaketh of the Pope, and *is* this; Sith it is only due to God, as I have ſaid before, to geve and to grant plenar remiſſion from pain, and from blame; that whatſoever he be, Pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtaketh upon him the power that is only due to God, in that, inaſmuch as in him is, he maketh himſelf even with Chriſt, and blaſphemeth God, as *Lucifer* did, when he ſaid, *Aſcendam, & ero ſimilis altiſſimo*; that is, *I will aſcend, and be like the higheſt*, &c.

The Pope maketh himſelf even with Chriſt.

Declaration The Biſhop of Norwich, Henry Spencer the Popes Warrior ſet up of the Pope to ſlay his enemies, Pag. 309.

For that I ſay, if the Pope hold men of armes in maintaining of his temporal Lordſhip, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geveth remiſſion to fight and to ſley them, that contrarien him, as men ſayden he did by the Biſhop of *Norwich*, not putting his ſword in his ſheath, as God commanded to *Peter*, he is Antichriſt. For he doth the contrary of the commandment of Jeſus Chriſt, that bad *Peter* forgiven to his brother ſeventy ſithe ſeven ſithe. Well I find in the Goſpel, that when Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to *Samaria*, the *Samaritans* would not receive them. And ſome of them bidden Chriſt, that he ſhould make fire come down from Heaven, to deſtroy the City. And he blamed them and ſaid, *Neſcitis cujus ſpiritus eſtis, Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, ſed ſalvare.* That is, *ye know not of what ſpirit ye are*; *The Son of Man is not come down to deſtroy, but to ſave the lives and ſouls of men*, &c. If Chriſt then come to ſave men, and not to ſlay them; who that doth the reverſe hereof, is againſt Chriſt, and then he is Antichriſt. Chriſt bad *Peter* put his ſword into his ſheath and ſaid, *Omnes qui gladium acceperunt gladio peribunt*: That is, *all which take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.* And I cannot find that *Peter* drew out his ſword after that time, but ſuffered as Chriſt ſaid, *Cum ſenueris, alius cinget te, & ducet te quo tu non vis*: That is, *When thou ſhalt wax old, another ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whether thou wilt not.* And therefore, ſaid *Peter*, *Chriſt ſuffered for us, leaving us example that we ſhould follow his ſteps.* And *Paul* ſaith, *Not defending your ſelves, but give place to anger, leave revenging to me and I ſhall reward them*, &c. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that it is much againſt Chriſts lore, that his Vicar ſhould be a fighter; ſithen that he mote be a Shepherd, that ſhould go before his ſheep, and let them come after him, and not with ſwords to drive them away from him. For as Chriſt ſaith, *A good ſhepherd ſhall put his life for his ſheep.* And zif all that Chriſt had two ſwords, when that he was taken of the *Jews*, he ſaid himſelf it was for that the Scriptures moten zif be fulfilled, *Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus eſt*; that is, *He was reputed among the wicked*; and not to figure two ſwords that men ſayen the Pope hath to govern with the Church. And when I ſee ſuch doings of the Pope, and many other that accorden not with Chriſts lore, ne his living; and when I read divers Scriptures of holy Writ, I am ſoul aſtonied whether they ſhoulden be underſtood of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods love tell me the ſooth. Chriſt ſaith, *Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying,*

The Pope contrary to Chriſt.

The Pope again proved Antichriſt.

Two ſwords never given to the Pope.

*ing, I am Chriſt, and ſhall ſeduce many,* &c. Chriſt (I wot well) is as much to ſay, as he that is anointed, and two anointings there were in the law, one of Kings, another of Prieſts. And Chriſt was both King and Prieſt, and ſo the Pope ſaith that he is. And if all that have been Emperors of *Rome*, and other Heathen Kings have been Antichriſts, they come not in Chriſts name. But whoſo cometh in Chriſts name, and feigneth himſelf Chriſts friend, and he be privily his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. Saint *Paul* ſaith, before there cometh a defection firſt and the ſon of perdition ſhall be revealed, which is the adverſary, and is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worſhipped; ſo that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf as God. And it followeth in the ſame place; and now ye know what holdeth till he be revealed in his time, for he worketh already the myſtery of iniquity. Only he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one ſhall be revealed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the ſpirit of his mouth, &c. And St. *John* ſaith in the *Apocalyps*, *I ſaw another Beaſt aſcending out of the earth, and two horns like to the Lamb. He ſpake like the Dragon, and had the power of the firſt Beaſt.* Many ſuch authorities aſtonied me oft ſithes; and therefore I pray you, for the love of God, to tell me what they mean.

Tvvo ſorts of anointings in Scripture.

A defection in Antichriſts time.

## *The Sentence.*

Mention vvas made of this ſchedule before in the firſt days Act, pag. 537.

THe which Schedule aforementioned, with the contents thereof, diligently of us peruſed, we conſidering that Diſeaſes, which be not eaſily cured with gentle remedy, muſt have harder plaiſters; conſidering moreover, theſe his Articles, with his anſwers to the ſame, and to other Articles alſo laſtly againſt him produced; firſt mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter, with the foreſaid Maſters and Doctors, as well ſecular as regular, to a great number, obſerving in the ſame all things to be obſerved in this behalf, have given ſentence againſt the ſaid *William* in form as followeth.

The ſentence given againſt him.

*The name of Chriſt being invocated, We* John *by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* Hereford, *ſitting in Tribunal Seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and conſidering the Articles by the foreſaid faithful Chriſtians put up againſt the ſaid* Swinderby, *pretending himſelf to be Prieſt, with his anſwers upon the ſame,* Actis & Actitatis *before us in the cauſe of Heretical perverſity, with mature deliberation had before in this behalf, with Maſters and Doctors of Divinity, and alſo of other faculties, with their counſel and conſent; Do pronounce, decree and declare the ſaid* William *to have been and to be an Heretick, Schiſmatick, and a falſe informer of the people, and ſuch as is to be avoided of faithful Chriſtians. Wherefore we admoniſh, under the pain of the law, all and ſingular Chriſtians, of what ſex, ſtate, condition or prehemінence ſoever, that neither they nor any of them within our Dioceſs, or any other, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the ſaid* William, *till he ſhall deſerve fully to be reconciled to the boſom again of holy Church.*

## *The Appeal of* William Swinderby, *from this ſentence of the Biſhop prefixed, unto the King and his Council.*

The Appeal of *William Swinderby* from the Biſhop to the King and his Council.

IN *nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.* I *William Swinderby*, Prieſt, knowledge openly to all Men, that I was before the Biſhop of *Hereford* the third day of *October*, and before many other good Clerks, to anſwer to certain Concluſions of the Faith that I was accuſed of. And mine Anſwer was this, that if the Biſhop or any man couthe ſhew me by Gods law, that my Concluſions or my Anſwers were error or hereſie, I would be amended, and openly revoke them before all the people.

* Something there lacketh in the Copy.

* Knowes in any of my Concluſions, but ſayden ſingly with ſword, that there was errors in them, and bidden me ſubject me to the Biſhop, and put me into his grace, and revoke mine error, and ſhewed me nought by Gods law ne reaſon, ne proved which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me guilty, ſo as I knew no error in them, of which I ſhould be guilty, therefore the Biſhops ſate in doom in mine abſence, and deemed me an Heretick, a Schiſmatick, and a teacher of errors, and denounced me accurſed, that I come not to correction of the Church, and therefore for this unrightful Judgment, I appeal to the Kings Juſtices for many other cauſes.

The Kings Court above the Biſhops Court.

One cauſe is, for the Kings Court in ſuch matter is above the Biſhops Court; for after that the Biſhop has accuſed, he may no fear by his law, but then mote he ſech ſuccour of the Kings law and by a Writ of *Significavit* put a man in Priſon.

The ſecond cauſe is, for in cauſe of Hereſie there liggeth judgment of death, and that dome may not be given without the Kings Juſtices. For the Biſhop will ſay, *Nobis non licet interficere quemquam*: That is, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man*, as they ſaiden to *Pilate* when Chriſt ſhould be doomed. And for I think that no Juſtice will give ſodainly an untrue doom, as the Biſhop did, and therefore openly I appeal to hem, and ſend my Concluſions to the Knights of the Parliament, to be ſhewed to the Lords, and to be taken to the Juſtices, to be well aviſet or that they geven doom.

What is an Heretick.

The third cauſe is, for it was a falſe doom; for no man is an Heretick, but he that maſterfully defends his error or hereſie, and ſtifly maintains it. And mine anſwer has been alway conditional, as the people openly knows, for ever I ſay, and yet ſay, and alway will; *That if they cannen ſhew me by Gods law that I have erret, I will gladly bene amendet, and revoke mine errors, and ſo I am no Heretick, ne nevermore in Gods grace will ben en no wiſe.*

The Biſhops lavv of condemnation full of hereſies and errors.

The fourth cauſe is, for the Biſhops aw, that they doom men by, is full of errors and hereſies, contrary to the truth of Chriſts law of the Goſpel.

For there, as Chriſts law bids us love our enemies, the Popes law gives us leave to hate them, and to ſley them and grants men pardon to werren againſt Heathen Men, and ſley hem. And there as Chriſts law teaches us to be merciful, the Biſhops law teaches to be wretchful. For death is the greateſt wrecth that man mowen done to him that guilty is.

Whereas Chriſts law teaches us, to bleſſen him that diſeazen us, and to pray for him; the Popes law teacheth us to curſe them, and in their great ſentence that they uſen, they preſume to damn hem to Hell that they curſen. And this is a foul hereſie of blaſphemy; whereas Chriſts law bids us be patient, the Popes laws juſtifies two ſwords, wherewith he ſmiteth the ſheep of the Church. And he has made Lords and Knights to ſwear to defend him and his Church.

There as Chriſts law forbiddeth us lechery, the Popes law juſtifies the abominable whoredom of common women, and the Biſhops in ſome place have a great Tribute or Rent of Whoredom.

The contrariety betveen the Pope and Chriſt.

There as Chriſts law bids to miniſter ſpiritual things freely to the people; the Pope with his law ſells for mony, after the quantity of the gift, Pardons, Orders, Bleſſings and Sacraments, and Prayers, and Benefices, and preaching to the people, as it is known amongſt them.

There as Chriſts law teaches peace; the Pope with his law aſſoiles men for mony to gader the People, Prieſts, and other to fight for his cauſe.

There as Chriſts law forbids ſwearing; the Popes law juſtifieth ſwearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Chriſts law teacheth his Prieſt to be poor; the Pope with his law juſtifies and maintains Prieſts to be Lords.

The cauſe vvhy *Swinderby* forſook the Pope.

And yet the fifth cauſe is, for the Popes law, that Biſhops demen men by, is the ſame unrightful law that Chriſt was demet by of the Biſhops, with the Scribes and with the Phariſees. For right as at that time they gaven more credens to the two falſe witneſſes that witneſſed againſt Chriſt, than they deden to all the people that witneſſeden to his true preaching and his Miracles; ſo the Biſhops of the Popes law geven more leven by their law to two Hereticks and Apoſtates, or two comen women that woulden witneſſeden agains a man in the cauſe of hereſie, than two thouſands of people that were true and good. And for the Pope is this Antichriſt, and his law contrary to Chriſt his law, fully I forſake this law, and ſo I reed all Chriſten men. For thus by another point of this law they mighten conquer much of this world; For whan they can, by this law preſent a man an Heretick, his goods ſhulen be forfeit from him

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and from his Heirs, and so might they lightly have two or three false witnesses to record an heresie again what true man so hem liked. Herefore me thinks, that whatsoever that I am a Christen man, I may lawfully appeal from a false doom of the Law, to be righteously demet by the trouth of Gods Law. And if this appeal will not serve, I appeal openly to my Lord Jesus Christ that shall deme all the world, for he, I wot well, will not spare for no man to deeme a trouth. And therefore I pray God Almighty with *David* in the *Sauter* Book, *Deus judicium tuum regi da, & justitiam tuam filio regis; judicare populum tuum in justitia & pauperes tuos in judicio.* That is, O God, give thy judgment to the King, and thy justice to the Kings Sons, to judge thy people in justice, and thy poor ones in judgment, &c.

## A Letter sent to the Nobles and Burgesses of the Parliament, by Master *William Swinderby.*

A fruitful Letter to the Lords and Burgesses of the Parliament.

*Jesus that art both God and Man, help thy people that loven thy Law, and make known through thy grace thy teaching to all Christen men. Dear Sirs, so as we seen by many tokens that this world draws to an end, and all that ever have been brought forth of* Adams *kind into this world shulen come togeder at Domesday, rich and poor, schone to geve accompt and receive after his deeds, joy or paynen for evermore: Therefore make we our werkes good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be ye stable and true to God, and ye shulen see his help about you.* Constantes estote & videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. *This Land is full of Ghostly Cowards; in ghostly battel few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of all that falleth (to that his Heart brast for our love) against the fiend, the doughty Duke comforteth us thus;* Estote fortes in bello, &c. *Be ye strong in battel, he sayes, and Fight ye with the old Adder.* State in fide, viriliter agite, &c. *Wake ye and pray ye, stond ye in believe, do ye manly and be ye comfortet, and let all your things be done with charity. For Saint* Paul *that saw the privities of God in Heaven, bids thus in the Epistle;* Evigilate justi, &c. *Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and unmoveable: Awake ye quickly and sleep nought, and stond now strongly for Gods Law. For Saint* John *in the Apocalyps says,* Blessed be he that awakes; *for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the Crown of Life. For the hour is now, as S.* Paul *saith to us, from sleep for to rise, for he that early awakes to me, he shall find me, saith Christ himself. This awaking Ghostly is good living out of sin: This sleep betokens that which Cowardeth a mans heart from Ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same through a deceiveable sleep is this that lets a Man of the bliss of Heaven: The fiend makes men bold in sin, and ferd to do worship to God: death is a likening to a Thiefe that privily steals upon a man that now is rich, and full of wele, anon he makes him a needy wretche. Therefore said God by Saint* John *in the Apocalyps in this wise, Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a Thiefe, and thou shalt not wit what hour. And if the Husbandman (sayes Christ) wist what hour the Thiefe should come, he would wake and suffer him not to undermine his house. Saint* Peter *therefore warneth and saith; Wake and be ye ware, suffer ye no man (he sayes) as a Thiefe, but willingly for Gods love; for it is time, as* Peters *sayes, that doome begin from the House of God. Ye been the Body of Christ, sayes* Paul, *that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies been but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore cursed be he, sayes* Paul, *that loves not Jesus Christ. And wist it is that loves him, Christ himself tels in the Gospel; he that has my hests, and keepes them, he it is that loves me. Cursed be he therefore, sayes* Paul, *that doth Christs works deceiveably. Be ye not therefore, sayes* Paul, *ashamed of the true witness of Jesus Christ; for Christ our God says in the Gospel, He that shames me and my words, him shall mans Son ashame, when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Majesty. And each man, he says, that knows me and my words before men in this sinful Generation and whorish, Mans son shall knowledge him before my Father, says Christ himself, when he shall come with his Angels in the Glory of his Father. Sith ye therefore been Christen men, that is to say, Christs men, shew in deed that ye been such as ye daren shew you the Kings men; for hit had been, as* Peter *says, better not to have known the way of truth, then after the knowing thereof to be converted backward therefrom. We knowen Christ, that is trought; we sain all through our belief, if we turn from him for dred, truly we deny the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knows but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worship, when we have time. Be true, says God, to the death, and you shall have the Crown of life. And think on* Judas Macchabeus, *that was Gods true Knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to be the followers of his Law. And geve ye, he said, your lives for the Testament of your Fathers. And ye shulen win, he said, great joy, and a name for evermore. Was not* Abraham, *he said, in temptation founden true, and was * areckt unto him evermore to righteousness? Joseph in time of his anguish he kept truly Gods best, he was made by Gods providence Lord of* Egypt, *for his troth.* Phinees *our fadure loving, he saith, the zeal of God, took the Testament of everlasting Priesthood.* Josua, *for he fulfillet the Word of God, was doomes man in* Israel. Caleph, *that witnessed in the Church, he took therefore the Heritage, he saith:* David *in his mercy he gat the Siege of the Kingdom in Worlds:* Heli, *for that he loved the zeal of Gods Law, was taken up into heaven.* Ananny, Azary, *and* Misael, *he says, weren delivered thoore through true belief out of the hoat flame of fire. True* Daniel *in his simpleness was deliveret from the Lions mouth. Bethink ye therefore, he says, by Generation and Generation, and thou shalt never find that he failed that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he says, of the words of a sinful man; his glory is, he says but worms and tords: he is to day, he saith, ymade hy, to morrow, he says, he is not founden; for he is turned, he says, into his Earth again, and the mind of him is perished. Sons therefore, he says, by ye comfortet, and dy manly in the Law: For when ye han done that that God commands you to do, ye shulen be glorious in him. And* King David *says also on this wise in the* Psalter *Book; Blessed be they (Lord) that keepen thy Law, in Worlds of Worlds they shall praise thee. And in* Levit. *says God thus, Gif that ye wenden in mine hests, and keepen my commandments, and done hem, I shall bring forth their Fruit, and Trees shall be fulfilled with Apples. And ye shall eat your Bread in fulness, ye shoulen dwell in your Land without dred; I shall give peace in your costs, ye shall sleep and no man shall fear you. Evil beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not pass your terms, ye shulen pursue your Enemies, and they shall fall before you; fifty of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your Enemies, he saith, sholen fall through sword, and your sute: I shall, he says, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall be multipliet: And I shall strength with you my covenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in thereon. And ye shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amongs you, and I shall be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that ye hear me not, ne done nought all my hests, but despisen my law and my doomes, and that ye done not tho things that of me bene ordenet, and breaken my commandments and my covenants; I shall do these things to you. I shall visit you surely in nene and brenning, which shall dimme your eghen, and shall wast your lives about nought. Ye shulne sow your seed, for hit shall be devouret of Enemies, I shall put put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your Enemies. And ye shullen be underlings to them that han hatet you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall add thereunto thornes and sevenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardness of you, I shall geve the Heaven above you as Iron, and the Earth as Brass. About nought shall your labour be, for the Earth shall bring you forth no Fruit, ne Tree shall geve none Apples unto you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not hear me, I shall add hereto sevenfold wounds for your sins. I shall send amongst you Beasts of the field that shall devoure you and your Beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and ways shulne be desart. And if that ye will not*

Reckoned

Dan. 14.

Psal. 119. Levit. 26.

*receive lore, but wenden againſt me, I will alſo wenden againſt you, and I ſhall ſmite you ſeven ſithes for your ſins. I ſhall lead in upon you ſword, venger of my covenant: and upon the fleen into Cities I ſhall ſend Peſtilence in the mideſt of you. So that tenne women ſhall bake their Bread in one furnace, and yield them again by weight, and ye ſhall eat, and be not fillet. If that ye hear me not by theſe things, but wenden againſt me, I ſhall wend in againſt you in a contrary woodneſs, and blame you with ſeven plagues for your ſins, ſo that they ſhulene eat the fleſh of your Sons and of your Daughters. And inſomuch my ſoul ſhall loth you, that I ſhall bring your Cities into wildernes, and your Sanctuaries I ſhall make deſart, ne I ſhall not over that receive ſweet odor of your Mouth. And I ſhall diſperkle your Land, and Enemies ſhullen marvel thereon, when they ſhulen inhabit it, I ſhall ſperkle you among heathen, and draw my ſword after you. Theſe vengeances and many moe God ſaid ſhould fall on them that break his bidding, and deſpiſeth his laws, and his doomes. Then ſith Chriſt become man, and bought us with his heart blood, and has ſhewed us ſo great love, and given us an eaſie law, of the beſt that ever might be made, and to bring us to the joy of Heaven, and we deſpiſe it and loven it nought: what vengeance will be taken hereon, ſo long as he has ſuffered us, and ſo mercifully abidden, when he ſhall come that righteous judge in the clouds to deme this world? Therefore turn we us to him, and leave ſin that he hates, and over all things maintain his law that he confirmed with his death. For other laws, that men had made, ſhould be demed at that day by the juſt Law of Chriſt, and the maker that them made; and then we won that long life and that joy that* Paul *ſpeaketh of, that eye ne ſee not, ne ear heard not, ne into mans heart aſcended not, the bliſs and joy that God hath ordained to them that loven him and his laws.*

*Dear worſhipful Sirs in this World, I beſeech you for Chriſt's love, as ye that I trow loven Gods law and trouth (that in theſe days is greatly born aback) that they wollen vouchſafe theſe things that I ſend you written to Gods worſhip, to let them be ſhewed in the Parliament, as your wits con beſt conceive, to moſt worſhip to our God, and to ſhewing of the trouth and amending of holy Church. My concluſion, and mine appeal, and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can find therein error, falſeneſs, or defalt, provet by the Law of Chriſt clearly to Chriſten mens knowledge) I ſhall revoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet; ever ready to hold with Gods law openly and privily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintain that is contrary to his law.*

The faithful requeſt of *William Swinderby.*

¶ Of this proceſs, anſwers, and condemnation of this worthy Prieſt, and true ſervant of Chriſt, *William Swinderby*, you have heard. What afterward became upon him I have not certainly to ſay or affirm; whether he in priſon died, or whether he eſcaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of King *Richard* the Second no great harm was done unto him. Which was to the year 1401. at what time King *Richard* being wrongfully depoſed, *Henry* the Fourth invaded the Kingdom of *England*. About the beginning of whoſe reign we read of a certain Parliament holden at *London*, mentioned alſo of *Thomas Walden* (as is above ſpecified) in which Parliament it was decreed; That whoſoever ſhewed themſelves to be favourers of *Wickliff*, who at that time were called *Lollards*, they ſhould be apprehended, and if ſo be they did obſtinately perſevere in that Doctrine, they ſhould be delivered over unto the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and from him ſhould be committed unto the ſecular Magiſtrate. This law (ſaith the Story) brought a certain Prieſt unto puniſhment the ſame year, who was burned in *Smithfield* in the preſence of a great number. This have we drawn out of a piece of an old Story: and it is moſt certain that there ſuch a Prieſt was burned for the affirmation of the true faith; but it doth not appear by the Story what the Prieſts name was. Notwithſtanding by divers conjectures it appeareth unto me that his name was *Swinderby*, that was forced to recant before the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premiſſes, let other men judge what they think, I have nothing hereof expreſly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge (which have here ſeen and read his Story) that if he were burned, then the Biſhops, Friers, and Prieſts, which were the cauſes thereof, have a great thing to anſwer to the Lord, when he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead, *& ſeculum per ignem.*

KING Ric. 2.

## The ſtory and proceſs againſt *Walter Brute.*

The Story of *Walter Brute* a Britain.

AFter the ſtory of *William Swinderby*, I thought good and convenient next to adjoyn the acts and doings of *Walter Brute* his joynt fellow and companion, being a Lay-man, and learned; brought up as it ſeemeth in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, being there alſo graduate. The tractation of whoſe diſcourſe, as it is ſomething long: So therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and conſidered.

Firſt, the mighty operation of Gods Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modeſt ſimplicity, his valiant conſtancy, his learned tractations and manifold conflicts ſuſtained againſt Gods Enemies. On the contrary part in his adverſaries may appear Might againſt Right, mans authority againſt plain verity; againſt which they, having nothing directly to anſwer, proceed in condemnation againſt whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefeſt occaſion, that ſeemed to ſtir up the heart and zeal of this *Walter* againſt the Pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of Pope *Urban*, granted to *Henry Spencer* Biſhop of *Norwich*, to fight againſt Pope *Clement*, mentioned before *Pag.* 508. Secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the Articles and concluſions of *William Swinderby*; the whole Order whereof, in the proceſs here following, more plainly may appear.

Ex regiſtro Epiſ. Here-ford.

*The proceſs had by* John *Biſhop of* Hereford *againſt* Walter Brute *a Lay-man and learned, of the Dioceſs of* Hereford, *touching the cauſe of Hereſie, as they called it, ſet forward by the way of the Biſhops Office, &c. At the inſtruction of certain faithful Chriſtians, as he termed them, but indeed cruel and falſe promoters.*

Murdring hypocrites under loving words.

IN the name of God, Amen: To all manner of faithful Chriſtian people, that ſhall ſee and hear this our preſent proceſs, *John* by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of *Hereford* ſendeth greeting and continual charity, in the Lord. We would that you all ſhould know, that of late by many faithful Chriſtian people, and ſpecially zealous followers of the Catholick Faith, it was lamentably done us to underſtand by way of complaint; that a certain Son of ours going out of kind, named *Walter Brute*, a lay perſon, learned, of our Dioceſs, hath under a cloked ſhew of holineſs damnably ſeduced the people; and, ſetting behind him the fear of God, doth ſeduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and privily as well the Nobles as the Commons, in certain concluſions heretical, ſchiſmatical and erroneous, and alſo heretofore condemned. And they have alſo probably exhibited againſt the ſame *Walter*, Articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

### *Articles exhibited and denounced to the Biſhop, againſt* Walter Brute.

Articles denounced againſt *Walter Brute* by Prieſts and Friers.

REverend Father and Lord, we the faithful people of Chriſt, and zealous lovers of the Catholick Faith, and alſo your humble and devout Children, do Miniſter and exhibite to your Reverend Fatherhood the Articles under-written, touching the Catholick Faith, contrary and againſt malicious perſons, and detractors of the ſame faith, and the determinations of Holy mother Church, and namely againſt the child of *Belial*, one *Walter Brute*, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongſt the people: Humbly beſeeching, that you would vouchſafe to have regard to the correction of the Enormities under-written, according unto the Canoi-

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KING *Ric.* 2. all conſtitutions, even as to your office paſtoral doth lie and belong.

The firſt Article. *Imprimis*, We do give and exhibit and intend to prove that the ſame *Walter Brute*, being unmindful of his Salvation, hath been by many and divers faithful Chriſtian people ſundry times accuſed of the Curſedneſs of Hereſie; As by the ſwift report, ſlander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the moſt Reverend Father and Lord, Lord *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and alſo before the the Reverend Father and Lord, Lord *John* late Biſhop of *Hereford* your Predeceſſor, and now Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*, hath been teſtified, and alſo hath been many and divers times cited to anſwer unto Articles by him againſt the Catholick Faith avouched, and openly and publickly taught. But he in this matter of heretical Curſedneſs (ſo grievouſly and ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath never regarded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and ſundry years laboured to advance things erroneous, and ſchiſmatical, and alſo Hereſies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

The ſecond Article. *Item*, The foreſaid *Walter Brute* hath openly, publickly, and notoriouſly avouched; and commonly ſaid and taught, and ſtubbornly affirmed; that every Chriſtian man (yea and woman) being without ſin, may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as the Prieſt.

The third Article. *Item*, The ſame *Walter* hath notoriouſly, openly and publickly avouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very body, but a ſign and a memorial only.

The fourth Article. *Item*, The foreſaid *Walter* hath ſaid commonly, and avouched, and alſo hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give Tithes, nor Oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his Tithes, and Oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their Curates.

The fifth Article. *Item*, That ſuch as do preach and prefer croiſed matters, and pardons (granted by the high Biſhop to them that helped the purpoſe of the Reverend Father Lord *Henry* by the grace of God Biſhop of *Norwich*, when as he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy Father the Pope) are ſchiſmaticks and hereticks, and that the Pope cannot grant ſuch manner of pardons.

The ſixth Article. *Item*, The ſaid *Walter* hath oftentimes ſaid, and commonly avouched, that the Pope is Antichriſt, and a ſeducer of the people, and utterly againſt the Law and life of Chriſt.

The ſeventh Article. *Item*, Whereas of late your Reverence did (at the inſtance of faithful Chriſtian people) proceed in form of law againſt *William Swinderby*; and that the ſaid *William Swinderby* had unto the ſaid Articles objected againſt him given up his anſwers in writing, containing in them errors, ſchiſms and hereſies, even as you with the mature counſel of Maſters and Doctors in Divinity, and other faculties have determined and given ſentence, and have pronounced the ſame *William Swinderby* to be an Heretick and a ſchiſmatick, and an erroneous Teacher of the people: Nevertheleſs the forenamed *Walter* hath openly, publickly, and notoriouſly ſaid, avouched and ſtubbornly affirmed, that the ſaid *Williams* anſwers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous and not able to be convinced, in that they contain none error, and that your ſentence beforeſaid, given againſt the ſaid *William*, is evil, falſe and unjuſt; and that your aſſiſtance have wickedly, naughtily, perverſly, and unjuſtly condemned the anſwers aforeſaid.

Otherwiſe bloody promoters. Theſe concluſions and Articles of *William Swinderby* here repeated, and objected to *Walter Brute* are to be found before. pag. 530. and 532.

Now thereupon immediately thoſe ſame faithful Chriſtian people have inſtantly required, that we would vouchſafe that other Articles given by the ſame faithful Chriſtians againſt the ſaid *William Swinderby*, together with the writings and anſwers of the ſame *William* thereunto, ſhould be admitted againſt *Walter Brute*, mentioned of in this matter of curſed Hereſie: of which Articles and anſwers, the Tenors do follow in theſe words.

*Imprimis*, That one *William Swinderby*, pretending himſelf Prieſt, was of certain Articles and concluſions erroneous, falſe, ſchiſmatical, and heretical by him preached, at divers places and times, before a great multitude of faithful Chriſtians judicially convinced; and the ſame Articles and concluſions did he (inforced by neceſſity of law) revoke and abjure, ſome as heretical, and other as erroneous and falſe; and for ſuch did he avouch them ever afterward, promiſing ſo to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he ſhould make Sermon or Preach within your Dioceſs without licence demanded and obtained. And in caſe he ſhould to the contrary preſume, by preaching or avouching; that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeverity of the Canons, even as he judicially ſwear accordingly as the law inforced. Alſo the concluſions abjured by the ſaid *William*, do follow, and are ſuch.

1. *Imprimis*, That men by the rule of charity may mand debts, but by no means impriſon any man for debts: and that the party ſo impriſoning a body, is excommunicated, before pag. 530. 1 Concluſion.

2. *Item*, That if the Pariſhioners ſhall know their Curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from their Tithes, &c. *ibid.*

3. *Item*, That Tithes are meer Alms; and in caſe that the Curates ſhall be ill, that they may be lawfully beſtowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c. *ibid.*

4. *Item*, That an evil Curate to excommunicate any under his juriſdiction, for withholding of Tithes, is nought elſe, &c. *ibid.*

5. *Item*, That no man may excommunicate any body, except that firſt he know him excommunicate of God: Neither do thoſe that excommunicate with ſuch a one, incur the ſentence of excommunication by any manner of means. *ibid.*

6. *Item*, That every Prieſt may abſolve every ſinner being contrite, and is bound to Preach the Goſpel unto the people, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Biſhops. *ibid.*

7. *Item*, That a Prieſt, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is in ſo doing a ſchiſmatick, and excommunicate. *ibid.*

8. *Item*, He doth aſſuredly believe (as he avoucheth) that every Prieſt being in deadly ſin, if he diſpoſe himſelf to make the body of Chriſt, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Chriſts body: *ibid.*

9. *Item*, That no Prieſt doth enter into any houſe, but to handle ill the Wife, the Daughter, or the Maid, and therefore, &c. *ibid.*

10. *Item*, That the Child is not rightly Baptized, if the Prieſt, &c. *ibid.*

11. *Item*, That no manner of perſon if he live againſt Gods law, &c. *ibid.*

12. *Item*, The ſame *William* againſt the things premiſed, and his revocation and abjuration (not to his heart converting, but from evil to worſe perverting) did turn aſide into our Dioceſs; where running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his own raſh head preſumed to Preach, or rather to pervert, &c. pag. 532.

13. *Item*, After that we had heard divers rumors, and ſlanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be ſent abroad by our commiſſaries to ſundry places of our Dioceſs; that no perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he were, ſhould preſume to Preach or to Teach the ſacred Scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our Dioceſs, &c. *ibidem.*

14. *Item*, That the ſame ſort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our Seal, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the ſaid *William*.

15. *Item*, The ſame *William*, unmindful of his own ſalvation, hath hitherto and againſt thoſe monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be ſpoken) in contempt of the high Biſhops Dignity, and to the ſlander and offence of many people, preſumed in divers places of our ſaid Dioceſs to Preach or rather to pervert and to teach the forementioned, and other heretical, erroneous and ſchiſmatical devices: pag. 532. *Infandum facinus ſciliceſ.*

16. *Item*, The ſame *William* in Preaching to the people, on Monday, to wit, the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the year of our Lord 1390. in the Church of *Whitney* in our Dioceſs, held and affirmed; that no Prelate of the World, of what ſtate, preheminence or degree ſoever he were, having cure of ſouls and being in deadly ſin, &c. *ibid.*

17. *Item*, The ſame *William* in many places ſaid and affirmed in the preſence of many faithful Chriſtian people, after the ſacramental words uttered by the A perilous door to open.

Prieſt, having the intent to conſecrate, there is not made the very body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. *ibid.*

18. *Item*, That accidents cannot be in the Sacrament of the Altar without their ſubject; and that there remaineth material Bread *Concomitanter*, with the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament. *Vide ſupra*, pag. 532.

19. *Item*, That a Prieſt being in deadly ſin cannot by the power of the Sacrament words, make the body of Chriſt. *ibid.*

20. *Item*, That all Prieſts are of like power in all points, notwithſtanding that ſome of them are in this world of higher Dignity, degree, or preheminence. *ibid.*

21. *Item*, That contrition only putteth away ſin, if a man ſhall be duly contrite; and that all vocal confeſſion and exerciſe is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſity to ſalvation. *ibid.*

22. *Item*, That inferiour Curates have not their power of binding and looſing immediately from the Pope or Biſhop, but immediately of Chriſt &c. *ibid.*

23. *Item*, That the Pope cannot grant ſuch a kind of annual pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many years to the day of judgment as are contained in the Popes bulls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not ſo much worth as they are noiſed and praiſed to be. *ibid.*

24. *Item*, That it is not in the Popes power to grant to any penitent body forgiveneſs of the pain, or of the treſpaſs. *ibid.*

25. *Item*, That one giving his Alms to any body, which as he judgeth hath no need thereof, doth ſin in ſo giving, &c. *ibid.*

26. *Item*, That it ſtands not in the power of any Prelate, of what private Religion ſoever he be, to give by letters Benefits of their Order; Neither do ſuch kind of Benefits given, profit them to whom they be given for the ſalvation of ſouls. *Vide ſupra*, pag. *ibid.*

A foul fault forſooth.

27. *Item*, That the ſame *William*, unmindful of his own ſalvation, hath many times and often reſorted to a certain deſart Wood called *Derwalſwood* of our Dioceſs, and there in a certain unhallowed Chappel (nay a prophane Cottage) hath preſumed of his own proper raſhneſs, to celebrate, &c. *ibid.*

28. *Item*, The ſame *William* hath alſo preſumed to do the like things in a certain prophane Chappel, ſituate in the Park of *Newton*, nigh to the Town of *Leyntwardyn*, in the ſame our Dioceſs, pag. *ibid.*

*Walter Pride* promoter, or rather a proud promoter.

¶ Which things being done, the ſame faithful Chriſtian people, and eſpecially Sir *Walter Pride* the penitentiary of our Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, perſonally appearing before us, ſitting in our judgment Seat in the Pariſh Church of *Whiteborne* of our Dioceſs, brought forth and exhibited two publick Inſtruments againſt the ſame *Walter Brute*, in the caſe of curſed Hereſie aforeſaid, of which Inſtruments here followeth the Tenors and Articles in this ſort.

The firſt Inſtrument exhibited by certain Canons of *Hereford* againſt *Walter Brute.*

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all perſons by this preſent publick Inſtrument, that in the year from the Incarnation, after the courſe and computation of the Church of *England* 1391. the Indiction xv. of the pontifical Office of our moſt holy Father and Lord in Chriſt, Lord *Boniface* the Ninth, by Gods wiſdom Pope, the ſecond year, the xv. day of the Month of *October*, in the dwelling Houſe of the worſhipful man, M. *John Godemoſton*, Canon of the Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, in the preſence of me the publick Notary under-written, and of witneſſes ſubſcribed; *Walter Brute* a Lay-man, learned, of *Hereford* Dioceſs, perſonally appearing ſaid, avouched, and ſtiſly maintained; that the ſaid Biſhop of *Hereford*, and aſſiſtants which were with him the third day of the foreſaid Month of *October*, the year of our Lord aforeſaid, in the Church of *Hereford*, did naughtily, wickedly, perverſly, and unjuſtly condemn the anſwers of Sir *William Swinderby* Chaplain, given by the ſame Sir *William* to the ſame Lord Biſhop in writing, and alſo the Articles miniſtred by the ſame Sir *William*.

Biſhop of *Hereford* unjuſtly condemned the Articles of Sir *Wil. Swinderby.*

And furthermore he ſaid, held, and avouched, that the ſame concluſions given by the ſame Sir *William*, even as they were given, are true and Catholick.

*Item*, As touching the matters objected againſt him by them that ſtood by, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he ſaid, that after the Sacramental words there doth remain very Bread, and the ſubſtance thereof after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt, and that there do not remain accidents without ſubſtance or ſubject after the conſecration of the body of Chriſt. And as touching this matter, the Doctors hold divers opinions.

§ KING § *Ric. 2.* § *Matters objected againſt Walter Brute.*

The Pope Antichriſt.

Furthermore, as concerning the Pope, he ſaid, held, and avouched; that he is the very Antichriſt, becauſe that in life and manners he is contrary to the Laws, Doctrines, and Deeds of Chriſt our Lord.

All and every of theſe things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearſed in the year of our Lord, pontifical Office, month, day, and place aforeſaid, at Supper time of the day, aforenamed, then and there being preſent the worſhipful and diſcreet men, Sir *Walter Ramſbury*, chief Chaunter of the ſaid Cathedral Church of *Hereford*, *Roger Hoore* Canon of the ſame Church, *Walter Wall*, Chaplain of the ſaid Church of *Hereford*, being a Vicar of the Choral, and certain other worthy witneſſes of credit, that were ſpecially called and deſired to the premiſſes. *Ex Regiſt. Hereford.*

Witneſſes againſt Walter Brute.

And I *Richard Lee* Wheeler, Clerk of *Worceſter*, being a publick Notary, by the authority Apoſtolick, was perſonally preſent at all and ſingular the premiſſes, whilſt that (as is before rehearſed) they were done and a doing in the year of our Lord 1391. Pontifical Office, month, day, place, and the hour aforeſaid: and I did ſee, write, and hear all and ſingular thoſe things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this publick manner and form; and, being deſired truly to teſtifie the premiſſes, have ſealed the ſaid Inſtrument, made hereupon, with mine accuſtomed Seal and name.

*Richard Lee* Regiſter and writer hereof.

The form of the ſecond Inſtrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all perſons, by this preſent publick Inſtrument, that in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord, after the courſe and computation of the Church of *England*, 1391. the indiction fifteen, in the third year of the Pontifical Office of the moſt holy Father in Chriſt, and our Lord, Lord *Boniface* Pope by the providence of God the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the Month of *January*; *Walter Brute* Lay-man, of *Hereford* Dioceſs, perſonally appearing before the Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord *John* by Gods grace Biſhop of *Hereford*, in the preſence of me being a publick Notary, and one of the witneſſes under-written, did ſay, hold, publiſh, and affirm, the Concluſions hereafter written, that is to ſay, that Chriſtian people are not bound to pay Tithes neither by the Law of *Moſes*, nor by the Law of Chriſt.

Matters and Concluſions miniſtred againſt *Walter Brute.* This Concluſion ſeemeth to be falſly collected, as were before the Articles of *William Swinderby.* This concluſion alſo is not rightly gathered.

*Item*, That it is not lawful for Chriſtians, for any cauſe in any caſe, to ſwear by the Creator, neither by the Creature.

*Item*, He confeſſeth openly and of his own accord, that within the ſame Month of *January*, he did eat, drink, and communicate with *William Swinderby*, not being ignorant of the ſentence of the ſaid Reverend Father, whereby the ſame *William Swinderby* was pronounced an Heretick, ſchiſmatick, and a falſe ſeducer of the Common people. Which concluſions the ſame Reverend Father cauſed to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the ſame *Walter*. Which when he had ſeen and read, he ſaid alſo that he did maintain and juſtifie them according to the Laws aforeſaid. Theſe things were done in the Chamber of the ſaid Biſhop of *Hereford*, at his Manner of *Whiteborne* of the ſaid Dioceſs of *Hereford*; there being then preſent the ſame Biſhop aboveſaid, Maſter *Reynold* of *Wolſton* Canon of *Hereford*, Sir *Philip Dileſk* Parſon of the Pariſh Church of *Blamurin*, *Thomas Guildeſeld* Parſon of the Church of *Engliſbyknore*, *John Creſſes* Parſon of the Church of *Whiteborne*, and *Thomas Wallewain* houſhold ſervant, for witneſſes eſpecially called and deſired to the premiſſes, of the Dioceſs of *Hereford* and Saint *Aſaph*.

Witneſſes againſt Walter Brute.

And I *Benedict Come* Clerk, of the Dioceſs of S. *Aſaph*, publick Notary by the Apoſtolick Authority of the Dioceſs of S. *Aſaph*, was perſonally preſent together with the witneſſes before named, at all and ſingular theſe and other things here premiſed, whilſt they were ſo done and a doing, and did ſee, hear, and write thoſe things ſo to be done, as is before mentioned; and did write the ſame, and reduce them into this publick form, and with my wonted

*Benedict Come* regiſter, witneſs and writer of this Inſtrument *Walter Brute.*

KING *Ric.* 2.

wonted and accuſtomed ſeal and name have ſealed it, being deſired and required truly to teſtifie the premiſſes.

At the laſt, the foreſaid *Walter Brute* did preſent and cauſe to be preſented to us (at divers places and times aſſigned by us to the ſame *Walter* to anſwer to the former Concluſions and Articles) divers Scrouls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his anſwers to the ſame Articles and Concluſions above written; he partly appearing by his own ſelf, before us ſitting in our judgment Seat, and partly by his Meſſengers, ſpecially appointed to that purpoſe: of which Scrouls, the Tenors do follow in order word by word, and be on this matter.

Certain exhibits of *Walter Brute* in writing preſented to the Biſhop for his defence.

*In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Amen.* I *Walter Bruſe*, Sinner, Lay-man, Husbandman, and a Chriſtian (having my Off-ſpring of the *Britains*, both by my Fathers and Mothers ſide) of the *Britains*, have been accuſed to the Biſhop of *Hereford*, that I did erre in many matters concerning the Catholick Chriſtian Faith; by whom I am required that I ſhould write an anſwer in Latin to all thoſe matters. Whoſe deſire I will ſatisfie to my power, proteſting firſt of all, before God and before all the World; that like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuſe the known truth, for any reward greater or ſmaller, yea, be it never ſo big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal puniſhment; even ſo it is not my mind to maintain any eroneous Doctrine for any Commodities ſake. And if any man, of what ſtate, ſect, or condition ſoever he be, will ſhew me that I erre in my writings or ſayings, by the Authority of the ſacred Scripture, or by probable reaſon grounded on the ſacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Chriſt only excepted) I will not ſimply believe, except he ſhall be able to ſtabliſh them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: becauſe that, in the holy Apoſtles elected by Chriſt, there hath been found error by the Teſtimony of the holy Scripture, becauſe that *Paul* himſelf doth confeſs that he rebuked *Peter*, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, *Galath.* the 2*d* Chapter. There have been errors found in the holy Doctors, that have been before us, as they themſelves confeſs of themſelves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the Teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themſelves, and ſome of them do ſometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the ſelf ſame thing to be Hereſie and error. Which proteſtation premiſed, I will hear place two ſuppoſitions or caſes for a ground and a foundation of all things that I ſhall ſay, out of which I would gather two probable concluſions ſtabliſhed upon the ſame, and upon the Sacred Scripture. By which concluſions, when as they ſhall be declared after my manner and faſhion, it ſhall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accuſed of. But becauſe I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thine only righteouſneſs.

Proteſtation made.

No writer or Doctor without his error, the Scripture only excepted.

Error in the Doctors.

Errors and contrarieties among the Popiſh writers.

*Bruſe* modeſtly excuſeth his learning.

God the Father Almighty uncreate, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, hath ſent his Son (that was everlaſtingly begotten) into this World, that he ſhould be incarnated for the ſalvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, everlaſtingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of *Mary* the Virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He ſuffered paſſion under *Pontius Pilate* for our ſins, laying down his life for us, that we ſhould lay down our life for our Brethren. He was Crucified, that we ſhould be Crucified to the World, and the World to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchaſing for us forgiveneſs of ſins. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptiſm, and that we being dead to ſins ſhould live to righteouſneſs. He deſcended into Hell, thereby delivering man from Thraldom, and from the Bondage of the Devil, and reſtoring him to his inheritance which he loſt by ſin. The third day he roſe from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of life. He aſcended up to the Heavens, to which no body hath aſcended, ſaving he that deſcended from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven. He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his

The firſt caſe or ſuppoſition.

footſtool. He being in very deed ſo much better than the Angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, becauſe the Father hath given all Judgment to the Son. In whoſe terrible Judgment we ſhall riſe again, and ſhall all of us ſtand before this judgment Seat, and receive joy as well bodily as ſpiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the Sheep placed at the right hand; or elſe puniſhment both of body and ſoul, if we ſhall be found amongſt Goats, placed on the left hand, *&c.*

Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, very God and very Man, a King for ever, by eſtabliſhing an everlaſting Kingdom (breaking to powder all the Kingdoms, of the World,) *Daniel* 2. A Prieſt for ever after the order of *Melchiſedech*, whereby alſo he is able evermore to ſave ſuch as by him come unto God, and always liveth to intreat for us, *Heb.* 7. He offering one ſacrifice for our ſins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation thoſe that be ſanctified, *Heb.* 10. Being the wiſdom that cannot be deceived and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the Will of God his Father, which Will he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully inſtruct us, and hath given the Law of Charity to be of his faithful people obſerved; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, ſearching the inward ſecrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine muſt be obſerved above all other Doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, becauſe that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens Doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we muſt forſake their Doctrines, if clokedly or expreſly they be repugnant to the Doctrine of Chriſt. Mens Doctrines being made for the peoples profit, muſt be allowed and obſerved, ſo that they be grounded upon Chriſts Doctrine, or at leaſt be not repugnant to his words.

The ſecond caſe or aſſertion.

If the high Biſhop of *Rome* calling himſelf the Servant of the Servants of God, and the chief Vicar of Chriſt in this World, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; then is he of thoſe that have come in Chriſts name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and have ſeduced many a one, by the Teſtimony of our Saviour in *Matth.* Chap. 24. And the Idol of deſolation ſitting in the Temple of God and taking away from him the continual ſacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which Idol muſt be revealed to the Chriſtian people by the Teſtimony of *Daniel*. Whereof Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpel; When ye ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation that was told of by *Daniel* the Prophet, ſtanding in the holy place; let him that readeth underſtand, he is the peſtiferous mountain infecting the whole Univerſal Earth, as witneſſeth *Jeremy*, Chapter 51. And not the Head of Chriſts body. For the ancient perſon in years, and honourable in reverence he is the Head, and the Prophet teaching lies is the Tail, as *Eſay* alledgeth, Chapter 9. And he is that wicked and ſinful Captain of *Iſrael*, whoſe foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who ſhall take away *Cidarim*, and take away the Crown, *Ezechiel* Chapter 21. To whom it was ſaid; Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and didſt ſay, I am a God, and ſitteſt in the Seat of God, in the heart of the Sea, ſeeing thou art a Man and not God, and haſt given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore behold I will bring upon thee the moſt ſtrong and mighty Strangers of the nations, and they ſhall draw their Swords upon the beauty of thy wiſdom, and ſhall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt die in the deſtruction of the ſlain. And it followeth,

The firſt Concluſion.

The Pope an Idol of deſolation ſitting in the Temple of God.

The Pope, if his laws be contrary to Chriſt, is the peſtiferous mountain infecting the whole Earth. *Jerem.* 51.

The Pope the ſinful Captain of *Iſrael*, ſpoken of *Ezechiel* 21.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy Merchandize, thou haſt defiled thy ſanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, from the middeſt of the whole Earth, and will make thee as aſhes upon Earth. Thou art become nothing, and never ſhalt thou be any more, *Ezech.* Chapter 28. Furthermore he is the idle Sheepherd forſaking his flock, having a ſword on his Arm, and another ſword on his right eye, *Zech.* 11. And ſitting in the Temple of God, doth advance himſelf above all things that is called God, or whatſoever is worſhipped, by the Teſtimony of *Paul* to the *Theſſ.* 2.

Antichriſt deſcribed.

*Ezech* 28.

The Pope an idle ſhepherd. *Zech.* 11.

Epiſtle, Chap. 2. *And in the defection or falling away ſhall the man of Sin be revealed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the breath of his mouth. For every Kingdom divided in it ſelf ſhall be brought to deſolation.* He is alſo beſides, *The Beaſt aſcending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a Lamb, but he ſpeaketh like a Dragon, and as the cruel Beaſt aſcending up out of the Sea, whoſe Power ſhall continue 42 months.* He worketh the things that he hath given to the Image of the Beaſt. And he compelled Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Free-men and Bond-ſlaves, to worſhip the Beaſt, and to take his mark in their Forehead or their Hands, *Ap. c.* Chap. 13. And thus by the teſtimony of all theſe places is he the chief *Antichriſt* upon the Earth, and muſt be ſlain with the Sword of Gods word, and caſt with the *Dragon*, the cruel Beaſt and the falſe Prophet that hath ſeduced the Earth, into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormented world without end.

The Beaſt horned like the Lamb.

The Pope ſignifieth the Beaſt aſcending out of the earth.

Terrible Scriptures againſt the Pope. *Apoc.* 13.

If the City of *Rome* do allow his Traditions, and do diſallow Chriſts holy Commandments, and Chriſts Doctrine, that it may confirm his Traditions; then is ſhe *Babylon the Great*, or the *Daughter of Babylon*, and the *Great Whore ſitting upon many waters*, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication, and the Inhabitants of the Earth are become drunken with the Wine of her Harlotry lying open to Bawdry. With whoſe ſpiritual Whoredom, Enchantments, Witchcrafts, and *Simon Magus* Merchandiſes, the whole round world is infected and ſeduced; ſaying in her heart, *I ſit as Queen, and Widow I am not, neither ſhall I ſee Sorrow and Mourning.* Yet is ſhe ignorant that within a little while ſhall come the day of her deſtruction and ruine by the Teſtimony of the *Apoc.* Chap. 17. Becauſe that from the time of the continual Sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of Deſolation placed, there be paſſed 1290 days by the Teſtimony of *Daniel*, and the Chronicles added do agree to the ſame. And the holy City alſo hath been trodden under foot of the Heathen, for forty two months, and the Woman was nouriſhed up in the Wilderneſs (unto which ſhe fled for fear of the face of the Serpent) during 1260 days, or elſe for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All theſe things be manifeſt by the Teſtimony of the *Apocalyps*, and the Chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of *Babylon* aforeſaid, it is manifeſt in the *Apocalyps*, where it is ſaid, *In one day ſhall her Plagues come, Death, Lamentation, and Famine, and ſhe ſhall be burned with fire. For, ſtrong is the Lord, which ſhall judge her.* And again, *Babylon that great City is fallen, which hath made all Nations to drink of the Wine of her Whoredom.* And thirdly, *One mighty Angel took up a mill-ſtone, that was a very great one, and did caſt it into the Sea, ſaying, With ſuch a violence as this is, ſhall that great City* Babylon *be overthrown, and ſhall no more be found. For her Merchants were the Princes of the Earth, and with her Witchcraft all Nations have gone aſtray, and in her is there found the blood of the Saints and Prophets.* And of her deſtruction ſpeaketh *Eſay* in the thirteenth Chapter, *And* Babylon *that glorious City, being ſo noble amongſt Kingdoms in the pride of the* Caldeans, *it ſhall be that like as the Lord did overturn* Sodom *and* Gomorra *upſide down, it ſhall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in no age, from Generation to Generation. Jeremy* ſaith, *Your Mother that hath born you is brought to very great confuſion, and made even with the ground.* And again, *The Lord hath deviſed and done as he hath ſpoken againſt the Inhabiters of* Babylon; *which dwell richly in their Treaſures upon many waters, thine end is come.* And thirdly, *Drought ſhall fall upon her waters, and they ſhall begin to be dry: for it is a Land of graven Images, and boaſteth in her prodigious Wonders: it ſhall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in no Age nor Generation. Verily even as God hath ſubverted* Sodom *and* Gomorra *with her Calves.*

Rome Babylon. *Apoc.* 17.

1290 days figured, *Dan.* 12.

The Fall of Babylon. *Apoc.* 14.

Eſay 13.

Jer. 51.

Pardon me (I beſeech you) though I be not plentiful in pleaſant words. For if I ſhould run after the courſe of this wicked world, and ſhould pleaſe men, I ſhould not be Chriſts Servant. And becauſe I am a poor man, and neither have nor can have Notaries hired to teſtifie of theſe my writings; I call upon Chriſt to be my Witneſs, which knoweth the inward ſecrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my faſhion, to the profit of all Chriſtian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed if any man will ſhew me where I have erred; being ready alſo (miſerable Sinner though I be) to ſuffer for the Confeſſion of the Name of Chriſt, and of his Doctrine, as much as ſhall pleaſe him by his Grace and Love to aſſiſt me a miſerable Sinner. In witneſs of all theſe things I have to this writing ſet the Seal of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: which I beſeech him to imprint upon my Forehead, and to take from me all manner of mark of *Antichriſt*. Amen.

KING *Ric.* 2.

¶ Theſe two Suppoſitions (as they are termed in the Schools) written by *Walter Brute*, and exhibited unto the Biſhop, although they contained matter ſufficient either to ſatisfie the Biſhop if he had been diſpoſed to learn, or elſe to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his: yet could they work neither of them effect in him. But he receiving and peruſing the ſame, when he neither could confute that which was ſaid, neither would reply or anſwer by learning to that which was truth, finding other by Cavillations, ſaid, *That this his writing was too ſhort and obſcure, and therefore required him to write upon the ſame again more plainly and more at large.* Whereupon the ſaid Maſter *Walter* ſatisfying the Biſhops requeſt (and ready to give to every one an account of his Faith) in a more ample Tractation reneweth his matter again before declared, writing to the Biſhop in words and form as followeth:

Another declaration of the ſame matter before, after more ample Tractation exhibited by *W. Brute* to the Biſhop.

*REverend Father, forſomuch as it ſeemeth to you that my motion in my two Suppoſitions or Caſes, and in my two Concluſions, is too ſhort and ſomewhat dark: I will gladly now ſatisfie your deſire, according to my ſmall Learning, by declaring the ſame Concluſions. In opening whereof, it ſhall plainly appear, what I do judge in all matters that I am accuſed of to your reverence; deſiring you firſt of all that your diſcretion would not believe that I do enterprize of any preſumption to handle the ſecrets of the Scriptures, which the holy and juſt, and wiſe Doctors have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferiour to them whoſe holineſs of life and profoundneſs in knowledge is manifoldly always allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of ſins, they are to my ſelf and others ſufficiently known: wherefore I judge not my ſelf worthy to unlooſe or to carry their ſhooes after them. Do you therefore no otherwiſe deem of me, than I do of mine own ſelf. But if you ſhall find any goodneſs in my writings, aſcribe it to God only: who according to the multitude of his mercy doth ſometimes reveal thoſe things to Idiots and Sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wiſe, according to this ſaying,* I will praiſe and confeſs thee, O Father, for that thou haſt hidden theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt diſcloſed them to the little ones: Even ſo, O Father, becauſe it hath thus pleaſed thee. *And in another place,* I am come to Judgment into this world, that they which ſee not, may ſee; and that they which ſee, may be made blind. *And* Paul *ſaith,* That God hath choſen the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty; *that no man ſhall boaſt in himſelf, but that all men ſhould give the honour to God.*

They that ſo humbly judge of themſelves and do not ſo carelefly commend are of God

It was commanded to *Eſay*, bearing the Type of *CHRIST*; *Go, and ſay to this people: Hear ye with your hearing; and do not underſtand? Behold ye the Viſion, and yet know ye not the thing that ye ſee? Make blind the heart of this people, and make dull their ears, and ſhut their eyes, leſt that perchance with their eyes they ſhould ſee, and with their ears they ſhould hear, and with their hearts they ſhould underſtand, and be converted, and I ſhould heal them. And I ſaid, How long Lord? And he ſaid, until that the Cities be made deſolate without Inhabitants, and the Houſe without any perſon within it.* Alſo in *Eſay* thus it is written, *And the multitude of all Nations, which ſhall fight againſt* Ariel, *and all perſons that have warred, and beſieged and prevailed againſt it, ſhall be as a dream that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, but when he ſhall awake out of ſleep, his Soul is empty. And like as the*

Eſay 6.

Eſay 29.

KING Rich. 2.

*the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he ſhall awake he is ſtill weary and thirſty, and his Soul void of nouriſhment: even ſo ſhall it be with the multitude of all Nations that have fought againſt the* Mount Sion. *Be you amazed, and have great wonder: reel ye too and fro, and ſtagger ye: be ye drunken, and not with Wine: ſtagger, but not through drunkenneſs: for the Lord hath mingled for you the ſpirit of drowſineſs. He ſhall ſhut your eyes, he ſhall cover your Trophets and Princes that ſee Viſions. And a Viſion ſhall be to you, altogether, like the words of a ſealed Book, which when he ſhall give to one that is learned, he ſhall ſay, Read here, and he ſhall anſwer, I cannot, for it is ſealed. And the Book ſhall be given to one that is unlearned, and knoweth not his letters, and it ſhall be ſaid unto him, Read; And he ſhall anſwer, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord ſaith, Foraſmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouths, and glorifie me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have rather feared the commandments of men, and have cleaved to their Doctrines: Behold therefore I will add beſides, and bring ſuch a muſe and marvel upon this people which ſhall make men amazed with marveling. For Wiſdom ſhall periſh from their wiſe men, and the Underſtanding of the prudent perſons ſhall be hidden. And ſoon after it followeth in the ſame place; yet a little while and* Libanus *ſhall be turned into* Charmell, *and* Charmell *counted for a Cops or Grove, and in the ſame day ſhall the deaf Folks hear the word of this Book, and the eyes of the blind (changed from darkneſs and blindneſs) ſhall ſee.*

Libanus and Charmell, two hills, the one in Phœnicia, fruitful and pleaſant: the other in the borders of Jewry, barren and unpleaſant, which is Charmell.

*Nabuchodonoſer* enquiring of *Daniel*, ſaid, *Thinkeſt thou that thou canſt truly declare me the dream that I have ſeen, and the meaning thereof?* And *Daniel* ſaid, *As for the myſtery whereof the King doth ask, neither the Wiſe-men, Magicians, Soothſayers, nor Enchanters can declare to the King: But there is a God in Heaven, that diſcloſeth myſteries, who will declare to thee (O King* Nabuchodonoſer) *what things ſhall come to paſs in the laſt times of all.* To me alſo is this Sacrament or Myſtery diſcloſed (not for any wiſdom that is in me more than in all men living) but to the end that the interpretation might be made manifeſt to the King, and that thou ſhouldſt know the cogitations of thy mind.

Dan. 2.

It was alſo ſaid to *Daniel, And thou* Daniel, *ſhut up the words, ſeal up the Book, until the time appointed. Verily many people ſhall paſs over, and manifold knowledge ſhall there be. And* Daniel *ſaid to the man that was clothed with linnen Garments, who ſtood upon the waters of the flood; How long will it be before the end ſhall come of theſe marvelous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparel, who ſtood upon the waters of the floods; when he had lift up his right hand and his left hand unto Heaven, and had ſworn by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and half a time. And when the ſcattering abroad of the hand of the holy people ſhall be accompliſhed; then ſhall all theſe things be finiſhed. And I heard and underſtood not, and I ſaid, O my Lord, what ſhall be after theſe things? And he ſaid, Go thy ways* Daniel, *for this talk is ſhut and ſealed up until the time that is before appointed.*

All theſe things have I written, to ſhew that he that hath the Key of *David, Who openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth*, doth (when and how long it pleaſeth him) hide the myſteries, and hide ſecrets of the Scriptures from the Wiſe, Prudent, and Righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleaſure revealeth the ſame to Sinners, and Lay-perſons, and ſimple Souls, that he may have the honour and glory in all things. Wherefore as I have before ſaid, if you ſhall find any good thing in my writings, aſcribe the ſame to God alone: If you ſhall find otherwiſe, think ye the ſame to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error be ſhewed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

*In ſigno Gemini.* Mark here (good Reader) by this Aſtronomical Conjunction of theſe two Planets in Gemini, he reveaneth covertly the

But why that ſuch manner of matters are moved touching the diſcloſing of *Antichriſt* in this Kingdom, more than in other Kingdoms, and in this time alſo more than in time paſt: the anſwer as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the laſt Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in the ſign of the Twins, which is the houſe of *Mercury*, being the ſignifier of the Chriſtian people: which Conjunction ſeemeth to me to betoken the ſecond coming of Chriſt to reform his Church, and to call men again, by the diſcloſing of *Antichriſt*, to the perfection of the Goſpel, from their Heatheniſh Rites, and ways of the *Gentiles*. By whom the holy City was trampled under foot, for 42 months, even as the Conjunction of the ſaid two Planets being incloſed in the ſide of the Virgin, which is alſo the houſe of *Mercury*, did betoken the firſt coming of Chriſt, for the ſalvation of all people that were periſhed of the houſe of *Iſrael*, whereby to call them, through the ſame coming, to the full perfection of the Goſpel. As touching this calling of the Heathen, ſpeaketh Chriſt in the Goſpel, *I have alſo other ſheep that are not of this fold, and thoſe muſt I bring, and they ſhall hear my voice, and there ſhall be one Sheepfold, and one Shepherd.* For although the *Gentiles* be converted from the infidelity of their Idolatry to the Faith of Chriſt: yet are they not converted to the perfection of the Law of Chriſt. And therefore did the Apoſtles in the Primitive-Church, lay no burthen upon the *Gentiles*, but that they ſhould abſtain from hainous things, as from things offered to Idols, and from blood, and ſtrangled, and Fornication. As touching this ſecond coming ſpeaketh *Eſay*, *On that day the root of* Jeſſe *which ſtandeth for a ſign or mark to the people, to him ſhall the Heathen make their homage and ſupplication, and his Sepulchre ſhall be glorious: and in that day ſhall it come to paſs, that the Lord ſhall the ſecond time put to his hand, to poſſeſs the remnant of his people, &c. And he ſhall lift up a token toward the Nations, and he ſhall aſſemble the runnagate people of* Iſrael *that were fled, and thoſe that were diſperſed of* Juda *ſhall he gather together from the four quarters of the Earth. And the zealous emulation of* Ephraim *ſhall be broken to pieces, and the enemies of* Juda *ſhall come to nought. Paul* to the *Theſſalonians* ſaith, *We beſeech you Brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and our gathering together before him, that you be not ſoon removed from your underſtanding, neither that you be put in fear, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by Letter ſent by us, neither by Spirit, nor yet by talk. Let not any body by any means bring you out of the way, or ſeduce you. For except there ſhall firſt come a departing, and that the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, ſhall be diſcloſed, which maketh reſiſtance, and is advanced above all things that is called God, or that is worſhipped, ſo that he doth ſit in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf as if he were God. Do you not remember, that whilſt I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now ye know what keepeth him back, that he may be uttered in his due time. For even now doth he work the myſtery of Iniquity; only that he which holdeth, may hold ſtill until he be come to light: and then ſhall that wicked One be diſcloſed, whom the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſlay with the breath of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with brightneſs of his coming, even him, whoſe coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with ſigns and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards thoſe that do periſh, becauſe that they receive not heartily the love of Truth, that they might be ſaved.*

Schiſm between the two Popes which laſted 39 years; by the which Conjunction, his meaning is, that God would have *Antichriſt* to be diſcloſed, and his Church to be reformed.

By this perſecution (I ſuppoſe) he meaneth the reformation of the Church being out of the way.

Eſay 11.

The revealing of Antichriſt.

Chriſt being demanded of the Apoſtles what ſhould be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, ſaid unto them, *There ſhall come many in my Name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many: Alſo he telleth them of many other ſigns, of Battels, Famine, Peſtilence, and Earthquakes. But the greateſt ſign of all he teacheth to be this, When you ſhall ſee* (ſaith he) *the abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place, he that readeth let him underſtand.* But *Luke* 21. in his Goſpel ſpeaketh more plainly hereof, *When you therefore ſhall ſee* Jeruſalem *to be compaſſed about with an Army, then know ye that the deſolation thereof ſhall draw nigh.* And afterward it followeth, *And they ſhall fall by the face of the Sword, and ſhall be led away Captive to all Nations, and* Jeruſalem *ſhall be trodden under foot of the Heathen, until the times of the Nations be fulfilled.* Now in *Daniel* thus it is written of this matter, *And after 72 weeks ſhall Chriſt be ſlain, neither ſhall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the City and Sanctuary, a people ſhall (with his Captain that will come with them) deſtroy the ſaid City and Sanctuary, and his end ſhall be to be waſted utterly, till it be brought to nought, and*

The abomination of deſolation. Luke 21.

Deſtruction of the Jews Temple.

*and after the end of the War, ſhall come the Deſolation appointed. In one week ſhall he confirm the Covenant to many, and within half a week ſhall the Offering and Sacrifice ceaſe. And in the Temple ſhall there be the abomination of Deſolation, and even unto the end ſhall the Deſolation continue.* And elſewhere in *Daniel* thus it is written, *From the time that the continual Sacrifice ſhall be offered, and that the abomination ſhall be placed in Deſolation, there ſhall be one thouſand, two hundred, and ninety days.*

1290 days, in *Daniel* expounded.

Now if any man will behold the *Chronicles*, he ſhall find, that after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* was accompliſhed, and after the ſtrong hand of the holy people was fully diſperſed, and after the placing of the abomination; that is to ſay, the Idol of Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, within the Holy place, where the Temple of God was before, there had paſſed 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the Heathen people are fulfilled, after whoſe Rites and Cuſtoms God ſuffered the holy City to be trampled under foot for forty and two months. For although the Chriſtian Church, which is the holy City, continued in the Faith from the Aſcenſion of Chriſt, even till this time: yet hath it not obſerved and kept the perfection of the Faith all this whole ſeaſon. For ſoon after the departure of the Apoſtles, the Faith was kept with the Obſervation of the Rites of the *Gentiles*, and not of the Rites of *Moſes* Law, nor of the Law of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore ſeeing that this time of the Error of the *Gentiles* is fulfilled: it is likely that Chriſt ſhall call the *Gentiles* from the Rites of their gentility to the perfection of the Goſpel, as he called the *Jews* from the Law of *Moſes* to the ſame perfection in his firſt coming: that there may be one Sheepfold of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* under one Shepherd. Seeing therefore, that *Antichriſt* is known, which hath ſeduced the Nations, then ſhall the Elect, after that they have forſaken the errors of their gentility, come through the light of Gods Word to the perfection of the Goſpel, and that ſame Seducer ſhall be ſlain with the Sword of Gods word. So that by theſe things it doth partly appear unto me, why at this time rather than at any other time this matter of *Antichriſt* is moved.

For theſe 42 months look *page* 452.

Why rather at this time, than any other, the matter of *Antichriſt* is moved, and why rather in this Kingdom than in another?

And why that this motion is come to paſs in this Kingdom rather than in other Kingdoms, me thinks there is good reaſon; becauſe that no Nation of the *Gentiles* was ſo ſoon converted unto Chriſt as were the *Britains*, the Inhabitants of this Kingdom. For to other places of the world there were ſent Preachers of the Faith, who by the working of Miracles, and continual preaching of the word of God, and by grievous paſſion and death of the body, did convert the people of thoſe places: but in this Kingdom, in the time of *Lucius* the King of the *Britains* and of *Eleutherius* Biſhop of the *Romans*, that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Chriſtian Faith, which was preached at *Rome*. Who believed ſtraightways, and ſent to *Rome*, to *Eleutherius* for men skilful to inform him more fully in the very Faith it ſelf: at whoſe coming he was joyful, and was baptized with his whole Kingdom. And after the receiving of the Faith, they never forſook it, neither for any manner of falſe preaching of other, neither for any manner of Torments, or yet aſſaults of the *Painims*, as in other Kingdoms it hath come to paſs. And thus it ſeemeth to me the *Britains* amongſt other Nations, have been, as it were by the ſpecial Election of God, called and converted to the Faith of Chriſt.

The firſt receiving the Faith in this Realm by the *Britains*

*Britains* by the ſpecial Election of God called to Faith.

Of them as me ſeemeth did *Eſay* propheſie, ſaying, *For they did ſee to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him.* And again, *Behold, thou ſhalt call a Nation which thou knoweſt not; and Nations that have not known thee, ſhall run unto thee, for the Lord thy God, and the holy One of* Iſrael, *ſhall glorifie thee.*

The calling of the *Gentiles* to faith

Of this Kingdom, did Saint *John* in the *Apocalyps* Propheſie (as me ſeemeth) where he ſaid, *The Dragon ſtood before the Woman, which was about to be delivered of child, to the intent that when ſhe had brought it forth into the World, he might devour up her Son: And ſhe brought forth her Child, which was a Manchild, who ſhould govern all Nations with an iron Rod. And the ſame Son was taken up to God, and to his Throne. And the Woman fled into the Wilderneſs, whereas ſhe had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her 1260 days.* And again in the ſame Chapter, *After that the Dragon ſaw that he was caſt out upon the earth, he did perſecute the Woman, which brought forth the Manchild. And there were given to the Woman two Wings of a great Eagle, that ſhe might flee into the Wilderneſs into her place, whereas ſhe is foſtered up for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did caſt as it were a flood of Water after the Woman, to the intent that he might cauſe her to be drowned by the flood: and the earth opening her mouth did help the Woman, and did ſwallow up the flood which the Dragon did caſt out of his mouth.* Let us ſee how theſe ſayings may be applied unto this Kingdom rather than to other Kingdoms. It is well known that this Kingdom is a wilderneſs or a deſert place, becauſe that the Philoſophers and wiſe men did not paſs upon it, but did leave it for a Wilderneſs and Deſert, becauſe it is placed without the Climates.

Apoc. 12.

The woman fed in the Deſert 1260 days.

KING Ric. 2.

This place of the Deſert in the Scripture ſeemeth here ſome thing hardly expounded.

Unto this place fled the Woman; that is to ſay, the Church (which by Faith did ſpiritually bring forth Chriſt into the world) whereas ſhe was fed with the heavenly Bread, the Fleſh and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, for one thouſand, two hundred and ſixty days, ſeeing that for ſo many days, taking a day for a year, the *Britains* continued in the Faith of Chriſt: which thing cannot be found ſo of any Chriſtian Kingdom, but of this Deſert: and well it is ſaid, That ſhe flew to this place. For from the Eaſt came the Faith into *Britain*, not by walking in journey, nor yet by ſailing: for then ſhould it have come by *Rome*, *Italy*, *Almaine*, *France*, which cannot be found: and therefore ſhe flew over thoſe places, and reſted not in them, even as a Bird, flying over a place reſteth not in the ſame: but reſted in this Wilderneſs for a time, times, and half a time; that is, one thouſand two hundred and ſixty years, from the firſt coming of the Faith into *Britain*, until this preſent.

Faith came into *Britain* from the Eaſt, not from *Italy*, or *Rome*.

In ſaying for a time, times, and half a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the leſs. The greateſt time that we name, is a 1000 years, there is a time: and the next time that is leſs in the ſingular number, is 100 years. In the plural number, times ſignifie that there be more hundreds than one, at leaſt two hundred years. Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it muſt needs be that they be two, but the ſame two cannot fitly be called ſome times, except they be hundreds. For in that, that there is a going down from the greater to the leſs, when as it is ſaid a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of a 1000 is likely aſſigned for a time: It muſt needs follow that times muſt be taken for hundreds, and half a time for ſixty, becauſe it is the greater half of a hundred years, though that fifty be the even half.

A time, times, and half a time expounded.

And when that the Serpent ſent the water of the Perſecution after the Woman to cauſe her to be drowned of the flood; then did the earth, that is to ſay, the ſtableneſs of Faith help the Woman, by ſupping up the water of Tribulation. For in the moſt cruel Perſecution of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* againſt the *Chriſtians*, when as *Chriſtianity* was almoſt every where rooted out; yet did they in this Kingdom ſtand continually in the Faith unmoveable. And ſo, conſidering that the *Britains* were converted to the Faith of Chriſt, as you would ſay, by an election, and picking out amongſt all the Nations of the Heathen, and that after they had received the Faith, they did never ſtart back from the Faith for no manner of Tribulation; it is not to be marvelled if in their place the calling of the *Gentiles* be made manifeſt, to the profiting of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, by the revealing of *Antichriſt*.

Perſecution in *Diocleſian* time ſwallowed up, look *page* 85.

But beſides this, me ſeemeth that *Ezekiel* doth ſpecially ſpeak of them, whereas he ſpeaketh of the fall of the Prince of *Tyre*, ſaying, *Foraſmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore behold, I will bring upon thee ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the Heathen, and they ſhall draw their naked Swords upon the beauty of thy Wiſdom, and they ſhall defile thy comelineſs, and they ſhall ſlay thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt die in the ſlaughter of the ſlain perſons, in the heart of the Sea.*

This Prince who ſaith that he himſelf is God, and doth ſit in Gods Chair in the heart of the Sea, doth ſignifie

(as

KING *Ric.* 2. A friend to the *Welchmen.*

(as moſt likely it ſeemeth to me) that *Antichriſt* ſhall be deſtroyed by the moſt mighty perſons of the *Gentiles* Folk, through the Sword of the Word of God. Becauſe that amongſt the other *Gentiles* there have been none more ſtrong than the *Britans*, either in their body or their faith, and in their bodily Wars there have been none more mighty than they. For never in Wars have they been vanquiſhed, but by their own Sedition or Treaſon. But how many Kingdoms have they conquered? Yea, and neither by the moſt mighty City of *Rome* could they be driven out of their Kingdom, until that God ſent upon them Peſtilence and Famine; whereby they being waſted were compelled to leave their Country, which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they been amongſt all the people the ſtrongeſt, as is before ſaid, becauſe that by no Tribulation could they be compelled to forſake the Faith.

The ſtrong faith of the *Britans.*

Wherefore of them this ſeemeth to me to be underſtood: Then I will bring upon thee ſome of the ſtrongeſt people, and they ſhall draw their naked Swords, &c. By theſe things it may plainly appear, why at this time (rather than in time paſt) this matter is ſtirred up; and why in this Kingdom (rather than in other Kingdoms) the calling of the *Gentiles* is intreated of, to the verifying of the Goſpel, through the diſcloſing of *Antichriſt*.

Tales of *Antichriſt.*

But foraſmuch as many Tales and Fables are told of *Antichriſt* and his coming, and many things, which do rather ſeduce than inſtruct the Hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the Prophets; we will briefly write thoſe things which are ſpoken of him, and we will ſhew that the ſame Fable ſprang from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures propheſying. Now then they do ſay, that *Antichriſt* ſhall be born in *Babylon* of the Tribe of *Dan*, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in ſin, becauſe that Chriſt was born of a Virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghoſt. They ſay, that he ſhall be an ill favoured Perſonage, becauſe that it is written of Chriſt; *Comely and beautiful is he, beyond the Sons of men.* They ſay, that he ſhall preach three years and half where Chriſt preached, and that he ſhall circumciſe himſelf, and ſay that he is Chriſt, and the *Meſſias* ſent for the Salvation of the *Jews*. And they ſay, that he ſhall three manner of ways ſeduce the people, by falſe Miracles, Gifts, and Torments. So that whom he ſhall not be able to overcome with Miracles nor with Gifts, thoſe ſhall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of Torments. And thoſe that he ſhall ſeduce, will he mark with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, and cauſe himſelf to be worſhipped as God. He ſhall fight (as they ſay) with the two Witneſſes of Chriſt, *Enoch* and *Heli*, and ſhall kill them, and he himſelf ſhall finally be ſlain with lightning. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but of none of the Prophets foreſhewed (at leaſt in no ſuch wiſe as this is) do they apply the Prophets, as this of *Daniel*. When that continual Sacrifice ſhall be taken away, and abomination ſhall be placed to deſolation: That is (ſay they) when the worſhipping of God ſhall be taken away, and deſolation (to wit, *Antichriſt*) ſhall abominably ſhew forth himſelf to be worſhipped, then ſhall there be 1290 days: that is to ſay, three years and an half. And this time do they ſay is the time, times, and half a time. And when it is ſaid in *Daniel*, *Bleſſed is he that looketh for, and cometh to* 1335 *days:* This do they ſay is thus to be underſtood, 45 days of Repentance to ſuch as have worſhipped *Antichriſt:* which 45 days added to the 1290 make 1335 days. Which days they that ſhall reach unto ſhall be called *Bleſſed*.

A falſe imagination of *Antichriſt.*

The Scripture and Prophets not rightly underſtood touching *Antichriſt.*

They apply alſo to this *Antichriſt*, this ſaying of the *Apocalyps*, *I ſaw a Beaſt riſing up out of the Sea, having ſeven heads and ten horns, who had power given him to make* 42 *months.* Which months (as they ſay) do make three years and an half, in which *Antichriſt* ſhall Reign. And many other things there are told, and applied unſtly to this imagined *Antichriſt*, that are not truly grounded upon the Scriptures.

Touching theſe 42 months, ſee above pag. 452.

Now let us ſhew the Errors of this Fable: Firſt of all, if there ſhall come ſuch a one (ſaying expreſly that he is Chriſt) what Chriſtian would be ſeduced by him, though he ſhould do never ſo many Miracles? neither ſhall he come after the manner of a Seducer, which ſhall ſhew himſelf an expreſs Adverſary. Neither is it likely that the *Jews* can be ſeduced by ſuch a one, ſeeing that Chriſt is not promiſed unto them of the Stock of *Dan* by any of the Prophets, but of the Stock of *Juda:* nor yet is he promiſed to them to be a King Warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Chriſt ſaith *Eſay*, *And in the laſt days, ſhall there be prepared the Mountain of the Houſe of the Lord, in the top of the Mountains, and it ſhall be exalted above the Hills: and to it ſhall all the Nations have great recourſe, and many people ſhall go and ſay; Come, let us go up to the Mountain of the Lord, and to the Houſe of the God of* Jacob, *and he ſhall teach us his ways, and we ſhall walk in his paths. For out of* Sion *ſhall there go a Law, and the word of the Lord from* Jeruſalem, *and he ſhall judge the Nations, and reprove much people. And they ſhall turn their Swords into Plow-ſhares, and their Spears into Sythes. There ſhall not a Nation lift up it ſelf againſt another Nation, nor yet ſhall they be any more exerciſed to war.* And again, *A little Babe is born to us, and a Son is given to us; and his Imperial Kingdom upon his ſhoulder, and his Name ſhall be called, The great Counſellor, The mighty God, The Father of the World to come, The Prince of Peace. His Empire ſhall be multiplied, and there ſhall be no end of his peace. He ſhall ſit upon the Seat of* David, *and upon his Kingdom: that he may make it ſtedfaſt and ſtrong in Judgment, and in Juſtice, from henceforth and for evermore.* Zechary *doth ſay of* CHRIST, *Rejoyce thou greatly, O thou Daughter* Sion, *be thou exceeding merry, O Daughter* Jeruſalem: *Behold thy King ſhall come a righteous Perſon and a Saviour unto thee, and yet he a poor man, and getting up upon an Aſs, even upon a young Colt of the ſhe-Aſs. And I will ſcatter abroad the Chariot of* Ephraim, *and the Horſe of* Jeruſalem: *And the Bow of war ſhall be diſperſed, and he ſhall ſpeak peace to the Nations, and his Power ſhall be from the Sea to the Sea, and from the Flood unto the borders of the Earth.*

*Antichriſt* cometh not ſo groſly as the Papiſts imagine.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 9.

Zech. 9.

By which things it is manifeſt, that the wiſe *Jews* knew well enough, Chriſt to be promiſed to them of the Stock of *Juda*; and not of the Stock of *Dan*; and that he was given all to peace, and not to war: Therefore it is not likely that they can be ſeduced by ſuch a one. But if there ſhould have been in time to come ſome ſuch ſingular *Antichriſt*, then would Chriſt (ſeeing he loved his) have ſaid ſomewhat unto them of him. Now, of one ſingularly doth he not ſpeak, but of many, ſaying, *Many ſhall come in my Name, and ſay, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many perſons.* But now let us ſee, how the Propheſies in *Daniel*, and in the *Apocalyps* (aforeſaid) be falſly and erroneouſly applied to the ſame imagined *Antichriſt*. For in *Daniel* the ninth Chapter, thus it is written, And after 72 weeks ſhall Chriſt be ſlain, and they which will deny him ſhall not be his people. And the City and Sanctuary ſhall be a people, with their Captain that ſhall come with them, deſtroy, whoſe end ſhall be utter deſolation, and after the end of the war a determined deſtruction. Now he ſhall in one week confirm his Covenant towards many, and in the half week ſhall the Offering and Sacrifice ceaſe, and in the Temple ſhall there be an abomination of deſolation, and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end ſhall the deſolation continue. It is plain and manifeſt that this Propheſie is now fulfilled. For the people of *Rome* with their Captain deſtroyed *Jeruſalem* even to the ground, and the people of the *Jews* was ſlain and ſcattered. And the abomination, that is, the Idol of Deſolation was placed of *Adrian*, in the laſt deſtruction, in *Jeruſalem*, in the holy place; that is to ſay, in a place of the Temple. And from that time hitherto have paſſed near about 1290 days, taking a day for a year, as *Daniel* takes it in his Propheſies, and other Prophets likewiſe. For *Daniel* ſpeaking of 62 weeks, doth not ſpeak of the weeks of days but of years. So therefore when he ſaith, *From the time that the continual Sacrifice was taken away, &c.* 1290 days muſt be taken for ſo many years, from the time of the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, even unto the revealing of *Antichriſt*: and not for three years and an half; which they ſay, *Antichriſt* ſhall Reign. And again, whereas *Daniel* ſaid, *How long till the end of theſe marvelous matters?* It was anſwered him, *For a time, and times, and half a time.* Behold alſo, how unſtly they did aſſign this time, by three years and a half,

*Antichriſt* cannot come of the Tribe of *Dan.*

*Dan.* 9.

The abomination or Idol of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place.

*Antichriſt* to Reign only three years and an half, is falſe.

The old imagination touching *Antichriſt* confuted.

a half, which they say, *Antichrist* shall Reign. For when as it is said *a time, times, and half a time*; there is a going downward from the greater to the less, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to half a time. If therefore there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst (which is greater than the whole it self) the going downward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years, and half a year. Wherefore more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and half a time doth signifie 1290 years, as is before said in the Chapter preceeding. Thus therefore is the Prophesie of *Daniel* falsly applied to that imagined *Antichrist*.

Likewise is the process of the *Apocalyps* applied to the same imagined *Antichrist* too much erroneously. Because that the same cruel Beast which came up out of the Sea, having seven Heads, and ten Horns, to whom there was power given over every Tribe, People, and Tongue, and the power given for the space of 42 months: This Beast doth note the *Roman* Emperors, which most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well *Christians* as *Jews*. For when as the condemnation of the great Whore, sitting upon the many waters was shewed to *John*: he saw the same Woman sitting upon the purple coloured Beast full of the names of blasphemy, having seven Heads and ten Horns: and he saw a Woman being drunk with the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus. And the Angel expounding and telling him the mystery of the Woman, and the Beast that carried her said, *That seven heads are seven hills, and are seven Kings: Five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must Reign a short time. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten Kings, who have not yet taken their Kingdom, shall receive their Power as it were in one hour under the Beast.* And finally he saith, *The Woman whom thou sawest is the great City, which hath the Kingdom over the Kings of the Earth.* And it is manifest that the City of *Rome* at the time of this Prophesie, had the Kingdom over the Kings of the Earth. And this City was born up and upholden by her cruel and beastly Emperors; who by their cruelty and beastliness did subdue unto themselves in a manner all the Kingdoms of the World, of zeal to have Lordship over others, and not vertuously to govern the people that were their Subjects, seeing that they themselves did lack all vertue, and drew back others from the faith and from vertue.

Look before in the story of the ten first Persecutions.

*Apoc.* 13.

The beast in the 13th of the *Apocalyps* expounded.

The purple Beast in the *Apocalyps* meaneth *Rome*.

Wherefore that cruel Beast coming up out of the Sea, doth rightly note the *Roman* Emperors, who had power over every Language, People, and Country. And the power of the Beast was for 42 months, because that from the first Emperor of *Rome*, that is to say, *Julius Cæsar*, unto the end of *Frederick* the last Emperor of *Rome*, there were 42 months, taking a month for 30 days, as the months of the *Hebrews* and *Grecians* are, and taking a day always for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. By which things it may plainly appear how unfitly this Prophesie is applied to that imagined *Antichrist*, and the 42 months taken for three years and a half, which (they say) he shall Reign in, against the saying of the Prophets, because that days are taken for years. As in the second of the *Apocal.* They shall be troubled ten days. Which do note the most cruel Persecution of *Dioclesian* against the *Christians* that endured ten years. And in another place of the *Apocalyps* it is writen *of the smoke coming up out of the bottomless Pit*: Out of which Pit there came forth Grasshoppers into the Earth, and to them was power given, as *Scorpions* have power, to vex and trouble men five months. Now it is manifest, that from the beginning of the Fryers Minors and Preachers, to the time that *Armachanus* began to disclose and uncover their Hypocrisie, and their false Foundation of valiant begging under the Poverty of Christ, were five months, taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year. And to *Ezekiel* were days given for years. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assign the 42 months, being appointed to the power of the Beast, unto three years and a half, for the Reign of that phantastical and imagined *Antichrist*; specially seeing that they do apply to his Reign the 1290 days in *Daniel*, which make 42 months, and in the *Apocalyps* they assign him 42 months. It is plain that the *Psaltery* and the *Harp* agree not. And therefore seeing that it is sufficiently shewed that the same fabling Tale of that imagined *Antichrist* to come, is a Fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether *Antichrist* be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed within a little while according to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the Salvation of the Faithful.

For the 42, see months, look before page 564.

*Apoc.* 2.

*Apoc.* 9.

The beginning and end of the valiant beggerly Fryers, spoken of in the *Apocalyps*, expounded of *Armachanus*: look before pag. 394.

*Non concordat Psalterium cum cithara.*

KING *Ric.* 2.

Whether *Antichrist* be already come.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it, who is that *Antichrist* lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the Prophets: I will pass on the Declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us say in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house tops. I therefore, as I have before said, so say, that if the high Bishop of *Rome*, calling himself the Servant of God, and the chief Vicar of Christ in this world, do make and justifie many Laws contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ: then is he the chief of many, which coming in the name of Christ have said *I am Christ*, who have seduced many. Which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest. For Christ is called of the *Hebrews* the very same that we call anointed. And amongst them there was a double sort of legal anointing by the Law, the one of Kings, and the other of Priests. And as well were the Kings, as the Priests, called in the Law *Christs*. The *Kings*, as in the *Psalm*, *The Kings of the Earth stood up together, and the Princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ or anointed.* And in the Books of the *Kings* very often are the Kings called *Christs*. And our Saviour was Christ, or anointed King, because he was a King for evermore upon the Throne of *David*, as the Scripture doth very oftentimes witness. The Priests also were called *anointed*, as where it is written, *Do not ye touch my Christs*; that is, *mine anointed Ones, and be not ye spiteful against my Prophets.* And so was our Saviour Christ, *a Priest for ever, according to the Order of* Melchisedec.

The Pope proved Antichrist.

Anointing double in Scripture.

Kings and Priests anointed.

Seeing then that the Bishops of *Rome* do say that they are the High Priests; they say also therein that they are Kings, because they say that they have the Spiritual Sword pertaining to their Priesthood, and the corporal Sword which agreeth for a Kings State. So is it plain, that really and in very deed, they say, *That they are Christs, albeit that expresly they be not called Christs.* Now that they come in the name of Christ it is manifest, because they say that they are his principal Vicars in this World, ordained of Christ specially for the Government of the Christian Church. Therefore, seeing they say, that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chief friends of Christ: If they make and justifie many Laws contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, then is it plain that they themselves in earth are the principal *Antichrists*, because there is no worse plague and pestilence, than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the Christian people, because that a manifest enemy shall have much ado to deceive a man, because men trust him not: but a privy enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea those that be wise.

The Popes make themselves Priests and Kings.

The Pope maketh himself Christ.

The Pope cometh in the name of Christ.

Popes proved principal *Antichrists*.

The Pope an outward friend and a privy enemy to Christ.

But that this matter may the more fully be known, let us see what is the Law and Doctrine of Christ, that ought to be observed of all faithful people, which being known, it shall be an easie thing to see, if the Bishop of *Rome* do make or maintain any Laws contrary to the Law of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Whether the Pope doth maintain any Laws against the Laws of Christ.

I say then, that the Law of Christ is Charity, which is the perfect love of God and of Christ. This thing is plain and manifest. For Christ being demanded of a certain Doctor of the Law, *What is the greatest commandment in the Law?* answered: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: That is the principal and greatest commandment. And as for the second it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thine own self. In these two commandments, doth the Law and whole Prophets depend.* And in another place Christ saith: *All manner of things therefore that you would that men should do to* *Joh.* 13.

The Law of love commended in the Gospel.

you

KING Ric. 2. *you, the ſame alſo do ye unto them; For this is the Law and the Prophets.* And in *John* the thirteenth Chapter, Chriſt ſaith, *And now do I ſay unto you, I give you a new Commandment, that you ſhould love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you alſo ſhould love one another. In this ſhall all men know that you are my Diſciples, if you ſhall have love one towards another.* And *John* fifteenth Chapter, *This is my Commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath no body, than a man ſhould give his life for his Friends.* The Apoſtle *Peter* ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle fourth Chapter. *Above all things having continually Charity one towards another; for Charity covereth the multitude of ſins.* Be ye Harborers, and entertain ye one another without grudging; every one as he hath received Grace, ſo let him beſtow it upon another man, as the good Stewards of the manifold Graces of God. If any man ſpeak, let him ſpeak as the Word of God. If any man do ought for another, let it be done with ſingleneſs and unfained verity, miniſtred of God to us-ward, that in all things God may be honoured through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *James* in his Epiſtle the ſecond Chapter, If ye perform the Royal Law accordingly to the Scriptures (thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour) ye do well: But if ye be partial in receiving and preferring mens perſonages, ye work wickedneſs, being blamed of the Law as Tranſgreſſors. And again, So ſpeak ye, and ſo do ye, as ye ſhould now begin to be judged by the Law of Liberty. What ſhall it avail (my Brethren) if a man ſay he have Faith, and have no Works? never ſhall the Faith be able to ſave him. For if a Brother or Siſter be naked, and have need of daily food, and ſome of you ſay to them, go ye in peace, be ye made warm and ſatisfied: and if ye ſhall not give thoſe things that are neceſſary for the body, what ſhall it avail? Even ſo Faith, if it have not Works, is dead in it ſelf.

*John* in his firſt Epiſtle the third Chapter, *This is the tydings which you have heard from the beginning, that you ſhould love one another.* And again, *we know that we are tranſlated from death to life, if we love the Brethren: He that loveth not, abideth in death. And again herein we know the love of God, becauſe that he hath laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren. He that ſhall have the ſubſtance of this world, and ſhall ſee his Brother have need, and ſhall ſhut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little Children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth.* And again, Chap. 4. *Moſt dearly Beloved, let us love together. For love is of God; he that loveth, not knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath ſent his only begotten Son into the World, that we ſhould live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath firſt loved us, and hath ſent his his Son an attonement for our ſins. Moſt dearly Beloved, if God have loved us, we ſo ought to love together. No man hath ſeen God at any time; if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us.* And again, *Let us love God, for he hath firſt loved us. If a man ſhall ſay, I love God, and do hate his Brother, he is a lyar. For he that loveth not his Brother whom he ſeeth, how can he love God whom he ſeeth not? And this Commandment have we of God, that who ſo loveth God, ſhould love his Brother alſo.* *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* the thirteenth Chapter, *Owe ye nothing to no body, ſaving that you ſhould love together, for he that loveth his Brother hath fulfilled the Law. For thou ſhalt not commit Adultery, thou ſhalt not Murther, thou ſhalt not Steal, thou ſhalt not bear falſe Witneſs, thou ſhalt not covet thy Neighbours goods; and if there be any other Commandment, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word, Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf.* Wherefore the fulfilling of the Law is love.

*Paul* to the *Corinths* the thirteenth Chapter ſaith, *If I ſhould ſpeak with the Tongues of men and Angels, and yet have not Charity, I am become as it were a piece of ſounding metal or tinkling Cymbal. And if I have all Prophecy, and know all Myſteries and all Knowledg, and ſhall have all Faith, ſo that I might remove Mountains, and yet ſhall not have Charity, I am nothing. And if I ſhall give abroad all my Goods to feed the Poor, and ſhall give up my Body to be burned, and yet have not Charity, it profits me nothing.* To the *Galathians* ſaith *Paul, For you my Brethren are called unto liberty: do ye not give your liberty for an occaſion of the fleſh, but by Charity of the Spirit ſerve ye one another. For all the Law is fulfilled in one ſaying; Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thine own ſelf.* To the *Epheſians* the fourth Chapter, he ſaith, *I therefore that ſuffer bonds in the Lord do beſeech you, that you would walk worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humbleneſs and mildneſs, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace: that you be one body and one ſpirit, even as you be called in one Hope of your calling.* And again in the fifth Chapter, *Be ye followers of me as moſt dear Children, and walk ye in love, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us, and hath delivered up himſelf for us, an Offering and Sacrifice to God of a ſweet ſavour.* To the *Philippians*, thus he ſpeaketh in the firſt Chapter, *Only let your Converſation be worthy of the Goſpel of Chriſt, that either when I ſhall come and ſee you, or elſe in mine abſence I may hear of you, that you ſtand ſtedfaſt in one ſpirit, labouring together with one accord for the Faith of the Goſpel. And in nothing be ye afraid of the Adverſaries, which is to them a cauſe of damnation, but to you of ſalvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not only that you ſhould believe in him, but alſo that you ſhould ſuffer with him, you having the like fight and battel that both you have ſeen in me, and alſo now do hear of me. If therefore there be any Conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of Charity, if any fellowſhip of the ſpirit, if any bowels of compaſſion fulfil you my joy, that you may be of one judgment, having one and the ſelf ſame Charity, being of one accord, of one manner of judgment, doing nothing of contention nor of vain glory, but in humbleneſs accounting other amongſt you, every one better than your ſelves; not every body looking upon the things that be his own, but thoſe that belong unto others.* And to *Col.* 3. thus he writeth, *You therefore as the Elect of God, holy, and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentleneſs, humbleneſs, lowlineſs, modeſty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to your ſelves (if any have a quarrel againſt any body) even as the Lord forgave you, ſo do you alſo. Above all things have ye Charity, which is the bond of Perfection, and let the peace of Chriſt triumph in your hearts, in which peace you alſo are called in one body. And be ye kind and thankful.* And to the *Theſſalonians*, thus *Paul* writeth in the fourth Chapter, *As concerning brotherly Charity we have no need to write unto you: for you your ſelves have learned of God, that you ſhould love one another. And the ſame thing ye do towards all the Brethren throughout all* Macedony.

Gal. 5. Eph. 4. Eph. 5. Phil. 1. Col. 3. 1 Theſſ. 4.

Out of all theſe any many other places of the holy Scripture it ſufficiently appeareth, that the Law of Chriſt is Charity; neither is there any vertue commanded of Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles, to be obſerved of the faithful people, but that it cometh out of Charity, or elſe doth nouriſh Charity.

The Law is given by *Moſes*, and the Truth by Chriſt. Chriſt came not to unlooſe the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. But yet many things were lawful and might have been obſerved in the time of the Law, which in the time of Grace muſt not be obſerved. And many things were unlawful to them that were under the Law, which in the time of Grace are lawful enough. After what ſort then he did not looſe the Law, but did fulfil it, it is neceſſary to declare, for thoſe things which hereafter muſt be ſaid. For amongſt *Chriſtians* many things are judged to be lawful, becauſe in the former *Teſtament* in the Law they were lawful: and yet they be expreſly contrary to Chriſts Goſpel. But the Authors of ſuch things do argue and reaſon thus, Chriſt came not to looſe the Law or the Prophets. Now after what ſort he did not unlooſe them it is manifeſt by the holy Scripture: that the Law given by *Moſes*, was written in Tables of ſtone, to declare the hardneſs of the peoples heart towards the love of God, or of Chriſt. But Chriſt hath written his Law in the hearts and in the minds of his; that is to ſay, the Law of perfect love of God, and of Chriſt. Which Law whoſoever obſerveth, he doth obſerve the Law of *Moſes*, and doth much greater works of Perfection, than were the works of the Law. Thus therefore were the morals

Many things obſerved in the old law, which be not obſerved now.

Many things unlawful in the old law, which be lawful now. How Chriſt did looſe, and not looſe the Law.

of

of the old Law fulfilled in the Law of Charity of Chriſt, and not unlooſed; becauſe they are much more perfectly obſerved, than of the *Jews*: This I ſay, if the *Chriſtians* do obſerve the Commandments of Chriſt in ſuch ſort, as he commanded the ſame to be obſerved. Chriſt hath fulfilled the Laws moral of the *Old Teſtament*, becauſe that the morals and judicials were ordained, that one perſon ſhould not do injury to another, and that every man ſhould have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charity, will do no injury to others, neither do they take other mens goods away from them. Nay, it ſeeketh not her own things. For charity ſeeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much leſs by a ſtronger reaſon it ought not to ſeek for other mens goods. And when as the judicials and morals were ordained, Chriſt did not by the works of the Law juſtifie the Believers in him, but by Grace juſtified them from their ſins. And ſo did Chriſt fulfil that by Grace that the Law could not by Juſtice.

Free juſtification, by Faith only. Grace, that is, free favour, mercy and goodneſs of God.

*Paul* to the *Romans* declareth in a godly diſcourſe, and to the *Galathians* likewiſe, *That none ſhall be juſtified by the works of the Law, but by Grace in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt.* As for the morals and ceremonies of the Law, as Circumciſion, Sacrifices for Offences, and for ſins, Firſt-fruits, Tenths, Vows, divers ſorts of Waſhings, the ſprinkling of blood, the ſprinkling of aſhes, abſtaining from unclean Meats, which are ordained for the ſanctifying and cleanſing of the people from ſin, no nor yet the prayers of the Prieſts, neither the preachings of the Prophets could cleanſe a man from his ſin. For death reigned even from *Adam* to *Moſes*, and ſin from *Moſes* to Chriſt,

*Rom.* 5. as *Paul* declareth to the *Romans* in the fifth Chapter. But Chriſt willing to have Mercy and not Sacrifice, being a Prieſt for ever after the Order of *Melchiſedec*, and an High

*Heb.* 9. Prieſt of good things to come, did neither by the blood of Goats, or Calves, but by his own blood enter in once into the holy places, when as everlaſting Redemption was found: neither did Jeſus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but unto the very Heaven, that now he may appear before the countenance of God for us. Nor yet he did ſo, that he ſhould offer up himſelf oftentimes, as the high Biſhop entred into the holy place every year with ſtrange blood (for otherwiſe he muſt needs have ſuffered oftentimes ſithence the beginning of the world) but now in the later end of the world hath he once appeared by his own Sacrifice, for the deſtruction of ſin. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that cometh judgment: even ſo was Chriſt once offered up to conſume away the ſins of many. The ſecond time ſhall he appear without ſin to the ſalvation of ſuch as look for him. For the Law having a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image or ſubſtance it ſelf of the things, can never by thoſe Sacrifices which they offer (of one ſelf ſame ſort continually year by year) make them perfect that come unto her. Otherwiſe men would leave off offering, becauſe that thoſe Worſhippers being once cleanſed ſhould

*Heb.* 10. have no more prick of conſcience for ſin afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of ſins every year. For it is impoſſible, that by the blood of Goats and Bulls ſins ſhould be taken away. Wherefore he entring into the world doth ſay, *As for Sacrifice and Offering thou wouldſt not have, but a Body haſt thou framed unto me.* And Sacrifices for ſin have not pleaſed thee: then ſaid I, behold, I come; In the head, or principal part of the Book it is written of me, that I ſhould do thy will, O God. Wherefore he ſaid before, that Sacrifices, Oblations, and Burnt-Offerings, and that for ſin thou wouldſt not have: neither were thoſe things pleaſant to thee which are offered according to the Law: then ſaid I, behold, I come, that I may do thy will, O God: He taketh away the firſt, that he may eſtabliſh that that followed. In which Will we are ſanctified and made holy by the offering up of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt once. And verily every Prieſt is ready every day miniſtring, and oftentimes offering the ſelf ſame Sacrifices, which never can take away ſins. But this man, offering one Sacrifice for ſins, doth for ever and ever ſit at Gods right hand, looking for the reſt to come, till that his Enemies be placed to be his Footſtool. *For with one Offering hath he for ever made perfect thoſe that be ſanctified.* By which things it plainly appeareth, that Chriſt by once offering hath cleanſed his from their ſins; who could not be cleanſed from the ſame by all the Ceremonies of the Law, and ſo did fulfil that which the Prieſthood of the Law could not. Wherefore only the morals and judicials he fulfilled by the Law of Charity, and by Grace; and the Ceremonials, by one offering up of his Body on the Altar of the Croſs. And ſo it is plain that Chriſt fulfilled the whole Law.

KING *Ric.* 2.

All ſhadows ought to ceaſe among Chriſtians.

Wherefore ſithence that the holy things of the Law were a ſhadow of thoſe things that were to come in the time of Grace, it were meet that all thoſe things ſhould utterly ceaſe amongſt *Chriſtians*, which, ſhould either be againſt Charity or the Grace of Chriſt. Although in the time of the Law they were lawful, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of Perfections in Chriſts Faith; yet it were meet that they ſhould ceaſe at the coming of the Perfection which they did prefigurate; as Circumciſion, the eating of the *Paſchal-Lamb*, and other ceremonial points of the Law. Whereupon alſo *Paul* to the *Hebrews* the ſeventh Chapter, ſaith thus, *If therefore the making up of the perfection of all was by the Levitical Prieſthood (for the people received the Law under him) why was it neceſſary beſides, that another Prieſt ſhould riſe up after the Order of* Melchiſedec, *and not be called after the Order of* Aaron? *For when the Prieſthood is removed, it muſt needs be that the Law alſo be removed.* For he in whom theſe things are ſpoken is of another Tribe, of which none ſtood preſent at the Altar: becauſe it is manifeſt that our Lord had his Off-ſpring of *Juda*, in which Tribe *Moſes* ſpake nothing of the Prieſts. And beſides this it is manifeſt; *If according to the Order of* Melchiſedec *there do ariſe up another Prieſt, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commandment, but according to the power of the life that cannot be loſed.* For thus he beareth witneſs, *That thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of* Melchiſedec: ſo that the commandment that went before, is diſallowed for the weakneſs and unprofitableneſs thereof. For the Law hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Chriſt making an end of the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, doth alſo make up a full end of the Law belonging to that Prieſthood. Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do ſay, That Chriſtian folks are bound to this ſmall Ceremony of the payment of Tythes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the ſmall Ceremonies of the Law.

Where the Prieſthood is removed, there alſo the Law is removed.

Bound, as a matter of Religion, or as by the neceſſity of Gods Law, and not mans: but now Tythes ſtand by mans Law, and not by the old Law.

The cauſe ceaſing, the effect alſo ceaſeth. He meaneth that neceſſity of tythes, which ſtandeth by the neceſſity of the old Law, to ceaſe.

It is plain, that the Tythes were given to the Sons of *Levi*, for their ſerving in the Tabernacle and in the Temple of the Lord, as the Firſt-fruits were given to the Prieſts, and alſo part of the Sacrifices, and ſo were the Vows of their Miniſtery, as it appeareth in the Book of *Numbers* the 22*th* Chapter. But foraſmuch as the labour of thoſe Sacrifices did ceaſe at the coming of Chriſt, how ſhould thoſe things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And ſeeing that the Firſt-fruits were not demanded of Chriſtians, which Firſt-fruits were then rather and ſooner demanded than the Tythes: why muſt the Tythes be demanded except it be therefore peradventure, becauſe that the Tythes be more worth in value than be the Firſt-fruits.

If Tythes be claimed by force of the old Law, by the ſame Law Prieſts are bound to have no Temporalties.

Secondly, why are the Lay-people bound to the payment of Tythes, more than the Levites and the Prieſts were to the not having of Poſſeſſions of Realties and Lordſhips amongſt their Brethren, ſeeing that the ſelf ſame Law in the ſelf ſame place (where he ſaith, *That the Tythes ought to be given to Levites*) ſaith alſo to the Levites, *You ſhall be contented with the offering of the Tythes, and have none other thing amongſt your Brethren.* Wherefore ſeeing that the Prieſts be bound, to the not having of Temporal Lordſhips, how are the Lay-people bound by that Law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the payment of Tythes?

He proveth not contrary, but that Tythes be due by the profitable law of man; Although not by the ceremonial law of *Moſes*.

Thirdly, as touching Circumciſion, which is one of the greater Ceremonies of the Law, and was given before the Law, and was an univerſal Ceremony concerning the Covenant between God and his people, and was ſo much regarded in the Law, that thereof it was ſaid, *The Soul, whoſe fleſh ſhall not be circumciſed in the foreſkin, ſhall periſh from among his people:* Yet did this Ceremony utterly ceaſe at the coming of Chriſt, although that certain of the *Jews* did ſay in the Primitive-Church, that the

Circumciſion ceaſeth: Ergo, the Ceremonies do ceaſe.

{KING Ric. 2.}

the Christians must needs keep the commandment of circumcision with the Faith; whom *Paul* reproveth, writing thus to the *Galatians*, the fourth *Chapter*, where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman, which do signifie the two Testaments. *But we (O Brethren) are the children of the promise after* Isaac; *but like as at that time he that was born after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the Scriptures? Throw out the bondwoman and her son. The son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the freewoman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sons of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye stedfast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not ye holden again under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I* Paul *say unto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testifie again, to every man that circumciseth himself, that he is bound to keep all the whole law. Ye are utterly void of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen from grace.*

Gal. 4.

Christian liberty from the bondage of the law.

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing, we are debters and bound to keep all the whole law. For to say, that Men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same * old law Men are not bound to pay Tithes, it may be shewed by many reasons, which we need not any more to multiply and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some do say, that by the Gospel we are bound to pay Tithes, because Christ said to the *Pharisees*, *Matth.* 23d *Chap.* *Wo be to you Scribes and Pharisees, which pay your Tithe of Mint, of Anise-seed, and of Cummin, and leave judgment, mercy and truth undone, being the weightier things of the law; both should ye have done these things, and also not have left the other undone. O ye blind guids, that strain at a Gnat, and swallow up a Camel.* This word soundeth not as a commandment, or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command Tithes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrisie of the *Pharisees*, who of covetousness did weigh and esteem Tithes because of their own singular commodity, rather than other great and weighty commandments of the law. And me seemeth that our Men are in the same predicament of the *Pharisees* which do leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only the commandment of tithing. It is manifest and plain enough by the premises, and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a Priest after the order of *Melchisedek*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, not of the Tribe of *Levi*, who gave no new commandment of tithing of any thing to him and to his Priests, whom he would place after him; but when his Apostles said to him, *Behold we leave all things and have followed thee, what then shall we have?* he did not answer them thus, Tithes shall be paid you; neither did he promise them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in Heaven. For he both for food, and also apparel, taught his Disciples not to be careful; Be ye not careful for your life what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall put on: Is not the life of Man more worth than the meat, and the body more worth than apparel? *Behold ye, the Birds of Heaven, which do not sow, nor reap, neither yet lay up in Barns, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them.* And as for apparel, why should you be careful? *Consider the Lilies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither do they spin, &c.* In conclusion he saith, *Be not ye careful, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be covered? For all these things do the Gentiles seek after; for your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. First, therefore seek ye for the Kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you.* And *Paul* right well remembring this Doctrine, instructeth *Timothy*, and saith thus, *But we having food, and wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be contented.* And as the *Acts of the Apostles* do declare in the first conversion of the Jews at *Jerusalem*, they had all things common, and to every one was division made, as need required. Neither did the Priests make the Tithes their own proper goods. For like as it was not meet that the lay people being converted, should have propriety of goods; even so neither that Priests should have propriety of Tithes. So that if the Priests started back from fervent charity in challenging to themselves the propriety of Tithes; it is no marvel of departing backward (as do the Priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laity, to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts remaining after Tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the Apostles, commanded to pay Tithes; it is manifest and plain, neither by the law of *Moses*, nor by Christs law, Christian people are bound to pay Tithes; but by the Tradition of men they are bound.

Bound in one thing (he meaneth) bound in all. Either bound to all, or to none.

* Here he expresseth his meaning plainly.

The one is disallowed, the other is not commanded.

Priests wrest religion to their own profit.

Tithes not expressly commanded anew by Christ in the Gospel.

Mat. 6.

1 Tim. 6.

Tithes not required in the primitive Church.

Tithes due to be paid by the positive Law of Men.

By the premises now it is plain, that Christ did not undo the law, but by grace did fulfil it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawful, which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then unlawful, which now are lawful enough. For nothing that is contrary to charity, is lawful to a Christian.

Let us now hear what manner of commandments Christ hath given us in the Gospel, without the observation of which commandments, charity shall not perfectly be kept. By which commandments Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfil it. By the observation also of which commandments, he teacheth us to pass and go beyond the righteousness of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who most perfectly thought themselves to keep the law. This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we are bound to have beyond the righteousness of the *Pharisees* and the *Scribes*, he teacheth in *Matthew* 5, 6, and 7 Chapters, which being heard and compared to the Traditions made and commanded by the *Roman* Prelates, it shall plainly appear, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore saith, *You have heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill. For he that killeth shall be guilty of judgment. But I say unto you, that every one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment.* In this he doth teach that we ought not to be angry with our brethren; not that he would undo this old commandment (*Thou shalt not kill*) but that the same should be the more perfectly observed. Again he saith, *You have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven: Which maketh his Sun to arise upon the good and the evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust. For if you love them which love you, what reward shall you have? Do not the Publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren only, what great thing do ye? Do not the Heathen thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect.*

The Doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrary to the traditions of the Pope or not.

Mat. 5.

Again Christ saith, *You you have heard that it is said, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, see that you resist not evil. But if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek, give him the other too. And to him that will strive with thee for thy Coat in judgment, let him have thy Cloak also. And whosoever shall constrain thee one Mile, go with him also two other. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he that will borrow of thee, turn not thy self from him.*

By these things it may plainly appear how that Christ the King of peace, the Saviour of Mankind, who came to save, and not to destroy; who gave a law of charity to be observed of his faithful people; hath taught us not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil, nor to resist evil. For all these things do foster and nourish peace and charity, and do proceed and come forth of charity, and when they be not kept, charity is loosed, and peace is broken. But the Bishop of *Rome* approveth and alloweth Wars, and slaughters of men in War, as well against our enemies, that is, the Infidels, as also against the Christians for temporal goods. Now, these things are quite contrary to Christs Doctrine, and to Charity, and to Peace.

The Doctrine of Christ and of the Pope compared.

In the Decrees 23. *q.* 1. *cap. Paratus*, it is taught, that the precepts of patience must always be retained in purpose of the heart, so that patience with benevolence must be kept in the mind secret. But apparently and manifestly that thing should be done which seemeth to do good to those, whom we ought to wish well unto. Wherein they give to understand, that a Christian may freely defend himself,

The gloss of *Gracianus* upon the *c. Paratus* 23. *q.* 1. disproved.

Chriſt in anſwering to his ſtriker, did not break his rule of patience outwardly. The precept of Chriſt to turn the other cheek, hath a privy compariſon; as if he would ſay, rather be you content to ſuffer two blows than to revenge one.

ſelf. And for confirmation of this ſaying they do ſay, That Chriſt, when he was ſtricken on the face of the High Biſhops ſervant, did not fulfil (if we look upon the words) his own commandment; becauſe he gave not to the ſmiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he ſhould not do it, to double his injury. For he ſaid, if I have ſpoken evil, beare witneſs of the evil; but if well, why doſt thou ſtrike me? I do marvel of this ſaying; for firſt, if thoſe commandments of patience muſt be kept in ſecret in the mind; and ſeeing the body doth work at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moved and ruled by the ſame; it muſt then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it muſt appear alſo outwardly in the body.

This Article of *Brute* muſt have a relation ever to the Doctrine of the Clergy.

Secondly, I marvel that it is ſaid, that Chriſt did not fulfil his own precept of patience. For it is manifeſt, that albeit he teaching always as a good Schoolmaſter, thoſe things which were fit for the ſalvation of ſouls, ſpeaking the wholeſome word of inſtruction to the High Biſhops ſervant, ſmiting him unjuſtly, did neither by word forbid another ſtroke to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himſelf bodily from ſtriking on the ſame cheek; but ſpeaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he ſpeaketh to, or whom he informeth, but layeth open before him all his face; even ſo do I believe that Chriſt did, that he might fulfil in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Chriſt by his word or by his deed ſhew any thing of defence, or of bodily reſiſtance.

The cauſe here again of Chriſt was private, and his Doctrine is to be underſtood in private caſes. War in caſe allowed of *W. Brute.*

Thirdly, I marvel why wiſe men leaving the plain and manifeſt Doctrine of Chriſt, whereby he teacheth patience, do ſeek corners of their own imagining, to the intent they may approve fightings and wars. Why mark they not after what manner Chriſt ſpake to *Peter*, ſtriking the High Biſhops ſervant, ſaying, *Put up thy Sword into the Sheath, for every one that ſhall take the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword?* But in another caſe we muſt make reſiſtance; which caſe may be ſo righteous, as it is for a Mans Lord and Maſter being a moſt righteous Man, and yet ſuffering injury of miſchievous perſons.

He meaneth reſiſtance for private cauſes, or for worldly goods.

Fourthly, I marvel, ſeeing that we are bound of charity, and by the law of Chriſt, to give our lives for our Brethren, how they can allow ſuch manner of diſſentions and reſiſting. For when thy Brother ſhall maliciouſly ſtrike thee, thou mayſt be ſure, that he is manifeſtly fallen from charity, into the ſnare of the Devil. If thou ſhalt keep patience, he ſhall be aſhamed of his doing, and thou mayſt bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the ſnare of the Devil, and call him back again to charity. If thou reſiſt, and perchance by reſiſtance doſt ſtrike again, his fury ſhall be the more kindled, and he being ſtirred up to greater wrath, peradventure ſhall either ſlay thee, or thou him. Touching thy ſelf thou art uncertain if thou go about to make reſiſtance, whether thou ſhalt fall from charity, and then ſhalt thou go backward from the perfection of Chriſts commandment: Neither doſt thou know but that it may happen thee ſo greatly to be moved, as that by the heat and violence of wrath, thou ſhalt ſlay him. Whereas if thou wouldſt diſpoſe thy ſelf to patience (as Chriſt teacheth) thou ſhouldſt eaſily avoid all theſe miſchiefs, as well on the behalf of thy Brother, as alſo of thine own part. Wherefore the obſerving of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be obſerved.

Patience commended in private cauſes amongſt Chriſtian brethren.

The inconvenience of private reſiſtance amoug Chriſtian brethren.

Fifthly, I do marvel, why that for the allowing of this corporal reſiſtance, he doth ſay in the ſame Chapter, that *Paul* did not fulfil the precept of the patience of Chriſt, when as he being ſtricken in the place of judgment by the commandment of the High Prieſt, did ſay, *God ſtrike thee, O thou painted Wall: Doſt thou ſit to judge me according to the law, and doſt thou command me to be ſtricken againſt the law?* It is manifeſt that *Paul* made reſiſtance in nothing, though he ſpake a word of inſtruction to the Prieſt, who againſt the law commanded him to be ſtricken. And if *Paul* had overpaſſed the bounds of patience, through the grief of the ſtroke, what of that? Muſt the deed of *Paul*'s impatience for this cauſe be juſtified, and the commandment of patience taught by Chriſt be left undone for *Paul*'s deed, and corporal reſiſtance be allowed? God forbid. For both *Paul* and *Peter* might err. But in the Doctrine of Chriſt there may be found no error. Wherefore we muſt give more credence and belief to Chriſts ſayings, than to any living mans doings. Wherefore although *Paul* had reſiſted, which I do not perceive in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporal reſiſtance muſt be approved, which is of Chriſt expreſly forbidden. I much marvel that always they ſeek corners and ſhadows to juſtifie their deeds. Why do they not mark what great things *Paul* reciteth himſelf to have ſuffered for Chriſt? And where I pray you, have they found that he, after his converſion ſtrook any man that did hurt him? Or where do they find that he in expreſs word doth teach ſuch a kind of corporal reſiſtance? But as touching patience, he ſaith in plain words to the *Romans*, *Be not wiſe in your own conceits: Render ill for ill to no body: providing good things not only before God, but alſo before all men, if it be poſſible. Be at peace with all folks, as much as in you lieth; not revenging your ſelves, my moſt dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence them, ſaith the Lord. But if thine enemy ſhall be an hungred, give him meat; if he be athirſt, give him drink. For thus doing, thou ſhalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good.*

KING 1 *Reg.* 2.

The fact either of *Paul* or of any other, doth not derogate from the doctrine of our Saviour.

Rom. 12. Rules of Chriſtian patience.

To the *Corinthians* the 5th. as touching judgment and contention, which are matters of leſs weight than are fightings, thus he writeth, *Now verily there is great fault in you, that ye be at law amongſt your ſelves. Why rather take ye not wrong? Why rather ſuffer ye not deceit?* And generally in all his Epiſtles, he teacheth that patience ſhould be kept, and not corporal reſiſtance by fighting, becauſe charity is patient, it is courteous, it ſuffereth all things. I marvel how they juſtifie and make good the wars by Chriſtians, ſaving only the wars againſt the Devil and ſin. For ſeeing that it is plain, that thoſe things which were in the Old Teſtament, were figures of things to be done in the New Teſtament; Therefore we muſt needs ſay, that the corporal wars being then done, were figures of the Chriſtian wars againſt ſin, and the Devil, for the heavenly Country which is our inheritance. It is plain that it was written thus of Chriſt: *The mighty Lord, and of great power in battel hath girded himſelf in force and manlineſs to the War; and he came not to ſend peace into the earth, but War.* In this war ought Chriſtian people to be ſoldiers, according to that manner which *Paul* teacheth to the *Epheſians* the laſt, *Put upon you the armour of God, that you may be able to ſtand againſt the deceits of the Devil. For we have not to wraſtle againſt fleſh and bloud, but againſt Princes and Poteſtates, againſt the rulers of the darkneſs of the World, againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be able to reſiſt in the evil day, and to ſtand perfectly in all things. Stand ye therefore girded about in truth upon your loyns, having put upon you the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs, and your feet ſhod in a readineſs to the Goſpel of peace; in all things taking the ſhield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God.*

I Cor. 5. He meaneth ſuch wars of Chriſtians, as the Pope allowеth, rifing rather of private revenge of Princes, for Worldly glory or affection, than for any publick neceſſity.

Corporal Wars in the Old Teſtament be figures of the ſpiritual wars in the New Teſtament againſt ſin & the Devil.

Ephe. 6.

By theſe things it is plain, what are the wars of Chriſtians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And becauſe it is manifeſt, that this Teſtament is of greater perfection than the former, we muſt now fight more perfectly than at that time. For now ſpiritually; then corporally; now for an heavenly everlaſting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporal; now by patience, then by reſiſtance. For Chriſt ſaith, *Bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* He ſaith not, bleſſed are they that fight for righteouſneſs. How can a man ſay that they may lawfully make war and kill their Brethren for the temporal goods, which peradventure they unjuſtly occupy, or unjuſtly intend to occupy? For he that killeth another to get thoſe goods which another body unjuſtly occupieth, doth love more the very goods than his own Brother. And then he falling from charity, doth kill himſelf ſpiritually. If he go forward without * charity to make war, then doth he evil, and to his own damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor juſtly in proceeding to the damnation of his own ſelf and his Brother; whom, though he ſee unjuſtly to occupy

What be the wars moſt proper to Chriſtians.

All this teacheth meaneth the lawfulneſs of wars, in caſe of publick neceſſity, but only in private caſe for temporal goods.

* Note this word, without charity.

KING 1 Rich. 2.

Such kind of Wars, that is, ſuch kind as be for private revenge of temporal goods.

occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kill; And what if ſuch kind of Wars were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not, that now they are lawful to Chriſtians; becauſe that their deeds were in a ſhadow of imperfection, but the deeds of Chriſtians in the light of perfection. It was not ſaid unto them, All people that ſhall take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword. What if *John* the *Baptiſt* diſallowed corporal fightings, and corporal warfare, at ſuch time as the Soldiers asked him ſaying, *And what ſhall we do?* who ſaith to them, *See that you ſtrike no man, neither pick ye quarrels againſt any, and be you contented with your wage.* This ſaying of *John* alloweth not corporal warfare amongſt Chriſtian. For *John* was of the prieſts of the Old Teſtament, and under the Law, neither to him it appertained not to follow the law, but to warn the people to the perfect obſervation of the law; for he, being likewiſe demanded of the *Publicans* what they ſhould do, ſaid unto them, *Do no other thing than is appointed unto you.* But Chriſt the Author of the New Teſtament, and of greater perfection than was the perfection of the old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth by the Goſpel. So that Chriſtians ought to receive information of Chriſt, not of *John.* For of *John* alſo doth Chriſt ſpeak; *Verily I ſay unto you, there hath not riſen amongſt the children of Men, a greater than* John Baptiſt, *but he that is leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.* In which ſaying, Chriſt ſheweth, that thoſe that be leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection than was *John*, which was one of them that were the Elders, and he lived alſo in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when as certain of *John*'s Diſciples ſaid unto him, *Maſter, he that was beyond* Jordan, *to whom thou gaveſt witneſs, behold he baptiſeth, and all people come unto him*; John *anſwered and ſaid, A man cannot take upon him, unleſs it ſhall be given him from above. You your ſelves do bear me record, that I ſaid I am not Chriſt, but that I was ſent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegrooms friend, who ſtandeth and heareth him, he rejoiceth with great joy to hear the voice of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is fulfilled; he muſt increaſe and I muſt be diminiſhed. He that cometh from on high, is above all. He that is of the earth is earthly, and ſpeaketh of the earth: He that cometh from Heaven, is above all folks; that which he hath ſeen and heard, the ſame doth he witneſs, and yet his witneſſing doth no body receive. But he that receiveth his witneſſing, hath put to his Seal, that God is true. For he whom God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the Words of God.*

How John Baptiſt allowed not warfare.

They that be leaſt in the Kingdom of heaven greater than John Baptiſt expounded.

By which things it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be given neither to *John*, nor yet to Angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Chriſts Doctrine. For Chriſt is above the Angels, becauſe that God infinitely paſſeth them in wiſdom. Now if *Moſes* the ſervant of God, a Miniſter of the Old Teſtament, was ſo much to be believed, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminiſhed from the Commandments that were given by him, (for ſo *Moſes* had ſaid, *The thing that I command thee, that do thou only to the Lord, neither add thou any thing, nor diminiſh*;) How much more ought we not to add nor to take away from the Commandments given by God himſelf, and alſo the Son of God? In the primitive Church becauſe the Chriſtians had fervent love and charity, they obſerved theſe precepts as they were given; but the fervent charity afterward waxing lukewarm, they invented Gloſſes by drawing the commandments of God back to their own deeds, which they purpoſed to juſtifie and maintain; that is to ſay, wars againſt the infidels. But that theſe by wars ſhould be converted to the faith, as a fact faithleſs enough: becauſe that by violence or unwillingly, no body can believe in Chriſt, nor be made a Chriſtian, neither did he come to deſtroy them by battel, that believed not in him; for he ſaid to his Diſciples, *You know not what ſpirit you are of.* *The ſon of man came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.* Then to grant pardons and forgiveneſs of ſins to thoſe that kill the infidels, is too much an infidels fact, ſeducing many people. For what greater ſeducing can there be, than to promiſe to a man forgiveneſs of ſins, and afterward the joy of Heaven, for ſetting himſelf againſt Chriſts commandments in the killing of infidels, that would not be converted to the faith? whereas Chriſt doth ſay, *Not every one that ſaith to me Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven, thus perſon ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Now the will of the Father is, that we ſhould believe in his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, and that we ſhould obey him by obſerving of thoſe things which he himſelf hath commanded. Wherefore Chriſts precepts of patience muſt be fulfilled, wars, fightings and contentions muſt be left, becauſe they are contrary to charity.

Herein eaneth thoſe Wars againſt Infidels ſtirred up and procured by the Pope upon blind ſuperſtition, to fight for the Holy Land, and not taken by Princes in the neceſſary defence of themſelves, and of their Country.

But peradventure ſome man will thus reaſon againſt Chriſt, The Saints by whom God hath wrought Miracles, do allow wars againſt the faithful people, as alſo againſt the Infidels. And the holy Kings were Warriors, for whoſe ſakes Miracles alſo have been ſhewed, as well in their death, as alſo in their life, yea in the very time wherein they were a warfare. Wherefore it ſeemeth that their facts were good and lawful. For otherwiſe God would not have done Miracles for them. Objection.

To this again I ſay, That we for no Miracles muſt do contrary to the Doctrine of Chriſt; for in it can there be no error; but in Miracles there oftentimes chanceth error, as it is plain as well by the Old as by the New Teſtament. God forbid then that a Chriſtian ſhould for deceivable Miracles depart from the infallible Doctrine of Chriſt. In *Exod.* the 7*th* Chap. it is manifeſt, how that the wicked wiſe men of the *Egyptians*, through the inchantments of *Egypt*, and certain ſecret workings, threw their Wands upon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, even as *Aaron* before time in the preſence of *Pharaoh* threw his Wand upon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a Serpent. In the 3d of the *Kings* the 22d *Chap. Michens did ſee the Lord ſitting upon his Throne, and all the Hoſt of Heaven ſtanding about him on the right hand and on the left.* 3 Re. 22. *And the Lord ſaid, who ſhall deceive* Achab *the King of* Iſrael, *that he may go up and be ſlain in* Ramoth Gilead? *And one ſaid this way, and another otherwiſe; now, there went forth a ſpirit, and ſtood before the Lord and ſaid, I will deceive him. To whom the Lord ſpake, by what means? And he ſaid, I will go forth, and be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And the Lord ſaid, thou ſhalt deceive him and prevail. go thy ways forth, and do even ſo.* Thus alſo it is written in *Deut. If there ſhall ariſe a Prophet amongſt you, or one that ſhall ſay, he hath ſeen a dream, and ſhall foretel a ſign and a wonder; and if that ſhall come to paſs that he hath ſpoken, and he ſhall ſay unto thee, let us go and follow ſtrange Gods (whom thou knoweſt not) and let us ſerve them; thou ſhalt not hearken unto the words of that Prophet or Dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether you love him or no, with all your heart, and with all your ſoul.*

Answer! *Legibus agendum, non exemplis.*

True miracles here of holy men be not diſproved, but ſpeaking univerſally, the ſtable Doctrine and Word of God, is the ſure rule for men to follow.

Achab deceived by falſe Prophets.

In *Jeremy* the 23d Chap. *Are not my words even like fire, ſaith the Lord? and like an hammer that breaketh the ſtone? Therefore behold, I will come againſt the Prophets which have dreamed a lie (ſaith the Lord) which have ſhewed thoſe things, and have ſeduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when as I ſent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people (ſaith the Lord)* In *Mark* the 13th Chap. ſaith Chriſt, *For there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and falſe Prophets, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders to deceive, if it were poſſible, even the very elect.* *Paul* in his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* the 11th Chap. *Such falſe Apoſtles are deceitful workers, transforming themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt.* And no marvel, for even Satan transformeth himſelf into an Angel of Light; therefore it is no great thing though his Miniſters transform themſelves, as though they were the Miniſters of righteouſneſs, whoſe end ſhall be according to their works.

Jer. 23. Prophets muſt be tried by Doctrine.

Mark 13 Falſe Prophets.

2 Cor. 11

In the *Apocalyps* the 13th Chap. John *ſaw a Beaſt aſcending up out of the earth, and it had two horns like a Lamb, but he ſpake like the Dragon, and he did all that the firſt beaſt could do before him; and he cauſed the earth and the inhabitants thereof to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, ſo that he made fire come down from Heaven on the earth, in the ſight of men, and deceived them that dwelt on the earth, by means of the ſigns which were permitted him to do in the ſight of the beaſt.*

Apoc. 13

By theſe things it is moſt manifeſt and plain, that in Miracles this manifold error oftentimes happeneth, through the working of the Devil, to deceive the people withal. Wherefore we ought not for the working of Miracles to depart from the Commandments of God. I

Miracles are to be tried.

{KING Ric. 2.}

would to God that they which put confidence in Miracles, would give heed unto the word of Chriſt, in the *7th Chap.* of *Mat.* thus ſpeaking, *Many ſhall ſay unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name propheſied? and in thy name caſt out Devils, and in thy name done many great works? &c. I will profeſs unto them, I never knew you, depart from me all ye which work iniquity.*

Mat. 7.

The ſervants of Chriſt diſcerned by working not of Miracles, but of vertues.

By this ſaying it is moſt manifeſt that the ſervants of Chriſt are not diſcerned by working of Miracles, but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandments of God. Wherefore it is wonderful, that any in this life dare preſume to prevent the day of the Judgment of God, to judge by means of Miracles, that ſome are Saints, whom Men ought to worſhip, whom peradventure, God will in the laſt Judgment condemn, ſaying, *Depart from me all ye which work iniquity.* If any Man could here on earth judge ſinners to be condemned; then if this judgment were certain, Chriſt ſhould not judge the ſecond time; and whatſoever ſuch Judges bind in earth, the ſame ought to be bound in Heaven. But if ſuch a judgment be uncertain, then it is perilous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth, may inſtead of Saints, worſhip ſuch as are damned with the fellowſhip of the Devils, and in prayer require their aid, who even like as the Devils their companions, are more ready, and more of might to evil than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they mark not what Chriſt ſaid, when his Kinſwoman came unto him, deſiring and requiring ſomething of him, and ſaying, *Command that theſe my two ſons may ſit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand in thy Kingdom. But Jeſus anſwering, ſaid, Ye know not what ye aſk, can ye drink of the cup which I ſhall drink of? they ſaid unto him, we can. He ſaid unto them, of my cup indeed ye ſhall drink, but to ſit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father.* Chriſt being equal unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in Goodneſs and Wiſdom, ſaid, *to ſit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father.* If it were none of his to give to ſit at the right hand, or at the left, &c. how then is it in the power of any ſinful man to give unto any Man a ſeat either on the right hand or on the left in the Kingdom of God, which ſinful Man knoweth not whether ſuch have any ſeat prepared for them of the Father in his Kingdom? They much extol themſelves which exerciſe this judicial power in giving judgment, that there are ſome Saints which ought to be honored of Men, by reaſon of the evidences of Dreams, or of deceitful Miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his judgment will condemn them or not, together with the Devils for ever to be tormented. Let them beware, for the infallible truth ſaith, that *every one that exalteth himſelf ſhall be brought low.*

Men or women are not raſhly to be judged Saints.

This propoſition of *W. Brute*, concerning the War of Chriſtians not to be lawful, is not to be taken univerſally, but in particular caſe as he meaneth, which is this, That no ſuch Wars allowed of the Pope, not for the neceſſary defence of publick peace, liberty and ſafeguard of our Countries, or againſt publick injuries offered; but only to go and kill the Infidels, becauſe they believe not, having no other cauſe, thoſe Wars of the Pope he liketh not.

By theſe things is gathered that the Wars of Chriſtians are not lawful; for that by the Doctrine and Life of Chriſt they are prohibited, and by reaſon of the evidence of the deceitful Miracles of thoſe which have made Wars amongſt the Chriſtians, as well againſt the Chriſtians, as alſo againſt the Infidels. Becauſe Chriſt could not err in his Doctrine, foraſmuch as he was God: And foraſmuch as Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away, but the Words of Chriſt ſhall not paſs away; He therefore which eſtabliſheth his laws, allowing wars and the ſlaughter of men in wars, as well of Chriſtians as of Infidels, doth he not juſtifie thoſe things which are contrary unto the Goſpel and Law of Chriſt? Therefore in this he is againſt Chriſt, and therefore Antichriſt; ſeducing the people, making men believe that to be lawful and meritorious unto them, which is expreſly prohibited by Chriſt.

¶ And thus much concerning the firſt part, touching peace and war, wherein he declareth Chriſt and the Pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to war, and ſo to prove in concluſion, the Pope to be Antichriſt. Where in the mean time thou muſt underſtand (gentle Reader) his meaning rightly; not that he ſo thinketh no kind of wars among the Chriſtians in any caſe to be lawful, for he himſelf before hath openly proteſted the contrary; but that his purpoſe is, to prove the Pope in all his doings and teachings more to be addicted to war than to peace; yea, in ſuch caſes where is no neceſſity of war. And therein proveth he the Pope to be contrary to Chriſt, that is, to be Antichriſt. Now he proceedeth further to the ſecond part, which is of mercy.

Doctrine of Chriſtian mercy declared.

In which part he ſheweth how Chriſt teacheth us to be merciful, becauſe mercy (as he ſaith) proceedeth from charity, and nouriſheth it. In which Doctrine of mercy, he breaketh not the law of righteouſneſs, for he himſelf by mercy hath cleanſed us from our ſins, from which we could not by the righteouſneſs of the law be cleanſed. But whom he hath made clean by mercy, undoubtedly it behooveth thoſe ſame to be alſo merciful. For in the fifth *Chapter* of *Matthew* he ſaith, *Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy.* And again in the ſixth *Matthew* he ſaith, *If ye forgive unto men their ſins, your father will forgive unto you your ſins.* And again in the ſeventh *Chapter* of *Matthew*. *Judge not and ye ſhall not be judged, condemn not, and ye ſhall not be condemned, and with what meaſure ye meaſure, with the ſame ſhall it be meaſured unto you again.* In the 18*th.* Chapter of *Matth.* *Peter* asked the Lord, ſaying, *Lord, how often ſhall my Brother ſin againſt me, and I ſhall forgive him, ſeven times? Jeſus ſaid unto him, I ſay not unto thee ſeven times, but ſeventy times ſeven. Therefore is the Kingdom of Heaven likened unto a certain King, which would take account of his ſervants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which oweth him ten thouſand Talents; And becauſe he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his maſter commanded him to be ſold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The ſervant therefore fell down, and beſought him, ſaying, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that ſervant, and looſed him, and forgave him the debt. But when that ſervant was departed, he found one of his fellow ſervants, which ought him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, ſaying, pay me that thou oweſt; and his fellow fell down, and beſought him, ſaying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and caſt him into priſon, till he ſhould pay the debt. And when his other fellows ſaw the things that were done, they were very ſorry, and came and declared unto their maſter all that was done: Then his maſter called him, and ſaid unto him, O thou ungracious ſervant, I forgave thee all that debt when thou deſireddſt me, oughteſt thou not then alſo to have ſuch pity on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him unto the Jaylors, till he ſhould pay all that was due unto him. So likewiſe ſhall my Heavenly Father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts each one, to his brother their treſpaſſes.*

Mat. 5. Mat. 6. Mat. 7. Mat. 18.

Mercy and pity commended among Chriſtians.

Mercy and compaſſion neceſſary to all Chriſtians.

By this Doctrine it is moſt plain and manifeſt, that every Chriſtian ought to be merciful unto his brother, how often ſoever he offendeth againſt him. Becauſe we, ſo often as we offend, do ask mercy of God. Wherefore, foraſmuch as our offence againſt God is far more grievous than any offence of our brother againſt us; it is plain that it behoveth us to be merciful unto our brethren, if we will have mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this Doctrine of Mercy, the *Romiſh* Biſhop maketh and confirmeth many laws, which puniſh offenders, even unto the death; as it is plain by the proceſs of the Decrees, *Diſt.* 25. *quæſt.* 5. It is declared and determined, that to kill men *ex officio*, that is, having authority and power ſo to do, is not ſin. And again, the ſoldier which is obedient unto the higher power, and ſo killeth a man, is not guilty of murder. And again, he is the Miniſter of the Lord, which ſmiteth the evil in that they are evil, and killeth them. And many other ſuch like things are throughout the whole proceſs of that queſtion determined; That for certain kinds of ſins men ought by the rigour of the law to be puniſhed even unto death. But the foundation of their ſaying they took out of the old law, in which for divers tranſgreſſions were appointed divers puniſhments. It is very much wonderful unto me, why that wiſe men, being the authors and makers of laws, do always for the foundation of their ſayings look upon the ſhadow of the law, and not the light of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, for they give not heed unto the figure of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the 3d of *John*, *God ſent not his Son into the World, to judge the World,*

The Pope contrary Chriſt in ſhewing mercy. 23. 2. 5.

The foundation of the foreſaid 5. *queſt. cauſ.* 23. in the Popes Decrees, taken only out of the old Teſtament and nothing out of the new.

The makers of the Popes law follow not the perfect rule. John 3.

KING Ric. 2. *World, but to ſave the world by him?* in *John* the 8th. *Chap. The Scribes and Phariſees bring in a Woman taken in adultery, and ſet her in the midſt, and ſaid unto Chriſt, Maſter, even now this woman was taken in adultery. But in the law Moſes hath commanded us to ſtone ſuch, what ſayſt thou therefore? This they ſaid to tempt him, that they might accuſe him. But Jeſus ſtooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him, he lift himſelf up, and ſaid unto them, let him that is among you without ſin, caſt the firſt ſtone at her. And again he ſtooped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldeſt; ſo Jeſus was left alone, and the woman ſtanding in the midſt. When Jeſus had lift up himſelf again, he ſaid unto her, where be they which accuſed thee, hath no man condemned thee? She ſaid, no man Lord. And Jeſus ſaid unto her, neither do I condemn thee. Go thy way, and ſin now no more.*

It is manifeſt by the Scriptures, that Chriſt was promiſed he ſhould be King of the *Jews*, and unto the Kings pertained the judgments of the law; but becauſe he came not to judge ſinners according to the rigour of the law, but came according to grace, to ſave that which was loſt, in calling the ſinner to repentance; it is moſt plain, that in the coming of the law of grace, he would have the judgment of the law of righteouſneſs to ceaſe; for otherwiſe he had dealt unjuſtly with the foreſaid woman, foraſmuch as the witneſſes of her adultery, bare witneſs againſt her. Wherefore ſeeing the ſame King Chriſt was a Judge, if it had been his will that the righteouſneſs of the Law ſhould be obſerved, he ought to have adjudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded; which thing, foraſmuch as he did not, it is moſt evident that the judgements of he righteouſneſs of the law are finiſhed in the coming of the King, being King of the law of grace; even as the Sacrifices of the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, are finiſhed in the coming of the Prieſt, according to the order of *Melchiſedek*; who hath offered himſelf up for our ſins; becauſe, as it is before ſaid, neither the righteouſneſs of the law, nor Sacrifices for ſin, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it was neceſſary that the ſame, by reaſon of their imperfection ſhould ceaſe. And ſeeing among all the laws of the world, the law of *Moſes* was moſt juſt, foraſmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the moſt juſt Judge; and by that law always look, what manner of injury one had done unto another, contrary to the commandment of the law, the like injury he ſhould receive for his tranſgreſſion, according to the upright judgment of the law; as death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound, for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and moſt juſt puniſhments were ordained according to the quantity of the ſins. But if this law of righteouſneſs be clean taken away in the coming of the law of grace, how then ſhall the law of the Gentiles remain among Chriſtians, which was never ſo juſt? Is not this true, that in them which are converted unto the faith, there is no diſtinction between the *Jew* and the *Grecian*? For both are under ſin, and are juſtified by grace in the faith of Chriſt, being called unto faith, and unto the perfection of the Goſpel.

Here is meant, and to be underſtood, not what publick Magiſtrates may do, in caſes of righteouſneſs, but what eccleſiaſtical perſons, according to the office of their profeſſion, ſhould in not revenging by death, as they do by offices. Whether the judicial lavv of *Moſes* fully (now after the coming of Chriſt) ſtandeth in force, or not. The lavv of *Moſes* of all lavvs moſt juſt.

If therefore the *Gentiles* converted, are not bound to play the *Jews*, to follow the law of the *Jews*; why ſhould the *Jews* converted, follow the laws of the *Gentiles* which are not ſo good? Wherefore, it is to be wondred at, why Thieves are among Chriſtians, for theft put to death, where after the law of *Moſes* they were not put to death. Chriſtians ſuffer Adulterers to live, *Sodomites*, and they which curſe Father and Mother, and many other horrible ſinners; and they which according to the moſt juſt law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteouſneſs given of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Chriſt.

It is marvel I not for ſuch, vvhy Thieves are put to death; but why the judicial law of *Moſes* in this point is broken, and another point is ſtrictly kept. Mark his meaning.

Wherefore the Law-makers and Judges do not give heed unto the foreſaid ſentence of Chriſt unto the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who ſaid, * *He which amongſt you is without ſin, let him caſt the firſt ſtone at her.* What is he that dareth be ſo bold as to ſay, he is without ſin? Yea, and without a grievous ſin, when as the tranſgreſſion of the commandment of God is a grievous ſin? And who can ſay that he never tranſgreſſed this commandment of God, *Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf?* Or the other commandment which is of greater force, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart*, &c. Wherefore thou, whatſoever thou art, that judgeſt thy brother unto death, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God, which peradventure haſt offended more grievouſly than he hath whom thou judgeſt? How ſeeſt thou a mote in thy brothers eye, and ſeeſt not a beam in thine own eye? Knoweſt thou not that with what meaſure thou meaſureſt, that ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again? Doth not the Scripture ſay, *Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render again ſaith the Lord?* How can any man ſay that theſe men can with charity keep theſe judgments of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and deſireth of God juſt judgment for his offence? He deſireth not judgment but mercy. If he deſire mercy for himſelf, why deſireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himſelf? Or how doſt thou ſhew mercy unto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandment of Chriſt) which ſeekeſt the greateſt vengeance upon him that thou canſt infer unto him? for death is the moſt terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death, can no man infer. Wherefore, they which will keep charity ought to obſerve the commandments of Chriſt touching mercy; and * they which live in the law of charity, ought to leave the law of vengeance and judgments. Ought we to believe that Chriſt in his coming, by grace abrogated the moſt juſt law which he himſelf gave unto the children of *Iſrael* by *Moſes* his ſervant, and eſtabliſhed the laws of the *Gentiles*, being not ſo juſt, to be obſerved of his faithful? Doth not *Daniel* expound the Dream of *Nabuchodonozer* the King, concerning the image, whoſe head was of gold, the breaſt and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, the legs of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. *Nabuchodonozer* ſaw that a ſtone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and ſtrake the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver, and gold broken all together, and became like the chaff of the Summer flower, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore four Kingdoms unto the four parts of the image, namely, the Kingdom of the *Babylonians* unto the head of gold; the Kingdom of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, unto the breaſt and arms of ſilver; the Kingdom of the *Grecians* unto the belly and thighs of braſs, but the fourth Kingdom which is of the *Romans*, he applieth unto the feet and legs of iron. And *Daniel* addeth, *in the days of their Kingdoms ſhall God raiſe up a Kingdom which ſhall never be deſtroyed, and his Kingdom ſhall not be delivered unto another, but it ſhall break and deſtroy thoſe Kingdoms; and it ſhall ſtand for ever, according as thou ſaweſt, that the ſtone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and brake in pieces the clay, and iron, braſs, ſilver and gold.* Seeing therefore it is certain, that this ſtone ſignifieth Chriſt, whoſe Kingdom is for ever; it is alſo a thing moſt aſſured, that he ought to reign every where, and to break in pieces the other Kingdoms of the world. Wherefore if terreſtrial Kings, and the terreſtrial Kingdom of the Jews, and their laws and judgments have ceaſed by Chriſt the King, calling the Jews unto the perfection of his Goſpel, namely, unto Faith and Charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the Kingdom of the Gentiles, which is more unperfect, and their laws, ought to ceaſe among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentility unto the perfection of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For there is no diſtinction between the Jews and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Chriſt; but all of them abiding in that eternal Kingdom, ought to be under one law of charity and of vertue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the judgments of death, and the deſire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make laws mark not the parable of Chriſt, ſaying, *The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man which ſowed good ſeed in his field; but when men were on ſleep, the enemy came and ſowed tares in the midſt of the Wheat, and went his way. But when the herb was grown and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the ſervants came unto the good man of the*

gainſt ſuch Churchmen, who profeſſing the rule of mercy, ſhew no mercy at all, but all rigour by their lavvs, *ex officio.*

* He meaneth of the Pope, and of the Clergy.

He ſpeaketh againſt the deſire of revenge, not againſt the execution of neceſſary law done by Magiſtrates.

The dream of *Nabuchodonozor* concerning the Image expounded by *Daniel.*

The judicial neceſſity of thoſe lavvs he meaneth to ceaſe, notwithſtanding Chriſtian Princes may borrow both out of thoſe lavvs, and out of all other, vvhat they think good and expedient for their Commonvveal.

* Take his meaning wiſely (gentle Reade) his mind is not, that no Magiſtrate, being not without ſin, may puniſh a tranſgreſſor, but he ſpeaketh a

*houſe, and ſaid unto him, Lord, didſt not thou ſow good ſeed in thy field? from whence then come theſe tares? And he ſaid unto them, the enemy hath done this. And the ſervants ſaid unto him, wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he ſaid no, leſt peradventure gathering up the tares ye pluck up the wheat by the roots; ſuffer them both to grow until the harveſt, and in the time of the harveſt, I will ſay unto the harveſt men, gather firſt the tares and bind them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn.* Chriſt himſelf only expoundeth this Parable in the ſelf ſame Chapter, ſaying, *He which ſoweth the good ſeed is the ſon of man, but the field is the world, and the good ſeed, thoſe are the children of the Kingdom. But the tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which ſoweth them is the Devil. And the Harveſt is the end of the World, and the Harveſtmen are the Angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, ſo ſhall it be in the end of the World. The ſon of man ſhall ſend his Angels, and they ſhall gather out of his kingdom all offenders, and thoſe which commit iniquity, and ſhall put them into a furnace of fire, there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.*

His purpoſe is not that no evil doer ſhould be puniſhed in a Commonwealth, but his relation is to the 23. q. 5. aforeſaid, noting cauſes of religion, vvhich the Pope and his Prelates are vvont to puniſh vvith death, taking many times for tares, that vvhich indeed is pure Wheat.

By which plain Doctrine it is manifeſt, that Chriſt will have mercy ſhewed unto ſinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remain mingled with the good; leſt peradventure, when a man thinketh that he doth right well to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat. For how great a ſinner ſoever a man be, we know not whether his end ſhall be good, and whether in the end he ſhall obtain mercy of God: neither are we certain of the time, wherein God will by grace judge him whom we abhor as a ſinner. And peradventure ſuch a one ſhall more profit after his converſion in the Church, than he whom we think to be juſt, as it came to paſs in *Paul*. And if God juſtifieth a man by grace (although at his end) why dareſt thou be ſo bold to be his judge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man ſeem to be obſtinate and hardned in his evil, ſo that he is not corrected by a ſecret correction (correct him before one alone;) if he do not receive open correction being done before two or three witneſſes; neither paſſeth upon a manifeſt correction when his ſin is made known unto the Church; Chriſt doth not teach to puniſh ſuch a one with the puniſhment of death. Yea, rather he ſaith, *If he hearken not unto the Church, let him be unto thee as an Ethnick and Publican.* And *Paul* following this Doctrine in the 1 *Corinth.* 5th Chapter, ſaith, *There goeth a common ſaying, that there is fornication among you, and ſuch fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his fathers wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather ſorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I verily as abſent in body, but preſent in Spirit, have already determined, as though I were preſent, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together, and my ſpirit, in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ſuch a one by the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be delivered unto Satan for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus.* *Paul* teacheth not to kill this man (as ſome gather by this Text) but to ſeparate him from the other faithful, and ſo from Chriſt, which is the head of the Church of the faithful, and ſo is he delivered unto Satan, which is ſeparated from Chriſt, that the fleſh may be killed, that is, that the carnal concupiſcence, whereby he luxuriouſly luſted after the wife of his father, may be deſtroyed in him by ſuch a ſeparation, that the ſpirit may be ſaved; and not that his body ſhould be killed, as ſome ſay, as it is manifeſt in the ſame Chap. where he ſaith, *I wrote unto you an Epiſtle, that you ſhould not keep company with fornicators, and I meant not of all the fornicators of this World, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then muſt ye needs have gone out of the World. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous perſon, or a worſhipper of images, either a curſed ſpeaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner; with him that is ſuch, ſee that ye eat not.*

1 Cor. 5.

By which it is manifeſt, that *Paul* would have the foreſaid fornicator ſeparated from the fellowſhip of the faithful; that his carnal concupiſcence might be mortified, for the health of the ſpirit, and not that the body ſhould be killed. Wherefore they do ill underſtand *Paul*, which by this ſaying do confirm the killing of men. And forſomuch as Hereſie is one of the moſt grievous ſins (for an Heretick leadeth men in errors, whereby they are made to ſtray from faith, without which they cannot be ſaved) it doth moſt great hurt in the Church.

Further, as concerning ſuch a wicked man, *Paul* thus ſpeaketh, *flee from the man that is an Heretick after the firſt and ſecond correction, knowing that ſuch a one is ſubverted and ſinneth, forſomuch as he is by his own judgment condemned.* Behold, *Paul* teacheth not to kill this man, but with Chriſt to ſeparate him from the fellowſhip of the faithful. But ſome ſay, that *Peter* in the Primitive Church ſlew *Ananias* and *Saphira* for their ſins, wherefore they ſay it is lawful for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare in ſhewing the whole proceſs how falſly they ſpeak in alledging of *Peter*, to juſtifie their error.

In the fourth *Chap.* of the *Acts* it is written, *That as many as were poſſeſſors of lands or houſes, they ſold them, and offered the prices of that which they ſold, and laid it before the feet of the Apoſtles; and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certain man called* Ananias *with* Saphira *his wife, ſold a piece of Land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it, and bringing a certain part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the Apoſtles.* But Peter *ſaid unto* Ananias, Ananias, *why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou ſhouldſt lie unto the Holy Ghoſt, to keep back a part of the price of the land? Did it not whilſt it remained, remain unto thee: and being ſold, was it not in thine own power? why haſt thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou haſt not lied unto men, but unto God. And when* Ananias *heard theſe words, he fell down and gave up the Ghoſt, and great fear came on all them that heard theſe things. And the young men roſe up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to paſs, about the ſpace of three hours after, that his wife came in, being ignorant of that which was done. And* Peter *ſaid unto her, Tell me Woman, ſold ye the land for ſo much? And ſhe ſaid, yea for ſo much. But* Peter *ſaid unto her, why have ye agreed together to tempt the ſpirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which buried thy Husband are at the door, and ſhall carry thee out. And ſtraightway ſhe fell down before his feet, and gave up the ghoſt, and the young men entring in, found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear came on all the Church, and all thoſe which heard theſe things.*

It is marvel that any man that is wiſe, will ſay that by this proceſs *Peter* ſlew *Ananias* or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his ſon, and ſent his ſervants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. *The King then ſent forth his ſervants to the outcorners of the High ways, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and ſo they did. And the Marriage was full furniſhed with gueſts; Then came in alſo the King to view and ſee them ſitting; among whom he perceived there one ſitting, having not a wedding garment, and ſaith unto him, friend, how cameſt thou hither? And he being dumb, had not a word to ſpeak. Then ſaid the King to the ſervitors, take and bind him hand and foot, and caſt him into the outward darkneſs, there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth. Many there be called, but few choſen, &c.*

It is manifeſt, that this wedding garment is charity, without which becauſe *Ananias* entred into the Marriage of Chriſt, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learn and underſtand, that they which have faith and not charity, although they appear to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feign. Such there are no doubt, but they ſhall be excluded from the Marriage of Chriſt, as we ſee this here exemplified in the death of *Ananias* and his Wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of *Peter*. And how ſhould *Peter* then have judged *Ananias* (albeit he had judged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? for why? by the law he had not been guilty of death, for that part which they did fraudulently and diſſemblingly reſerve to themſelves; yea, and if they had ſtolen as much from another man, which was greater; neither yet

for

KING } *Ric. 2.* } Hereby it appeareth, that all his relation in this matter, toucheth only the caſes of hereſy and opinions in Religion.

By this it appeareth again, that his reſpect is only to the Pope and his Prelates of the Church, and not to Magiſtrates.

The counſel of Peter ſlaying *Ananias* and *Saphira* falſly vrged of the Papiſts.

Peter not the cauſe of the death of *Ananias* and *Saphira*

The Wedding garment vvhat it is.

The death of *Ananias* and his Wife, vvhat information it giveth to the Church.

{KING Ric. 2.} for his life committed, he had therefore by that law of juſtice been found guilty of death. Wherefore, if he did not condemn him by the law of juſtice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercy, which he learned of Chriſt. And ſo conſequently, it followeth much more apparent, that *Peter* could not put him to death. Furthermore, to ſay that *Peter* put him to death by the meer motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and ſlanderous to the good fame and name of *Peter*. But if *Peter* did kill him, why then doth the Biſhop of *Rome* which pretendeth to be ſucceſſor of *Peter*, excuſe himſelf and his Prieſts from the judgment of death againſt Hereticks and other offenders, although they themſelves be conſenting to ſuch judgments done by lay men? For, that which was done of *Peter* without offence, may reaſonably excuſe him and his fellow Prieſts from the ſpot of crime, *Acts* 5. It is manifeſt that there was another which did more grievouſly offend than *Ananias*, and that *Peter* rebuked him with more ſharp words; but yet he commanded him not ſo to be put to death. *For Simon Magus alſo remaining at Samaria, after that he believed and was baptiſed, he joyned himſelf with Philip; and when he ſaw that the holy Spirit was given by the Apoſtles (laying their hands upon men) he offered them mony, ſaying; Give unto me this power, that upon whomſoever I ſhall lay my hand, he ſhall receive the Holy Ghoſt. To whom Peter anſwered, Deſtroyed be thou and thy mony together; And for that thou ſuppoſeſt the gift of God to be bought with money, thou ſhalt have neither part nor fellowſhip in this Doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God, therefore repent thee of thy wickedneſs, and pray unto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee: for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickedneſs, and band of iniquity.* Behold here the grievous offence of *Simon*; *Peter*'s hard and ſharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of *Ananias* aforeſaid, proceeded of God and not of *Peter*. Of all theſe things it is to be gathered, ſeeing the judgments of death are not grounded upon the expreſs and plain Scriptures, but only under the ſhadow of the old law, that they are not to be obſerved of Chriſtians becauſe they are contrary to charity. *Ergo*, The Biſhop of *Rome* approving ſuch Judgments, alloweth thoſe that are contrary to the Law and Doctrine of Chriſt, as before is ſaid of Wars, where he approveth and juſtifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of Prieſthood, albeit it doth juſtifie the Judgments to death of the Laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themſelves forbidden to put in execution the ſame Judgments. The Prieſts of the old law being unperfect, when *Pilate* ſaid unto them concerning Chriſt (whom they had accuſed worthy death) take him unto you, *and according to your law judge him*, anſwered, *That it was not lawful for them to put to death any man.*

*Peter* not the cauſe of *Ananias*'s death.

Acts 5.

John 18.

Whereby it appeareth, that our Prieſts, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give judgment of death againſt any offenders; yet notwithſtanding, they claim unto them the power judicial upon offenders: Becauſe, ſay they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confeſſion of the offenders, and to judge upon the ſame being known, and to enjoyn divers penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, ſo that the ſinner may make ſatisfaction, ſay they, unto God for the offences which he never committed. And to confirm unto them this judicial power, they alledge the Scriptures in many places, wreſting it to ſerve their purpoſe.

First, They ſay that the Biſhop of *Rome* (who is the chief Prieſt and Judge among them) hath full power and authority to remit ſins. Whereupon they ſay, that he is able fully and wholly, to abſolve a man *a pœna & culpa*, ſo that if a man at the time of his death, had this remiſſion, he ſhould ſtraightways fly unto Heaven without any pain of Purgatory. The other Biſhops (as they ſay) have not ſo great authority. The Prieſts conſtituted under every Biſhop, have power, ſay they, to abſolve the ſins of them that are confeſſed, but not all kind of ſins: becauſe they are ſome grievous ſins reſerved to the Abſolutions of the Biſhops; and ſome again, to the Abſolution only of the chief and high Biſhop. They ſay alſo, that it beboveth the offenders, for the neceſſity of their ſouls health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifeſt the ſame with all the circumſtances thereof, unto the Prieſt in auricular confeſſion, ſupplying the place of God, after the manner of a Judge; and afterward humbly to fulfil the penance enjoyned unto him by the Prieſt for his ſins, except the ſaid penance ſo enjoyned, or any part thereof, be releaſed by the ſuperiour power. All theſe things (ſay they) are manifeſtly determined, as well in the Decrees as Decretals. And although theſe things have not expreſly their foundation in the plain and manifeſt Doctrine of Chriſt, nor any of the Apoſtles; yet the Authors of the Decrees and Decretals concerning this matter, have grounded the ſame upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the proceſs of Chriſt in the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew* the 16*th Chapter*, Whereupon they ground the Popes power judicial to ſurmount the powers of other Prieſts, as where Chriſt ſaid unto his Diſciples, *Whom do men ſay that I am? And they anſwered, ſome ſay that thou art John Baptiſt, ſome Elias, and ſome Jeremy, or one of the Prophets. To whom he ſaid, but who ſay you that I am? Simon Peter, making anſwer, ſaid, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God. And Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou Simon the Son of Jonas; for fleſh and bloud hath not opened this unto thee; but my Father which is in Heaven. And I ſay unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and Hell gates ſhall not prevail againſt it. And I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon earth, ſhall alſo be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed alſo in Heaven.*

Like a pulled Hen.

Mat. 16.

The Popes uſurped power falſly founded upon Scriptures.

Out of this Text of Chriſt, divers Expoſitions have drawn divers errors. For when Chriſt ſaid, *And I ſay unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*; Some thereupon affirm, that Chriſt meant he would build his Church upon *Peter* by authority of that Text, as it is written in the firſt part of the Decrees, *Diſt. 19. cap. Ita Dominus noſter*. The Expoſition hereof is aſcribed to Pope *Leo*; the error whereof is manifeſtly known. For the Church of Chriſt is not builded upon *Peter*, but upon the Rock of *Peter*'s confeſſion, for that he ſaid, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* And for that Chriſt ſaid ſingularly unto *Peter*, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kindom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind, &c.* By this ſaying they affirm, that Chriſt gave unto *Peter* ſpecially, as chief of the reſt of the Apoſtles, a larger power to bind and to looſe, than he did unto the reſt of the Apoſtles and Diſciples. And becauſe *Peter* anſwered for himſelf and all the Apoſtles, not only confeſſing the faith which he had chiefly above the reſt, but alſo the faith which the reſt of the Apoſtles had even as himſelf, by the revelation of the heavenly Father: it appeareth that as the Faith of all the Apoſtles was declared by the anſwer of one; ſo by this that Chriſt ſaid unto *Peter*, *whatſoever thou ſhalt bind, &c.* is given unto the reſt of the Apoſtles, the ſame power and equality to bind and to looſe, as unto *Peter*. Which Chriſt declareth in the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew*, the 18*th Chapter* in theſe words, *Verily I ſay unto you, what things ſoever you ſhall bind upon earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever you ſhall looſe upon earth, ſhall be alſo looſed in Heaven.* And further he addeth, *And again I ſay unto you, that if two of you ſhall conſent upon earth, and requeſt, whatſoever it be, it ſhall be granted unto you of my Father which is in Heaven, For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midſt of them.* And in *John* the 20*th Chap.* he ſaith generally unto them, *Receive ye my Spirit. Whoſe ſins ye ſhall remit, ſhall be remitted unto them; and whoſe ſins you ſhall retain, ſhall be retained.*

*Dist. 9. c. Ita Dominus noſter.*

The place of Chriſt giving the keys to Peter, *Mat.* 16. aptly expounded.

Mat. 18.

John 20.

By this it appeareth, that the power to bind and to looſe is not ſpecially granted to *Peter*, as chief and head of the reſt; and that by him the reſt had their power to bind and to looſe; for that the head of the body of the Church is one, which is Chriſt, and the head of Chriſt is God. *Peter* and the reſt of the Apoſtles are the good members of the body of Chriſt; receiving power and vertue of Chriſt, whereby they do confirm and glew together the other members (as well the ſtrong and noble, as the weak and unable) to a perfect compoſition and ſeemlineſs of the body of Chriſt;

Chriſt only the head of the Church.

that

that all honour from all parts and members may be given unto Chriſt as Head and Chief, by whom as Head all the
1 Cor. 3. members are governed. And therefore *Paul*, 1 Cor. Ch. 3. *When one man ſaith, I hold of Paul, and another ſaith, I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnal men? For what is Apollo? What is Paul? The Miniſter of him in whom ye have believed, and he as God giveth unto every man. I have planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath given the increaſe. Therefore neither he that planted is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increaſe.*
Gal. 2. And *Paul* to the *Gal.* 2. *God hath no reſpect of perſons. Thoſe that ſeemed to be great and do much, availed or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwiſe, when they ſaw that the Goſpel of the Uncircumciſion was committed unto me, as the Circumciſion unto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, wrought with me alſo among the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was given me, Peter, James and John, ſtraightways joyned themſelves with me and Barnabas: that we among the Gentiles, and they in Circumciſion only might be mindful of the poor, the which to do, I was very careful.*
Act. 9. *Hereby it appeareth that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their ſins, but of him which ſaid unto him, Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? It is hard for thee to kick againſt the prick. Here is Paul of the head of the Church, and not of Peter: By which head they ſay, that all the members are ſuſtained and made lively.*

The third Error.

The third Error which the Authors of the Canons conceive in the ſaid Text of Chriſt, which was ſaid to *Peter*, *Unto thee will I give the Keys*, &c. is this, They ſay that in this ſentence which was ſaid to *Peter* of the authority to bind and looſe, was meant, that as Chriſt gave unto *Peter* above all the reſt of the Apoſtles a ſpecial, and as it were an excellent power above all the Apoſtles; even ſo, ſay they, he gave power unto the Biſhops of *Rome* (whom they call *Peters* chief Succeſſors) the ſame ſpecial power and authority, exceeding the power of all other Biſhops of the world.

Other Apoſtles had like power to bind and to looſe as *Peter* had.

The firſt part of this ſimilitude and compariſon, doth appear manifeſtly by the premiſſes to be erroneous; wherein is plainly ſhewed that the other Apoſtles had equal power with *Peter* to bind and looſe. Wherefore conſequently it followeth the ſecond part of the ſimilitude, grounded upon the ſame Text, to be alſo erroneous. But and if the firſt part of the ſaid ſimilitude were truth, as it is not, yet the ſecond part muſt needs be an error, wherein is ſaid, that the Biſhops of *Rome* are *Peters* chief Succeſſors. For although there be but one Catholick Chriſtian Church, of all the faithful ſort converted; yet the firſt part thereof, and firſt converted, was of the *Jews*, the ſecond of the *Greeks*, and the third part was of the *Romans* or *Latins*. Whereof the firſt part was moſt perfectly converted unto the Faith, for that they faithfully obſerved the perfection of charity, as
Act. 2. appeareth in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, by the multitude of the believers. They were of one heart, and one ſoul, neither called they any thing that they poſſeſſed their own, but all was common amongſt them.
Rom. 1. Hereupon *Paul* to the *Romans*: Salutation to every believer, firſt to the *Jew*, and to the *Greeks* after the *Jews*. The *Greeks* were the ſecond, and after the *Jews* next converted, and after them the *Romans*, taking their information of the *Greeks*, as appeareth by the Chronicles, although indeed ſome *Romans* were converted unto the faith by *Peter* and *Paul*. And as Chriſt ſaid thrice unto *Peter*,

Peter ruled three Churches.

*Feed my ſheep*, ſo *Peter* ruled theſe three Churches, as witneſſeth the Chronicles. But firſt he reformed the Church of the *Jews* in *Jeruſalem* and *Judea*, as appeareth by the
Act. 1. teſtimony of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. For *Act.* 1. it is manifeſt how *Peter* ſtanding up amongſt his Brethren, ſpake unto them concerning the election of an Apoſtle in the place of *Judas* the Traytor, alledging places unto them out of the Scripture, that another ſhould take upon him his Apoſtleſhip. And ſo by lot was *Matthias* conſtituted in
Act. 2. the twelfth place of *Judas*, *Act.* 2. After that the Holy Ghoſt was come upon the Apoſtles, and that they ſpake with the Tongues of all men, the hearers were aſtonied at the miracle. And ſome mocked them, ſaying, Theſe men are full of new wine: But *Peter* ſtood up and ſpake unto them, ſaying, That it was fulfilled in them that was prophe-

{KING Ric. 2.}

ſied by *Joel* the Prophet, And he preached unto the people Chriſt, whom they of ignorance had put to death. To whom was a Saviour promiſed by the teſtimony of the Prophets. And when they heard the words of *Peter*, they were pricked at the heart, ſaying unto him and the reſt of the Apoſtles, What ſhall we then do? And *Peter* ſaid unto them, Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jeſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of your ſins, and ye ſhall receive the Holy Ghoſt. And there were joyned unto them the ſame day about three thouſand ſouls. And
Act. 3. 4, 5. it appeareth that *Peter* above the reſt did thoſe things which belonged to the Miniſtry of the Apoſtleſhip, as well in preaching as in anſwering. Whereupon ſome Chronicles ſay, that *Peter* governed the Church of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, four years before he governed *Antioch*. And by the teſtimony of *Paul* to the *Galathians* as before is ſaid, the Goſpel of the Uncircumciſion is committed to *Paul*, even as the Circumciſion to *Peter*. And he that wrought with *Peter* in the Apoſtleſhip of Circumciſion, wrought with *Paul* amongſt the Gentiles. Whereby it appeareth that the Church of the *Jews* was committed to the Government of *Peter*. *And in the proceſs of the Acts of the Apoſtles it appeareth, that Peter believed that the Faith of Chriſt was not to be preached unto thoſe Gentiles, which always lived in uncleanneſs of Idolatry. But when Peter was at Joppe, Cornelius a Gentile ſent unto him that he would come and ſhew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before the coming of the meſſengers of Cornelius) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell in a trance, and ſaw heaven open, and a certain veſſel deſcending even as a great ſheet, letten down by four corners from heaven to earth. In the which were all manner of four-footed beaſts, ſerpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice ſpake unto him, ſaying, Ariſe Peter, kill and eat: and Peter ſaid, Not ſo Lord, becauſe I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done thrice. And Peter deſcended (not knowing what the viſion did ſignifie) and found the meſſengers of Cornelius.*

Act. 3. 4, 5.

Peter governed the Church at Jeruſalem before he governed Antioch. Gal. 2.

As concerning the authority judicial of the Clergy, many things are written thereof in the Canons of Decrees, greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The Authors of the Canons ſay, That Chriſt gave unto the Prieſts power judicial over ſinners that confeſſed their ſins unto them. And this they ground upon the Text of Chriſt: *I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou looſeſt*, &c. And theſe Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, they call the knowledg to diſcern, and the power to judg, which they ſay only belongeth to the Prieſts, except in caſe of ſucceſſion, then they ſay a lay-man may abſolve a man from ſin. And as touching abſolution, they ſay there are three things to be required on the ſinners part: Firſt, hearty contrition, whereby the ſinners ought to bewail their offending of God through ſins: The ſecond is, Auricular confeſſion, whereby the ſinner ought to ſhew unto the Prieſt his ſins, and the circumſtances of them: The third is ſatisfaction through penance injoyned unto him by the Prieſt for his ſins committed. And of his part that giveth abſolution there are two things (ſay they) to be required: That is to ſay, knowledg to diſcern one ſin from another, whereby he ought to make a difference of ſins, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantity of the ſins. The ſecond is, authority to judg, whereby he ought to injoyn penance to the offender. And further they ſay, that he that is confeſſed ought with all humility to ſubmit himſelf to the authority, and wholly and voluntarily to do thoſe penances which are commanded him by the Prieſt, except the ſaid penance be releaſed by a ſuperior power: for all Prieſts (as they ſay) have not equal authority to abſolve ſins. The chief Prieſt whom they call *Peters* Succeſſor, hath power fully and wholly to abſolve. But the inferior Prieſts have power, ſome more, ſome leſs. The more as they are next him in dignity, the leſs as they are farther from the degree of his dignity. All this is declared by proceſs in the Decrees, but not by the expreſs Doctrine of Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles. For although Chriſt abſolved men from their ſins, I do not find that he did it after the manner of a Judg, but of a Saviour. For Chriſt ſaith, God ſent not his Son into the world to judg ſinners, but that the world ſhould be ſaved by him, *Joh.* 3. *Whereupon he ſpake unto him whom he healed of the palſie, Behold thou art made whole, go thy*

The Keys of Chriſts Kingdom.

Abſolution. Three things required in Popiſh Abſolution. Contrition. Confeſſion. Satisfaction.

Two things required on his part that giveth Popiſh Abſolution.

Decret de pœnitentia.

Joh. 3.

KING Ric. 2. *ways and ſin no more.* And to the woman taken in adultery Chriſt ſaid, *Woman, where be thy accuſers? hath no man*
Joh. 5. *condemned thee?* who ſaid, *No man, Lord.* To whom then Jeſus thus ſaid, *No more will I condemn thee, go and now ſin no more.*

By which words and deeds of Chriſt, and many other places of the Scripture it appeareth he was not as a Judg at his firſt coming, to puniſh ſinners according to the quantity of their offences; but that day ſhall come hereafter, wherein he ſhall judg all men according to their works, as
Mat. 25. in *Mat.* 25. where he ſaith, *When the Son of man ſhall come in his Majeſty, and all his Angels with him; then ſhall he ſit upon the ſeat of his Majeſty, and all Nations ſhall be gathered together before him, and he ſhall ſeparate them one from another, as a ſhepherd ſeparateth the ſheep from the goats, &c.* Neither ſhall he judg alone, but his Saints
The Saints ſhall judg with Chriſt. alſo with him. For he ſaith, *You that have followed me in this generation, when the Son of man ſhall ſit in the ſeat of his Majeſty, ſhall ſit alſo upon twelve ſeats, and judg the twelve Tribes of Iſrael.* If then Chriſt came not as a Judg, why do the Prieſts ſay that they ſupply the room of Chriſt on earth, to judg ſinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to be marvelled at, how the Biſhop of *Rome* dareth to take upon him to be a Judg before the day of Judgment, and to prevent the time, judging ſome to be Saints in Heaven, and to be honoured of men, and ſome again to be tormented in Hell eternally with the Divels? Would God
1 Cor. 4. theſe men would weigh the ſaying of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 4. *Judg ye not before the time until the coming of the Lord, who ſhall make light the dark and ſecret places, and diſcloſe the ſecrets of hearts, and then every one ſhall have his praiſe.* Let the Biſhop of *Rome* take heed, leſt that in *Ezekiel* be ſpoken by him, *Becauſe thy heart is elevate, and thou ſaidſt unto thy ſelf, I am God, I have ſitten in the ſeat of God, and in the heart of the Sea, when thou art but man, and not God.* It is manifeſt that the remiſſion of ſins principally belongeth to God, who through grace waſheth away our ſins. For it is ſaid, *The Lamb of God taketh away the ſins of the world.* And unto Chriſtians it belong-
Joh. 20. eth as the Miniſters of God. For in the 20*th* of *John*, Chriſt ſaith, *Receive unto you the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſins you ſhall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſe ſins you ſhall retain, they are retained.* Seeing therefore that all Chriſtians that are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, receive the Holy Ghoſt; it appeareth that they have power given to them
The miniſterial power to remit ſin, belongeth as well to our Prieſt as to another. of Chriſt to remit ſins Miniſterially. Hath not every Chriſtian authority to baptize? and in the Baptiſm all the ſins of the baptiſed are remitted. *Ergo*, they that do baptize do remit ſins. And thus Miniſterially all ſuch have power to remit ſins. Therefore to ſay that one man hath more authority to remit ſins than all other Chriſtians have, is too much to extoll him, and to place him even in Gods ſeat. I pray you how are the ſins remitted him that is baptized of the Prieſt (yea although he were of the Pope himſelf baptized) more than if he were baptized of another Chriſtian? Surely I think no more. For ſeeing that before Baptiſm he remaineth a ſinner, and of the Kingdom of the Devil by ſin, after Baptiſm he entreth into the Kingdom of Heaven; it appeareth that he that doth baptize, openeth the Gate of the Kingdom of Heaven to him that is baptized; the
The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. which he cannot do without the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptize hath the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; as well the inferior Prieſt as the Pope. But theſe Keys are not the knowledg to diſcern, and power to judg, becauſe theſe do nothing avail in Baptiſm. *Ergo*, There are other Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven than theſe. Wherefore it ſeemeth that the Authors of the Canons erred in miſtaking the Keys, whereupon they ground the Authority Judicial of the Clergy.
The Keys in the Popes Canons.

Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore in my judgment it ſeemeth that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven
Faith and Hope be the Keys of Heaven. are Faith and Hope. For by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and hope in him for the remiſſion of ſins, we enter the Kingdom of Heaven. This faith is a ſpiritual water, ſpringing from Jeſus Chriſt the fountain of wiſdom, wherein the ſoul of the ſinner is waſhed from ſin. With this water were the faithful Patriarchs baptized before the Law, and the faithful people of the *Hebrews*, and the faithful Chriſtians after the Law. Wherefore I greatly marvel of that ſaying in the Decrees, which is aſcribed unto *Auguſtine*, That little children that are not baptized ſhall be tormented with eternal fire, although they were born of faithful Parents that wiſhed them with all their hearts to have been baptized; as though the Sacrament of Baptiſm in water were ſimply neceſſary to Salvation, when nevertheleſs many Chriſtians are ſaved without this kind of Baptiſm, as Martyrs. If that kind of Sacrament be not neceſſary to one of elder years, how then is it neceſſary to an Infant born of the faithful? Are not all baptiſed with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire? But yet not with material fire: no more is the lotion of water corporally neceſſary to waſh away ſins, but only ſpiritual water, that is to ſay, the water of Faith. Are not the quick baptiſed for them that are dead? as witneſſeth *Paul*,
1 Cor. 15 1 Cor. 15. *If the dead riſe not at all, why are the living then baptized for them?* If the living be baptized for the dead, why then is not the Infant ſaved by the Baptiſm of his Parents; ſeeing the Infant it ſelf is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require Baptiſm? Chriſt ſaith, *He that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved.* He ſaith not, He that is not baptized, but he that believeth not ſhall be damned. Wherefore in the 12*th* Chapter of *John*, Chriſt
Joh. 12. ſaith, *I am the reſurrection and life, he that believeth in me, yea, although he were dead, ſhall live.* The faith therefore is neceſſary which the Infant hath in his faithful parents, although he be not waſhed with corporal water. How then is the Infant damned and tormented with eternal fire? Were not they that were before the coming of Chriſt, and dead before his death by a thouſand years, ſaved alſo by his death and paſſion? All that believed in him were baptized in his blood, and ſo were ſaved and redeemed from ſin, and the bondage of the Devil, and made partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven. How then in the time of Grace ſhall the Infant be damned that is born of faithful parents, that do not deſpiſe, but rather deſire to have their children baptized? I dare not conſent to ſo hard a ſentence of the Decrees; but rather believe that he is ſaved by vertue of the Paſſion of Chriſt, in faith of his faithful parents, and the hope which they have in Chriſt. Which faith and hope are the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom. God were not juſt and merciful, if he would condemn a man that believeth not in him, except he ſhewed unto him the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Chriſt ſaith, *If I had not come and ſpoken unto them, ſin could not have been laid unto their charge, but now they have no excuſe of ſin.* Therefore ſeeing the faith of Chriſt is not
Children departing before Baptiſm not condemned. manifeſt unto the Infant departing before Baptiſm, neither hath he denied it; how then ſhall he be damned for the ſame? But if God ſpeaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the Infant, as he ſpeaketh unto Angels; who then knoweth (ſave God alone) whether the Infant receiveth or not receiveth the Faith of Chriſt?

What is he therefore that ſo raſhly doth take upon him to judg the Infants begotten of faithful parents, dying without Baptiſm, to be tormented with eternal fire? Now let us conſider the three things which the Canons of Decrees affirm to be requiſite for the remiſſion of the ſins of thoſe that ſin after Baptiſm: that is to ſay, contrition of heart,
Auricular confeſſion. Auricular confeſſion, and ſatisfaction of the deed through penance enjoyned by the Prieſt for the ſins committed. I cannot find in any place in the Goſpel, where Chriſt commanded that this kind of confeſſion ſhould be done unto the Prieſt; nor can I find that Chriſt aſſigned any penance unto ſinners for their ſins, but that he willed them to ſin no more. If a ſinner confeſs that he hath offended God through ſin, and ſorroweth heartily for his offences, minding hereafter no more to ſin; then is he truly repentant for his ſin, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he ſhall then humbly and with good hope crave mercy at God and remiſſion of his ſins: what is he that can lett God to abſolve that ſinner from his ſin? And as God abſolveth a ſinner from his ſin, ſo hath Chriſt abſolved many, although they confeſſed not their ſins unto the Prieſts, and although they received not due penance for their ſins. And if Chriſt could after that manner once abſolve ſinners; how is he become now not able to abſolve? Except ſome man will ſay that he is above Chriſt, and that his power is miniſhed by the ordinances of his own Laws. How were ſinners abſolved of God in the time of the Apoſtles, and always hereto-

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tofore, unto the time that theſe Canons were made? I ſpeak not theſe things as though confeſſion to Prieſts were wicked, but that it is not of neceſſity requiſite unto Salvation. I believe verily that the confeſſion of ſins unto good Prieſts, and likewiſe to other faithful Chriſtians, is good, as witneſſeth St. *James* the Apoſtle, *Confeſs ye your ſelves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be ſaved; for the continual prayer of the juſt availeth much. Elias was a man that ſuffered many things like unto you, and he prayed that it ſhould not rain upon the earth, and it rained not in three years and ſix months. And again he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit.* This kind of confeſſion is good, profitable and expedient; for if God peradventure heareth not a mans own prayer, he is helped with the interceſſion of others. Yet nevertheleſs the prayers of the Prieſts ſeem too much to be extolled in the Decrees, where it treateth of Penitence, and that ſaying is aſcribed unto Pope *Leo*, *Cap. multiplex miſericordia Dei*, &c. And it followeth, So is it ordained by the Providence of Gods Divine Will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the Prieſts, *&c.* The prayer of a good Prieſt doth much avail a ſinner, confeſſing his faults unto him. The counſel of a diſcreet Prieſt is very profitable for a ſinner, to give the ſinner counſel to beware hereafter to ſin, and to inſtruct him how he ſhall puniſh his body by faſting, by watching, and ſuch like acts of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preſerved from ſin.

Jam. 5.

*De pœnit. Diſt. 1. Cap. Multiplex miſericordia Dei.*

After this manner I eſteem confeſſion to Prieſts very expedient and profitable to a ſinner. But to confeſs ſins unto the Prieſt as unto a Judg, and to receive of him corporal penance for a ſatisfaction unto God for his ſins committed; I ſee not how this can be found upon the truth of the Scripture. For before the coming of Chriſt, no man was ſufficient or able to make ſatisfaction unto God for his ſins, although he ſuffered never ſo much penance for his ſins. And therefore it was needful that he that was without ſin, ſhould be puniſhed for ſins, as witneſſeth *Eſay*, Chapter fifty three, where he ſaith, *He took our griefs upon him, and our ſorrows he bare.* And again, *He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickedneſs.* And again, *The Lord put upon him our iniquity.* And again, *For the wickedneſs of my people have I ſtricken him.* If therefore Chriſt through his Paſſion hath made ſatisfaction for our ſins, whereas we our ſelves were unable to do it; then through him have we grace and remiſſion of ſins. How can we ſay now that we are ſufficient to make ſatisfaction unto God by any penance injoyned unto us by mans authority, ſeeing that our ſins are more grievous after Baptiſm, than they were before the coming of Chriſt? Therefore as in Baptiſm the pain of Chriſt in his paſſion was a full ſatisfaction for our ſins; even ſo after Baptiſm, if we confeſs that we have offended, and be heartily ſorry for our ſins, and mind not to ſin again afterwards.

Eſay 53.

1 Joh. 1. Hereupon *John* writeth in his firſt Epiſtle, *Ch. 1. If we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and the truth is not in us. If we confeſs our ſins, God is faithful and juſt, he will remit them, and cleanſe us from all our iniquities. If we ſay we have not ſinned we make him a lyer, and his word is not in us. My welbeloved children, thus I write unto you that ye ſin not; but if any man ſin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſins, and not for our ſins only, but for the ſins of the whole world.* Therefore we ought to confeſs our ſelves chiefly unto God even from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit ſins, without whoſe abſolution little availeth the abſolution of man. This kind of confeſſion is profitable and good. The Authors of the Canons ſay, that although Auricular confeſſion made unto the Prieſt, be not expreſly taught by Chriſt, yet ſay they it is taught in that ſaying which Chriſt ſaid unto the diſeaſed of the leproſie, whom he commanded, *Go your ways and ſhew your ſelves unto the Prieſts:* becauſe as they ſay, the law of cleanſing Lepers, which was given by *Moſes*, ſignified the confeſſions of ſins unto the Prieſt. And whereas Chriſt commanded the Lepers to ſhew themſelves unto the Prieſts, they ſay, that Chriſt meant that thoſe that were unclean with the leproſie of ſin, ſhould ſhew their ſins unto the Prieſts by Auricular confeſſion. I marvel much at the Authors of the Canons; for even from the beginning of their Decrees unto the end, they ground their ſayings upon the old Law, which was the Law of ſin, and death, and not (as witneſſeth *Paul*) upon the words of Chriſt, which are ſpirit and life. Chriſt ſaith, *The words which I ſpeak unto you, are the Spirit and Life.* They ground their ſayings in the ſhadow of the Law, and not in the light of Chriſt; for every evil doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reproved; but he that doth the truth cometh into the light, that his works may be openly ſeen, becauſe they are done in God. *Joh. 3.*

1 Joh. 1.

Confeſſion unto God.

Auricular confeſſion not truly grounded upon the Scripture.

Luk. 17.

The Authors of the Canon-Law reproved.

KING Kic. 2. 3

Joh. 3.

Now let us paſs to the words that Chriſt ſpake to the Leper, *Lord if thou wilt, thou canſt make me clean. And Jeſus ſtretching forth his hand touched him, ſaying, I will be thou clean; and ſtraightways he was cleanſed of his lepry. And Jeſus ſaid unto him, See thou tell no man, but go and ſhew thy ſelf to the Prieſts, and offer the gifts that Moſes commanded for a witneſs of theſe things.* This Goſpel witneſſeth plainly, that the diſeaſed of the Lepers were cleanſed only by Chriſt, and not by the Prieſts, neither did Chriſt command the Leper to ſhew himſelf unto the Prieſts, for any help of cleanſing that he ſhould receive of the Prieſts; but to fulfill the Law of *Moſes*, in offering a ſacrifice for his cleanſing, and for a teſtimony unto the Prieſts, who always of envy accuſed Chriſt as a tranſgreſſor of the Law. For if Chriſt after he had cleanſed the Leper, had licenſed him to communicate with others that were clean, before he had ſhewed himſelf cleanſed unto the Prieſts, then might the Prieſts have accuſed Chriſt as a tranſgreſſor of the Law; becauſe it was a precept of the Law, that the Leper after he was cleanſed, ſhould ſhew himſelf unto the Prieſts. And they had ſigns in the Book of the Law, whereby they might judg whether he were truly cleanſed or no. And if he were cleanſed, then would the Prieſts offer a gift for his cleanſing: and if he were not cleanſed, then would they ſegregate him from the company of others that were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be aſſimulated unto the thing that is figured; I pray you then what agreement is there between the cleanſing of Lepers by the Law, and the confeſſion of ſins? By that Law the Prieſt knew better whether he were leprous than he himſelf that had the lepry. In confeſſion the Prieſt knew not the ſins of him that was confeſſed, but by his own confeſſion. In that Law the Prieſt did not cleanſe the leprous. How now therefore ought the Prieſts to cleanſe ſinners from their ſin, and that without them they cannot be cleanſed? In this Law the Prieſt had certain ſigns, by the which he could certainly know whether a man were cleanſed from his lepry or not. In confeſſion the Prieſt is not certain of the cleanſing of ſins, becauſe he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not alſo whether he will not ſin any more; without the which contrition and granting to ſin no more, God hath not abſolved any ſinner. And if God hath not abſolved a man, without doubt then is he not made clean. And how then is confeſſion figured under that Law? Doubtleſs ſo it ſeemeth to me (under the correction of them that can judg better in the matter) that this Law beareth rather a figure of Excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obſtinate in his ſin, and is reconciled again. For ſo it appeareth by the proceſs of the Goſpel, that when as the ſinner doth not amend for the private correction of his Brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publick correction of the whole Church; then is he to be counted as an Ethnick and a Publican, and as a certain Leper to be avoided out of the company of all men. Which ſinner notwithſtanding, if he ſhall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, becauſe he is then cleanſed from his obſtinacy.

Luk. 5.

The laws of the primitive Church pounded, for make nothing for Auricular confeſſion.

The cleanſing of the Leper, and the cleanſing of the Prieſt in Auricular confeſſion agree not.

But he which pretendeth himſelf to be the chief Vicar of Chriſt, and the high Prieſt, ſaith that he hath power to abſolve *a pœna & culpa*. Which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he injoyneth to ſinners penance for their ſins. And grant that from their ſins he may well abſolve them, yet from the pain (which they call *a pœna*) he doth not ſimply abſolve, as in his Indulgences he promiſeth. But if he were in charity, and had ſuch power as he pretendeth, he would ſuffer none to lie in Purgatory for ſin, forſomuch as that pain doth far exceed all other pain which here we ſuffer.

The Popes power in abſolving from ſins, not founded in Scripture. The Pope can abſolve none from puniſhment.

What

{KING Ric. 2.}

What man is there being in charity, but if he ſee his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the Pope then to deliver out of pains of Purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poor. And if he ſell to the rich his Indulgences, doublewiſe, yea triplewiſe he ſeduceth them. Firſt, in promiſing them to deliver them out of the pain from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them; and ſo maketh them falſly to believe that which they ought not to believe. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his Indulgences. Thirdly, he ſeduceth them in this, that he promiſing to deliver them from pain, doth induce them into grievous puniſhment indeed, for the hereſie of ſimony, which both of them do commit, and therefore are worthy both of great pain to fall upon them; for ſo we read that Jeſus caſt out buyers and ſellers out of his Temple. Alſo *Peter* ſaid unto *Simon* the firſt Author of this Hereſie, *Thy money*, ſaid he, *with thee be deſtroyed, for that thou haſt thought the gift of God to be poſſeſſed for money*. Moreover, whereas Chriſt ſaith, *Freely you have received, freely give*. And whereas contrary the Pope doth ſell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievouſly deſerve to be puniſhed, both he that ſelleth, and he that buyeth, for the crime of ſimony which they commit? Over and beſides, by many reaſons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not abſolve a man contrite for his ſins, although he do abſolve him from the guilt.

The Pope in his Pardons deceiveth men three manner of ways.

The Pope promiſing pardons for ſins, inducеth men to ſin in ſimony.

But this marvelleth me, that he in his Indulgences promiſeth to abſolve men from all manner of deadly ſins, and yet cannot abſolve a man from debt; foraſmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance than is the debt of our Brother. Wherefore if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it ſhould ſeem that he is able to forgive the debt of our Brother.

Deadly ſin and debt. The Pope ſaith he can remit the debt to God: and yet cannot remit the debt to man.

Another thing there is that I marvel at, for that the Pope ſheweth himſelf more ſtrait in abſolving a Prieſt for not ſaying, or negligently ſaying his Mattens, than for tranſgreſſing the Commandment of God; conſidering that the tranſgreſſion of the Commandment of God, is much more grievous than the breach of mans Commandment.

The Pope [illegible] for breaking the Commandment of God. Abſolution to be ſought at the hands of God only.

For theſe and many other errors concurring in this matter of the Popes abſolutions; bleſſed be God, and honour be unto him for the remiſſion of our ſins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he doth and will abſolve us from our ſins, if we be ſorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpoſe and Will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to reſort [illegible] Prieſts, who with wholeſome diſcretion and ſound counſel can inſtruct us, how to avoid the corruption of ſin hereafter. And which, becauſe they are better than we, may pray to God for us; whereby we may both obtain more ſooner the remiſſion of our ſins paſt, and alſo may learn better how to avoid the danger of ſin to come. *Ex Regiſtro Latino Epiſc. Hereford.*

*Ex Regiſt. Latino Epiſ. Hereford.*

Notes.

*And thus much concerning the judgment and doctrine of this* Walter *for Chriſtian patience, charity and mercy; which as they be true and infallible notes and marks of true Chriſtianity; ſo the ſaid* Walter Brute, *making compariſon herein between Chriſt and the Pope, goeth about purpoſely to declare and manifeſt; whereby all men may ſee what contrariety there is between the rule of Chriſts teaching, and the proceedings of the Pope, between the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether given to peace; ſo is the other on the contrary ſide as much diſpoſed to wars, murther, and bloodſhed, as is eaſie to be ſeen; whoſo looketh not upon the outward ſhews and pretenſed words of theſe* Romiſh *Popes, but adviſeth and conſidereth the inward practices and ſecret works of them, ſhall eaſily eſpie under the vizour of peace, what diſcord and debate they work; who bearing outwardly the meek horns of the Lamb mentioned in the* Apocalyps, *within do bear the bowels of a Wolf, full of cruelty, murther, and bloodſhed. Whichif any do think to be ſpoken of me contumelioufly, would God that man could prove as well the ſame to be ſpoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I ſpeak it ſincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of Hiſtories both old and new. Thus under* in Dei nomine, Amen, *how unmercifully doth the Pope condemn his brother! And while he pretended not to be lawful for him to kill any man, what thouſands hath he killed of men? And likewiſe in this ſentence, pretending* in viſceribus Jeſu Chriſti, *as though he would be a Mediator to the Magiſtrate for the party; yet indeed will he be ſure to Excommunicate the Magiſtrate, if he execute not the ſentence given. Who be true Hereticks the Lord when he cometh ſhall judg. But give them to be Hereticks whom, he condemneth for Hereticks, yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing but burning, fagotting, drowning, priſoning, chaining, famiſhing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatning, reviling, curſing, and oppreſſing, and no inſtructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can ſay? The like cruelty alſo may in their Wars appear, if we conſider how Pope* Urban *the Fifth, beſides the racking and murdering of ſeven or eight Cardinals, ſet up* Henry Spencer *Biſhop of* Norwich, *to fight againſt the* French *Pope.* Innocentius *the Fourth was in war himſelf againſt the* Apulians. *Likewiſe* Alexander *the Fourth his Succeſſor ſtirred up the Son of King* Henry *the Third to fight againſt the Son of* Frederick *the Second, Emperor, for* Apulia. Boniface *the Eighth moved* Albertus *(which ſtood to be Emperor) to drive* Philip *the* French *King out of his Realm.* Gregorius *the Ninth excited* Ludovick *the* French *King three ſundry times to mortal war againſt the Earl* Raimundus *and City of* Tholouſe, *and* Avinion, *where* Lewes *the ſaid* French *King died.* Honorius *the Third, by ſtrength of War many ways reſiſted* Frederick *the Second, and ſet out thirty five Gallies againſt the coaſts of the Emperors Dominions. The ſame Pope alſo beſieged* Ferraria. *To paſs over the War at* Ticinum, *with many other battels and conflicts of Popes againſt the* Romans, Venetians, *and divers other Nations.* Innocentius *the Third ſet up* Philip *the* French *King to War againſt King* John. *What ſtir Pope* Gregorius *the Seventh, otherwiſe named* Hildebrand, *kept againſt the Emperor* Henricus *the Fourth, it is not unknown. And who is able to recite all the Wars, Battels, and Fields fought by the ſtirring up of the Pope? Theſe with many other like examples conſidered, did cauſe this* Walter Brute *to write in this matter ſo as he did, making yet thereof no univerſal propoſition, but that Chriſtian Magiſtrates in caſe of neceſſity might make reſiſtance in defence of publick right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.*

Examples, declaring what Wars have been ſtirred up by Popes.

Touching the matter (ſaith he) of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my judgment upon the ſame, I firmly believe whatſoever the Lord Jeſus taught implicitely or expreſly to his Diſciples, and faithful people to be believed. For he is (as I believe and know) the true Bread of God which deſcended from Heaven, and giveth life to the world. Of which Bread whoſoever eateth, ſhall live for ever; as it is in the ſixth of *John* declared. Before the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, although men did live in body, yet in ſpirit they did not live; becauſe all men were then under ſin, whoſe ſouls thereby were dead; from the which death no man by the Law, nor with the Law was juſtified: *For by the works of the law ſhall no fleſh be juſtified*, Gal. 2. And again in the ſame Epiſtle, *Chap. 3. That by the law no man is juſtified before God it is manifeſt: for the juſt man ſhall live by his faith; the law is not of faith; but whoſoever hath the works thereof, ſhall live in them.* And again in the ſame Chapter, *If the law had been given, which might have juſtified, then our righteouſneſs had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under ſin, that the promiſe might be ſure by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt to all believers. Moreover, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our Schoolmaſter in Chriſt Jeſus, that we ſhould be juſtified by faith.* Alſo the ſaid *Paul*, Rom. 5. ſaith, *That the law entred in the mean time, whereby that ſin might more abound. Where then ſin hath more abounded, there hath alſo grace ſuperabounded; that like as ſin hath reigned unto death, ſo that grace might alſo reign by righteouſneſs unto eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Whereby it is manifeſt that by the faith which we have in Chriſt, believing him to be the true Son of God which came

Joh. 6.

Gal. 2.

Juſtification by faith, and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

down

down from Heaven to redeem us from ſin, we are juſtified from ſin; and ſo do live by him which is the true bread and meat of the ſoul. And the bread which Chriſt gave is his fleſh given for the life of the world, *Joh. 6.* For he being God, came down from Heaven, and being truly carnal man, did ſuffer in the fleſh for our ſins, which in his Divinity he could not ſuffer. Wherefore like as we believe by our Faith that he is true God: ſo muſt we alſo believe that he is a true man. And then do we eat the bread of Heaven, and the fleſh of Chriſt. And if we believe that he did voluntarily ſhed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

Joh. 6.

True eating of Chriſt is true believing in him.

Eating of the fleſh of Chriſt, what it is.

And thus except we eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and ſhall drink his blood, we have not eternal life in us; becauſe the fleſh of Chriſt verily is meat, and his blood is drink indeed, and whoſoever eateth the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinketh his blood, abideth in Chriſt, and Chriſt in him, *Joh. 6.* And as in this world the ſouls of the faithful live, and are refreſhed ſpiritually with this Heavenly bread, and with the fleſh and blood of Chriſt; ſo in the world to come, the ſame ſhall live eternally in Heaven, refreſhed with the Deity of Jeſus Chriſt, as touching the moſt principal part thereof, that is to wit, *Intellectum*; foraſmuch as this bread of Heaven in that it is God, hath in it ſelf all delectable pleaſantneſs. And as touching the intelligible powers of the ſame (as well exterior as interior) they are refreſhed with the fleſh (that is to ſay) with the humanity of Jeſus Chriſt; which is as a Queen ſtanding on the right hand of God, decked with a Golden robe of divers colours; for this Queen of Heaven alone by the Word of God is exalted above the company of all the Angels; that by her all our corporal power intellective, may fully be refreſhed, as is our ſpiritual intelligence, with the beholding of the Deity of Jeſus Chriſt, and even as the Angels ſhall we be fully ſatisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, preſent in this world, and in the world to come, hath Chriſt given unto us (for eternal bleſſedneſs) the Sacrament of his body and blood in the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine; as it appeareth in *Mat. 26. As the Diſciples ſat at Supper, Jeſus took bread and bleſſed it, brake it, and gave it unto his Diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body: And he took the Cup, and thanked, and gave it them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this, this is my Blood of the New Teſtament which ſhall be ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins.* And *Luke* in his Goſpel, *Chap.22.* of this matter thus writeth, *And after he had taken the bread, he gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, ſaying, This is my body which ſhall be given for you, do you this in my remembrance. In like manner he took the Cup after Supper, ſaying, This is the Cup of the New Teſtament in my Blood, which ſhall be ſhed for you.* That Chriſt ſaid, this is my body, in ſhewing to them the bread, I firmly believe, and know that it is true: That Chriſt (forſomuch as he is God) is the very truth it ſelf, and by conſequence all that he ſaith is true. And I believe that the very ſame was his body, in ſuch wiſe as he willed it to be his body; for in that he is Almighty, he hath done whatſoever pleaſed him: And as in *Cana* of *Galilee* he changed the water into wine really, ſo that after the Tranſubſtantiation, it was wine and not water: So when he ſaid, This is my Body, if he would have had the bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into his very body, ſo that after this changing it ſhould have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it muſt needs have been ſo. But I find not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any ſuch real Tranſubſtantiation or Mutation.

Mat. 26.

Luk. 22.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well gentle Reader.

And as the Lord God Omnipotent, in his perfection Eſſential being the Son of God, doth exceed the moſt pure Creature, and yet when it pleaſed him he took upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man; ſo that after this aſſuming of our ſubſtance, he was really very God, and very man; even ſo, if he would when he ſaid, This is my body, he could make this to be his body really, the bread ſtill really remaining as it was before. For leſs is the difference of the eſſence between bread and the body of a man, than between the Deity and Humanity, becauſe that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood; of the blood, natural ſeed; and of natural ſeed the natural ſubſtance of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man, this is an action ſupernatural. Wherefore he that could make one man to be very God, and very man, could if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expreſly in the Scripture, that he would any ſuch Identitie or conjunction to be made. And as Chriſt ſaid, I am very bread, not changing his eſſence or being into the eſſence or ſubſtance of bread, but was the ſaid Chriſt which he was before really, and yet bread by a ſimilitude or figurative ſpeech; ſo if he would, it might be, when he ſaid, This is my body, that this ſhould really have been the bread as it was before, and Sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this ſeemeth unto me moſt nearly to agree to the meaning of Chriſt, forſomuch as he ſaid, Do this in remembrance of me. Then foraſmuch as in the Supper it is manifeſt that Chriſt gave unto his Diſciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouths: in which bread he gave himſelf alſo unto them, as one in whom they ſhould believe (as to be the food of the ſoul) and by that faith they ſhould believe him to be their Saviour which took his body, wherein alſo he would it to be manifeſt, that he would redeem them from death; ſo was the bread eaten with the Diſciples mouths, that he, being the true bread of the ſoul, might be in ſpirit received and eaten ſpiritually by their faith which believed in him.

{KING Ric. 2.}

Bread by ſimilitude.

Bread ſubſtantially, and the body Sacramentally.

The bread which in the Diſciples mouths was chewed, from the mouth paſſed to the ſtomach. For as Chriſt ſaith, *Whatſoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the privy*, Mat. 15. But that true and very bread of the ſoul was eaten of the ſpirit of the Diſciples, and by faith entred their minds, and abode in their intrails through love. And ſo the bread broken, ſeemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but Sacramentally to be the body of Chriſt, as *Paul*, 1 Cor. 10. *The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord?* So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lords body. And it is manifeſt that the Heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is ſubject to ſuch breaking. Therefore *Paul* calleth the material bread which is broken, body of Chriſt which the faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not his eſſence, but is bread really, and is the body of Chriſt Sacramentally. Even as Chriſt is the very Vine, abiding really and figuratively the Vine: ſo the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was really the material Temple, and figuratively it was the body of Chriſt; becauſe he ſaid, *Deſtroy you this Temple, and in three days I will repair the ſame again.* And this ſpake he of the Temple of his body; whereas others underſtood it to be the material Temple, as appeared by their anſwer. *For*, ſaid they, *forty ſeven years hath this Temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three days?*

The bread which the Lord gave entereth not into the bodies, but the body which he gave entereth into the minds of the Diſciples. *Paul* calleth it material bread.

Note Reader.

Even ſo may the conſecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet figuratively the body of Chriſt. And if therefore Chriſt would this bread to be only Sacramentally his body, and would not have the ſame bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into his body, and ſo ordained his Prieſts to make this Sacrament as a memorial of his paſſion; then do the Prieſts grievouſly offend, which beſeech Chriſt in the holy Maſs, that the bread which lyeth upon the Altar may be made really the body of Chriſt, if he would not have the ſame to be but a Sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceived themſelves, and alſo do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really Tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, or is only the body of Chriſt Sacramentally; no doubt but that the people are marvellouſly deceived. For the people believe that they ſee the body of Chriſt, nay rather Chriſt himſelf between the hands of the Prieſts (for ſo is the common Oath they ſwear) By him whom I ſaw this day between the Prieſts hands. And the people believe that they eat not the body of Chriſt but at *Eaſter*, or elſe when they lie upon their death-bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. But the body of Chriſt (admit the bread be Tranſubſtantiated really into the body) as in the Sacrament *indiviſibiliter*, that is, not able to be divided; and ſo *immenſurabiliter*, that is, not able to be meaſured: *Ergo, inviſibiliter*, that is, not able to be ſeen. To believe therefore that he may be ſeen corporally in the Sacrament is erroneous. And foraſmuch as the body of Chriſt

The vain prayer of the Prieſts at the Maſs.

The people greatly deceived in the Sacrament.

Chriſt

{KING *Ric.* 2.}

Chriſt is the ſouls food, and not the food of the body in this world; for that whoſoever believeth, doth eat ſpiritually and really, at any time when he ſo believeth, it is manifeſt, that they do greatly erre which believe that they eat not the body of Chriſt, but when they eat with their Teeth the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt.

The Prieſts ſeek their own honor in their tranſubſtantiation.

And although it ſhould be to the great honor of Prieſts, that the Bread really were changed into the Body of Chriſt, by the vertue of the ſacramental words pronounced; yet if Chriſt would not have it to be ſo; then they deſiring to do this contrary to the will of Chriſt, and informing the people that is to be done, ſo contrary to the will of Chriſt, are in great peril, moſt dangerouſly ſeducing both themſelves and the people. And then although that thereby they get a little worldly and tranſitory honour for a ſhort time; it is to be feared leſt perpetual ſhame, finally ſhall follow and enſue upon the ſame. For Chriſt ſaith; every one that exalteth himſelf ſhall be brought low. Let them therefore take heed, leſt they extolling themſelves for this Sacrament above the company of Angels which never ſinned, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the ſinful Angels under the Earth.

Mark here ye good Prieſts.

Let every man therefore think lowly of himſelf in what ſtate or degree ſoever he be; neither let him preſume to do that which he is not able to do; neither deſire to have that thing done, which God would not have done.

The makers of the Canon Law contrary to themſelves.

I greatly marvel at thoſe which were the makers of the Canons, how variably and contrary one to another they write of this Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt. In the laſt part of the Decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but alſo in the proceſs of the matter, divers do diverſly write, and one contrary to another. For in the Chapter that thus beginneth, *Prima inquit hæreſis*, it is thus written, You ſhall not eat this Body which you ſee, nor ſhall drink this Blood which they ſhall ſhed whish ſhall crucifie me: I will commend unto you a certain Sacrament ſpiritually underſtood that quickneth you; for the fleſh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the ſame Chapter it is thus written, Till the world ſhall have an end, the Lords place is in Heaven: Yet notwithſtanding the verity of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the Body wherewith he roſe ought to be in one place, but his verity is in every place diffuſed and ſpread abroad. And in the Chapter following, which thus beginneth; *Omnia quæcunque voluit, &c.* It is written; Although the figure of the Bread and Wine ſeem to be nothing; Yet notwithſtanding they muſt after the words of conſecration be believed, to be none other thing than the very fleſh of Chriſt, and his blood. Whereupon the verity himſelf ſaid unto his Diſciples; This is (ſaith he) my fleſh, which is given for the life of the World: and to ſpeak yet more marvelouſly, this is none other fleſh, than that which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs, and roſe out of the Sepulcher.

*De conſec. 2. cap. Prima quidem inquit; De conſec. diſt. 2. cap. Omnis quæcunque voluit.*

Contrariety in the Popes Canons.

See how far this Chapter differeth from the firſt. And in the Chapter which beginneth, *Ego Berengarius, &c.* This is the confeſſion which *Berengarius* himſelf confeſſed touching this Sacrament, and his confeſſion is of the Church allowed: I confeſs (ſaith *Berengarius*) that the Bread and Wine which is laid upon the Altar after the conſecration, is not only a Sacrament, but alſo that it is the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: and the ſame not only ſenſually to be a Sacrament, but alſo verily to be handled with the Prieſts hands and to be broken, and chewed with the Teeth of faithful men. This confeſſion doubtleſs is heretical: For why? If the body of Chriſt be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is ſo determined; it is there then *Multiplicative*, and ſo *indiviſibiliter* wherefore not *ſenſualiter*. And if it be there *indiviſibiliter*, that is, in ſuch ſort as it cannot be divided or ſeparated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, nor with the Teeth of men chewed.

*De conſec. diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.*

The recantation of *Berengarius* is heretical.

The Sacrament left by the Prieſts negligence to be eaten of a Mouſe, returneth again from Body to Bread.

The Writers of this time and age do affirm, that if by the negligence of the Prieſt, the Sacrament be ſo negligently left, that a Mouſe, or any other Beaſt or Vermine eat the ſame; then they ſay, that the Sacrament returneth again into the nature and ſubſtance of Bread. Whereby they muſt needs confeſs, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the Prieſt, as firſt there was made by the conſecration of the Prieſt in making the Sacrament. For either by the eating of the Mouſe the Body of Chriſt is tranſubſtantiated into the nature of Bread, which is a tranſubſtantiation ſupernatural; or elſe of nothing by creation is this Bread produced; and therefore either of theſe operations is miraculous and to be marvelled at. Now conſidering the diſagreeing opinions of the Doctors, and for the abſurdities which follow, I believe with *Paul*, that the Bread which we break, is the participation of the Body of Chriſt: and as Chriſt ſaith, that the Bread is made the Body of Chriſt for a memorial and remembrance of him. And in ſuch ſort as Chriſt willed the ſame to be his Body, in the ſame manner and ſort do I believe it to be his Body.

Whether external ſigns in a Prieſt be the ſigns of Antichriſt or elſe grounded upon Chriſt.

But whether we men may make the Body of Chriſt, and Miniſter it unto the people: or whether that Prieſts be divided form the Lay people for their knowledge, preeminence, and ſanctity of life, or elſe by external ſigns only: Alſo whether the ſign of tonſure and other external ſigns of Holineſs in Prieſts, be ſigns of Antichriſt and his Characters, or elſe introduced and taught by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; conſequently it remaineth next to ſpeak thereof unto the faithful ſort (according to the proceſs of the holy Scripture) and firſt of the three kinds of the Prieſts. I remember that I have read, the firſt of them to be Aaronical, Legal, and Temporal; The ſecond to be Eternal and regal according to the Order of *Melchiſedech*; The third to be Chriſtian. The firſt of theſe ceaſed at the coming of Chriſt; for that as Saint *Paul* to the *Hebrews* ſaith, The Prieſthood of *Aaron* was tranſlated to the Prieſthood of the Order of *Melchiſedech*. The Legal ſort of Prieſts of *Aaron*, were ſeparated from the reſt of the people by Kindred, Office, and Inheritance. By Kindred, for that the children of *Aaron* only were Prieſts. By Office, for that it only pertained to them to offer Sacrifice for the ſins of the people, and to inſtruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By Inheritance, becauſe the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongſt their Brethren, but thoſe things which were offered unto the Lord, as the Firſt-fruits, parts of the Sacrifices, and Vows; except places for their Manſion-Houſes for them and theirs, as appeareth by the proceſs of *Moſes* law. The Prieſthood of Chriſt did much differ from this Prieſthood, as *Paul* doth witneſs to the *Hebrews*, Chapter, 1, 8, 9, 10.

Three Orders or ſorts of Prieſts. 1. Aaronical. 2. Eternal. 3. Chriſtian.

Levitical Prieſts divided from the people by kindred Office and inheritance.

The Prieſthood of Chriſt differeth from the Levitical Prieſthood, how and wherein. 1. In kindred. 2. In Oath taking.

Firſt in kindred, becauſe that our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, came of the Stock and Tribe of *Juda*: of which Tribe none had to do with the Altar, and in which Tribe nothing at all was ſpoken of the Prieſts of *Moſes*.

The ſecond, for that other were made Prieſts without their Oath taken: But he by an Oath, by him which ſaid, The Lord ſwore and it ſhall not repent him, Thou art a Prieſt for ever according to the Order of *Melchiſedech*.

3. In durability.

Thirdly, by durability, for that many of them were made Prieſts but during the term of their lives: But he for that he remaineth for ever, hath an eternal Prieſthood. Wherefore he is able to ſave us for ever, having by himſelf acceſs unto God, which ever liveth to make interceſſion for us.

The Law made alſo ſuch men Prieſts as had infirmities; but *Sermo* (that is the word, which according to the law is the eternal Son and perfect) by an Oath.

4. In matter of Sacrifice.

The Prieſthood of Chriſt alſo did differ from the Prieſthood of *Aaron* and the Law in the matter of the Sacrifice, and in the place of Sacrificing. In the matter of their Sacrifices, becauſe they did uſe in their Sacrifices ſtrange bodies, of the matter of their Sacrifices, and did ſhed ſtrange blood for the expiation of ſins: But he offering himſelf unto God his Father for us, ſhed his own Blood for the remiſſion of our ſins. In the place of Sacrificing, becauſe that they did offer their Sacrifice in the Tabernacle or Temple: But Chriſt ſuffering death without the Gates of the City, offered himſelf upon the Altar of the Croſs to God his Father, and there ſhed his precious Blood. In his ſupping Chamber alſo he bleſſed the Bread and conſecrated the ſame for his Body, and the Wine which was in the Cup he alſo conſecrated for his Blood; delivering the ſame

5. In place of Sacrificeing.

to his Apoſtles to be done for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and paſſion. Neither did Jeſus enter into the Sanctuary made with mans hands, which be examples and figures of true things, but he entred into Heaven it ſelf, that he might appear before the Majeſty of God for us. Neither doth he offer himſelf oftentimes, as the chief Prieſt in the Sanctuary did every year with ſtrange blood (for then ſhould he oftentimes have ſuffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in the latter end of the World to deſtroy ſin by his peace-offering hath he entred. And even as it is decreed, that man once ſhall die and then cometh the judgment; ſo Chriſt hath been once offered, to take away the ſins of many. The ſecond time he ſhall appear without ſin to them that look for him, to their ſalvation. For the Law having a ſhadow of good things to come, can never by the Image it ſelf of things (which every year without ceaſing they offer by ſuch Sacrifices) make thoſe perfect that come thereunto; for otherwiſe that Offering ſhould have ceaſed: Becauſe that ſuch worſhippers, being once cleanſed from their ſins, ſhould have no more conſcience of ſin. But in theſe, commemoration is made every year of ſin: For it is impoſſible that by the blood of Goats and Calves, ſins ſhould be purged and taken away. Therefore coming into the World he ſaid; Sacrifice and Oblation thou wouldſt not have, but a body haſt thou given me, peace-offerings for ſins have not pleaſed thee: Then ſaid I, behold I come: In the Volume of the Book it is written of me, that I ſhould do thy will O God: Saying as above; becauſe thou wouldeſt have no Sacrifices nor burnt Offerings for ſin, neither doſt thou take pleaſure in thoſe things that are offered according to the law. Then ſaid I, Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the firſt to eſtabliſh that which followeth. In which Will we are ſanctified by the oblation of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt once for all. And every Prieſt is ready daily miniſtring, and oftentimes offering like Sacrifices, which can never take away ſins. But this Jeſus, offering one Sacrifice for ſin, ſitteth for evermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his Enemies be made his footſtool. For by his own only oblation, hath he conſummated for evermore thoſe that are ſanctified. All theſe places have I recited which *Paul* writeth, for the better underſtanding and declaration of thoſe things I mean to ſpeak. By all which it appeareth manifeſtly, how the Prieſthood of Chriſt differeth from the legal Prieſthood of *Aaron*: And by the ſame alſo appeareth, how the ſame differeth from all other Prieſthood Chriſtian, that imitateth Chriſt. For the properties of the Prieſthood of Chriſt, above recited, are found in no other Prieſt, but in Chriſt alone. Of the third Prieſthood, that is, the Chriſtian Prieſthood, Chriſt by his expreſs words ſpeaketh but little, to make any difference between the Prieſts and the reſt of the people, neither yet doth uſe this name of *Sacerdos* or *Presbyter*, in the Goſpel. But ſome he calleth Diſciples, ſome Apoſtles, whom he ſent to Baptiſe and to Preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the Salt of the Earth, in which name wiſdom is meant: and he calleth them the light of the World, by which good living is ſignified. For he ſaith, *Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and glorifie your Father which is in Heaven.* And *Paul* ſpeaking of the Prieſts to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, ſeemeth not to me to make any diverſity, betwixt the Prieſts and the other people, but in that he would have them to ſurmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth Prieſthood is the *Roman* Prieſthood, brought in by the Church of *Rome*; which Church maketh a diſtinction between the Clergy and the Lay-people: and after that the Clergy is divided into ſundry degrees, as appeareth in the Decretals.

The Law bringeth none to perfection.

The Prieſthood of Chriſt differeth from all other Prieſthoods.

The third Prieſthood. The name of *Sacerdos* or Prieſt not uſed in the New Teſtament of Chriſt.

The fourth Prieſthood, which is the *Roman* Prieſthood.

This diſtinction of the Clergy from the Laity, with the tonſure of Clerks, began in the time of *Anacletus*, as it doth appear in the *Chronicles*. The degrees of the Clergy were afterward invented and diſtinguiſhed by their Offices, and there was no aſcenſion to the degree of the Prieſthood, but by inferior Orders and degrees. But in the Primitive Church it was not ſo: For immediately after the converſion of ſome of them to Faith and Baptiſm received, they were made Prieſts and Biſhops; as appeareth by *Ananias*, whom *Marcas* made of a Taylor or Shoomaker to be a Biſhop. And of many other it was in like caſe done, according to the Traditions of the Church of *Rome*. Prieſts are ordained to offer Sacrifices, to make ſupplication and prayers, and to bleſs and ſanctifie. The oblation of the Prieſthood only to Prieſts (as they ſay) is congruent: whoſe duties are upon the Altar to offer for the ſins of the people of the Lords Body, which is conſecrated of Bread. Of which ſaying I have great marvel, conſidering S. *Paul* his words to the *Hebrews* before recited. If Chriſt, offering for our ſins one Oblation for evermore, ſitteth at the right hand of God, and with that one Oblation hath conſummated for evermore, thoſe that are ſanctified: If Chriſt evermore ſitteth at the right hand of God, to make interceſſion for us: what need he to leave here any Sacrifice for our ſins of the Prieſts to be dayly offered? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of his Apoſtles, that the body of Chriſt ought to be made a Sacrifice for ſin: but only as a Sacrament and Commemoration of the Sacrifice paſſed, which Chriſt offered upon the Altar of the Croſs for our ſins. For it is an abſurdity to ſay that Chriſt is now every day really offered as a Sacrifice upon the Altar by the Prieſts; for then the Prieſts ſhould really Crucifie him upon the Altar, which is a thing of no Chriſtian to be believed. But even as in his Supper his Body and his Blood he delivered to his Diſciples, in memorial of his Body that ſhould be Crucified on the morrow for our ſins: So after this aſcenſion, did his Apoſtles uſe the ſame (when they brake Bread in every Houſe) for a Sacrament, and not for a Sacrifice, of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And by this means were they put in remembrance of the great love of Chriſt, who ſo entirely loved us, that willingly he ſuffered the death for us, and for the remiſſion of our ſins. And thus did they offer themſelves to God by love, being ready to ſuffer death for the confeſſion of his name, and for the ſaving health of his Brethren, fulfilling the new commandment of Chriſt, which ſaid unto them; A new commandment do I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you. But when love began to wax cold, or rather to be Froſen for cold, through the anguiſh and anxiety of perſecution for the name of Chriſt; then Prieſts did uſe the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, inſtead of a Sacrifice. And becauſe many of them feared death, ſome of them fled into ſolitary places, not daring to give themſelves a Sacrifice by death unto God through the confeſſion of his name, and ſaving health of their Brethren: ſome other worſhipped Idols, fearing death; as did alſo the chief Biſhop of *Rome*, and many other more, in divers places of the World. And thus it came to paſs, that that which was ordained and conſtituted for a memorial of the one and only Sacrifice, was altered (for want of love) into the reality of the Sacrifice it ſelf.

{KING *Ric.* 2.} The Office of Prieſts after the Popes order.

The body of Chriſt not left to be Sacrifice for ſin, but only for Sacrament.

How the memorial of the Sacrament came to the reality of the Sacrifice it ſelf.

*After theſe things thus diſcuſſed, he inferreth conſequently upon the ſame, an other brief tractation of Women and Lay-men; whether in defect of the other, they may exerciſe the action of prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments belonging to Prieſts, where he declareth the uſe received in the Popes Church for Women to Baptiſe, which, ſaith he, cannot be without remiſſion of ſins; wherefore ſeeing that Women have power by the Pope to remit ſin, and to Baptiſe, why may not they as well be admitted to miniſter the Lords Supper, in like caſe of neceſſity? Wherein alſo he maketh relation of Pope* Joan *the Eighth, a woman Pope, moving certain Queſtions of her. All which for brevity I pretermit, proceeding to the Miniſtration of prayer, and bleſſing of ſanctification, appropriate, to the Office of Prieſts, as followeth.*

Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and bleſſing, whereunto Prieſts ſeem to be ordained (to omit here the queſtion whether Women may pray in Churches, in lack of other meet perſons) it remaineth now alſo to proſecute. Chriſt, being deſired of his Diſciples to teach them to pray, gave them the Common-Prayer both to men and women, to the which Prayer in my Eſtimation no other is to be compared. For in that, firſt, the whole honour due unto the Deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatſoever is neceſſary for us, both for the time preſent, or paſt, or for time to come, is there deſired and prayed for. He informeth us beſides to pray ſecretly, and alſo briefly: ſecretly to enter into our cloſe Chamber,

The Order and Office of prayer. The Lords Prayer.

*Mat.* 6.

KING *Ric.* 2.

Chamber, and there in ſecrecy he willeth us to pray unto his Father. And ſaith moreover, when ye pray, uſe not much babling, or many words, as do the Heathen. For they think in their long and prolix praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them. By the which Doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the Heathen Gentiles; from whom proceed theſe ſuperſtitious manner of Arts (or rather of ignorances) as Necromancy, the Art of Divination, and other ſpices of conjuration, not unknown to them that be learned: For theſe Necromancers believe one place to be of greater vertue than another; there to be heard ſooner, than in another. Like as *Balaam* being hired to Curſe the people of God by his Art of ſoothſaying or charming, when he could not accompliſh his purpoſe in one place, he removed to another; but he in the end was deceived of his deſire. For he, intending firſt to Curſe them, was not able to accurſe them whom the Lord bleſſed, ſo that his Curſe could not hurt any of all that people. After like ſort the Necromancers turn their face to the *Eaſt*, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Alſo the Necromancers believe that the vertue of the words of the prayer, and the curioſity thereof, cauſeth them to bring to effect that which they ſeek after; which is alſo another point of infidelity, uſed much of charmers, ſorcerers, inchanters, ſoothſayers and ſuch like. Out of the ſame Art (I fear) proceedeth the practice of exorciſing, whereby Divels and Spirits be conjured to do that, whereunto they are inforced by the exorciſt. Alſo whereby other Creatures likewiſe are exorciſed or conjured, ſo that by the vertue of their exorciſm they may have their power and ſtrength exceeding all natural operation.

The Arts of Necromancy, Soothſaying, and Witchcrafts, how and from whom they came.

Againſt exorciſing of Prieſts.

In the Church of *Rome* many ſuch exorciſms and conjurations be practiſed, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of theſe exorciſers, whether they believe the things and creatures ſo exorciſed and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them, which they pretend? If they ſo believe, every child may ſee that they are far beguiled. For holy Water being of them exorciſed or conjured, hath no ſuch power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorciſm do command. For there they injoyn and command, that whereſoever that Water is ſprinkled, all vexation or infeſtation of the unclean Spirit ſhould avoid, and not that no peſtilent Spirit there ſhould abide, &c. But moſt plain it is, that no Water, be it never ſo Holy, can have any ſuch power ſo to do, as it is commanded, to wit, to be an univerſal remedy to expel all diſeaſes.

Conjuring or hallowing in the Popiſh Church.

Holy Water conjured.

This I would ask of theſe Exorciſts; whether in their commandings they do conjure or adjure the things conjured to be of an higher vertue and operation, than their own nature doth give: Or elſe whether they in their prayers deſire of God, that he will infuſe into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commanding do ſo believe, then do they believe that they have that power in them to the which the inferior power of the thing exorciſed muſt obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And ſo doing they are much more deceived, foraſmuch as they ſee themſelves, that they which are ſo Authoriſed to the Office of exorciſing, ſay to the Devil being conjured, *Go, and he goeth not, and to another, come, and he cometh not*; and many things elſe they command the inferior ſpirit their ſubject to do, and he hath not. So in like caſe, when they pray to God to make the Water to be of ſuch vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulſe every unclean Spirit, and to chaſe away all manner of diſtemperature, and peſtilence of the Air (being an unreaſonable petition asked, and ſore diſpleaſing to God) it is to be feared leſt their Benediction, their hallowing and bleſſing is changed into Curſing, according to that ſaying that followeth: And now, O you Prieſts, I have a meſſage to ſay unto you; if you will not hear and bear well away in your minds, to give the glory unto my name, ſaith the Lord God of Hoſts, I will ſend ſcarcity among you, and I will curſe your bleſſings. What things and how many are bleſſed, or hallowed in the Church, that in hallowing thereof diſpleaſe God, and are accurſed? And therefore according to the ſaying of S. *James*, they ask and are not heard, becauſe they ask not as they ſhould, that they in their own deſires may periſh. Let a man behold the bleſſing or hallowing of their Fire, Water, Incenſe, Wax, Bread, Wine, Wine, the Church, the Altar, the Churchyard, Aſhes, Bells, Copes, Palmes, Oil, Candles, Salt, the hallowing of the Ring, the Bed, the Staffe, and of many ſuch like things; and I believe that a man ſhall find out many errors of the heathen Magicians, Witches, Soothſayers and Charmers. And notwithſtanding the ancient and old Magicians in their Books command thoſe that be conjurers, that they in any wiſe live devoutly (for otherwiſe, as they ſay, the Spirits will not obey their commandments, and conſtrations) yet the *Roman* conjurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy Words, becauſe they be they which work, and not the holineſs of the conjurers: How cometh it to paſs that they ſay, the things conſecrated of a Curſed and vicious Javel ſhould have ſo great vertue in pronouncing (as they ſay) the holy and myſtical words, as if they were pronounced of a Prieſt never ſo holy? But I marvel that they ſay ſo, reading this ſaying in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: becauſe the Charmers pronouncing the name of Jeſus (that is above all names) would have healed thoſe that were poſſeſſed with Devils, and ſaid; *In the name of Jeſus, whom* Paul *preacheth, go ye out of the men.* And the poſſeſſed with Devils anſwered, *Jeſus we know, and* Paul *we know, but what are ye?* And they all to be beat the Conjurers.

Exorciſts.

The abſurdity and abomination in the Popiſh exorciſms detected.

Where was the Popes holy Water then in the great peſtilence in the time of King Edward the Third.

*Jam.* 4

Romiſh conjurers.

The good life of a Prieſt, a great matter to deal in Gods matters.

And now conſidering this and many ſuch like things, I marvel wherefore the vicious Prieſts do ſell their prayers and bleſſings dearer (as alſo their Maſſes and Trentals of Maſſes) than thoſe that be devout Lay-men, and holy Women: which with all their heart deſire to flee from vices, and take hold of vertue. Foraſmuch as God in divers places of the Scripture doth promiſe that he will not hear ſinners and wicked perſons. Neither ſhould he ſeem to be juſt, if he ſhould ſooner hear the prayers of his Enemies, than of his faithful Friend. How I pray you ſhall a ſinful Prieſt deliver another man from ſin by his prayers, or elſe from the puniſhment of ſin, when he is not able to deliver himſelf by his prayer from ſin? What then doth God ſo much accept in the Maſs of a vicious Prieſt, that for his Maſs, his prayer or Oblation, he might deliver any man either from ſin, or from the pain due for ſin? No, but for that that Chriſt once offered himſelf for our ſins, and now ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, always ſhewing unto him what and how great things he hath ſuffered for us. And every Prieſt always maketh mention in his Maſs of this Oblation. Neither do we this that we might bring the ſame Oblation into the remembrance of God, becauſe that he always in his preſence ſeeth the ſame; but that we ſhould have in remembrance this ſo great love of God, that he would give his own Son to death for our ſins, that he might cleanſe and purifie us from all our ſins. What, doth it pleaſe God, that the remembrance of ſo great love is made by a Prieſt, which more loveth ſin than God? Or how can any prayer of ſuch a Prieſt pleaſe God, in what holy place ſoever he be, or what holy Veſtiments ſoever he put on, or what holy prayers ſoever he maketh? And whereas Chriſt and his Apoſtles do command the Preaching of the Word of God; the Prieſts be now more bound to celebrate the Maſs, and more ſtraitly bound to ſay the Canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvel. For why? To obey the precepts of men more than the Commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to beſtow the Sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is alſo ſpiritual fornication. How therefore are Prieſts bound at the commandment of man to leave the Preaching of the Word of God, at whoſe commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the Maſs, or ſinging of Mattens? Therefore, as it ſeemeth, Prieſts ought not at the commandment of any man to leave the Preaching of the Word of God, unto the which they are bound both by Divine and Apoſtolical precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of *Hierome* upon the Decretals, ſaying in this wiſe; Let none of the Biſhops ſwell with the envy of diveliſh tentation; let none be angry, if the Prieſt do ſometimes exhort the people, if they Preach in the Church, &c. For to him that forbiddeth me theſe things I will ſay, that he is unwilling that Prieſts ſhould do thoſe things which he commanded of God. What thing is there above Chriſt? Or what may be preferred before his Body and his Blood, &c.

The Prayer of a vicious Prieſt litle availeth before God.

Remembrance of Chriſts paſſion needeth not to God but to Man.

Prieſts more bound to ſay Mas commanded by Man, than to Preaching commanded of God. Spiritual fornication.

*Hieronimus*

Do Prieſts therefore ſin or not, which bargain for Money to pray for the Soul of any dead Man? It is well known

Whether Prieſts may bargain to ſing for Souls departed.

that Jeſus did whip thoſe that were Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, ſaying; *My houſe ſhall be called the houſe of prayer, but you have made the ſame a den of thieves:* Truly he caſt not out ſuch Merchants from out of the Church, but becauſe of their ſins. Whereupon *Hierome* upon this Text ſaith; Let the Prieſts be diligent and take good heed in this Church, that they turn not the Houſe of God into a Den of Thieves. He doubtleſs is a Thief which ſeeketh gain by Religion, and by a ſhew of Holineſs ſtudieth to find occaſion of Merchandiſe. Hereupon, the holy Canons do make accurſed Simóniacal Hereſie, and do command that thoſe ſhould be deprived of the Prieſthood, which or the paſſing or marveilous ſpiritual grace do ſeek gain or Money. *Peter* the Apoſtle ſaid to *Simon Magus*, Let thy Money and thou go both to the Devil, which thinkeſt that the gifts of God may be bought for Money. Therefore the ſpiritual gifts of God ought not to be ſold.

*Mistemimus.*

Verily prayer is the ſpiritual gift of God, as is alſo the Preaching of the Word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the Adminiſtration of other the Sacraments. Chriſt, ſending forth his Diſciples to Preach, ſaid unto them; *Heal ye the ſick, caſt out devils, raiſe the dead, freely ye have received, freely give ye again.* If the Prieſts have power by his prayers to deliver ſouls being in Purgatory form grievous pains, without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How therefore can he ſell his Act, unleſs he reſiſt the Commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without ſin, which is againſt the Commandment of God. How plainly ſpake Chriſt to the Phariſees and Prieſts, ſaying; Woe be unto you Scribes and Phariſees, Hypocrites, becauſe ye have eaten the whole houſes of ſuch as be widows by making long prayers, and therefore have you received greater damnation. Wherein I pray you do our Phariſees and Prieſts differ from them? Do not our Prieſts devour Widows houſes and poſſeſſions, that by their long prayers they might deliver the ſouls of their Husbands from the grievous pains of Purgatory? How many Lordſhips I pray you have been beſtowed upon the Religious Men and Women to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliver thoſe dead men from the pain (as they ſaid) that they ſuffer in Purgatory, grievouſly tormented and vexed? If their prayers and ſpeaking of Holy words ſhall not be able to deliver themſelves from pain, unleſs they have good works; how ſhall other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, which whileſt they lived here, gave over themſelves to ſin? Yea, peradventure thoſe Lordſhips or Lands, which they gave unto the Prieſts to pray for them, they themſelves have gotten by might from other faithful men, unjuſtly, and violently: And the Canons do ſay, that ſin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be reſtored: How then ſhall they be able (which do unjuſtly poſſeſs ſuch Lordſhips or Lands) to deliver them by their prayers from pain, which have given to them theſe Lordſhips or Lands, ſeeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt Sacrifices? Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: But he which doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven. And again, Not the hearers of the Law, but the doers of the Law ſhall be juſtified.

*Selling of prayer abominable.*

*Religious men and women devourers of widows houſes.*

*Praying for ſouls in Purgatory.*

*Evil gotten Lands, as evil beſtowed, for praying for ſouls in Purgatory.*

If therefore the words of him that prayeth do not deliver himſelf from ſin, nor from the pain of ſin, how do they deliver other men from ſin or from the pain of ſin, when no man prayeth more earneſtly for another man, than for himſelf? Therefore many are deceived in buying or ſelling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be divered from pain; when as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious Prelates, than for the prayers of devout Women and devout Men of the lay people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the perſon of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiouſneſs of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Phariſee and the Publican go up into the Temple to pray? The Publicans prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Phariſees prayer for his pride and arrogancy is contemned. Conſider that neither the perſon, nor the place, nor the ſtate, nor the curiouſneſs of his prayer doth help the Phariſee: Becauſe the Publican not thinking himſelf worthy to lift up his eyes unto Heaven, for the multitude of his ſins (ſaying, O God, be merciful unto me a ſinner) is juſtified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the Phariſee boaſting in his righteouſneſs is deſpiſed, becauſe God thruſteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and thoſe that be meek. The rich Glutton alſo that was clothed with Purple and Silk, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto *Abraham*, and is not heard, but is buried in pains and torments of Hell fire. But *Lazarus*, who lay begging at his Gate, (being full of Sores) is placed in the Boſom of *Abraham*. Behold that neither the riches of his Apparel, nor the deliciouſneſs of his Banquets, nor the gorgeouſneſs of his Eſtate, neither the abundance of his Riches, doth help any thing to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich Glutton, nor yet diminiſh his Torments, becauſe that mighty men in their mightineſs ſhall ſuffer torments mightily. How dare any man by compoſition demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he believe that he can by his prayer deliver his Brother from grievous pain, he is bound by Charity to relieve his Brother with his prayers although he be not hired thereunto: But if he will not pray unleſs he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer, which abideth not in Charity? Therefore let him firſt take compaſſion of himſelf by prayer, that he may come into Charity, and then he ſhall be the better able to help others. If he believe not, or if he ſtandeth in doubt whether he ſhall be able to deliver his Brother by his prayer, wherefore doth he make with him an aſſured bargain, and taketh his Money, and yet knoweth not whether he ſhall relieve him ever a whit the more, or not, from his pain? I fear leſt the Words of the Prophet are fulfilled, ſaying; From the leaſt to the moſt all men apply themſelves to covetouſneſs, and from the Prophet to the Prieſt all work deceitfully. For the poor Prieſts excuſe themſelves of ſuch bargaining and ſelling of their prayers, ſaying; The young Cock learneth to Crow of the old Cock. For, ſaith he, thou maiſt ſee that the Pope himſelf, in ſtalling of Biſhops and Abbats, taketh the Firſt-fruits: In the placing or beſtowing of Benefices he always taketh ſomewhat, and ſpecially if the Benefices be great. And he ſelleth pardons or bulls, and to ſpeak more plain, he taketh Money for them. Biſhops in giving Orders, in hallowing Churches and Church-yards, do take Money: In Eccleſiaſtical correction they take Money for the mitigation of penance; In the grievous offences of convict perſons Money is required, and cauſed to be payed. Abbots, Monks, and other religious men that have poſſeſſion, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their ſpiritual Suffrages, unleſs he beſtow ſomewhat upon them, or promiſe them ſomewhat. Curates and Vicars having ſufficient livings by the Tithes of their Pariſhioners, yet in Dirges and years minds, in hearing confeſſions, in Weddings and Buryings, do require and have Money. The Friers alſo of the four Orders of beggers, which think themſelves to be the moſt perfect men of the Church, do take Money for their prayers, confeſſions, and buryings of the dead: and when they Preach, they believe that they ſhall have either Money or ſome other thing worthy Money. Wherefore then be the poor Prieſts blamed? ought not they to be held excuſed, although they take Money for their prayers by compoſition? Truly (me thinketh) that this excuſe by other mens ſins doth not excuſe them, foraſmuch as to heap one miſchief upon anothers head, is no ſufficient diſcharge. I would to God that all the buyers and ſellers of ſpiritual Suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruine of the great City, and the fall of *Babylon*, and that which they ſhall ſay after that fall. Doth not the Prophet ſay; *And the Merchants of the Earth ſhall weep and mourn for her, becauſe no man ſhall buy any more their Merchandiſe, that is, their Merchandiſe of Gold and Silver, and of precious Stone, and of Pearl, and of Silk and purple?* And again, he ſaith; *And the Merchants which were made rich by her, ſhall ſtand aloof for fear of her torments, weeping, mourning, and ſaying, Alas! Alas! that City* Babylon, *that great City, which was wont to wear purple, white ſilk, crimſon, gold, pearl, and precious Stone, becauſe that in one hour all thoſe riches are come to nought.* and Again; *And they caſt duſt upon their heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and ſaying; Alas! Alas! that great and*

*Buying and ſelling of prayers in the Popes Church.*

*Buying and ſelling of pardons.*

*Perſon, place, apparel, curioſity or eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.*

*Prayer that doth more for Money than for charity, diſproved.*

*Selling of pardons.*

*Selling of Orders.*

*Selling of Church hallowings.*

*Selling of diſcipline.*

*Selling of fraternity.*

*Selling of dirges, year minds, confeſſions, weddings, burylings.*

*Selling of ſermons, &c.*

*Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.*

KING Ric. 2.

{KING Ric. 2.}

*and mighty City* Babylon, *by whom all ſuch as had Ships upon the Sea, were made rich by rewards; becauſe that in one hour ſhe is become deſolate.*

The City of *Rome, Babylon. Apoc.* 18.

This *Babylon*, this great City, is the City of *Rome*, as it appeareth by the proceſs of the Apoſtle. Becauſe the Angel which ſhewed unto Saint *John* the deſtruction of the mighty Harlot ſitting upon many Waters, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication, and all they which dwell upon the Earth, are made drunk with the Wine of her Whoredom, ſaid unto him; And the Woman which thou ſaweſt, is the great City which hath Dominion above Kings, &c. And indeed in the days of Saint *John* the whole World was ſubject to the temporal Empire of the City of *Rome*, and afterwards it was ſubject to the ſpiritual Empire or Dominion of the ſame. But touching the temporal Government of the City of *Rome* it is fallen already: and ſo that other alſo, for the multitude of her ſpiritual Fornication, ſhall fall. The Emperors of this City gave themſelves to Idolatry, and would have that men ſhould honour them as Gods, and put all thoſe to death that refuſed ſuch Idolatry, and by the cruelty of their Torments all Infidels gat the upper hand.

The temporal Dominion of the City of *Rome.*

The ſpiritual Dominion of the City of *Rome.*

Hereupon by the Image of *Nabuchadonozor*, the Empire of the *Romans* is likened to Iron, which beateth together, and hath the Maſtery of all Metals. And in the viſion of *Daniel*, wherein he ſaw the four Winds of Heaven to fight in the main Sea; and four very great Beaſts coming out of the Sea; the Kingdom of the *Romans* is likened to the fourth terrible and marvellous Beaſt, the which had great Iron Teeth; eating and deſtroying, and treading the reſt under his Feet: And this Beaſt had Ten Horns, and as *Daniel* ſaith, he ſhall ſpeak words againſt the moſt high, and ſhall rear with his Teeth the Saints of the moſt high: and he ſhall think that he may be able to change times and laws, and they ſhall be delivered into his power, until a time, times, and half a time. In the *Apocalyps*, Saint *John ſaw a Beaſt coming out of the Sea, having ſeven Heads and ten Horns, and power was given to him to make Months* 42. So long time endured the Empire of the *Romans*; that is to ſay, from the beginning of *Julius Ceſar*, which was the firſt Emperor of the *Romans*, unto the end of *Fredericus*, which was the laſt Emperor of the *Romans*. Under this Empire Chriſt ſuffered, and other Martyrs alſo ſuffered for his names ſake. And here is fallen *Rome* as *Babylon* (which is all one) according to the manner of ſpeaking in the *Apocalyps*, as touching the Temporal and Corporal power of governing. And thus ſhall ſhe fall alſo touching the ſpiritual power of governing, for the multitude of Iniquities and ſpiritual Fornication, and Merchandiſe that are committed by her in the Church.

The fourth Beaſt in the Prophecy of *Daniel* ſignifieth *Rome.*

The Beaſt with 7. heads in the *Apoc.* ſignifieth *Rome.*

The feet of the Image which *Nabuchadonozor* ſaw, did betoken the Empire of *Rome*, and part of them were of Iron, and part of Clay and Earth. The part that was of Iron fell, and the power thereof vanquiſhed away, becauſe the power thereof was at an end after certain Months. That part of Clay and Earth yet endureth, but it ſhall vaniſh away by the Teſtimony of the Prophets: Whereupon Saint *John* in the *Apocalyps*; After that, he ſaw the part made of Iron riſing out of the Sea, to which each people, Tribe, and Tongue ſubmitted themſelves. And he ſaw another Beaſt coming out of the Earth, which had two Horns like to the Horns of a Lamb, and he ſpake like a Dragon, and he vanquiſhed the firſt Beaſt in his ſight.

The feet of the Image in the dream of *Nabuchadonozor* ſignifieth *Rome.*

The Beaſt with two Horns like the Lamb, ſignifieth the ſpiritual Dominion of *Rome.*

This Beaſt as ſeemeth me, doth betoken the Clay and Earthen part of the feet of the Image, becauſe he came out of the Earth. For that by terrene help he is made the High and chief Prieſt of the *Romans* in the Church of Chriſt, and ſo from below he aſcended, on high. But Chriſt from Heaven deſcended, becauſe that he which was God, and Author of every Creature, became man; and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the ſhape of a Servant. And although that in the Heavens the company of Angels Miniſter unto him, he himſelf Miniſtred or ſerved in Earth, that he might teach us Humility, by which a man aſcendeth into Heaven, even as by pride a man goeth down into the bottomleſs Pit. This Beaſt hath two Horns moſt like a Lamb, becauſe that he challengeth to himſelf both the Prieſtly and Kingly power above all other here in Earth. The Lamb, that is, Chriſt, is a King for ever upon the Kingly Seat of *David*, and he is a Prieſt for ever after the Order of *Melchiſedech*; but his Kingdom is not of this World: but the Kingdom of this Beaſt is of this World, becauſe thoſe that be under him fight for him. And as Jeſus is Chriſt two manner of ways, becauſe that *Chriſtus* is as much to ſay as *Unctus*; he verily was anointed King, and anointed Prieſt: So this Beaſt ſaith, that he is chief King and Prieſt. Wherefore doth he call himſelf Chriſt? Becauſe that Chriſt, knowing that afore, ſaid; *Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and ſhall deceive many.* And thus becauſe that he is both King and Prieſt, he challengeth to himſelf the double Sword, that is, the corporal Sword and the ſpiritual Sword. The corporal Sword is in his right Hand, and his ſpiritual Sword is in his right Eye, by the Teſtimony of *Zachery*. But he ſpeaketh ſubtilly like a Dragon, becauſe that by the Teſtimony of Chriſt he ſhall deceive many, as the *Apocalyps* witneſſeth. He did great wonders that alſo he might make more fire to come from Heaven into the Earth in the ſight of men, that he might deceive thoſe that dwell upon the Earth, becauſe of the wonders, that are permitted him to do in the ſight of the Beaſt, and he overcame the firſt Beaſt which aſcended out of the Sea. For that Beaſt challenged unto himſelf Authority of Government of the whole World. He hath put to death and Tormented thoſe that reſiſt his Commandments, and would be honoured as a God upon the Earth. The Biſhop of *Rome* ſaith that the whole World ought to be in ſubjection unto him; thoſe that be diſobedient unto his Commandments he putteth in priſon, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be caſt into the Devils Dungeon. But he that hath no power over the body, much leſs hath he power over the ſoul. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any Prieſt under him, ſhall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicate, ſo that the perſon of him that is excommunicate be not firſt excommunicate of God through ſin.

Jeſus is Chriſt two manner of ways, as King and Prieſt.

The double ſword of the Pope.

And thus it ſeemeth a Troth unto me, that God thus turns their Bleſſings into Curſings, becauſe they give not due Glory unto his name. So when that they unjuſtly Excommunicate and Curſe, he turneth their Curſings into Bleſſings. Alſo the Biſhop of *Rome* doth make men to worſhip him as God, becauſe that the ſpecial Sacrifice that God doth require of us, is to be obedient unto him in keeping of his Commandments. But now the Popes Commandments be commanded to be kept, and be kept in very Deed; but the Commandments of Chriſt are contemned and rejected. Thus ſitteth the Biſhop of *Rome* in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelf as God, and extolleth himſelf above all that which is called God, or worſhipped as God. But in his fall he ſhall be revealed, becauſe that every Kingdom divided in it ſelf ſhall be made deſolate. He teaching a truth is the Head of the Church; but the Prophet teaching a lie is the Tail of the Dragon. He ſeducing the World ſhall be acknowledged to be the verity of the Doctrine of Chriſt; but after he is known, he ſhall be rejected and nought eſteemed. He giveth to ſmall and great, rich and poor, free and bond, Marks in their right Hands, and in their Foreheads; that no man ſhould buy or ſell, but thoſe that ſhall have the Marks of the name of the Beaſt, or that look to have of him ſome recompence, ſmall, mean, or great, or elſe the number of his name, which number is 300. The Pope ſaith, that in the Adminiſtration of every Sacrament he doth Imprint a certain Character or Mark into the ſoul of him that receiveth it. In Baptiſm he ſaith that he doth Imprint, into the ſoul of him that is Baptiſed, a Mark that cannot be wiped out, and ſo likewiſe in other Sacraments. And I know that in a Sacrament are two things, that is, the Sacramental Sign, and ſpiritual grace repreſented by the ſame Sign: the Sacramental Sign is given to Man of Man, but the ſpiritual grace is given of Chriſt.

The Biſhop of *Rome* ſeeketh to be worſhipped as God.

The Commandments of the Pope more regarded than Chriſts.

In every Sacrament two things contained.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty Prieſt doth Baptiſe any Man, if he that is Baptiſed or his Parents (if he be a Child) do aſk with lawful meaning Baptiſm, and do mean faithfully hereafter to obſerve the words of Baptiſm; he is as well Baptized, as if he were Baptized of never ſo vertuous a Prieſt. So alſo the ſinner which with all his heart is ſorry for his Sins, and doth aſk faithfully mercy of God, is as well abſolved of a vicious Prieſt, as of a vertuous. Becauſe the Lamb of God which taketh away the ſins of the World, wipeth away inwardly our ſins

by his Grace; becauſe that he is the Biſhop and Paſtor of our Souls. All other Prieſts do outwardly work abſolution, which know not for a certainty whether they have abſolved or not. So alſo is it in the other, becauſe that the grace of the Sacrament is given of God, and the Sacramental ſign, of man. In giving of Orders the chief Biſhop doth imprint the corporal marks; but of the ſpiritual marks I know none; unleſs a man will ſay, that by receiving the Order he hath ſome belief that he may work ſome things pertaining to that Order, the which before the receiving of the Order he could not. But this one thing is certain, that none in the Church ought to ſell ſpiritual Merchandize (of which things we have ſpoken before) unleſs he have the mark of the Beaſt. My counſel is, let the buyer beware of thoſe marks; becauſe that after the fall of *Babylon*, *If any man hath worſhipped the Beaſt and her Image, and hath received the mark upon his Forehead, and upon his Hand, he ſhall drink of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the Cup of his anger, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone in the ſight of the holy Angels, and in the ſight of the Lamb: and the ſmoke of their torments ſhall evermore aſcend, although he look for a recompence, ſmall, mean, or great, of the Beaſt, or elſe the number of his Name.* The Beaſt doubtleſs doth recompence his Friends with his ſmall reward; that is, with great Gifts and Benefices corporal; with a mean reward, that is, with great ſpiritual Gifts, in authority of bleſſing, looſing, binding, praying, and exerciſing other ſpiritual Works; and with his greateſt reward; which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honoured in Earth among the Saints. The number of his name, according to the opinion of ſome men, is, *Dux Cleri*, the Captain of the Clergy, becauſe by that name he is named, and maketh his name known, and that name is *666*.

*Caveat Emptor.*

*The rewards of the Beaſt.*

*The number the name of the Beaſt. Dux Cleri.*

This is my opinion of the Beaſt aſcending out of the Earth, and ſhall be, until ſuch time as I ſhall be of the ſame Beaſt better inſtructed. And although that this Beaſt doth ſignifie the *Roman* Biſhops; yet the other cruel Beaſt aſcending out of the Sea, doth ſignifie the *Roman* Emperors. And although that the *Dragon* being a cruel Beaſt, and the falſe Prophet giving the mark, muſt be thrown into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormented for ever; I would have no man to judge, but I leave ſuch things altogether to the final Judgment of Chriſt to be determined. But *Martin* the Popes Confeſſor, which maketh the Chronicle of the Emperors and Popes, reciteth many Errors of the Popes, more horrible and abominable than of the Emperors. For he ſpeaketh of the Idolatrous Popes, heretical, ſimoniacal, and Popes that were Murderers, that uſed Necromancy and Witchcraft, that were Fornicators, and defiled with all kind of Vice. But I have partly declared how that the Popes Law is contrary to Chriſts Law, and how that he ſaith, *That he is the chief Vicar of Chriſt in Earth*; and in his deeds is contrary to Chriſt, and doth forſake both his Doctrine and Life. I cannot ſee who elſe may be ſo well *Antichriſt*, and a Seducer of the people. For there is not a greater Peſtilence than a familiar enemy.

*Martinus panitentiarius.*

*More wicked Popes than Emperors.*

As concerning Idols, and the worſhipping of them, I think of them, as *Moſes*, *Solomon*, *Iſaias*, *Jeremy*, and the reſt of the Prophets did, which all ſpake againſt the making of Images, as alſo the worſhipping of Images. And faithful *David*, full of the Spirit of God, ſaith, *Let all thoſe be confounded that worſhip Images, and that rejoyce in Idols.* And again he ſaith, *Let them be made like unto them that make them, and all ſuch as put their truſt in them.* Wherefore I pray God that this evil come not upon me, which is the Curſe of God pronounced by *David* the Prophet. Nor will I be, by Gods Grace, either a maker, or elſe a worſhipper of Images.

*Matters of Idolatry.*

*Images. Oaths, how & they are tolerable.*

As concerning Oaths, I believe and obey the Doctrine of the Almighty God, and my Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, which teacheth, That Chriſtian-men in affirmation of a truth ſhould paſs the righteouſneſs of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* of the *Old Teſtament*, or elſe he excludeth them from the Kingdom of Heaven. For he ſaith, *Unleſs your righteouſneſs exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* And as concerning Oaths he ſaith, *It hath been ſaid to them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf, but ſhalt perform unto the Lord thoſe things which thou knoweſt.* KING *Ric. 2.* *But I ſay unto you, Thou ſhall not ſwear at all, neither by the Heaven, nor yet by the Earth, &c. But let your Communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatſoever ſhall be more than this, proceedeth of evil.* Therefore as the perfection of the ancient men of the *Old Teſtament* was not to forſwear themſelves; ſo the perfection of Chriſtian men is, not to ſwear at all, becauſe they are ſo commanded of Chriſt, whoſe Commandment muſt in no caſe be broken, although that the City of *Rome* is contrary to this, Doctrine of Chriſt, even as in many things ſhe is found contrary to her ſelf.

As touching the taking away of Temporal goods, from thoſe that are Eccleſiaſtical Perſons offending *habitualiter*, by ſuch as are Temporal Lords, I will not affirm any thing to be lawful in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to Charity: And that becauſe it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of Charity; becauſe peradventure he that taketh away is the more moved to ſuch manner of taking away, by reaſon of the deſire he hath to thoſe goods, which he endeavoureth to take away: or elſe, becauſe of ſome diſpleaſure or hatred to the perſon, from whom he goeth about to take away thoſe goods, more than that he, from whom thoſe goods be taken, ſhould be amended. Therefore unleſs he that taketh away be only moved of Charity to the taking away of ſuch goods, I dare not affirm that ſuch taking is lawful. And if ſuch taking away proceed of Charity, I dare not judge it unlawful: becauſe that the Biſhop of *Rome* which received his Temporal Dominion of the Emperor, when the Emperor rebelled and was not obedient unto him, deprived him from his Temporal Juriſdictions: How much more then may Temporal Lords do the ſame, which have beſtowed upon them many Temporal Dominions and Lordſhips, only to the intent that they might the better intend to ſerve God, and keep his Commandments? Now if they perceive that they be againſt the Laws of God, and that they be over-buſily occupied about worldly matters: I cannot ſee but that they may well enough take from them thoſe Temporal Goods, which is to a good purpoſe they gave them. But if, in time to come after this, thoſe that be Temporal Lords ſhall take from Eccleſiaſtical perſons ſuch Temporalties: let him that deſireth to underſtand this, read the Prophet *Ezekiel*, in the Chapter of the Shepherds of *Iſrael*, which fed themſelves inſtead of their flock; and alſo let him read the *Apocalyps* of the fall of *Babylon*: Let him alſo read the Popes Decretals againſt Hereticks; and in thoſe he ſhall find, that the taking away of the Temporalties from the Clergy, ſhall come to paſs for the multitude of their ſins.

*Whether Temporal goods may be taken away from Eccleſiaſtical Perſons offending.*

*Popes take from Emperors, their Benefactors, Temporal Dominion, when they offend. Ergo, much more may Emperors take from Popes Temporal Dominion when they offend.*

*A Prophecie of Walter Brute, that Temporal goods ſhall be taken away from the Clergy for the multitude of their ſins.*

Thus reverend Father have I made mine Anſwer to the matter whereof I am accuſed: beſeeching you that as I have been obedient to your deſire, and that even as a Son, declaring unto you the ſecrets of my heart in plain words (although rudely;) ſo I may know your opinion, and crave your fatherly Benevolence, that now your labour may be for my inſtruction and amendment, and not to accuſation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning I have promiſed you, if any man of what ſtate, ſect, or condition ſoever he be, can ſhew me any error in any of my writings by the Authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reaſon grounded on the Scriptures; I will receive his Information willingly and humbly.

After that all the foreſaid things were exhibited and given by the foreſaid *Walter Brute*, unto the foreſaid Biſhop of *Hereford*; he further appointed to the ſame *Walter*, the third day of the month of *October*, at *Hereford*, with the continuance of the days following, to hear his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being *Friday*, in the year of our Lord God, *1393*. the ſaid *Walter Brute* appeared before him, ſitting in Commiſſion in the Cathedral-Church of *Hereford*, at ſix a Clock, or thereabout; having for his Aſſiſtants in the ſame place, divers Prelates and Abbots, and twenty Bachelors of Divinity, whereof twelve were Monks, and two Doctors of the Law. Amongſt theſe was *Nicholas Hereford* accompanied with many other Prelates and worſhipful Men, and wiſe Graduates in ſundry faculties. Now was the foreſaid *Walter* appoſed of his Writings aforeſaid, and the Contents therein. Earneſt were they in picking out of thoſe Writings, his Hereſies,

*Walter Brute again commanded to appear.*

*Biſhops and Abbots, with twenty Bachelors of Divinity, ten Monks, two Doctors of Law ſitting upon Walter Brute.*

*Nicholas Hereford theſe alſo preſent*

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ſies, and in ſhewing his Schiſms, ſundry Errors, and divers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day, and the two days following (that is, *Friday*, *Saturday*, and *Sunday*) in their Informations and Examinations againſt the ſame *Walter Brute*; the ſame *Walter Brute* ſubmitted himſelf to the determination of the Church, and to the correction of the ſaid *John Biſhop*, as it appeareth word for word in a Scroul written in the *Engliſh*-Tongue: The tenour of which Scroul, is as followeth:

The writings of *Walter Brute* examined.

The tenour of the ſubmiſſion of *Walter Brute*.

*I* Walter Brute *ſubmit my ſelf principally to the Evangely of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the determination of holy Kirk, and to the general Councils of holy Kirk. And to the Sentence and determination of the four Doctors of holy Writ; that is*, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Jerome, *and* Gregory. *And I meekly ſubmit me to your correction, as a ſubject ought to his Biſhop.*

The ſubmiſſion of *Walter Brute* openly read at *Hereford*.

Which Scroul, as before is recited, in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, the foreſaid *Walter Brute*, read with a loud and intelligible Voice, at the Croſs in the Church-yard on *Monday*; that is to ſay, the ſixth of the ſaid month of *October*, before the Sermon made unto the people in preſence of the ſaid Biſhop of *Hereford* and other above written, as alſo other Barons, Knights, and Noblemen, and Clergy, and alſo a great multitude of people. After which reading of the Scroul, the foreſaid *Thomas Crawlay*, Bachelor of Divinity, made a Sermon unto the people, and took for his Theme the words of the Apoſtle to the *Romans*, the eleventh Chapter, that is as followeth; *Be not over-wiſe in your own conceits, but ſtand in fear, &c.*

¶ Out of theſe Declarations and Writings of *Walter Brute*, the Biſhop with the Monks and Doctos above rehearſed, did gather and draw certain Articles, to the number of 37, which they ſent to the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to be confuted, unto two learned men, Maſter *Colwill* and Maſter *Newton*, Bachelors of Divinity. Which Maſter *Colwill* and *Newton* did both labour in the matter, to the uttermoſt of their cunning, in replying and anſwering to the ſaid 37 Articles.

Beſides them alſo, *William Woodford* a Frier (who wrote likewiſe againſt the Articles of *Wickliff*) labouring, in the ſame Cauſe made a ſolemn and a long tractation, compiling the Articles of the ſaid *Brute*, to the number of nine and twenty. All which Treatiſes as I wiſh to come to the Readers hand, that the ſlenderneſs of them might be known; ſo it may happen percaſe, that the ſame being in my hand may hereafter be further publiſhed, with other like tractations more, as convenient time for the prolixity thereof may hereafter better ſerve thân now.

What after this became to this *Walter Brute*, or what end he had, I find it not regiſtred: but like it is, that he for this time eſcaped. Certain other writings I find moreover, which albeit they bear no name of this *Walter*, nor of any certain Author; yet becauſe they are in the ſame Regiſter adjoyned to the Hiſtory of him, I thought therefore moſt fit here to be inſerted. Of the which one was a Letter ſent to *Nicholas Hereford* a little above ſpecified: who being at the firſt a great Follower of *John Wickliff*, as appeareth before, *page* 500. was now in the number of them which ſate upon this *Walter*, as is in the Column above recorded. The Copy of this Letter bearing no name of any ſpecial Author, but only as ſent by a certain *Lollard* (as the Regiſter doth term him) is written in manner and form as followeth.

## Here followeth the Copy of a Letter ſent to Maſter *Nicholas Hereford*, by a *Lollard*, as in the Regiſter it is ſaid.

A Letter ſent to Nicholas Hereford.

FOraſmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the Plough and looketh back is meet for the Kingdom of GOD, *as our Saviour Chriſt ſaith: What marvel is it, although Maſter* Nicholas Hereford, *which at the firſt (by the Viſitation of the Spirit of God peradventure) put his hand; that is, gave his diligence unto the Plough; that is, to the ſowing of the Word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good works, is now ſo blind and unskilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is underſtood by the Kingdom of Heaven? Truly it is no marvel, O thou that art Maſter of the* Nicolaitans, *which, like* Nicholas *the moſt falſe Deacon, haſt left or forſaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theological verity is ſhut up as well from thee as from all the other* Nicholaitans *following thy conditions, foraſmuch as thou goeſt not in by the door to expound the ſame Evangelical verity. Therefore when thou didſt recite this other day, firſt, the Phariſaical and hypocritical Woe (nothing at all to any purpoſe) thou ſhouldſt have ſaid juſtly in this ſort, both of thy ſelf, and other thy Followers and religious* Antichriſts: Woe be unto us *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, which ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven; *that is to ſay, the true Knowledge of the holy Scriptures, before men by our falſe Gloſſes and crooked Similitudes: and neither we our ſelves enter into the ſame Kingdom or Knowledge, nor ſuffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it ſeemeth unto the faithful ſort, that wrongfully, falſly, and without any reverence, ye have expounded that Text of* Gregory, 1. q. 1. *that is to ſay,* Quicunque ſtude, &c. *For this is the true underſtanding of the ſame: Knowing firſt that there be ſome Prieſts after the thing, and name only; and doth ſhew that this is true, that whoſoever ſtudieth to receive the holy Order by giving of money, he is not a Prieſt,* Secundum rem, & nomen. *But to ſay the truth, he deſireth to be called a Prieſt; that is, to be a Prieſt* Secundum nomen tantum. *And ſuch a Prieſt, which is a Prieſt in name only, is no Prieſt. No more than Saint* Mary *painted is Saint* Mary: *Nor a falſe Doctor a Doctor, but no Doctor: And a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus ſuch a Prieſt in name only is not a Prieſt: Becauſe that all faithful men do firmly believe with Saint* GREGORY, *that no man buying the holy Orders, may then be called a Prieſt, as he ſaith,* 1. q. 1. *They that buy or ſell holy Orders can be no Prieſts. Whereupon is written,* Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi; *that is, Simoniacal Hereſie. And it followeth, How therefore, if they be accurſed and not bleſſed, can they make others bleſſed? And when that they be not in the body of Chriſt, how can they either receive or deliver the Body of* CHRIST? *He that is accurſed, how can he bleſs? as though he would ſay, It is unpoſſible. As Pope* Urbanus *ſaith,* 1. q. 1. Siquis a Simoniacis, &c. *Where he ſaith thus,* They that willingly know and ſuffer themſelves to be conſecrated, nay rather execrated, of thoſe that are infected with Simony; we judge that their Conſecration is altogether void. *Alſo Pope* Leo *in* 2. q. 1. *ſaith in this wiſe,* Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not Grace. *Spiritual Uſurers do not receive freely: Therefore, they receive not the ſpiritual* Grace, *which ſpecially worketh in the Eccleſiaſtical Orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by this it is more clear than the light, that they which know ſo much, and receive Orders by ſpiritual Uſury of Simony, are neither Prieſts nor Deacons, neither after the manner nor character. For if ſuch character or mark were otherwiſe given in giving Orders, it were requiſite always that there ſhould be a certain Grace imprinted in the man; but there is no ſuch Grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifeſt. Therefore there is no character to be fained. Therefore ſuch character or mark abideth not in him, foraſmuch as he never had nor hath the ſame. And yet furthermore in the ſame place, What then do the ſimoniacal Prelates give? And he maketh anſwer,* Truly even that which they have, as the ſpirit of Lying. *How prove we this? Becauſe that if it be the ſpirit of verity, as the ſame verity doth teſtifie from whom it cometh, it is freely received. And it followeth for the whole purpoſe no doubt; it is convicted to be the ſpirit of lying, which is not freely received.*

Nicolaitans.

1. q. 1. cap. Quicunque ſtudet.

1. q. 1. Siquis a Simoniacis.

Ex Leone Papa, 2. q. 1.

*By this it appeareth manifeſtly to the faithful ſort, that thoſe which wittingly and ſimoniacally are made Prieſts, foraſmuch as they receive not the Character of the Lord, but only the Spirit of lying and the mark of* Simon Magus, *and of* Judas *the Traytor, they be not Prieſts neither according to the mark nor manner. Nor ſuch do no more make the Sacraments of Church, than other Lay-men may in the time of neceſſity, nor yet ſo truly, during their hereticall naughtineſs. And yet indeed (Brother mine)* univoce natura, *but yet* æquivoce in moribus; *I do not write thus ſharply unto you, through anger, or any unperfect hate, but through*

Brother in nature: In manners no Brother.

*through the perfect hate of your horrible Hereſie, and denying the Faith of Chriſt, that I may ſay with* David *in the* Pſalms, Perfecto odio oderam, &c. *And I am very ſorry for you, that you, which in times have excellently well and fruitfully preached the Goſpel in the Pulpit, do now as well fail in the Congruity of the* Latin-*Tongue, as in the other Science natural. For as it was heard, thrice in one Lecture you ſaid* appetitis; *that is to ſay, pronouncing the middle ſyllable long, which thing not only the Maſters, but alſo the young Scholars underſtood. And many other faults there were in* Grammar, *which for ſhame I dare not recite. I ſend unto you theſe five Concluſions.*

Five Concluſions.

The firſt Concluſion, It is an infallible verity that the words of the four chief Doctors, expounding the holy Scripture according to the verity which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond, He which importeth any equivocation out of any of the Doctors expounding, for the colouring of his Text, his equivocation is always to be left.

The third, No perverſion of any Reprobate is able to turn the Congregation of the Elect from the Faith becauſe all things that ſhall come to paſs are eternally in God, deviſed and ordained for the beſt unto the Elect Chriſtians.

The fourth, Like as the myſtical Body of Chriſt is the Congregation of all the Elect; ſo *Antichriſt* myſtically is the Church of the wicked and of all the Reprobates.

The fifth, The Concluſions of *Swinderby* be agreeable to the Faith in every part.

* This Letter was thus ſubſcribed:
By the Spirit of God, ſometime viſiting you.

¶ Beſides this Epiſtle above prefixed, there is alſo found annexed with the ſame a device of another certain Letter counterfeited under the name of *Lucifer* Prince of Darkneſs; writing to the Pope and all Popiſh Prelates, perſecuting the true and right Church (with all might and main) to maintain their Pride and Domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and viſor of the Catholick-Church and ſucceſſion Apoſtolical. Which Letter although it ſeemeth in ſome Authors to be aſcribed to *Ocham*, above mentioned; yet becauſe I find it in the ſame Regiſter of the Church of *Hereford* contained, and inſerted among the Tractations of *Walter Brute*, and deviſed (as the Regiſter ſaid) by the *Lollards*; I thought no meeter place than here to annex the ſame; the tenour whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow.

## The device or counterfeit of a certain Letter fained under the name of *Lucifer* Prince of Darkneſs, writing to the perſecuting Prelates of the Popiſh Clergy.

The Epiſtle of Lucifer to the proud Prelates of the Popes Clergy.

LUcifer *Prince of Darkneſs and profound heavineſs, Emperour of the myſteries of the King of* Acheront, *Captain of the Dungeon* Erebus, *King of Hell, and Controuler of the Infernal fire, To all our Children of Pride, and Companions of our Kingdom, and eſpecially to our Princes of the Church of this later age and time (of which our Adverſary Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Prophet, ſaith,* I hate the Church or Congregation of the wicked) *ſend greeting, and wiſh Proſperity to all that obey our Commandments, as alſo to thoſe that be obedient to the Laws of Satan already enacted, and that are diligent Obſervers of our Behеſts, and the Precepts of our Decree. Know ye that in times paſt certain Vicars or Vicegerents of Chriſt, following his ſteps in Miracles and Vertues, living and continuing in a beggerly life, converted (in a manner) the whole world from the Yoke of our Tyranny unto their Doctrine and manner of life, to the great deriſion and contempt of our Priſon-houſe and Kingdom, and alſo to the no little prejudice and hurt of our Juriſdiction and Authority, not fearing to hurt our fortified Power, and to offend the majeſty of our Eſtate. For then received we no Tribute of the world, neither did the miſerable ſort of common people ruſh at the Gates of our deep Dungeon as they were wont to do, with continual pealing and rapping, but then the eaſie, pleaſant, and broad way, which leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noiſe of trampling Travellers, neither yet was trod with the feet of miſerable men. And when all our Courts were without Suiters, Hell then began to howl. And thus, continuing in great heavineſs and anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoiled. Which thing conſidered, the impatient rage of our ſtomach could no longer ſuffer, neither the ugly wretchleſs negligence of our great Captain-General could any longer endure. But we, ſeeking remedy for the time that ſhould come after, have provided us of a very trim ſhift. For in ſtead of theſe Apoſtles and other their Adherents which draw by the ſame line of theirs, as well in Manners as Doctrine, and are odious Enemies unto us. We have cauſed you to be their Succeſſors, and put you in their place, which be Prelates of the Church in theſe later times, by our great might and ſubtilty, as Chriſt hath ſaid of you: They have reigned, but not by me. Once we promiſed unto him all the Kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worſhip us; but he would not, ſaying,* My Kingdom is not of this world, *and went his way when the multitude would have have made him a Temporal King. But to you truly which are fallen from the ſtate of Grace, and that ſerve us in the earth, is that my promiſe fulfilled: and by our means all terrene things which we have beſtowed upon you are under your Government. For he hath ſaid of us, ye know,* The Prince of this world cometh, &c. and hath made us to Reign over all Children of unbelief. *Therefore our Adverſaries before recited did patiently ſubmit themſelves unto the Princes of the world, and did teach, that men ſhould do ſo, ſaying,* Be ye ſubject to every Creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be to the King as moſt chief. *And again,* Obey ye them that are made Rulers over you, &c. *For ſo their Maſter commanded them, ſaying,* The Kings of the Heathen have Dominion over them, &c. *But I think it long till we have poured our poiſon upon the earth, and therefore fill your ſelves full. And now be ye not unlike thoſe Fathers, but alſo contrary unto them in your life and conditions, and extol your ſelves above all other men. Neither do ye give to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Cæſar that which is his: but exerciſe you the power of both the Swords, according to our Decrees, making your ſelves doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrel, intangled with ſecular labours and buſineſs. And climb ye by little and little from the miſerable ſtate of Poverty unto the higheſt Seats of all Honours, and the moſt Princely places of Dignity by your deviſed practices, and falſe and deceitful wiles and ſubtilty; that is, by Hypocriſie, Flattery, Lying, Perjury, Treaſons, Deceits, Simony, and other greater wickedneſs than which our Infernal Furies may deviſe. For after that ye have by us been advanced thither where ye would be, yet that doth not ſuffice you, but, as greedy ſhavelings more hungry than ye were before, ye ſuppreſs the poor, ſcratch and rake together all that comes to hand, perverting and turning every thing topſieturvy; ſo ſwoln that ready ye are to burſt for pride, living like Lechers in all corporal delicateneſs, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to your ſelves names of Honour in the earth, calling your ſelves Lords, Holy, yea and moſt holy perſons.*

*Thus, either by violence ye raven, or elſe by ambition, ſubtilly ye pilfer away, and wrongfully wreſt and by falſe Title poſſeſs thoſe Goods, which for the ſuſtentation of the poor Members of Chriſt (whom from our firſt fall we have hated) were beſtowed and given, conſuming them as ye your ſelves liſt, and therewith ye cheriſh and maintain an innumerable ſort of Whores, Strumpets, and Bawds, with whom ye ride pompouſly like mighty Princes, far otherwiſe going, than thoſe poor beggerly Prieſts of the Primitive-Church. For I would ye ſhould build your ſelves rich and gorgeous Palaces: ye fare like Princes, eating and drinking the moſt daintieſt meats, and pleaſanteſt wines that may be gotten; ye hoord and heap together an infinite deal of Treaſure, not like to him that ſaid,* Gold and ſilver have I none; *ye ſerve and fight for us according to your wages. O moſt acceptable Society or Fellowſhip, promiſed unto us by the Prophet, and of thoſe Fathers long ago reproved: Whilſt that Chriſt called thee* The Synagogue of Satan, *and likened thee to the mighty Whore which committed Fornication with the Kings of the Earth, the adulterous Spouſe of Chriſt, and of a chaſt perſon made a ſtrumpet,*

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Placing of proud Prelates the cauſe of all miſchief.

The Church never well governed ſince the Devils offers were taken of the Church-men

Pride in Prelates noted.

Popiſh Prelates neither give to God nor Cæſar that which belongeth to God and Cæſar.

The double Juriſdiction of the Popes two Swords cometh of Lucifer.

The outrages of the Popes Clergy deſcribed.

Dominus Sanctus, Sanctiſſimus

The laſcivious and whoriſh life of the Romiſh Clergy

{KING *Ric.* 2.}

*a ſtrumpet. Thou haſt left thy firſt love and haſt cleaved unto us,* O *our beloved* Babylon, O *our Citizens, which from the tranſmigration of* Jeruſalem *come hither: we love you for your deſerts, we rejoyce over you which contemn the Laws of* Simon Peter, *and imbrace the Laws of* Simon Magus *our Friend, and have them at your fingers ends, and exerciſe the ſame publickly, buying and ſelling ſpiritual things in the Church of God, and againſt the Commandment of God. Ye give Benefices and Honours by petition, or elſe for money; for favour, or elſe for filthy ſervice. And refuſing to admit thoſe that be worthy to Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and preferring thoſe that are unworthy, you call unto the Inheritance of Gods Sanctuary, Bawds, Lyars, Flatterers, your Nephews, and your own Children, and to a childiſh Boy ye give many Prebends, the leaſt whereof ye deny to beſtow upon a poor good man: ye eſteem the perſon of a man, and receive gifts, ye regard money and have no regard of Souls. Ye have made the Houſe of God a Den of Thieves. All abuſe, all extortion is more exerciſed a hundred-fold in your Judgment-Seats, than with any ſecular Tyrant. Ye make Laws and keep not the ſame, and ye diſtence with your Diſpenſations as it pleaſeth you; you juſtifie the wicked for Rewards, and you take away the juſt mans deſert from him. And briefly ye perpetrate or commit all kind of miſchief, even as it is our will ye ſhould. And ye take much pain for lucres ſake in our ſervice, and eſpecially to deſtroy the Chriſtian Faith. For now the Lay-people are almoſt in doubt what they may believe, becauſe if ye preach any thing to them as ſome times (although it be but ſeldom ſeen, and that negligently enough, even as we would have it) yet notwithſtanding they believe you not, becauſe they ſee manifeſtly that ye do clean contrary to that ye ſay. Whereupon the common people, doing as ye do which have the Government of them, and ſhould be an example to them of well-doing; now many of them, leaning to your Rules, do run headlong into a whole Sea of Vices; and ſo continually a very great multitude flocketh at the ſtrong and well fenced Gates of our Dungeon. And doubtleſs ye ſend us ſo many day by day of every ſort and kind of people, that we ſhould not be able to entertain them, but that our inſatiable* Chaos *with her thouſand ravening jaws is ſufficient to devour an infinite number of Souls. And thus the Sovereignty of our Empire by you hath been reformed, and our intolerable loſs reſtored. Wherefore, moſt ſpecially we commend you, and give you moſt hearty thanks; exhorting you all that in any wiſe ye perſevere and continue, as hitherto ye have done: neither that you ſlack henceforth your enterprize. For why? by your helps we purpoſe to bring the whole world again under our Power and Dominion. Over and beſides this, we commit unto yo no ſmall Authority, to ſupply our places in the betraying of your Brethren; and we make and ordain you our Vicars, and the Miniſters of* Antichriſt *our Son, now hard at hand, for whom ye have made a very trim way and paſſage. Furthermore, we counſel you which occupy the higheſt Rooms of all other, that you work ſubtilly, and that ye fainedly procure Peace between the Princes of the world, and that ye cheriſh and procure ſecret Cauſes of diſcord. And like as craftily ye have deſtroyed and ſubverted the* Roman *Empire, ſo ſuffer ye no Kingdom to be overmuch inlarged or inriched by tranquility and peace; leſt perhaps in ſo great tranquility (all deſire of peace ſet aſide) they diſpoſe themſelves to view and conſider your moſt wicked works, ſuppreſſing on every ſide your Eſtate; and from your Treaſures take away ſuch ſubſtance, as we have cauſed to be reſerved and kept in your hands, until the coming of our welbeloved Son* Antichriſt. *We would ye ſhould do our Commendations to our entirely beloved Daughters, Pride, Deceit, Wrath, Avarice, Belly-cheer, and Lechery, and to all other my Daughters; and ſpecially to lade. Simony which hath made you men, and inriched you, and hath given you ſuck with her own breaſts, and weaned you, and therefore in no wiſe ſee that you call her ſin. And be ye lofty and proud, becauſe that the moſt high dignity of your Eſtate doth require ſuch Magnificence. And alſo be ye covetous, for whatſoever ye get and gather into your Fardel, it is for Saint* Peter, *for the peace of the Church, and for the defence of your Patrimony and the Crucifix; and therefore ye may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the higheſt Seat of Dignities without any let in all the world, in ſtopping the mouth of our Adverſary Jeſus Chriſt, and alledging again, that he preferred his Kinſfolks (being but of poor and baſe degree) unto the Apoſtleſhip; but do not you ſo, but rather call, as ye do, thoſe that live in Arrogancy, in haughtineſs of Mind, and filthy Lechery, unto the ſtate of wealthy riches and pride; and thoſe Rewards and Promotions, which the Followers of Chriſt forſook, do ye diſtribute unto your Friends. Therefore as ye ſhall have better underſtanding, prepare ye Vices cloked under the ſimilitude of Vertues. Alledge for your ſelves the gloſſes of the holy Scripture, and wreſt them directly to ſerve for your purpoſe. And if any man preach or teach otherwiſe than ye will, oppreſs ye them violently with the Sentence of Excommunication, and by your Cenſures heaped one upon another, by the conſent of your Brethren, let him be condemned as an Heretick, and let him be kept in moſt ſtrait priſon, and there tormented till he die, for a terrible example to all ſuch as confeſs Chriſt. And ſetting all favour apart, caſt him out of your Temple, leſt peradventure the ingraffed word may ſave your Souls, which word I do abhor as I do the Souls of other faithful men. And do your endeavour, that ye may deſerve to have the place which we have prepared for you, under the moſt wicked foundation of our dwelling-place. Fare ye well, with ſuch Felicity as we deſire and intend finally to reward and recompence you with.*

The who-riſh later Church of *Rome.*

Pope Succeſſor not of *Simon Peter*, but of *Simon Magus.*

Wicked and unworthy Miniſters admitted in the Popes Church.

Unwarrantable beſtowing of Benefices

Extortion, Perverting of Juſtice.

Acception of perſons. Bribery.

Love of lucre. Deſtruction of true Faith.

The life of Papiſts contrary to their teaching.

The Pope increaſeth Hell.

*Antichriſt.*

The Pope a fained Procurer of Peace between Princes.

The Roman Empire craftily ſubverted by the Pope.

Simony the Popes nurſe

Promoting of proud and rich Cardinals.

Cloked hoſtineſs.

Wreſting of Scripture.

Tyranny and cruelty by the Pope

Given at the center of the Earth, in that our dark place, where all the rabblement of Devils were preſent, ſpecially for this purpoſe called unto our moſt dolorous Conſiſtory, under the Character of our terrible Seal, for the confirmation of the premiſſes.

*Ex Regiſtro Hereford.*

*Ex Regiſtro* Herefordenſi *ad verbum.*

Who was the true Author of this Poeſie or Epiſtle above written, it is not evidently known; neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well conſidered on their part, which here be noted, may miniſter unto them ſufficient occaſion of wholſome Admonition, either to remember themſelves what is amiſs, or to bethink with themſelves what is to be amended. Divers other writings of like argument, both before and ſince, have been deviſed: as one bearing the Title, *Luciferi ad malos Principes Eccleſiaſticos*, imprinted firſt at *Paris* in *Latin*. And under the writing thereof, bearing this date, *Anno a Palatii noſtri fractione, conſortiumque noſtrorum ſubfractione*, 1351. Which if ye count from the Paſſion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of *Wickliff*, 1385. which was above ſix years before the examination of this *Walter Brute*.

There is alſo another Epiſtle of *Lucifer* Prince of Darkneſs, *ad Prælatos*, mentioned in the Epiſtle of the School of *Prague*, to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, ſet forth by *Huldericus Huttenus*, about the year of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370. which ſeemeth to be written before this Epiſtle.

*Epiſt. Lucif. ad Prælatos.*

Alſo *Vincentius in Speculo Hiſt. lib.* 25. *cap.* 89. inferreth like mention of a Letter of the Fiends Infernal unto the Clergy-men, as in a Viſion repreſented, before 400 years. In which the Devils gave thanks to the Spiritual-men, for that by their ſilence and not preaching the Goſpel, they ſent infinite Souls to Hell, &c.

*Vincent. ſpec. Hiſt. lib.* 25. *c.* 89.

Divers other Letters alſo of like device have been written, and alſo recorded in Authors. Whereunto may be added, that one, *Jacobus Garthuſienſis*, writing to the Biſhop of *Wormace*, alledged out of the Propheſie of *Hildegardis*, in theſe words, *Ideo & Diabolus in ſemetipſo de vobis Sacerdotibus ait; Eſcas epulantium, convivia & omnes voluptates in iſtis invenio; ſed & oculi, & aures, & venter meus, & venæ meæ, de ſpumis illorum plenæ ſunt, & ubera mea plena ſunt divitiis illorum, &c.* i. e. Therefore, ſaith he, the Devil may ſay of you Prieſts in himſelf; The meats of banquetting-Diſhes, and Feaſts of all kind of pleaſure, I find in theſe men; yea alſo mine Eyes, mine Ears, my Belly, and all my Veins be full of their frothing, and my Breaſts be full ſtuffed with their riches, &c. Furthermore, ſaith he, they labour every day to riſe up higher with *Lucifer*, but every day they fall with him more deeply.

*Ex Propheſia Hildegardis.*

Hereunto alſo pertaineth a ſtory written, and commonly found in many old written Books: In the year of our Lord, 1228. at *Paris* in a Synod of the Clergy, there

The Devil giveth thanks to Clergy-men

there was one appointed to make a Sermon. Who being much careful in his mind, and ſolicitous what to ſay, the Devil came to him, and asking him, *Why he was ſo careful for his matter what he ſhould preach to the Clergy*; ſay thus, quoth he, *The Princes of Hell ſalute you, O you Princes of the Church, and gladly give you thanks, becauſe through your default and negligence it cometh to paſs, that all Souls go down to Hell.* Adding moreover, *That he was alſo enforced by the Commandment of God to declare the ſame, yea and that a certain Token moreover was given to the ſaid Clerk for a ſign, whereby the Synod might evidently ſee that he did not lye.* Ex Catal. Illyr. fol. 546.

The ſilence of Prieſts in not preaching the Goſpel, damneth many a Soul.

## The Bull of Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, againſt the *Lollards.*

The Popes Letter to the Biſhop of Hereford.

BOnifacius *Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, To the reverend Brother,* John *Biſhop of* Hereford *ſendeth greeting and Apoſtolical Benediction. We mean to write unto our wellbeloved Son in Chriſt* (Richard *the renowned King of* England) *in form incloſed within theſe preſents. Therefore we will and command your Brotherhood, that as much as ye may ye ſtudy and endeavour your ſelf to exhort and induce the ſame King to do thoſe things which we have written unto him, as it is ſaid before. And notwithſtanding that now many a day you ought to have done it of your ſelf, and not to look that we ſhould perſwade you to that effect by us written; you may proceed as well by our Authority, as by your own, foraſmuch as it was given you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion beareth unto the Catholick Faith, and to the conſerving of the Eccleſiaſtical Honour, and alſo to the execution of your Paſtoral Office.*

Given at *Rome* at S. *Peters* the 15*th Kalends* of *October*, the ſixth year of our Biſhop-like Dignity.

## The tenour of the Bull, to the renowned Prince, *Richard*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The Popes wild Bull let looſe againſt the Servants of Chriſt.

TO *our welbeloved Son in Chriſt*, Richard *the noble King of* England, *we ſend greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy Mother the Church in all places through Chriſtendom lamenteth. We underſtand that there be certain Hereſies ſprung, and do without any condign reſtraint range at their own liberty, to the ſeducing of the faithful people, and do every day with overmuch liberty enlarge their undiſcreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preſervation both of you and your famous Kingdom, and alſo the ſincerity of the Faith, and do with much more ardent deſire covet that the proſperous ſtate of the ſame ſhould be preſerved and inlarged; the ſting of greater ſorrow doth ſo much the more penetrate and moleſt us, foraſmuch as we ſee (alas the while) in our time, and under the regal preſidence of your moſt Chriſtian Government, a certain crafty and hairbrain Sect of falſe Chriſtians, in the ſame your Kingdom to grow and increaſe; which call themſelves,* The poor men of the treaſury of Chriſt and his Diſciples, *and whom the common people by a more ſounder name call* Lollards *(as a man would ſay, withered Darnel) according as their ſins require; and perceive that they may wax ſtrong, and as it were prevail againſt the Dioceſans of ſome places, and other Governors, as they meet together, not courageouſly addreſſing themſelves againſt them as they ought to do (whereof chiefly and not undeſervedly I give them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder preſumption and ſtomach among the unlearned people. And foraſmuch as thoſe whom we cannot call men, but the damnable ſhadows or ghoſts of men, do riſe up againſt the ſound Faith, and holy univerſal Church of* Rome; *and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confuſion and eternal damnation of ſome of them) they got ſitting upon their Mothers lap the ſaid Church of* Rome, *do riſe up or inveigh againſt the determination of the holy Fathers, with too much preſumptuous boldneſs, to the ſubverſion of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order and Eſtate; and have not been afraid, nor are yet afraid, publickly to preach very many erroneous, deteſtable, and heretical Articles, for that they are not put to ſilence, reproved, driven out, rooted out, or otherwiſe puniſhed by any that hath authority and the fear and love of God. And alſo they are not afraid openly to write the ſame Articles, and ſo being written to deliver them to your Kingly Parliament, and obſtinately to affirm the ſame. The venemous and diſdainful recital of which Articles, upon good adviſement, at this preſent we paſs over, leſt the ſufferance of ſuch ſenſuality might fortune to renew the wound that reaſon may heal. Yet notwithſtanding, leſt ſo great and contagious an evil ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, and that without deſerved vexation; and alſo that it might not get more heart, and wax more ſtrong, We therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where is ſuch negligence and ſluggiſhneſs of our Prelates being preſent where this thing is) do commit and give in commandment to our reverend Brethren,* Canterbury *and* York *Archbiſhops, by other our Letters; that they ſtand up in the power of God againſt this peſtilent and contagious Sect, and that they lively perſecute the ſame in form of Law; root out and deſtroy thoſe, that adviſedly and obſtinately refuſe to withdraw their foot from the ſame ſtumbling-block, any reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. But becauſe the aſſiſtance, counſel, favour, and aid of your Kingly Eſtate and Highneſs are requiſite to the execution of the premiſſes; we require, exhort, and beſeech the ſame your Princely highneſs by the bowels of the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, by his holy Faith, by your own Salvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the proſperity aſſured to every man and woman, that not only your Kingly ſeverity may readily ſhew, and cauſe to be ſhewed unto our Archbiſhops and their Commiſſaries (in this behalf requiring the foreſaid due execution) convenient aid and favour, as otherwiſe alſo to cauſe them to be aſſiſted: but that alſo you will injoyn your Magiſtrates and Juſtices of Aſſize and Peace, more ſtraitly, that of their own good wills they execute the authority committed unto men, with all ſeverity againſt ſuch damned men, according as they are bound by the Office which they are put in truſt with; againſt thoſe, I mean, which have determined obſtinately to defile themſelves in their malice and ſins, thoſe to expel, baniſh, and impriſon, and there ſo long to keep them, till condign Sentence ſhall pronounce them worthy to ſuffer puniſhment. For your Kingly wiſdom ſeeth that ſuch as they be do not only deceive poor ſimple Souls (or at the leaſt do what they can to deceive them) but alſo bring their bodies to deſtruction, and further prepare confuſion and ruinous fall unto their Temporal Lords. Go too therefore, my ſweet Son, and endeavour your ſelf to work ſo in this matter, as undoubtedly we truſt you will: that as this Firebrand (burning and flaming overſore) began under your Preſidence or Government: ſo under your ſevere judgment and vertuous diligence, might, favour, and aid, there may not one ſpark remain hid under the aſhes, but that it be utterly extinguiſhed, and ſpeedily put out.*

Given at our Palace of S. *Peter* at *Rome*, the 15*th Calends* of *October*, in the ſixth year of our Pontificality.

Alack good heart, what ſorrow the Pope taketh.

As though no learning were but in the Church of Rome.

## The Kings Commiſſion.

RIchard *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *and of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *To all thoſe unto whom theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the inſtance of the reverend Father,* William *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolical See, We for the redreſs and amendment of all thoſe which would obſtinately preach or maintain, publickly or privily, any Concluſions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy Mother the Church, and notoriouſly redounding to the ſubverſion of the Catholick Faith, or containing any Hereſie or Error, within the Province or Biſhoprick of* Canterbury, *have by our ſpecial Letters Patents, in the zeal of the Faith, given Authority and Licence unto the foreſaid Archbiſhop, and to all and ſigular his Suffragans, to arreſt all and every of them that will preach or maintain any ſuch Concluſions,*



The Dragon here ſpouteth out his floods of Error to drown the Chriſtians.

Behold the ſpirit of the Popes meek holineſs.

The bowels of Jeſus Chriſt be full of mercy, the bowels of the Pope full of tyranny.

Help the Pope at a pinch, or elſe he is like to take a fall.

KING Ric. 2.

*Concluſions, whereſoever they may be found, and to commit them either to their own Priſons, or any other at their own pleaſure, and to keep them in the ſame, until they repent them of the errors and pravities of thoſe Hereſies; or till that, of ſuch manner of arreſts, by us or by our Council it ſhould be otherwiſe determined; that is to ſay, to every one of them and their Miniſters throughout their Cities and Dioceſs. And now the reverend Father in God,* John *Biſhop of* Hereford, *hath for a certainty informed us; that although the ſame Biſhop hath according to juſtice convinced a certain Fellow named* William Swinderby, *pretending himſelf to be a Chaplain, and one* Stephen Bell, *a learned man, and hath pronounced them Hereticks, and Excommunicate, and falſe Informers among the common people, and hath declared the ſame by the definitive Sentence of the aforeſaid Biſhop, for that they have preſumed to affirm and preach openly, in divers places within the Dioceſs of* Hereford, *many Concluſions or naughty Opinions notoriouſly redounding to the ſubverſion of the Catholick ſound Faith, and tranquility of our Kingdom: The ſame Biſhip notwithſtanding, neither by the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, neither by the force and ſtrength of our Commiſſion, was able to revoke the foreſaid* William *and* Stephen, *nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacy of them; for that they, after that they were upon ſuch heretical pravity convict by the ſame Biſhop (to the intent they might delude his judgment and juſtice) conveighed themſelves by and by unto the borders of* Wales, *with ſuch as were their Fautors and Accomplices, keeping themſelves cloſe, unto whom the force of our ſaid Letters doth in no wiſe extend. Whereupon the ſaid Biſhop hath made ſupplication unto us, that we will vouchſafe to provide a ſufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore, which always (by the help of Almighty God) are Defenders of the Faith, willing to withſtand ſuch preſumptuous and perverſe Enterprizes by the moſt ſafe way and means we may, give and commit full power and authority to the foreſaid Biſhop and to his Miniſters, by the tenour of theſe preſents, to arreſt or take, or cauſe to be arreſted or taken, the foreſaid* William *and* Stephen, *in any place within the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford *and our Dominion of* Wales, *with all the ſpeed that may be; and to commit them thither to our priſon, or elſe to the priſon of the ſame Biſhop, or any other priſon at their pleaſure, if ſuch need be, and there to keep them ſafe. And afterwards, unleſs they will obey the commandments of the Church, with diligence to bring them before us and our Council, or elſe cauſe them to be brought; that we may determine for their further puniſhment, as we ſhall think it requiſite and convenient to be done by the advice of our Council, for the defence and preſervation of the Catholick Faith. And that the foreſaid* William *and* Stephen, *being ſuccoured by the aid of their Fatours or Favourers, ſhould not be able to fly or eſcape to their accuſtomed ſtarting holes, and that the ſharpneſs of their pains ſo aggravated, may give them ſufficient cauſe to return to the lap again of their holy Mother the Church; we ſtraitly charge and command all and ſingular our Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Barons, and all other our Officers in the City and Dioceſs of* Hereford, *and in any other places being within our Dominion of* Wales, *by the tenour of theſe preſents; that from time to time (where they think it moſt meet) they cauſe it openly to be proclaimed in our Name, that none of what ſtate, degree, preheminence, kind, or other condition he ſhall be, do cheriſh openly or ſecretly the foreſaid* William *and* Stephen, *until the time that they repent them of their Hereſies and Errors, and ſhall be reconciled unto the holy Church of God: Neither that any perſon or perſons, be Believers, Favourers, or Receivers, Defenders, or in any caſe wittingly Inſtructors of the ſaid* William or Stephen *or any other of the reſidue of the Hereticks that are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that alſo they giving their attendance be obedient and anſwerable to the foreſaid Biſhop and his Deputies in this behalf for the execution of the premiſſes: and that they certifie us and our Council diſtinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and ſingular perſons, which ſhall fortune to be found culpable in this behalf, under their Seals. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made.*

Witneſs our ſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the ninth day of *March*, in the fifteenth year of our Reign.

Farrington.

The hot complaining Charity of the Biſhop of Hereford. *W. Swinderby* and *Stephen Bell* complained of to the King.

*Furioſo ne committas gladium.*

*Pſeudocatholica fides.*

## Another Letter of the ſaid King againſt *Walter Brute.*

Another Letter of King Richard againſt Walter Brute.

RIchard *by the Grace of God King of* England, *and of* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *to his beloved and faithful* John Chaundos *Knight*, John Eynſore *Knight*, Renold de la Bere *Knight*, Walter Deveros *Knight*, Thomas de la Bare *Knight*, William Lucy *Knight*, Leonard Hakelute *Knight, and to the Mayor of the City of* Hereford, *to* Thomas Oldcaſtle, Richard Naſh, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Harry, Henry Morton, *and to the Sheriff of* Hereford, *ſendeth Salutations.*

Walter Brute.

*Foraſmuch as it is adverti ſed us, that one* Walter Brute, *and other ſuch Children of Iniquity, have damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certain Articles and Concluſions, being notoriouſly repugnant againſt the holy Scripture (of the which ſome of them as Hereſies, and the reſt as errors are finally by the Church condemned) and that in divers places within the Dioceſs of* Hereford, *and parts near adjoyning, both privily, openly, and obſtinately; which thing we perceive not only to redound to the ſubverſion (in a manner) of the Catholick Faith, which as well we as other Catholick Princes ought of duty to maintain, but alſo to forewarn us of the ſubverſion of our faithful Dioceſans; And that the ſaid Biſhop, upon the good deliberation and adviſement of a great number of Doctors in Divinity, and other learned and skilful men in the Scriptures, of ſpecial devotion, according to his bounden duty, purpoſed to begin and make divers and ſundry Proceſſes by Law to be ſent unto the foreſaid* Walter *and his Accomplices to appear perſonally before him and other the Doctors aforeſaid in the Cathedral-Church of* Hereford, *the morrow after the tranſlation of S.* Thomas *of* Hereford *next enſuing, and to proceed in the ſame place againſt the ſame* Walter, *in the foreſaid Articles and Concluſions, for the amendment of his Soul: and that they now afreſh (becauſe that the ſaid* Walter *and others of their Retinue, cleaving and confederating with him, might not ſuffer condign pains according to their demerits) endeavour themſelves to make void and fruſtrate the ſaid godly purpoſe of the ſame Biſhop, in ſuch correction and execution as ſhould have been done, and with force do reſiſt and let the ſame with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our Crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: we do appoint you, and every of you, immediately as ſoon as this our Commiſſion ſhall be delivered unto you, in our behalf and name, to make open Proclamation in the Dioceſs and parts aforeſaid, where ye ſhall think it moſt meet and convenient: That no man be ſo hardy henceforth, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he ſhall be, within the Dioceſs and parts aforeſaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that ever he hath, to make or levy any Conventicles, Aſſemblies, or Confederacies, by any colour; or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the ſame Biſhops and Doctors aforeſaid may be by any means moleſted or let in the execution of ſuch correction as is to be done, according to the Canonical Sanctions; and to arreſt all thoſe which ye ſhall find, or take offending in this behalf, or that keep themſelves in any ſuch Conventicles; And that they, being committed to priſon, be there kept, till you ſhall have other Commandment from us and from our Council for their deliverance; and that ye diſtinctly and plainly certifie us, and our ſaid Council, of all your doing in this behalf under your Seals, or elſe the Seals of ſome of you. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premiſſes, and that in your deeds ye execute the ſame with all diligence and careful indeavour in the form and manner aforeſaid. And further we give ſtrait charge and commandment to all and ſingular Sheriffs, Majors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and other our faithful Subjects, by the tenour of theſe preſents; that they be attending upon you, counſelling and aiding you and every of you, as is meet and convenient in the doing and execution of the premiſſes. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made.* Witneſs my ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the 22*th* day of *September*, in the ſeventeenth year of our Reign.

Seeing the Doctrine of Brute was ever againſt reſiſtance, how is this like to be true?

*By the ſame King and Council.*

Thus

K. Rich. 2. ſet againſt the Goſpellers by the Archbiſhop and the Prelates.

Thus King *Richard* by the ſetting on of *W. Courtney*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Fellows taking part with the Pope and *Romiſh* Prelates, waxed ſomewhat ſtrait and hard to the poor *Chriſtians* of the contrary ſide, of *Wickliff*, as by theſe Letters above prefixed may appear. Albeit, during all the life of the ſaid King I find of none expreſly by name that ſuffered burning. Notwithſtanding ſome there were which by the foreſaid Archbiſhop *W. Courtney*, and other Biſhops, had been condemned, and divers alſo abjured, and did Penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the Town of *Leiceſter*, as followeth here to be declared out of the Archbiſhops Regiſter and Records.

Reg. Regiſt. W. Courtney, Archi. Cant.

At what time the ſaid Archbiſhop *William Courtney* was in his Viſitation at the Town of *Leiceſter*, certain there were accuſed and detected to him, by the Monks and other Prieſts in the ſaid Town. The names of which perſons there detected were, one *Roger Dexter*, *Nicholas Taylor*, *Richard Wagſtaff*, *Michael Scrivener*, *William Smith*, *John Henry*, *William Parchmentar*, and *Roger Goldſmith*, Inhabitants of the ſame Town of *Leiceſter*. Theſe with other more were denounced to the Archbiſhop for holding the opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar, of auricular Confeſſion, and other Sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of *Rome* doth preach and obſerve. All which parties above named, and many other more, whoſe names are not known, did hold theſe Hereſies and Errors here under-written, and are of the *Romiſh*-Church condemned.

Roger Dexter, Nicholas Tayl r. Richard Wagſtaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, Roger Goldſmith accuſed.

1. That the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, there remaineth the Body of Chriſt with the material Bread.

2. That Images ought not to be worſhipped in any caſe, and that no man ought to ſet any Candle before them.

3. That no Croſs ought to be worſhipped.

4. The Maſſes and Mattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be ſaid in the Church.

5. *Item*, That no Curate or Prieſt, taken in any Crime can Conſecrate, hear Confeſſions, or miniſter any of the Sacraments of the Church.

6. That the Pope and all Prelates of the Church cannot bind any man with the Sentence of Excommunication, unleſs they know him to be firſt Excommunicated of God.

7. That no Prelate of the Church can grant any Pardons.

8. That every Lay-man may in every place preach and teach the Goſpel.

9. That it is ſin to give any Alms or Charity to the Friers, Preachers, *Minorites*, *Auguſtines*, or *Carmelites*.

10. That no Oblation ought to be uſed at the Funerals of the dead.

11. That it is not neceſſary to make confeſſion of our ſins to the Prieſt.

12. That every good man, although he be unlearned is a Prieſt.

Roger, Nicholas, Richard, Michael, William and Roger accurſed with Book, Bell, and Candle.

Theſe Articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifeſtly in the Town of *Leiceſter*, and other places adjoyning. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop moniſhed the ſaid *Roger* and *Nicholas*, with the reſt, on the next day to make anſwer unto him in the ſaid Monaſtery to the foreſaid Articles. But the foreſaid *Roger* and *Nicholas*, with the reſt, hid themſelves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the Archbiſhop upon *Allhallow-day*, being the firſt day of *November*, celebrating the high Maſs at the high Altar in the ſaid Monaſtery, being attired in his *Pontificalibus*, denounced the ſaid parties with all their Adherents, Fautors, Favourers, and Counſellers, excommunicate and accurſed, which either held, taught or maintained the foreſaid Concluſions heretical and erroneous, and that in ſolemn wiſe, by ringing the Bells, lighting the Candles, and putting out the ſame again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumſtances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after (being *All-Soulne-day*) he ſent for all the Curates and other Lay-men of the Town of *Leiceſter*, to inquire more diligently of the verity of *ſuch matter as they knew*, and were able to ſay againſt any perſons whatſoever, concerning the foreſaid Articles; as alſo againſt the parties before named and ſpecified upon their Oaths, denouncing every one of them ſeverally by their names to be excommunicated and accurſed; and cauſed them alſo in divers Pariſh Churches in *Leiceſter* alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſaid Archbiſhop interdicted the whole Town of *Leiceſter*, and all the Churches in the ſame, ſo long as any of the foreſaid excommunicate perſons ſhould remain or be within the ſame, and till that all the Lollards of the Town ſhould return and amend from ſuch Hereſies and Errors, obtaining at the ſaid Archbiſhop his hands the benefit of abſolution.

{ KING } { *Ric.* 2. }

The whole Town of Leiceſter interdicted.

At length it was declared and ſhewed to the ſaid Archbiſhop, that there was a certain Anchoreſs, whoſe name was *Matilde*, incloſed within the Church-yard of Saint *Peters* Church of the ſaid Town of *Leiceſter*, infected (as they ſaid) with the peſtiferous contagion of the foreſaid Hereticks and Lollards: whereupon, after that the ſaid Archbiſhop had examined the foreſaid *Matilde*, touching the foreſaid Concluſions, Hereſies, and Errors, and found her not to anſwer plainly and directly to the ſame, but ſophiſtically and ſubtilly; he gave and aſſigned unto her a day peremptory, perſonally to appear before him in the Monaſtery of Saint *James* at *Northampton*, more fully to anſwer to the ſaid Articles, Hereſies, and Errors, which was the ſixth day of the ſaid month of *November*; commanding the Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Pratis* aforeſaid, that the door of the Recluſe, in which the ſaid *Matilde* was, ſhould be opened, and that till his return he ſhould cauſe her to be put in ſafe Cuſtody. That done, he ſent forth his Mandate againſt the *Lollards*, under this form:

*Matilde*, an Anchoreſs, cited to appear.

The Kings proceſs ſent by the Biſhop to arreſt the eight aforenamed.

William *by the permiſſion of God, &c. To his well-beloved Sons, the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Town of* Leiceſter *Dioceſs, greeting. We have lately received the Kings Letters, graciouſly granted us for the defence of the Catholick Faith, in theſe words following, Richard* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France, &c. We on the behalf of our holy Mother the Church, by the King's Authority aforeſaid, do require you, that you cauſe the ſame* Richard, William, Roger, *and the reſt, to be arreſted, and ſent unto us; that they with their pernicious Doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c.* Given under our Seal, &c.

Margaret Caily, a Nun, conſtrained againſt her will to take again her habit.

By another Inſtrument alſo in the ſame Regiſter is mention made of one *Margarite Caily* Nun, which forſaking her Order was by the ſaid Archbiſhop conſtrained, againſt her will, again to enter the ſame, as by this Inſtrument here-under enſuing may appear.

William *by the Grace of God, &c. To our reverend Brother of God*, John, *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* Ely, *greeting, &c. In the Viſitation of our Dioceſs of* Lincoln *according to our Office amongſt other Enormities worthy Reformation, we found one Sheep out of our Fold ſtrayed, and amongſt the Bryers tangled; to wit*, Margaret Caily, *Nun profeſſed, in the Monaſtery of S.* Radegond *within your Dioceſs: who caſting off the habit of her Religion, was found in ſecular attire, many years being an* Apoſtata, *and leading a diſſolute life. And leſt her blood ſhould be required at our hands, we have cauſed her to be taken and brought unto you being her Paſtor; and ſtraightly injoyning you, by theſe preſents we do command, that you admit the ſame* Margaret *again into her foreſaid Monaſtery (although returned againſt her will) or elſe into ſome other place, where for her Souls health you ſhall think moſt convenient; and that from henceforth ſhe be ſafely kept, as in the ſtrait Examination of the ſame you will yield an account.* Given under our Seal, &c.

Matilde recanteth.

By ſundry other Inſtruments alſo in the ſame Regiſter recorded I find, that the foreſaid *Matilde* the *Anchoreſs*, upon the ſtrait examination and handling of the foreſaid Archbiſhop, before whom peremptorily ſhe was injoyned to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the Recluſe, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody, as you heard, retracted and recanted her foreſaid Articles and Opinions. For the which ſhe, being injoyned forty days Penance, was

again

{KING Ric. 2.} again admitted into her foreſaid recluſe in *Leiceſter*. The Biſhops Letter to the Magiſtrates of the Town thus beginneth: *Willielmus permiſſione divina*, &c. *Dilectis filiis*, *&c.*

*Will. Smith, Roger Dexter, and Alice his Wife abjure.*

Alſo by another Letter of the foreſaid Archbiſhop to the Dean of the Cathedral Church of our Lady of *Leiceſter* being regiſtred, I find that of the number of thoſe eight perſons before recited, whom the Archbiſhop himſelf at high Maſs did in his Pontificalibus ſo ſolemnly curſe with Book, Bell, and Candle: after certain proceſs being ſent out againſt them, or elſe in the mean time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, *William Smith*, and *Roger Dexter*. But in the mean time *Alice* the wife of the ſaid *Roger Dexter*, taking hold of the foreſaid Articles with her Husband alſo, together with the ſaid *William Smith*, abjured the ſame. For theſe be the words of the inſtrument: *Subſequenter vero præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus ſuos reſpicientes, ſe noſtro conſpectu præſentarunt, &c.* Notwithſtanding, whether they preſented themſelves willingly, or elſe were brought againſt their wills (as moſt like it was) hard penance was enjoyned them before they were abſolved. Theſe be the words of the Inſtrument.

*Sancta mater Eccleſia*, &c. *i.e.* Seeing our Holy Mother the Church denieth not her Lap to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but rather profereth to them the ſame: We therefore do receive again the ſaid *William*, *Roger* and *Alice* to Grace. And further have cauſed them to abjure all and ſingular the foreſaid Articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of Abſolution, and were looſed from the ſentence of Excommunication, wherein they were ſnarled, injoyning unto them penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth: that is to ſay, That the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they the ſaid *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, holding every of them an Image of the Crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a Taper of Wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their ſhirts (having none other Apparel upon them) do go before the Croſs three times, during the Proceſſion of the Cathedral Church of our Lady of *Leiceſter*; that is to ſay, in the beginning of the Proceſſion, in the middle of the Proceſſion, and in the later end of the Proceſſion; to the honour of him that was Crucified, in the memorial of his Paſſion, and to the honour of the Virgin his Mother; who alſo devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, ſhall kiſs the ſame Crucifix, ſo held in their hands. And ſo with the ſame Proceſſion they entring again into the Church, ſhall ſtand during all the time of the holy Maſs, before the Image of the Croſs, with their Tapers and Croſſes in their hands. And when the Maſs is ended, the ſaid *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, ſhall offer to him that celebrated that day the Maſs. Then upon the Saturday next enſuing, the ſaid *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice*, ſhall in the full and publick Market, within the Town of *Leiceſter*, ſtand in like manner in their ſhirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the foreſaid Croſſes in their right hands; which Croſſes three times they ſhall (during the Market devoutly kiſs reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the beginning of the Market, in the middle of the Market, and in the end of the Market. And the ſaid *William* (for that he ſomewhat underſtandeth the *Latin* Tongue) ſhall ſay this Antheme with the Collect, *Sancta Katharina*; and the foreſaid *Roger* and *Alice*, being unlearned, ſhall ſay devoutly a *Pater Noſter*, and an *Ave Maria*. And thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after the ſame, the ſaid *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice* in their Pariſh-Church of the ſaid Town of *Leiceſter* ſhall ſtand and do, as upon the Sunday before they ſtood and did in the Cathedral Church of our Lady aforeſaid in all things. Which done, the foreſaid *William*, *Roger*, and *Alice* after Maſs, ſhall offer to the Prieſt or Chaplain that celebrated the ſame, with all humility and reverence the Wax-tapers, which they ſhall carry in their hands. And becauſe of the cold weather that now is, leſt the foreſaid Penitents might peradventure take ſome bodily hurt ſtanding ſo long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the ſaid our rigour) we give leave, that after their entrance into the Churches aboveſaid, whileſt they ſhall be in hearing the foreſaid Maſſes, they may put on neceſſary garments to keep them from cold, ſo that their heads and feet notwithſtanding be bare and uncovered. We therefore will and command you together and apart, that you denounce the ſaid *William Roger* and *Alice* to be abſolved and reſtored again to the unity of our holy Mother the Church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforeſaid. Given at *Dorcheſter* the ſeventeenth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our Tranſlation.

*The manner of their penance injoyned.*

*Ann. 1389*

*Three kiſſes of the Croſs.*

*The Collect of Katharine. The Pater Noſter, and Ave Maria.*

*Cold Weather graciouſly conſidered.*

*Peter Pateſhul againſt the Friers.*

Unto the Narration of theſe aboveſaid we will adjoyn the Story of one *Peter Pateſhul*, an *Auſtin* Frier, who obtaining by the Popes priviledg (through the means of *Walter Dis* Confeſſor to the Duke of *Lancaſter*) liberty to change his Coat and Religion, and hearing the Doctrine of *John Wickliff*, and other of the ſame ſort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his Order, in ſuch ſort as all men wondred to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his Order, they to the number of twelve (coming out of their houſes to the place where he was Preaching) thought to have withſtood him perforce. Among whom one eſpecially for the zeal of his Religion, ſtood up openly in his Preaching, and contraried that which he ſaid, who then was Preaching in the Church of St. *Chriſtopher* in *London*. This when the faithful *Londoners* did ſee, taking grief hereat, they were moved with great ire againſt the ſaid Frier, thruſting him with his other brethren out of the Church, whom they not only had beaten and ſore wounded, but alſo followed them home to their houſe, minding to have deſtroyed their Manſion with fire alſo; and ſo would have done, had not one of the Sheriffs of *London*, with two of the Friers of the ſaid Houſe, well known and reported amongſt the *Londoners*, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, *Peter Pateſhul* thus diſturbed, as is aforeſaid, was deſired by the *Londoners* (forſomuch as he could not well preach amongſt them) to put in writing that which he had ſaid before, and other things more that he knew by the Friers: who then at their requeſt writing the ſame, accuſed the Friers of murther committed againſt divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murthered, with the names alſo of their tormentors: and named moreover time and place, where and when they were murthered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and Traytors both to the King and the Realm; with many other crimes, which mine Author for tedioufneſs leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the ſaid Friers, the *Londoners* cauſed the ſaid Bill to be openly ſet up at St. *Pauls* Church-door in *London*, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of King *Richard* the Second. *Ex Chron. Monachi Albanenſis. Cujus eſt exordium, Anno gratiæ milleſimo*, &c.

*Peter Pateſhul.*

*The Friers accuſed with horrible crimes.*

{Ann. 1387} *Ex Chron. D. Albanis*

Thus it may appear by this and other above recited, how the Goſpel of Chriſt, preached by *John Wickliff* and others, began to ſpread and fructifie abroad in *London*, and other places of the Realm: and more would have done no doubt, had not *William Courtney* the Archbiſhop, and other Prelates with the King, ſet them ſo forcibly with might and main to gainſtand the courſe thereof. Albeit, as is ſaid before, I find none which yet were put to death therefore, during the raign of this King *Richard* the Second. Whereby it is to be thought of this King, that although he cannot utterly be excuſed for moleſting the godly and innocent Preachers of that time, (as by his Briefs and Letters afore mentioned may appear) yet neither was he ſo cruel againſt them, as other that came after him: and that which he did, ſeemed to proceed by the inſtigation of the Pope and other Biſhops, rather than either by the conſent of his Parliament, or advice of his Council about him, or elſe by his own nature. For as the Decrees of the Parliament in all his time were conſtant in ſtopping out the Popes proviſions, and in bridling his authority, as we ſhall ſee (Chriſt willing) anon: ſo the nature of the King was not altogether ſo fiercely ſet, if that he following the guiding thereof had not ſtood ſo much in fear of the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Prelates, by whoſe importunate Letters and calling on he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both Right required, and Will perhaps in him deſired. But howſoever the doings of this King are to be excuſed, or not, undoubted it is, that Queen *Anne* his Wife moſt rightly

*Few or none burned in King Richards time.*

*Kings many times brought in too much fear of the Pope.*

Commendation of Q. *Anne*, Wife to K. *Rich.*

rightly deſerveth ſingular commendation; who at the ſame time living with the King, had the Goſpels of Chriſt in *Engliſh*, with four Doctors upon the ſame. This *Anne* was a *Bohemian* born, and Siſter to *Wencelaus* King of *Boheme* before: who was married to King *Richard* about the fifth (ſome ſay the ſixth) year of his reign, and continued with him the ſpace of eleven years. By the occaſion whereof it may ſeem not unprobable, that the *Bohemians* coming in with her, or reſorting into this Realm after her, peruſed and received here the Books of *John Wickliff*, which afterward they conveyed into *Bohemia*, whereof partly mention is made before.

{Anno 1391.} The Marriage of Qu. *Anne* to K. *Richard.*

The occaſion how the Doctrine of *Wickliff* came to *Bohemia.*

The ſaid vertuous Queen *Anne*, after ſhe had lived with King *Richard* about eleven years, in the ſeventeenth year of his Reign changed this mortal life, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*. At whoſe Funeral *Thomas Arundel*, then Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor, made the Sermon. In which Sermon (as remaineth in the Library of *Worceſter* recorded) he intreating of the commendation of her, ſaid theſe words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithſtanding that ſhe was an alien born, ſhe had in *Engliſh* all the Four Goſpels, with the Doctors upon them: affirming moreover and teſtifying, that ſhe had ſent the ſame unto him to examine. And he ſaid they were good and true. And further, with many words of praiſe he did greatly commend her, in that ſhe being ſo great a Lady, and alſo an alien, would ſtudy ſo lowly ſo vertuous Books. And he blamed in that Sermon ſharply the negligence of the Prelates and other men. Inſomuch that ſome ſaid, He would on the morrow leave up the office of Chancellor, and forſake the world, and give him to fulfill his Paſtoral office, for that he had ſeen and read in thoſe Books. And then it had been the beſt Sermon that ever they heard. *Hæc ex libro Wigo.* In the which Sermon of *Thomas Arundel*, three points are to be conſidered: Firſt, the laudable uſe of thoſe old times received, to have the Scripture and Doctors in our Vulgar *Engliſh* Tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exerciſe and alſo example of this godly Lady, who had theſe Books not for a ſhew hanging at her Girdle; but alſo ſeemed by this Sermon to be a ſtudious occupier of the ſame. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the ſaid *Thomas* Archbiſhop declared alſo himſelf to receive at the hearing and reading of the ſame Books of hers in the *Engliſh* Tongue. Notwithſtanding, the ſame *Thomas Arundel*, after this Sermon and promiſe made, became the moſt cruel enemy that might be againſt *Engliſh* Books, and the Authors thereof, as followeth after in his Story to be ſeen.

The death of Q. *Anne.* *Ex fragmento libri cujuſdam Wigornenſis Bibliothecæ. Ex accomodato D. Mat. Arch. Cant.* Q. *Anne* had the four Goſpels, with the Doctors in *Engliſh.*

*Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, breaketh his own promiſe.

For ſhortly after the death of Queen *Anne*, the ſame year (the King being then in *Ireland*) this *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Robert Brayhrocke* the Biſhop of *London*, (whether ſent by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Clergy, or whether going of their own accord) croſſed the Seas to *Ireland*, to deſire the King in all ſpeedy wiſe to return and help the Faith and Church of Chriſt, againſt ſuch as holding of *Wickliffs* teaching, went about (as they ſaid) to ſubvert all their proceedings, and to deſtroy the Canonical ſanctions of their holy Mother-Church. At whoſe complaint the King hearing the one part ſpeak, and not adviſing the other, was in ſuch ſort incenſed; that incontinently leaving all his affairs uncompleat, he ſped his return toward *England*. Where he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Dublin*; in the which mean time, in the beginning of the next year following, which was *Anno* 1395, a Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter* by the Commandment of the King. In which Parliament certain Articles or Concluſions were put up by them of the Goſpels ſide, to the number of twelve. Which Concluſions moreover were faſtned up upon the Church-door of St. *Paul* in *London*, and alſo at *Weſtminſter*: the Copy of which Concluſions, with the words and contents thereof here under enſue.

*Th. Arundel* and the Biſhop of *London* go to *Ireland* to the King to complain of the Favourers of Gods Word

*Ex Hiſt. D. Albani.*

{Anno 1395.} Concluſions offered up in the Parliament-Houſe.

{KING Ric. 2.}

*The Book of Concluſions or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at* London, *and ſet up at* Pauls *door, and other places, in the eighteenth year of the Reign of King* Richard *the Second, and in the year of our Lord* 1395.

Concluſions exhibited to the Parliament.

THE firſt Concluſion: When as the Church of *England* began firſt to dote in Temporalties after her ſtepmother the great Church of *Rome*, and the Churches were authoriſed by Appropriations, Faith, Hope, and Charity began in divers places to vaniſh and fly away from our Church, forſomuch as pride with her moſt lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly ſins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this Concluſion is general, and approved by experience, cuſtom, and manner, as ye ſhall after hear.

Paſtoral Prieſthood.

The ſecond Concluſion: That our uſual Prieſthood, which took his original at *Rome*, and is ſained to be a power higher than Angels, is not that Prieſthood which Chriſt ordained unto his Diſciples. This Concluſion is thus proved, Forſomuch as the *Romiſh* Prieſthood is done with ſigns and Pontifical Rites and Ceremonies, and Benedictions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in Scripture, forſomuch as the Biſhops Ordinal and the New Teſtament do nothing at all agree; neither do we ſee that the Holy Ghoſt doth give any good gift through any ſuch ſigns or ceremonies; becauſe that he, together with all noble and good gifts, cannot conſiſt and be in any perſon with deadly ſin. The corolary or effect of this Concluſion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto wiſe men, and ſee the Biſhops mock and play with the Holy Ghoſt in the giving of their Orders; becauſe they give Crowns for their characters and marks, inſtead of white hearts, and this character is the mark of Antichriſt, brought into the holy Church to cloak and colour their idleneſs.

The ſingle life of Prieſts.

The third Concluſion: That the Law of Chaſtity enjoyned unto Prieſthood, the which was firſt ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the Churches but we do excuſe us by the Bible, becauſe the ſuſpect Decree doth ſay, that we ſhould not name it. Both reaſon and experience proveth this Concluſion. Reaſon thus, Forſomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the Clergy will have either a natural purgation, or ſome worſe. Experience thus, forſomuch as the ſecret trial and proof of ſuch men is, that they do delight in women. And whenſoever thou doſt prove or ſee ſuch a man, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The Corolary of this Concluſion is, that theſe private Religions with the beginners thereof, ought moſt chiefly to be be diſannulled, as the original of that ſin and offence. But God of his might doth of privy ſins ſend open vengeance.

He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous Clergy.

He Propheſieth againſt Monkery.

The fained miracle of Tranſubſtantiation.

The fourth Concluſion that moſt harmeth the innocent people, is this: That the fained miracle of the Sacrament of Bread induceth all men, except it be a very few, unto Idolatry: forſomuch as they think that the body which ſhall never be out of Heaven, is by the vertue of the Prieſts words eſſentially included in the little bread, the which they do ſhew unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the Evangelical Doctor teacheth us in his Trialogue, *Quod panis altaris eſt aſſidentaliter Corpus Chriſti: i.e.* That the Bread of the Altar is the Body of Chriſt accidentally: forſomuch as we ſuppoſe that by that means every faithful man and woman in the Law of God may make the Sacrament of that Bread without any ſuch miracle. The Corolary of this Concluſion is, That albeit the Body of Chriſt be endowed with the eternal joy; the ſervice of *Corpus Chriſti*, made by Frier *Thomas*, is not true, but painted full of falſe miracles; neither is it any marvel, forſomuch as Frier *Thomas*, at that time taking part with the Pope, would have made a miracle of a Hens Egg; and we know it very well, that every Lie openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke and opprobry of him, which is always true without any lack.

He meaneth here *Wickliff.*

The Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* invented by *Thomas Aquinas.*

The fifth Concluſion is this: That the Exorciſms and Hallowings, Conſecrations, and Bleſſings over the Wine, Bread, Wax, Water, Oyl, Salt, Incenſe, the Altar-ſtone, and about the Church-Walls, over the Veſtiment, Chalice, Miter, Croſs, and Pilgrim-ſtaves, are the very Practices of Necromancy, rather than of Sacred Divinity. This Con-

The Exorciſms and Bleſſings of Prieſts.

KING Ric. 2.

Concluſion is thus proved: Becauſe that by ſuch Exorciſms the Creatures are honoured to be of more force and power than by their own proper nature; for we do not ſee any alteration or change in any Creature ſo Exorciſed, except it be by falſe faith, which is the principal point of Diveliſh art. The Corolary of this is, That if the Book of Exorciſation or conjuring of Holy water, which is ſprinkled in the Church, were altogether faithful and true; we think certainly that Holy water uſed in the Church, were the beſt Medicine for all kind of ſickneſs and ſores: *Cujus contrarium experimur: i.e.* the contrary whereof daily experience doth teach us.

The difference between the Eccleſiaſtical and Politick ſtate.

The ſixth Concluſion, which maintaineth much pride is, That a King and Biſhop both in one perſon, a Prelate and Juſtice in Temporal cauſes, a Curate and Officer in worldly office, doth make every Kingdom out of good order. This Concluſion is manifeſt, becauſe the Temporalty and the Spiritualty are two parts of the Holy Univerſal Church; and therefore he which addicteth himſelf to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, *Quia nemo poteſt duobus Dominis ſervire:* wherefore to be called *Amphroditæ*, which are men of both kinds, or *Ambodextri*, which is ſuch as can play with both hands, were good names for ſuch men of double eſtates. The Corolary of this Concluſion is, That thereupon we the Procurators of God in this caſe do ſue unto the Parliament, that it may be Enacted, that all ſuch as be of the Clergy (as well of the higheſt degree as of the loweſt) ſhould be fully excuſed, and occupy themſelves with their own Cure and Charge, and not with others.

The foundation of Maſſes for the Dead.

The ſeventh Concluſion that we mightily affirm is, That ſpiritual prayers made in the Church for the ſouls of the Dead (preferring any one by name more than another) is a falſe foundation of Alms, whereupon all the Houſes of Alms in *England* are falſely founded. This Concluſion is proved by two reaſons: The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from meer charity: and perfect charity excepteth no perſon, becauſe thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf. Whereby it appeareth that the benefit of any temporal gift, beſtowed and given unto Prieſts, and Houſes of Alms, is the principal cauſe of any ſpecial prayers, the which is not far different from Simony. The other reaſon is, that every ſpecial prayer, made for men condemned to eternal puniſhment, is very diſpleaſant before God. And albeit it be doubtful, yet it is very likely unto the faithful Chriſtian people, that the founders of every ſuch Houſe of Alms, for their wicked endowing of the ſame, are for the moſt part paſſed by the broad-way. The Corolary is, That every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all ſuch whom God would have ſaved, and to live. The merchandize of ſpecial prayers now uſed for the Dead maketh Mendicant poſſeſſioners and other hireling Prieſts, which otherwiſe were ſtrong enough to work and to ſerve the whole Realm, and maintaineth the ſame in idleneſs, to the great charge of the Realm, becauſe it was proved in a certain Book which the King hath, that a hundred Houſes of Alms are ſufficient for the whole Realm. And thereby might peradventure greater increaſe and profit come unto the Temporalty.

A hundred Houſes of Alms ſufficient for *England*.

Pilgrimages and Oblations.

The eighth Concluſion, needful to tell to the people beguiled is, That Pilgrimages, Prayers, and Oblations made unto blind Croſſes or Roods, or to deaf Images made either of wood or ſtone, are very near of kin unto Idolatry, and far different from Alms. And albeit that theſe things which are forbidden and imagined are the Book of errors unto the common people; notwithſtanding the uſual and common Image of the Trinity is moſt eſpecially abominable. This Concluſion God himſelf doth openly manifeſt, commanding Alms to be given to the poor and needy man, for he is the image of God in a more perfect ſimilitude and likeneſs than any block or ſtone. For God did not ſay, let us make a block or ſtone unto our likeneſs and image, but let us make man; forſomuch as the ſupreme and higheſt honour, which the Clergy calleth *Latria*, pertaineth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour which the Clergy call *Dulia*, pertaineth unto men and Angels, and to none other inferior creature. The Corolary is, That the ſervice of the Croſs, celebrate twice every year in our Church is full of Idolatry: for if Rood, Tree, Nails, and Spear ought ſo profoundly to be honoured and worſhipped, then were *Juda*'s lips (if any man could get them) a marvellous goodly Relick. But thou Pilgrim, we pray thee tell us when thou doſt offer to the bones of the Saints, and holy men which are laid up in any place; whether doſt thou relieve thereby the holy man which is already in joy, or that Alms-houſe which is ſo well endowed, whereas they are Canoniſed (the Lord knoweth how) and to ſpeak more plain, every faithful Chriſtian may well judg and ſuppoſe that the ſtrokes of that ſame man, whom they call Saint *Thomas*, were no cauſe of Martyrdom, nor yet be.

The Image of the Trinity an abominable thing.

A poor man the perfect Image of God.

*Latria, Dulia.*

*Judas* lips.

The death of *T. Becket* of *Cant.* is not to be counted for Martyrdom

The ninth Concluſion, that keepeth the people low is, That Auricular confeſſion which is ſaid to be ſo neceſſary for ſalvation, and the fained power of Abſolution, exalteth and ſetteth up the pride of Prieſts, and giveth them opportunity of other ſecret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forſomuch as both Lords and Ladies do witneſs, that for fear of their Confeſſors they dare not ſpeak the truth: and in time of confeſſion is good opportunity miniſtred of wooing, or to play the Bawds, or to make other ſecret conventions to deadly ſin. They affirm and ſay, that they are Commiſſaries ſent of God to judg and diſcern of all manner of ſin, to pardon and cleanſe whatſoever pleaſe them. They ſay alſo, that they have alſo the Keys of Heaven and Hell, and that they can excommunicate, curſe and bleſs, bind and looſe at their own will and pleaſure: inſomuch that for a ſmall reward, or for twelve pence, they will ſell the bleſſing of Heaven by charter and clauſe of warrantiſe, ſealed by their common ſeal. This Concluſion is ſo common in uſe, that it needeth not any probation. The Corolary hereof is, that the Pope of *Rome* which fained himſelf to be the profound Treaſurer of the whole Church, having that ſame worthy jewel which is the treaſure of the Paſſion of Chriſt in his own keeping and cuſtody, together with the merits of all the Saints in Heaven, whereby he giveth fained Indulgences and Pardons *a pœna & culpa*, is a Treaſurer almoſt baniſhed out of charity, whereby he may deliver all captives being in Purgatory at his pleaſure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithful Chriſtian may eaſily perceive that there is much falſhood hid in our Church.

Auricular confeſſion, Confeſſion the miniſter of luſt.

The impudent boldneſs of Prieſts.

The Pope treaſurer of the Church, inſtead of treaſure lay-eth up coals

The Tenth, That Man-ſlaughter (either by war or by any pretenſed law of juſtice for any temporal cauſe or ſpiritual revelation) is expreſly contrary unto the New Teſtament, which is the Law of Grace, full of mercy. This Concluſion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Chriſt here in earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and have compaſſion upon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reaſon is this, that for the moſt part when as men do fight, after the firſt ſtroke, charity is broken; and whoſoever dieth without charity goeth the right way to Hell. And beſides that, we do well underſtand and know, that none of the Clergy, by any lawful reaſon, can deliver any from the puniſhment of death for one deadly ſin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Teſtament, forbiddeth all manner of murther. For in the Goſpel it is ſpoken unto our forefathers, *Thou ſhalt not kill.* The Corolary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when Lords purchaſe Indulgences and Pardons *a pœna & culpa*, unto ſuch as do help their Armies to kill and murther the Chriſtian people in foreign Countries for temporal gain; as we do ſee certain Souldiers which do run among the heathen people, to get themſelves fame and renown by the murther and ſlaughter of men. Much more do they deſerve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forſomuch as by humility and peace our faith is multiplied and increaſed; for murtherers and manquellers Chriſt doth hate and menaceth, *He that ſtriketh with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword.*

How War is lawful, the proof by experience.

The eleventh Concluſion is, which is ſhame to tell, That the vow of Chaſtity, made in our Church by women that are frail and unperfect in nature, is the cauſe of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident unto the nature of man. For albeit the murther of their children born before their time, and before they are Chriſtened, and the deſtruction of their nature by Medicine, are filthy and foul ſins; yet they accompanying among themſelves, or with unreaſonable beaſts, or with any creature not having life, do paſs to ſuch an unſeemlineſs, that they ought to be puniſhed by infernal torments. The Corolary is, That Widdows and ſuch as take the Mantle and the

Nuns and Widows which vow ſingle life.

Ring deliciously fed, we would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from private offence of sin.

The twelfth, that the multitude of Arts not necessary (used in this our Church) causeth much sin and offence in wast, curiosity, and disguising in curious Apparel: experience and reason partly doth shew the same, forsomuch as nature, with a few Arts, is sufficient for mans use and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our Ambassage, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithstanding they are more at large declared in another Book, with many other more in our own proper tongue, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodness sake, that he will wholly reform our Church (now altogether out of frame) unto the perfection of her first beginning and original. *Ex Archivis Regiis.*

## The Verses following were annexed unto the Conclusions.

*Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,*
*Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:*
*Surgunt ingrati Gierzitæ Simone nati,*
*Nomine prælati, hoc defensare parati.*
*Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque præestis,*
*Qualiter, his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis?*

The which Verses are thus *Englished:*

*The* English *Nation doth lament of Sodomites their sin.*
*Which* Paul *doth plainly signifie by Idols to begin.*
*But* Gierstites *full ingrate, from sinful* Simon *strong,*
*This to defend (though Priests in name) make Bulwarks (great and strong.*
*Ye Princes therefore which to rule the people God hath placed,*
*With justice sword, why see ye not this evil great defaced?*

After these Conclusions were thus proposed in the Parliament, the King not long after returned home from *Dublin* into *England*, toward the later end of the Parliament. Who at his return called certain of his Nobles unto him, *Richard Sturie, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c.* whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straightly never to hold, maintain, nor favour any more those opinions and Conclusions. And namely of *Richard Stury* he took an Oath, that he should never from that day favour or defend any such opinions; which Oath being taken, the King then answered, And I swear (saith he) again to thee, that if thou dost ever break thine Oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death, *&c. Ex Chron. D. Alban.*

*R. Sturry, Lewis Clifford, T. Latimer, John Montacute, good favourers.*

All this while *W. Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was yet alive, who was a great stirer in these matters. But yet Pope *Urban* the great Master of the Catholick Sect was dead and buried six years before. After whom succeeded in the schismatical See of *Rome* Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, who nothing inferior to his Predecessor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which *Urban* had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters forth of the light of the Gospel: and had written sundry times to King *Richard*, as well for the repealing of the Acts of Parliament against his provisions, *Quare impedit, & premunire facies:* as also that he should assist the Prelates of *England* in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such, whom he falsly suggested to be *Lollards* and Traytors to the Church, to the King, and the Realm, *&c.* Thus the courteous Pope, whom he could not reach with his sword, at least with cruel slander of his malicious tongue would work his poyson against them; which Letter he wrote to the King in the year of our Lord 1396, which was the year before the death of *William Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. After whom succeeded in that See *Thomas Arundel*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, being first Bishop of *Ely*, afterward Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and at last made Archbishop of *Canterbury* about the year of our Lord 1397. The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1398, and the ninth year of the Pope, I find in certain Records of the Bishop of *Duresme* a certain Letter of King *Richard* the Second, written to the said Pope *Boniface*, which because I judged not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in form as followeth.

Pope *Urban* the Ninth dead. { Anno 1389. } Pope *Boniface* the 9th.

The Letters of Pope *Boniface* the Ninth to K. *Richard.*

{ Anno 1396. } The death of *W. Courtney* A. B. of *Canterbury*. *T. Arundel* A. B of *Canterbury.*

{ KING *Ric.* 2. } { Anno 1398. }

*To the most Holy Father in Christ, and Lord, Lord* Boniface *the Ninth, by the Grace of God high Pope of the most holy* Romish *and Universal Church, his humble and devout Son* Richard, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *and* France, *Lord of* Ireland, *Greeting and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted Church, and kissing of those his blessed feet.*

A Letter of K. R. 2. to Pope *Boniface* the 9th.

WHO will give my head water, and mine eyes streaming tears, that I may bewail the decay, and manifold troubles of our Mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distress of this present schism and division. For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lords flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity, resembling so the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarce know whom they ought to follow, or what Pastour as a stranger they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that City, being full of riches, become solitary and desolate, and lest the land or people which was wont to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sat as a Queen, and am not a widow, be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in amazes, that she shall not know where to turn her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shall with weeping speak that saying of the Spouse, *I sought him whom my soul loveth, I sought him and found him not.* For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, Behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lords Vineyard, and made his amiable portion a wast wilderness.

This multitude of shepherds is become very burdenous to the Lords flock. For when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and in so doing they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ, of a schism and division of the Church. And although both parties go about to subdue unto their power the whole Church militant, yet contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the body of the Church, like as when the division of the quick innocent body was naked, when the two harlots did strive afore *Solomon*; like as the Ten Tribes of *Israel* followed *Jeroboam* the Intruder, and were withdrawn from the Kingdom for *Solomons* sin: even so of old time the desire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the Church. Let your selves remember, we beseech you, how that all *Greece* did fall from the obedience of the *Romish* Church in the time of the faction of the Primarch of *Constantinople*; and how *Mahomet* with his fellows, by occasion of Supremacy in Ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of Christians, and withdrew them from the Empire and ruling of Christ. And now in these days, where the same Supremacy is, hath withdrawn it self from the obedience of it, insomuch that now in very few Realms the Candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for *Davids* sake his servant. And although now remain few Countries professing the obedience of Christs true Vicar: yet peradventure if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or that is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alledged on both sides: and this is the subtil craft of the crooked Serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity to procure schisms, as the Spider of a wholsome flower gathers poyson, and *Judas* learned of peace to make

Desire to rule in the Church.

*Greece* renounceth the *Romish* Church.

war

{KING Ric. 2.}

'war. Wherefore it is lively believed of wiſe men, that except this peſtilent ſchiſm be withſtood by and by, the Keys 'of the Church will be deſpiſed, and they ſhall bind the 'conſcience but of a few: and when either none dare be 'bold to correct this fault, or to reform things contrary to 'Gods law, ſo by this means at length Temporal Lords 'will take away the Liberties of the Church, and peradventure the *Romans* will come and take away their place, 'people, and lands: they will ſpoil their poſſeſſions, and 'bring the men of the Church into bondage, and they ſhall 'be contemned, reviled, and deſpiſed, becauſe the obedience 'of the people, and devotions towards them will almoſt 'be taken away, when the greater part of the Church, left to 'their own liberty, ſhall wax prouder than they be wont, 'leaving a wicked example to them that do ſee it. For when 'they ſee the Prelates ſtudy more for covetouſneſs than they 'were wont, to purſe up money, to oppreſs the ſubjects, in 'their puniſhings to ſeek for gain, to confound laws, to ſtir 'up ſtrife, to ſuppreſs truth, to vex poor ſubjects with wrong 'corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feaſtings 'paſt ſhame: what marvel is it if the people deſpiſe them 'as the fouleſt forſakers of Gods Law? but all theſe things 'do follow if the Church ſhould be left long in this doubtfulneſs of a ſchiſm, and then ſhould that old ſaying be verified; In thoſe days there was no King in *Iſrael*, but every 'one did that that ſeemed right and ſtraight to himſelf. *Micheas* did ſee the people of the Lord ſcattered in the mountains, as they had been ſheep without a ſhepherd: for when 'the ſhepherd is ſmitten, the ſheep of the flock ſhall be ſcattered, the great ſtroke of the ſhepherd is the miniſhing of 'his juriſdiction, by which the ſubjects are drawn from his 'obedience. When *Jaſon* had the office of the higheſt Prieſt, 'he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the cuſtoms of the heathen, the Prieſts leaving the ſervice of the 'holy Altar, and applying themſelves to Wreſtling, and other 'Exerciſes of the *Grecians*, and deſpiſing thoſe things that 'belonged to the Prieſts, did labour with all their might to 'learn ſuch things of the *Grecians*; and by that means the 'place, people, and holy ointing of Prieſts, which in times paſt 'were had in great reverence of Kings, were trodden under 'foot of all men, and robbed by the Kings power, and was 'prophaned by thruſting in for money. Therefore let the 'higheſt Vicar of Chriſt look unto this with a diligent eye, 'and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath got'ten authority above others.

The King ſeemeth here to Propheſie.

Biſhops taught by Chriſt not to play the Lords.

'If you mark well, moſt holy Father, you ſhall find that 'Chriſt rebuked ſharply two brethren, coveting the ſeat of 'honour: he taught them not to play the Lords over the 'people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be 'ſo much more humble than other, and more lowly to ſerve 'their brethren. To him that aſked his coat, to give the 'cloak, to him that ſmote him on the one cheek, to turn the 'other to him. For the ſheep that are given to his keeping 'he muſt forſake all earthly things, and to ſhed his own 'blood, yea and if need required, to die. Theſe things, I ſay, be 'thoſe that adorn the higheſt Biſhop, if they be in him, not 'his white horſe, not his Imperial Crown, becauſe he among 'all men is moſt bound to all the ſheep of Chriſt. For the fear 'of God therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye 'guide, conſider theſe things diligently, and do them wiſely, 'and ſuffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although 'not for your own cauſe, to whom peradventure the fulneſs 'of your own power is known; yet in pitying our weakneſs, 'if thou be he, tell us openly, and ſhew thy ſelf to the world, 'that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody Biſhop, 'leſt by your occaſion mans blood be ſhed, leſt Hell ſwallow 'ſuch a number of ſouls, and leſt the name of Chriſt be evil 'ſpoken of by Infidels, through ſuch a worthy perſonage.

The right ornament of a true Biſhop.

A bald anſwer.

'But peradventure ye will ſay, for our righteouſneſs it is 'manifeſt enough, and we will not put it to other mens diſputation. If this bald anſwer ſhould be admitted, the ſchiſm 'ſhould continue ſtill: ſeeing neither part is willing to agree 'to the other, and where the world is as it were equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give 'place to the other without much bloodſhed. The Incarnation 'of Chriſt and his Reſurrection was well enough known to 'himſelf and his Diſciples; yet he asked of his Father to be 'made known to the world. He made alſo the Goſpel to be 'written, and the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and ſent his Apoſtles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the 'ſame thing might be known to all men. The foreſaid reaſon is the ſubtilty of *Mahomet*, the which knowing himſelf guilty of his ſect, utterly forbad diſputations. If ye 'have ſo full truſt of your righteouſneſs, put it to the examinations of worthy perſons in a General Council, to the 'which it belongeth by right to define ſuch doubts, or elſe 'commit it unto able perſons, and give them full power to 'determine all things concerning that matter, or at the leaſt, 'by forſaking the office on both parties, leave the Church of 'God free, ſpeedily to provide for a new ſhepherd.

Publick reſpect to be preferred before private.

'We find Kings have forſaken their Temporal Kingdoms, only upon reſpect of devotion; and have taken the 'apparel of Monks profeſſion. Therefore let Chriſts Vicar 'being a profeſſor of moſt high holineſs) be aſhamed to 'continue in his ſeat of honour to the offence of all people, 'and the prejudice and hurt of the *Romiſh* Church, and the 'devotion of it, and cutting away Kingdoms from it.

'But if you ſay, It is not requiſite that the cauſe of Gods 'Church ſhould be called in controverſie, and therefore we 'cannot ſo eaſily go from it, ſeeing our conſcience gain-ſay'eth it.

Anſwer to a Popiſh objection.

'To the which we anſwer, If it be the cauſe of God and 'the Church, let the General Council judge of it: but if it 'be a perſonal cauſe (as almoſt all the world probably think'eth) if ye were the followers of Chriſt, ye would rather 'chuſe a temporal death, than to ſuffer ſuch a wavering. I 'ſay not, to the hurt of ſo many, but to the endleſs deſtruction of ſouls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an 'everlaſting ſhame of the Apoſtolical dignity. Did not *Clement* named, or (that I may more truly ſpeak) ordained of 'St. *Peter* to the Apoſtolick dignity, and to be Biſhop, reſign 'his right, that his deed might be taken of his Succeſſors for 'an example? Alſo Pope *Siricius* gave over his Popedom to 'be a comfort of the 11000 Virgins. Therefore much more 'ought you (if need require) give over your Popedom, that 'you might gather together the children of God which be 'ſcattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to 'defend the common right, even to bloodſhed: ſo is it ſome'times neceſſary for a man to wink at his own cauſe, and to 'forſake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to 'procure peace. Should not he be thought a Devil, and Chriſts 'enemy of all men, that would agree to an Election made of 'him for the Apoſtolical dignity and Popedom, if it ſhould 'be to the deſtruction of Chriſtians, diviſion of the Church, 'the offence and loſs of all faithful people? If ſuch miſchiefs 'ſhould be known to all the world by Gods revelation, to 'come to paſs by ſuch receiving of the Popedom and Apoſtolical dignity: then by the like reaſon why ſhould he 'not be judged of all men an Apoſtata, and forſaker of his 'faith, which chuſeth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than 'the unity of the Church? Chriſt died that he might gather together the children of God, which are ſcattered 'abroad: but ſuch an enemy of God and the Church 'wiſheth his ſubjects bodily to die in battel, and the more 'part of the world to periſh in ſoul, rather than forſaking 'to be Pope to live in a lower ſtate, although it were honourable. If the fear of God, the deſire of the heavenly Kingdom, and the earneſt love of the unity of the Church do 'move your heart, ſhew indeed that your works may bear re'cord to the truth. *Clement* and *Siricius* moſt holy Popes, 'not only are not reproved, but rather are reverenced of all 'men, becauſe they gave over their right for profitable cauſes, and for the ſame cauſe all the Church of holy men ſhew 'forth their praiſe. Likewiſe your name ſhould live for ever 'and ever, if ye would do the like for a neceſſary cauſe, that 'is to ſay, for the unity of Gods Church. Give no heed to the 'unmeaſurable crying of them that ſay, that the right chuſing of Popes is loſt, except ye defend your parts manfully: 'but be afraid, leſt ſuch ſtirers up of miſchief look for their 'own commodity or honour, that is to ſay, that under your 'wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After 'this ſort *Achitophel* was joyned with *Abſalom* in perſecuting his own Father, and falſe uſurping of his Kingdom.

Hard counſel for the Pope.

Unity of the Church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

The Pope will not loſe his dignity, for any publick tranquility.

Wicked flatterers about the Pope.

'Furthermore, there ſhould be no jeopardy to that Election, becauſe both parties ſtick ſtifly to the old faſhion of Election, and either of them covet the preeminence of the *Romiſh* Church, counſelling all Chriſtians to obey them. And 'although through their giving over the faſhion of chuſing 'the Pope ſhould be changed for a time, it were to be born, rather than to ſuffer any longer this diviſion in Gods Church. 'For that faſhion in chuſing is not ſo neceſſarily required to the 'ſtate of a Pope, but the ſucceſſor of the Apoſtle, as neceſſary cauſe

Better that the order of the Popes Election ſhould ceaſe, than the Church ſhould ſuffer any diviſion.

'required, might come in at the door by another faſhion 'of chuſing, and that Canonical enough. And this we are 'taught manifeſtly by examples of the Fathers; for *Peter* Biſhops of *Rome* appointed their ſucceſſors, to the time of Pope *Hilary*. 'the Apoſtle appointed after him *Clement*, and that not by 'falſe uſurping of power, as we ſuppoſe. And it was thought 'that that faſhion of appointing Popes was lawful unto the 'time of Pope *Hilary*; which decreed that no Pope ſhould 'appoint his Succeſſor.

Election of the Pope not as was before. 'Afterward the Election of the Pope went by the Cler- 'gy and people of *Rome*, and the Emperors Council agree- 'ing thereto, as it appeareth in the Election of the bleſſed 'Gregory. But *Martinus* Pope, with the conſent of the 'holy Synod, granted *Charles* the Power to chuſe the Pope. 'But of late *Nicolas* the ſecond was the firſt whom *Martin* 'makes mention of in his Councils to be choſen by the 'Cardinals. But all the Biſhops of *Lumbardy* (for the moſt 'part) withſtood this Election, and choſe *Cadulus* to be 'Pope, ſaying, That the Pope ought not to be choſen but 'of the Precinct of *Italy*. Wherefore we think it not a ſafe 'way ſo earneſtly to ſtick to the Traditions of men, in the 'faſhion of chuſing the Pope, and ſo oft to change, leſt 'we be thought to break Gods Traditions concerning the 'unity of the Church. Yea rather it were better yet to or- 'dain a new faſhion of his Election, and meeter for him 'as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the ſame Good counſel loſt. 'Election might be kept ſafe, if Gods honour were looked 'for afore your own, and the peace of the Church were 'uprightly ſought: for ſuch a diſhonouring ſhould be moſt 'honour unto you, and that giving place ſhould be the 'getting of a greater dignity, and the willing depoſing of 'your honour ſhould obtain you the entry of everlaſting 'honour, and ſhould procure the love of the whole world 'toward you, and you ſhould deſerve to be exalted con- 'tinually, as *David* was in humbling himſelf. O how 'monſtrous a ſight, and how foul a monſter is a mans body 'disfigured with two heads? So if it were poſſible, the 'Spouſe of Chriſt ſhould be made ſo monſtrous, if ſhe 'were ruled with two ſuch heads: but that is not poſſible, 'ſhe is ever altogether fair, in whom no ſpot is found; 'therefore we muſt caſt away that rotten member, and 'thruſter in of his ſecond head. We cannot ſuffer any lon- Chriſts ſeamleſs Coat broken. 'ger ſo great a wickedneſs in Gods houſe, that we ſhould 'ſuffer Gods coat that wants a ſeam, by any means to be 'torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it in ſun- 'der. For if theſe two ſhould be ſuffered to reign together, 'they would ſo betwixt them tear in pieces that little coat The Popes compared to the Soldiers that crucified Chriſt. 'of the Lord, that ſcarce one piece would hang to another. 'They paſs the wickedneſs of the Souldiers that crucified 'Chriſt: for they willing to have the Coat whole, ſaid, 'Let us not cut it, but let us caſt lots for it whoſe it ſhall be. 'But theſe two Popes ſuffering their right and title to be 'tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in 'deeds) they pronounce this ſentence, It ſhall neither be 'thine nor mine, but let it be divided; for they choſe rather 'as it appeareth, to be Lords (though it be but in a little 'part, and that to the confuſion of the unity of the Church) 'than in leaving that Lording, to ſeek for the peace of the 'Church. We do not affirm this, but we ſhew almoſt the 'whole judgment of the world of them, being moved ſo to 'think by likely conjectures. We looked for amendment of 'this intolerable contuſion, by the ſpace that theſe two in- 'venters of this miſchief lived. But we looked for peace, 'and behold trouble: for neither in their lives nor in their 'deaths they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it 'were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their Succeſſors 'matter of contention continual. But now for the ſpace of 'ſeven years, whereas of their Succeſſors we deſired and loo- 'ked for that they ſhould bear good grapes, and they bring 'forth wild grapes: in this matter we fall into a deep deſpair. 'But inaſmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, which 'promiſed that miſerably he would deſtroy thoſe wicked 'men, and let his Vineyard to other Husbandmen which 'will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath pro- 'miſed faithfully that he will help his Spouſe in her need 'to the end of the world: we leaning on the ſure hope of 'this promiſe, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by 'Gods grace will put our helping hands to the eaſing of this 'miſery, when a convenient time ſhall ſerve, as much as our godly purpoſe if it had been put in execution. 'Kingly power is able; and although our wit doth not per- 'ceive how theſe things afore rehearſed may be amended, 'yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of Gods pro- 'miſe, will do our endeavour: like as *Abraham* believed, 'his Son being ſlain by ſacrifice, that the multitude of his 'ſeed ſhould encreaſe to the number of the Stars, accor- 'ding to Gods promiſe. Now therefore the times draw 'near to make an end of this ſchiſm, leſt a third election of 'a Schiſmatick againſt the Apoſtles Succeſſor make a mu- 'ſtom of the doing, and ſo the Pope of *Avinion* ſhall be 'double *Romiſh* Pope, and he ſhall ſay with his partakers, 'as the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* ſaid unto Chriſts Vicar 'when he forſook him: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord 'is with us. And is much to be feared of all Chriſtian men: 'For that Phariſee begins now to be called the Pope of '*Avinion* among the people. But peradventure it would be 'thought of ſome men, that it belongeth not to ſecular Prin- 'ces to bridle outrages of the Pope. To whom we anſwer, Secular Princes are to bridle the outrages of the Pope. 'that naturally the members put themſelves in jeopardy to 'ſave the head, and the parts labour to ſave the whole. 'Chriſt ſo decked his Spouſe, that her ſides ſhould cleave to- 'gether, and ſhould uphold themſelves, and by courſe of time 'and occaſion of things they ſhould correct one another, and 'cleave together tunably. Did not *Moſes* put down *Aaron*, 'becauſe he was unfaithful? *Solomon* put down *Abiathar*, 'who came by lineal deſcent from *Anatoth*, and removed 'his Prieſthood from his kindred to the ſtock of *Eleazar* 'in the perſon of *Sadock* which had his beginning from Popes put down by Princes. 'Eli the Prieſt? 3 *Reg.* 2. *Otho* Emperor depoſed Pope 'John the 12. becauſe he was lecherous. *Henry* the Em- 'peror put down *Gratianus*, becauſe he uſed Simony in 'buying and ſelling ſpiritual livings. And *Otho* depoſed 'Pope *Bennet* the firſt, becauſe he thruſt in himſelf. There- 'fore by like reaſon, why may not Kings and Princes bridle 'the *Romiſh* Pope in default of the Church; if the quality 'of his fault require it, or the neceſſity of the Church by 'this compell to help the Church oppreſſed by tyranny? 'In old time ſchiſms, which roſe about making the Pope, 'were determined by the power of Secular Princes, as the 'ſchiſm betwixt *Symmachus* and *Laurence* was ended in 'a Council before *Theodoricus* King of *Italy*. *Henry* the 'Emperor when two did ſtrive to be Pope, depoſed them 'both, and received the third being choſen at *Rome* to be 'Pope, that is to ſay, *Clement* the ſecond, which Crowned 'him with the Imperial Crown. And the *Romans* promi- 'ſed him that from thenceforth they would promote none 'to be Pope without his conſent. *Alexander* alſo overcame 'four Popes ſchiſmaticks, all which *Frederick* the Emperor 'corrected.

'Thus look on the Regiſter of Popes and their deeds, 'and ye ſhall find that ſchiſms moſt commonly have been 'decided by the power of ſecular Princes, the ſchiſmaticks 'caſt out, and ſometimes new Popes made, and ſometimes 'the old ones caſt out of their dignities, and reſtored to their 'old dignities again. If it were not lawful for ſecular Prin- Law. Princes ſhould withſtand the tyranny of the Pope 'ces to bridle the outrages of ſuch a Pope lawfully made, 'and afterward becoming a Tyrant: in ſuch a caſe he 'might oppreſs overmuch the Church, he might change 'Chriſtendom into Heathens, and make the labour of Chriſt 'crucified to be in vain: or elſe truly God ſhould not have 'provided for his Spouſe in earth by all means as much as is 'poſſible by ſervice of men to withſtand dangers. There- 'fore we counſel you, with ſuch a loving affection as be- 'comes children, that ye conſider in your heart well, leſt in 'working by this means ye prepare a way to Antichriſt 'through your deſire to bear rule, and ſo by this means as 'we fear the one of theſe two ſhall chance; either ye ſhall 'cauſe all the Princes of the world to riſe againſt you to 'bring in a true follower of Chriſt to have the ſtate of the 'Apoſtolical dignity, or that is worſe, the whole world, de- 'ſpiling the ruling of one ſhepherd, ſhall leave the *Romiſh* 'Church deſolate. But God keep this from the world, that 'the deſire of honour of two men ſhould bring ſuch a de- 'ſolation into the Church of God: for them that depart- 'ing away, which the Apoſtle propheſied, ſhould come be- The King ſeemeth here to propheſie of the deſolation of the *Roman* Pope. 'fore the coming of Antichriſt were at hand: which ſhould 'be the laſt diſpoſition of the world, peaceably to receive 'Antichriſt with honour. Conſider therefore the ſtate of your 'moſt excellent Holineſs, how ye received the power from 'God to the building of the Church, and not to the de- 'ſtruction of it; that Chriſt hath given you wine and 'oyl to heal the wounded; and hath appointed you 'his Vicar in theſe things which pertain to gentleneſs, 'and hath given us theſe things which ſerve to rigour.

'For

[KING] *Ric. 2.*

'For we bear not the Sword withou a cauſe to the puniſhment of evil doers, the which power ordained of God 'we have received, our ſelves being witneſs: beſeeching 'you to receive our counſel effectually, that in doing thus, 'the waters may return to the places from whence they 'came, and ſo the waters may begin to be made ſweet with 'ſalt: leſt the Ax ſwim on the water, and the wood ſink, 'and leſt the fruitful Olive degenerate into a wild Olive, 'and the Leproſie of *Naaman* that Nobleman cleave continually to the houſe of *Gehazi*, and leſt the Pope and the 'Phariſees crucifie Chriſt again. Chriſt the Spouſe of the 'Church, which was wont to bring the chief Biſhop into 'the holieſt place, encreaſe your holineſs, or rather reſtore 'it being loſt. Written, &c. *Ex Fragm. lib. cujuſd. Dunelm.*

The Pope and the Phariſees new Crucifie Chriſt.

¶ This Epiſtle of King *Richard* the ſecond, written to Pope *Boniface* the ninth, in the time of the ſchiſm, about the year as appeared 1397. as it contained much good matter of wholeſome counſel to be followed, ſo how little it wrought with the Pope the ſequel afterward declared. For the ſchiſm notwithſtanding continued long after, in which neither of the Popes would give over their hold, or yield any thing to good counſel given them, for any reſpect of publick wealth. Such a ſtroke beareth Ambition in the Apoſtolical See, which we are wont ſo greatly to magnifie. But of this enough, which I leave and refer to the conſideration of the Lord, ſeeing Men will not look upon it.

Drawing now toward the later end of King *Richard*'s Reign, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of King *Edward* the third, ſo here alſo we ſhew forth a ſummary recapitulation of ſuch Parliamental Notes and Proceedings, as then were practiſed by publick Parliament in this Kings time, againſt the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*; to the intent that ſuch, (if any ſuch be) that think, or have thought the receiving of the Popes double authority to be ſuch an ancient thing within this Realm, may diminiſh their opinion as evidently may appear by divers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and inveſting of Biſhops by the King. As where King *Oſwin* commanded *Cedde* to be ordained Archbiſhop of *York*. Alſo where King *Egfride* cauſed *Cuthbert* to be brought to King *Canute*, and at his commandment was inſtituted Biſhop of the ſame See. *Ex lib. Malmesb. de geſtis Pontif. Anglorum.* And likewiſe *Mat. Pariſ.* teſtifieth, that King *Henry* the Third gave the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* to *Radulphus* then Biſhop of *London*, and inveſted him with Staff and Ring. And the ſame King gave the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* to *William Gifford*; and moreover, following the ſteps both of his Father and Brother before him, endowed him with the poſſeſſions pertaining to the ſaid Biſhoprick (the contrary Statute of Pope *Urban*, forbidding that Clerks ſhould receive any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity at the hand of Princes, or of any lay perſon, to the contrary notwithſtanding, *&c.*) Innumerable examples of like ſort are to be ſeen in ancient Hiſtories of this our Realm. As alſo out of the Parliament Rolls in the time of King *Edward* the Third, hath ſufficiently been touched a little before. Whereunto alſo may be added the Notes of ſuch Parliaments as have been holden in the Reign of this preſent King *Richard* the Second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

The Popes uſurped Juriſdiction never received in *England* before late years.

*Ex lib. Gulielmi Malmesb. de geſtis Pontif. Anglorum. Ex Mat. Pariſ. lib. de vita Hen.*

## ¶ *Notes of certain Parliaments holden in the Reign of King* Richard *the Second, making againſt the Pope.*

*Ex Archivis Parliament. An. 1. Reg. R. 2. tit. 66.*

IN the firſt year of King *Richard* the Second, in the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, it was requeſted and granted, That the Popes Collector be willed no longer to gather the firſt fruits of Benefices within this Realm, being a very novelty, and that no perſon do any longer pay them.

*Tit. 27.* Item, *That no man do procure any Benefice by proviſion from* Rome, *on pain to be out of the Kings protection.*

Item, *That no* Engliſhman *do take to farm of any Alien any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Prebend, on the like pain.* In which Bill was rehearſed, that the *Frenchmen* had ſix thouſand pounds yearly of ſuch Livings in *England.*

Item, *That remedy might be had againſt the Popes reſervations to dignities elective, the ſame being done againſt the Treaty of the Pope, taken with King* Edward *the* 3d. *Tit. 57.*

In the ſecond year of the ſaid King *Richard* the Second, it was by Petition requeſted, that ſome order might be taken touching Aliens, having the greateſt part of the Church Dignities in their hands. Whereunto the King anſwered, That by advice of the Lords he would provide therefore. *Ex Anno 2. Tit. 70.*

Item, *It was Enacted, That all the Benefices of Cardinals, and other Rebels, to Pope* Urban *that now is, ſhall be ſeized into the Kings hands.* *Tit. 72.*

An Act that Pope *Urban* was true and lawful Pope, and that the Livings of all Cardinals, and other Rebels to the ſaid Pope, ſhould be ſeized into the Kings hands, and the King be anſwered of the profits thereof: And that whoſoever within this Realm ſhall procure or obtain any proviſion or other inſtrument from any other Pope than the ſame *Urban*, ſhall be out of the Kings protection. *Tit. 78.*

Moreover, in the third year of King *Richard* the Second, the Prelates and Clergy made their proteſtation in this Parliament, expreſly againſt a certain new Graht, to wit, their Extortions: *That the ſame never ſhould paſs with their aſſent and good will to the blemiſhing of the liberties of the Church, if by that word extortion they meant any thing largely to proceed againſt Ordinaries and others of the Church. But if they meant none otherwiſe to deal hereafter therein, than before that time had been done, then would they conſent.* Whereunto it was replied for the King, *That neither for the ſame their ſaid Proteſtation, or other words in that behalf, the King would ſtay to grant to his Juſtices in that caſe, and all other caſes, as was uſed to be done in times paſt, and he was bound to do by vertue of his Oath taken at his Coronation.* *Ex 3. Anno Reg. Ric. 2.* Here note well a ſtrange proceeding. But mark the ſtrange event.

Furthermore, in the fourth year of the ſaid King *Richard* the Second, it was requeſted, *That proviſion might be had againſt the Popes Collectors, for levying of the firſt fruits of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities within the Realm.* *Tit. 44.*

Item, *That all Priors Aliens might be removed out of their Houſes, and licenſed to depart, and never to revert. And that* Engliſhmen *may be placed in their Livings, anſwering the King as they did.* *Tit. 46.*

And in the *9th* year of the foreſaid King, touching matter of the Staple, the Speaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought beſt the ſame were planted within the Realm, conſidering that *Calis*, *Burges*, and other Towns beyond the Seas grew very rich thereby, and good Towns here very much decayed; and ſo it was much for the common profit. Touching the King, he affirmed that the Subſidy and Cuſtom of Wooll yielded more to the King when the Staple was kept in *England* by one thouſand Marks yearly, than it did now being holden beyond the Seas. *Ex 9. Anno ejuſdem Regis. Tit. 4.*

Item, *That inquiſition and redreſs might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as under the licence to purchaſe* 10 l. *yearly, do purchaſe* 80 l. *or* 100 l. *Tit. 36.*

Item, *That all Clerks, advanced to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity or Living by the King, will grant to the King the firſt fruits of their Livings, none otherwiſe than they would have done to the Pope, being advanced by him.* *Tit. 48.*

In the 11th year of King *Richard* the Second, it was put up by the Petitions of the Commons, *That ſuch Impoſitions as are gathered by the Popes Bulls of* volumus *and* imponimus *of the Tranſlations of B. B. and ſuch like, might be imployed on the Kings Wars againſt the Schiſmaticks of* Scotland. *And that ſuch as bring into the Realm the like Bulls and Novelties may be reputed for Traitors.* *Tit. 26.*

In the *13th* year of his Reign followed another Parliament, in which although the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*, for them and the whole Clergy of their Provinces, made their ſolemn Proteſtations in open Parliament, *That they in no wiſe meant, or would aſſent to any Statute or Law made in reſtraint of the Popes authority, but utterly withſtood the ſame*, willing this Proteſtation of theirs to be enrolled; yet the ſaid Proteſtation of theirs at that time took no great effect. *An. 13. Regis Richi. 2. Tit. 24.*

*Item*, In the ſame Parliament it was put up by publick Petition, *That the Popes Collector ſhould be commanded to avoid the Realm within* 40 *days, or elſe to be taken as the Kings enemy, and that every ſuch Collector from henceforth* *Tit. 34.*

*may*

*may be an* Engliſhman, *and ſworn to execute the ſtatutes made in this Parliament.*

Ex Tit. 9. Moreover, in the ſaid Parliament, the year aboveſaid of the King, the 26th of *January*, Mr. *John Mandoure* Clerk, was charged openly in the Parliament, *That he ſhould not paſs, ne ſend over to* Rome, *ne attempt or do any thing there touching the Archdeaconry of* Durham, *in prejudice of the King, or of his laws, or of the party preſented thereto by the King, on peril that might enſue.*

Ex Stat. 14. Reg. Ric. 2. tit. 6. The next year following, which was the 14th of this Kings Reign, it was Enacted firſt touching the Staplers, That, after the Feaſt of *Epiphany* next enſuing, the Staple ſhould be removed from *Calis* into *England*, in ſuch places as are contained in the Statute made in 27 *Edw.* 3. the which Statute ſhould be fully executed: And further, That every Alien, that bringeth Merchandiſe into the Realm, ſhould find ſufficient ſurety to buy and carry away Commodities of the Realm, to half the value of the ſaid Merchandiſe.

Tit. 24. Againſt uſury. *Item*, In the ſame Parliament Petition was made, That againſt the horrible vice of Uſury, then termed ſhifts, practiſed as well by the Clergy as Laity, the Order made by *John Notte*, late Mayor of *London*, might be executed throughout the Realm.

Ex tit. 29. Moreover, in the 15*th* year of the Reign of the foreſaid King, it was accorded, for that Sir *William Brian* Knight, had purchaſed from *Rome* a Bull directed from the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, to Excommunicate ſuch as had broken up his Houſe, and had taken away divers Letters, Priviledges and Charters; the ſame Bull, being read in the Parliament Houſe, was adjudged prejudicial to the Kings Crown, and in derogation of the Laws; for the which he was by the King, and aſſent of the Lords, committed to the Tower, there to remain at the Kings will and pleaſure.

Vide articulum tit. 29. In the ſaid Parliament alſo, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* maketh his Proteſtation in the open Parliament, ſaying, *That the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Biſhop, or to intermeddle, for, or touching any preſentment to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity recorded in any the Kings Courts.* He further proteſted, *that the Pope ought to make no tranſlation to any Biſhoprick within the Realm againſt the Kings will; for that the ſame was to the deſtruction of the Realm and Crown of* England, *which hath alway been ſo free, as the ſame hath had none earthly Sovereign, but hath been ſubject to God only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other.* The which Proteſtation he prayed might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Ric. 2. Tit. 33. In the 17*th* year of the Reign of the King aforeſaid, it was deſired that remedy might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villains or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the Lands came to thoſe religious mens hands by colluſion.

*Item*, That ſufficient perſons might be preſented to Benefices, who may do well on the ſame, ſo as their ſtock for want thereof do not periſh.

*Item*, That remedy might be had againſt the Abbots of *Colcheſter* and *Abington*, who in the Towns of *Colcheſter* and *Colnham* claim to have Sanctuary.

Ex An. 20. Reg. Ric. 2. Tit. 22. To come to the Parliament holden in the 20th year of this Kings Reign; we find moreover in the ſaid Rolls, how that the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York* for themſelves, and the Clergy of their Provinces, declared to the King in open Parliament, *That (foraſmuch as they were ſworn to the Pope and See of* Rome) *if any thing were in the Parliament attempted in reſtraint of the ſame, they would in no wiſe aſſent thereto, but verily withſtand the ſame*, the which their Proteſtation they require to be enrolled.

Here the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſpeeth contrary to himſelf.

Tit. 32. Upon the Petition of the begging Friers, there at large it was Enacted, *That none of that Order ſhould paſs over the Seas without licence of his Sovereign, nor that he ſhould take upon him any order of Mr. of Divinity, unleſs he were firſt appoſed in his Chapter provincial, on pain to be put out of the King's protection.*

Tit. 36. *Item*, That the Kings Officers, for making Arreſts or Attachments in Churchyards, are therefore excommunicated, whereof remedy was required.

Ex 21. An. Reg. Ric. 2. pl. 15. In the 21ſt year of the ſame Kings Reign the Parliament being holden at *Weſtminſter*, we find how the Commons in full Parliament, accuſed *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for that he as Chancellor procured, and as chief doer executed the ſame Commiſſion, made traiterouſly in the tenth year of the King. And alſo, That he the ſaid Archbiſhop procured the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, to incroach to themſelves Royal Power, and to judge to death *Simon de Burley*, and Sir *John Berners* without the Kings aſſent. Whereupon the Commons required that the ſame Archbiſhop might reſt under ſafe keeping; whereunto, for that the ſame Impeachments touched ſo great a perſon, they would be adviſed. {KING Ric. 2.}

*Item*, The 25th day of *September*, the Commons prayed Ex the King to give Judgment againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, according to his deſerts. The King anſwered, that privately the ſaid Archbiſhop had confeſſed to him, how he miſtook himſelf in the ſaid Commiſſion, and therefore ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy: Wherefore the Kings, Lords, and Sir *Thomas Percy*, Proctor for the Clergy, adjudged the fact of the ſaid Archbiſhop to be Treaſon, and himſelf a Traitor; and therefore it was ordered, that the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be baniſhed, his Temporalties ſeized, his Lands and Goods forfeited, as well in uſe, as in poſſeſſion. *Tho. Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* proved a Traitor by Parliament.

The King further preſcribed, that the ſaid Archbiſhop Ex tit. 17 ſhould take his paſſing on *Friday*, within ſix Weeks of *Michaelmas*, at *Dover*, towards the parts of *France*.

Thus having hitherto ſufficiently touched and comprehended ſuch things as have happened in the Reign of this King, neceſſary for the Church to know, by courſe of ſtory; we come now to the 22d year of K. *Richard*'s Reign which is the year of our Lord *1399*. In the which year happened the ſtrange and alſo lamentable depoſing of this K. *Richard* the 2d aforeſaid from his Kingly Scepter. Strange, for that the like example hath not often been ſeen in Seats Royal. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grievous to any good mans heart, to ſee him either ſo to deſerve, if he were juſtly depoſed, or if he were unjuſtly deprived, to ſee the Kingly Title there not able to hold his right, where by force it is compelled to give place to might. {Ann. 1399} The depoſing of K. *Richard* the ſecond. The ſtory ſtrange and lamentable.

As concerning the order and proceſs of whoſe depoſing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is ſufficiently contained in *Robert Fabian*, and in the Kings Records in the Chronicle of St. *Albans*, and in other Hiſtories at large, it were here tedious and ſuperfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof. What were the conditions and properties of this King, partly before hath been touched. In whom as ſome good vertues may be noted, ſo alſo ſome vices may ſeem to be mixed withal. But eſpecially this, that he ſtarting out of the ſteps of his Progenitors, ceaſed to take part with them, which took part with the Goſpel: Whereupon it ſo fell, not by the blind Wheel of Fortune, but by the ſecret hand of him which directeth all eſtates, that as he firſt began to forſake the maintaining of the Goſpel of God, ſo the Lord began to forſake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to fail, there can lack no cauſes to be charged withal, whom God once giveth over to mans puniſhment. So that to me, conſidering the whole life and trade of this Prince, among all other cauſes alledged in ſtories againſt him, none ſeemeth ſo much to be weighed of us, or more hurtful to him than this forſaking of the Lord and his Word. Although to ſuch as liſt more to be certified in other cauſes concurring withal, many and ſundry defects in that King may appear in ſtories, to the number of thirty three Articles alledged, or forced rather againſt him. Vices and vertues mixt in K. *Richard*. What it is to forſake the maintenance of the Goſ

In which as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame; ſo to be diſplaced therefore from his Regal Seat, and rightful ſtate of the Crown, it may be thought perhaps the cauſes not to be ſo rare, or ſo material in a Prince, which either could or elſe would have ſerved; had not he given over before to ſerve the Lord and his Word, chuſing rather to ſerve the humor of the Pope and bloudy Prelates, than to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of his Word. And then, as I ſaid, how can enemies lack where God ſtandeth not to friend? or what cauſe can be ſo little, which is not able enough to caſt down, where the Lords arm is ſhortned to ſuſtain? Wherefore it is a point of principal wiſdom in a Prince, not to forget, that as he ſtandeth always in need of Gods helping hand, ſo, always he have the diſcipline and fear of him before his eyes, according to the counſel of the godly King *David*, *Pſal.* 2. Articles 33. laid againſt K. *Richard*. Gods ſpecial favour neceſſary for Princes. Pſalm 2.

And

KING *Ric.2.*

And thus much touching the time and race of this King *Richard*, with the tragical ſtory of his depoſing. The order and manner whereof purpoſely I pretermit, only contented briefly to lay together a few ſpecial things done before his fall, ſuch as may be ſufficient, in a brief ſumm, both to ſatisfie the Reader inquiſitive of ſuch ſtories, and alſo to forewarn other Princes to beware of the like dangers. In ſuch as write the life and acts of this Prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain perſons about him, and ruled all by their counſel, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the Realm: The Names of whom were *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, whom the King made Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Triſilian* Lord Chief Juſtice, *Nicholas Brembre*, with other.

The King led with evil counſel.

Theſe men, being hated and diſdained of divers of the Nobles, and of the Commons, the King alſo by favouring them, was leſs favoured himſelf. Inſomuch, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, named *Thomas Woodſtock* the Kings Uncle, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and Earl of *Darby*, ſtood up in Arms againſt thoſe counſellers and abuſers (as they named them) of the King. Inſomuch that the King for fear was conſtrained againſt his mind to remove out of his Court, *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John Ford* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, Frier *Thomas Ruſhoke* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Kings Confeſſor, with the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnel*, and *Bemond*, Lord *Vere*, and divers other.

The Nobles up in arms againſt certain of the Kings Counſellers.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the ſame year following, *Robert Triſilian* the Juſtice was hanged and drawn. Alſo *Nicholas Brembre* Knight, *James Salisbury* alſo; and *James Barneſe* both Knights, *John Bewcamp* the Kings Steward, and *John Blake* Eſquire in like manner: All theſe by the counſel of the Lords being caſt in the Parliament againſt the Kings mind, did ſuffer, which was in the 11th of his Reign, he being yet under governours; but conſequently after the ſame, the King claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of twenty, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that ſtirred up the Kings ſtomach againſt the Nobles. *Ex Chron. Alban.*

*Ex Chron. D. Alban.*

The ſecond preparative to the Kings depoſing.

2. Another thing that ſtirred him up as much againſt the *Londoners*, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a Thouſand pound, and they denied him, to their double and treble diſadvantage, as after enſued upon it. *Ibidem.* Another occaſion, beſides this between the King and the *Londoners* happened thus, by reaſon of one of the Biſhop of *Saliſburys* ſervants, named *Roman*, and a Bakers man; who then carrying a Basket of Horſebread in in *Fleetſtreet*, the foreſaid *Roman* took a Horſe-loaf out of the Basket. The Baker asking him why he did ſo, the Biſhops luſty Yeoman turned back again and brake his head; whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have arreſted this *Roman*, but he eſcaped away unto the Biſhops Houſe. Then the Conſtable would have had him out; but the Biſhops men ſhut faſt the Gates, that they ſhould not approach, thus much people gathered together, threatning to burſt open the gates, and fire the houſe, unleſs they had the foreſaid party to them brought out. Whereby much ado there was, till at length the Mayor and Sheriffs came and quieted the rage of the Commons, and ſent every man home to his houſe, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done, but if the Biſhop for his part had been quiet, and had not ſtirred the coals of debate, which were well ſlacked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the ſtomach of the Biſhop not yet digeſted (although his man had done the wrong) having no great cauſe ſo to do, whoſe name was *John Waltam*, being then Treaſurer of *England*, went to *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop the ſame time of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, to complain of the *Londoners*. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed, by the way, a privy myſtery, which although it be not in this ſtory touched of the Writers, yet it touched the hearts of the Biſhops not a little. For the *Londoners* at that time were notoriouſly known to be favourers of *Wickliff*'s ſide, as partly before this is to be ſeen, and in the ſtory of S. *Albans* more plainly doth appear: Where the Author of the ſaid Hiſtory, writing upon the 15th year of Kings *Richard*'s Reign, reporteth in theſe words of the *Londoners*, that they were *Male creduli in Deum & traditiones*

*Joh. Waltam* Biſhop of *Saliſbury* Makebate.

*Tho. Arundel* Archbiſhop of *York*.

*Londoners* favourers of *Wickliffs* Doctrine.

*Ex hiſtor. D. Albani, cujus ſic habet initium Anno gratiæ, &c.*

*avitæ, Lollardorum ſuſtentatores, religioſorum detractatores, decimarum detentores, & communis vulgi depauperatores, &c.* i. *Not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, ſuſtainers of the* Lollards, *depravers of religious men, withholders of Tithes, and impoveriſhers of the common people, &c.*

Thus the *Londoners*, being noted and ſuſpected of the Biſhops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the ſaid Biſhops which were the more ready to find and take all occaſions to work againſt them, as by their doing herein may well appear. For the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and Archbiſhop of *York*, having no greater matter againſt them, than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the King, complaining of the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*. What treſpaſs the Mayor and Sheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, ſo may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The King, incenſed not a little, with the complaint of the Biſhops, conceived eſtſoons againſt the Mayor and Sheriffs, and againſt the whole City of *London*, a great ſtomach: Inſomuch, that the Mayor and both the Sheriffs were ſent for, and removed from their Office. Sir *Edward Darlington* then was made Warden and Governour of the City; who alſo, for his gentleneſs ſhewed to the Citizens, was alſo depoſed, and another named Sir *Baldwin Radington*, placed in that room. Moreover, ſo much grew the Kings diſpleaſure againſt the City, that he alſo removed from *London* the Courts, and Terms to be kept at *York*, that is to ſay, the Chancery, the Eſchequer, the Kings-Bench, the Hamper, and the Common Pleas; where the ſame continued from *Midſummer* till *Chriſtmas*, to the great decay of the City of *London*; which was *Anno* 1393.

*Londoners* complained of to the King by the Biſhops. *Brati pacifici.*

The Court removed from *London* to *York*.

3. Another great cauſe, which purchaſed the King much evil will amongſt his Subjects, was the ſecret murthering of his own Uncle named *Thomas Woodſtock*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the ſaid Duke, with the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Darby*, with other, were up in Armour againſt certain wicked Counſellors about the King. Whereupon the King, watching afterward his time, came into *Chelmsford*, and ſo to the place near by, where the Duke lay; where with his own hands he arreſted the ſaid Duke his Uncle, and ſent him down by water immediately to *Calis*; and there, through the Kings commandment, by ſecret mans he was put to death, being ſtrangled under a Featherbed, the Earl Marſhal being then the Keeper of *Calis*, whereby great indignation roſe in many mens hearts againſt the King.

The 3d preparative to the Kings depoſing.

The King arreſting his own Uncle, cauſed him to be put wrongfully to death.

With the ſame Duke of *Gloceſter* alſo, about the ſame time, was arreſted and impriſoned the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, who, being condemned by Parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation roſe in the hearts of many againſt the King. *An.* 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blank Charts ſent over all the Land by the King; and how the King was ſaid to let out his Realm to farm: Over and beſide all theſe above premiſed, fell another matter, which was the principal occaſion of this miſchief; The baniſhment, I mean, of *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, made Duke of *Hereford* a little before, being Son of *John* of *Gaunt* the Duke of *Lancaſter* (who died ſhortly after the baniſhment of his Son, and lieth buried in the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*) and the Duke of *Northfolk*; who was before Earl of *Nottingham*, and after by this King made Duke of *Northfolk* the year before. At which time the King made five Dukes, a Marqueſs, and four Earls, to wit, Duke of *Hereford*, which was before Earl of *Darby*; Duke of *Awmerle*, which was before Earl of *Rutland*; Duke of *Southrey*, who was before Earl of *Kent*; Duke of *Exeter*, which was before Earl of *Huntington*; and this Duke of *Northfolk*, being before Earl of *Nottingham*, as is aforeſaid, *&c.* The occaſion of baniſhing theſe foreſaid Dukes was this.

Earl of *Nottingham* made Duke of *Northfolk*.

About this preſent time the Duke of *Hereford* did appeach the Duke of *Northfolk* upon certain words to be ſpoken againſt the King: whereupon caſting their Gloves one againſt the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrel, a day being for the ſame appointed at *Coventry*. But the King took up the matter in his own hands, baniſhing the Duke of *Northfolk* for ever, which after died at *Venice*;

The Duke of *Northfolk* and Duke of *Hereford* baniſhed.

*Venice*; and the other Duke, which was the Duke of *Hereford*, for 10 years. Beſide theſe, alſo was exiled into *France* *Tho. Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by Act of Parliament, in the ſame year, for points of Treaſon, as ye have heard before expreſſed, *pag.* 583. col. 2. All which turned to the great inconvenience of this King, as in the event following may appear.

*Tho. Arundel* baniſhed as a Traitor by Parliament.

Theſe cauſes and preparatives thus premiſed, it followed the year after, which was *Anno* 1399. and laſt year of this King, that the King, upon certain affairs to be done, took his Voyage into *Ireland*. In which mean time *Henry* of *Bollingbroke*, Earl of *Darby*, and Duke of *Hereford*, and with him the foreſaid Archbiſhop *Thomas Arundel* (which before were both exiled) returning out of *France* to *Calis*, came into *England*, challenging the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, after the death of his Father. With them alſo came the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Arundel*, being yet but young. Theſe together ſetting out of *Calis*, arrived at *Ravenſpur* in the North. At the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

{Anno 1399.}

In this mean time, as the Duke was hovering on the Sea to enter the Land, Lord *Edmund* Duke of *York*, the Kings Uncle, to whom the King committed the cuſtody of this Realm (having intelligence thereof) called to him the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, named *Edmund Stafford*, Chancellor of the Realm, and *William Scrope*, Earl of *Wilſhire* Lord Treaſurer, alſo *John Buſhey*, *William Bagot*, *Henry Grene*, and *John Ruſchel*, with divers other, conſulting with them what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Who then gave their advice (whether wilful or unskilful, it is not known, but very unfruitful) that he ſhould leave *London*, and go to St. *Albans*, there to wait for more ſtrength, able to encounter with the Duke. But as the people out of divers quarters reſorted thither, many of them proteſted that they would do nothing to the harm and prejudice of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who, they ſaid, was unjuſtly expulſed. The reſt of the Council *John Buſhey*, *William Bagot*, *Henry Grene*, *William Scrope* Treaſurer, hearing and underſtanding how the Commons were minded to joyn with the Duke of *Hereford*, left the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Chancellor, and fled to the Caſtle of *Briſtow*. Where it is to be underſtood, that theſe four were they, to whom the common fame ran, that the King had let out his Realm to farm; and were ſo hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more than for the King, this commotion was among the people.

What evil company doth about a King.

As this broil was in *England*, the noiſe thereof ſounding to the Kings ears, being then in *Ireland*, for haſty ſpeed of returning into *England*, he left in *Ireland* both his buſineſs, and moſt of his Ordinance alſo behind him; And ſo paſſing the Seas, landed at *Milford* Haven, not daring, as it ſeemed, to come to *London*.

*K. Richard* returneth from *Ireland* to *Milford* haven.

On the contrary ſide, unto *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, being landed, as is ſaid, in the North, came the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord *Henry Percy*, and *Henry* his Son, the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, Lord *Radulph Nevil*, and other Lords more to a great number, ſo that the multitude roſe to 60000 able Soldiers. Who, firſt making toward the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, took the foreſaid *Buſhey*, *Grene*, *Scrope* and *Bagot*; of whom three incontinently were beheaded, *Bagot* eſcaped away, and fled away to *Ireland*.

*K. Richard* forſaken of his Subjects. What it is for a Prince to be beloved of his Subjects.

The King in this mean while, lying about *Wales*, deſtitute and deſolate, without comfort or counſel; who neither durſt come to *London*, neither would any man come to him; and perceiving moreover, the Commons, that were up in ſuch a great power againſt him, would rather die, than give over that they had begun, for fear of themſelves; ſeeing therefore no other remedy, called to him Lord *T. Percy* Earl of *Worceſter*, and Steward of his Houſhold, willing him, with other of his Family, to provide for themſelves in time. Who then openly in the Hall brake his white Rod before them all, commanding every Man to ſhift for himſelf. Although *Fabian* and ſome other ſay, that he did this of his own accord, contrary to his Allegiance. The King, compaſſed on every ſide with miſeries, ſhifted from place to place, the Duke ſtill following him; till at length, being at the Caſtle of *Coneway*, the King deſired to talk with *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, and the Earl of *Northumberland*; to whom he declared, *That he would reſign up his Crown, in condition that an honourable living might be for him provided, and life promiſed to eight perſons, ſuch as he would name.* Which being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the Caſtle of *Flint*, where (after talk had with the Duke of *Lancaſter*) he was brought the ſame night by the Duke and his Army to *Cheſter*, and from thence was conveyed ſecretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next Parliament. By the way as he came near to *London*, divers evil diſpoſed men of the City being warned thereof, gathered themſelves, thinking to have ſlain him, for the great cruelty he had uſed before toward the City; but by the policies of the Mayor and Rulers of the City, the madneſs of the people was ſtayed. Not long after followed the Duke, and alſo began the Parliament. In which Parliament the Earl of *Northumberland*, with many other Earls and Lords were ſent to the King in the Tower, to take of him a full reſignation, according to his former promiſe, and ſo they did. This done, divers Accuſations and Articles were laid and engroſſed againſt the ſaid King, to the number of thirty three, ſome ſay thirty eight, which for the matter not greatly material in them contained, I overpaſs. And the next year after he was had to *Pomfret* Caſtle, and there famiſhed to death.

{KING Hen. 4.}

The King committed to the Tower.

## *King* HENRY *the Fourth.*

AND thus King *Richard* by common aſſent being depoſed from his rightful Crown, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was led by *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop to the Seat Royal; who there ſtanding up, and croſſing himſelf on the forehead and the breaſt, ſpake in words as followeth:

The words of Henry Duke, claiming the Crown.

*In the Name of God, Amen. I* Henry *of* Lancaſter, *claim the Realm of* England *and the Crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am deſcended by right line of the blood, coming from that good Lord King* Henry *the Third. And through the right that God of his grace hath ſent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover the ſame, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance, and due juſtice, &c.*

¶ After which words the Archbiſhop, asking the aſſent of the people, being joyful of their new King, took the Duke by the hand, and placed him in the Kingly Throne, which was *An.* 1399. and ſhortly after, by the foreſaid Archbiſhop, he was Crowned alſo for King of *England*. *Ex Chron. D. Alban.*

King Henry the fourth, inthroned and crowned.

The next year after followed a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*; in which Parliament one *William Sautre*, a good man and a faithful Prieſt, inflamed with zeal of true Religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole Realm. But the matter being ſmelt before by the Biſhop, they obtained that the matter ſhould be referred to the Convocation; where the ſaid *William Sautre* being brought before the Biſhops and Notaries thereunto appointed, the Convocation was deferred to the *Saturday* next enſuing.

{Ann. 1400.} *W. Sautre* Martyr.

*W. Sautre* brought before the Biſhops in the Convocation.

When *Saturday* was come, that is to ſay, the 12*th* day of *February*, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the preſence of his Council Provincial, being aſſembled in the ſaid Chapter-houſe, againſt one Sir *William Sautre*, otherwiſe called *Chatris* Chaplain, perſonally then and there appearing by the commandment of the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* objected; that the ſaid Sir *William* before the Biſhop of *Norwich* had once renounced and abjured divers and ſundry Concluſions heretical and erroneous; and that after ſuch Abjuration made, he publickly and privily held, taught and preached the ſame Concluſions, or elſe ſuch like, diſagreeing to the Catholick faith, and to the great peril, and pernicious example of others. And after this he cauſed ſuch like Concluſions, holden and preached, as is ſaid, by the ſaid Sir *William* without renunciation, then and there to be read unto the ſaid Archbiſhop, by Mr. *Robert Hall*, Chancellor unto the ſaid Biſhop, in a certain Scrole written, in tenor of words as followeth.

*K. Richard* agreed to reſign his Crown.

Sir *William Chatris*, otherwiſe called *Sautre*, Pariſh Prieſt of the Church St. *Scithe* the Virgin in *London*, publickly and privily doth hold theſe Concluſions under written.

¶ *Imprimis*,

KING Hen. 4 The Articles of W. Sautre.

¶ *Imprimis*, He ſaith, *That he will not worſhip the Croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, but only Chriſt that ſuffered upon the Croſs.*

2. Item, *That he would ſooner worſhip a temporal King, than the foreſaid woodden Croſs.*

3. Item, *That he would rather worſhip the bodies of the Saints, than the very Croſs of Chriſt on which he hung, if it were before him.*

4. Item, *That he would rather worſhip a man truly contrite, than the Croſs of Chriſt.*

5. Item, *That he is bound rather to worſhip a Man that is predeſtinate, than an Angel of God.*

6. Item, *That if any Man would viſit the Monuments of* Peter *and* Paul, *or go on pilgrimage to the Tomb of Saint* Thomas, *or elſe any whither elſe, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may diſtribute the expences of his Vow, upon the alms of the poor.*

7. Item, *That every Prieſt and Deacon is more bound to preach the Word of God, than to ſay the Canonical hours.*

8. Item, *That after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words of the body of Chriſt, the bread remaineth of the ſame nature that it was before, neither doth it ceaſe to be bread.*

To which Concluſions or Articles being thus read, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* required the ſame Sir *William* to anſwer. And then the ſaid *William* asked a Copy of ſuch Articles or Concluſions, and a competent ſpace to anſwer unto the ſame. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop commanded a Copy of ſuch Articles or Concluſions to be delivered then and there unto the ſaid Sir *William*, aſſigning the *Thurſday* then next enſuing to him to deliberate and make anſwer in. When *Thurſday* the ſaid day of appearance was come, Maſter *Nicholas Riſhton*, auditor of the cauſes and buſineſs belonging to the ſaid Archbiſhop (then being in the Parliament Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, otherwiſe let) continued the ſaid Convocation with all matters riſing, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandment of the ſaid Biſhop, until the next morrow at eight of the Clock. When the morrow came, being *Friday*, the foreſaid Sir *William Sautre*, in the Chapter-houſe before the ſaid Biſhop and his Council Provincial then and there aſſembled, making his perſonal appearance, exhibited a certain Scrole, containing the Anſwers unto certain Articles or Concluſions given unto him, as is aforeſaid, by the ſaid Biſhop; and ſaid, that unto the foreſaid Archbiſhop he delivered the ſame as his anſwer in that behalf, under the tenor of ſuch words as follow.

The anſwer of W. Sautre given in, in Writing.

*I* William Sautre, *Prieſt unworthy, ſay and anſwer, that I will not, nor intend not to worſhip the Croſs whereon Chriſt was crucified, but only Chriſt that ſuffered upon the Croſs; ſo underſtanding me, That I will not worſhip the material Croſs, or the groſs corporal matter: yet notwithſtanding I will worſhip the ſame as a ſign, token and memorial of the Paſſion of Chriſt*, Adoratione vicaria. *And that I will rather worſhip a temporal King, than the foreſaid woodden Croſs, and the material ſubſtance of the ſame. And that, I will rather worſhip the bodies of Saints, than the very Croſs of Chriſt whereon he hung; with this addition, that if the very ſame Croſs were afore me, as touching the material ſubſtance. And alſo that I will rather worſhip a man truly confeſſed and penitent, than the Croſs on which Chriſt hung, as touching the material ſubſtance.*

The Croſs materially, not to be worſhipped

*And that alſo I am bound, and will rather worſhip him whom I know to be predeſtinate, truly confeſſed and contrite than an Angel of God; for that the one is a man of the ſame nature with the humanity of Chriſt, and ſo is not a bleſſed Angel. Notwithſtanding I will worſhip both of them, according as the will of God is I ſhould.*

A man predeſtinate rather to be worſhipped than an Angel: that is to ſay, neither can be worſhipped without idolatry.

*Alſo, That if any Man hath made a Vow to viſit the Shrines of the Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul, *or to go on Pilgrimage unto S.* Thomas *Tomb, or any whither elſe, to obtain any temporal benefit or commodity; he is not bound ſimply to keep his Vow upon the neceſſity of Salvation; but he may give the expences of his Vow in alms amongſt the poor, by the prudent counſel of his ſuperiour, as I ſuppoſe.*

*And alſo I ſay, that every Deacon and Prieſt is more bound to preach the Word of God, than to ſay the Canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the Church.*

*Alſo, Touching the interrogation of the Sacrament of the Altar, I ſay, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words of the body of Chriſt, there ceaſeth not to be very bread ſimply, but remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the ſaid Sacrament to be the very body of Chriſt, after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words.*

How he reſteth in the Sacrament.

When all theſe anſwers were throughly by Maſter *Robert Hall* directly and publickly there read the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* inquired of the ſaid Sir *William*, whether he had abjured the foreſaid Hereſies and Errors objected againſt him, as before is ſaid, before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, or not; or elſe had revoked and renounced the ſaid or ſuch like Concluſions or Articles, or not? To which he anſwered and affirmed that he had not. And then conſequently (all other Articles, Concluſions and Anſwers above written immediately omitted) the ſaid Archbiſhop examined the ſame Sir *William Sautre*, eſpecially upon the Sacrament of the Altar.

Firſt, Whether in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the pronouncing of the Sacramental words, remaineth very material bread or not? Unto which interrogation, the ſame Sir *William* ſomewhat waveringly ſaid, and anſwered, that he knew not that. Notwithſtanding he ſaid, that there was very bread, becauſe it was the bread of life which came down from Heaven.

After that the ſaid Archbiſhop demanded of him, whether in the Sacrament after the ſacramental words, rightly pronounced of the Prieſt, the ſame bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not. And to this queſtion the foreſaid *William* anſwered in like manner as before, ſaying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, *&c.*

After that, the foreſaid Archbiſhop asked him, whether the ſame material bread before Conſecration, by the ſacramental words of the Prieſt rightly pronounced, be tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Chriſt, or not? Whereunto Sir *William* ſaid, that he knew not what that matter meant.

The Convocation continued. *W. Sautre* again examined.

And then the ſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned unto the ſaid Sir *William* time to deliberate, and more fully to make his anſwer till the next day; and continued this Convocation then and there till the morrow. Which morrow, to wit, the *19th* day of *February*, being come, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the ſaid Chapter-houſe of Saint *Paul* in *London*, before his Council Provincial then and there aſſembled, eſpecially asked and examined the ſame Sir *W. Sautre* there perſonally preſent upon the Sacrament of the Altar, as before. And the ſame Sir *William*, again, in like manner, as before, anſwered.

After this, amongſt other things, the ſaid Biſhop demanded of the ſame *William*, if the ſame material bread being upon the Altar, after the ſacramental words being of the Prieſt rightly pronounced, is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt or not? And the ſaid Sir *William* ſaid, he underſtood not what he meant.

Then the ſaid Archbiſhop demanded, whether that material bread being round and white, prepared and diſpoſed for the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt upon the Altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requiſite thereunto, by the vertue of the ſacramental words being of the Prieſt rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Chriſt, and ceaſeth any more to be material and very bread or not? Then the ſaid Sir *William*, deridingly anſwering, ſaid, he could not tell.

Then conſequently, the ſaid Archb. demanded, whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holy Church or not, which affirmeth, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration being rightly pronounced of the Prieſt, the ſame bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaſeth any more to be bread? To this interrogation the ſaid Sir *William* ſaid, *That he would ſtand to the determination of the Church, where ſuch determination was not contrary to the will of God.*

Determination of the Church ſo to be followed as it is joyned to the will of God.

This done he demanded of him again, what his judgment was concerning the Sacrament of the Altar: Who ſaid and affirmed, *That after the words of Conſecration, by the Prieſt duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the ſame bread which was before the words ſpoken.* And this

Examination

Examination about the Sacrament, laſted from 8 of the Clock of the ſame day, until 11 of the Clock, or thereabouts; inſomuch that during all this time the foreſaid *William* would no otherwiſe anſwer, neither yet touching the ſame Sacrament receive Catholick information, according to the inſtitution of the Popes Church, and his Chriſtian Faith. Wherefore the ſaid *Canterbury*, by the counſel and aſſent of his whole Covent then and there preſent, did promulgate and give ſentence, by the mouth of *Robert Hall*, againſt the ſame Sir *William Sautre* (being perſonally preſent, and refuſing to revoke his Hereſies, that is to ſay, his true Doctrine, but conſtantly defended the ſame) under the tenor of words as followeth:

The ſentence againſt *Will. Sautre.*

*IN the Name of God, Amen. We* Thomas *by the grace of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of* England, *and Legate of the See Apoſtolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and bleſſed St.* Peter *and* Paul, *and of holy Church, and by our own authority, ſitting for Tribunal or chief Judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counſel and conſent of the whole Clergy our fellow brethren and Suffragans, aſſiſtants unto us in this preſent Council Provincial, by this our ſentence definitive do pronounce, decree and declare by theſe preſents, thee* William Sautre, *otherwiſe called* Chawtrey, *Pariſh Prieſt pretenſed, perſonally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of Hereſie, judicially and lawfully convict, as an Heretick, and as an Hertick to be puniſhed.*

Which ſentence definitive being thus read, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* continued in the ſame Provincial Council till *Wedneſday* next and immediately enſuing, to wit, the 24*th* day of the ſame Month of *February*, which being expired, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, according to the commandment of the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, preſented unto the foreſaid *William Sautre* by a certain friend of his, being preſent at the ſame Council, a certain Proceſs incloſed and ſealed with his Seal, giving the names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeals, the tenor whereof followeth in this wiſe:

A certain proceſs againſt *Will. Sautre* preſented by the Biſhop of *Norwich.*

*Memorandum*, That upon the laſt day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1399. in the 7. Indiction, and 10 year of the Papacy of Pope *Boniface* the 2. in a certain Chamber within the Manor Houſe of the ſaid Biſhop of *Norwich*, at *South Helingham* (where the Regiſter of the ſaid Biſhop is kept) before the 9*th* hour, in a certain Chappel within the ſaid Manor ſituate, and the firſt day of *May* then next and immediately inſuing, in the foreſaid Chamber Sir *W. Chawtris*, Pariſh Prieſt of the Church of S. *Margaret* in the Town of *Lin*, appeared before the Biſhop of *Norwich*, in the preſence of *John de Derlington*, Archdeacon of *Norwich*, Doctor of the Decrees, Frier *Walter Diſſe*, and *John Rikinghal*, Profeſſors in Divinity, *William Carlton*, Doctor of both Laws, and *William Friſeby*, with *Hugh Bridham*, Publick Notaries, and there publickly affirmed and held the Concluſions, as before is ſpecified.

All and ſingular the premiſſes the foreſaid *William* affirmeth upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19*th* day of *May* in the year, Indiction and Papacy aforeſaid, in the Chappel within the Manor houſe of the ſaid *Henry* Biſhop of *Norwich* ſituate at *South Helingham*, the foreſaid Sir *William* revoked and renounced all and ſingular the foreſaid his Concluſions; abjuring and correcting all ſuch Hereſies and Errors, taking his Oath upon a Book before the foreſaid *Henry* the Biſhop of *Norwich*, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm nor hold, privily nor apertly, the foreſaid Concluſions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the ſaid Biſhop, the foreſaid Concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies in the Pariſh Churches of *Lin*, and *Timey*, and in other places at the aſſignment of the ſaid Biſhop; and further ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinance of the ſaid Biſhop touching the premiſſes, in the preſence of the diſcreet and worſhipful men afore-recited, with divers other more.

As concerning the firſt Concluſion, that he ſaid he would not worſhip the Croſs, *&c.* he confeſſed himſelf to have erred, and that the Article was erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelf. And as touching the ſecond Article, that he ſaid he would rather worſhip a King, *&c.* he confeſſed himſelf to have erred, and the Article to be erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelf, and ſo forth of all the reſt.

Then next after this, upon the 25*th* day of *May* in the year of our Lord aforeſaid, in the Church-yard of the Chappel of St. *James* within the Town of *Lin*, the foreſaid *William*, in preſence of the foreſaid Biſhop and Clergy, and the people of the ſaid Town of *Lin* ſtanding round about, publickly declared in the *Engliſh* Tongue, the foreſaid Concluſions to be erroneous and Hereſies, as was contained in a certain Scrole. And after this, the 26*th* day of *May* in the year aboveſaid, in the Church of the Hoſpital of S. *Johns* in the Town of *Lin*, the ſaid Sir *William*, before the ſaid Biſhop ſitting as judge, ſware and took his Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, that he would never after that time preach openly and publickly the foreſaid Concluſions, nor would hear the confeſſions of any of the Subjects of his Dioceſs of *Norwich*, without the ſpecial licence of the ſaid Biſhop, *&c.* In the preſence of Frier *John Smermen*, Mr. *John Rikinghal* Doctor of Divinity, *William Carlton* Doctor of both Laws, and *Thomas Bulton* Officer of the liberty of *Lin* aforeſaid, with divers others.

## The tenor of the Scrole and Recantation.

IMprimis, *Touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſaid, That I would adore rather a temporal Prince, and the lively bodies of the Saints, than the woodden Croſs whereupon the Lord did hang, I do revoke and recant the ſame, as being therein deceived.*

*To this I ſay, that the Article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; the which I renounce and ask forgiveneſs thereof, and ſay, that it is a precious Relick, and that I ſhall hold it while I live, and that I ſwear here.*

*I know well that I erred wrongfully by falſe information; for I wot well, that a Deacon or a Prieſt is more bound to ſay his Mattens and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right; wherefore I ſubmit me, &c.*

*Touching that Article, I know right well that I erred by falſe information. Wherefore I ask forgiveneſs.*

*As concerning Vows, I ſay that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; for a man is holden to hold his Vow, &c.*

*To the 7th Article I ſay, that I did it by authority of Prieſthood, wherethrough I knowledge well that I gave guilt and treſpaſſed; wherefore I ſubmit me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, ſwearing that I ſhall never hold it more.*

*To the 8th I ſay, that I held it by falſe and wrong information. But now I know well that it is Hereſie, and that bread, anon as the word of the Sacrament is ſaid, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into very Chriſts body; and that I ſwear here.*

*I ſay, that this is falſe and erroneous, &c.*

*I ſay as I ſaid, &c.*

This being done the 22d of *February* aforeſaid, in the year of our Lord 1400. in the Chapter houſe of S. *Paul* in *London* aforeſaid; the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Convocation of his Prelates, and Clergy, and ſuch like men there being preſent, cauſed the fore-recited proceſs of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, to be read openly and publickly to Sir *William Sautre*, otherwiſe called *Chautris*. And afterward he asked the ſaid Sir *William*, whether he plainly underſtood and knew ſuch Proceſs and the contents within the ſame; and he ſaid, yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could ſay or object any thing againſt the Proceſs, and he ſaid, No. And after that incontinent, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* demanded and objected againſt the ſaid Sir *William*, as divers others more did; That after he had before the Biſhop of *Norwich* revoked and abjured judicially divers errors and hereſies, among other errors and hereſies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, *That in the ſame Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration made by the Prieſt, as he taught, there remained material bread*; which hereſie amongſt others as errors alſo he abjured before the foreſaid Biſhop of *Norwich*. Hereunto the foreſaid *William* anſwered ſmiling, or in mocking wiſe, ſaying, and denying that he knew of the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding, he publickly

Proceſs againſt *W. Sautre.*

Ex Regiſt. Cantuar.

{KING Hen. 4.} lickly affirmed, That he held and taught the foreſaid things after the date of the ſaid Proceſs made by the ſaid Biſhop of *Norwich*, and that in the ſame Council alſo he held the ſame. Then finally it was demanded of the ſaid Sir *William*, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into Hereſie, and why they ſhould not further proceed unto his degradation according to the Canonical Sanctions: whereunto he anſwered nothing, neither could he alledge any cauſe to the contrary.

Whereupon the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* by the counſel and aſſent of the whole Council, and eſpecially by the counſel and aſſent of the Reverend Fathers and Biſhops, as alſo Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and other worſhipful Doctors and Clerks then and there preſent in the Council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation, and actual depoſing of the ſaid *William Sautre*, as refallen into Hereſie and as incorrigible, according to the Sentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth.

*In the Name of God*, Amen. *We* Thomas *by the Grace of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Legate of the See Apoſtolical, and Metropolitan of all* England, *do find and declare, That thou* William Sautre, *otherwiſe called* Chautris *Prieſt, by us with the counſel and aſſent of all and ſingular our fellow brethren and whole Clergy, by this our Sentence definitive declared in writing, haſt been for Hereſie convict and condemned, and art (being again fallen into Hereſie) to be depoſed and degraded by theſe preſents.*

And from that day being *Wedneſday*, there was in the ſaid Council Provincial nothing further proſecuted, but was continued with all dependents till the *Friday* next enſuing. Which *Friday* approaching, Maſter *Nicholas Riſhton*, by the commandment of the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being then buſied, as he ſaid, in the Parliament Houſe, continued this Council and Convocation with all incidents, dependents, and occaſions, growing and annexed thereunto the next day, to wit, *Saturday* next and immediately after enſuing. Upon *Saturday*, being the 26*th* of the ſaid month of *February*, the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſate in the Biſhops Seat of the foreſaid Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, and ſolemnly apparelled in his Pontifical attire, ſitting with him as his aſſiſtants theſe Reverend Fathers and Biſhops, of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Exeter*, *Menevenſis & Roffenſis Epiſcopi*, above mentioned, commanded and cauſed the ſaid Sir *William Sautre*, apparelled in Prieſtly Veſtments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in *Engliſh* to all the Clergy and people there in great multitude aſſembled; That all Proceſs was finiſhed and ended againſt the ſaid Sir *William Sautre*. Which thing finiſhed, before the pronuncing of the ſaid Sentence of Relapſe againſt the ſaid Sir *William*, as is premiſed, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he ſaw the ſaid *William* in that behalf nothing abaſhed; he proceeded to his degradation and actual depoſition in form as followeth.

Sentence of degradation.

*IN Nomine patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti.* We *Thomas* by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, do denounce thee *William Sautre*, otherwiſe called *Chautris*, Chaplain fained, in the habit and apparel of a Prieſt, as an Heretick, and one re-fallen into Hereſie, by this our Sentence definitive, by counſel, aſſent, and authority to be condemned; and by concluſion of all our fellow Brethren, fellow Biſhops, Prelates, Council Provincial, and of the whole Clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy Prieſtly Order. And in ſign of degradation and actual depoſition from thy Prieſtly Dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the Patent and Chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the Maſs, and alſo we pull from thy back the Caſule, and take from thee the Veſtment, and deprive thee of all manner of Prieſtly honour.

The Patent and Chalice taken from him.

Alſo, we *Thomas* the aforeſaid Archbiſhop by authority, counſel, and aſſent, which upon the foreſaid *William* we have, being Deacon pretenſed, in the habit and apparel of a Deacon, having the New Teſtament in thy hands, being an Heretick, and twice fallen, condemned by Sentence as is aforeſaid, do degrade and put thee from the Order of a Deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the Book of the New Teſtament, and the Stole, and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the Goſpel, and of all and all manner of Dignity of a Deacon.

The Book of the New Teſtament taken from him.

*Item*, We *Thomas* Archbiſhop aforeſaid, by authority, counſel, and aſſent, which over thee the foreſaid *William* we have, being a Sub-deacon pretenſed, in the habit and Veſtiment of a Sub-deacon, an Heretick, and twice fallen, condemned by ſentence, as is aforeſaid, do degrade and put thee from the Order of a Sub-deacon; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the Albe and Maniple, and do deprive thee of all manner of Sub-diaconical Dignity.

The Albe taken from him.

Alſo, we *Thomas* Archbiſhop aforeſaid, by counſel aſſent, and authority which we have over thee the foreſaid *William*, an Acolyte pretenſed, wearing the habit of an Acolyte, and Heretick, twice fallen, by our ſentence, as is aforeſaid, condemned, do degrade and put from thee all Order of an Acolyte; and in ſign and token of this thy degradation, and actual depoſition, we take from thee the Candleſtick and Taper, and alſo *Urceolum*, and do deprive thee of all and all manner dignity of an Acolyte.

The Candleſtick and Taper taken from him.

Alſo we *Thomas* Archbiſhop aforeſaid, by aſſent, counſel, and authority, which upon thee the foreſaid *William* we have, an Exorciſt pretenſed, in the habit of an Exorciſt or Holy-water Clerk, being an Heretick, twice fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſaid, condemned, do degrade and depoſe thee from the Order of an Exorciſt; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the Book of Conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and ſingular dignity of an Exorciſt.

The Holy-water Book conjured from him.

Alſo, we *Thomas* Archbiſhop aforeſaid, by aſſent, counſel, and authority, as is aboveſaid, do degrade and depoſe thee the foreſaid *William*, Reader pretenſed, clothed in the habit of a Reader, an Heretick, twice fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſaid, condemned from the order of a Reader; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, we take from thee the Book of the Divine Lections (that is, the Book of the Church Legend) and do deprive thee of all and ſingular manner of dignity of ſuch a Reader.

He meaneth the Legend Book, as ſaith the Regiſter.

*Item*, We *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* aforeſaid, by authority, counſel and aſſent, the which we have, as is aforeſaid, do degrade and put thee the foreſaid *William Sautre*, Sexton pretenſed, in the habit of a Sexton, and wearing a Surplice, being an Heretick twice fallen, by our ſentence definitive condemned, as aforeſaid from the Order of a Sexton; And in token of this thy degradation and actual depoſition, for the cauſes aforeſaid, we take from thee the Keys of the Church-door, and thy Surplice and do deprive thee of all and ſingular manner of commodities of a Door-keeper.

The Surplice taken from him.

The Church door Keys taken from him.

And alſo, by the authority of Omnipotent God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and by our authority, counſel, and aſſent, of our whole Council Provincial above written, we do degrade thee, and depoſe thee, being here perſonally preſent before us, from Orders, Benefices, Priviledges and Habit in the Church; and for thy pertinency incorrigible we do degrade thee before the ſecular Court of the High Conſtable and Marſhal of *England*, being perſonally preſent; and do depoſe thee from all and ſingular Clerkly honours and dignities whatſoever, by theſe writings. Alſo, in token of thy degradation and depoſition, here actually we have cauſed thy Crown and Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure in our preſence to be raſed away, and utterly to be aboliſhed, like unto the form of a ſecular Lay-man; and here we do put upon the head of thee the foreſaid *William* the Cap of a Lay ſecular perſon; beſeeching the Court aforeſaid, that they will receive favourably the ſaid *William* unto them thus recommitted.

Priviledge of the Clergy taken from him.

The Prieſts Cap taken from his head, maketh up all in all.

Thus *William Sautre* the ſervant of Chriſt, being utterly thruſt out of the Popes Kingdom, and metamorphoſed from a Clerk to a ſecular Lay-man, was committed (as ye have heard) unto the ſecular power. Which ſo done, the Biſhops, yet not herewith contented, ceaſe not to call upon the King, to cauſe him to be brought forth to ſpeedy Execution. Whereupon the King, ready enough and too much to gratifie the Clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible Decree againſt the ſaid *William Sautre*, and ſent it to the Major and Sheriffs of *London* to be put in execution; the tenour whereof hereunder enſueth.

## *The Decree of the King againſt* William Sawtre.

The cruel decree of the King againſt Sawtre.

THE Decree of our Soveraign Lord the King and his Council in the Parliament, againſt a certain new ſprung up Heretick. To the Major and Sheriffs of *London*, *&c.* Whereas the Reverend Father *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, by the aſſent, conſent, and counſel of other Biſhops, and his Brethren Suffragans, and alſo of all the whole Clergy within his Province or Dioceſs, gathered together in his Provincial Council, the due order of the Law being obſerved in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive ſentence, *William Sawtre* ſometime Chaplain fallen again into his moſt damnable Hereſie, the which before time the ſaid *William* had abjured, thereupon to be a moſt manifeſt Heretick, and therefore hath decreed that he ſhould be degraded, and hath for the ſame cauſe really degraded him from all prerogative and priviledge of the Clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the ſecular power; and hath really ſo left him, according to the Laws and Canonical Sanctions ſet forth in this behalf, and alſo that our Holy Mother the Church hath no further to do in the premiſſes: we therefore being zealous in Religion, and reverend lovers of the Catholick Faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the Holy Church, and the Laws and the Liberties of the ſame, to root all ſuch Errors and Hereſies out of our Kingdom of *England*, and with condigne puniſhment to correct and puniſh all Hereticks or ſuch as be convict; provided always that both according to the Law of God and Man, and the Canonical inſtitutions in this behalf accuſtomed, ſuch Hereticks convict and condemned in form aforeſaid ought to be burned with fire: We command you, as ſtraitly as we may, or can, firmly enjoyning you that you do cauſe the ſaid *William*, being in your cuſtody, in ſome publick oropen place within the liberties of your City aforeſaid (the cauſe aforeſaid being publiſhed unto the people) to beput into the fire, and there in the ſame fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifeſt example of other Chriſtians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon: *Teſte Rege*, *apud Weſtm.* 26. *Febr. An. Regni ſui.*

KING *Hen.* 4.

Prepoſterous zeal without knowledge

*The burning of William Sawtre.*

Admoniſtion to Princes.

Thus it may appear how Kings and Princes have been blinded and abuſed by the falſe Prelates of the Church, inſomuch that they have been their ſlaves and butchers, to ſlay Chriſts poor innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for Princes not to have knowledge and underſtanding themſelves, but to be led by other Mens eyes, and ſpecially truſting to ſuch guids, who through hypocritie both deceive them, and through cruelty devour the people.

King *Henry* the firſt of *Engliſh* Kings that tormented the Chriſtians with fire.

As King *Henry* the Fourth, who was the depoſer of King *Richard*, was the firſt of all *Engliſh* Kings that began the unmerciful burning of Chriſts Saints for ſtanding againſt the Pope: ſo was this *William Sawtre*, the true and faithful Martyr of Chriſt, the firſt of all them in *Wickliffs* time, which I find to be burned in the Reign of the foreſaid King, which was in the year of our Lord, 1400.

After the Martyrdom of this godly Man, the reſt of the ſame Company began to keep themſelves more cloſely for fear of the King, who was altogether bent to hold with the Popes Prelacy. Such was the Reign of this Prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeaſurable, of few Men heartily beloved; but Princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his Reign very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood and miſery. Such was their deſire of King *Richard* again in the Reign of this King, that many years after he was rumored to be alive (of them which deſired belike that to be true which they knew to be falſe) for the which divers were executed. For the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years together almoſt no year paſſed without ſome conſpiracy againſt the King. Long it were here to recite the blood of all ſuch Nobles and others, which was ſpilt in the Reign of this King, as the Earl of * *Kent*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Huntington*, named *John Holland*, *&c.* as writeth the ſtory of S. *Albans*. But the *Engliſh* writers differ ſomthing in their names, and make mention of four Earls, of *Surrey*, of *Exceſter*, of *Salisbury*, and Lord *Spencer* Earl of *Gloceſter*. *Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.*

Much murder and beheading in the time of King *Henry* the Fourth.

* It is to be doubted.

And the next year following Sir *John Clarendon* Knight, with two of his ſervants, the Prior of *Lhund*, with eight Friers, were hanged and quartered. And after theſe *Henry Percy* the younger, the Earl of *Worceſter*, named *Thomas Percy* his Uncle, Lord of *Kinderton*, and Lord *Richard de Vernova*. The Earl of *Northumberland* ſcarce eſcaped with his pardon, *An.* 1403. In the which year the priſon in *Cornhil* called the Tun, was turned into the Conduit there now ſtanding.

*Ex Calendario Bruti.*

Anno 1403

To let paſs other moe hanged and quartered the ſame time, as *Blunt* Knight, and *Benet Kely* Knight, and *Thomas Winterſet*

KING Hen. 4.

*Winterſel* Eſquire; Alſo the ſame year was taken and Executed Sir *Bernard Brookes* Knight, Sir *John Shilley* Knight, Sir *John Mandelin* and *William Frierby*. After all theſe Lord *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf*, conſpiring the Kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this King *Henry*.

Archbiſhop Lord *Mowbrey* againſt King *Henry* the Fourth.

This civil Rebellion of ſo many Nobles, and other, againſt the King, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this King *Henry*. Among whom I cannot pretermit here alſo the Archbiſhop of *York* named *Richard Scrope*, who with the Lord *Moubrey*, Marſhal of *England*, gathered a great company in the North Country againſt the foreſaid King, to whom alſo was adjoyned the help of Lord *Bardolf*, and *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. *Ex Chron. D. Albani.* And to ſtir up the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certain Articles againſt the ſaid King, to the number of ten, and faſtned them upon the doors of the Churches and Monaſteries, to be read of all Men in *Engliſh*. Which Articles if any be diſpoſed to underſtand, forſomuch as the ſame alſo contain a great part of the doings between King *Henry* and King *Richard* aforeſaid, I thought, for the better opening of the matter hereunder to inſert the ſame, in ſuch form as I found them in the ſtory of *Scala mundi* expreſſed.

Lord *Mowbrey*, *Henry Percy* Earl of Northumberland againſt the King. 1 *Ex Hiſtor. Scala Mundi*

Articles ſet upon Church doors againſt King Henry 4.

## *Articles ſet upon Church Doors againſt King* Henry *the Fourth.*

Anno 1401.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. Before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, judge of the quick and dead, *&c.* We *A. B. C. D. &c.* not long ſithence became bound by oath upon the Sacred Evangelical Book, unto our Soveraign Lord *Richard*, late King of *England* and *France*, in the preſence of many Prelates, Potentates and Nobility of the Realm; that we, ſo long as we lived, ſhould bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his heirs ſucceeding him in the Kingdom by juſt title, right, and line, according to the ſtatutes and cuſtom of this Realm of *England*: By vertue whereof we are bound to foreſee that no vices, or hainous offences ariſing in the Common-weal, do take effect or wiſhed end, and we ought to give our ſelves and our goods to withſtand the ſame, without fear of the ſword or death whatſoever, upon pain of perjury, which pain is Everlaſting Damnation. Wherefore we ſeeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceaſing to be committed by the Children of the Divel and Satans Souldiers againſt the ſupremacy of the Church of *Rome*, the liberty of the Church of *England*, and the Laws of the Realm, againſt the perſon of King *Richard* and his heirs, againſt the Prelates, Noble-men, Religion, and Commonalty, and finally againſt the whole Weal publick of the Realm *England*, to the great offence of the Majeſty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his juſt wrath and vengeance toward the Realm and people of the ſame. And fearing alſo the deſtruction both of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, and the ruine of our Country to be at hand, having before our eyes the juſtice and the Kingdom of God, calling always on the name of Jeſus, having an aſſured confidence in his Clemency, Mercy and Power; Have here taken unto us certain Articles, ſubſcribed in form following, to be propounded, tried, and heard before the juſt Judge, Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole world, to his honor, the delivery of the Church, the Clergy, and Commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the Weal Publick. But if (which God forbid) by force, fear, or violence of wicked perſons we ſhall be caſt in priſon, or by violent death prevented, ſo as in this world we ſhall not be able to prove the ſaid Articles as we would wiſh, then do we appeal to the high Celeſtial Judge, that he may judge and diſcern the ſame, in the day of his ſupreme judgment.

A Bill of Articles ſet up againſt King Henry the Fourth.

1. *Firſt*, We depoſe, ſay, except, and intend to prove againſt the Lord *Henry Darby*, Son of the Lord *John* of *Gaunt*, late Duke of *Lancaſter*, and commonly called King of *England* (himſelf pretending the ſame, although without all right and title thereunto) and againſt his adherents, fautours, and complices; that ever they have been, are, and will be Traitors, invaders, and deſtroyers of Gods Church in *Rome*, *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, and of our Soveraign Lord *Richard* late King of *England*, his heirs, his Kingdom, and Common-wealth, as ſhall hereafter manifeſtly appear.

2. *Secondarily*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, for that he had conceived, deviſed, and conſpired certain hainous crimes and traiterous offences againſt his ſaid Soveraign Lord *Richard* his State and Dignity, as manifeſtly did appear in the contention between the ſaid Lord *Henry*, and the Lord *Thomas* Duke of *Northfolk* begun at *Coventry*, but not finiſhed throughly. Afterwards he was ſent into exile by ſentence of the ſaid King *Richard*, by the agreement of his Father the Lord *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the voice of divers of the Lords Temporal, and Nobility of the Realm, and alſo by his own conſent; there to remain for a certain time appointed unto him by the ſaid Lords, and withal he was bound by oath not to return into *England* before he had obtained favour and grace of the King. Not long after, when the King was departed into *Ireland* for reformation of that Country appertaining to the Crown of *England*, but as then rebelling againſt the ſame; the ſaid Lord *Henry* in the mean time contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his fautours and invaders ſecretly entred into the Realm, ſwearing and proteſting before the face of the people, that his coming into the Realm in the abſence of the King was for none other cauſe, but that he might in humble ſort with the love and favour of the King, and all the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance deſcending unto him of right after the death of his Father: which thing as it pleaſed all Men, ſo cryed they, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* But how this bleſſing afterward turned into curſing, ſhall appear in that which followeth: and alſo ye ſhall underſtand his horrible and wicked conſpiracy againſt his Soveraign Lord King *Richard*, and divers other Lords as well ſpiritual as temporal; beſides that his manifeſt perjury ſhall well be known, and that he remaineth not only forſworn and perjured, but alſo Excommunicate, for that he conſpired againſt his Soveraign Lord our King. Wherefore we pronounce him by theſe preſents aſwel perjured, as Excommunicate.

King *Henry* perjured.

3. *Thirdly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the Lord *Henry*, that he the ſaid Lord *Henry*, immediately after his entry into *England*, by crafty and ſubtil policy cauſed to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realm, *that no tenths of the Clergy, fifteens of the people*, ſealing up of Cloth, diminution of Wool, impoſt of Wine, nor other extortions or exactions whatſoever, ſhould hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchaſe unto him the voice and favour of the Prelates Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, the Merchants, and Commonalty of the whole Realm. After this he took by force the Kings Caſtles and Fortreſſes, ſpoiled and devoured his goods whereſoever he found it, crying, *Havock*, *Havock*. The Kings Majeſties ſubjects as well Spiritual as Temporal, he ſpoiled and robbed, ſome he took Captive and Impriſoned them, and ſome he ſlew and put to miſerable death, whereof many were Biſhops, Prelates, Prieſts, and Religious Men. Whereby it is manifeſt, That the ſaid Lord *Henry* is not only perjured, in promiſing and ſwearing that there ſhould be hereafter no more exactions, paiments, or extortions within the Realm, but alſo Excommunicate for the violence and injury done to Prelates and Prieſts. Wherefore by theſe preſents we pronounce him, as afore, as well perjured, as Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with untruth.

4. *Fourthly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, That he, hearing of the Kings return from *Ireland* into *Wales*, roſe up againſt his Soveraign Lord the King with many thouſands of armed Men, marching forward with all his power towards the Caſtle of *Flint* in *Wales*, where he took the King and held him priſoner, and ſo led him Captive as a Traitor unto *Leiceſter*: from whence he took his journey towards *London*, miſuſing the King by the way, both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and ſcoffs. And in the end committed him to the Tower of *London*, and held a Parliament, the King being abſent and in priſon: wherein for fear of death he compelled the King to yield and reſign unto him all his right and title of the Kingdom and Crown of *England*. After which reſignation being made, the ſaid Lord

King *Henry* charged with Treaſon againſt his Soveraign.

*Henry* ſtanding up in the Parliament Houſe, ſtoutly and proudly before them all, ſaid and affirmed, That the Kingdom of *England* and Crown of the ſame, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that preſent, as of very right, and to no other; for that the ſaid King *Richard* by his own Deed was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and intereſt that ever he had, hath, or may have in the ſame. And thus at length by right and wrong he exalted himſelf unto the Throne of the Kingdom: ſince which time, our Common-weal never flouriſhed nor proſpered, but altogether hath been void of vertue, for that the ſpiritualty was ſo oppreſſed, exerciſe and war-like practices have not been maintained, Charity is waxed cold, and covetouſneſs and miſery hath taken place, and finally mercy is taken away and vengeance ſupplieth the room. Whereby it doth appear (as before is ſaid) That the ſaid Lord *Henry* is not only perjured and falſe by uſurping the Kingdom and Dominion belonging to another, but alſo Excommunicate for the apprehending, unjuſt impriſoning, and depriving his Soveraign Lord the King of his Royal Crown and Dignity. Wherefore, as in the Articles before, we pronounce the ſaid Lord *Henry* to be Excommunicate.

5. *Fifthly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, that he the ſame Lord *Henry* with the reſt of his favourers and complices, heaping miſchief upon miſchief, have committed and brought to paſs a moſt wicked and miſchievous fact, yea, ſuch as hath not been heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and impriſoned the King, and depoſed him by open injury againſt all humane nature; yet, not content with this, they brought him to *Pomfret* Caſtle, and there impriſoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirſt, and cold, and finally bereft him of life with ſuch a kind of death as never before that time was known in *England*, but by Gods Providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of ſuch a deed, or who ever ſaw the like of him? Wherefore, O *England*, ariſe, ſtand up, avenge the cauſe, the death and injury of thy King and Prince: which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the Righteous God will deſtroy thee by ſtrange invaſions and foreign power, and avenge himſelf on thee for this ſo horrible an act. Whereby doth appear not only his perjury, but alſo his Excommunication moſt execrable; ſo that, as before, we pronounce the ſaid *Henry* not only perjured, but alſo Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with murdering of his Prince.

6. *Sixthly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, That after he had attained to the Crown and Scepter of the Kingdom, he cauſed forthwith to be apprehended divers Lords Spiritual, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and Religious Men of all Orders, whom he arreſted, impriſoned, and bound, and againſt all order brought them before the ſecular Judges to be examined; not ſparing the Biſhops whoſe bodies were annointed with Sacred Oyl, nor Prieſts nor Religious Men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the Temporal Law and judgment, notwithſtanding the priviledge of the Church and Holy Orders, which he ought to have reverenced and worſhipped, if he had been a true and lawful King: for the firſt and chiefeſt Oath in the Coronation of a lawful King is, to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deliver any Prieſt or Religious Man into the hands of the Secular Power, except for Hereſie only, and that after his degradation, according to the order of the Church. Contrary unto all this hath he done; ſo that it is manifeſt by this Article as afore in the reſt, that he is both perjured, and Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with the orders of the Church.

7. *Seventhly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, That not only he cauſed to be put to death the Lords Spiritual and other Religious Men, but alſo divers of the Lords Temporal and Nobility of the Realm, and chiefly thoſe that ſtudied for the preſervation of the Common-weal, not ceaſing as yet to continue his miſchievous enterpriſe, if by Gods Providence it be not prevented, and that with ſpeed: Amongſt all other of the Nobility, theſe firſt he put to death; the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Glouceſter*, the Lord *Roger Clarenden* the Kings Brother, with divers other Knights and Eſquires; and afterwards, the Lord *Thamas Percy* Earl of *Worceſter*, and the Lord *Henry Percy* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Northumberland*; the which Lord *Henry* he not only ſlew, but to the uttermoſt of his power again and again he cauſed him to be ſlain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the Lord of *Furnile* to be buried (who committed his body to Holy Sepulture, with as much honor as might be, commending his ſoul to Almighty God with the Suffrages of bleſſed Maſs and other Prayers) the ſaid Lord *Henry*, moſt like a cruel beaſt ſtill thirſting his blood, cauſed his body to be exhumate and brought forth again, and to be repoſed between two Mil-ſtones in the Town of *Shrewsbury*, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers Cities of the Kingdom. Wherefore, for ſo deteſtable a fact never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former Articles, Excommunicate.

King *Henry* charged with ſeveral

8. *Eighthly*, We depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, For that after his attaining to the Crown he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved a moſt wicked Statute ſet forth and renewed in the Parliament holden at *Wincheſter*. The which Statute is directly againſt the Church of *Rome*, and the power, and principality thereof given by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto bleſſed S. *Peter* and his ſucceſſors Biſhops of *Rome*; unto whom belongeth by full authority the free diſpoſing of all ſpiritual promotions as well ſuperior as inferior: which wicked Statute is the cauſe of many miſchiefs, *viz.* of Simony, Perjury, Adultery, Inceſt, Miſorder, and Diſobedience; for that many Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and Prelates (we will not ſay by vertue, but rather by error of this Statute) have beſtowed the Benefices vacant upon young Men, rude and unworthy perſons, which have compacted with them for the ſame, ſo that ſcarce one Prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted for the half yearly, or, at the leaſt, the third part of the ſaid Benefice ſo beſtowed. And by this means the ſaid Statute is the deſtruction of the right of S. *Peter*, the Church of *Rome* and *England*, the Clergy and Univerſities, the whole Common-weal, and maintenance of Wars, *&c.*

The King charged with evil

9. *Ninthly*, We ſay and depoſe, *&c.* againſt the ſaid Lord *Henry*, That after he had Tyrannouſly taken upon him the Government of the Realm, *England* never flouriſhed ſince, nor proſpered, by reaſon of his continual exactions of money, and oppreſſions yearly of the Clergy and Commonalty: neither is it known how this money ſo extorted is beſtowed, when as neither his Souldiers, nor his Gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges, and wonderful toil and labor, neither yet the poor Country people are ſatisfied for the victual taken of them: And nevertheleſs the miſerable Clergy, and more miſerable Commonalty, are forced ſtill to pay by menaces and ſharp threatnings. Notwithſtanding he ſware, when he firſt uſurped the Crown, that hereafter there ſhould be no ſuch exactions nor vexations, neither of the Clergy nor Laity. Wherefore, as afore, we pronounce him Perjured, *&c.*

King *Henry* charged with oppreſſion and perjury.

10. In the tenth and laſt Article we depoſe, ſay, and openly proteſt by theſe preſents, for our ſelves, and all our aſſiſtants in the cauſe of the Church of *Rome* and *England*, and in the cauſe of King *Richard*, his Heirs, the Clergy and Commonalty of the whole Realm; that neither our intention is, was, nor ſhall be, in word or deed to offend any ſtate either of the Prelates Spiritual, Lords Temporal, or Commons of the Realm; but rather, foreſeeing the perdition and deſtruction of this Realm to approach, we have here brought before you certain Articles concerning the deſtruction of the ſame, to be circumſpectly conſidered of the whole Aſſembly, as well of the Lords Spiritual as Temporal, and the faithful Commons of *England*: beſeeching you all in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous Judge, and for the merits of our bleſſed Lady the Mother of God, and of Saint *George* our Defender, under whoſe diſplayed Banner we wiſh to live and die, and under pain of Damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our cauſes which are three in number. Whereof the firſt is, That we exalt unto the Kingdom the true and Lawful Heir, and him to Crown in Kingly Throne with the Diadem of *England*. And ſecondly, That we revoke the *Welſh*-men, the *Iriſh*-men, and all other our Enemies unto perpetual peace and amity. Thirdly, and finally, That we deliver and make free our Native Country from all Exactions,

Three cauſes declared.

Extortions,

KING Hen. 4.

extortions, and unjuſt payment; beſeeching our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to grant his bleſſing, the remiſſion of their ſins, and life everlaſting to all that aſſiſt us to their power in this godly and meritorious work; and unto all thoſe that are againſt us we threaten the Curſe of Almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Chriſt and his Holy Church, and by theſe preſents we pronounce them Excommunicate.

Earl of Weſtmerland againſt the Archbiſhop.

Theſe Articles being ſeen and read, much concourſe of people daily reſorted more and more to the Archbiſhop. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* (being then not far off, with *John* the Kings Son) hearing of this, muſtred his Souldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the Archbiſhop: but ſeeing his part too weak to encounter with him, he uſeth practice of policy, where ſtrength would not ſerve. And firſt coming to him under colour of friendſhip diſſembled, he laboured to ſeek out the cauſes of that great ſtir. To whom the Archbiſhop again anſwering no hurt to be intended thereby, but profit rather to the King and Common-wealth, and maintenance of publick peace: but forſomuch as he ſtood in great fear and danger of the King, he was therefore compelled ſo to do. And withal he ſhewed unto him the contents of the Articles aforeſaid; which when the Earl had read, ſetting a fair face upon it, he ſeemed highly to commend the purpoſe and doings of the Biſhop: promiſing moreover, that he would help alſo forward in that quarrel to the uttermoſt of his power. And he required upon the ſame a day to be ſet, when they with equal number of Men might meet together, in ſome place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The Archbiſhop eaſily perſwaded, was content, although much againſt the counſel of the Earl Marſhal, and came. Where the Articles being openly publiſhed and read, the Earl of *Weſtmerland* with his Company pretended well to like the ſame, and to joyn their aſſents together. Which done, he exhorted the Archbiſhop, that forſomuch as his Gariſon had been now long in Armor and from home, he would therefore diſcharge the needleſs multitude of his Souldiers, and diſmiſs them home to their works and buſineſs, and they would together drink and joyn hands in the ſight of the whole Company. Thus they ſhaking hands together, the Archbiſhop ſendeth away his Souldiers in peace, not knowing himſelf to be circumvented, before he was immediately arreſted by the hands of the aforeſaid Earl of *Weſtmerland*; and ſhortly after the King coming with his power to *York*, he was there beheaded the *Monday* in *Whitſon*-week, and with him alſo Lord *Thomas Moubray* Marſhal, with divers other moreover of the City of *York*, which had taken their parts. After whoſe ſlaughter the King proceedeth farther to perſecute the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Thomas Bardolph*; who then did flie to *Barwick*. From thence they removed to *Wales*. At length within two years after, fighting againſt the Kings part, they were ſlain in the field, *An.* 1408. In the which year divers other alſo in the North parts, for favouring the foreſaid Lords, were likewiſe condemned by the King, and put to death. Among whom the Abbot of *Hales* for the like Treaſon was hanged.

Falſhood in fellowſhip.

The Archbiſhop of *York* craftily circumvented.

The Archbiſhop of *York*, Lord *Thomas Mowbray*, with many *Yorkſhire* men Executed.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord *Thomas Bardolf* ſlain.

Ann. 1408

Abbot of *Hales* hanged.

The King after the ſhedding of ſo much blood, ſeeing himſelf ſo hardly beloved of his Subjects, thought to keep in yet with the Clergy, and with the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſeeking always his chiefeſt ſtay at their hands. And therefore he was compelled in all things to ſerve their humor, as did appear as well in condemning *William Sautre* before, as alſo in other which conſequently we have now to intreat of. In the number of whom cometh now by the courſe of time to write of one *John Badby* a Taylor and a Layman; who by the cruelty of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, and other Prelates, was brought to his Condemnation in this Kings Reign, *Anno.* 1409. according as by their own Regiſters appeareth, and followeth by his Narration to be ſeen.

Ann. 1409

## *John Badby* Artificer.

*John Badby* Martyr. Ex Regiſt. T. *Arundel.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1409. on *Sunday* being the firſt day of *March*, in the Afternoon, the examination following of one *John Badby* Taylor, being a Lay-man, was made in a certain Houſe or Hall within the Precinct of the preaching Friers of *London*, in an utter Cloiſter, upon the crime of Hereſie, and other Articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous Church of *Rome*, before *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other his aſſiſtants, as the Archbiſhop of *York*, of *London*, of *Wincheſter*, of *Oxford*, of *Norwich*, of *Salisbury*, of *Bath*, of *Bangor*, *Et Menevenſis Epiſcopi*, and alſo *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Thomas Bewford* the Chancellor of *England*, Lord *de Roos* the Clerk of the Rolls, and a great number of other Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, being then at the ſelf ſame time preſent: Maſter *Morgan* read the Articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the inſtrument read by the foreſaid Maſter *Morgan*, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is ſuch.

The Articles read.

*In the name of God, Amen.* Be it manifeſt to all Men by this preſent publick Inſtrument, that in the year after the Incarnation of our Lord, according to the courſe and computation of the Church of *England*, otherwiſe in the year 1409. in the ſecond Indiction, in the third year of the Popedom of the moſt Holy Father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord *Gregory* the 11*th*. by the Divine permiſſion Pope, the ſecond day of *January*, in the Chappel *Carvariæ*, of Saint *Thomas* Martyr, nigh unto the Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*, being ſituate in the ſaid Dioceſs, in the preſence of me the Publick Notary, and of the witneſſes under written, the foreſaid *John Badby* a Lay-man, of the ſaid Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, appearing perſonally before the Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord *Thomas*, by the Grace of God Biſhop of *Worceſter*, ſitting in the ſaid Chappel for chief Judge, was detected of and upon the crime of Hereſie being Heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foreſaid *John Badby*: That is, That the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, Conſecrated by the Prieſt upon the Altar, is not the true body of Chriſt by the vertue of the words of the Sacrament. But that after the Sacramental words ſpoken by the Prieſts to make the body of Chriſt, the material bread doth remain upon the Altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Chriſt after the Sacramental words ſpoken of the Prieſts. Which *John Badby* being examined, and diligently demanded by the foreſaid Reverend Father concerning the premiſes, in the end did anſwer, That it was impoſſible that any Prieſt ſhould make the body of Chriſt, and that he believed firmly that no Prieſt could make the body of Chriſt by ſuch words Sacramentally ſpoken in ſuch ſort. And alſo he ſaid expreſly that he would never while he lived believe that any Prieſt could make the body of Chriſt Sacramentally, unleſs that firſt he ſaw manifeſtly the like body of Chriſt to be handled in the hands of the Prieſt upon the Altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he ſaid, That *John Baker* of *Briſtol* had as much power and authority to make the like body of Chriſt, as any Prieſt had. Moreover he ſaid; That when Chriſt ſate at Supper with his Diſciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to diſtribute it to his Diſciples; and he ſaid expreſly, that he did not this thing. And alſo he ſpake many other words teaching and fortifying the Hereſie in the ſame place, both grievous, and alſo out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, ſounding againſt the Catholick Faith.

The Sacrament of hriſts body.

Upon which occaſion the ſame Reverend Father admoniſhed and requeſted the ſaid *John Badby* oftentimes, and very inſtantly to Charity; forſomuch as he would willingly that he ſhould have forſaken ſuch Hereſie and opinion holden, taught and maintained by him, in ſuch ſuit againſt the Sacrament, to renounce, and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the Holy Mother the Church doth believe. And he informed the ſaid *John* on that behalf both gently, and yet laudably. Yet the ſaid *John Badby*, although he were admoniſhed and requeſted both often and inſtantly by the ſaid Reverend Father, ſaid and anſwered expreſsly, That he would never believe otherwiſe than before he had ſaid, taught, and anſwered. Whereupon, the foreſaid Reverend Father Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſeeing, underſtanding, and perceiving the foreſaid *John Badby* to maintain and fortifie the ſame Hereſie, being ſtubborn and proceeding in the ſame ſtubbornneſs, pronounced the ſaid *John* to be before this time convicted of ſuch an Hereſie, and that he hath been and is an Heretick, and in the end declared it in theſe words.

I cannot blame ye that ye are ſo angry, for it was not for your profit.

The ſentence of the Biſhop of *Worceſter* againſt *John Badby.*

In the name of God, Amen. *We* Thomas *Biſhop of* Worceſter *do accuſe thee* John Badby, *being a lay-man of our Dioceſs, of and upon the crime of Hereſie, before us ſitting for Chief Judge, being oftentimes confeſſed and convicted of and upon that, That thou haſt taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou doſt teach, boldly affirm, and defend; that the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, Conſecrated upon the Altar by the Prieſt, is not the true Body of Chriſt; But after the Sacramental words, to make the Body of Chriſt, by vertue of the ſaid Sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of Hereſie; and we do pronounce thee both to have been and to be an Heretick, and do declare it finally by theſe writings.*

Theſe things were done accordingly as is above written, and are recited in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforeſaid, being preſent the ſame time *John Malune*, Prior of the Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*, *John Dudle* Monk, and *Haul* the ſub-Prior of the ſaid Church, *Thomas Penings* of the order of the *Carmelites*, *Thomas Fekenham* of the order of the preaching Friers, *William Pomfret* of the order of the *Minorites*, being Profeſſors and Maſters of Divinity; *William Hailes*, *Gualter* of *London*, *John Swippedew*, being publick Notaries, and *William Beuchampe* and *Thomas Gerbis* being Knights, *Richard Wiſh* of *Tredington*, *Thomas Wilbe* of *Hembury*, *John Weſton* of *Yewley*, being Parſons of Churches, and *Thomas Baleinges*, the Maſter of St. *Wolſton* in *Worceſter*, and alſo *Henry Haggely*, *John Penerel*, *Thomas Trogmorton* and *William Waſteborn* Eſquires, of the Dioceſs of *Worceſter* and *Norwich*, and many other worſhipful and honeſt men being Witneſſes and called ſpecially to the hings aforeſaid.

A rabble of Monks and Friers about the condemnation of *John Badby.*

*Quare fremuerunt gentes?* Pſal. 2.

Scribes with Phariſees.

And I *John Chew*, Clerk of the Dioceſs of *Bath* and *Wells*, and by the authority Apoſtolical, publick Notary of the ſaid Biſhop, have in Teſtimony of the Premiſſes put my Hand and Seal to the Examination, Interrogation, Monition, and Anſwer of the ſame *John Badby*, and to his obſtinacy, and alſo to the proceedings of all and ſingular other doings as is aforeſaid, which againſt him before the ſaid Biſhop were handled and done, in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day, and Place aforeſaid, which with the fore-named Witneſſes was perſonally preſent: and the ſame, even as I heard them and ſaw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) I cauſed to be written and publiſhed, and into this publick form have compiled the ſame. I the foreſaid Notary am alſo privy unto the words and examinations interlined between ſeven or eight lines of the beginning of this Inſtrument; which lines I alſo the foreſaid Notary do approve and make good.

The anſwer of *John Badby* to the Articles

And I *Walter London*, Clerk of the Dioceſs of *Worceſter*, and by the Authority Apoſtolical, publick Notary, to all and ſingular the foreſaid things as afore by the foreſaid Notary is recited, and in the Year, Indiction, Popedom, Month, Day and Place aforeſaid handled and done, being with other the fore-recited Witneſſes perſonally preſent, and to all and every of the ſame (as I ſaw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully deſired and required:) In Teſtimony of the Premiſſes have ſigned and ſubſcribed according to the acuſtomed manner. *Hæc ex Reg. Cant.*

And when the Articles, in the foreſaid Inſtrument contained, were by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* publickly and vulgarly read and approved; he publickly confeſſed and affirmed, that he had both ſaid and maintained the ſame. And then the Archbiſhop to convince the conſtant purpoſe of the ſaid *John Badby*, commanded the ſame Articles again to be read, often inſtructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the ſooner to the Religion that he was of. And furthermore, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſaid and affirmed there openly to the ſame *John*, That he would (if he would live according to the Doctrine of Chriſt) gage his Soul for him at the Judgment day. And after that again he cauſed thoſe Articles in the ſaid Inſtrument expreſſed to be read by the foreſaid *Philip Morgan*, and the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf expounded the ſame in *Engliſh* as before; whereunto *John Badby* anſwered: As touching the firſt Article concerning the Body of Chriſt, he expreſly ſaid, That after the Conſecration at the Altar, there remaineth material Bread, and the ſame Bread which was before: notwithſtanding (ſaid he) it is a Sign or Sacrament of the living God.

The ſubſtance of Bread not changed in the Sacrament.

Alſo, when the ſecond Article was expounded unto him, That it is impoſſible for any Prieſt, *&c.* To this Article he anſwered and ſaid, That it could not ſink into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unleſs he ſhould deny the Incarnation of Chriſt.

Alſo being examined of the third Article concerning *Jack Raker*, he ſaid, That if *Jack Raker* were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power ſo to do, as hath the Prieſt: and ſaid further, That he hath heard it ſpoken of ſome Doctors of Divinity, that if he ſhould receive any ſuch Conſecrated Bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in ſo doing.

Furthermore he ſaid, That he would believe the Omnipotent God in Trinity; and ſaid moreover, That if every Hoſt being Conſecrated at the Altar were the Lords Body, that then there be 20000 gods in *England*. But he believed (he ſaid) in one God Omnipotent, which thing the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* denied not.

And when the other concluſion was expounded, *That Chriſt ſitting with his Diſciples at Supper*, &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a Loaf of Bread, and ſhould break the ſame and give to every man a mouthful, that the ſame Loaf ſhould afterwards be whole.

When all theſe things were thus finiſhed, and all the ſaid concluſions were often read in the vulgar Tongue; the foreſaid Archbiſhop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forſake his Opinions and ſuch like concluſions or not, and adhere to the Doctrine of Chriſt and Catholick Faith? He anſwered, That, according to that he had ſaid before, he would adhere and ſtand to thoſe words, which before he had made anſwer unto. Then the Archbiſhop oftentimes required the ſaid *John*, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that he would forſake thoſe Opinions and concluſions, and that henceforth he would cleave to the Chriſtian Faith; which thing to do in the audience of all the Lords and others that were preſent, he expreſly denied and refuſed.

The conſtancy of *John Badby* before the Archbiſhop.

After all this, when the foreſaid Arbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London* had conſulted together, to what ſafe keeping the ſaid *John Badby* (until the Wedneſday next) might be committed; it was concluded, that he ſhould be put into a certain Chamber or ſafe Houſe within the Manſion of the Friers preachers, and ſo he was: and then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, That he himſelf would keep the Key thereof in the mean time. And when the foreſaid Wedneſday was expired, being the 15th day of *March*, and that the foreſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with his fellow Brethren and Suffragans, were aſſembled in the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* taking the Epiſcopal Seat, called unto him the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Richard London*, *Henry Wincheſter*, *Robert Chicheſter*, *Alexander Norwich*, and the Noble Prince *Edmund* the Duke of *York*, *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, *Thomas Beaufort* Knight, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the Lord *Beamond*, with other Noble men as well Spiritual, as Temporal, that ſtood, and ſate by, whom to name it would be long. Before whom the ſaid *John Badby* was called perſonally to anſwer unto the Articles premiſed in the foreſaid Inſtrument. Who when he came perſonally before them, the Articles were read by the Official of the Court of *Canterbury*, and by the Archbiſhop (in the vulgar Tongue) expounded publickly and expreſly: and the ſame Articles, as he had before ſpoken and depoſed, he ſtill held and defended, and ſaid, that whilſt he lived, he would never retract the ſame. And furthermore he ſaid ſpecially to be noted, That the Lord Duke of *York*, perſonally there preſent, as is aforeſaid, and every man elſe for the time being, is of more eſtimation and reputation, than the Sacrament of the Altar, by the Prieſt in due form Conſecrated. And whilſt they were thus in his examination, the Archbiſhop conſidering and weighing that he would in no wiſe be altered, and ſeeing moreover his countenance ſtout and heart confirmed, ſo that he began to perſwade other as it appeared in the ſame: theſe things conſidered, the Archprelate, when he ſaw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by Exhortations, Reaſons, or Arguments, to bring the ſaid *John Badby* from his conſtant truth to his Catholick Faith (executing and doing the office of his Great Maſter) proceeded to confirm

The Biſhops make ſure work.

The Archbiſhop both judge and jaylor.

*Aſſiſterunt reges terræ, & principes convenerunt in unum adverſus*, &c. Pſal. 2.

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confirm and ratify the former Sentence given before by the Biſhop of *Worceſter* againſt the ſaid *John Badby*, pronouncing him for an open and publick Heretick. And thus ſhifting their hands of him, they delivered him to the Secular Power; and deſired the ſaid Temporal Lords, then and there preſent very inſtantly, that they would not put the ſame *John Badby* to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be puniſhed or put to death, in the preſence of all the Lords above recited.

Note here murdering Wolves in Sheeps clothing.

Theſe things thus done and concluded by the Biſhops in the forenoon: in the afternoon, the Kings Writ was not far behind. By the force whereof *John Badby*, ſtill perſevering in his conſtancy unto the death, was brought into *Smithfield*, and there being put in an empty Barrel, was bound with Iron Chains faſtened to a Stake having dry Wood put about him.

And as he was thus ſtanding in the Pipe or Tun (for as yet *Perillus* Bull was not in uſe among the Biſhops) it happened that the Prince, the Kings eldeſt Son, was there preſent; who, ſhewing ſome part of the good *Samaritan*, began to endeavour and aſſay how to ſave the life of him, whom the hypocritical *Levites* and *Phariſees* ſought to put to death. He admoniſhed and counſelled him, that having reſpect unto himſelf he ſhould ſpeedily withdraw himſelf out of theſe dangerous Labirinths of Opinions, adding oftentimes threatnings, the which might have daunted any mans ſtomach. Alſo *Courtney*, at that time *Chancellor* of *Oxford*, preached unto him, and enformed him of the Faith of holy Church.

The Prince admoniſheth *Badby*. The Sacrament Solemnly brought to *Smithfield* at the burning of *Badby*.

In this mean ſeaſon the Prior of St. *Bartholomews* in *Smithfield* brought with all Solemnity the Sacrament of Gods Body, with twelve Torches born before, and ſo ſhewed the Sacrament to the poor man being at the Stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it? He anſwered, That he knew well it was hallowed Bread, and not Gods Body. And then was the Tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, Mercy (calling belike upon the Lord) and ſo the Prince immediately commanded to take away the Tun, and quench the fire. The Prince, his commandment being done, asked him if he would forſake Hereſie to take him to the Faith of holy Church? which thing if he would do, he ſhould have Goods enough, promiſing alſo unto him a yearly ſtipend out of the Kings Treaſury, ſo much as ſhould ſuffice his contentation.

*John Badby* conſtant to the end.

But this valiant Champion of Chriſt, neglecting the Princes fair words, as alſo contemning all mens devices, refuſed the offer of worldly promiſes, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly deſire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmovable in his former mind, the Prince commanded him ſtraight to be put again into the Pipe or Tun, and that he ſhould not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even ſo was he nothing at all abaſhed at their torments, but, as a valiant Champion of Chriſt, he perſevered invincible to the end. Not without a great and moſt cruel Battel, but with much more greater triumph of victory; the Spirit of Chriſt having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole World. For the manifeſtation of which torment, we have here ſet forth the Picture of his burning, in ſuch manner as it was done.

*The deſcription of the horrible Burning of Iohn Badby, and how he was uſed at his death*

And the Power of Rome ſet againſt the Goſpel.

This godly Martyr *John Badby* having thus conſummate his Teſtimony and Martyrdom in fire, the perſecuting Biſhops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themſelves as yet either not ſtrong enough, or elſe not ſharp enough againſt the poor innocent flock of Chriſt, to make all things ſure and ſubſtantial on their ſide, in ſuch ſort, as this Doctrine of the Goſpel now ſpringing ſhould be ſuppreſſed for ever, laid their conſpiring heads together; and having now a King for their own purpoſe, ready to ſerve their turn in all points, during the time of the ſame Parliament above-recited (yet continuing) the foreſaid Biſhops and Clergy of the Realm exhibited a Bill to the Kings Majeſty; ſubtily declaring, what quietneſs had been maintained within this Realm by his moſt Progenitors; who always defended the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of the Church, and enriched the ſame with large gifts, to the honour of God and the Realm: and contrariwiſe, what trouble and diſquietneſs was now riſen by divers, as they termed them, wicked and perverſe men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of Doctrine, contrary to the Catholick Faith and determination of holy Church. Whereupon the King, always oppreſſed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and ſubtil pretences of the Clergy granted in the ſaid Parliament (by conſent of the Nobility aſſembled) a Statute to be obſerved, called *Ex Officio*, as followeth:

The Goſpel of Chriſt counted as wicked and Hereticall.

The

## The Statute *Ex Officio.*

The cruel Statute. *Ex Officio.*

*That is to ſay, That no man within this Realm, or other the Kings Majeſties Dominions, preſume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without ſpecial Licenſe firſt obtained of the Ordinary of the ſame place (Curates in their own Pariſh Churches, and perſons heretofore priviledged, and others admitted by the Canon Law, only excepted.) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in ſecret, or make or write any Book contrary to the Catholick Faith, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter make any Conventicles or Aſſemblies, or keep and exerciſe any manner of Schools touching this Sect, wicked Doctrine and Opinion. And further, That no man hereafter ſhall by any means favour any ſuch preacher, any ſuch maker of unlawful Aſſemblies, or any ſuch Book-maker or writer; and finally any ſuch Teacher, Informer, or ſtirrer up of the people. And that all and ſingular perſons having any the ſaid Books, Writings, Schedules containing the ſaid wicked Doctrines and Opinions, ſhall within forty days after this preſent Proclamation and Statute, really and effectually deliver, or cauſe to be delivered all and ſingular the ſaid Books and Writings unto the Ordinary of the ſame place. And if it ſhall happen any perſon or perſons, of what kind, ſtate or condition ſoever he or they be, to do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this preſent Proclamation and Statute, or not to deliver the ſame Books in form aforeſaid: That then the Ordinary of the ſame place in his own Dioceſs, by Authority of the ſaid Proclamation and Statute ſhall cauſe to be Arreſted and detained under ſafe cuſtody the ſaid perſon or perſons in this caſe defamed and evidently ſuſpected, or any of them, until he or they ſo offending have by order of Law purged him or themſelves as touching the Articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted (according to the Laws Eccleſiaſtical) the ſaid wicked Sect, Preachings, Teachings, and Heretical and Erroneous Opinions. And that the ſaid Ordinary by himſelf or his Commiſſaries proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of Law againſt the ſaid perſons ſo Arreſted and remaining under ſafe cuſtody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the ſaid Arreſt (all delaies and excuſes ſet apart) according to the order and cuſtom of the Canon Law. And if any perſon, in any cauſe above-mentioned, ſhall be Lawfully convicted before the Ordinary of the Dioceſs or his Commiſſaries; that then the ſaid Ordinary may Lawfully cauſe the ſaid perſon ſo convicted (according to the manner and quality of his fact) to be laid in any of his own Priſons and there to be kept ſo long as his diſcretion ſhall be thought expedient.*

A bloody Law of King *Henry* the fourth.

*And further, The ſaid Ordinary (except in caſes by the which according to the Canon Law the party offending ought to be delivered unto the Secular power) ſhall charge the ſaid perſon with ſuch a Fine of mony to be paid unto the Kings Majeſty, as he ſhall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the ſaid Dioceſan ſhall be bound to give notice of the ſaid Fine, into the Kings Majeſties Exchequer, by his Letters Patent under his Seal; to the intent that the ſaid Fine may be Levied to the Kings Majeſties uſe of the Goods of the perſon ſo convict.*

*And further, If any perſon within this Realm and other the Kings Majeſties Dominions ſhall be convicted before the Ordinary of the place, or his Commiſſaries, of the ſaid wicked Preachings, Doctrines, Opinions, Schools, and Heretical and Erroneous Informations or any of them; and will refuſe to abjure and recant the ſaid wicked Sect, Preachings, Teachings, Opinions, Schools and Informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapſe be pronounced againſt him by the Dioceſan of the place, or his Commiſſaries (for ſo by the Canon Law he ought to be left to the Secular Power, upon credit given to the Ordinary or his Commiſſaries) that then the Sheriff of the ſame County, the Mayor, Sheriffs, or Sheriff, or the Mayor, or Bayliffs of the ſame City, Village, or Borough of the ſame County, and neareſt inhabiting to the ſaid Ordinary, or his ſaid Commiſſaries, ſhall perſonally be preſent, as oft as they ſhall be required, to confer with the ſaid Ordinary or his Commiſſaries in giving Sentence againſt the ſaid perſons offending or any of them: And, after the ſaid Sentence ſo pronounced, ſhall take unto them the ſaid perſons ſo offending, and any of them, and cauſe them openly to be burned in the ſight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of puniſhment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked Doctrines and Heretical Opinions, or Authors and favourers thereof be no more maintained within this Realm and Dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Chriſtian Religion, and Decrees of holy Church. In all which and ſingular the Premiſſes, concerning the Statute aforeſaid, let the Sheriff, Mayors, and Bailiffs of the ſaid Counties, Cities, Villages and Boroughs be attendant, aiding and favouring the ſaid Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries.*

KING Hen. 4. A bloody Statute.

By this bloody Statute ſo ſeverely and ſharply enacted againſt theſe ſimple men, here halt thou (gentle Reader) a little to ſtay with thy ſelf, and to conſider the nature and condition of this preſent World, how it hath been ſet and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counſel, and ways poſſible to ſtrive againſt the ways of God, and to overthrow that which he will have ſet up. And although the World may ſee by infinite ſtories and examples, that it is but in vain to ſtrive againſt him; yet ſuch is the nature of this World (all ſet in malignity) that it will not ceaſe ſtill to be like it ſelf.

The like Law and Statute in the time of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinus* was attempted, as before appeareth, and for the more ſtrength was written alſo in Tables of Braſs, to the intent that the Name of Chriſt ſhould utterly be extinguiſhed for ever. And yet the Name of Chriſt remaineth, where that Brazen Law remained not three years. The which Law written then in Braſs, although it differ in manner and form from this our Statute *Ex Officio*, yet to the ſame end and cruelty, to ſpill the Blood of Saints there is no difference between the one and the other. Neither is there any diverſity touching the firſt Original doer, and worker of them both. For the ſame Satan which then wrought his uttermoſt againſt Chriſt, before he was bound up; the ſame alſo, now after his looſing out, doth what he can, though not after the ſame way, yet to the ſame intent. For then with outward violence, as an open Enemy, he did what he could: Now by a more covert way, under the title of the Church, he impugneth the Church of Chriſt, uſing a more ſubtile way to deceive, under gay pretenced titles; but no leſs pernicious in the end whereto he ſhooteth, as well appeareth by this bloody Statute *Ex Officio*, the ſequel whereof coſt afterward many a Chriſtian mans life. As in proceſs of ſtory remaineth more hereafter (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

The Laws *Maximini* and the Statute *Ex Officio* compared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this Statute of the King aforeſaid, concurreth alſo another conſtitution made much about the ſame time by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Thomas Arundel*. So that no induſtry nor policy of man here did lack to ſet the matter forward, but ſpecially on the Biſhops parts, who left no means unattempted, how to ſubvert the right ways of the Lord.

*Firſt*, In moſt diligent and exquiſite execution of the Kings Statute ſet forth; the execution whereof they did ſo exactly apply, that marvel it is to conſider, all other Laws of Kings (commonly, be they never ſo good) to be ſo coldly kept, and this only among all the reſt ſo nearly followed. But herein is to be ſeen the diligence of the *Romiſh* Prelates, which never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their Eſtate.

*Secondly*, Beſide their vigilant care in ſeeing the Kings Statute to be executed, no leſs induſtrious alſo were they in adding thereunto more conſtitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other Archbiſhops hereafter, and by Pope *Martine*, as alſo by this conſtitution here preſent made by *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop.

But before we enter to the relation of theſe aforeſaid conſtitutions of the Clergy-men, here cometh in more to be ſaid and noted touching the foreſaid Statute *Ex Officio*, to prove the ſame not only to be cruel and impious, but alſo to be of it ſelf of no force and validity for the burning of any perſon for cauſe of Religion: for the diſproof of which Statute we have ſufficient Authority remaining as yet in the Parliament Rolls to be ſeen in her Majeſties Court of Records; which here were to be debated at large, but that upon ſpecial occaſion we have deferred the ample

KING *Hen. 4.* ample diſcourſe thereof to the cruel perſecution of the Lord *Cobham* hereafter enſuing, as may appear in the defence of the Lord *Cobham* againſt *Nicolas Harpesfield*, under the title and name of *Alanus Copus*. And thus referring them for the examination of this Statute to the place aforeſaid, let us now return to *Thomas Arundel*, and his bloody conſtitutions above-mentioned. The ſtyle and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigor of the ſame may appear to all men, I thought here-under to adjoyn, in words as followeth:

## *The conſtitution of* Thomas Arundel *againſt the followers of Gods Truth.*

A cruel Conſtitution by the Archbiſhop againſt the Goſpellers, with thirteen Articles.

THomas by the permiſſion of God, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the See Apoſtolick; To all and ſingular our Reverend Brethren fellow-Biſhops, and our Suffragans; and to Abbots, Priors, Deans of Cathedral Churches, Archdeacons, Provoſts and Canons; alſo to all Parſons, Vicars, Chaplains, and Clerks in Pariſh-Churches, and to all Lay-men, whom and whereſoever dwelling within our Province of *Canterbury*, greeting, and grace to ſtand firmly in the Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church. It is a manifeſt and plain caſe, that he doth wrong and injury to the moſt reverend Counſel, who ſo revolteth from the things being in the ſaid Counſel once diſcuſſed and decided. And whoſoever dare preſume to diſpute of the Supreme or Principal Judgment here in Earth, in ſo doing incurreth the pain of Sacriledge, according to the Authority of civil wiſdom and manifold tradition of humane Law. Much more then they, who truſting to their own wits are ſo bold to violate and with contrary Doctrine to reſiſt, and in word and deed to contemn the Precepts of Laws and Canons, rightly made and proceeding from the Key-bearer and Porter of Eternal Life and Death; bearing the room and perſon not of pure man, but of True God here in Earth: which alſo have been obſerved hitherto of the holy Fathers our predeceſſors unto the glorious effuſion of their blood, and voluntary ſprinkling out of their brains, are worthy of greater puniſhment, deſerving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members from the body of the Church Militant. For ſuch ought to conſider what is in the *Old Teſtament* written; *Moſes and Aaron among his prieſts*, that is, were chief Heads amonſt them. And in the *New Teſtament*, among the Apoſtles there was a certain difference. And though they were all Apoſtles, yet was it granted of the Lord to *Peter*, that he ſhould bear preeminence above the other Apoſtles; and alſo the Apoſtles themſelves would the ſame, that he ſhould be the Chieftain over all the reſt. And being called *Cephas*; that is, Head, ſhould be a Prince over the Apoſtles. Unto whom it was ſaid, Thou being once converted, confirm thy Brethren: as though he would ſay, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and ſtray out of the way of Faith, of juſt Living, or right Converſation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again. Which thing no doubt the Lord would never have ſaid unto him, if he had not ſo minded, that the reſt ſhould be obedient unto him. And yet all this notwithſtanding, we know and daily prove that we are ſorry to ſpeak, how the old Sophiſter, the Enemy of mankind foreſeeing and fearing leſt the ſound Doctrine of the Church, determined from ancient times by the Holy fore-Fathers ſhould withſtand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in Unity of Faith under one Head of the Church) doth therefore endeavour by all means poſſible to extirpe the ſaid Doctrine, faining vices to be vertues. And ſo, under falſe pretences of verity diſſimuled, he ſoweth diſcord in Catholick people, to the intent that ſome going one way, ſome another, he in the mean time may gather to himſelf a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the univerſal Mother holy Church. In the which, Satan transforming himſelf into an Angel of Light, bearing a lying and deceitful ballance in his hand, pretendeth great Righteouſneſs, in contrarying the ancient Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church, and refuſing the Traditions of the ſame determined and appointed by holy Fathers; perſwading men (by fained forgeries) the ſame to be naught, and ſo inducing other new kinds of Doctrine, leading to more goodneſs, as he by his lying perſwaſions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodneſs, but rather that he may ſow Schiſms, whereby divers Opinions, and contrary to themſelves, being raiſed in the Church, Faith thereby may be diminiſhed, and alſo the Reverend Holy Myſteries through the ſame contention of words may be prophaned with *Pagans*, *Jews*, and other Infidels, and wicked Miſcreants. And ſo that Figure in *Apoc. 6.* is well verified, ſpeaking of him that ſate on the black Horſe, bearing a pair of Ballance in his hand, by the which Hereticks are underſtood. Who at the firſt appearance, like to Weights or Ballance, make as though they would ſet forth right and juſt things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the black Horſe, that is to ſay, their intention, full of curſed ſpeaking. For they under a divers ſhew and colour of a juſt Ballance, with the Tail of a black Horſe ſprinkling abroad Hereſies and Errors, do ſtrike. And being Poiſoned themſelves, under colour of good, raiſe up infinite ſlanders, and by certain perſons fit to do miſchief do publiſh abroad as it were the ſugred taſte of Hony mixt with Poyſon, thereby the ſooner to be taken: working and cauſing through their ſlight and ſubtilties, that error ſhould be taken for verity, wickedneſs for holineſs and for the true will of Chriſt: Yea and moreover the foreſaid perſons thus pricked out do preach before they be ſent, and preſume to ſow the Seed, before the Seed diſcreetly be ſeparate from the Chaff. Who not pondering the Conſtitutions and Decrees of the Canons, provided for the ſame purpoſe againſt ſuch Peſtilent ſowers, do prefer ſacrifice Diabolical (ſo to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy Church Militant.

Apoc. 6.

The Figure of the black Horſe in the *Apoc.* Doorly expounded.

We therefore conſidering, and weighing, that error which is not reſiſted ſeemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his boſom too wide, which reſiſteth not the Viper thinking there to thruſt out her Venom; And willing moreover to ſhake off the duſt from our feet, and to ſee to the honour of our holy Mother-Church, whereby one uniform holy Doctrine may be ſowen and planted in the Church of God (namely in this our Province of *Canterbury*) ſo much as in us doth lie, to the increaſe of Faith and Service of God, firſt rooting out the evil weeds and offendicles which by the means of perverſe Preaching and Doctrine have ſprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purpoſing by ſome convenient way with all diligence poſſible to withſtand them in time, and to provide for the peril of Souls, which we ſee to riſe under pretence of the Premiſſes; alſo to remove all ſuch Obſtacles, by which the ſaid our purpoſe may be ſtopped; by the advice and aſſent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being preſent in this our Convocation of the Clergy, as alſo of the Procurators of them that be abſent, and at inſtant the Petition of the Procurators of the whole Clergy within this our Province of *Canterbury*, for the more fortification of the Common Law in this part, adding thereunto puniſhment and penalties condign as be here under written, we will and Command, Ordain, and Decree:

Behold the true Image of Wolves under Sheeps clothing.

That no manner of perſon, Secular or Regular, being Authorized to preach by the Laws now preſcribed, or Licenſed by ſpecial priviledge, ſhall take upon him the Office of preaching the Word of God, or by any means preach unto the Clergy or Laity, either within the Church or without, in *Engliſh*, except he firſt preſent himſelf, and be examined of the Ordinary of the place, where he preacheth. And ſo being found a fit perſon, as well in manners as knowledge, he ſhall be ſent by the ſaid Ordinary to ſome one Church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient by the ſaid Ordinary, according to the quality of the perſon. Nor any perſon aforeſaid ſhall preſume to preach, except firſt he give faithful ſignification in due form of his ſending and Authority, that is, that he that is Authorized do come in form appointed him in that behalf; and thoſe, that affirm they come by ſpecial priviledge do ſhew their priviledge unto the Parſon or Vicar of the place where they preach. And thoſe, that pretend themſelves to be ſent by the Ordinary of the place, ſhall likewiſe ſhew the Ordinaries Letters made unto him for that purpoſe, under his Great Seal. Let us always underſtand, the Curate (having the perpetuity) to be ſent of right unto the people of his own Cure. But if any perſon aforeſaid ſhall be forbidden by the Ordinary of the place, or any other Superior, to preach by reaſon of his Errors or Hereſies which before peradventure he hath preached and taught; that then and from thenceforth

The firſt Conſtitution.

No prieſts to preach but by limitation of the Prelates.

Blaſphemy not of pure man, but of true God. He meaneth here of *Tho. Becket* his predeceſſor, who had his brains beat out in the time of King Henry the ſecond. Scripture clerkly applied. This jeer hangeth together like *Germans* lips.

Rome Lord of Supremacie. Mark this you Grammarians. Mark well the Popes Divinity. An argument far fet that true Doctrine conſiſteth in maketh one Head of the Church.

How aptly he painteth the proceedings of his own Popiſh Church.

forth he abſtain from preaching within our Province, until he have purged himſelf, and be Lawfully admitted again to preach by the juſt arbitrement of him that ſuſpended and forbade him. And ſhall always after that carry with him, to all places whereſoever he ſhall preach, the Letters Teſtimonial of him that reſtored him.

Moreover the Pariſh-Prieſts or Vicars Temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being ſent in form aforeſaid, ſhall ſimply preach in the Churches where they have charge, only thoſe things which are expreſly contained in the Provincial conſtitution ſet forth by *John* our predeceſſor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the Prieſts, which beginneth, *Ignorantia Sacerdotum.* Which Book of Conſtitutions we would ſhould be had in every Pariſh-Church in our Province of *Canterbury*, within three months next after the publication of theſe Preſents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the Prieſts themſelves yearly, and at the times appointed. And leſt this wholſom Statute might be thought hurtful to ſome, by reaſon of payment of mony, or ſome other difficulty: we therefore Will and Ordain, That the Examinations of the perſons aforeſaid, and the making of their Letters by the Ordinary be done *gratis* and freely, without any exaction of mony at all by thoſe to whom it ſhall appertain: And if any man ſhall willingly preſume to violate this our Statute grounded upon the old Law; after the publication of the ſame he ſhall incur the ſentence of greater Excommunication *ipſo facto:* whoſe Abſolution we ſpecially reſerve by Tenor of theſe Preſents to us and our ſucceſſors. But if any ſuch preacher deſpiſing this wholſom Statute, and not weighing the ſentence of greater Excommunication, do the ſecond time take upon him to preach; ſaying and alledging, and ſtoutly affirming, that the ſentence of greater Excommunication aforeſaid cannot be appointed by the Church in the perſons of the Prelates of the ſame; That then Superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the Communion of all Faithful Chriſtians.

A jolly mean to bring the World into ſuch darkneſs.

And that the ſaid perſon hereupon Lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the Church) be pronounced an Heretick by the Ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an Heretick and Schiſmatick, and that he incur (*ipſo facto*) the penalties of Hereſie and Schiſmatic, expreſſed in the Law; And chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiſcate by the Law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders being convicted, in all caſes be likewiſe puniſhed, if they ceaſe not off within one month being lawfully warned thereof by their Superiors.

Conſtit. 2. Furthermore, no Clergy-man, or Parochians of any Pariſh or Place within our Province of *Canterbury* ſhall admit any man to preach within their Churches, Church-yards, or other places whatſoever, except firſt there be manifeſt knowledge had of his Authority, Priviledge, or ſending thither, according to the order aforeſaid: Otherwiſe the Church, Church-yard, or what place ſoever, in which it was ſo preached, ſhall *ipſo facto* receive the Eccleſiaſtical Interdict, and ſo ſhall remain Interdicted, until they that ſo admitted and ſuffered him to preach, have reformed themſelves, and obtained the place ſo Interdicted to be releaſed in due form of Law, either from the Ordinary of the place, or elſe his Superior.

Conſtit. 3. Moreover, like as a Houſholder caſteth Wheat into the Ground (well ordered for that purpoſe) thereby to get the more increaſe: even ſo we will and command, That the preacher of Gods Word, coming in form aforeſaid, preaching either unto the Clergy or Laity, according to his matter proponed, ſhall be of good behavior, ſowing ſuch ſeed as ſhall be convenient for his Auditory. And chiefly preaching to the Clergy, he ſhall touch the vices commonly uſed amongſt them, and to the Laity he ſhall declare the vices commonly uſed among them, and not otherwiſe. But if he preach contrary to this order, then ſhall he be ſharply puniſhed by the Ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

What tyranny is this to bind the preachers mouth what to ſay?

Conſtit. 4. *Item*, Foraſmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole; we do Decree and Ordain, That no preacher aforeſaid, or any other perſon whatſoever, ſhall otherwiſe teach or preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, confeſſion of Sins, or any other Sacrament of the Church, or Article of the Faith, than that already is diſcuſſed by the holy Mother-Church, nor ſhall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the Church, nor ſhall to his knowledge privily or apertly pronounce Blaſphemous words concerning the ſame; nor ſhall teach, preach, or obſerve any Sect, or kind of Hereſie whatſoever, contrary to the wholſom Doctrine of the Church. He that ſhall wittingly and obſtinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of theſe Preſents, ſhall incur the ſentence of Excommunication *ipſo facto*. From the which (except in point of death) he ſhall not be Abſolved, until he hath reformed himſelf by abjuration of his Hereſie, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary in whoſe Territory he ſo offended, and hath received wholſom Penitence for his offences. But if the ſecond time he ſhall ſo offend, being Lawfully convicted, he ſhall be pronounced an Heretick, and his Goods confiſcate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it ſhall appertain. The Penance before-mentioned, ſhall be after this manner: If any man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in the Decrees, Decretals, or our Conſtitutions Provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of Hereſie or Sect; he ſhall in the Pariſh-Church of the ſame place, where he ſo preached, upon one Sunday or other Solemn day, or more, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary, and as his offence is more or leſs, expreſly revoke that he ſo preached, taught or affirmed, even at the time of the Solemnity of the Maſs, when the people are moſt aſſembled, and there ſhall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined by the Church: and further ſhall be puniſhed after the quality of his offence, as ſhall be thought expedient to the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

Conſtit. 5. *Item*, Foraſmuch as a new Veſſel, being long uſed, ſavoureth after the head, we Decree and Ordain, That no School-maſters and Teachers whatſoever, that inſtruct Children in *Grammar*, or others whoſoever in Primitive Sciences, ſhall in teaching them intermingle any thing concerning the Catholick Faith, the Sacrament of the Altar, or other Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Nor ſhall ſuffer their Scholars to expound the Holy Scriptures, (except the Text aſhath been uſed in ancient time) nor ſhall permit them to diſpute openly or privily concerning the Catholick Faith, or Sacraments of the Church. Contrariwiſe, the offender herein ſhall be grivouſly puniſhed by the Ordinary of the place, as a favourer of Errors and Schiſms.

A Caveat for School-maſters.

Conſtit. 6. *Item*, For that a new way doth more frequently lead aſtray, than an old way: we Will and Command, That no Book or Treatiſe made by *John Wickliff*, or other whomſoever, about that time or ſithence, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in Schools, Halls, Hoſpitals, or other places whatſoever, within our Province. of *Canterbury* aforeſaid, except the ſame be firſt examined by the Univerſity of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or at the leaſt by twelve perſons, whom the ſaid Univerſities or one of them ſhall appoint to be choſen at our diſcretion, or the laudable diſcretion of our predeceſſors: and the ſame being examined, as aforeſaid, to be expreſly approved and allowed by us or our ſucceſſors, and in the name and authority of the Univerſity, to be delivered unto the Stationers to be Copied out, and the ſame to be ſold at a reaſonable price, the Original thereof always after to remain in ſome Cheſt of the Univerſity. But if any man ſhall read any ſuch kind of Book in Schools or otherwiſe, as aforeſaid, he ſhall be puniſhed as a ſower of Schiſm, and a favourer of Hereſie, as the quality of the fault ſhall require.

Books of *John Wickliff* forbidden.

Conſtit. 7. *Item*, It is a dangerous thing (as witneſſeth bleſſed St. *Hierom*) to Tranſlate the Text of the Holy Scripture out of one Tongue into another: for in the Tranſlation the ſame ſenſe is not always eaſily kept, as the ſame St. *Hierom* confeſſeth, that although he were inſpired, yet ofttentimes in this he erred: We therefore Decree and Ordain, That no man hereafter by his own Authority Tranſlate any Text of the Scripture into *Engliſh*, or any other Tongue, by way of a Book, Libel or Treatiſe, and that no man read any ſuch Book, Libel or Treatiſe, now lately ſet forth in the time of *John Wickliff*, or ſithence, or hereafter to be ſet forth, in part or in whole, privily, or apertly, upon pain of greater Excommunication, until the ſaid Tranſlation be allowed by the Ordinary of the place, or (if the caſe ſo require) by the Counſel Provincial. He that ſhall

He confeſſeth that St. *Hierom* erred in his tranſlation. And yet the ſaid Archbiſhop commendeth Queen *Anne*, for having the Scripture in *Engliſh*.

A bar for the preachers.

do

KING 1 Hen. 4.

do contrary to this, ſhall likewiſe be puniſhed as a favourer of error and hereſie.

Conſtit. 8.

*Item*, For that Almighty God cannot be expreſſed with any Philoſophical terms, or otherwiſe invented of man: And St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, That he hath oftentimes revoked ſuch concluſions as have been moſt true, becauſe they have been offenſive to the ears of the Religious: We do ordain and ſpecially command, that no manner of perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he be, do alledge or propone any Concluſions or Propoſitions contrary to the Catholick Faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except neceſſary Doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or diſputing in their ſchools or otherwiſe) although they defend the ſame with never ſo curious terms and words. For as ſaith bleſſed St. *Hugh* of the Sacraments, That which oftentimes is well ſpoken is not well underſtood. If any man therefore, after the publication of theſe preſents, ſhall be convict wittingly to have proponed ſuch Concluſions or Propoſitions, except (being moniſhed) he reform himſelf in one month by vertue of this preſent conſtitution, he ſhall incur the ſentence of greater Excommunication *ipſo facto*, and ſhall be openly pronounced an Excommunicate, until he hath confeſſed his fault openly in the ſame place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the ſaid Concluſion or Propoſition in one Church or more, as ſhall be thought expedient to the Ordinary.

Terms and Propoſitions not to be obſerved.

Conſtit. 9.

*Item*, No manner of perſon ſhall preſume to diſpute upon the Articles determined by the Church, as is contained in the Decrees, Decretals, or Conſtitutions Provincial, or in the general Councils: But only to ſeek out the true meaning thereof, and that expreſly, whether it be openly or in ſecret: nor ſhall call in doubt the Authority of the ſaid Decretals or Conſtitutions, or the authority of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: And chiefly concerning the adoration of the Holy Croſs, the worſhipping of Images, of Saints, going on Pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relicks of Saints, or againſt the Oaths, in caſes accuſtomed to be given in both common places, that is to ſay, Spiritual and Temporal. But of all it ſhall be commonly taught and preached, that the Croſs and Image of the Crucifix, and other Images of Saints, in the honour of them whom they repreſent, are to be worſhipped with Proceſſion, bowing of Knees, offering of Frankincenſe, Kiſſing, Oblations, lighting of Candles, and Pilgrimages, * and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been uſed in the time of our predeceſſors, and that giving of Oaths in caſes expreſſed in the Law, and uſed of all men to whom it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done upon the Book of the Goſpel of Chriſt. Contrary unto this whoſoever doth preach, teach, or obſtinately affirm (except he recant in manner and form aforeſaid) ſhall forthwith incur the penalty of Hereſie, and ſhall be pronounced an Heretick, in all effect of Law.

Authority of the Popes Decretal not to be doubted under pain of Hereſie.

Adoration of the Croſs.

* With all abomination.

Conſtit. 10.

*Item*, We do Decree and Ordain, That no Chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any Dioceſs within our Province of *Canterbury*, where he was not born, or received not Orders; except he bring with him his Letters of Orders, and Letters commendatory from his Ordinary, and alſo from other Biſhops in whoſe Dioceſs of a long time he hath been converſant, whereby his converſation and manners may appear; ſo that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new Opinions touching the Catholick Faith, or whether he be free from the ſame: otherwiſe, as well he that celebrateth, as he that ſuffereth him to Celebrate, ſhall be ſharply puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

No Prieſts to Celebrate without their Letters of orders.

Conſtit. 11.

*Finally*, Becauſe thoſe things which newly and unaccuſtomably creep up, ſtand in need of new and ſpeedy help: and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumſpection and ſtronger reſiſtance; and not without good cauſe, the leſs noble ought diſcreetly to be cut away that the more noble may the more perfectly be nouriſhed: Conſidering therefore, and in lamentable wiſe ſhewing unto you how the ancient Univerſity of *Oxford*, which as a fruitful Vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the Church; now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter Grapes, which being undiſcreetly eaten of ancient Fathers, that thought themſelves skilful in the Law of God, hath ſet on edg the Teeth of their Children: and our Province is infected with divers and unfruitful Doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of *Lollardy*, to the great reproof and offence of the ſaid Univerſity being known in Foreign Countries, and to the great irkſomneſs of the Students there, and to the great damage and loſs of the Church of *England*, which in times paſt by her vertue as with a ſtrong Wall, was wont to be defended; and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: At the ſupplication therefore of the whole Clergy of our Province of *Canterbury*, and by the conſent and aſſent of all our Brethren and Suffragans, and other the Prelates in this Convocation aſſembled, and the Proctors of them that are abſent, leſt the River being cleanſed, the Fountain ſhould remain corrupt, and ſo the Water coming from thence ſhould not be pure, intending moſt wholſomly to provide for the honour and utility of the holy Mother the Church and the Univerſity aforeſaid; We do Ordain and Decree, that every Warden, Provoſt, or Maſter of every Colledge, or Principal of every Hall within the Univerſity aforeſaid, ſhall once every month at the leaſt diligently inquire in the ſaid Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath Authority, whether any Scholar or inhabitant of ſuch Colledge or Hall, *&c.* have holden, alledged, or defended, or by any means proponed any concluſion, propoſition or opinion concerning the Catholick Faith, ſounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the Church otherwiſe than appertaineth to neceſſary Doctrine. And if he ſhall find any ſuſpected or defamed herein, he ſhall according to his office admoniſh him to deſiſt. And if after ſuch monition given, the ſaid party offend again in the ſame or ſuch like, he ſhall incur *ipſo facto* (beſides the penalties aforeſaid) the ſentence of greater Excommunication. And nevertheleſs, if it be a Scholar that ſo offendeth the ſecond time, whatſoever he ſhall afterward do in the ſaid Univerſity, ſhall not ſtand in effect. And if he be a Doctor, a Maſter, or Bachellor, he ſhall forthwith be ſuſpended from any Scholars Act, and in both caſes ſhall loſe the right that he hath in the ſaid Colledge or Hall, whereof he is, *ipſo facto*; and by the Warden, Provoſt, Maſter, Principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he ſhall be expelled, and a Catholick by Lawful means forthwith placed in his place. And if the ſaid Wardens, Provoſts, or Maſters of Colledges, or Principals of Halls ſhall be negligent concerning the inquiſition and execution of ſuch perſons ſuſpected and defamed by the ſpace of ten days, from the time of the true or ſuppoſed knowledge of the publication of theſe preſents: that then they ſhall incur the ſentence of greater Excommunication, and nevertheleſs ſhall be deprived *ipſo facto*, of all the right which they pretend to have in the Colledges, Halls, *&c.* and the ſaid Colledges and Halls, to be effectually vacant. And after Lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it ſhall appertain, new Wardens, Provoſts, Maſters, or Principals, ſhall be placed in their places as hath been actuſtomed in Colledges and Halls, being vacant in the ſaid Univerſity. But if the Wardens themſelves, Provoſts, Maſters, or Principals aforeſaid, be ſuſpected and defamed of and concerning the ſaid Concluſions or Propoſitions, or be favourers and defenders of ſuch as do therein offend, and do not ceaſe, being thereof warned by us, or by our Authority, or by the Ordinary of the place: that then by Law they be deprived as well of all ſuch priviledge Scholaſtical within the Univerſity aforeſaid, as alſo of their Right and Authority in ſuch Colledge, Hall, *&c.* Beſides other penalties aforementioned, and that they incur the ſaid ſentence of greater Excommunication.

Oxford famous for ſincere Religion.

Inquiſition to be made through Colledges and Halls of Oxford.

I would the like were uſed now for the baniſhing of Papiſtry.

But if any man in any caſe of this preſent Conſtitution, or any other above-expreſſed, do raſhly and wilfully preſume to violate theſe our Statutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expreſly there limited) yet ſhall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the ſpace of three years after (without hope of pardon) to obtain any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice within our Province of *Canterbury*: and nevertheleſs according to all his demerits and the quality of his exceſs, at the diſcretion of his Superior, he ſhall be Lawfully puniſhed. Conſtit. 12.

And

Conſtit. 13. And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, conſidering with our ſelves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of Hereſie and offending the Prince, as is avouched in divers Laws; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the Divine Majeſty requireth greater puniſhment, than to offend the Princes Majeſty; And where it is ſufficient (for fear of danger that might enſue by delaies) to convince by judgment the offender of the Princes Majeſty, proceeding againſt him fully and wholly, with a Citation ſent by Meſſenger, by Letters, or Edict not admitting proof by Witneſſes, and Sentence definitive to be: We do ordain, will, and declare, for the eaſier puniſhment of the offenders in the premiſes, and for the better Reformation of the Church divided and hurt, that all ſuch as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently ſuſpected in any of the caſes aforeſaid, or in Article of the Catholick Faith, ſounding contrary to good manners, by the Authority of the Ordinary of the place or other Superior, be cited perſonally to appear either by Letters, publick Meſſenger being Sworn, or by Edict openly ſet at that place where the ſaid offender commonly remaineth, or in his Pariſh-Church, if he have any certain dwelling-Houſe; Otherwiſe, in the Cathedral Church of the place where he was born, and in the Pariſh-Church of the ſame place where he ſo preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being given, that the Citation was formerly executed againſt the party cited being abſent and neglecting his appearance, it ſhall be proceeded againſt him fully and plainly without ſound or ſhew of Judgment, and without admitting proof by Witneſſes and other Canonical probations. And alſo after Lawful information had, the ſaid Ordinary (all delaies ſet apart) ſhall ſignify, declare, and puniſh the ſaid offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforeſaid; and further, ſhall do according to Juſtice, the abſence of the offender notwithſtanding.

Faſter to offend againſt the Princes Law than againſt the Biſhops.

*Given at* Oxford.

Who would thought by theſe Laws and Conſtitutions ſo ſubſtantially founded, ſo circumſpectly provided, ſo diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this perſecuted ſort, ſhould utterly have been rooted up, and never could have ſtood? And yet ſuch be the works of the Lord, paſſing all mens admiration, all this notwithſtanding ſo far was it off, that the number and courage of theſe good men was vanquiſhed, that rather they multiplied daily and increaſed. For ſo I find in Regiſters Recorded, that theſe foreſaid perſons, whom the King and the Catholick Fathers did ſo greatly deteſt for Hereticks, were in divers Countries of this Realm diſperſed and increaſed; eſpecially at *London*, in *Lincolnſhire*, in *Norfolk*, in *Hereford-ſhire*, in *Shrewesbury*, in *Calice*, and divers other quarters mo, with whom the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Thomas Arundel* the ſame time had much ado, as by his own Regiſters doth appear. Albeit ſome there were that did ſhrink, many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the Law. Among whom was *John Purvey*, which recanted at *Paul*'s-Croſs, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing,) to be ſaid in the Year 1421. Alſo *John Edward*, Prieſt of the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, who revoked in the *Greenyard* at *Norwich*, *Richard Herbert*, and *Emmot Willy* of *London*, alſo *John Becket*, who recanted at *London*. *Item*, *John Seynons* of *Lincolnſhire*, who was cauſed to revoke at *Canterbury*. The Articles of whom, which commonly they did hold, and which they were conſtrained to abjure, moſt eſpecially were theſe which follow:

*John Purvey, John Edward. John Becket. John Seynons.* abjured.

*Their Articles.*

The Articles.

*Firſt*, That the Office of the Holy Croſs (ordained by the whole Church) celebrated doth contain Idolatry.

*Item*, They ſaid and affirmed, That all they which do reverence and worſhip the ſign of the Croſs, do commit Idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

*Item*, They ſaid and affirmed that the true Fleſh and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt truly pronounced.

*Item*, They ſaid and affirmed the Sacrament of the Altar to be Sacramental Bread, not having Life, but only Inſtituted for a memorial of Chriſts Paſſion.

*Item*, They ſaid and affirmed, That the Body of Chriſt, which is taken on the Altar, is a Figure of the Body of Chriſt as long as we ſee the Bread and Wine. { KING { Hen. 4.

*Item*, They ſaid and affirmed, That the Decree of the Prelates and Clergy in the Province of *Canterbury*, in their laſt Convocation, with the conſent of the King and the Nobles in the laſt Parliament againſt him that was burnt lately in the City of *London*, was not ſufficient to change the purpoſe of the ſaid *John*, when the ſubſtance of material Bread is even as before in the Sacrament of the Altar it was, no change being made in the nature of Bread.

**Item*. That any Lay-man may preach the Goſpel in every place, and may teach it by his own Authority, without the Licenſe of his Ordinary.

* Their Article commonly was thus. That who ſoever teacheth that him the office of a Prieſt, though he have no cure of ſouls nor licenſe of his Ordinary, is bound to preach the Goſpel.

*Item*, That it is ſin to give any thing to the preaching Friers, to the *Minorites*, to the *Auguſtines*, to the *Carmelites*.

*Item*, That we ought not to offer at the Funerals of the Dead.

*Item*, That the confeſſion of ſins to the Prieſt is unneedful.

*Item*, That every good man (though he be unlearned) is a Prieſt.

*Item*, That the Infant (though he die unbaptized) ſhall be ſaved.

*Item*, That neither the Pope, nor the Prelate, neither any Ordinary can compel any man to Swear by any Creature of God, or by the Bible-Book

*Item*, That the Biſhop, the ſimple man, the Prieſt and Lay-man be of like Authority (as long as they live well.)

*Item*, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any Prelate.

*William Thorpe.*

The Examination of the conſtant ſervant of God, *William Thorpe.*

THus much briefly being ſignified by the way, touching theſe which have been forced in time of this King, to open abjuration: Next coming to our hands the worthy Hiſtory of Maſter *William Thorpe*, a valiant Warrier, under the Triumphant banner of Chriſt, with the proceſs of his examinations before the foreſaid *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, written by the ſaid *Thorpe*, and ſtoried by his own Pen, at the requeſt of his Friends, as by his own words in the proceſs hereof may appear. In whoſe Examination (which ſeemeth firſt to begin, *Anno* 1407) thou ſhalt have good Reader, both to learn and to marvel. To learn, in that thou ſhalt hear truth diſcourſed and diſcuſſed, with the contrary reaſons of the adverſary diſſolved. To marvel, for thou ſhalt behold here in this man the marvellous force and ſtrength of the Lords Might, Spirit, and Grace, working and fighting in his Soldiers, and alſo ſpeaking in their mouths, according to the Word of his promiſe, *Luke* 21. To the Text of the Story we have neither added nor diminiſhed: but as we have received copied out, and corrected by Maſter *William Tindal* (who had his own hand writing) ſo we have here ſent it, and ſet it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wiſhed it in his own natural ſpeech, wherein it was firſt written. Notwithſtanding, to put away all doubt and ſcruple herein, this I thought before to pre-moniſh and teſtify to the Reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive which have ſeen the ſelf-ſame Copy in his own old *Engliſh*, reſembling the true antiquity both of the ſpeech and of the time. The name of whom, as for Record of the ſame, to avouch, is *M. Whitehead*; who as he hath ſeen the true ancient Copy in the hands of *George Conſtantine*, ſo hath he given credible relation of the ſame, both to the Printer and to me. Furthermore, the ſaid Maſter *Tindal* (albeit he did ſomewhat alter and amend the *Engliſh* thereof, and frame it after our manner) yet not fully in all words but that ſomething doth remain, ſavouring of the old ſpeech of that time. What the cauſes were why this good man and ſervant of Chriſt, *W. Thorpe*, did write it, and pen it out himſelf, it is ſufficiently declared in his own Preface, ſet before his Book, which here is prefixed in manner as followeth:

This Hiſtory firſt ſet forth and corrected by M. *Will. Tindal.*

*The Preface of* William Thorpe.

The Preface.

THe Lord God that knoweth all things, wotteth well that I am right ſorrowful to write to make known this ſentence beneath written: whereby of mine even Chriſtian, ſet in high ſtate and dignity, ſo great blindneſs and malice

KING *Hen.4.*

malice may be known; that they which do preſume of themſelves to deſtroy Vices, and to plant in Men vertues, neither dread to offend God, nor luſt to pleaſe him, as their works do ſhew. For Certes the bidding of God and his Law, which in the praiſing of his moſt Holy name he commandeth to be known and kept of all Men and Women, Young and Old, after the cunning and power that he hath given to them, the Prelates of this Land and their Miniſters, with the covent of Prieſts chiefly conſenting to them, enforce them moſt buſily to withſtand, and deſtroy the Holy Ordinance of God. And there through God is greatly wroth and moved to take hard vengeance, not only upon them that do the evil, but alſo on them that conſent to theſe Antichriſts Limms: which know; or might know their malice and falſhood, and dreſs them not to withſtand their malice and their great pride. Nevertheleſs, four things move me to write this ſentence beneath.

Gods Law muſt be known and followed.

Four cauſes of ſetting forth his examination.

The firſt thing that moveth me hereto is this, That whereas it was known to certain Friends, that I came from the Priſon of *Shrewsbury*, and as it befel indeed that I ſhould to the Priſon of *Canterbury*, then divers Friends in divers places ſpake to me full heartily and full tenderly, and counſelled me then if it ſo were that I ſhould be examined before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that if I might in any wiſe, I ſhould write mine appoſing, and mine anſwering. And I promiſed to my ſpecial Friends, that if I might, I would gladly do their bidding as I might.

The ſecond cauſe.

The ſecond thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: Divers Friends, which have heard that I have been examined before the Archbiſhop, have come to me in Priſon, and counſelled me buſily and coveted greatly that I ſhould do the ſame thing. And other Brethren have ſent to me, and required on Gods behalf, that I ſhould write but and make known both mine appoſing and mine anſwering, for the profit that (as they ſay) upon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I ſhould be buſie in all my wits, to go as near the ſentence and the words as I could, both that were ſpoken to me, and that I ſpake: peradventure this writing may come another time before the Archbiſhop and his Council. And of this Counſelling I was right glad: for in my conſcience I was moved to do this thing, and to ask hitherto the ſpecial help of God. And ſo then I conſidering the great deſire of divers Friends of ſundry places, according all in one, I occupied all my mind and my wits ſo buſily, that through Gods grace I perceived, by their meaning and their charitable deſire, ſome profit might come there through. For ſoothfaſtneſs and truth hath theſe conditions: whereſoever it is impugned, it hath a ſweet ſmell, and thereof cometh a ſweet ſavour. And the more violently the Enemies dreſs themſelves to oppreſs and to withſtand the truth, the greater and the ſweeter ſmell cometh thereof. And therefore this Heavenly ſmell of Gods Word, will not as a ſmoke paſs away with the Wind: but it will deſcend and reſt in ſome clean ſoul that thirſteth thereafter. And thus ſome deal by this writing may be perceived through Gods grace, how that the Enemies of the truth (ſtanding boldly in their malice) inforce them to withſtand the Freedom of Chriſts Goſpel, for which Freedom Chriſt became Man and ſhed his heart blood. And therefore it is great pity and ſorrow, that many Men and Women do their own wayward will, and buſie them not to know nor to do the pleaſant will of God.

Truth liſteth always a ſweet ſmell behind it.

The Men and Women that hear the truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, and hear or know of this (perceiving what is now in the Church) ought herethrough to be the more moved in all their wits to able them to grace, and to ſet leſſer price by themſelves, that they without tarrying forſake wilfully and bodily all the wretchedneſs of this life, ſince they know not how ſoon, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them and aſſay their patience. For no doubt, who ever will live piteouſly, that is charitably in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer now here in this life perſecution, in one wiſe or another: that is, if we ſhall be ſaved, it behooveth us to imagin full buſily the vility and foulneſs of ſin, and how the Lord God is diſpleaſed therefore: and ſo of this vility and hideouſneſs of ſin, it behooveth us to buſie us in all our wits, to abhor and hold in our mind a great ſhame of ſin ever, and ſo then we ought to ſorrow heartily therefore, and ever fleeing all occaſion thereof. And then it behooveth us to take upon us ſharp penance, continuing therein, to obtain of the Lord forgiveneſs of our foredone ſins, and grace to abſtain us hereafter from ſin. And if we inforce us not to do this wilfully, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not utterly deſtroy and caſt us away) will in divers manners move Tyrants againſt us, to conſtrain us violently to do penance, which we would not do wilfully. And truſt that this doing is a ſpecial grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt who ever will not apply himſelf (as is ſaid before) to puniſh himſelf wilfully, neither will ſuffer patiently, meekly, and gladly the Rod of the Lord, howſoever that he will puniſh him: their wayward wills and their impatiency are unto them earneſt of everlaſting damnation. But becauſe there are but few in number that do able them thus faithfully to grace, to live here ſo ſimply and purely, and without Gall of malice and of Grudging; therefore the lovers of this World hate and purſue them that they know patient, meek, chaſte, and wilfully poor, hating and fleeing all Worldly vanities and Fleſhly luſts. For ſurely their vertuous conditions are even contrary to the manners of this World.

Godly counſel given, if it may be followed.

Perſecution followeth the true Church.

The cauſe why perſecution is ſuffered to come.

The third cauſe.

The third thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this, I thought I ſhall buſie me in my ſelf to do faithfully, that all Men and Women (occupying all their buſineſs in knowing and in keeping of Gods Commandments) able them ſo to grace, that they might underſtand truly the truth, and have and uſe vertue and prudence, and ſo deſerve to be lightned from above with Heavenly Wiſdom: ſo that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleaſant Sacrifices unto the Lord God; and not only for help of their own ſouls, but alſo for edification of Holy Church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to have this foreſaid buſineſs, ſhall profit full meekly both to Friends and Foes. For ſome Enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, ſhall through Charitable folks be made aſtoniſhed in their conſcience, and peradventure converted from Vices to Vertues: and alſo, they that labour to know and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, and to ſuffer patiently all adverſities, ſhall hereby comfort many friends.

Edification of others neceſſary to be conſidered.

The fourth cauſe.

And the fourth thing that moveth me to write this ſentence is this: I know by my ſudden and unwarned appoſing and anſwering, that all they that will of good heart without faining able themſelves wilfully and gladly, after their cunning and their power, to follow Chriſt patiently, travelling buſily, privily and apertly in work and in word, to withdraw whomſoever that they may from Vices, planting in them (if they may) Vertues comforting them and furthering them that ſtand in grace; ſo that therewith they be born up in vain-glory through preſumption of their wiſdom, nor inflamed with any worldly proſperity, but ever meek and patient; purpoſing to continue ſtedfaſtly in the will of God, ſuffering wilfully and gladly without any grudging whatſoever Rod the Lord will chaſtiſe them with; that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all ſuch Men and Women in all their Tribulations, and at every point of Temptation that any Enemy purpoſed for to do againſt them. To ſuch faithful Lovers ſpecially, and patient Followers of Chriſt, the Lord ſendeth by his wiſdom from above them which the adverſaries of the truth may not know nor underſtand. But through their old and new unſhamefaſt ſins, thoſe Tyrants and Enemies of ſoothfaſtneſs ſhall be ſo blinded, and obſtinate in evil, that they ſhall ween themſelves to do pleaſant Sacrifices unto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongful purſuing and deſtroying of innocent Mens and Womens bodies; which Men and Women, for their vertuous living, and for their true knowledging of the truth, and their patient, wilful and glad ſuffering of perſecution for righteouſneſs, deſerve through the grace of God, to be Heirs of the endleſs bliſs of Heaven. And for the fervent deſire and great love that theſe men have, as to ſtand in ſoothfaſtneſs and witneſs of it, though they be ſuddenly and unwarnedly brought forth to be appoſed of their Adverſaries; the Holy Ghoſt yet, that moveth and ruleth them through his charity, will in that hour of their anſwering ſpeak in them, and ſhew his wiſdom, that all their Enemies ſhall not gainſay, nor againſtand, lawfully.

The aſſiſtance of God never faileth them that are perſecuted.

And therefore all they that are stedfast in the Faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his Commandments, and for their patient suffering of whatsoever adversity that cometh to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand continually in perfect charity; For those Men and Women dread not so the adversities of this life, that they will fear (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of Gods Word, when, where, and to whom they think their knowledging may profit. Yea, and though therefore persecution come to them in one wise or another, Certes they patiently take it, knowing their conversation to be in Heaven. It is an high reward and a special grace of God to have and injoy the everlasting Inheritance of Heaven, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the term of this life. For lo, this Heavenly Heritage and endless reward, is the Lord God himself, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God himself, whereas he said to *Abraham*, I am thy meed: And as the Lord said, he was and is the meed of *Abraham*, so he is of all other his Saints. This most blessed and best meed, he grant to us all for his holy Name, that made us of nought, and sent his only most dear worthy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ to redeem us with his most precious Heart Blood. Amen.

## *The Examination of* William Thorp, *Penned with his own Hand*

Examination of *William Thorp* before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop.

KNown be it to all Men that read or hear this writing, that on the Sunday next after the Feast of S. *Peter*, that we call *Lammas*, in the year of our Lord 1407. I *William Thorp*, being in prison in the Castle of *Saltwood*, was brought before *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor then of *England*. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great Chamber and much people about him: and when that he saw me, he went fast into a Closet, bidding all secular Men that followed him to go forth from him soon, so that no man was left then in that Closet but the Archbishop himself: and a Physitian that was called *Masveren*, Parson of Saint *Dunstans* in *London*, and two other Persons unknown to me, which were Ministers of the Law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me; *William* I know well that thou hast this twenty Winters and more, Travelled about busily in the *North* Country, and in divers other Countries of *England*, sowing about false Doctrine, having great business if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewd Will to infect and poison all this Land. But through the Grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now Sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and let thee to invenom the sheep of my province. Nevertheless, S. *Paul* saith: If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men. Therefore *William*, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feigning kneel down, and lay thy hand upon a Book and kiss it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine Ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gratious unto thee. Then said I to the Archbishop: Sir, *Since ye deem me an Heretick, and out of belief, will you give me here audience to tell my believe?* And he said, *Yea, tell on.* And I said, *I believe that there is not but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead are three Persons, that is; the Father, the Son, and the soothfast Holy Ghost. And I believe that all these three Persons are even in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace of all goodness. For whatsoever that the Father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the Son doth and can and will; and in all their power, cunning and will, the Holy Ghost is equal to the Father, and to the Son.*

Loytering Prelates cannot abide travelling Preachers.

The grace of God and of my Lord of *Canterbury* be two things.

Your ordinance, and why not Gods ordinance, if it please your grace?

Over this I believe that through counsel of this most blessed Trinity in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of Man, that is, the kind of man. And I believe, that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was conceived through the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, without mans seed. And I believe that after nine months Christ was Born of this most Blessed Virgin, without any pain or breaking of the Cloister of her Womb and without filth of her Virginity. KING *Hen.* 4.

And I believe, that Christ our Saviour was Circumcised in the Eighth day after his Birth, in fulfilling of the Law, and his name was called *Jesus*, which was so called of the the Angel, before that he was conceived in the Womb of *Mary* his Mother.

And I believe that Christ, as he was about xxx. years old, was Baptised in the Flood of *Jordane* of *John Baptist*: and in the likeness of a Dove the Holy Ghost descended there upon him, a voice heard from Heaven, saying; *Thou art my welbeloved Son, in thee I am full pleased.*

And I believe that Christ was moved then by the Holy Ghost to go into the Desart, and their he fasted 40. days and 40. nights without bodily Meat and Drink. And I believe that by and by after this fasting, when the manhood of God hungred, the Fiend came to him, and tempted him in Gluttony, in vain glory, and in covetise: But in all those temptations Christ concluded the Fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying Jesus began to Preach, and to say unto the people; Do ye penance, for the Realm of Heaven is now at hand.

I believe that Christ in all his time here lived most holily, and taught the Will of his Father most truly: And I believe that he suffered therefore most wronfully greatest reproofs and despitings.

This is under the ceatures of Bread and Wine.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporal Life, I believe that in the day next before that he would suffer passion in the morn, in form of Bread and of Wine he ordained the Sacrament of his Flesh and his Blood; that is, his own precious Body, and gave it to his Apostles to eat: commanding them, and by them all their after-comers, that they should do it in this form that he shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and commune forth to other Men and Women this most worshipful and holiest Sacrament, in mindfulness of his holiest living, and of his most true Preaching, and of his wilful and patient suffering of the most painful passion.

And I believe that this Christ our Saviour, after that he had ordained this most worthy Sacrament of his own precious Body, went forth wilfully against his Enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a Thief, and to scorn him and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their spittings. Over this, I believe that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his Enemies, to ding out with sharp scourges the Blood that was between his skin and his flesh: Yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruel *Jews* to Crown him with most sharp thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked *Jews* to draw him out upon the Cross, and to nail him thereupon Hand and Foot. And so through his pitiful nailing, Christ shed out wilfully for mans Blood, the Blood that was in the Veins. And then Christ gave wilfully his Spirit into the hands or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died wilfully for Mans sake upon the Cross. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the World, there was left Blood and Water in his heart, as before ordained, that he would shed out this Blood and this Water for Mans salvation. And therefore he suffered the *Jews* to make a blind Knight to thrust him in the heart with a Spear, and this Blood and Water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for Mans love: And after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the Cross and Buryed. And I believe that on the third day by the power of his Godhead. Christ rose again from death to life. And the Fortieth day thereafter, I believe that Christ ascended up into Heaven, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the Fiftieth day after his up-going, he sent to his Apostles the Holy Ghost, that he had promised them before; and I believe that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

And

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And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty, so I believe in the Holy Ghost that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

What is the Holy Church.

And I believe in Holy Church, that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the World shall be, a people the which shall endeavour them to know and to keep the Commandments of God, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please him: and I believe, that all they that have had, and yet have, and all they that yet shall have the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping stedfastly in his merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, wilfully, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ, chiefly and his Apostles, all these have their names written in the Book of Life.

The true notes of the true Church.

Therefore I believe, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the Holy Church of God; fighting here on Earth against the Fiend, the prosperity of the World, and their filthy lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and every part thereof, neither coveteth; nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to do his pleasing will meekly, gladly, wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit my self unto this Holy Church of Christ, to be ever buxom and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the help of God. Therefore I knowledge now and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and will all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge I may perceive by the having and using of the beforesaid vertues, to be Members of the Holy Church. Wherefore these Articles of belief and all other (both of the Old Law, and of the New, which after the Commandment of God any man ought to believe,) and believe verily in my soul, as a sinful deadly wretch, of my cunning and power, ought to believe: praying the Lord God for his holy name to increase my belief, and to help my unbelief.

What Heresie in this belief, I pray you my Lord?

And because to the praising of Gods name, I desire above all things to be a faithful Member of Holy Church, I make this protestation before you all four that are now here present, coveting that all Men and Women that now be absent knew the same: That is, what thing soever before this time I have said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say at any time hereafter, I believe, that all the Old Law and New Law, given and ordained by council of the three Persons of the Trinity, were given and written to the salvation of mankind. And I believe, that these Laws are sufficient for Mans salvation. And I believe every Article of these Laws, to the intent that these Articles ordained and commanded of these three Persons of the most blessed Trinity are to be believed.

The Old Testament and New.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these Gods Laws, meekly, gladly, and wilfully, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will by authority of Gods Law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any Article of belief (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodness) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxsome and obedient unto those Laws of God, and to every Article of them. For by authority specially of these Laws I will, through the Grace of God be united charitably unto these Laws. Yea Sir, and over: this, I believe and admit all the sentences, authorities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors according unto the Holy Scripture, and declaring it truly.

Doctors so to be followed, as they followe the word.

I submit me wilfully and meekly to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all these Saints and Doctors, as they are obedient in work and in Word to God and to his Law, and further not (to my knowledge) nor for any earthly power, Dignity or State, through the help of God. But Sir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding I shall lay my hand upon the Book, to what intent; to swear thereby? And the Archbishop said to me, yea wherefore else? And I said to him; Sir, a Book is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to swear by any creature, both Gods Law and Mans Law is against it.

To swear by a Book whether it be lawful.

But Sir, this thing I say here to you before these your Clerks, with my foresaid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom men are bound to swear or to obey in any wise after Gods Law, and Saints, and true Doctors, according with Gods Law; I will through Gods grace be ever ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you Sir for the Charity of God, that ye will before that I swear (as I have here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto that I shall submit me: and shew me that whereof ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfil.

How, where, and when to swear.

And the Archbishop said unto me: I will shortly that now thou swear here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the Sect of *Lollards* hold, and is slandred with: So that after this time, neither privily nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworn) rehearse to thee here. Nor shalt thou favour any Man or Woman, young or old, that holdeth any these aforesaid opinions: But after thy knowledge and power thou shalt force thee to withstand all such disstroublers of Holy Church in every Dioces that thou comest in; and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the Bishop of the Dioces that they are in, or to the Bishops Ministers. And over this I will that thou Preach no more unto the time that I know by good witness and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

And I hearing these words thought in my heart that this was an unlawful asking; and deemed my self Cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how *Susan* said: Anguish is to me on every side. And in that I stood still and spake not, the Archbishop said to me; Answer one way or other: and I said; Sir, if I consented to you thus as ye have herebefore rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or every Bishops espie, Somoner of all *England*. For if I should thus put up and publish the names of Men and Women, I should herein deceive full many persons: Yea Sir, as it is likely by the doom of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of Men and Women, yea both Bodily and Ghostly. For many Men and Women that stand now in the way of Salvation, if I should for the learning and reading or their belief publish them therefore up to the Bishops or to their unpiteous Ministers, I know some deal by experience that they should be so disstroubled and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I think) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth than to be travelled, scorned, slandred or punished, as Bishops and their Ministers now use to constrain Men and Women to consent to them.

Behold the Popish proceedings whereto they tend.

But I find in no place in Holy Scripture, that this Office, that ye would now inseoffe me with, accordeth to any Priest of Christs Sect, nor to any other Christian Man: and therefore to do this were to me a full noyous bond to be bounden with, and over grievour charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many Men and Women would, yea Sir, might justly to my confusion say to me, that I wer a Traytor to God and to them: since (as I think in mine heart) many Men and Women trust so mickle in this case, that I would not for saving of my life do thus to them. For if I thus should do, full many Men and Women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered shamefully the Word of God. For if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchief or mischief that may befal unto me in this life, I deem in my conscience, that I were worthy heretofore to be Cursed of God and also of all his Saints: from which inconvenience keep me and all Christian people, Almighty God, now and ever for his Holy Name. And then the Archbishop said unto me: Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of *Pharao*, and the Devil hath overcomen thee, and perverted thee, and he hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercy that I have profered to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answer, thou hast no will to leave thine old errors.

No marvel why: for Christ and Antichrist how can they agree?

It is pretty when *Pharao* judged *Moses* hard hearted. Where learned you my Lord to call your Brother *Racha*?

But I say to thee lewd lossel, either quickly consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by Saint *Thomas* thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy Fellow into *Smithfield*. And at this saying I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine heart, that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy

He meaneth Gods Martyrs, *Wil. Sautre.*

bring me to ſuch an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this menacing of the Archbiſhop. And I conſidered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet ſorrowful that he had made *William Sautre* wrongfully to be burnt: and as I conſidered, that the Archbiſhop thirſted yet after more ſhedding out of innocent Blood: And faſt therefore I was moved in all my wits, to hold the Archbiſhop neither for Prelate nor for Prieſt of God: And for that mine inward Man was thus altogether departed from the Archbiſhop, me thought I ſhould not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and ſorrowfull, for that there was no audience of ſecular Men by; but in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me and ſtrength me againſt them that there were againſt the ſoothfaſtneſs. And I ſuppoſe to ſpeak no more to the Archbiſhop and his Clerks than me need behooved: and all thus I prayed God for his goodneſs to give me then and alway grace to ſpeak with a meek and an eaſie Spirit: and whatſoever thing that I ſhould ſpeak, that I might thereto have true authorities of the Scriptures or open reaſon. And for that I ſtood thus ſtill and nothing ſpake, one of the Archbiſhops Clerks ſaid unto me; What thing muſeſt thou? Do thou as my Lord hath now commanded to thee here.

The order and manner of his bringing up.

And yet I ſtood ſtill and anſwered him not: and then ſoon after the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I have ſaid to thee? And I ſaid then to him; Sir, my Father and my Mother, on whoſe ſouls God have mercy (if it be his will) ſpent mickle Money in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made me a Prieſt to God. But when I came to years of Diſcretion, I had no will to be Prieſt, and therefore my Friends were right heavy to me, and then me thought their grudging againſt me was ſo painful to me, that I purpoſed therefore to have left their company. And when they perceived this in me, they ſpake ſometime full fair and pleaſant words to me: But for that they might not make me to conſent of good heart to be a Prieſt, they ſpake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners, ſhewing to me full heavy cheer. And thus one while in fair manner, another while in grievous, they were long time (as me thought) full buſie about me, ere I conſented to them to be a Prieſt.

But at the laſt, when in this matter they would no longer ſuffer mine excuſations, but either I ſhould conſent to them, or I ſhould ever bear their indignation, yea their Curſe (as they ſaid) then I ſeeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence to go to them that were named wiſe Prieſts, and of vertuous converſation, to have their counſel, and to know of them the office and the charge of Prieſthood. And hereto my Father and my Mother conſented full gladly, and gave me their bleſſing and good leave to go, and alſo Money to ſpend in this Journey. And ſo I went to thoſe Prieſts whom I heard to be of beſt name, and of moſt holy living, and beſt learned, and moſt wiſe of Heavenly wiſdom; and ſo I communed with them unto the time, that I perceived by their vertuous and continual occupations, that their honeſt and charitable works paſſed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore Sir, by the example of the Doctrine of them, and ſpecially for the godly and innocent works which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exerciſed me then and in this time, to know perfectly Gods Laws, having a will and deſire to live thereafter, which willeth that all Men and Women ſhould exerciſe themſelves faithfully thereabout. If then Sir, either for pleaſure of them that are neither ſo wiſe, nor of ſo vertuous converſation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this Land, as theſe men were of whom I took my counſel and information, I ſhould now forſake thus ſuddenly and ſhortly, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exerciſed my ſelf in theſe thirty winters and more, my conſcience ſhould ever be herewith out of meaſure unquieted: and Sir, I know well, that many Men and Women ſhould be therethrough greatly troubled and ſlandered. And as I ſaid, Sir, to you before, for mine untruth and falſe cowardneſs, many a one ſhould be put into full great reproof: Yea Sir, I dread that many one (as they might then juſtly) would Curſe me full bitterly; and Sir I fear not, but the Curſe of God, which I ſhould deſerve herein, would bring me to a full evil end, if I continued thus. And if through remorſe of conſcience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to conſtrain me now to forſake: Yea Sir, all the Biſhops of this Land, with full many other Prieſts, would defame me, and purſue me as a relapſe: and they that now have (though I be unworthy) ſome confidence in me, hereafter would never truſt to me, though I could teach and live never ſo vertuouſly, more than I can or may. For if after your counſel I left utterly all my learning, I ſhould hereby firſt wound and defile mine own ſoul, and alſo I ſhould herethrough give occaſion to many Men and Women of full ſore hurting; Yea Sir, as it is likely to me, if I conſented to your will, I ſhould herein by mine evil example in it, as far as in me were, ſlea many folk Ghoſtly, that ſhould never deſerve to have grace of God to the edifying of his Church, neither of my ſelf, nor of any other Mans life, and ſhould be undone both before God and Man.

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But Sir, by example chiefly of ſome, whoſe names I will not now rehearſe, of *H.* of *J. P.* and *B.* and alſo by the preſent doing of *Philip Rampington*, that now is become Biſhop of *Lincoln*, I am now learned (as many more hereafter through Gods grace ſhall be learned) to hate and to flee all ſuch ſlander that theſe foreſaid men chiefly have defiled principally themſelves with. And in it that in them is, they have invenomed all the Church of God, for the ſlandrous revoking at the Croſs of *Pauls*, of *H. P.* and of *B.* and how now *Philip Rampington* purſueth Chriſts people. And the feigning that theſe men diſſembled by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their Preaching and communing within the bonds and terms (which without blame may be ſpoken and ſhewed out of the moſt Worldly lives) will not be unpuniſhed of God. For to the point of truth, that theſe men ſhewed out ſometime, they will not now ſtretch forth their lives but by example each one of them as their words and their works ſhew, buſie them through their feigning to ſlander and to purſue Chriſt in his Members, rather than they will be purſued.

*Philip Rampington made Biſhop, and a perſecutor.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Theſe men, the which thou ſpeakeſt of now, were Fools and Hereticks, when they were counted wiſe men of thee and other ſuch Loſels. But now they are wiſe men, though thou and other ſuch deem them unwiſe. Nevertheleſs, I never wiſt any that right ſaid, that any while were invenomed with your contagiouſneſs, that is, contaminated and ſpotted Doctrine.

Happy be they that continue to the end.

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop: Sir, I think well that theſe men and ſuch other are now wiſe as to this World: But as their words ſounded ſometime, and their works ſhewed outwardly, it was like to move me that they had earneſt of the wiſdom of God, and that they ſhould have deſerved mickle grace of God to have ſaved their own ſouls and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilful poverty, and in other ſimple vertuous living: and ſpecially if they had with theſe foreſaid vertues continued in their buſie fruitful ſowing of Gods Word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a ſeaſon in all their wits; full buſily to know the pleaſant will of God, travelling all their Members full buſily to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praiſing of the moſt holy name of God, and for grace of edification and ſalvation of Chriſtian people. But woe worth falſe covetiſe, and evil Counſel and Tyranny, by which they and many Men and Women are led blindly into an evil end.

Woe worth falſe covetiſe.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me; Thou and ſuch other Loſels of thy Sect, would ſhave your heads full near to have a Benefice. For by Jeſus I know none more covetous ſhrews than ye are, when that ye have a Benefice. For loe, I gave to *John Purvy* a Benefice but a Mile out of this Caſtle, and I heard more complaints about his covetouſneſs for Tithes, and other miſdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my Dioceſs.

It is pity the Prelates cannot ſwear. Covetouſneſs joyned with Poliſhneſs.

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop; Sir, *Purvy* is neither with you now for the Benefice that you gave him, nor holdeth he faithfully with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he ſheweth himſelf neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his Fellows may ſow

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fore dread, that if they turn not haſtily to the way that they have forſaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Chriſts choſen people.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid: Though *Purvey* be now a falſe Harlot, I quit me now to him: But come he more for ſuch cauſe before me (ere we part) I ſhall know with whom he holdeth. But I ſay to thee: which are theſe holy men and wiſe, of whom thou haſt taken thine information?

A worthy commendation of M. John Wickliff.

And I ſaid: Sir, Maſter *John Wickliff* was holden of full many *Men* the greateſt Clerk that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a paſſing ruly Man and an innocent in his living: and therefore great men communed oft with him, and they loved ſo his learning, that they writ it, and buſily inforced them to rule themſelves thereafter. Therefore Sir, this foreſaid learning of M. *John Wickliff* is yet holden, of full many Men and Women, the moſt agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and moſt openly ſhewing and declaring how the Church of Chriſt hath been and yet ſhould be ruled and governed. Therefore ſo many Men and Women covet this learning, and purpoſe through Gods grace, to conform their living like to this learning of *Wickliff*. M. *John Aſhton* taught and writ accordingly and full buſily, where, and when, and to whom that he might, and he uſed it himſelf right perfectly unto his lives end. And alſo *Philip* of *Rampington*, while he was a Canon of *Leiceſter*, *Nicholas Herford*, *Davy Gotray* of *Pakring*, Monk of *Byland*, and a Maſter of Divinity, and *John Purvey*, and many other which were holden right wiſe men and prudent, taught and writ buſily this foreſaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all theſe men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and ſo before all other men I choſe willingly to be informed of them and by them, and ſpecially of *Wickliff* himſelf, as of the moſt vertuous and godly wiſe man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him ſpecially, and of theſe men I took the learning that I have taught; and purpoſed to live thereafter (if God will) to my lives end. For though ſome of thoſe men be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the help of God I purpoſe to hold and to uſe the learning which I heard of them, while they ſate on *Moſes* Chair, and ſpecially while that they ſate on the Chair of Chriſt. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with Gods help. For they feign and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know well, when ſome of thoſe men have been blamed for their ſlandrous doing: they grant not that they have taught amiſs or erred before time, but that they were conſtrained by pain to leave to tell out the ſooth, and thus they chuſe now rather to blaſpheme God, than to ſuffer a while here perſecution bodily, for ſoothfaſtneſs that Chriſt ſhed out his heart-blood for.

M. John Aſhton, M. Philip Rampington, Nicholas Herford, Davy Gotray, John Purvey.

The Teſtamony for *Wickliff* out of the mouth of his own adverſary.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid; That learning, that thou calleſt truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, is open ſlander to Holy Church, as it is proved of Holy Church. For albeit that *Wickliff* your Author was a great Clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver: yet his Doctrine is not approved of Holy Church, but many ſentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching *Philip* of *Rampington*, that was firſt Canon, and after Abbot of *Leiceſter*, which is now Biſhop of *Lincoln*, I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he faſted the even. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold the learning that he taught, when he was a Canon of *Leiceſter*. For no Biſhop of this Land purſueth now more ſharpely them that hold thy way, than he doth.

Many ſuch vigils have our Popiſh Kalenders. *Repington* became a perſecutor, after he was made Biſhop.

And I ſaid: Sir, full many Men and Women wondreth upon him, and ſpeaketh him mickle ſhame, and holdeth him for a curſed Enemy of the truth.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Wherefore taryeſt thou me thus here with ſuch Fables, wilt thou ſhortly (as I have ſaid to thee) ſubmit thee to me or no?

And I ſaid: Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God ſubmit me to you, after the tenor and ſentence that ye have above rehearſed to me.

And thus as if he had been wroth, he ſaid to one of his Clerks; Fetch hither quickly the certification that came to me from *Shrewsbury* under the Bailiffs ſeal, witneſſing the Errors and Hereſies, which this Loſel hath venemouſly ſown there.

Then haſtily the Clerk took out, and laid forth on a Cupboord divers Rolls and Writings, among which there was a little one, which the Clerk delivered to the Archbiſhop. And by and by the Archbiſhop read this Roll containing this ſentence.

The third Sunday after *Eaſter*, the year of our Lord 1407. *William Thorp* came unto the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and through leave granted unto him to Preach, he ſaid openly in S. *Chads* Church in his Sermon, that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the conſecration, was material Bread. And that Images ſhould in no wiſe be worſhipped. And that men ſhould not go on Pilgrimages. And that Prieſts have no Title to Tithes. And that it is not lawful to Swear in any wiſe.

The Sacrament after conſecration, material bread. Articles objected againſt *Wil. Thorp*.

And when the Archbiſhop had Read thus this Roll, he rolled it up again, and ſaid to me. Is this wholeſome learning to be among the people?

Wholeſome enough for mans ſoul, though not for your kitchin.

And I ſaid: Sir, I am both aſhamed on their behalf, and right ſorrowful for them that have certified you theſe things thus untruly: for I never Preached, nor taught thus privily nor apertly.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I will give credence to theſe worſhipful men which have written to me, and witneſſed under their Seals there among them. Though now thou denieſt this, weeneſt thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou Loſel haſt troubled the worſhipful Communalty of *Shrewsbury*, ſo that the Bailiffs and Communalty of that Town have written to me, praying me that am Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Chancellor of *England*, that I will vouchſafe to grant them, that if thou ſhalt be made (as thou art worthy) to ſuffer open joureſs for thine Hereſies, that thou may have thy joureſs openly there among them; So that all they whom thou and ſuch other Loſels have there perverted, may through fear of thy deed be reconciled again to the unity of Holy Church. And alſo they that ſtand in true Faith of Holy Church, may through thy deed be more eſtabliſhed therein. And as if this asking well pleaſed the Archbiſhop, he ſaid; By my thrift this hearty prayer and fervent requeſt ſhall be thought on.

O *Shrewsbury*, thou haſt a cauſe to repent thee in that thou wouldeſt not receive the truth when it was offered thee.

The *Romiſh* Church muſt be ſtabliſhed by perſecuting of true Preachers.

But certainly, neither the prayer of the men of *Shrewsbury*, nor the menacing of the Archbiſhop made me any thing afraid. But in rehearſing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoyced, and yet doth. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet think ſhall come to all the Church of God herethrough, by the ſpecial merciful doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of Tyrants, by truſting ſtedfaſtly in the help of the Lord, with full purpoſe to knowledge the ſoothfaſtneſs, and to ſtand thereby after my cunning and power, I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it ſhould be, I doubt not to prove by likely evidence, that they that are feigned to be out of the Faith of Holy Church in *Shrewsbury*, and in other places alſo, are in the true Faith of Holy Church. For as their words ſound, and their works ſhew to Mans judgment (dreading and loving faithfully God) their deſire, their will, their love, and their buſineſs are moſt ſet to dread to offend God, and to love to pleaſe him in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And again, they that are ſaid to be in the Faith of Holy Church in *Shrewsbury* and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous, and other foul words and works, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupy their wits, truly and effectuouſly in the right Faith of Holy Church. Wherefore neither all theſe, nor any that follow their manners, ſhall any time come verily in the Faith of Holy Church, except they inforce them more truly to come in the way which now they deſpiſe. For theſe Men and Women, that are now called faithful and holden juſt, neither know, nor will exerciſe themſelves to know (of faithfulneſs) commandment of God.

A ſure truſt in Gods truth confoundeth the malice of Tyrants.

If the touch-ſtone might try, truth ſhould be known.

The deſcription of the right Chriſtians in *Shrewsbury*. The Catholicks of *Shrewsbury*, *Shrewsbury*, except thou turn from thy wicked ways, thou canſt not receive the truth.

And thus full many Men and Women now, and ſpecially men that are named to be principal Limbs of Holy Church, ſtir God to great wrath, and deſerve his Curſe for that they call or hold them juſt men, which are full unjuſt, as their vicious words, their great cuſtomable ſwearing, and their ſlandrous and ſhameful works ſhew openly and

witneſs. And therefore ſuch vicious men and unjuſt in their own confeſſion call them unjuſt men and women, which after their power and cunning buſie themſelves to live juſtly after the commandment of God. And where, Sir, ye ſay that I have diſtroubled the Communalty of *Shrewſbury*, and many other men and women with my teaching: If it thus be, it is not to be wondred of wiſe men, ſince all the Communalty of the City of *Jeruſalem* was diſtroubled of Chriſts own perſon, that was very God and Man, and the moſt prudent Preacher that ever was or ſhall be. And alſo all the Synagogue of *Nazareth* was moved againſt Chriſt, and ſo fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the Synagogue roſe up and caſt Chriſt out of their City, and led him up to the top of a Mountain to caſt him down there headlong: alſo accordingly hereto the Lord witneſſeth by *Moſes*, that he ſhall put diſſention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and purſueth his people. Who, Sir, is he that ſhall preach the truth of Gods Word to the unfaithful people, and ſhall let the ſoothfaſtneſs of the Goſpel, and the Propheſie of God Almighty to be fulfilled?

*Jeruſalem troubled by the preaching of Chriſt*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, It followeth of theſe thy words, that thou and ſuch other thinkeſt, that ye do right well to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any Biſhop. For you preſume that the Lord hath choſen you only to preach, as faithful Diſciples and ſpecial Followers of Chriſt.

And I ſaid, Sir, by authority of Gods Law, and alſo of Saints and Doctors I am learned to deem, that it is every Prieſts office and duty to preach buſily, freely, and truly the Word of God. For no doubt every Prieſt ſhould purpoſe firſt in his Soul, and covet to take the Order of Prieſthood, chiefly to make known to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his vertuous works: and for this intent we ſuppoſe that Biſhops and other Prelates of holy Church ſhould chiefly take and uſe their Prelacy, and for the ſame cauſe Biſhops ſhould give to Prieſts their Orders. For Biſhops ſhould accept no man to Prieſthood, except that he had good will and full purpoſe, and were well diſpoſed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore Sir, by the bidding of Chriſt, and by the example of his moſt holy living, and alſo by the witneſſing of his holy Apoſtles and Prophets, we are bound under full great pain, to exerciſe us after our cunning and power (as every Prieſt is likewiſe charged of God) to fulfil duly the Office of Prieſthood. We preſume not here of our ſelves to be eſteemed (neither in our own reputation, nor in none other mans) faithful Diſciples, and ſpecial Followers of Chriſt. But Sir, as I ſaid to you before, we deem this by authority chiefly of Gods Word that it is the chief duty of every Prieſt to buſie him faithfully to make the Law of God known to his people; and ſo to commune the Commandment of God charitably, how that we may beſt, where, when, and to whom that ever we may, is our very duty: and for the will and buſineſs that we owe of due debt to do juſtly our Office through the ſtirring and ſpecial help (as we truſt) of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in his mercy, we deſire to be the faithful Diſciples of Chriſt, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy Name, that he make us able to pleaſe him with devout prayers, and charitable Prieſtly works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

*The word of God ought truly to be preached.*

*If this Leſſon had been well followed, the world had not been brought to ſuch darkneſs by blind and dumb Prieſts.*

*An effectuous prayer, God grant in all Miniſters.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Lewd Loſſel, whereto makeſt thou ſuch vain reaſons to me? Asketh not S. *Paul*, *How ſhould Prieſts preach except they be ſent?* But I ſent thee never to preach. For thy venomous Doctrine is known throughout *England*, that no Biſhop will admit thee to preach by witneſſing of their Letters. Why then lewd Idiot, wilt thou preſume to preach, ſince thou art not ſent nor licenſed of thy Soveraign to preach? Saith S. *Paul*, *That Subjects ought to obey their Sovereigns, and not only good and vertuous, but alſo Tyrants that are vicious.*

*Why he preached without the Biſhops Licence.*

*He anſwereth to the queſtion concerning the Letter of Licence.*

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, as touching your Letter of Licence, or other Biſhops, which, ye ſay, we ſhould have to witneſs that we are able to be ſent to preach: we know well that neither you Sir, nor any other Biſhop of this Land will grant to us any ſuch Letters of Licence, but if we ſhould oblige us to you, and to other Biſhops by unleful Oaths, not to paſs the bounds and terms which ye, Sir, or other Biſhops will limit to us. And ſince in this matter your terms be ſome too large, and ſome too ſtrait; we dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you to keep the terms, which you will limit to us, as you do to Friers and ſuch other Preachers: and therefore, though we have not your Letter Sir, nor Letters of any other Biſhops written with ink upon Parchment, we dare not therefore leave the Office of preaching (to which preaching all Prieſts after their cunning and power are bound, by divers Teſtimonies of Gods Law, and great Doctors) without any mention making of Biſhops Letters. For as mikle as we have taken upon us the Office of Prieſthood (though we are unworthy thereto) we came and purpoſe to fulfil it with the help of God, by authority of his own Law, and by witneſs of great Doctors and Saints, accordingly hereto truſting ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the Office of Prieſthood, he will be our ſufficient Letters and Witneſs, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, ſpecially occupy us faithfully to do our Office juſtly; yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithful or unfaithful) ſhall be our Letters; that is, our witneſs-bearers: for the truth where it is ſown may not be unwitneſſed. For all that are converted and ſaved by learning of Gods Word, and by working thereafter, are witneſs-bearers, that the truth and ſoothfaſtneſs, which they heard and did after, is cauſe of their ſalvation. And again, all unfaithful men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter: alſo all they that might have heard the truth, and would not hear it, becauſe that they would not do thereafter, all theſe ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves, and the truth which they would not hear, or elſe heard it and deſpiſed to do thereafter through their unfaithfulneſs, is and ſhall be cauſe of their damnation. Therefore Sir, ſince this aforeſaid witneſſing of God, and of divers Saints and Doctors, and of all the people good and evil, ſufficeth to all true Preachers; we think that we do not the Office of Prieſthood, if that we leave our preaching, becauſe that we have not, or may not have duly Biſhops Letters, to witneſs that we are ſent of them to preach. This ſentence approveth S. *Paul*, where he ſpeaketh of himſelf and of faithful Apoſtles and Diſciples, ſaying thus, *We need no Letters of Commendations as ſome Preachers do, which preach for covetouſneſs of Temporal goods, and for mens praiſing.* And where ye ſay Sir, that *Paul* biddeth Subjects obey their Sovereigns, that is ſooth, and may not be denied. But there be two manner of Sovereigns, vertuous Sovereigns, and vicious Tyrants. Therefore to theſe laſt Sovereigns neither men nor women, that be ſubject, owe to obey in two manners. To vertuous Sovereigns and charitable Subjects they owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counſel, in conſenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitful works.

KING Hen. 4.

*The inconveniences of feeing of the Biſhops Letter or Licence.*

*The witneſs of the Preachers is the good life of the followers.*

*Two manner of Sovereigns.*

*He meaneth Prelates that be unvertuous.*

This ſentence *Paul* approveth, where he ſaith to Subjects, *Be ye mindful of your Sovereigns, that ſpeak to you the word of God, and follow you the Faith of them, whoſe Converſation you know to be vertuous.* For as *Paul* ſaith after, theſe Sovereigns to whom Subjects ought to obey in following of their manners, work buſily in holy ſtudying, how they may withſtand and deſtroy vices, firſt in themſelves, and after in all their Subjects, and how they may beſt plant in them vertues. Alſo their Sovereigns make devout and fervent Prayers to purchaſe Grace of God, that they and their Subjects may over all things dread to offend him, and to love to pleaſe him. Alſo theſe Sovereigns to whom *Paul* biddeth us obey, as it is ſaid before, live ſo vertuouſly, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keep the Commandments of God. But in this foreſaid wiſe, Subjects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to Tyrants, while they are vicious Tyrants, ſince their will, their counſel, their biddings and their works are ſo vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though ſuch Tyrants be maſterful and cruel in boaſting and menacing, in oppreſſions and divers puniſhings: S. *Peter* biddeth the ſervants of ſuch Tyrants, to obey meekly ſuch Tyrants, ſuffering patiently their malicious crueſneſs. But *Peter* counſelleth not any ſervant or ſubject to obey any Lord, or Prince, or Sovereign, in any thing that is not pleaſing to God.

*Two manners of obeying. 1. In following their doings and examples. 2. In ſuffering their wrongs. Wicked Rulers are not to be followed in evil.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me, If a Sovereign bid his ſubject do that thing that is vicious, this Sovereign herein is to blame: but the ſubject for this Obedience deſerveth

*Well reaſoned my Lord, and like a Clerk.*

{KING Hen. 4.} deſerveth meed of God. For Obedience more pleaſeth God, than any Sacrifice.

And I ſaid, *Samuel* the Prophet ſaid to *Saul* the wicked King, *That God was more pleaſed with the Obedience of his Commandments, than with any Sacrifice of Beaſts.* But *David* ſaith, and S. *Paul*, and S. *Gregory* accordingly together, *That not only they that do evil, are worthy of death and damnation, but alſo they that conſent to evil doers.* And Sir, the Law of the holy Church teacheth in the Decrees, That no Servant to his Lord, nor Child to the Father or Mother, nor Wife to her Husband, nor Monk to his Abbot ought to obey, except in leful things, and lawful.

Obedience not to be given but in things leful and lawful.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, All theſe alledgings that thou bringeſt forth, are not elſe but proud preſumptuouſneſs. For hereby thou inforceſt thee to prove, that thou and ſuch other are ſo juſt, that ye ought not to obey to Prelates. And thus againſt the learning of Saint *Paul*, that teacheth you not to Preach, but if ye were ſent; of your own authority, ye will go forth and Preach, and do what ye liſt.

All is preſumption that ſtandeth againſt your maſterful ambition.

And I ſaid, Sir, preſenteth not every Prieſt the Office of the Apoſtles, or the Office of the Diſciples of Chriſt? And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Yea*. And I ſaid, Sir, as the tenth Chapter of *Matthew* and the laſt Chapter of *Mark* witneſſeth, Chriſt ſent his Apoſtles to preach. And the tenth Chapter of *Luke* witneſſeth, That Chriſt ſent his two and ſeventy Diſciples to preach in every place that Chriſt was to come to: and S. *Gregory* in the Common Law ſaith, *That every man that goeth to Prieſthood, taketh upon him the Office of Preaching*: For as he ſaith, *That Prieſt ſtirreth God to great wrath, of whoſe mouth is not heard the voice of preaching.* And as other more gloſſes upon *Ezekiel*, witneſs, That the Prieſt that preacheth not buſily to the people, ſhall be partaker of their damnation that periſh through his default. And though the people be ſaved by other ſpecial Grace of God, than by the Prieſts preaching, yet the Prieſts, in that they are ordained to preach and preach not, as before God they are Manſlayers. For as far as on them is, ſuch Prieſts as preach not buſily and truly, ſlay all the people ghoſtly: in that they withhold from them the Word of God, that is the life and ſubſtance of mens ſouls. And S. *Iſidore* ſaid, *Prieſts ſhall be damned for wickedneſs of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are ſinners.* For all the work or buſineſs of Prieſts ſtandeth in preaching and teaching, that they edifie all men as well by cunning of Faith, as by diſcipline of Works; that is, Vertuous teaching: And as the Goſpel witneſſeth, Chriſt ſaid in his teaching, *I am born and comen into this World, to bear witneſs to the Truth, and he that is of the Truth heareth my voice.*

Prieſts in that they take Prieſthood, they are ſent to preach. *Mat.* 10. *Mar. ult.* *Luk.* 10.

The Office of Prieſthood is the Office of preaching.

Prieſts that preach not, be ſlayers of the people. *Iſidor.*

Doctrine of Faith. Diſcipline of Works.

Then Sir, ſince by the word of Chriſt ſpecially, that is, his Voice, Prieſts are commanded to preach; whatſoever Prieſt that it be, that hath not good will and full purpoſe to do thus, and ableth not himſelf after his cunning and power to do his Office by the Example of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, whatſoever other thing that he doth, diſpleaſeth God. For lo, S. *Gregory* ſaith, *That thing left that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatſoever other thing that a man doth, it is unthankful to the Holy Ghoſt*; and therefore ſaith *Lincoln*, *The Prieſt that preacheth not the Word of God, though he be ſeen to have none other default, he is Antichriſt and Satans, a night-Thief, and a day-Thief, a Slayer of Souls, and an Angel of Light turned into Darkneſs.* Wherefore Sir, theſe Authorities and other well conſidered, I deem my ſelf damnable, if I either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of any Creature apply me not diligently to preach the Word of God. And in the ſame damnation I deem all thoſe Prieſts, which of good purpoſe and will enforce them not buſily to do thus, and alſo all them that have purpoſe or will to let any Prieſt of this buſineſs.

Prieſts not only ſent to preach, but commanded to preach. *Gregorius. Lincolnienſ.* Whatſoever a man doth, leaving that undone which he is chiefly bound to do, is ſin. Yet this Biſhop plucketh him not by the beard, nor burneth not off his hand, as *Bonner* did.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to thoſe three Clerks that ſtood before him, Lo Sirs, this is the manner and buſineſs of this Loſſel and ſuch other, to pick out ſuch ſharp ſentences of holy Scripture and Doctors, to maintain their Sect, and lore againſt the Ordinance of holy Church. And therefore Loſſel, it is thou that coveteſt to have again the *Pſalter* that I made to be taken from thee at *Canterbury*, to record ſharp Verſes againſt us. But thou ſhall never have that *Pſalter*, nor any other Book, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully to be governed by holy Church.

Holy Church.

And I ſaid, Sir, all my will and power is, and ever ſhall be (I truſt to God) to be governed by holy Church.

And the Archbiſhop asked me, What was holy Church?

And I ſaid, Sir, I told you before what was holy Church. But ſince ye ask me this demand; I call Chriſt and his Saints holy Church.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me; I wot well that Chriſt and his Saints are holy Church in Heaven, but what is holy Church in Earth?

And I ſaid, Sir, though holy Church be every one in Charity, yet it hath two parts. The firſt and principal part hath overcomen perfectly all the wretchedneſs of this life, and reigneth joyfully in Heaven with Chriſt. And the other part is here yet in Earth, buſily and continually fighting day and night againſt temptations of the Fiend; forſaking and hating the Proſperity of this World, deſpiſing and withſtanding their fleſhly luſts, which only are the Pilgrims of Chriſt, waudering towards Heaven by ſtedfaſt Faith, and grounded Hope, and by perfect Charity. For theſe heavenly Pilgrims may not, nor will not be letted of their good purpoſe, by the reaſon of any Doctors diſcording from holy Scripture, nor by the floods of any Tribulation Temporal, nor by the wind of any pride, of boaſt, or of menacing of any Creature: For they are all faſt grounded upon the ſure Stone Chriſt, hearing his Word and loving it, exerciſing them faithfully and continually in all their wits to do thereafter.

Two parts of the Church.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to his Clerks, See ye not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled with the Devil, occupying him thus buſily to inedge ſuch Sentences to maintain his Errors and Hereſies. Certain, thus he would occupy us here all day, if we would ſuffer him.

One of the Clerks anſwered, Sir, he ſaid right now, that this Certification, that came to you from *Shrewsbury*, is untruly forged againſt him. Therefore Sir, appoſe you him now here in all the points which are certified againſt him, and ſo we ſhall hear of his own mouth his anſwers, and witneſs them.

Well helpt forward M. Clerk.

And the Archbiſhop took the Certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he ſaid to me:

Lo here it is certified againſt thee by worthy men and faithful of *Shrewsbury*, that thou preachedſt there openly in S. *Chads* Church, that the Sacrament of the Altar was material Bread after the Conſecration; what ſayeſt thou? Was this truly preached?

The foreſaid Articles renewed againſt *Thorp.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I tell you truly that I touched nothing there of the Sacrament of the Altar, but in this wiſe as I will with Gods Grace tell you here. As I ſtood there in the Pulpit, buſying me to teach the Commandment of God, there knelled a ſacred Bell, and therefore mickle people turned away haſtily, and with noiſe ran fro towards me. And I ſeeing this, ſaid to them thus, *Good men, ye were better to ſtand here ſtill and to hear Gods Word. For certes the vertue and the meed of the moſt holy Sacrament of the Altar ſtandeth mickle more in the belief thereof that you ought to have in your Soul, than it doth in the outward ſight thereof. And therefore ye were better to ſtand ſtill quietly to hear Gods Word, becauſe that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true belief.* And otherwiſe Sir, I am certain I ſpake not there of the worthy Sacrament of the Altar.

The vertue of the Sacrament ſtandeth in the belief, more than in the outward ſign.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I believe thee not whatſoever thou ſayeſt, ſince ſo worſhipful men have witneſſed thus againſt thee. But ſince thou denieſt that thou ſaidſt thus there, what ſayeſt thou now? Reſteth there after the Conſecration in the Hoſt, material Bread or no?

Material Bread.

And I ſaid, Sir, I know in no place in holy Scripture where this term *material Bread* is written: and therefore Sir, when I ſpeak of this matter, I uſe not to ſpeak of *material Bread*.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, How teacheſt thou men to believe in this Sacrament?

And I ſaid, Sir, as I believe my ſelf, ſo I teach other men.

He ſaid, Tell out plainly thy belief thereof.

And

And I ſaid with my proteſtation, Sir, I believe that the night before that Chriſt Jeſus would ſuffer (wilfully) paſſion for Mankind on the morn after, he took Bread in his holy and moſt worſhipful hands, lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, *bleſſed this Bread, and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying to them; Take and eat of this all you, this is my Body.* And that this is and ought to be all mens belief, *Matthew, Mark, Luke* and *Paul* witneſſeth. Other belief Sir I have none, nor will have, nor teach: for I believe, that this ſufficeth in this matter. For in this belief, with Gods Grace, I purpoſe to live and die, knowledging as I believe and teach other men to believe, that the worſhipful Sacrament of the Altar is the Sacrament of Chriſts fleſh and blood in the form of Bread and Wine.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, It is ſooth that this Sacrament is very Chriſts Body in form of Bread. But thou and thy Sect teacheſt it to be ſubſtance of Bread. Think you this true teaching?

And I ſaid, Neither I, nor any other of the Sect that ye damn, teach any otherwiſe than I have told you, nor believe otherwiſe to my knowing. Nevertheleſs Sir, I ask of you for Charity, that you will tell me plainly, how ye ſhall underſtand the text of S. *Paul*, where he ſaith thus, *This thing feel you in your ſelf, that is in Chriſt Jeſus, while he was in the form of God.* Sir, calleth not *Paul* here the form of God, the ſubſtance or kind of God? Alſo Sir, ſaith not the Church in the hours of the moſt bleſſed Virgin accordingly hereto, where it is written thus? *Thou Author of Health remember, that ſometime thou took of the undefiled Virgin the form of our body.* Tell me for charity therefore, whether the form of our bodies be called here the kind of our body or no?

The *Papiſts* have none other defence for them, but only the Church.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Wouldſt thou make me to declare this Text after thy purpoſe, ſince the Church now hath determined, that there abideth no ſubſtance of Bread, after the Conſecration, in the Sacrament of the Altar? Believeſt thou not this Ordinance of the Church?

Every Ordinance of Churchmen bindeth not our faith.

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever Prelates have ordained in the Church, our belief ſtandeth ever whole, I have not heard, that the Ordinance of men under belief ſhould be put into belief.

The greateſt Doctors of the Church be Apoſtles. S. *Paul* calleth it *Bread.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, If thou haſt not learned this before, learn now to know that thou art out of belief, if in this matter and other thou believeſt not as the holy Church believeth. What ſay Doctors treating of this Sacrament?

And I ſaid, Sir, Saint *Paul* that was a great Doctor of holy Church, ſpeaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belief of this moſt holy Sacrament, calleth it *Bread* that we break. And alſo in the Canon of the Maſs after the Conſecration, this moſt worthy Sacrament is called *holy Bread.* And every Prieſt in this Land, after that he hath received this Sacrament, ſaith in this wiſe, *That thing that we have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and clean mind*; That is, as I underſtand, we pray God that we may receive, through very belief, this holy Sacrament worthily. And Sir, Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *That thing that is ſeen is Bread*; *but that mens faith asketh to be informed of is very Chriſts Body.* And alſo *Fulgence* an ententive Doctor ſaith, *As it were an Error to ſay that Chriſt was but a Subſtance*; that is, very Man, and not very God; or to ſay that Chriſt was very God, and not very Man: *So is it* (this Doctor ſaith) *an Error to ſay, that the Sacrament of the Altar is but a Subſtance:* And alſo Sir, accordingly hereto, in the ſecret of the mid Maſs on *Chriſtmas-day*, it is written thus, *Idem refulſit Deus, ſic terrena ſubſtantia nobis conferat quod divinum eſt*; which ſentence Sir, with the ſecret of the fourth Ferie, *quatuor temporum Septembris*, I pray you Sir declare here openly in *Engliſh.*

S. *Auguſtine* calleth it *Bread.*

The ſecret of the Maſs on *Chriſtmas-day* nameth it a terrene ſubſtance.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I perceive well enough whereabout thou art, and how the Devil blindeth thee, that thou may not underſtand the Ordinance of holy Church, nor conſent thereto. But I command thee now, anſwer me ſhortly; Believeſt thou, that, after the Conſecration of this foreſaid Sacrament, there abideth ſubſtance of Bread, or not?

My Lord can revile apace, he can declare but a little. Choke him up my Lord

And I ſaid, Sir, as I underſtand, it is all one to grant or believe that there dwelleth ſubſtance of Bread, and to grant and to believe, that this moſt worthy Sacrament of Chriſts own Body is accident without ſubject. But Sir, for as mikle as your asking paſſeth my underſtanding, I dare neither deny it, nor grant it; for it is a School-matter, about which I buſied me never to know: and therefore I commit this term, *accidens ſine ſubjecto*, to thoſe Clerks which delight them ſo in curious and ſubtil ſophiſtry, becauſe they determine oft ſo difficult and ſtrange matters, and wade and wander ſo in them from argument to argument, with *pro & contra*, till that they wot not where they are, and underſtand not themſelves. But the ſhame that theſe proud Sophiſters have to yield them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fools, and to be concluded ſhamefully before God.

KING *Hen.* 4.

To grant the real being of the Body without Bread, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the ſubject.

Againſt proud Sophiſters. *Templum Domini, Templum Domini.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I purpoſe not to oblige thee to the ſubtil arguments of Clerks, ſince thou art unable hereto; but I purpoſe to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

The Church ſtood ſound till the fiend broke looſe.

And I ſaid, Sir, by open evidence and great witneſs, a M. year after the Incarnation of Chriſt, the determination, which I have here before you rehearſed, was accept of holy Church as ſufficient to the ſalvation of all them that would believe it faithfully, and work thereafter charitably. But Sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, ſince the Fiend was looſed, by Frier *Thomas* again, eſpecially calling the moſt worſhipful Sacrament of Chriſts own Body an accident without ſubject: which term, ſince I know not that Gods Law approveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterly I deny to make this Friers ſentence, or any ſuch other, my belief; do with me God what thou wilt.

Tranſubſtantiation brought in by Frier *Tho. Aquine.*

It is happy he did not fly in his face, as *Bonner* did.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Well, well, thou ſhalt ſay otherwiſe ere that I leave thee. But what ſayeſt thou to this ſecond point that is recorded againſt thee by worthy men of *Shrewsbury*, ſaying, *That thou preachedſt there, that Images ought not to be worſhipped in any wiſe?*

The ſecond point touching Images. *Thorp* charged with untruth. Man a worſhipful Image of God.

And I ſaid, Sir, I preached never thus, nor through Gods Grace will I at any time conſent to think, or to ſay thus, either privily or apertly. For ſo, the Lord witneſſeth by *Moſes, That the things which he made were right good*; and ſo then they were, and yet they are and ſhall be good and worſhipful in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them ſo, they are all praiſeable and worſhipful, and ſpecially man, that was made after the Image and likeneſs of God, is full worſhipful in his kind, yea, this holy Image, that is man, God worſhippeth. And therefore every man ſhould worſhip other, in kind, and alſo for heavenly Vertues that men uſe charitably. And alſo I ſay, Wood, Tin, Gold, Silver, or any other matter that Images are made of, all theſe Creatures are worſhipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, caſting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of higheſt ſtate and dignity, and ordained of them to be a *Calendar* to lewd men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his Word, neither by his Creatures, nor by his wonderful and divers workings; yet this imagery ought not to be worſhipped in form, nor in the likeneſs of mans craft. Nevertheleſs, that every matter the *Painters* paint with, ſince it is Gods Creature, ought to be worſhipped in the kind, and to that end that God made and ordained it to ſerve man.

Though men accept the painting or carving of Images, yet is it not the right way to learn to ſerve God.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, I grant well that no body ought to do worſhip to any ſuch Images for themſelves. But a Crucifix ought to be worſhipped for the paſſion of Chriſt that is painted therein, and ſo brought there through to mans mind: and thus the Images of the bleſſed Trinity, and of the Virgin *Mary* Chriſts Mother, and other Images of Saints ought to be worſhipped. For lo, earthly Kings and Lords, which uſe to ſend their Letters enſealed with their Arms, or with their privy Signet to them that are with them, are worſhipped of theſe men. For when theſe men receive their Lords Letters, in which they ſee and know the wills and biddings of the Lords in worſhip of their Lords, they do off their Caps to theſe Letters. Why not then, ſince in Images made with mans hand, we may read and know many and divers things of God, and of his Saints, ſhall we not worſhip their Images?

The Image of the Trinity. A ſimilitude of the Kings Seal or Letters prove the worſhip of Images.

And

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No ſimilitude to be made between earthly things and ſpiritual, namely when Gods word doth expreſs to the contrary.

So you ſay my Lord, God ſaith contrary in his commandements.

Painters devotion and the Popes Divinity do well agree.

Preparation of the painters to make a fair and a devout Image.

And I ſaid, within my foreſaid proteſtation I ſay, That theſe worldly uſages of Temporal Laws that ye ſpeak now of, may be done in caſe without ſin. But this is no ſimilitude to worſhip Images, made by mans hand, ſince that *Moſes*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Baruch*, and other Saints in the Bible forbid ſo plainly the worſhipping of ſuch Images.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, Lewd Loſſel, in the Old Law before that Chriſt took Mankind, was no likeneſs of any perſon of the Trinity neither ſhewed to man, nor known of man: But now ſince Chriſt became man, it is leful to have Images to ſhew his Manhood, yea, though many men which are right great Clerks, and other alſo, held it an Error to paint the Trinity; I ſay, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in Images. For it is great moving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinity and other Images of Saints carved, caſt, and painted. For beyond the Sea are the beſt *Painters* that ever I ſaw. And Sirs, I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: when that an Image-maker ſhall carve, caſt in mold, or paint any Images, he ſhall go to a Prieſt, and ſhrive him as clean, as if he ſhould then die; and take Penance, and make ſome certain vow of Faſting or of Praying, or Pilgrimages doing, praying the Prieſt ſpecially to pray for him, that he may have Grace to make fair and a devout Image.

And I ſaid, Sir, I doubt not if theſe *Painters* that ye ſpeak of, or any other *Painters*, underſtood truly the text of *Moſes*, of *David*, of the *Wiſeman*, of *Baruch*, and of other Saints and Doctors; theſe *Painters* ſhould be moved to ſhrive them to God with full inward ſorrow of heart, taking upon them to do right ſharpe Penance for the ſinful and vain craft of painting, carving, or caſting they had uſed: promiſing God faithfully never to do ſo after, knowledging openly before all men their reproveable learning. And alſo Sir, theſe Prieſts that ſhrive (as you do ſay) *Painters*, and enjoyn them to do Penance, and pray for their ſpeed, promiſing to them help of their prayers to be curious in their ſinful crafts, ſin herein more grievouſly than the *Painters*. For theſe Prieſts do comfort and give them counſel to do that thing, which of great pain, yea under the pain of Gods curſe, they ſhould utterly forbid them. For certes Sir, if the wonderful working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophets, were made known to the people by holy living, and true, and buſie teaching of Prieſts; theſe things (Sir) were ſufficient Books and Kalenders to know God by, and his Saints, without any Images made with mans hand. But certes, the vicious living of Prieſts and their covetouſneſs, are chief cauſe of this Error; and all other vicioûneſs that reigneth among the people.

The true books and kalenders to know God.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid unto me, I hold thee a vicious Prieſt and accurſt, and all they that are of thy Sect; for all Prieſts of holy Church, and all Images that move men to devotion, thou and ſuch other go about to deſtroy. Loſſel, were it a fair thing to come into the Church, and ſee therein none Image?

A better ſight my Lord than to ſee blind ſtocks there to be worſhipped.

And I ſaid, Sir, they that come to the Church, to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits be the more fervent, that all their outward wits be cloſe from all outward ſeeing and hearing, and from all diſturbance and lettings. And ſince Chriſt bleſſed them that ſaw him not bodily, and have believed faithfully in him; it ſufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing Gods word, and doing thereafter) to believe in God, though they never ſee Images made with mans hand after any perſon of the Trinity, or of any other Saint.

The right ſervice of a Chriſtian.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me with a fervent Spirit: I ſay to thee Loſſel, that it is right well done to make and to have an Image of the Trinity: Yea, what ſayeſt thou? is it not a ſtirring thing to behold ſuch an Image?

My Lord, your yea will not anſwer Gods nay.

And I ſaid, Sir, ye ſaid right now that in the Old Law, ere Chriſt took Mankind, no likeneſs of any Perſon of the Trinity was ſhewed to men: wherefore Sir, ye ſaid it was not then leful to have Images, but now ye ſay, ſince Chriſt is becomen man, it is leful to have and to make an Image of the Trinity, and alſo of other Saints. But Sir, this thing would I learn of you: ſince the Father of Heaven, yea and every perſon of Trinity was without beginning God Almighty, and many holy Prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the Old Law, and alſo many men and women then died Confeſſors; Why was it not

Note this ye worſhippers and maintainers of Images.

then as leful and neceſſary as now, to have made an Image of the Father of Heaven, and to have made and had other Images of Martyrs, Prophets, and holy Confeſſors, to have been Kalendars to adviſe men and move them to devotion, as ye ſay that Images now do?

The Synagogue of Antichriſt will have authority.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, The Synagogue of the *Jews* had not authority to approve thoſe things as the Church of Chriſt hath now.

And I ſaid, Sir, S. *Gregory* was a great man in the new Law, and of great Dignity, and as the Common Law witneſſeth, he commended greatly a Biſhop, in that he forbad utterly the Images made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped.

Great miracles done by images, but my Lord doth not tell by whoſe power.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, Ungracious Loſſel, thou ſavoureſt no more truth than an Hound. Since at the Rood at the *Northdoor* at *London*, at our Lady at *Walſingham*, and many other places in *England*, are many great and praiſeable Miracles done: ſhould not the Images of ſuch holy Saints and places at the reverence of God, and of our Lady, and other Saints, be more worſhipped than other places and Images, where no Miracles are done?

And I ſaid, Sir, there is no ſuch vertue in any Imagery, that any Image ſhould heretofore be worſhipped; wherefore I am certain that there is no Miracle done of God in any place in Earth, becauſe that any Images made with mans hand ſhould be worſhipped. And therefore Sir, as I preached openly at *Shrewsbury* and other places; I ſay now here before you, That no body ſhould truſt that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand; and therefore no body ſhould vow to them, nor ſeek them, nor kneel to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kiſs them, nor incenſe them. For ſo the moſt worthy of ſuch Images, the brazen Serpent (by *Moſes* made, at Gods bidding) the good King *Ezechias* deſtroyed worthily and thankfully, and all becauſe it was incenſed. Therefore Sir, if men take good heed to the writing and the learning of Saint *Auguſtine*, of Saint *Gregory*, and of Saint *John Chryſoſtome*, and of other Saints and Doctors, how they ſpake and wrote of Miracles, that ſhall be done now in the laſt end of the world: It is to be dread, that for the unfaithfulneſs of men and women, the Fiend hath great power to work many of the Miracles that now are done in ſuch places. For both men and women delight now more to hear and know Miracles, than they do to know Gods word, or to hear it effectuouſly. Wherefore, to the great confuſion of all them that thus do, Chriſt ſaith, *The Generation of Adulterers requireth Tokens, Miracles, and Wonders.* Nevertheleſs, as divers Saints ſay, *Now when the Faith of God is publiſhed in Chriſtendom, the Word of God ſufficeth to mans ſalvation, without ſuch Miracles:* And thus alſo the Word of God ſufficeth to all faithful men and women without any ſuch Images. But good Sir, ſince the Father of Heaven, that is, God in his Godhead, is the moſt unknown thing that may be, and the moſt wonderful Spirit, having in it no ſhape nor likeneſs, and members of any deadly Creature; in what likeneſs or what Image may God the Father be ſhewed or painted?

Miracles importing worſhip to be done to Images may well be ſuſpected not to come of God.

A Chriſtian man ought not to vow, ſeek, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer, nor kiſs an Image.

For the unfaithfulneſs of men, the divel may work miracles.

The word of God ſufficeth us to ſalvation, without miracles.

That which is of nature unknown, cannot be reſembled by any viſible creature known.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, as holy Church hath ſuffered the Images of the Trinity, and all other Images to be painted and ſhewed; it ſufficeth to them that are Members of holy Church. But ſince thou art a rotten Member, cut away from holy Church; thou ſavoureſt not the Ordinance thereof. But ſince the day paſſeth, leave we this matter.

Holy Church of your own building.

AND then he ſaid to me, What ſayeſt thou to the third point that is certified againſt thee, preaching openly in *Shrewsbury*, that Pilgrimage is not leful? And over this thou ſaidſt that thoſe men and women that go on Pilgrimages to *Canterbury*, to *Beverly*, to *Karlington*, to *Walſingham*, and to any other ſuch places, are accurſed and made fooliſh, ſpending their goods in waſte.

The 13th Article.

Pilgrimage.

And I ſaid, Sir, by this Certification I am accuſed to you that I ſhould teach, that no Pilgrimage is leful. But I ſaid never thus. For I know that there be true Pilgrimages and leful, and full pleaſant to God: and therefore Sir, howſoever mine Enemies have certified you of me, I told at *Shrewsbury* of two manner of Pilgrimages.

Two manner of pilgrimages.

And

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Whom calleſt thou true Pilgrims?*

The true pilgrimage is to travel in heavenly things.

And I ſaid, *Sir, with my proteſtation I call them true Pilgrims travelling toward the bliſs of Heaven, which in the ſtate, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do buſie them faithfully to occupy all their wits bodily and ghoſtly, to know truly, and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the ſeven deadly ſins, and every branch of them: Ruling them vertuouſly (as it is ſaid before) with all their wits, doing diſcreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the Works of Mercy, bodily and ghoſtly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, diſpoſing them to receive them in their Souls, and to hold them in the right bleſſings of Chriſt; buſying them to know and to keep the ſeven principal Vertues, and ſo then they ſhall obtain here through Grace, to uſe thankfully to God all the conditions of Charity. And then they ſhall be moved with the good Spirit of God, to examine oft and diligently their conſcience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they err in any Article of Belief, having continually (as frailty will ſuffer) all their buſneſs, to dread and to fly the offence of God, and to love over all, and to ſeek ever to do his pleaſant will. Of*

Every good work is a good ſtep to Heaven.

*theſe Pilgrimages I ſaid, whatſoever good thought that they at any time think, what vertuous work that they ſpeak, and what fruitful work that they work; Every ſuch thought, word, and work is a ſtep numbred of God toward him into Heaven. Theſe foreſaid Prilgrims of God,*

The manner and examples of Saints.

*delight ſore when they hear of Saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forſook wilfully the proſperity of this life, how they withſtood the ſuggeſtion of the Fiend, how they reſtrained their fleſhly luſts, how diſcreet they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their Adverſities, how prudent they were in counſelling of men and women; moving them to hate all ſins, and to fly them, and to ſhame ever greatly thereof, and to love all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Chriſt and his Followers by example of him ſuffered ſcorns and ſlanders, and how patiently they abode and took the wrongful menacing of Tyrants: How homely they were, and ſerviceable to poor men to relieve and comfort them bodily and ghoſtly, after their power and cunning, and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly deſires, and how they abſented them from Spectacles of vain ſayings and hearings, and how ſtable they were to let and deſtroy all Vices, and how laborious and joyful they were to ſow and to plant Vertues? Theſe heavenly conditions, and ſuch other have Pilgrims, or endeavour to have them, whoſe pilgrimage God acceteth.*

And again, I ſaid, *As their Works ſhew, the moſt part of men and women, that go now on Pilgrimages, have not theſe foreſaid conditions, nor love to buſie them faithfully to have. For as I well know, ſince I have full oft aſſaid, examine whoſoever will 20 of theſe Pilgrims, and he ſhall not find three men or women that know ſurely a Commandment of God, nor can ſay their* Pater noſter *and* Ave Maria, *nor their* Creed *readily in any manner of Language. And as I have learned and alſo know ſomewhat by experience of theſe ſame Pilgrims, telling the cauſe why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their Souls: more to have riches and proſperity of this World, than to be inriched with vertues in their Souls: more to have here worldly and fleſhly friendſhip, than to have friendſhip of God and of his Saints in Heaven: for whatſoever thing man or woman doth, the friendſhip of God, or of any other Saint, cannot be had, without keeping of Gods Commandments. Further with my proteſtation, I ſay now, as I ſaid in* Shrewsbury, *though they that have fleſhly Wills, travel far their bodies, and ſpend mikle-money, to ſeek and to viſit the Bones or Images (as they ſay they do) of this Saint or of that: ſuch Pilgrimage going is neither praiſe-*

Pilgrimage diſpleaſant to God.

*able nor thankful to God nor to any Saint of God, ſince in effect all ſuch Pilgrims deſpiſe God and all his Commandments and Saints. For the Commandments of God they will neither know, nor keep, nor conform them to live vertuouſly by Example of Chriſt and of his Saints. Wherefore Sir, I have preached and taught openly, and ſo I purpoſe all my life time to do with Gods help,* ſaying,

Goods evil beſtowed in pilgrimage.

That ſuch fond people waſte blamefully Gods goods in their vain Pilgrimages, ſpending their goods upon vicious Hoſtelars, which are oft unclean women of their bodies; and at the leaſt, thoſe goods with the which they ſhould do works of Mercy, after Gods bidding, to poor needy men and women.

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Theſe poor mens goods and their livelode, theſe Runners about offer to rich Prieſts, which have mikle more livelode than they need. And thus thoſe goods they waſt wilfully, and ſpend them unjuſtly againſt Gods bidding upon ſtrangers, with which they ſhould help and relieve after Gods will their poor needy Neighbours at home: yea and over this folly, oftentimes divers men and women, of theſe Runners thus madly hither and thither into Pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and ſometime they ſteal mens goods hereto, and they pay them never again. Alſo Sir, I know well that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one Pilgrimage; they will ordain with them before to have with them both men and women, that can well ſing wanton Songs, and ſome other Pilgrims, will have with them Bagpipes: ſo that every Town that they come through, what with the noiſe of their ſinging, and with the ſound of their piping, and with the tangling of their *Canterbury* Bells, and with the barking out of Dogs after them, they make more noiſe, than if the King came there away with all his Clarions, and many other Minſtrels. And if theſe men and women be a month out in their Pilgrimage, many of them ſhall be an half year after, great Janglers, Taletellers and Lyars.

The inconvenience that cometh by pilgrimage.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Lewd Loſſel, thou ſeeſt not far enough in this matter, for thou conſidereſt not the great travel of Pilgrims, therefore thou blameſt that thing that is praiſeable. I ſay to thee, that it is right well done, that Pilgrims have with them both Singers and alſo Pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot ſtriketh his toe upon a ſtone, and hurteth him ſore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his Fellow begin then a Song, or elſe take out of his boſome a Bagpipe, to drive away with ſuch mirth the hurt of his Fellow. For with ſuch ſolace the travel and wearineſs of Pilgrims is lightly and merrily born out.*

Well ſpoken my Lord for *Lincolnſhire* bagpipes. And why then blamed *Boner Philpot* for ſinging in the ſtocks.

And I ſaid, *Sir, Saint* Paul *teacheth men to weep with them that weep.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *What jangleſt thou againſt mens devotion? Whatſoever thou or ſuch other ſay, I ſay that the Pilgrimage that now is uſed, is to them that do it a praiſeable and a good mean to come the rather to Grace. But I hold thee unable to know this Grace, for thou inforceſt thee to let the devotion of the people; ſince by authority of holy Scripture, men may leſully have and uſe ſuch ſolace as thou reproveſt. For* David *in his laſt* Pſalm *teacheth men to have divers Inſtruments of Muſick to praiſe God therewith.*

A new found way to grace of the Biſhops making.

And I ſaid, *Sir, by the Sentence of divers Doctors expounding the* Pſalms *of* David, *that Muſick and Minſtrelſie that* David *and other Saints of the Old Law ſpake of, ought now neither to be taken nor uſed by the Letter, but theſe Inſtruments with their Muſick ought to interpreted ghoſtly: For all theſe Figures are called Vertues and Grace, with which Vertues men ſhould pleaſe God, and praiſe his Name. For S.* Paul *ſaith,* All ſuch things befel to them in figure. *Therefore, Sir, I underſtand that the letter of this* Pſalm *of* David, *and of ſuch other* Pſalms *and Sentences doth ſlay them that take them now literally: This Sentence as I underſtand Sir, Chriſt himſelf approveth, putting out the Minſtrels, that he would quicken the dead Damſel.*

Inſtruments and muſick of the old Teſtament, how they are to be applied and uſed in the New Teſtament.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Lewd Loſſel, is it not leful to us to have Organs in the Church to worſhip therewithall God?* And I ſaid, *Yea Sir, by mans Ordinance; but by the Ordinance of God, a good Sermon, to the peoples underſtanding, were mikle more pleaſant to God.*

Organs in the Church. A fit comparison my Lord, and like your ſelf.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *That Organs and good delectable Songs quickned and ſharpned more mens wits, than ſhould any Sermon.*

But I ſaid, *Sir, luſtly men and worldly lovers delight and covet, and travel to have all their wits quickned and ſharpned with divers ſenſible ſolace: But all the faithful Lovers and Followers of Chriſt, have all their delight to hear Gods Word, and to underſtand it truly, and*

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*and to work thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things quickneth and sharpneth all the wits of Christs chosen people; and ableth them so to Grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their ears and all their wits and members from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For S.* Hierome *(as I think) saith,* No body may joy with this world, and Reign with Christ.

The saying of Hierome.

And the Archbishop (as if he had been displeased with my Answer) said to his Clerks, *What ghess ye that this Idiot will speak there, where he hath no dread; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt be ordained for.* And then he spake to me all angerly.

You Sweet my Lord.

The fourth Article concerning Priests tythes.

WHat sayst thou to this fourth Point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, *that Priests have no title to Tythes?*

And I said, *Sir, I named there no word of Tythes in my preaching. But more than a month after that I was arrested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of Tythes: and I said to him, Sir, in this Town are many Clerks and Priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be Seculars: Therefore ask ye of them this question. And this man said to me, Sir, our Prelates say, That we also are obliged to pay our Tythes of all things that renew to us; and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly from them of their Tythes. And I said (Sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, That I wonder that any Priest dare say men to be accursed, without the ground of Gods Word. And the man said, Sir, our Priests say, That they curse men thus by the authority of Gods Law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore, Sir, I pray ye that ye will ask the most cunning Clerk of this Town, that ye may know where this Sentence of cursing them that tythe not, is now written in Gods Law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not go from me to ask this question of another body: But required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case that cursing of Priests were lawful and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of Saint* Peter, *teaching Priests specially to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts:* being evermore ready (as far as in them is) to answer through faith and hope to them that ask of them a reason. *And this lesson* Peter *teacheth men to use with a meek spirit, and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore Sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the Old Law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up again from death to life, God commanded Tythes to be given to the Levites, for the great business and daily travel that pertained to their Office. But Priests, because their travel was mikle more ease and light, than was the Office of the Levites: God ordained the Priests should take for their livelode to do their Office, the tenth part of those Tythes that were given to the Levites. But now (I said) in the New Law, neither Christ nor any of his Apostles took Tythes of the people, nor commanded the people to pay Tythes, neither to Priests, nor to Deacons. But Christ taught the people to do Alms; that is, works of mercy, to poor needy men (of surplus, that is, superfluous of their Temporal goods) which they had more than them needed reasonably to their necessary livelode. And thus (I said) not of Tythes, but of pure Alms of the people, Christ lived and his Apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the Word of God to the people, that they might not travel otherwise to get their livelode. But after Christs Ascension, and when the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost, they travelled with their hands to get their livelode, when that they might thus do for busie preaching. Therefore by example of himself, Saint* Paul *teacheth all the Priests of Christ to travel with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus all these Priests, whose Priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the worlds end. But (as* Cisterciensis *telleth) in the thousand year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211. year, one Pope* Gregory *the Tenth ordained new Tythes first to be given to Priests now in the New Law. But Saint* Paul *in his time, whose trace or trample all Priests of God inforce them to follow, seeing the covetousness that was among the people, desiring to destroy that foul sin through the Grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himself, wrought and taught all Priests to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladly in high Poverty: Wherefore* Paul *saith thus,* The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel. But we *(saith* Paul*)* that covet and busie us to be faithful Followers of Christ, use not this power. *For lo (as* Paul *witnesseth afterward) when he was full poor and needy, preaching among the people: he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travelled not only to get his own living, but also the living of other poor and needy Creatures: and since the people was never so covetous, nor so avaritious (I ghess) as they are now; it were good counsel that all Priests took good heed to this heavenly learning of* Paul, *following him here in wilful poverty, nothing charging the people for their bodily livelode. But because that many Priests do contrary to* Paul *in this foresaid Doctrine,* Paul *biddeth the people take heed to those Priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if* Paul *would say thus to the people, Accept ye none other Priests than they, that live after the form that I have taught you. For certain, in whatsoever Dignity or Order that any Priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful poverty, and in other heavenly vertues, and especially in true preaching of Gods Word; though such a one be named a Priest, yet he is no more but a Priest in name, for the work of every Priest in such an one wanteth. This sentence approveth* Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostome, *and* Lincoln *plainly.*

*Paul* having power to take, yet used it not.

*Paul* would not be chargeous.

If Priests were covetous then, what be they now? This rule with the rule of begging Friers cannot stand together.

And the Archbishop said to me, *Thinkest thou this wholesome learning to sow openly, or yet privily among the people? Certain this Doctrine contrarieth plainly the Ordinance of holy Fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licensed Priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by Tythes and Offerings of the people, and by other duties.*

Wholesome enough my Lord if your taste were good to savour it. But contrarieth not the Ordinance either of God, or of his Word.

And I said, *Sir, if Priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived vertuously, and taught busily and truly the Word of God, by example of Christ and of his Apostles, without Tythes, Offerings, and other duties that Priests now challenge and take; the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.*

If Priests would not lack in their duty, they should not lack in having sufficient.

And a Clerk said to me, *How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freely to Priests their livelode; since that now by the Law every Priest can scarcely constrain the people to give them their livelode?*

*Fallax argumentum secundum non causam ut causam.*

And I said, *Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give Priests the livelode that they ask: Mekill people know now, how that Priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his Apostles. And therefore the people is full heavy to pay (as they do) their Temporal goods to Parsons, and to other Vicars and Priests, which should be faithful Dispensators of the Parishes goods: taking to themselves no more but a scarce living of Tythes, nor of Offerings, by the Ordinance of the Common Law. For whatsoever Priests take of the people (be it tythe or offering, or any other duty or service) the Priests ought to have thereof no more, but a bare living: and to depart the residue to the poor men and women, specially of the Parish of whom they take this Temporal living. But the most deal of Priests now wasteth their Parishes goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the World, in their vain lusts: So that in few places poor men have duly (as they should have) their own sustenance, neither of Tythes, nor of Offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that Priests take of the people in divers manners above that they need for needful sustenance of meat and clothing: but the poor needy people are forsaken and left of Priests to be sustained of the Parishioners, as if the Priests took nothing of the Parishioners to help the people with.*

The evil demeanour of the Priests is the cause why the people be so slack in their tythes.

Priests being content with sufficiency, and a bare living, ought to part the residue to the poor.

Priests did so then, but our Priests do not so now.

*And thus Sir, into over great Charges of the Parishioners they pay their Temporal goods twice, where once might suffice, if Priests were true Dispensators. Also Sir, the Parishioners that pay their Temporal goods (be they Tythes or Offerings) to Priests that do not their Office among them justly, are Partners of every sin of those Priests; because that they sustain those Priests folly in their*

Whether tythes are to be paid to Priests doing not their duty.

A Paradox without Gods word?

A difference to be put betwixt the old Law and the new.

Priests had the tenth part of the Tythes given to the Levites.

Christ commandeth Alms, not Tythes, except Tythes be Alms.

Tythes by whom and when they were first commanded in the new Law.

*their ſin, with their Temporal goods. If theſe things be well conſidered; what wonder is it then Sir, if the Pariſhioners grudge againſt theſe Diſpenſators?*

Ghoſtly Mother, nay an unghoſtly ſtep-dame, to all Gods Children.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Thou that ſhouldſt be judged and ruled by holy Church, preſumptuouſly thou deemeſt holy Church to have erred in the Ordinance of Tythes and other duties to be paid to Prieſts. It ſhall be long ere thou thrive Loſſel, that thou deſpiſeſt thy ghoſtly Mother. How dareſt thou ſpeak this (Loſſel) among the people? Are not Tythes given to Prieſts to live by?*

By the law none could challenge Tythes, but only the ſeed of Levi: Our Prieſts be not of the ſeed of Levi: Ergo, by the Law our Prieſts cannot challenge Tythes. As the Prieſthood is changed, ſo is the law changed

And I ſaid, *Sir*, S. *Paul* ſaith, *That Tythes were given in the Old Law to Levites and to Prieſts, that came of the Lineage of* Levi. *But our Prieſts*, he ſaith, *came not of the Lineage of* Levi, *but of the Lineage of* Juda, *to which* Juda *no Tythes were promiſed to be given. And therefore* Paul *ſaith, ſince the Prieſthood is changed from the Generation of* Levi *to the Generation of* Juda; *It is neceſſary that changing alſo be made of the Law. So that Prieſts live now without Tythes and other Duties that they claim, following Chriſt and his Apoſtles in wilful Poverty, as they have given them example. For ſince Chriſt lived (all the time of his Preaching) by pure Alms of the people; and by Example of him his Apoſtles lived in the ſame wiſe, or elſe by the travel of their hands, as it is ſaid above: every Prieſt, whoſe Prieſthood Chriſt approveth, knoweth well, and confeſſeth in word and in work,* That a Diſciple ought not to be above his Maſter, but it ſufficeth to a Diſciple to be as his Maſter, *ſimple and pure, meek and patient; and by Example eſpecially of his Maſter Chriſt every Prieſt ſhould rule him in all his living; and ſo after his cunning and power, a Prieſt ſhould buſie him to inform and to rule whomſoever he might charitably.*

Bleſs, but curſe not, ſaith S. *Paul* He goeth near you my Lord, when he voucheth your tythes. The difference of the freedoms between the Old and New Law.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me with a great ſpirit, *Gods Curſe have thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldſt hereby make the Old Law more free and perfect than the New Law. For thou ſayſt that it is leful to Levites and to Prieſts to take Tythes in the Old Law, and ſo to enjoy their Priviledges: but to us Prieſts in the New Law, thou ſayſt it is not lawful to take Tythes: and thus thou giveſt to Levites of the Old Law, more freedom than to Prieſts of the New Law.*

For what cauſe tythes were given in the old Law.

And I ſaid, Sir, *I marvel that ye underſtand this plain Text of* Paul *thus; Ye wot well, that the Levites and Prieſts in the Old Law that took Tythes, were not ſo free nor ſo perfect, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles that took no Tythes. And Sir, there is a Doctor (I think that it is Saint* Hierome) *that ſaith thus*, The Prieſts that challenge now in the New Law, Tythes; ſay in effect, that Chriſt is not become man, nor that he hath yet ſuffered death for mans love. *Wherefore this Doctor ſaith this Sentence: Since Tythes were the heirs and wages limited to Levites and to Prieſts of the Old Law for bearing about of the Tabernacle, and for ſlaying and fleying of Beaſts, and for burning of Sacrifice, and for keeping of the Temple, and for trumping of battel before the Hoſt of* Iſrael, *and other divers Obſervances that pertained to their Office: thoſe Prieſts that will challenge or take Tythes, deny that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and do the Prieſts Office of the Old Law, for whom Tythes were granted, for elſe (as this Doctor ſaith) Prieſts take now Tythes wrongfully.*

If you take away tithes you undo the Church.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to his Clerks, *Heard you ever Loſſell ſpeak thus? Certain this is the Learning of them all, that whereſoever they come, and they may be ſuffered, they enforce them to expugn the freedom of holy Church.*

And I ſaid, *Sir, why call ye the taking of Tythes, and of ſuch other duties that Prieſts challenge now (wrongfully) the freedom of holy Church: ſince neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles, challenged nor took ſuch duties? Therefore theſe takings of Prieſts now are not called juſtly the freedom of holy Church, but all ſuch giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the ſlanderous covetouſneſs of men of the holy Church.*

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Why Loſſell, wilt not thou and other that are confederate with thee, ſeek out of holy Scripture and of the ſenſe of Doctors, all ſharp Authorities againſt Lords, Knights, and Squires, and againſt other ſecular men as thou doſt againſt Prieſts?*

And I ſaid, *Sir, whatſoever men or women, Lords or Ladies, or any other that are preſent in our preaching ſpecially, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their Office and their Charges: but Sir, ſince* Chryſoſtome *ſaith*, That Prieſts are the ſtomach of the people, *it is needful in preaching, and alſo in communing, to be moſt buſie about this Prieſthood: Since by the viciouſneſs of Prieſts both Lords and Commons are moſt ſinfully infected and led into the worſt. And becauſe that the covetouſneſs of Prieſts and pride, and the boaſt that they have and make of their Dignity and Power, deſtroyeth not only the vertues of Prieſthood in Prieſts themſelves, but alſo over this, it ſtirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the Lords, and upon the Commons, which ſuffer theſe Prieſts charitably.*

KING Hen. 4.

Thorpe, preach againſt whom thou wilt, touch not this ſcab.

The viciouſneſs and pride of Prieſts infecteth all the World.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Thou judgeſt every Prieſt proud that will not go arrayed as thou doſt: by God I deem him to be more meek that goeth every day in a ſcarlet Gown, than thou in thy thread-bare blue Gown. Whereby knowſt thou a proud man?*

Spiteful meekneſs that is in ſcarlet Gowns. The ſigns and marks of proud Prieſts.

And I ſaid, *Sir, a proud Prieſt may be known, when he denieth to follow Chriſt and his Apoſtles in wilful Poverty and other Vertues: and coveteth worldly worſhip, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, menacing, or with flattering, or with ſimony, any worldly goods; and moſt, if a Prieſt buſie him not chiefly in himſelf, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withſtand ſin.*

Paul ſaith, God ſhall judge all Fornicators. What ſay you my Lord?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Though thou knoweſt a Prieſt to have all theſe vices, and though thou ſaweſt a Prieſt lovely lie now by a woman knowing her fleſhly, wouldſt thou therefore damn this Prieſt damnable? I ſay to thee, that in the turning about of thy hand, ſuch a Sinner may be verily repented.*

And I ſaid, *Sir, I will not damn any man for any ſin that I know done or may be done, ſo that the Sinner leaveth his ſin. But by authority of holy Scripture, he that ſinneth thus openly as you ſhew here, is damnable for doing of ſuch a ſin; and moſt ſpecially, a Prieſt that ſhould be example to all other to hate and fly ſin. And in how ſhort time ſoever ye ſay that ſuch a Sinner may be repented: he ought not of him that knoweth his ſinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great ſhame and hearty ſorrow for ſin. For whoſoever (and ſpecially a Prieſt) that uſeth pride, envy, covetouſneſs, lechery, ſimony, or any other Vices, ſheweth not as open evidence of repentance as he hath given evil example and occaſion of ſinning, if he continue in any ſuch ſin as long as he may; it is likely that ſin leaveth him, and he not ſin. And as I underſtand, ſuch a one ſinneth unto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as S.* John *ſaith.*

Prieſts ought to be examples of good living

And a Clerk ſaid then to the Archbiſhop, *Sir, the longer that ye appoſe him, the worſe he is; and the more you buſie you to amend him, the wayarder he is. For he is of ſo ſhrewd a kind, that he ſhameth not only to be himſelf a foul neſt, but without ſhame he buſieth him to make his neſt fouler.*

Clerkly ſpoken, and like a paraple.

And then the Archbiſhop ſaid to his Clerk, *Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified againſt him, and I will hear what he ſaith thereto.*

Forget nothing I pray you my Lord.

And ſo then he ſaid to me, *Lo it is here certified againſt thee, that thou preacheſt openly at* Shrewsbury, *that it is not lawful to ſwear in any caſe.*

Not lawful to ſwear by any Creature.

And I ſaid, *Sir, I never preached ſo openly, nor have I taught in this wiſe in any place. But Sir, as I preached in* Shrewsbury, *with my proteſtation I ſay to you now here, That by the authority of the Epiſtle of Saint* James, *and by witneſs of divers Saints and Doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear by any Creature. And over this Sir, I have alſo preached and taught by the foreſaid authorities, that no body ſhould ſwear in any caſe, if that without Oath in any wiſe he that is charged to ſwear might excuſe him to them that have power to compel him to ſwear in leful thing and lawful. But if a man may not excuſe him, without Oath, to them that have power to compel him to ſwear, then he ought to ſwear only by God, taking him only; that is, ſoothfaſtneſs, to witneſs to ſoothfaſtneſs.*

Men ought not to ſwear, when without an oath he may excuſe himſelf that is compelled to.

And

KING *Hen.* 4. Well ſaid, Sir *John*, of you, your holy Mother ſtroke your head.

And then a Clerk asked me, *If it were not leful to a Subject, at the bidding of his Prelate, to kneel down and touch the holy Goſpel book, and kiſs it, ſaying, So help me God and this holy dome? for he ſhould after his cunning and power do all things that his Prelate commandeth him.*

And I ſaid to them, Sirs, ye ſpeak here full generally or largely. What if a Prelate commanded his Subject to do an unlawful thing, ſhould he obey thereto?

The Prelate would be thought to be goody be they never ſo bad.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *A Subject ought not to ſuppoſe, that his Prelate will bid him do an unlawful thing. For a Subject ought to think that his Prelate will bid him do nothing, but that he will anſwer for before God, that it is leful: And then, though the bidding of the Prelate be unlawful, the ſubject hath no peril to fulfil it, ſince that he thinketh and judgeth that whatſoever thing his Prelate biddeth him do, that it is leful to him for to do it.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I truſt not thereto. But to our purpoſe; Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a Gentlemans houſe, and there were then two Clerks there, a Maſter of Divinity, and a Man of Law, which Man of Law was alſo communing in Divinity. And among other things, theſe Men ſpake of Oaths; and the Man of Law ſaid, *at the bidding of his Sovereign which had power to charge him to ſwear, he would lay his hand upon a Book and hear his charge; and if his charge, to his underſtanding, were unleful, he would haſtily withdraw his hand upon the Book, taking there only God to witneſs, that he would fulfil that leful charge after his power.* And the Maſter of Divinity ſaid then to him thus; *Certain he that layeth his hand upon a Book in this wiſe, and maketh there a promiſe to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by Book-oath, then to fulfil his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a Book (touching the Book, and ſwearing by it, and kiſſing it, promiſing in this form to do this thing or that) will ſay and witneſs that he that toucheth thus a Book, and kiſſeth it, hath ſworn upon that Book. And all other men that ſee that man thus do, and alſo all thoſe that hear hereof, in the ſame wiſe will ſay and witneſs, that this man hath ſworn upon a Book.* Wherefore, the Maſter of Divinity ſaid, *It was not leful either to give or to take any ſuch charge upon a Book: for every Book is nothing elſe, but divers creatures of which it is made of. Therefore to ſwear upon a Book is to ſwear by creatures, and this ſwearing is ever unleful.* This ſentence witneſſeth *Chryſoſtome* plainly, blaming them greatly that bring forth a Book to ſwear upon, charging Clerks that in no wiſe they conſtrain any body to ſwear, whether they think a man to ſwear true or falſe.

A communication betwixt a Lawyer and a Divine.

To ſwear by a book, is to ſwear by creatures.

*Chryſoſtome* blameth Book-oath.

And the Archbiſhop and his Clerks ſcorned me, and blamed me greatly for this ſaying. And the Archbiſhop menaced me with great puniſhment and ſharp, except I left this opinion of ſwearing.

Here now lacked *Boner* to ſcratch him by the face.

And I ſaid, Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Chriſt our Saviour, and of S. *James*, and of *Chryſoſtome*, and of other divers Saints and Doctors.

Then the Archbiſhop had a Clerk read this Homily of *Chryſoſtome*; which Homily this Clerk held in his hand written in a Roll; which Roll the Archbiſhop cauſed to be taken from my fellow at *Canterbury*. And ſo then this Clerk read this Roll, till he came to a clauſe where *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, that it is ſin to ſwear well.

Either *Malveren*, or elſe Sir *Brian Elowcole*.

And then a Clerk (*Malveren* as I gueſs) ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, *I pray you wete of him, how he underſtandeth* Chryſoſtome *here, ſaying it to be ſin to ſwear well.*

And ſo the Archbiſhop asked me, how I underſtood here *Chryſoſtome*.

Chriſt promiſeth and giveth mouth and utterance.

And certainly I was ſomewhat afraid to anſwer hereto. For I had bulied me to ſtudy about the ſenſe thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as faſt as I thought how Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, *When for my name ye ſhall be brought before Judges, I ſhall give into your mouth wiſdom that your adverſaries ſhall not againſt ſay*; and truſting faithfully in the Word of God, I ſaid, Sir, I know well that many men and women have now ſwearing ſo in cuſtom, that they neither know or will know, that they do evil to ſwear as they do; but they think and ſay, that they do well to ſwear as they do, though they know well that they ſwear untruly. For they ſay, they may by their ſwearing (though it be falſe) void blame or temporal harm, which they ſhould have if they ſwear not thus. And Sir, many men and women maintain ſtrongly that they ſwear well, when that thing is ſooth that they ſwear for. Alſo full many men and women ſay now, that it is well done to ſwear by creatures, when they may not (as they ſay) otherwiſe be believed. And alſo, full many men and women ſay now, that it is well done to ſwear by God, and by our Lady, and by other Saints, to have them in mind. But ſince all theſe ſayings are but excuſations, and ſin; me thinketh Sir, that this ſenſe of *Chryſoſtome* may be alleadged well againſt all ſuch ſwearers; witneſſing that all theſe ſin grievouſly, though they think themſelves to ſwear in this foreſaid wiſe well; for it is evil done, and great ſin to ſwear truth, when in any manner a man may excuſe himſelf without Oath.

The place of *Chryſoſtome* from expounded, howw it is ſin to ſwear wvell. What it is to ſwear wvell.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *That* Chryſoſtome *might be thus underſtood.*

And then a Clerk ſaid to me, *Wilt thou tarry my Lord no longer, but ſubmit thee here meekly to the Ordinance of holy Church, and lay thy hand upon a Book, touching the holy Goſpel of God, promiſing not only with thy mouth, but alſo with thine heart to ſtand to my Lords Ordinance.*

Pope holy Church.

And I ſaid, Sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a Maſter of Divinity ſay, That in ſuch a caſe it is all one to touch a book, and to ſwear by a book?

To touch a book is to ſwear by a book.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *There is no Maſter of Divinity in* England *ſo great, but if he hold this opinion before me, I ſhall puniſh him as I ſhall do thee, except thou ſwear as I ſhall charge thee.*

It is happy he called not for a Candle, and made a *Scevola* of him, as *Boner* did of *Tomkins*.

And I ſaid, Sir, is not *Chryſoſtome* an ententive Doctor? And the Archbiſhop ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, if *Chryſoſtome* proveth him worthy of great blame, that bringeth forth a book to ſwear upon; it muſt needs follow, that he is more to blame that ſweareth on that book.

It is happy that *Chryſoſtome* wvas not here, or elſe he wvould have had him by the back.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *If* Chryſoſtome *meant accordingly to the Ordinance of holy Church, we will accept him.*

But that wvord cannot be touched.

And then ſaid a Clerk to me, *Is not the Word of God and God himſelf equipollent, that is, of one authority?* And I ſaid Yea.

*Thorp* refuſeth not to ſwear.

Then he ſaid to me, *Why wilt thou not ſwear then by the Goſpel of God, that is, Gods Word, ſince it is all one to ſwear by the Word of God, and by God himſelf?*

And I ſaid, Sir, ſince I may not now otherwiſe be believed, but by ſwearing, I perceive (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) that it is not ſpeedful that ye that ſhould be my brethren, ſhould not believe me; therefore I am ready by the Word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his Word) to ſwear.

Then the Clerk ſaid to me, *Lay then thine hand upon the book, touching the Holy Goſpel of God, and take thy charge.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I underſtand that the holy Goſpel of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the Clerk ſaid I fonded, and that I ſaid not truth.

And I asked this Clerk, whether it were more to read the Goſpel, than to touch the Goſpel.

And he ſaid, *it was more to read the Goſpel.*

Then I ſaid, Sir, by authority of St. *Hierome* the Goſpel is not the Goſpel for reading of the letter, but for the belief that men have in the Word of God. That it is the Goſpel that we believe, and not the Letter that we read; becauſe the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Goſpel, but the ſentence that is verily believed in mans heart is the Goſpel. For ſo *Hierome* ſaith, *The Goſpel, that is the vertue of Gods Word, is not in the leaves of the book, but it is in the root of reaſon. Neither the Goſpel* (he ſaith) *is in the writing alone of the letters, but the Goſpel is in the marking of the ſentence of Scriptures.* This ſentence approveth St. *Paul*, ſaying thus, *The Kingdom of God is not in word, but in vertue.* And *David* ſaith, *The voice of the Lord*, that is, *his Word is in vertue.* And after *David* ſaith, *Through the Word of God the Heavens were formed, and in the ſpirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them.* And I pray you, Sir, underſtand ye well how *David* ſaith then, *In the ſpirit of the mouth of the Lord is all the vertue of Angels and of Men.*

Whether the book be the Goſpel. *Hierome* ſaith, the Goſpel is not the Goſpel for reading, but for believing.

The Goſpel is not the leaves of the book, but the root of reaſon. St. Paul.

David.

This Clerk was vvell ſeen in the Maſs-book.

And the Clerk ſaid to me, *Thou wouldſt make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the Goſpel is written in the Maſs-book?*

And I ſaid, Sir, though men uſe to ſay thus, yet it is an unperfect ſpeech. For the principal part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For lo, Mans ſoul that may not now be ſeen here, nor touched with any ſenſible thing, is properly Man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root thereof, that may not be ſeen; for do away the root, and the tree is deſtroyed. And Sir, as ye ſaid to me right now, *God and his Word are of one authority*; And Sir, St. *Hierome* witneſſeth that Chriſt (very God and very Man) is hid in the letter of the Law; thus alſo, Sir, the Goſpel is hid in the letter. For Sir, as it is full likely, many and divers Men and Women here in the earth, touched Chriſt and ſaw him, and knew his bodily perſon, which neither touched, nor ſaw, nor knew, ghoſtly his Godhead: Right thus Sir, many Men now touch and ſee, and write, and read the Scriptures of Gods Law; which neither ſee, touch, nor read effectually the Goſpel. For as the Godhead of Chriſt (that is, the vertue of God) is known by the vertue of belief, ſo is the Goſpel, that is, Chriſts Word.

The Goſpel is not the letter, but hid in the letter.

Miſty matters for your blind eyes.

And a Clerk ſaid to me, *Theſe be full miſty matters and unſavoury, that thou ſheweſt here to us.*

And I ſaid, Sir, if ye that are Maſters know not plainly this ſentence, ye may ſore dread that the Kingdom of Heaven be taken from you, as it was from the Princes of Prieſts, and from the Elders of the *Jews*.

And then a Clerk (as I gueſs *Malveren*) ſaid to me, *Thou knoweſt not thine equivocations: for the Kingdom of Heaven hath divers underſtandings. What calleſt thou the Kingdom of Heaven in this ſentence that thou ſheweſt here?*

The Kingdom of God taken for the underſtanding of Gods word.

And I ſaid, Sir, by good reaſon and ſentence of Doctors, the Realm of Heaven is called here the underſtanding of Gods Word.

And a Clerk ſaid to me, *From whom thinkeſt thou that this underſtanding is taken away?*

This ſalt vvas ſomevvhat too ſharp for their rotten fleſh to abide.

And I ſaid, Sir, (by authority of Chriſt himſelf) the effectual underſtanding of Chriſts Word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered Men, and preſume to underſtand high things, and will be holden wiſe men, and deſire Maſterſhip, and high ſtate and dignity; but they will not conform them to the living and teaching of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Well, well, thou wilt judge thy Sovereigns. By God, the King doth not his duty, unleſs he ſuffer thee to be condemned.*

Help down with him Sir *John*.

And then another Clerk ſaid to me, *Why, (on* Friday *that laſt was) counſelledſt thou a Man of my Lords, that he ſhould not ſhrieve him to no man, but only to God?*

And with this asking I was abaſhed; and then by and by I knew that I was ſubtilly betrayed of a man that came to me in Priſon on the *Friday* before, communing with me in this matter of confeſſion. And certain, by his words I thought that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will; but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuſe me; God forgive him, if it be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I ſaid to this Clerk: Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man hither; and all the words, as near as I can, repeat them, which I ſpake to him on *Friday* in the Priſon, I will rehearſe now here before you all, and before him.

Note here the crafty practice of this holy Church.

And (as I gueſs) the Archbiſhop ſaid then to me, *They that are now here ſuffice to repeat them. How ſaidſt thou to him?*

A falſe brother.

And I ſaid, Sir, that man came and asked me in divers things, and after his asking, I anſwered him (as I underſtood) that good was. And as he ſhewed to me by his words, he was ſorry of his living in Court, and right heavy for his own vicious living, and alſo for the viciouſneſs of other men, and ſpecially of Prieſts evil living; and therefore he ſaid to me with a ſorrowful heart (as I gueſſed) that he purpoſed fully within ſhort time to leave the Court and to buſie him to know Gods law, and to conform all his life thereafter. And when he had ſaid to me theſe words and more other which I would rehearſe if he were preſent, he prayed me to hear his confeſſion. And I ſaid to him, Sir, wherefore come ye to me, to be confeſſed of me? Ye wot well that the Archbiſhop putteth and holdeth me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any Sacrament of holy Church.

Auricular Confeſſion.

KING *Hen.4*

And he ſaid unto me, *Brother, I wot well, and ſo I wot many other more, that you and ſuch other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly.* And I ſaid to him, certain I wot well, that many men of this Court, and ſpecially the Prieſts of this Houſhold would be full evil apaid both with you and me, if they wiſt that ye were confeſſed of me. And he ſaid, *that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them.* And as me thought, he ſpake theſe words and many other, of a good will and of a high deſire, to have known and done the pleaſant will of God. And I ſaid to him, as with my foreſaid proteſtation I ſay to you now here; Sir, I counſel you to abſent you from all evil company, and to draw you to them that love and buſie them to know and to keep the precepts of God; and then the good Spirit of God will move you to occupy buſily all your wits in gathering together of all your ſins, as far as ye can bethink you, ſhaming greatly of them, and ſorrowing heartily for them: yea Sir, the Holy Ghoſt will then put in your heart a good will and a fervent deſire to take and to hold a good purpoſe, to hate ever and to fly (after your cunning and power) all occaſion of ſin; and ſo then wiſdom ſhall come to you from above, lightning (with divers beams of grace and of heavenly deſire) all your wits, enforming you how ye ſhall truſt ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of the Lord, knowledging to him only all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counſel and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, buſying you faithfully to know and to keep his biddings, he will (for he only may) forgive you all your ſins. And this man ſaid to me, *Though God forgive men their ſins, yet it behoveth men to be aſſoyled of Prieſts, and to do the penance that they enjoyn them.*

A crafty traine of a ſpiſh diſſembler.

God only forgiveth ſin, Man can only counſel to leave ſin.

And I ſaid to him, Sir, it is all one to aſſoil Men of their ſins, and to forgive Men their ſins. Wherefore ſince it pertaineth only to God to forgive ſin; it ſufficeth in this caſe, to counſel Men and Women to leave their ſin, and to comfort them that buſie them thus to do, to hope ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. And again, Prieſts ought to tell ſharply to cuſtomable ſinners, that if they will not make an end of their ſin, but continue in divers ſins while that they may ſin, all ſuch deſerve pain without any end. And therefore Prieſts ſhould ever buſie them to live well and holily, and to teach the people buſily and truly the Word of God, ſhewing to all folk in open preaching, and in privy counſelling, *That the Lord God only forgiveth ſin.* And therefore, thoſe Prieſts that take upon them to aſſoil men of their ſins, blaſpheme God; ſince that it pertaineth only to the Lord to aſſoil men of all their ſins. For no doubt, a thouſand year after that Chriſt was Man, no Prieſt of Chriſt durſt take upon him to teach the people, neither privily nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be aſſoiled of them as Prieſts now do. But by authority of Chriſts Word Prieſts bound indurate, cuſtomable ſinners to everlaſting pains, which in no time of their living would buſie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And again, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to fly all occaſion of ſin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving to pleaſe him continually; to theſe men and women Prieſts ſhewed how the Lord aſſoiled men of all their ſins; and thus Chriſt promiſed to confirm in Heaven all the binding and looſing that Prieſts by authority of his Word, bind men in ſin that are indurate therein, or looſe them out of ſin here upon Earth that are verily repentant. And this man hearing theſe words ſaid, *that he might well in Conſcience conſent to this ſentence.* But he ſaid, *Is it not needful to the lay people that cannot thus do, to go ſhrieve them to the Prieſts?* And I ſaid, if a man feel himſelf ſo diſtroubled with any ſin, that he cannot by his own wit avoid this ſin without counſel of them that are herein wiſer than he; in ſuch a caſe the counſel of a good Prieſt is full neceſſary. And if a good Prieſt fail, as they do now commonly, in ſuch a caſe, Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *That a man may lawfully commune and take counſel of a vertuous ſecular man.* But certain, that man or woman is overladen and too beaſtly, which cannot bring their own ſins into their mind, buſying them night and day to hate and to forſake all their ſins, doing a ſigh for them

Shrift and confeſſion to Prieſts.

A good ſecular man may be counſeller, vvhere a Prieſt fail-eth, by S. *Auguſtine*.

after

KING 1 Hen. 4.

after their cunning and power. And Sir, full accordingly to this ſentence upon *Midlent Sunday* (two year as I gueſs now agone) I heard a Monk of *Feverſham*, that Men called *Morden*, preach at *Canterbury* at the Croſs within *Chriſt-Church* Abbey, ſaying thus of Confeſſion; *That as though the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, without counſel of any other body, of themſelves many men and women can imagine and find means and ways enough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other divers vices*; in contrariwiſe this Monk ſaid, *Since the Lord God is more ready to forgive ſin than the fiend is or may be of power to move any body to ſin, then whoſoever will ſhame and ſorrow heartily for their ſins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counſel of any other body than of God and of himſelf (through the grace of God) all ſuch men and women may find ſufficient means to come to Gods mercy, and ſo to be clean aſſoiled of all their ſinss* This ſentence I ſaid, Sir, to this Man of yours, and the ſelf words as near as I can gueſs.

*Morden* Monk of *Feverſham*, preaching of Confeſſion.

Hearty repentance to God needeth not confeſſion to Prieſt.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Holy Church approveth not this learning.*

No not any thing elſe that is good

And I ſaid, Sir, holy Church, of which Chriſt is Head in Heaven and in Earth, muſt needs approve this ſentence. For lo, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be ſufficiently taught to know and keep the Commandments of God, and to hate and to fly continually all occaſion of ſin, and to love and to ſeek vertues buſily, and to believe in God ſtably; and to truſt in his mercy ſtedfaſtly, and ſo to come to perfect charity, and continue therein perſeverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certain, ſince Jeſus Chriſt died upon the Croſs, wilfully to make men free; Men of the Church are too bold and too buſie to make men thrall, binding them under the pain of endleſs curſe (as they ſay) to do many obſervances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Chriſt nor of his Apoſtles approveth.

Chriſt giveth freedom the Pope giveth thraldom.

And a Clerk ſaid then to me, *Thou ſhewest plainly here thy deceit, which thou haſt learned of them that travelled to ſow the popple among the wheat. But I counſel thee to go away clean from this learning, and ſubmit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou ſhalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.*

And as faſt then, another Clerk ſaid to me, *How waſt thou ſo bold at* Paul's *Croſs in* London, *to ſtand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in his Sermon the worthy Clerk* Alkerton, *drawing away all that thou mighteſt? yea, and the ſame day at afternoon; thou meeting the worthy Doctor in* Watlingſtreet, *calledſt him falſe flatterer and hypocrite.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I think certainly, that there was no man nor woman that hated verily ſin, and loved vertues (hearing the Sermon of the Clerk at *Oxford*, and alſo *Alkerton*'s Sermon) but they ſaid, or might juſtly ſay, that *Alkerton* reproved that Clerk untruly, and ſlandred him wrongfully and uncharitably. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Chriſt chiefly and of his Apoſtles be true, no body that loveth God and his Law will blame any ſentence that the Clerk then preached there; ſince by authority of Gods Word, and by approved Saints and Doctors, and by open reaſon, this Clerk approved all things clearly that he preached there.

And a Clerk of the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *his Sermon was falſe, and that he ſhewed openly, ſince he dare not ſtand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I think that he purpoſeth to ſtand ſtedfaſtly thereby, or elſe he ſlandereth foully himſelf, and alſo many other that have great truſt that he will ſtand by the truth of the Goſpel. For I wot well, this Sermon is written both in *Latine* and *Engliſh*, and many men have it, and they ſet great price thereby. And Sir, if ye were preſent with the Archbiſhop at *Lambeth* when this Clerk appeared, and was at his anſwer before the Archbiſhop, ye wot well that this Clerk denied not there his Sermon, but two days he maintained it before the Archbiſhop and his Clerks.

And then the Archbiſhop or one of his Clerks ſaid (I wot not which of them) *That harlot ſhall be met with for that Sermon. For no Man but he and thou, and ſuch other falſe harlots, praiſeth any ſuch preaching.*

And then the Archbiſhop ſaid, *Your curſed Sect is buſie, and it joyeth right greatly to contrary and to deſtroy the priviledge and freedom of holy Church.*

And I ſaid, Sir, I know no man that travel ſo buſily as this Sect doth (which you reprove) to make reſt and peace in holy Church. For pride, covetouſneſs, and ſimony, which diſtrouble moſt holy Church, this Sect hateth and fleeth, and travelleth buſily to move all other men in like manner unto meekneſs and wilful poverty, and charity, and free miniſtring of the Sacrament, this Sect loveth and uſeth, and is full buſie to move all other folks thus to do. For theſe vertues ow all members of holy Church to their Head Chriſt.

The true freedom of holy Church not deſtroyed but increaſed by true preachers.

Then a Clerk ſaid to the Archbiſhop, *Sir, it is far day, and ye have far to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for he will none make: but the more Sir, that ye buſie you to draw him toward you, the more contumax he is made, and the further from you.*

And then *Malvoren* ſaid to me, *William, kneel down, and pray my Lords grace, and leave all thy fantaſies, and become a child of holy Church.*

Take my Lords bleſſing and ſtand up.

And I ſaid, Sir, I have prayed the Archbiſhop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Chriſt, that he will leave his indignation that he hath againſt me: and that he will ſuffer me after my cunning and power, to do mine office of Prieſthood, as I am charged of God to do it. For I covet nought elſe but to ſerve my God to his pleaſing in the ſtate that I ſtand in, and have taken me to.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *If of good heart thou wilt ſubmit thee now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forth by my counſel, obeying meekly and wilfully to my Ordinance, thou ſhalt find it moſt profitable and beſt to thee to do thus. Therefore tarry thou me no longer, grant to do this that I have ſaid to thee now here ſhortly, or deny it utterly.*

My Lord hath haſt, for being benighted.

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, owe we to believe that Jeſus Chriſt was and is very God and very Man?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, owe we to believe that all Chriſts living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he ſaid. *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, owe we to believe that the living of the Apoſtles, and the teaching of Chriſt and all the Prophets are true which are written in the Bible for the health and ſalvation of good people?

And he ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, owe all Chriſtian Men and Women after ther cunning and power, to conform all their living to the teaching ſpecially of Chriſt, and alſo to the teaching and living of his Apoſtles and of Prophets, in things that are pleaſant to God and edification of his Church?

And he ſaid, *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, ought the Doctrine, the bidding, or the counſel of any body to be accepted or obeyed unto; except this Doctrine, theſe biddings, or this counſel may be granted and affirmed by Chriſts living and his teaching ſpecially, or by the living and teaching of his Apoſtles and Prophets?

And why compel you this man to the contrary.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Other Doctrines ought not to be accepted, nor owe we to obey to any mans bidding or counſel, except we can perceive that this bidding or counſel accordeth with the life and teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophets.*

And I ſaid, Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counſels of holy Church, means and healful remedies, to know and to underſtand the privy ſuggeſtions, and the apert temptations of the fiend? and alſo ways and healful remedies to ſlay pride and all other deadly ſins, and the branches of them, and ſovereign means to purchaſe grace, to withſtand and overcome all the fleſhly luſts and movings?

Thorp content to ſubmit himſelf to the ordinance of Councils.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid *Yea.*

And I ſaid, Sir, whatſoever thing ye or any other body bid or counſel me to do, accordingly to this foreſaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the help of God, I will meekly with all my heart obey thereto.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Submit thee then now here meekly and wilfully to the ordinance of holy Church, which I ſhall ſhew to thee.*

And I ſaid, Sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearſed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Chriſt the Head of the holy Church, and to the learnings and bidding, and counſels of every pleaſing member of him.

If Baney had been here, he would not have ſtrucken the Cupboard.

Then the Archbiſhop, ſtriking with his hand fiercely upon a Cupboard, ſpake to me with a great ſpirit, ſaying, *By Jeſus, but if thou leave not ſuch additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine Ordinance (ere that I go out of this place) I ſhall make thee as ſure as any Thief that is in the Priſon of* Lanterne; *adviſe thee now what thou wilt do*. And then, as if he had been angred, he went from the Cupboard where he ſtood, to a Window.

The multitude is not to be followed in evil.

And then *Malveren* and another Clerk came nearer me, and they ſpake to me many words full pleaſantly; and another while they menaced me, and counſelled full buſily to ſubmit me, or elſe, they ſaid, I ſhould not eſcape puniſhing over meaſure; for they ſaid, I ſhould be degraded, curſed, and burned, and ſo then damned. But now they ſaid, *Thou mayſt eſchew all theſe miſchiefs, if thou wilt ſubmit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthy Prelate, that hath cure of thy ſoul. And for the pity of Chriſt* (ſaid they) *bethink thee, how great Clerks the Biſhop of* Lincoln, Herford *and* Purvey *were, and yet are, and alſo* B. *that is a well underſtanding man. Which alſo have forſaken and revoked all the learning and opinions that thou and ſuch other hold. Wherefore ſince each of them is mickle wiſer than thou art, we counſel thee for the beſt; that by the example of theſe four Clerks, thou follow them, ſubmitting thee as they did.*

See what man is, God giving him up to himſelf.

And one of the Biſhops Clerks ſaid then there, that he heard *Nicholas Herford* ſay, *That ſince he forſook and revoked all the learning and* Lollards *opinions, he hath had mickle greater favour, and more delight to hold againſt them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them.*

As clean from thrift as from ſin.

And therefore *Malveren* ſaid to me, *I underſtand, and thou wilt take thee to a Prieſt, and ſhrieve thee clean, forſake all ſuch opinions, and take the penance of my Lord here, for the holding and teaching of them; within ſhort time thou ſhalt be greatly comforted in this doing.*

And I ſaid to the Clerks, that thus buſily counſelled me to follow theſe foreſaid men; Sirs, if theſe men, of whom ye counſel me to take example, had forſaken Benefices of temporal profit, and of worldly worſhip, ſo that they had abſented them, and eſchewed from all occaſions of covetouſneſs and of fleſhly luſt, and had taken upon them ſimple living, and wilful poverty; they had herein given good example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now, ſince all theſe four men have ſlanderouſly and ſhamefully done the contrary, conſenting to receive, and to have and to hold temporal Benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleſhly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this World: I forſake them herein, and in all their foreſaid ſlanderous doing. For I purpoſe, with the help of God (into remiſſion of my ſins, and of my foul curſed living) to hate and to flee privily and apertly to follow theſe men, teaching and counſelling whomſoever that I may, to flee and to eſchew the way that they have choſen to go in, which will lead them to the worſt end, (if in convenient time they repent them not) verily forſaking and revoking openly the ſlander that they have put, and every day yet put to Chriſts Church. For certain, ſo open blaſphemy and ſlander as they have ſpoken and done in their revoking and forſaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not privily be amended duly. Wherefore Sirs, I pray you that you buſie not to move me to follow theſe men in revoking and forſaking the truth, ſoothfaſtneſs as they have done, and yet do; wherein by open evidence they ſtir God to great wrath, and not only againſt themſelves, but alſo againſt all them that favour them, or conſent to them herein, or that commune with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas theſe men firſt were purſued of enemies, now they have obliged them by Oath to ſlander and purſue Chriſt in his Members. Wherefore (as I truſt ſtedfaſtly in the goodneſs of God) the worldly covetouſneſs, and the luſty living, and the ſliding from the truth, of theſe runagates, ſhall be to me, and to many other men and women an example and an evidence to ſtand more ſtifly by the truth of Chriſt.

Other mens examples are ſo to be followed, as they be the followers of Chriſt.

KING Hen. 4.

Promotions commonly and great livings choke truth. Men following the ways of *Balaam*.

For certain, right many men and women do mark and abhor the foulneſs and cowardneſs of theſe foreſaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and ſtopped with Benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of Gods Word, forſaking utterly to ſuffer therefore bodily Perſecution. For by this unfaithful doing, and apoſtaſie of them (ſpecially that are great lettered men) and have knowledged openly the truth, and now either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of Tyrants have taken hire and temporal wages to forſake the truth, and to hold againſt it, ſlandering and purſuing them that covet to follow Chriſt in the way of righteouſneſs; many men and women therefore are now moved. But many more, through the grace of God ſhall be moved hereby to learn the truth of God to do thereafter, and to ſtand boldly thereby.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to his Clerks, *Buſie you no longer about him, for he, and other ſuch as he is, are confederate together, that they will not ſwear to be obedient, and to ſubmit them to Prelates of holy Church. For now ſince I ſtood here, his fellow alſo ſent me word that he will not ſwear, and that this fellow counſelled him that he ſhould not ſwear to me. And Loſel, in that thing that in thee is, thou haſt buſied thee to loſe this young man, but bleſſed be God, thou ſhalt not have thy purpoſe of him. For he hath forſaken all thy learning, ſubmitting him to be buxome and obedient to the ordinance of holy Church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curſeth thee full heartily for the venomous teaching which thou haddeſt ſhewed to him, counſelling him to do thereafter.*

Thorps fellow refuſeth to ſwear to the Prelacy.

*And for thy falſe counſelling of many other and him, thou haſt great cauſe to be right ſorry. For long time thou haſt buſied thee to pervert whomſoever thou mighteſt. Therefore as many deaths thou art worthy of, as thou haſt given evil counſels. And therefore,* By Jeſus, *thou ſhalt go thither, where* Nicholas Herford *and* Thomas Purvey *were harboured. And I undertake, ere this day eight days, thou ſhalt be right glad to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And Loſſel, I ſhall aſſay, if I can make thee there as ſorrowful (as it was told me) thou waſt glad at my laſt going out of* England. *By* S. Thomas, *I ſhall turn thy joy into ſorrow.*

*Vide ſupra.* *Arundel* the Arch. going out of England.

And I ſaid, Sir, there can no body prove lawfully that I joyed ever of the manner of your going out of this Land.

The gentleneſs of the Biſhop of *London* to *Thorp.*

But Sir, to ſay the ſooth, I was joyful when ye were gone; for the Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe Priſon ye left me, found in me no cauſe to hold me longer in his Priſon, but at the requeſt of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no manner of ſubmitting.

Then the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Wherefore that I yede out of* England, *is unknown to thee: But be this thing well known to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me again, and brought me into this Land, to deſtroy thee and the falſe Sect that thou art of: as,* By God, *I ſhall purſue you ſo narrowly, that I ſhall not leave a ſlip of you in this land.*

So promiſed *Winchester* in Queen *Maries* time but that paſſed his power to perform.

A notable anſwer of *Thorp* to the Biſhop, promiſing to deſtroy all the Goſpellers.

And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir, the holy Prophet *Jeremy* ſaid to the falſe Prophet *Anany*, *When the word, that is the propheſie of a Prophet, is known or fulfilled; then it ſhall be known, that the Lord ſent the Prophet in truth.*

And the Archbiſhop (as if he had not been pleaſed with my ſaying) turned him awayward hither and thither, and ſaid, *By God, I ſhall ſet upon thy Shins a pair of Pearls, that thou ſhalt be glad to change thy voice.*

Such Pearls would better beſeem, my Lord, your golden Shoes.

Theſe and many more wonders and convicious words were ſpoken to me, menacing me and all other of the ſame Sect to be puniſhed and deſtroyed unto the uttermoſt.

And the Archbiſhop called then to him a Clerk, and rowned with him; and that Clerk went forth, and ſoon he brought in the Conſtable of *Saltwood* Caſtle, and the Archbiſhop rowned a good while with him; and then the Conſtable went forth, and then came in divers Seculars, and they ſcorned me on every ſide, and menaced me greatly, and ſome counſelled the Archbiſhop to burn me by and by, and ſome other counſelled him to drown me in the Sea, for it is near hand there.

*At illi clamabant dicentes: tolle, tolle, crucifige eum.* Luke 23.

And a Clerk ſtanding beſide me, there kneeled down to the Archbiſhop, praying him, that he would deliver me to him to ſay Mattens with him, and he would undertake, that within three days I ſhould not reſiſt any thing that were commanded me to do of my Prelate.

And

KING Hen. 4. And the Archbiſhop ſaid, that he would ordain for me himſelf.

And then after, came again the Conſtable and ſpake privily to the Archbiſhop; and the Archbiſhop commanded the Conſtable to lead me forth thence with him, and ſo he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were ſent after again. And when I came in again before the Archbiſhop; a Clerk bad me kneel down and ask grace, and ſubmit me lowly, and I ſhould find it for the beſt.

Obedience to God and to his law would not

And I ſaid then to the Archbiſhop, Sir, as I have ſaid to you divers times to day, I will wiltully and lowly obey and ſubmit me to be ordained ever, after my cunning and power, to God and to his Law, and to every Member of Holy Church, as far forth as I can perceive that theſe Members accord with their Head Chriſt, and will teach me, rule me, or chaſtiſe me by authority, ſpecially of Gods law.

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, *I wiſt well he would not without ſuch additions ſubmit him.*

And then I was rebuked, ſcorned and menaced on every ſide; and yet after this divers perſons cried upon me to kneel down and ſubmit me; but I ſtood ſtill, and ſpake no word. And then there was ſpoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I ſtood and heard them menace, curſe, and ſcorn me, but I ſaid nothing.

In patience and ſilence keſs your foes

Then a while after the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, *Wilt thou not ſubmit thee to the Ordinance of Holy Church?*

And I ſaid, Sir, I will full gladly ſubmit me, as I have ſhewed you before.

And then the Archbiſhop bad the Conſtable to have me forth thence in haſt.

*Thorp* caſt into priſon. *Thorp* comforted and ſtrengthned of the Lord, after his conflict with the Biſhop.

And ſo then I was led forth, and brought into a foul unhoneſt Priſon, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had ſparred faſt the Priſon door after them; by and by after, I therein by my ſelf, buſied me to think on God, and to thank him for his goodneſs. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not only for that I was then delivered for a time, from the ſight, from the hearing, from the preſence, from the ſcorning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoyced in the Lord, becauſe that through his grace he kept me ſo, both among the flattering ſpecially, and among the menacing of mine adverſaries, that without heavineſs and anguiſh of my Conſcience, I paſſed away from them. For as a Tree laid upon another Tree, overthwart or croſs-wiſe, ſo was the Archbiſhop and his three Clerks always contrary to me, and I to them.

*Now good God for thine holy Name, and to the praiſing of thy moſt bleſſed Name, make us one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy Word, that is true perfect charity) and elſe not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or hear, pray heartily to the Lord God, that he for his great goodneſs, that cannot be with tongue expreſſed, grant to us, and to all other which in the ſame wiſe, and for the ſame cauſe ſpecially, or for any other cauſe be at diſtance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfect charity. Amen.*

Beſides this Examination here above deſcribed, came another Treatiſe alſo to our hands of the ſame *Will. Thorp*, under the Name and Title of his Teſtaments which rather by the matter and handling thereof might ſeem to be counted a complaint of vicious Prieſts; which Treatiſe or Teſtament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

'*Matthew* an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and his Goſpeller, witneſſeth truly in the holy Goſpel, the moſt holy living, and the moſt wholeſome teaching of Chriſt. He rehearſeth how that Chriſt likeneth them that hear his words, and keep them, to a wiſe Man that buildeth his houſe, upon a ſtone, that is, a ſtable and a ſure ground. This houſe is Mans Soul, in whom Chriſt delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, ſtabliſhed faithfully in his living and in his true teaching, adorned or made fair with divers vertues, which Chriſt uſed and taught without any medling of any errour, as are chiefly the conditions of Charity.

Chriſt dwelleth in a faithful ſoul.

Chriſt is the ſtone whereon we muſt build.

'This foreſaid ſtone is Chriſt, upon which every faithful ſoul muſt be builded, ſince upon none other ground, than upon Chriſts living and his teaching, any body may make any building or houſing wherein Chriſt will come and dwell. This ſentence witneſſeth St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, ſhewing to them that no body may ſet any other ground than is ſet, that is Chriſts living and teaching. And becauſe that all men and women ſhould give all their buſineſs here in this life, to build them vertuouſly upon this ſure foundation: St. *Paul*, knowledging the fervent deſire, and the good will of the people of *Epheſy*, wrote to them comfortably, ſaying, *Now ye are not ſtrangers-gueſts, nor yet comelings, but ye are the Citizens, and of the Houſhold of God, builded above upon the foundament of the Apoſtles and Prophets. In which foundament, every building that is builded or made through the grace of God, it increaſeth or groweth into an holy Temple*; that is, every body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and living of Chriſt, is there-through made the holy Temple of God.

How we are made the Temple of God.

'This is the ſtable ground and ſted faſt ſtone Chriſt, which is the ſure corner-ſtone, faſt joyning and holding mightily together two Walls. For through Chriſt Jeſus, mean or middle Perſon of the Trinity, the Father of Heaven is pitious or mercifully joyned and made one together to Mankind. And through dread to offend God, and fervent love to pleaſe him, men be unſeparably made one to God, and defended ſurely under his protection. Alſo this foreſaid ſtone Chriſt was figured by the ſquare ſtones of which the Temple of God was made. For as a ſquare ſtone, whereſoever it is caſt or laid, it abideth and lieth ſtably; ſo Chriſt and every faithful Member of his Church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth ſtably in true faith, and in all other heavenly vertues in all adverſities that they ſuffer in the valley of tears.

Mark what we have by Chriſt.

The property of a ſquare ſtone.

'For lo, when theſe foreſaid ſquare ſtones were hewen and wrought to be laid in the Wall's or Pillars of Gods Temple, no noiſe or ſtroke of the Workman was heard. Certain, this ſilence in working of this ſtone figureth Chriſt chiefly and his faithful Members, which by example of him have been, and yet are, and ever to the worlds end ſhall be ſo meek and patient in every adverſity, that no ſound, nor yet any grudging ſhall any time be perceived in them.

'Nevertheleſs, this chief and moſt worſhipful corner-ſtone, which only is the ground of all vertues, proud beggers reproved; but this deſpite and reproof Chriſt ſuffered moſt meekly in his own Perſon, to give example of all meekneſs and patience to all his faithful followers. Certain, this world is now ſo full of proud beggers, which are named Prieſts; but the very office or working of Prieſthood which Chriſt approveth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of Prieſts that now reign in this world.

Chriſt is an example of all perfect meekneſs.

'For from the higheſt Prieſt to the loweſt, all (as who ſay) ſtudy, that is, they imagine and travel buſily, how they may pleaſe this world and their fleſh. This ſentence and many ſuch other dependeth upon them, if it be well conſidered, either God the Father of Heaven hath deceived all Mankind by the living ſpecially and teaching of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the living and teaching of his Apoſtles and Prophets: or elſe all the Popes that have been ſince I had any knowledge or diſcretion, with all the College of Cardinals, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Monks, Canons and Friers, with all the contagious flock of the commonalty of Prieſthood, which have (all my life time, and mickle longer) reigned and yet reign, and increaſe damnably from ſin into ſin, have been, and yet be proud obſtinate Hereticks, covetous ſimoners, and defouled adulterers in the miniſtring of the Sacraments, and ſpecially in the miniſtring of the Sacrament of the Altar. For as their works ſhew whereto Chriſt biddeth us take heed; the higheſt Prieſts and Prelates of this Prieſthood, challenge and occupy unleful temporal Lordſhips. And for temporal favour and mede, they ſell and give Benefices to unworthy and unable perſons; yea, theſe ſimoners ſell ſin, ſuffering men and women in every degree and eſtate to lie and continue from year to year, in divers vices ſlanderouſly. And thus, by evil example of high Prieſts in the Church, lower Prieſts under them are not only ſuffered, but they are maintained to ſell full dear (to the people for temporal mede) all the Sacraments.

Prieſts ſeek the pleaſure of this World.

Great odds betwixt the life of the Popes, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles

When Prieſts forget Gods truth, ye ſee whither they run headlong. The great infect the ſmall.

'And thus all this foreſaid Prieſthood is blown ſo high, and born up in pride and vain glory of their eſtate and dignity, and ſo blinded with worldly covetouſneſs, that they diſdain to follow Chriſt in very meekneſs and wil-

Fleſhly Prieſts cannot away with thoſe things.

'ful poverty, living holily, and preaching Gods Word truly, freely and continually, taking their livelihood at the free will of the people of their pure alms, where and when they ſuffice not for their true and buſie preaching to get their ſuſtenance with their hands. To this true ſentence groun-

They hunt after this with tooth and nail.

'ded on Chriſts own living, and teaching of his Apoſtles, 'theſe foreſaid worldly and fleſhly Prieſts will not conſent 'effectually. But as their works and alſo their words ſhew, 'boldly and unſhamefaſtly theſe forenamed Prieſts and Pre'lates covet and enforce them mightily and buſily, that all 'holy Scripture were expounded and drawn accordingly to 'their manners, and to their ungrounded uſages and find'ings. For they will not (ſince they hold it but folly and 'madneſs) conform their manners to the pure and ſimple 'living of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, nor will they follow free'ly their learning. Wherefore all the Emperors and Kings,

An exhortation to all degrees, to ſee Prieſthood amended.

'and all other Lords and Ladies, and all the common peo'ple in every degree and ſtate, which have before time 'known, or might have known, and alſo all they that now 'yet know, or might know, this foreſaid witneſs of Prieſthood 'and would not, nor yet will inforce them after their cun'ning and power, to withſtand charitably the foreſaid ene'mies and Traitors of Chriſt, and of his Church: All theſe

Prelates and Prieſts negligent in their duty.

'ſtrive with Antichriſt againſt Jeſus, and they ſhall hear the 'indignation of God Almighty without end, if in conve'nient time they amend them not, and repent them verily, 'doing therefore due mourning and ſorrow, after their cun'ning and power. For through preſumptuouſneſs and negli'gence of Prieſts and Prelates (not of the Church of Chriſt, 'but occupying their Prelacy unduly in the Church) and 'alſo flattering and falſe covetouſneſs of other divers named 'Prieſts; Louſengers and Lounderers are wrongfully made 'and named Hermites, and have leave to defraud poor and 'needy creatures of their livelode, and to live by their falſe 'winning and begging, in ſloth and in other divers vices. 'And alſo of theſe Prelates, theſe coker noſes are ſuffered to 'live in pride and hypocriſie, and to defoul themſelves both 'bodily and ghoſtly. Alſo by the ſuffering and counſel of 'theſe foreſaid Prelates and other Prieſts, are made both vain 'brotherhoods and ſiſterhoods, full of pride and envy, which 'are full contrary to the brotherhood of Chriſt, ſince they 'are cauſe of mickle diſſention, and they multiply and ſuſtain 'it uncharitably; for unjuſtly eating and drinking unmea'ſurably and out of time, they exerciſe themſelves. Alſo 'this vain confederacy of brotherhood is permitted to be of 'one clothing, and to hold together.

'And in all theſe ungrounded and unleful doings, Prieſts 'are partners, and great medlers and counſellers; and over 'this viciouſneſs, hermites and pardoners, ankerers and ſtrange 'beggers, are licenſed and admitted of Prelates and Prieſts; 'to beguile the people with flatterings and leaſings ſlande'rouſly againſt all good reaſon and true belief; and ſo to in'creaſe divers vices in themſelves, and alſo among all them 'that accept them, or conſent to them.

'And thus the viciouſneſs of theſe foreſaid named Prieſts 'and Prelates hath been long time, and yet is; and ſhall be 'cauſe of wars both within the Realm and without. And in 'the ſame wiſe theſe unable Prieſts have been, and yet are, 'and ſhall be chief cauſe of peſtilence of Men, and murren 'of Beaſts, and of barenneſs of the earth, and of all other miſ'chiefs, to the time that Lords and Commons able them 'through grace to know and to keep the commandments 'of God, inforcing them then faithfully and charitably by 'one aſſent, to redreſs and make one this foreſaid Prieſthood, 'to the wilful, poor, meek and innocent living and teaching, 'ſpecially of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

'Therefore all they that know, or might know the vici'ouſneſs that reigneth now curſedly in theſe Prieſts, and in 'their learning, if they ſuffice not to underſtand this conta'gious viciouſneſs: let them pray to the Lord heartily for 'the health of his Church, abſtaining them prudently from 'their indurate enemies of Chriſt and of his people, and 'from all their Sacraments, ſince to them, all that know 'them, or may know them, they are but fleſhly deeds and

*Cypr. t. 9. t. 1. cap. Si quis inquit.*

'falſe; as S. *Cyprian* witneſſeth in the firſt queſtion of decrees, 'and in the firſt cauſe, *Cap. Siquis inquit.* For as this St. and 'great Doctor witneſſeth there, that not only vicious Prieſts, 'but alſo all they that favour them, or conſent to them in 'their viciouſneſs, ſhall together periſh with them, if they 'amend them not duly, as all they periſhed that conſented to '*Dathan* and *Abiram*. For nothing were more confuſion to 'theſe foreſaid vicious Prieſts, than to eſchew them prudently 'in all their unlawful Sacraments, while they continue in their 'ſinful living ſlanderouſly as they have long time done, and 'yet do. And no body needs to be afraid (though death did 'follow by one wiſe or other) to die out of this world with'out taking of any Sacrament of theſe foreſaid Chriſts, ene'mies, ſince Chriſt will not fail to miniſter himſelf all leful 'and healful Sacraments, and neceſſary at all time (and eſpe'cially at the end) to all them that are in true faith, in ſtead'faſt hope, and in perfect charity.

'But yet ſome mad fools ſay (to eſchew ſlander) they will 'be ſhriven once in the year, and communed of their proper 'Prieſts, though they know them defouled with ſlanderous 'vices. No doubt but all they that thus do or conſent, privi'ly or apertly to ſuch doing are culpable of great ſin; ſince 'S. *Paul* witneſſeth, that not only they that do evil are wor'thy of death and damnation, but alſo they that conſent to 'evil doers. Alſo (as their ſlandrous works witneſs) theſe 'foreſaid vicious Prieſts, deſpiſe and caſt from them heavenly 'cunning that is given of the Holy Ghoſt. Wherefore the 'Lord throweth all ſuch deſpiſers from him, that they nei'ther uſe, nor do any Prieſthood to him.

'No doubt then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take 'or conſent that any other body ſhould take any Sacrament 'of any ſuch named Prieſt, ſinneth openly and damnably a'gainſt all the Trinity, and are unable to any Sacrament of 'health.

'And that this foreſaid ſentence is altogether true, into 'remiſſion of all my ſinful living, truſting ſteadfaſtly in the 'mercy of God, I offer to him my ſoul.

'And to prove alſo the foreſaid ſentence true, with the 'help of God, I purpoſe fully to ſuffer meekly and gladly my 'moſt wretched body to be tormented where God will, of 'whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and 'what temporal pain and death he will, to the praiſing of 'his name, and to the edification of his Church.

'And I that am a moſt unworthy and wretched Caitiff 'ſhall now through the ſpecial grace of God, make to him 'pleaſant Sacrifice with my moſt ſinful and unworthy body. 'Beſeeching heartily all folk that read or hear this end of my 'purpoſed teſtament, that through the grace of God they 'diſpoſe verily and vertuouſly all their wits, and able in like 'manner all their members to underſtand truly, and to keep 'faithfully, charitably and continually all the commandments 'of God, and ſo then to pray devoutly to all the Bleſſed 'Trinity, that I may have grace with wiſdom and prudence 'from above, to end my life here in this foreſaid truth, and 'for this cauſe, in true faith and ſtedfaſt hope, and perfect cha'rity. Amen.

The end of *W. Thorp* uncertain.

What was the end of this good man, and bleſſed ſervant of God *William Thorp*, I find as yet in no ſtory ſpecified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the Archbiſhop *Thomas Arundel*, being ſo hard an adverſary againſt thoſe men, would not let him go. Much leſs it is to be ſuppoſed, that he would ever retract his ſentence and opinion, which he ſo valiantly maintained before the Biſhop; neither doth it ſeem that he had any ſuch recanting ſpirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned, wherefore it remaineth moſt like to be true, that he being committed to ſome ſtrait Priſon (according as the Archbiſhop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as *Thorp* confeſſeth himſelf) was ſo ſtraitly kept, that either he was ſecretly made away, or elſe there he died by ſickneſs.

The like end alſo I find to happen to *John Aſhton*, another good follower of *Wickliff*, who for the ſame Doctrine of the Sacrament was condemned by the Biſhops, and becauſe he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual Priſon, wherein the good man continued till his death: *An.* 1382.

## *John Purvey.*

Joh. Purvey.

FUrthermore, in the ſaid Examination of *William Thorp*, mention is made (as ye heard) of *John Purvey*, of whom alſo ſomething we touched before: promiſing of the ſaid *John Purvey* more particularly to intreat in order and proceſs of time. Of this *Purvey*, *Thomas Walden* writeth thus in his ſecond Tome: *John Purvey*, ſaith he, *was the Library of* Lollards, *and Gloſſer upon* Wickliff.

*He*

KING Hen. 4.

*He ſaid that the worſhipping of* Abraham *was but a ſalutation.* And in his third Tome he ſaith, *This* John Purvey, *with* Herford *a Doctor of Divinity, were grievouſly tormented and puniſhed in the Priſon of* Saltwood, *and at the length recanted at* Pauls *Croſs at* London, Thomas Arundel *being then Archbiſhop of* Canterbury. *Afterward again, he was impriſoned under* Henry Chicheley *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *in the year of our Lord* 1421. Thus much writeth *Walden.* The Works of this man which he wrote were gathered by *Richard Lavingham* his adverſary, which I think worthy to be remembred. Firſt, as touching the Sacrament of the laſt Supper, the Sacrament of Penance, the Sacrament of Orders, the power of the Keys, the preaching of the Goſpel, of Marriages, of Vows, of Poſſeſſions, of the puniſhing and correcting of the Clergy, of the Laws and Decrees of the Church, of the ſtate and condition of the Pope and the Clergy; of all theſe generally, he left divers Monuments gravely and exactly written, part whereof here in the end of his ſtory we thought to exhibit, being tranſlated out of *Latine* into *Engliſh.*

*John Purvey* priſoned after his recantation.

The Articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at *Pauls-Croſs*, were theſe hereafter following:

Articles of John Purvey recanted.

1. *That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration, there is not, neither can be any accident without the ſubject; but there verily remaineth the ſame ſubſtance, and the very viſible and corruptible bread, and likewiſe the very ſame Wine the which before the Conſecration were ſet upon the Altar to be conſecrate of the Prieſt; likewiſe as when a Pagan or Infidel is baptiſed, he is ſpiritually converted into a member of Chriſt through grace, and yet remaineth the very ſame man which he before was in his proper nature and ſubſtance.*

2. *Auricular confeſſion, or private Penance, is a certain whiſpering, deſtroying the liberty of the Goſpel, and newly brought in by the Pope and the Clergy, to intangle the conſciences of men in ſin, and to draw their ſouls into Hell.*

He ſpeaketh of Prieſts here and not of publick Miniſters appointed in the Church.

3. *Every lay man being holy and predeſtinate unto everlaſting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true Prieſt before God.*

4. *That divers Prelates and other of the Clergy do live wickedly, contrary to the Doctrine and Example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Therefore they which ſo live, have not the Keys either of the Kingdom of Heaven, or yet of Hell; neither ought any Chriſtian to eſteem his cenſure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the Pope ſhould peradventure, interdict the Realm, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, forſomuch as thereby we ſhould be diſmiſſed from the obſervation of his laws, and from ſaying of ſervice according to the cuſtom of the Church.*

5. *If any man do make an Oath or Vow, to keep perpetual chaſtity, or do any thing elſe whereunto God hath not appointed him, giving him grace to perform his purpoſe; the ſame Vow or Oath is unreaſonable and indiſcreet, neither can any Prelate compel him to keep the ſame, except he will do contrary unto Gods ordinance. But he ought to commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghoſt and of his own conſcience; forſomuch as every Man, which will not fulfil his Vow or Oath, cannot do it for that cauſe.*

The charge of Prieſts.

6. *Whoſoever taketh upon him the office of Prieſthood, although he have not the charge of ſouls committed unto him, according to the cuſtom of the Church, not only may, but ought to preach the Goſpel freely unto the people; otherwiſe he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.*

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

7. *That* Innocentius *the third Pope, and ſix hundred Biſhops, and a thouſand other Prelates, with all the reſt of the Clergy, which together with the ſame Pope agreed and determined, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the converſion of the bread and wine into the body and blod of Chriſt, the accidents of the ſaid bread and wine do remain there without any proper ſubject of the ſame; the which alſo ordained, that all Chriſtians ought to confeſs their ſins once a year unto a proper Prieſt, and to receive the reverend Sacrament at* Eaſter, *and made certain other laws at the ſame time: All they,* ſaith he, *in ſo doing, were fools and blockheads, hereticks, blaſphemers, and ſeducers of Chriſtian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determinations of them, or of their ſucceſſors, neither ought we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the holy Scripture, or upon ſome reaſon which cannot be impugned.*

## *Other Articles drawn out of* Purvey's *Books more at large by* Richard Levingham.

Articles out of *Purvey's* Books collected by *R. Lavingham.*

AS touching the Sacrament of thanſgiving, he ſaith, That that Chapter of repentance and remiſſion, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, wherein it is ordained, *That every faithful man ought once every year at the leaſt, that is to ſay at* Eaſter, *to receive the Sacrament of the Euchariſt*, is a beaſtly thing, heretical and blaſphemous.

*Item*, That *Innocentius* the third Pope, was the head of Antichriſt, who after the letting looſe of Satan, invented a new Article of our Faith, and a certain feigned verity touching the Sacrament of the Altar, that is to ſay, that the Sacrament of the Altar is an accident without a ſubſtance, or elſe an heap of accidents without a ſubſtance. But Chriſt and his Apoſtles do teach manifeſtly, that the Sacrament of the Altar is bread and the body of Chriſt together, after the manner that he ſpake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to underſtand, as they ought with reaſon, *that it is very and ſubſtantial bread, and no falſe nor feigned bread.*

The Sacrament of the *Popiſh* Altar.

And although *Innocentius*, that Antichriſt, doth alledge, that in the Council at *Lions*, where this matter was decided, were ſix hundred Biſhops with him and one thouſand Prelates, which were in one opinion of this determination; All thoſe notwithſtanding, he calleth Fools, according to that ſaying of *Eccleſ.* 1. *Of fools there are an infinite number.* And ſo in like manner he calleth them falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh in the 24*th* of *Matthew*, *Many falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe, and deceive many.* And therefore every Chriſtian man ought to believe firmly, that the Sacrament of the Altar is very bread indeed, and no falſe nor feigned bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithſtanding, it is the very body of Chriſt in that ſort he ſpake, and called it his body; and ſo it is very bread, and the very body of Chriſt. And as Chriſt concerning his humanity was both viſible and paſſible, and by his Divinity was inviſible and impaſſible: ſo likewiſe this Sacrament in that it is very bread, may be ſeen with the corporal eye, and may alſo abide corruption. But although a man may ſee that Sacrament, yet notwithſtanding cannot the body of Chriſt in that Sacrament be ſeen with the corporal eye, although it be the body of Chriſt in that manner he ſpake it; for that notwithſtanding, the body of Chriſt is now incorruptible in Heaven. So the Sacrament of the Cup is very wine, and the very bloud of Chriſt, according as his manner of ſpeaking was. Alſo *Innocentius* the third, with a great multitude of his ſecular Prieſts, made a certain new determination, *That the Sacrament of the Altar is an accident without a ſubſtance*, whereas neither Jeſus Chriſt, nor any of his Apoſtles taught this Faith (but openly and manifeſtly to the contrary) neither yet the holy Doctors, for the ſpace of a thouſand years and more, taught this Faith openly.

Pope *Innocentius* head of Antichriſt.

The Sacrament in ſubſtance bread in ſignification the body of Chriſt.

Tranſubſtantiation not openly taught 1000 years after Chriſt.

Therefore when Antichriſt or any of his ſhavelings doth ask of thee that art a ſimple Chriſtian, Whether that this Sacrament be the very body of Chriſt or not? affirm thou it manifeſtly ſo to be. And if he ask of thee whether it be material bread, or what other bread elſe? ſay thou, that it is ſuch bread as Chriſt underſtood and meant by his proper word; and ſuch bread as the Holy Ghoſt meant in S. *Paul*, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; and wade thou no further therein. If he ask thee how this bread is the body of Chriſt? ſay thou, as Chriſt underſtood the ſame to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; ſay thou alſo as the holy Doctors do ſay, *That the terreſtrial matter or ſubſtance may be converted into Chriſt, as the Pagan or Infidel may be baptiſed, and hereby ſpiritually be converted, and be a member of Chriſt, and ſo after a certain manner become Chriſt, and yet the ſame man remain ſtill in his proper nature.* For ſo doth Saint *Auguſtine* grant, that a ſinner forſaking his ſin, and being made one Spirit with

The Sacrament both bread, and the body in divers reſpects.

with God by faith, grace and charity, may be converted into God, and be after a manner God; as both *David* and Saint *John* do teſtifie, and yet be the ſame perſon in ſubſtance and nature, and in ſoul and vertue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reaſon may more plainly convince the falſity of Antichriſt both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghoſt working in them. Notwithſtanding, if thoſe that be ſimple men will humbly hold and keep the manifeſt and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plain ſenſe and meaning of the holy Ghoſt, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which paſſeth their underſtanding; then may they ſafely offer themſelves to death, as true Martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt.

Auricular confeſſion and penance.

As touching the Sacrament of Penance; that Chapter *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, by which a certain new-found Auricular Confeſſion was ordained, is full of hypocriſie, hereſie, covetouſneſs, pride, and blaſphemy, he ſaith, and reproveth the ſame Chapter *verbatim*, and that by the ſentences of the ſame proceſs. Alſo, that the Penance and pains limited by the Canons be unreaſonable and unjuſt, for the auſterity and rigorouſneſs which they contain, more than are taxed by Gods law. He alſo doth exemplifie, of the ſolemn and publick denial of penitents to be received into Orders, according to the Decree of the General Council, *Diſt.* 50. *cap. Ex pœnitentibus.* Alſo of the ſeven-fold penitence of a Prieſt committing fornication, according to the Chapter, *Presbyter, Diſt.* 82. And further ſheweth another example of the penitence of Prieſts, according to that Chap. *Qui presbyterium, &c.* Whereas the Decretal of the General Council ſaith, *That ſuch a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry.* And how *Innocent* the 3d. brought in a new-found confeſſion, whereby the Prieſts do oppreſs the ſimple Lay men. And that many other things they do, compelling them to confeſs themſelves to blind and ignorant Prieſts, in whom is nothing elſe but pride and covetouſneſs, having ſuch in contempt as are learned and wiſe. Alſo that the Decretal of *Innocentius* the third, touching the foreſaid auricular or vocal confeſſion, was brought in and invented to intricate and intangle mens conſciences with ſin, and to draw them down to Hell. And furthermore, that ſuch manner of confeſſion deſtroyeth the Evangelical liberty, and doth lett men to enquire after, and to retain the wiſe counſel and Doctrine of ſuch as be good Prieſts, which know faithfully how to obſerve his precepts and commandments, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to Heaven. For which abuſe all Chriſtian men, and ſpecially all *Engliſhmen* ought to exclaim againſt ſuch wicked laws.

The order of Prieſthood.

As touching the Sacrament of Order, he ſaith, *That all good Chriſtians are predeſtinate, and be ordained of God, and made true Prieſts to offer Chriſt in themſelves, and to Chriſt themſelves; as alſo to teach and preach the Goſpel to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of living.* But the worldly ſhavelings do more magnifie the naked and bare ſigns of Prieſthood (invented by ſinful men) than the true and perfect Prieſthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Alſo, if it were needful to have ſuch ſhavelings, God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaſeth him, Prieſts (without mans working and ſinful ſigns, that is to ſay, without either Sacraments or Characters) to be known and diſcerned of the people by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For ſo made he the firſt-made Prieſts and Elders before the law of *Moſes*; and ſo made he *Moſes* a Prieſt before *Aaron*, and before the ceremonies of the Law, without Mans operation at all; and even ſo hath God made all ſuch as are predeſtinate, to be his Prieſts. But ſuch as be true Chriſtians receive none ſuch as Prieſts, unleſs they follow Chriſt and his Apoſtles: neither do they believe that they make the Sacrament of the Altar (which they affirm to be Gods body) when it pleaſeth them, leſt happily God be not with them, foraſmuch as they do this thing for covetouſneſs ſake, or elſe to brag of their own power. And therefore ſuch as be ſimple men will worſhip that Sacrament in this doubtfulneſs, with a ſilent condition; that is, if it be made by *Gods* authority, and have their devotion to the body of Chriſt in Heaven. Alſo, that ſuch as be Elders, if they be Gods Prieſts, be Biſhops, Prelates and Curates of their Chriſtian brethren, whom they may lead to Heaven by the

He meaneth of private preaching to their neighbours.

True Miniſters may be made without ſhaving.

Prieſts here have a private, not a publick underſtanding.

example of their holy converſation, and by preaching of the Goſpel, although they make no Sacrifice to that Antichriſt of *Rome* for their confirmation; neither be they dedicated to the world by ſecular divine things, and by conſuming the livings of the poor, as be thoſe ſecular Biſhops, Prelates and Curates. Alſo, that although there were no Pope, according as the cuſtom of the Church is, yet Chriſt, which is the Head of his Church, doth ordain ſuch a Pope as pleaſeth him; and that is, whoſoever is moſt humble and lowly, and beſt doth the office of a true Prieſt, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no ſuch proud Biſhop above all the reſt, as the Church doth uſe, yet all the Prieſts might well govern the Church by common aſſent, as once they did, before ſuch worldly pride crept in amongſt the Biſhops, *&c.* And admit that no ſuch Prieſts were according to the accuſtomed uſe now of receiving of order and tonſure, by ſuch a Mitred Biſhop and his tonſure, yet Chriſt knoweth both how to make and chuſe ſuch as ſhall well pleaſe him both in converſation of life, and ſincere preaching of the Goſpel, in miniſtring to his people all neceſſary Sacraments. And every holy Man which is a Miniſter of Chriſt, although he be not ſhaven, is a true Prieſt ordained of God, although no Mitred Biſhop ever lay his Character upon him. So that the Pope and Prelates do make more eſtimation of their Characters (as tonſures and crowns by them invented) than of the true and perfect Prieſthood ordained of God; whereas all thoſe that are predeſtinate are true Prieſts made of him.

{KING Hen. 4.}

What if there were no Pope known? yet the Church could ſtand.

The Popes cenſures like the blaſt of a Serpent, or the blaſt of *Lucifer*.

As touching the authority of the Keys and Cenſures, no Chriſtian Man ought to eſteem Satan (whom Men call the Pope) and his unjuſt cenſures, more than the hiſſing of a Serpent, or the blaſt of *Lucifer*. Alſo, that no Man ought to truſt or put confidence in the falſe Indulgences of covetous Prieſts, which Indulgences do draw away the hope, which men ought to repoſe in God, to a ſort of ſinful men, and do rob the poor of ſuch alms as is given to them. Such Prieſts be manifeſt betrayers of Chriſt and of the whole Church, and be Satans own ſtewards to beguil Chriſtian ſouls by their hypocriſie and feigned Pardons. Alſo, foraſmuch as thoſe Prelates and Clergymen lived ſo execrable a life, contrary to the Goſpel of Chriſt and examples of his Apoſtles, and teach not truly the Goſpel, but only lies and the Traditions of ſinful wicked men; it appeareth moſt manifeſtly, that they have not the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather the keys of Hell. And they may be right well aſſured, that God never gave unto them authority to make and eſtabliſh ſo many Ceremonies and Traditions which be contrary to the liberty of the Goſpel, and are blocks in Chriſtian mens ways, that they can neither know nor obſerve the ſame his Goſpel in liberty of Conſcience, and ſo attain a ready way to Heaven.

Popiſh Prieſts have not the Keys of Heaven, but rather of Hell.

Alſo, That all manner of Religious Men, notwithſtanding the Chapter *Religioſi*, touching the priviledges in the *Clementines*, may lawfully miniſter all Sacraments to them that are worthy the ſame; foraſmuch as the ſame is a work of charity, which only the Will and Ordinance of the Pope in his ſautors in this caſe is to hinder and lett. *Item*, If the Pope ſhall interdict this our Realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, becauſe that thereby he ſhould ſeparate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of ſuſtaining of ſo many thouſand ſhavelings, which with ſmall devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found Song, *Secundum uſum Sarum*. So that not whatſoever the Pope in his General Council bindeth on Earth, is bound of God in Heaven, either for that he bindeth unreaſonably, and contradictorily doth againſt himſelf, or elſe for that he hath forſaken the judgment of God.

The Popes Curſe hurteth not, but profiteth.

As touching the preaching of the Goſpel, *Whoſoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a Prieſt, or of a Biſhop, and diſchargeth not the ſame by the example of his good converſation and faithful preaching of the Goſpel, is a thief, excommunicate of God and of holy Church.* And further, *If the Curates preach not the Word of God, they ſhall be damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to reſign their Benefices.* So that thoſe Prelates which preach not the Goſpel of Chriſt (although they could excuſe themſelves from the doing of any other evil) are dead in themſelves, are Antichriſts and Satans, tranſfigured into Angels of Light, night Thieves, Manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Chriſt his people.

Con-

KING *Hen.* 4.

Goſſoprie not ſufficient cauſe to reſtrain Matrimony.

Concerning the Sacrament of Matrimony: Notwithſtanding any ſpiritual kindred or Goſſoprie, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the Law of God, without any diſpenſation Papiſtical. And in the ſame place he ſaith, That if our Realm do admit one not born in Matrimony, or illegitimate, to the Imperial Crown, ſo that he doth well diſcharge the office of a King, God maketh him a King, and by conſequence doth reject another King or heir of the Kingdom, being born in Matrimony and legitimate; ſo for ſuch ſpiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Alſo notwithſtanding the *Cap. Si inter de ſponſalibus:* If any man ſhall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tenſe, by an oath taken, and afterwards ſhall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the preſent tenſe; that then the ſecond contract ſtandeth. Alſo if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tenſe, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal copulation upon the ſame, the firſt contract maketh the Matrimony good, and not the ſecond. Alſo if a man before witneſs aſſure himſelf to a woman by a contract made in the preſent tenſe, and hath children by the ſame woman, and afterward the ſame man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the preſent tenſe before witneſs, although the firſt witneſſes be dead, or elſe by bribes corrupt, and the ſecond bring his witneſſes before the Judg to prove the ſecond contract, the firſt contract yet ſtandeth in force, although the Pope (allowing the ſecond contract) doth compel them to live in adultery againſt the Commandment of God. Alſo he condemneth the Decretal of the reſtitution of things ſtollen, *Cap. Literas tuas*; which willeth that a man and woman having carnal copulation in the degree of conſanguinity forbidden, and hath no witneſs hereof; if the woman will depart from the man, ſhe ſhall be compelled by the cenſures to remain with him, and to yield her debt. Alſo in caſe where a man hath made contract with two women, with one ſecretly having no witneſs, and with the other openly having witneſs, then were it better to acknowledg the inſufficiency of the Law, and to ſuffer men to be ruled by their own Conſciences, than by the Cenſures to compel them to commit and live in adultery.

The firſt Marriage lawfully before witneſs made ſtandeth.

Keeping and making Vows.

As touching the keeping and making of Vows: that Vow or Oath is beaſtly, and is without all diſcretion made, which to perform and keep a man hath no power but by grace given him of God; becauſe that ſome ſuch there be, whom God doth not accept to perſevere in the ſtate of chaſtity and perpetual virginity; and ſuch a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the ſame. Alſo that every one making a vow of continency or chaſtity, when making the ſame he ſhall not be accepted of God, doth very undiſcreetly, and as one without all reaſon maketh the ſame, when he is not able of himſelf, without the gift of God to fulfil his promiſe, according to that ſaying of the wiſe man, *Chap. 8. No man hath the gift of continency, unleſs that God give it unto him.* For otherwiſe if God help not ſuch a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no Prelate can compel him, unleſs he do contrary to Gods ordinance; but he ought to commit himſelf to the Government of Gods holy Spirit, and his own Conſcience.

Poſſeſſions of the Church.

For the poſſeſſions of the Church, In another Treatiſe it is declared, how the King, the Lords, and Commons, may without any charge at all keep fifteen Garriſons, and find 15000 Soulditers (having ſufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the Temporalties gotten into the hands of the Clergy, and fained Religious men, which never do that which pertaineth to the office of Curates to do, nor yet to ſecular Lords. And moreover the King may have every year 20000 pound to come freely into his Coffers, and above. Alſo he may find or ſuſtain fifteen Colledges more, and 15000 Prieſts and Clerks with ſufficient living, and an hundred Hoſpitals for the ſick, and every houſe to have one hundred Marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foreſaid Temporalties, without any charge to the Realm; whereunto the King, the Lords, and the Commons are to be invited. For otherwiſe there ſeemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this Realm, unleſs the ſame be put in execution. Alſo, if the Secular Prieſts and fained religious, which be Simoniacks and Hereticks, which fain themſelves to ſay Maſs, and yet ſay none at all, according to the Canons, which to their purpoſe they bring and alledg, 1. *q.* 3. *Audivimus*, & *Cap. Pudenda*, & *Cap. Schiſma*; by which Chapter ſuch Prieſts and religious do not make the Sacrament of the Altar, that then all Chriſtians, eſpecially all the Founders of ſuch Abbies, and Endowers of Biſhopricks, Priories and Chanteries, ought to amend this fault and treaſon committed againſt their Predeceſſors, by taking from them ſuch ſecular Dominions which are the maintenance of all their ſins. And alſo that Chriſtian Lords and Princes are bound to take away from the Clergy ſuch ſecular Dominion as nouſleth and nouriſheth them in Hereſies, and ought to reduce them unto the ſimple and poor life of Chriſt Jeſus and his Apoſtles.

1. *q.* 3. 24. *q.* 1. *Cap. Pudenda.*

Belly-cheer of ill diſpoſed Prelates and of Monaſteries, not to be nouriſhed with temporalties and Appropriations.

And further, that all Chriſtian Princes (if they will amend the malediction and blaſphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their Temporalties from that ſhaven generation, which moſt of all doth nouriſh them in ſuch malediction. And ſo in like wiſe the fat Tythes from Churches appropriate to rich Monks, and other religious, fained by manifeſt lying, and other unlawful means; likewiſe ought to debar their gold to the proud Prieſt of *Rome*, which doth poyſon all Chriſtendom with ſimony and hereſie. Further, that it is a great abomination that Biſhops, Monks, and other Prelates, be ſo great Lords in this world, whereas Chriſt with his Apoſtles and Diſciples never took upon them ſecular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them Churches, as theſe men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good teſtimony of their Prieſthood. And therefore all Chriſtians ought to the uttermoſt of their power and ſtrength to ſwear that they will reduce ſuch ſhavelings to the humility and power of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and whoſoever doth not thus, conſenteth to their hereſie. Alſo that theſe two Chapters of the immunity of Churches are to be condemned, that is, *Cap. Non minus*, and *Cap. Adverſus*; becauſe they do decree, that Temporal Lords may neither require Tallages nor Tenths of any Eccleſiaſtical perſons.

Correction of the Clergy.

Now to the correction of the Clergy. By the Law of God, and by reaſon the King and all other Chriſtians may take revenge of *Italy*, and of all the falſe Prieſts and Clerks within the ſame, and reduce them unto the humble Ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt. Alſo that the Law of *Silveſter* the Pope, which is declared in 2. *q.* 5. *Cap. Præſul*, and *Cap. Nullam*, is contrary to the Law of Chriſt, and either Teſtament. And that proud and ambitious *Silveſter* by his Law ſo defended two Cardinals which were not to be defended by the Law of Chriſt, that by no means they might be convinced; although they were both vicious and evil. And although Chriſt ſuſtained and ſuffered the judgment of unjuſt temporal Judges; our Mitred Prelates in theſe days ſo magnifie themſelves beyond Chriſt and his Apoſtles, that they refuſe and will none of ſuch judgments. Alſo that thoſe Decretals of accuſations, *Cap. Quando & Qualiter*; which do prohibit that any Clerks ſhould be brought before a ſecular Judge to receive judgment, do contain both hereſie, blaſphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to Antichriſts coffers.

2. *q.* 5. *Præſul. Ibid. Nullam.*

Furthermore that all Chriſtian Kings and Lords ought to exclaim againſt the Pope, and thoſe that be his fautors, and baniſh them out of their lands, till ſuch time as they will obey God and his Goſpel, Kings, and other Miniſters of Gods juſtice. Alſo that Biſhops and their favourers, that ſay it appertaineth not to Kings and ſecular Lords (but unto them and their Officials) to puniſh adultery and fornication, do fall into manifeſt treaſon againſt the King, and hereſie againſt the Scripture. Alſo that it appertaineth to the King to have the Order both of Prieſts and Biſhops, as theſe Kings *Solomon* and *Joſaphat* had.

Puniſhing of adultery belongeth to ſecular Magiſtrates rather than to Prelates.

Furthermore that Chapter, *Nullus judicium de foro competenti*, by the which ſecular Judges are forbidden, without the Biſhops commandment, to condemn any Clerk to death, is manifeſtly againſt the holy Scripture, declaring that Kings have power over Clerks and Prieſts to puniſh them for their deſerved crimes. Alſo that the Decree of *Boniface de pœnis in 6. cap. Felicis*, made againſt the proſecutors, ſtrikers, and impriſoners of Cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reaſon. Alſo that by the law of God and reaſon, a ſecular Lord may lawfully take a Cardinal and put him in priſon for committing the

the crime of open ſimony, adultery, and manifeſt blaſphemy. Alſo that the Chapter *Si Papa, Diſt.*40. which ſaith that the Pope ought to be judged of none, unleſs he be *Devius a fide*, is contrary to the Goſpel, which ſaith, If thy brother ſin againſt thee, correct him. Alſo whereas St. *Gregory* and St. *Auguſtine* called themſelves the ſervants of Gods ſervants, this proud Biſhop of *Rome*, which will not be judged by his ſubjects (which be in very deed his Lords, if they be juſt and good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods law, and all humility, and doth extoll himſelf above God and his Apoſtles. Alſo that Chriſtian Kings ought not only to judge this proud Biſhop of *Rome*, but alſo to depoſe him by the example that *Ceſtrenſis*, *Lib. 6. Cap.* 8. declareth of *Otho* the Emperor, which depoſed *John* the twelfth, and did inſtitute *Leo* in his place. And further he maketh an exhortation to the Princes to judge the Church of *Rome*, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrumpet, of whom St. *John* writeth in *Revel.* 17.

Good Kings ought to depoſe wicked Popes.

Laſtly, touching the Laws and determinations of the Church; Chriſtians have reaſonable excuſes and cauſes to repell the ſtatutes of the Pope and of his ſhavelings, which be not expreſly grounded on the holy Scripture, or elſe upon reaſon inevitable. Alſo he ſaith, that that law which is ſet forth of conſecration, *Diſtinctione 2. cap. Seculares, & cap. Omnis homo, & cap. Et ſi non frequentius. & cap. In cœna Domini:* That ſuch ſecular men as do not receive the Sacrament of the Altar at *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*, are not to be counted amongſt the number of Chriſtians, nor are to be eſteemed as Chriſtians; whereby it followeth that all Clerks and Laymen that obſerve not the ſame, it ſeemeth they go ſtraight to Hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the cuſtom and uſe in receiving is contrary to the ſame; then may we bleſs ſuch rebellion and diſobedience to the Pope, and his law; for otherwiſe we ſhould flee to Hell without any ſtay or let. Whereby we may conclude, that all Chriſtians ought well to practiſe this School of diſobedience againſt the Pope and all his laws (not founded upon the Scripture) which do let men to climb to Heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the Goſpel. Alſo that Chriſtian men have great cauſe to refuſe the laws and ſtatutes of theſe worldly Clerks, which the people call the Papal laws, and Biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the covetouſneſs and voluptuouſneſs of them; without the which the Church and congregation of God might ſafely run towards Heaven by the ſweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thouſand years before the ſaid laws were preſcribed and ſent to the Univerſities, and withdrew men from ſtudying of the holy Scripture, for the deſire of Benefices and worldly goods. Alſo that ſimple men do reverently receive the ſentences of the Doctors and other laws, ſo far forth as they be expreſsly grounded upon the holy Scripture or good reaſon. Alſo that whereas the Popes laws, and laws of his Miniſters and Clerks be both contrary to themſelves, and have not their foundation either upon the Scripture, or yet upon reaſon, ſimple men ought to bid them farewell. Alſo that when all the Apoſtles faith failed them in the time of the Lords Paſſion, faith then reſted in the Bleſſed Virgin; much more might that proud Prieſt of *Rome* with all his rabble, eaſily err in the faith; and yet is the Chriſtian faith preſerved whole and ſafe in the faithful members of Chriſt, which are his true Church; but the Pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his Church. Alſo that the Pope with all his fautors may as well be deceived by a lying ſpirit, as was *Achab* and all his Prophets; and that one true Prophet, as was *Michear*, may have the verity ſhewed unto him, *contra Concilium.* Alſo that all good Chriſtians ought to caſt from them the Popes laws, ſaying, Let us break their bands in ſunder, and let us caſt from our necks thoſe heavy yokes of theirs. Alſo that where theſe Prelates do burn one good Book for one error perhaps contained in the ſame, they ought to burn all the Books of the Canon-Law, for the manifold Hereſies contained in them.

*De conſecratione, id eſt* 2 *cap. Seculares.*

The Popes Laws contrary to themſelves.

The Pope and his Cardinals no part of the true Church.

The Canon Law full of hereſie.

¶ And thus much out of a certain old written Book in Parchment, borrowed once of *J.B.* which Book containing divers ancient Records of the Univerſity, ſeemeth to belong ſometime to the Library of the Univerſity, bearing the year of the compiling thereof, 1396. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him, ere that he recanted before *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, at *Saltwood*, where he was impriſoned. Whereunto I thought good to annex a certain godly and moſt fruitful Sermon of like antiquity, preached at *Pauls-Croſs* much about the ſame time, which was in the year of our Lord 1388, by a certain learned Clerk, as I find in an old Monument, named *R. Wimbeldon.* Albeit among the ancient Regiſters and Records belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I have an old worn Copy of the ſaid Sermon, written in very old *Engliſh*, and almoſt half conſumed with age, purporting the ſaid Author hereof, bearing alſo the foreſaid name. The true copy of which Sermon, in his own ſpeech wherein it was firſt ſpoken, and preached at the Croſs on the Sunday of *Quinquageſima*, and after exhibited to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (being then as it ſeemeth *William Courtney*) here followeth.

{KING Hen. 4.

## *A Sermon no leſs godly than learned, preached at* Pauls-Croſs *on the Sunday of* Quinquageſima, *Anno* 1389, *by* R. Wimbeldon.

*Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.* Lucæ xvi.

*Matth.* 20. The Sermon of R. Wimbeldon.

MY dere Frends, yee ſhullen underſtand that Chriſt Autor and Doctor of Truth, in his Book of the Goſpel (likening the Kingdom of Heaven to an Houſholder) ſaith on this manner: *Like as the Kingdom of Heaven to an houſholding man, that went out firſt on the morrow to hire workmen into his Vine. Alſo about the third, ſixth, ninth, and eleventh hours he went out, and found men ſtanding idle, and ſaid to them, Go ye into my Vineyard, and that right is, I will give you. When the day was agoo, he cleped his ſteward, and bigh to give each man a peny.*

The calling of God is divers.

'The ſpiritual underſtanding of this houſholder is our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that is head of the houſhold of holy Church. And thus clepeth men in diverſe hours of the day, that is in diverce agees of the world. As in time of law of kind, he cleped by enſpiring *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Noe*, and *Abraham*. In time of the old Law, *Moſes*, *David*, *Iſay*, and *Jeremy*: and in time of Grace, Apoſtles Martyrs, and Confeſſors, and Virgins. Alſo he cleped men in divers agees, ſome on childhode, as *John Baptiſt*; ſome on ſtate of wexing, as *John* the Evangeliſt; ſome in ſtate of manhode, as *Peter* and *Andrew*; and ſome in old agee, as *Gamaliel*, and *Joſeph* of *Arimathie*; and all theſe he clepeth to travaile in his vine, that is the Church, and that in divers manner. For right as yee ſeeth, that in tilling of the material vine there ben divers labours, for ſome kutten away the voide branches, ſome maken forkis and nailes to beren up the vine, and ſome diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben ſo neceſſary to the vine, that if any of them fail, it ſhall harm greatly, other deſtroy the vine. For but if the vine be kut, ſhe ſhall wax wild; but if ſhe be railed, ſhe ſhall be overgo with nettles and wedis; but if the rote be fatted with dong, ſhe for febleneſs ſhuld wax barraine.

'Right ſo in the Church beth nedeful theſe three offices, Prieſthode, Knythode, and Laborers. To Prieſts it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of ſins with the ſwerd of her tong. To Knigthode it falleth to letten wrongs and theſts to be done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers thereof, and alſo to kepe the lond from enemies of other londs. And to Laborers it falleth to travaile bodelich, and with their ſwete, geten out of the earth bodilich lifelode for hem, and other parties. And theſe ſtates beth alſo nedeful to the Church, that none may well ben without other: for if Prieſthode lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods law, ſhould wax wild in vices, and deyen ghoſtly; and if the Knithode laked, and men to rulen the pople by law and hardineſs, theeves and enemies ſhulden ſo encres, that no man ſhuld live in peace. And if the labourers were nought, both Knights and Prieſts muſt become acte men and herdis, and elſe they ſhuld for default of bodily ſuſtenance dey. And therefore ſaith Clerk *Auicenne*, that every unreaſonable beaſt, if he have that that kind hath ordained for him, as kind hath ordained, he is ſuffiſance to live by himſelf, without any help of other of the ſame kind.

KING Hen. 2.

kind. As if there were but one horſe, other one ſhepe in the world, yet if he had graſſe and corne, as kind hath ordained for ſuch beaſts, he ſhuld live well now. But if there ne were but O man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet for default he ſhuld dey, or his life ſhould be wors than if he were naught; and the cauſe is this, for that thing that kind ordaineth for a mans ſuſtenance, without other arraieng than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man have corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meat according to him, untill it be by mans craft changed into bread: and though he have fleſh other fiſh, yet while it is raw, as kind ordained it, till it bee by mans travaile ſodden, roſted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right ſo, wolle that the ſheepe beareth, mot by mans divers craftis and travailes be changed or it bee able to cloth any man; and certis O man, by himſelf ſhuld never doe all theſe labours. And therefore, ſaith this Clerke, It is need that ſome beemere men, ſome bakers, ſome makers of cloth, and ſome merchaints to fetch that, that one lond fetcheth from another there it is plenty.

And certis this ſhould bee a cauſe why every ſtate ſhould love other. And men of a craft ſhould not deſpiſe ne hate men of none other craft, ſith they bee ſo nedeful everich to other. And oft thelke crafts that been moſt unhoneſt, might worſt been forebore: and O thing I dare well ſay, that he that is neither travailling in this world, on ſtudying, on prayers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to Prieſts, neither ruling the people, maiſtaining ne defending fro enemies, as it falleth to knights, neither travelling on the earth, in divers crafts, as it falleth to labourers: When the day of rekening cometh, that is, the end of this life, right as hee lived here withouten travaile, ſo hee ſhall there lacke the reward of the peny, that is, the endleſs joy of Heaven. And as hee was here living after none ſtate ne order, ſo he ſhall bee put then in that place that no order is in, but everlaſting horror and ſorrow, that is, in Hell. Herefore, everich man ſee to what ſtate God hath cleped him, and dwell hee therein by travaile, according to his degree. Thou that art a labourer or a crafty man, doe this truly. If thou art a ſervant or a bondman, be ſuget, and low in drede of diſpleaſing of thy Lord. If thou art a merchaunt deceive not thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a Knight, or a Lord, defend the poor man and needy fro hands that will harme them. If thou art a Juſtice or Judge, goe not on the right hand by favour, neither on the left hand, to puniſh any man for hate. If thou art a Prieſt, undermine, pray, and reprieve, in all manner patience and doctrine. Undermine thilke that been negligent, pray for thilke that been obedient, reprove tho that been unobedient to God. So every man travaile in his degree. For when the even is come, that is, the end of this world, then every man ſhall take reward, good or evil, after that he hath travailed here.

2 Cor. 9. 1 Pet. 2. 1 Theſſ. 4. Prov. 8. 2 Tim. 4.

The words that I have taken to make of my Sermon, be thus much to ſay: Yeld reckoning of thy baily. Chriſt autor of pitie, and lover of the ſalvation of his people, in the proceſs of this Goſpel, enformeth every man what is his baily, by manner of a Parable of a baily that he ſpeaketh of, to array him to anſwer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of ſtrait reckoning ſhall bee come, that is, the day of doom. And ſo I at this time, through the helpe of God, following him that is ſo great a maſter of authority, becauſe that I know nothing that ſhould more draw away mans unreaſonable love fro the paſſing joy of this world, than the minde of the dredful reckoning; as much as ſuffice, I ſhall ſhew you how yee ſhall diſpoſe you to avoid the vengeance of God, when there ſhall bee time of ſo ſtraight doom, that we ſhall geve reckoning of every idle word that we have ſpoken. For then it ſhall be ſaid to us, and we ſhall not flee it: Yeld reckoning of thy baily.

But for further proceſſe of this firſt party of this Sermon ye ſhall wete; that there ſhall bee three bailiffes that ſhall bee cleped to this ſtrait reckoning. Twaine to anſwer for themſelfe and for other, that been Prieſts that have cure of mens ſoules, and temporal men that have governaile of people; and the third bailiffe ſhall account onely for himſelfe, and that is every Chriſten man, of that hee hath received of God. And every of theſe ſhall anſwer to three queſtions.

Three Queſtions. The firſt, Second, Third.

To the firſt queſtion, How haſt thou entred? The ſecond, How haſt thou ruled? And to the third, How haſt thou lived? And if thou canſt well aſſoile theſe three queſtions, was there never none earthly Lord that ever ſo well rewarded his ſervant without compariſon, as thy Lord God ſhall reward thee, that is, with bliſſe, and joy, and life that ever ſhall laſt. But on that other ſide, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine own welfare, and take none heed of this reckoning: If that day take thee ſuddenly, ſo that thou paſſe hence in deadly ſinne (as thou wotſt never what ſhall fall thee) all the tongues that ever were, or ever ſhall bee, mow not tell the ſorrow and woe that thou ſhalt ever bee in, and ſuffer. Therefore the deſire of ſo great joy, and the dread of ſo great paine, though love ne dread of God were not in thine heart, yet ſhould that make thee afeard to ſinne, for to thinke that thou ſhalt give reckoning of thy baily. Therefore as I ſay to thee, the firſt queſtion that ſhall bee propoſed to the firſt baily, that is a Prelat, other a Curate of mens ſoules, is this:

How haſt thou entred: *Matth.* 22. Friend, how entredſt thou hether? Who brought thee into this office? Truth or Simony? God or the Devil? Grace or mony? The fleſh or the ſpirit? Give thou the reckoning if thou canſt. If thou canſt not, I rede that thou tarry for to learne. For up hap ere night thou ſhalt be cleped. And if thou ſtand dombe for unkunning, or elſe for confuſion of thy conſcience, thou fall into the ſentence that anon followeth: Binde his hands and his feet, and caſt him into the utterward of darkneſs, there ſhall be weeping and grenning of teeth. Therefore I rede thee, that thou adviſe thee how thou ſhalt anſwer to this queſtion: How haſt thou entred? whether by cleping, or by thine own procuring? for that thou wouldeſt travaile in Gods Goſpell, other for that thou wouldeſt bee richly arraied? Anſwer now to thine owne conſcience as thou ſhalt anſwer to God, thou that haſt take now the order of Prieſt, whether thou bee Curate of none: who ſtirred thee to take upon thee ſo high an eſtate? Whether for thou wouldeſt live as a Prieſt ought to doe, ſtudying of Gods law to preach, and moſt heartily to pray for the people; or for to live a delicious life upon other mens travaile, and thy ſelf travaile nought. Why alſo ſetten men their ſonnes, either their couſins to ſchoole? Whereto but for to get them great advancements, or to make them the better to know how they ſhulden ſerve God? This men may ſee openly by the ſciences that they ſet them to. Why I pray you put men their ſonnes to the Law Civill, or to the Kings Court to write Letters and Writs, rather than to Philoſophy or Divinity, but for the hope that theſe occupations ſhould be ever meanes to make them great in the world. I hope that there will no man ſay, that they ne ſhould better learne the rule of good living in the Book of Gods Law, than in any Bookes of mans worldly wiſdome. But certes now it is ſoothe, that *John Chryſoſtom* ſaith, Mothers bee loving to the bodies of their children, but the ſoule they deſpiſe; they deſire them to welfare in this world, but they take none heed what they ſhall ſuffer in the tother; ſome ordainen fees for their children, but noue ordaine them to Godward; the luſt of their bodies they woll deere buy, but the health of their ſoule they reke nought of. If they ſee them poore or ſicke, they ſorrow and ſigheth, but though they ſee them ſinne they ſorrow not. And in this they ſhew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the ſoules.

Againſt Simony. *Queſtion.* *Solution.* *Queſtion.* *Solution.* *Johan. Chryſoſt.* Hom. 27.

And if wee take heed truely, what abominations bee ſcattered and ſpread abroad in holy Church now adaies among Prieſts, we ſhull well wit, that they come not all to the fold of Chriſt by Chriſts cleping for to profit, but by otherwaies to get them worldly wealth, and this is the cauſe of leſing of ſoules, that Chriſt bought ſo deare, and of many errours among the people; and therefore it is iwrit in the Book of Mourning, where the Prophet ſpeaketh thus to God, *Thren.* 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all things deſirable to him; for hee hath let lawles folke enter into the Sanctuary, of the which thou hadſt commanded, that they ſhould not enter into the Church. This enemy is Satanas, as his name ſowneth, that

*Note.* The raſh making of Miniſters.

'that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What 'ſinne I pray you, will the fiend have ſow on men, that 'nis now yuſed? In what plenty is now pride, envy, 'wrath, and covetiſe? when were they ſo great as they 'be now? and ſo of all other ſinnes. And why trow- 'eſt thou? But for there be a lawleſſe people entred into 'thy Sanctuary, that neither keepe in themſelfe the law of 'God, ne konne teachen other; and to every ſuch ſaith 'God by the Prophet, *Oſe* 4. For that thou haſt put away *Oſe 4.* 'cunning, I ſhall put thee away, that thou ſhall uſe no 'Prieſthood to mee. Lo that God expreſly here in Holy 'Writ forbiddeth men to take the ſtate of Prieſthood on 'them, but they have cunning that needeth them. Thou 'then that canſt neither rule thy ſelfe, ne other, after the 'Law of God, beware how thou wilt anſwer to God, at 'his dreadfull dome, when he ſhall ſay to thee, that which 'I took to my Theame:

*Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou haſt entred.*

'The ſecond Queſtion that every Curate and Prelate of 'Holy Church ſhall anſwere to, is this: How haſt thou 'ruled? That is to ſay, the ſoules of thy ſuggets, and 'the goods of poor men: Geve now thine accounts. Firſt, 'how thou haſt governed Gods folke that were take thee 'to keepe? Whether art thou an herd or an hired man, 'that doſt all for love of bodelich hire? As a father, or as 'a wolfe that eaten his ſheepe, and keepeth them nought? 'Say, whom haſt thou turned from his curſed living by 'thy devout preaching? Whom haſt thou taught the law 'of God that was earſt uncunning? There ſhall been 'heard a grievous accuſing of fatherleſs children, and a 'hard alledging, that Prieſts have liveden by their wages, 'and not done away their ſinnes. Yeld alſo reckoning 'how thou haſt ruled, and ſpended the goods of poore *Bernar-* 'men. Harke what Saint *Bernard* ſaith: Dread Clerkes, *dus.* 'dread the Miniſters of the Church, the which been in 'the place of Saints, that they doe ſo wickedly, nought 'holding them apaid with ſuch wages that were ſufficient 'to them; that overplus that needy men ſhould be ſuſtai- 'ned by, they bee not aſhamed to waſte in the houſe of 'their pride and lechery, and withholden to themſelfe 'wickedly and curſedly that which ſhould bee the lifeloode 'of poore men. With double wickedneſs truely they 'ſinne. Firſt, for they reeven other mens goods, and 'ſaith, they miſuſe holy things in their vanities and in 'their filths. Every ſuch baily therefore beware, for anon 'to the laſt farthing hee ſhall recken with Chriſt. Troweſt 'thou not then that thou ne ſhalt be diſallowed of God, of 'that thou haſt miſpended in feeding of fat Palfreys, of 'Hounds, of Hawkes, and if it ſo bee, that is worſt of 'all, on lecherous women? Heare what is ſaid of ſuch. 'They had led their daies in wealths: And in a point they 'ben gone downe into Hell. Think therefore I rede thee, 'that thou ſhalt yeld reckening of thy baily.

'The third Queſtion that this baily ſhall anſwere to, is 'this: How haſt thou lived? What light of holineſſe haſt 'thou ſhewed in thy living to the people, or what mirror 'haſt thou ben of holineſſe to them? Geve now thy 'reckoning how thou haſt lived, as a Prieſt, or as a leude 'man, as a man, or as a beaſt. That is to wonder truely 'how the life of Prieſts is chaunged. They bee clothen as 'Knights, they ſpeaken as unhoneſtly as carles; other of 'winning as Merchaunts; they riden as Princes, and all 'that is thus ſpended, is of the goods of poore men, and 'of Chriſts heritage. Therefore ſaith an holy Doctor, The 'clay of *Egypt* was tough and ſtinking, and medled with 'blood. The ſlates were hard to be undone, for they 'were baked with fire of covetiſe, and with the light of 'luſt. In this travaileth rich man, in this they wake, 'awaiting poore men. In theſe travaileth Prelates, that 'ben too much blent with too much ſhining of riches, 'that make them houſes like Churches in greatneſſe, that 'with divers paintries coloren their Chambers, that with 'divers clothings of colors make images gay; but the 'poore man, for default of clothes, beggeth, and with 'an empty wombe crieth at the doore. And if I ſhall the *Eſa. 22.* 'ſooth ſay, ſaith this Doctor, oft time poore men bee *Quis tu hic aut quaſi quid hic.* 'robbed for to clothe the trees and ſtones. Of ſuch ſpeak- 'eth the Prophet, How art thou here, or as who art thou?

'Here thou art occupying the place of *Peter* and of *Paul*, {KING Hen. 4.} 'or of *Thomas*, or of *Martine*: But how, as *Judas* a- 'mong the Apoſtles, as *Simon Magus* among the Diſ- 'ciples, as a candle new quent that ſtincheth all the 'houſe inſtead of a light lanterne, as a ſmoke that blind- 'eth mens eien, in place of cleane fire? If thou contrary 'thus the forme of living that Chriſt and his Diſciples left 'to Prieſts, Lo what ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*, They have *Jer. 31.* 'entred, and they have had, and nought ben obedient: 'They haven with falſe title, or with their falſe and cor- 'rupt intention had poor mens goods to their miſuſing, 'and they have not bee obedient to the Law of God in 'their owne living. Therefore it is writ that the hardeſt 'dome ſhall fall on ſuch. An hard dome, for they have 'miſentred: An harder dome, for they have miſruled: 'And the hardeſt dome, for they have ſo curſedly lived. 'Think therefore I rede, how thou wilt give reckening of 'thy baily.

'The ſecond bailiffe that accounteth at this dome for Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates admoniſhed. How haſt thou entred 'himſelfe and alſo for other, is hee that keeping hath of 'any communite, as Kings, Princes, Majors, and Shi- 'reves, and Juſtices. And theſe ſhull alſo anſwer to the 'ſame three Queſtions. The firſt Queſtion, How haſt 'thou entred, that is to ſay, into thine office? Other for 'helpe of the people to deſtroy falſhed and furtherer 'truth? Other for deſire of winning of worldly wor- 'ſhip: If thou take ſuch an office, more for thine owne 'worldly profit than for helpe of the communite, thou 'art a Tyrant as the Philoſopher ſeith. For it is to fear 'leſt there been too many that deſiren ſuch ſtates, that 'may the rather oppreſſe thilke that they hateth, and 'take gifts to ſpare to puniſh thilke that haven treſpaſſed, 'and ſo maketh them partners of their ſinnes. And many 'ſuch, when they been ſo high, they recke nought that 'they beth poore mens brethren, but they weene to paſſe 'them in kinde, as they paſſeth in worldly worſhip, that 'is but winde: Of which God ſaith by the Prophet, *Oſe 8.* 'They have raigned, but nought of mee, they have been 'Princes, but I know nought. So we reade of *Reho-* 'boam, that was the ſonne of King *Salemon*, what time *2 Para.* 'hee was firſt King, the people of *Iſrael* comen to him, 'and ſaid, Thy father in his laſt dayes put on us great 'charge. Wee pray thee ſome deale make it lighter, 'and we willen ſerve thee. And the King tooke 'counſell of the old wiſe men, and they counſailden 'to anſwer them faire, and that ſhould be for the 'beſt. But hee left theſe old wiſe mennis counſaile, 'and did after the counſaile of children that were his 'playferen, and ſaid to the people when they came 'againe: My left finger is greater than my fathers 'riegge: My father grieved you ſomewhat, but I will 'echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and 'rebeleden to him, and took them anothor King: 'and ſith, the Kingdom came never whole again: 'and therefore it is good, that every ruler of Com- 'monalties, that they bee not lad by follies, ne by 'none other eare rowner, that he ne have an eygh of 'love to the comonty that hee hath to rule. For wete 'yee well, bee hee never ſo high, that he ſhall come 'afore higher, to yeeld reckoning of his baily.

'The ſecond Queſtion is, How haſt thou ruled the How haſt thou ruled. 'people, and the office that thou haddeſt to governe? 'Thou that haſt been a Judge in cauſes of poore men, 'how haſt thou kept this heſt of God. Thou ſhalt not *Deut. 9.* 'take heed to the perſon of a poore man, to be to him 'the harder for his poverty, ne thou ſhalt not behold 'a rech mans ſemblance, to ſpare or to favour him in 'his wrong for his riches. O Lord, what abuſions is 'there among officers of both Lawes now adays: If a 'great man pleadeth with a poore man to have ought 'that he holdeth, every officer ſhall be ready to hie all 'that he may, that the rich man might have ſuch an 'end as he deſired. But if a poore man plead with a 'rich man, then there ſhall bee ſo many delayes, that 'though the poore mans right be open to all the coun- 'trie, for pure fault of ſpending he ſhall bee glad to 'ceaſe. Shrieves and Bailiffes willen returne poore 'mens Writs, with *tarde venit*, but gif they ſelen meed 'in their hands. And yet I here ſay, men that have ſeyen

'both

KING 4 Hen. 4. 5

'both Lawes, and ilke Court that is cleped Chriſts Court, 'is much more Curſed. Therefore it is writ, gifts they 'taken out of Mens boſoms, to overtourn the right way 'of dome. But it is to dread the Word of Chriſt; In 'what dome ye deeme, ye ſhould be deemed when ye comen 'to yield a reckoning of your baily.

Hovv haſt thou lived.

'The third Queſtion is, How haſt thou lived, thou that 'deemeſt and puniſheſt other men for their treſpaſs? A 'great Doctor ſaith; thee behooveth to flee the wickedneſs 'of other men that thou chaſtieſt them for their treſpaſs. 'For if thy ſelf do unlawfullich in deming other men, 'thou damneſt thy ſelf, ſyth thou doſt that thou damneſt. 'And *Paul* ſaith, why techeſt thou nought thy ſelf, that 'thou teacheſt other? Why ſtealeſt thou, that teacheſt 'nought other men to ſteal? S. *Gregory* ſaith, he ſhall 'not take governail of other, that cannot go before them 'in good living. And when any man ſtand before him 'in dome, he muſt take heed tofore what judge he ſhall 'ſtand himſelf, to take his dome after his deeds. But it 'is to dred, that many fareth as twe falſe Prieſts that 'woulden have damned to death Holy *Suſan* for ſhe wold 'not aſſent to their lechery. Of the which it is writ, 'they turned away their eyen, for they would not ſee 'Heaven, ne heve mind of rightful domes. So it hap- 'peth oft they that were more worthy to be hanged, 'damneth them that be leſs worthy, as a Clerk telleth 'of *Socrates* the Philoſopher, ſaith he, upon a day a man 'aſked of him why he laughed: And he ſaid, for I ſee 'great Theeves leading a little Theef to hanging. I pray 'thee, whether is he a greater Theef that benimmeth a 'Man his Houſe and his Land from him and from his 'Heirs for evermore, other he that for making of great 'need ſtealeth a Sheep or a Calf? Whether trow we 'nought, that it happeth ſuch Extortioners to be other 'while Judges, and demeth men thus: But I read thee 'that thus deemeſt other, think on that dome thou ſhalt 'come to, to yeld the reckening of thy baily.

Suſan.

Valerius Maximus. libro. 7.

The thied baily.

'The Third Bailiffe that ſhall be cleped to this dread- 'ful account ſhall be to every Chriſtian Man, that ſhall 'geve reckning to his Lord God for goods that he had 'had of his. And here I will ſpeak but of the firſt Que- 'ſtion, that is this: How entreſt thou? And here by the 'way, ye that have got any worldly good, other take 'by extortion, by ravine, by uſury, other by deceit: Woe 'ſhall be to him at this dreadful day, as S. *Auſten* ſaith. 'If he be caſt into the fire that hath not given of his 'own good; where troweſt thou ſhall he be caſtin, that 'hath reved other mens from them? And he ſhulle bren 'with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked 'where troweſt ſhall he bren that hath made him naked that 'was erſt clothed. But as S. *Gregory* ſaith, Two things 'maketh men to live thus by ravaide of other Neighbours, 'that they deſire heynes and dread poverty, and what ven- 'geance falleth of this ſin of covetiſe, I may ſee by figure 'in holy writ, when the Angel ſaid to Propher *Zacherye*, 'Reare up they eien, and ſee what is that goeth out. 'And the Prophet ſaid, what is it? Then the Angel ſaid, 'This is the Pot going out, This is the eize of hem on all 'the Earth, and there was a weight of leade I bore, and 'there was a Woman ſitting in the middle of this Pot, 'And the Angel ſaid, This is impiety: and he took her 'and caſt her into the middle of this Pot, and he took 'the gobbet of lead and caſt it into the Pots mouth. 'And the Prophet lift up his eye, and he ſaw two Wo- 'men coming out, and Spirits in her Wingis like two 'Kytes other gledes, and they arerid up this Pot between 'Heaven and the Earth, and then the Prophet ſpake to 'the Angel wider wol theſe bear this Pot? And he 'ſaid, unto the Lord of *Sennaar*: This Pot is covetiſe. 'For right as a Pot hath a wide open mouth, ſo covetiſe 'gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in 'the Pot profiteth nought to the Pot, but to men that 'draweth and drinketh thereof: ſo worldly good oft 'profiteth not to Churles, but to other that cometh after, 'as it is written. He that hath Money ſhall have no 'Fruit of it: and this covetiſe is the eie of covetous men, 'for they ben blind to ſee how they ſhould ſee to go to 'Heaven, but to the winning of worldly things they ſee 'many ways, like to Owles and night Crowes, that 'ſeen better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, 'is the ſin of obſtination. The Woman that ſat in the 'Pot, is unpity, as the Angel ſaid, that followeth un- 'righteouſneſs and avarice. For through avarice a man 'leeſeth the pity that he ſhould have of the miſchief of 'his ſoul. For oft time men leeſe the life of their ſoul 'by deadly ſin, that they do to have the worldly win- 'ning, and alſo they leeſe the pity that they ſhould have 'of their body, putting themſelfes to many great bodi- 'ly travayls and perils both by Sea and Land, and all 'maketh covetiſe. This Pot is ſtopped with the gobbet 'of lead, when unpity is thus by ſin of obſtination cloſed 'in covetiſe, that he may not go out of the chinches 'hart by penance. For as *Job* ſaith; when he is ful- 'filled, he ſhall be ſtopped. The two Women that bare 'up this Pot, are pride and luſt of fleſh, that be cleped 'in holy writ the twe daughtren of the watr *Lethe*, cry- 'ing, bring, bring. And they had wings, the firſt 'wing is grace ſpiritual, as cunning, wiſdom, and coun- 'ſel, with ſuch other many. For which gifres many 'men wexe proud. The ſecond wing is bodily grace, as 'ſtrength, fairehood, gentry; and many other ſuch; 'whereof men wexe proud. The wings of the ſecond 'Woman, that is, fleſhly deſire, beth gluttony and ſloth. 'Of gluttony ſpeaketh S. *Gregory*; when the wamb is 'fulfilled, the prickes of lechery beth meved. And of 'ſloth S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Lot the while he dweled in 'buſineſs among ſhrewes in *Sodome*, he was a good man. 'But when he was in the hill ſlow, for ſykkernes he in his 'drunkenes lay by his daughtren. And theſe Women 'had wings like Kytes, that with a crying voice ſeecheth 'their meate, as *Bartholmeus* ſaith.

Moral. Greg. 8.

Zacha. 6.

Expoſitio

Eccleſ. 5.

Job. 21.

Againſt covetiſe. Gregory. Auguſt. de confictu virtutis & vitiorum. Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum. Auſtin.

'And thus fareth covetiſe of men; witneſſing Saint '*Auguſtine*, what is the greedineſs of fleſhly deſire. In- 'aſmuch as the ravenous Fiſhes have ſometime meaſure; 'yet when they hunger, they rapine; and when they 'fulfil they ſpare: But only covetiſe of men may not 'be fulfilled. For ever he taketh, and never hath 'enough. Neither he dreadeth God, neither ſhame of 'men. He ne ſpareth his Father, ne knoweth his Mo- 'ther, ne accordeth with his Brethren, neither keepeth 'truth with his Friend. He overpreſſeth Widowes and 'Fatherleſs Children. Free men he maketh bond, and 'bringeth forth falſe witneſs, and occupieth dead mens 'things, as he ſhoulden never dye. What manhood is 'this, ſayth this Doctor, thus to leeſe life and grace, 'and get death of ſoul? Win Gold, and leeſe Heaven? 'And herefore ſaith the Prophet, have travaile in the 'midſt, and leave unrighteouſneſs.

Auſtine. Pſal. 54. Innocentius.

'Alſo *Innocent* ſpeaking of the harmss that come of 'covetiſe, ſaith thus, O how many men have covetiſe 'decieved and ſpilt? when covetiſe *Balaam* would, for 'gifts that the King proferd him, have Curſed Gods 'people, his own Aſs reproved him, and hurt his foot 'againſt a wall. *Achor* was ſtoned to death: for cove- 'tiſe made him ſteal gold and clothes, againſt the com- 'mandment of God. *Gieſy* was ſmit with Meſilty, for 'he ſold *Naamans* heal, that came of Gods grace. *Judas* 'for covetiſe ſold Chriſt, and afterward hong himſelf. '*Anany* and *Zaphira* his Wife were dead ſodenly, for 'they forſoken to give *Peter* their Money that they had. 'And covetiſe maketh alſo that rich men eate the poor, 'as Beaſts done their leſous holding them low. This 'may we ſee all day in deed I dread. For if a rich 'man have a Field and a poor man have in the midſt or 'in the ſide thereof one Acre, and a rich man have all 'a Street ſaveth O Houſe, that ſome poor Brother of his 'oweth, he ceaſeth never till he get it out of the poor 'Mans hand, either by prayer, or by bying, or by pur- 'ſuing of deceit. Thus fared it by King *Achab*, that 'through his falſe Queenes gin ſlew the poor man *Na- 'both*, for that he would not ſell him his Vineyard that 'was nigh to the Kings Palace.

Nu. 22. Joſua 7. 4 Reg. 5. Acts 5.

'Upon which proceſs, thus ſayth Saint *Ambroſe*; 'How farre will ye Rich men ſtretch your covetiſe? 'Will ye dwell alone upon the Earth, and have no poor 'Man with you? Why put ye out your fellow by kind, 'and challenge to your ſelf the poſſeſſion comen by 'kind? In commune to all rich and poor the Earth 'was made. Why will ye rich challenge proper right 'herein? Kind knoweth no riches, that bringeth foth 'all men poor. For we be not got with rich Clothes, 'ne born with Gold ne with Silver. Naked he bringeth 'them

Ambroſe de ſuo libello de Nabuth.

'them to this World, needy of meat and of drink
'and clothing. Naked the Earth taketh us and ſhe naked
'brought us hither. Shee cannot cloſe with us our poſ-
'ſeſſion in the Sepulchre, for kind maketh no difference
'between poor and rich, in coming hither, ne in going
'hence. All in o manner ſhe bringeth forth, all in o
'manner ſhe cloſeth in grave. Who ſo will make differ-
'ence of poor and rich, abyde till they have a little
'while leyne in the grave. Then open and look among
'dead bones who was rich, and who was poor; but
'if it be thus, that moe clothes rotteth with the rich
'than with the poor, and that harmeth to them that beth
'on live, and profit not to them that been dead; Thus
'ſaith the Doctor of ſuch extortion as it is writ. O-
*Job.* 24. 'ther mens Fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him
'that the harme oppreſſed they plucke away the Grapes;
'they leveth men naked, and taketh away her Clothes
'that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and
'liſten up this Pot bytween Heaven and Earth. For cove-
'tous men nother haveth charity to their Brethren upon
'Earth, neither to God in Heaven; and they bare this pot
'into the Lond of *Sennaar*, that is to ſay, into the Lond
'of *Stenche*, that is Hell, for there ſhall be ſtench, in
'ſteed of ſweet ſmelling, as *Iſay* ſaith. Beware I read,
'that ye nought have to do with this Pot, ne with the
'Woman therein, and on all manner that ye be nought
'Weddid to her, for then ye muſt be both one. This is
'thilke foule lecherous Woman: the Kings and Morchaun-
'tis of the Earth have done lechery, and of her vertue they
'have been made rich, whoſe damnation is written in the
'Book of Privities in theſe words, In o day ſhall come all
'theſe vengeances of her death, weeping and hunger
'and fire ſhall brenne her, for ſtrong is God that ſhall
'venge him on her, and then ſhulleth weepe and howle
'uppe on her, the Kings of the Earth, that haveth done
'lechery with her, and having lived in Delices when they
'ſhull ſee the Smoke of her brenning, ſtonding aferre
'weeping and weyling and ſaying; Alas! Alas! thilke
'great City that was clothed with bys and purple, and
'braſile, and over gilt with Gold and pretious Stones and
'Pearle. For in one hour all theſe great riches ſhall be de-
'ſtroyed, then ſhall they ſey that ſhall be damned with
'her. We have erred fro the way of trouth and right-
'wiſneſs, light have not ſhined to us, and the ſunne of
'underſtonding have not riſen to us: we have be made
'weery in everich way of wickedneſs and of luſt, and have
'gone hard ways, but the ways of God we knew not:
'what hath Pride profited to us, or the boaſt of riches
'what hath it brought to us? All this is as a ſhadow of
'death, and we mow now ſhew no token of holineſs, in
'our wickedneſs we be waſted away. Think therefore
'I read, that thou ſhall yeld reckening of thy bayly. Here
'endeth the firſt part of this Sermon, and beginneth the
'ſecond part.

'IN the ſecond part with the help of God I will
'ſhew firſt, who ſhall clepe us to this reckoning,
'Afterward, tofore what Judge we ſhall reckyn, and
'laſt what puniſhing ſhall be doe to them that been
'found falſe ſervants and wicked, and what reward ſhall
'be give to them that be found good and true. For
'the firſt, ye ſhall wetoen that there ſhall be twey
'domes. The firſt dome anone after the departing of
'body and of ſoul, and this ſhall be ſpecial. And of
*Mat.* 25. 'this reckoning or dome ſpeaketh the Goſpel of *Luke*.
'The ſecond reckoning or dome ſhall be anone after
'the general Reſurrection, and ſhall be univerſal. And
'of this is to ſpeken in the Goſpel. To the firſt
'every man ſhall be cleped after other, as the world
'paſſeth. To the ſecund ſhall come togedre in the
'ſtroke of an eye all mankind. To the firſt, men
'ſhall be cleped with three Sumners, other Sergeauntes:
'The firſt is Sickneſs, the ſecond is Age, and the
'third is Death; the firſt warneth, the ſecond threat-
'neth, and the third taketh. This is a kindly order.
3. Sumners. Sickneſs. Age. Death. 'but otherwiſe it faileth, for ſumme we ſeeth dieth
'that never wiſt what was Sickneſs ne Age, as Chil-
'dren that been ſuddenly ſlain. And ſumme, yea the
'moſt part that dyeth now adaies, deyeth before her
'kind agee of deeth. Therefore, I ſay, that the firſt
'that clepeth to this ſpecial reckoning is Sickneſs, that
'followeth all mankind, ſo that every man hath it: and KING Hen. 4.
'ſumme is Sickneſs that ſumme men haveth, but nought
'all. Yet the firſt Sickneſs is double, for ſumme is within
'in the mightes of the ſoul, and ſumme is without in feeble-
'neſs of the body that needis mo be ſtoried, when time
'by hemſelf is cauſe of corruption as Philoſphy ſaith, and
'thereby feebleneſs and ſickneſs. And ſo may we ſee
'hereby, though that a man ſhut out of the houſe of his
'heart all manner of worldly and fleſhly thoughts, yet
'unneth ſhall a man, for ought that he can do, think
'on God only, the ſpace of o *Pater noſter*, but that
'ſome other thing that is paſſing entreth into the ſoul,
'and draweth her from contemplation. But, O Lord
'God, what ſeekneſs is this, an heavy burden on the Sons
'of *Adam*, that one foule moocke and fenn of the World
'we many think long ynow. But on that the ſoul
'ſhould moſt delectation have by kind mow we nought
'think ſo little a ſpace, but if the cokle enter among
'the wheate. Of this ſeekeneſs ſpeaketh *Paul*, where
'he ſaith; I ſee a Law in my limmes fighting agenes
'the Law of my Spirit, and taking me into the Law
'of Sinne. So that if fares by us, as by a man that would
'look agyens the Sunne, and may nought do it long for
'nothing. And forſooth, that is for no default that is in
'the Sunne, for ſhe is moſt cleere in her ſelf, and ſo by
'reaſon beſt ſhould be ſeyn, but it is for feebleneſs of mans
'eye. Right ſo, ſyth, *Adam* our firſt fader was put out
'of Paradiſe, all his Off-ſpring have been thus ſicke, as
'the Prophet ſeyth. Our faders have eate a bytter Grape,
'and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The
'ſecond ſickeneſs, that is commune to all mankind, com-
'mith of feebleneſs of the body, as hunger and thirſt,
'colde and heate, ſorrow and wearineſs, and many other,
'as *Job* 14. ſaith. A man that is ybore of a Woman, *Job.* 14.
'lyving a little while, is fulfilled with many miſeaſes.
'Yet there is other ſickneſs that cometh to ſome men,
'but not to all, as Lepyr, Palſye, Fever, Dropſie, Blind- *Deut.*
'neſs, and many other, as it was ſeyden to the people
'of *Iſrael*, in holy writ. But thou keep the Comman-
'ments that be writ in this Book, God ſhall ſchren the
'ſickneſs of thee and of thy ſeed, great ſickeneſs and
'long abiding. Yet ye ſhall underſtond, that God ſend-
'eth otherwhile ſuch ſickeneſs to other men, and o-
'therwhile to ſhrews. To good men, God doth it
'for two cauſes, and that is ſooth. Of ſickeneſs I wol
'to be underſtond alſo, of all manner of Tribulations.
'The firſt cauſe, for they ſhould alway ever know,
'that they have none perfections of themſelf, but of
'God only, and to echen their meekneſs. And thus
'ſaieth *Paul*, leſt the greatneſs of revelations rere me up *1. Co.* 12.
'into pride, is given a pricke of my fleſh, the Angel of
'*Sathanas* to ſmite me on the neck, wherefore I have
'thrice prayed God, that he ſhould go fro me, and he
'anſwered me: My grace is ſufficient to thee, for vertue is
'fulfilled in ſickneſs, whereon thus ſaith the gloſe. The
'Fiend, axing *Job* to be tempted, was heard of God,
'and nought the Apoſtle axing his temptation to be re-
'mooved. God heard him that ſhould be damned, and
'he heard nought him that he ſhould ſave. For oft
'the ſick man axit many things of the leche, that he wole
'not geve him, and that is for to make him whole of ſick-
'neſs. Alſo GOD ſendeth ſaincts oft ſickneſs and perſe-
'cution, to give us ſinful wretches example of patience:
'For if he ſuffer his ſaincts to have ſuch Tribulation in this
'World, and they thankin him thereof, much more
'wretchis, that God ſendeth not the hundred aparty of *Tob.* 2.
'their ſorrow, ſhulden beare it meekly, ſith we have de-
'ſerved a thouſand ſo much as they haveth. Whereof,
'*Toby* that one day when he was weary of burying of poor
'men, the which ſhulden have ley unburied, and have be
'etene of houndis, and foules, as Carynes, of other un-
'reaſonable Beaſts, when for wearineſs he had leyde him
'to reſt, through Goddis ſufferance the Swallowes that
'bredden above on his hous, mayden ordure into his eyen,
'and he waxet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation
'forſooth; Therefore, GOD ſuffered to come to him,
'that to them that comen after ſhould be given enſample
'of patience, as by the temptation of Holy *Job*. For
'ſith from his Childhood evermore he dread God, and
'ever kept his Heſtes; was not agreeved ayenſt GOD
'that the miſchief of blindneſs fell to him; but un-
'moove-

{KING Hen. 4.} 'moveable dwelled in the dread of GOD, thanking him 'all the days of his life. Lo that holy Writ ſaith expreſly, 'That GOD ſuffered this holy man to have that ſick- 'neſs, to give them that ſhould come after him enſample 'of patience. Alſo otherwhile GOD ſendeth ſickneſs 'and tribulation to wicked men, and for two cauſes: 'Firſt, for that they ſhould the rather dread God, and 'leave their ſin. As it is writ, Their ſickneſs hath been 'multiplied, and after, they have hied to Godward. For 'we ſee oft men in ſickneſs know their GOD, that ne- 'ver would have turned to him while they had been 'whole. Alſo God ſendeth them ſickneſs oft to agaſt 'other men, leſt they follow their ſin. As the ſickneſs 'of King *Antioche*, whom GOD ſmote with ſuch a 'ſickneſs, that Worms fell out of his body while he lived, 'in ſo far forth that he ſtank ſo foul, that his friends were 'ſo weary of it, that they might not ſuffer it. And at 'the laſt, when he himſelf might not ſuffer his own 'ſtinch, then he began to know himſelf, and ſaid, *It is 'rightful to be ſubject to GOD, and a deadly manne 'not to hold himſelf only even with God*; and the ſtory 'ſaith, He asked mercy of GOD, and made a vow to 'God, that he would make the City of *Jeruſalem* free, 'and the *Jews* to make them as free as the men of 'Athens; and that he would honour GODS Temple 'with pretious ary, and multiply the holy Veſſels, and 'ſin of his own rent and ſpences perteining to the Sacri- 'fice. And he would become a *Jew*, and go over all 'the lond to preach Gods might. And yet God gaſe him 'not ſuch mercy as he delired. And I trow certain that it 'was for good. Inaſmuch as GOD knew he would 'not afterward hold his Covenant, or elſe for he asket it 'too late. What meede was it for him to forſake his 'wickedneſs? when he was unmighty to do good or 'evil. Nevertheleſs, I trow he was not damned, in as 'much as he had ſuch repentance; for repentance in this life 'come never too late if it be true. But by this Vengeance 'that GOD took on this King, ſhould men ſee, what 'it is to be unobedient to God. And alſo it is to take 'heed, that when ever ſickneſs cometh, ever it ſheweth, 'that he that ſuffereth this deadly, ſhall needs die. For 'though he may ſkape of his ſickneſs, yet he may not 'ſkape death. And ſo thou muſt needs come give reckon- 'ing of thy Baily. The ſecond Somnor that ſhall clepe 'thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the 'condition of him is this, though that he tarie with thee, 'he will not leave thee, till he bring thee to the third, 'that is death. But there be many that though they have 'this Somnor with them, they take none heed, though 'they ſee her hear hore, her back crooked, her breth ſtunk, 'her teeth fail, her yen derk, her viſage rively, her crene 'weixt hevy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age 'ſumneth to the dome?

The ſecond ſumner. Properties of death.

'But what more madhead may be than a man to be 'cleped, and draw to ſo dreadful a reckening there, 'where but he anſwere well, he forfeteth both body and 'ſoule to damnation for ever? If ſeeing a little worldly 'mirth on the way, he thinketh ſo mekil thereon, that he 'forgetteth who draweth him, or whether he draweth: 'So doth he that is ſmitten with Age and liketh ſo on the 'falſe worlds wealth, that he forgetteth whether he is 'away: Herefore ſaith an holy Doctour, that among all 'abuſions of the world moſt is of an old man that is ob- 'ſtinate: for he thinketh not on his outgoing of this 'world, ne of paſſing into the life that is to come: he 'beareth Meſſengers of death, and he leveth hem not, and 'the cauſe is this, for the threefold cord that ſuch an old 'man is bounden with is hard to breke. This cord is 'cuſtome, that is of three plightes, that is, of ydle thought, 'unhoneſt ſpeech, and wicked deed: the which if they 'groweth in a man from the childhode into mans age, 'they maketh a treble cord to bind the old man on cuſtom 'of ſinne. Herefore ſaith *Eſay*, breake the bondes of ſinne. 'Thinke herefore whoſoever that thou be that art thus 'ſumned that thou might not ſcape, that thou ne ſhalt 'yeld the reckening of thy baily.

*Eſay.*

The third ſumner. Diſtinctio tertia.

'The third ſomner to this reckening, is death. And the 'condition of him is, that when ever he come, firſt, other 'the ſecond, other the laſt hour he ne ſpareth, neyther 'power, ne yough, ne he dreadeth no threatning, ne he 'ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he grunt- 'eth no reſpit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to 'the dome. Herefore ſeyth Saint *Auſtin*: Well ought 'every man drede the day of his death. For in what ſtate 'a mans laſt day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this 'world, in the ſame ſtate he bringeth him to his dome. 'Herefore ſeyth the wiſe man; Sonne thinke on thy laſt 'daye, and thou ſhalt never ſinne. Therefore I rede that 'thou thinke, that thou ſhalt geve reckoning of thy baily. 'I ſaid alſo, that there ſhall be another doome, to the 'which all men ſhall come together, and this ſhall be uni- 'verſal. And right as to the other doome, every man 'ſhall be cleped with theſe three ſumnours; ſo to this dome 'all this world ſhall be cleped with three general clepers. 'And right as the other three Meſſengers tell a mans end, ſo 'theſe tell the end of the world. The firſt cleper is the 'worldly ſickneſs, the ſecond cleper is feebleneſs, and the 'third is the end. The ſickeneſs of the world thou ſhalt 'know by charity acooling. His elde and feebleneſs thou 'ſhalt know by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou ſhalt 'know by Antichriſtis purſuing. Firſt I ſaid, thou ſhalt 'know the worlds ſickneſs by charity acooling. Clerkes 'that treate of kinde ſayne; that a body is ſicke, when 'his bodily heate is too lite, or when his unkindely heate is 'too much. Sythe then all mankinde is one body, whoſe 'kindelie heate is charity (that is, love to GOD and to 'our Neighbours) unkindely heate is luſtful love to other 'creatures. When therefore thou ſeeſt that the love of men 'to Godward and to their neighbour is little and faint, and 'the love of worldly things and luſtes of the fleſh is great 'and fervent; then wit thou well, that unkindely heate is 'too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this be ac- 'knowlich of this ſickeneſs, I may prove by authority of 'Chriſt. For he himſelfe gave them as a ſign of the draw- 'ing to the end of the World: For that wickedneſs ſhall 'be in plenty, charity ſhall acoole. Therefore when thou 'ſeeſt charity thus little in the world, and wickedneſs en- 'creaſe, know well that this world paſſeth and his wealth, 'and that this ſumner is come. And thus ſeyth S. *Paul*, 'Writ ye well, that in the laſt daies ſhall come perillous 'times, and there ſhall be men loving themſelfe, that is 'to ſay, their bodies, covetous by pride, unobedient to 'Father and Mother, unkynde ſelons, withouten affecti- 'on, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, unmilde, 'withouten benignity, traitors, rebels, ſwelling, lovers of 'luſts more than of God, having a likeneſs of piety, and 'denying the vertue thereof. And theſe flee thou. If 'thou ſeeſt the people buſied with ſuch conditions, wit 'thou well, that the firſt ſumnour warneth all the world, 'that the day of reckoning draweth toward.

*Auguſtinus.*

The day of Judgment.

To know the worlds ſickneſs. *Mat.* 21.

'The ſecond ſumnour, that warneth all the world, is 'elde or age of the world and his feebleneſs, and ſhewes 'tokens fulfilling. But I *know well* that we be nought 'ſuffiſaunt to know the times other the whiles that the Fa- 'ther in Trinity hath put on his own power, to ſhew cer- 'teinely the day, year, other houre of this dome, *ſith this* 'knowlech was hid fro the privy Apoſtles of Chriſt, and 'from Chriſts manhood as to ſhew it to us. Nathleſs, we 'inough by authority of holy Writ, with reaſons, and ex- 'poſitions of Saints well and openly ſhew, that this day 'of wrath is nigh: But yet leſt any man ſey in his heart as 'it is written of follie baylies, that they ſhall ſeien, my 'Lord, that is, taryeth to come to the dome, and upon hope 'hereof he taketh to ſmite ſervants and hynen of God, 'eate and drinke and make him dronke, I ſhall ſhew that 'this day is at the hond; how ny nevertheles can I not 'ſeie ne wole. For if *Paul* ſaid nowe for a thouſand and 'three hundred yeare, and paſſed moe; we ben thilke in- 'to whom the endis of the world ben come, much rather 'may we ſeie the ſame that been ſo much neere the end 'than he was. Alſo S. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith; thou ſeeſt over 'all darknes, and thou douteſt that the day is goe, firſt 'on the valeys is darkneſs whan the day draweth down- 'ward: whan therefore thou ſeeſt the valeies yderked 'why donteſt thou whether it be nigh even, but if thou ſee 'the Sun ſo low that derknes is upon the hils, thou 'wole ſeie doubtles that it is night: Right ſo, if thou ſee 'firſt in the Saculars and the lewd Chriſtenmen beginneth 'derkeneſſes of ſinnes, and to have the maiſtrie, it is 'token that this world endeth. But when thou ſeeſt Prieſts 'that been put on the high top of ſpiritual Dignities, that 'ſhulden be as hils aboven the commune people in perfect 'living,

*Luke* 2.

*1 Cor.* 10.

*Chriſoſtomus*

A proper ſimilitude.

'living, that derkneſs of ſinnes hath taken them, who 'doubteth that the world nis at the end? And alſo Abbot
Joachim. 'Joachim in expoſition of *Jeremy* ſeyeth; Fro the yeare 'of our Lord 1200, all times beth ſuſpected to mee, and 'wee ben paſſed on this ſuſpect nigh 200. yeares. Alſo mai-
Maidenhildegar. 'den *Hildegare* in the Book of her propheſie the third 'parte, the eleventh viſion, the ſeventh Chapter meveth 'this reaſon. Right as on ſeven daies GOD made the 'world, ſo in 7000. year the world ſhall paſs. And right 'as in the ſixth day man was made and fourmed; ſo in '6000. yeare he was brought again and refourmed. And 'as in the ſeventh day the world was full made, and God 'left off his working, right ſo in the 7000. yeare, the 'number of them that ſhullen be ſaved ſhall be fulfilled, and 'reſt ſhall be to Seyntes full in bodie and ſoule. If that it 'be ſo as it ſeemeth to follow of this maydens words, that '7000. in paſſing of the world accordeth to ſeven dayes 'in his making it, ſee what lacketh that theſe 7000. yeares 'ne beth fulfilled. For if we reken the number of yeares 'fro the Nativity of Chriſt, to the yeares fro the beginning
Auguſtine. 'of the world to Chriſt, and thou wolt follow *Auſtine*, 'Bede and *Oroſie*, and moſt probable Doctors treating of 'this matter, are paſſed now almoſt ſixe thouſand and ſixe 'hundred, as it is open in the Book that is cleped *Speculum* 'judiciale. So it ſuweth that this laſte day is more than a 'halfe agoe, if we ſhulden give credence to this maydens 'reaſun: But if we ſhull lene to the Goſpel, than we ſhall
Mat. 14. 'finde in the Goſpel of *Matthew*, that the Diſciples axi- 'den of Chriſt three Queſtions. Firſt, what time the City 'of *Jeruſalem* ſhould be deſtroyed. The Second, what 'token of his coming to the dome. And the Third, what 'ſigne of the ending of the world.

Note. 'And Chriſt gave them no certaine time of theſe things 'when they ſhulden fall, but he gave them tokens, by 'which they might know when they drew nigh, and ſo as 'to the firſt Queſtion of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* he 'ſaid; when the *Romanes* come to Beſiege that City, then 'ſoon after ſhe ſhall be deſtroyed.

'And as to the ſecond and third; he gave many tokens, 'that is to ſay; That Realme ſhull riſe againſt Realme, 'and people againſt people, and peſtilences, and earth- 'quakings, the which we have ſeene in our dayes. But 'the laſt token that he gave, was this; When ye ſeene the 'abominatien of elengneſs ſaid of *Danyel* the Prophet, 'ſtanding on the Sanctuary; then who ſo readeth, under- 'ſtond. Upon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a 'Book that he maketh of the end of the world. If the 'words of *Danyel* haven authority (as GOD ſayth that 'they haven) it ſufficeth of the number of the years of the 'ende of the world, that *Daniel* hath written. Now 'Daniel in the twelfth Chapter, ſpeaking of this abomina- 'tion, putteth betweene the ceaſing of the buſie Sacrifice of 'the *Jewes*, the which fell, when by *Titus* and *Veſpaſianus* 'Jeruſalem was deſtroyed, and the people of the *Jewes* 'were diſparkled into all the world. And this abomina- 'tion that Doctours ſayne ſhall be in the great Antichriſtes 'dayes, 1290. Now proveth this Doctour, that a day
Antichriſt is come, An. 1400. 'muſt be taken for a yeare, both by authority of holy Writ 'in the ſame place and in other, and alſo by reaſon: So it
This Sermon ergo was made Anno 1389. 'ſeemeth to this Clerke, that the great Antichriſt ſhould
Apoc. 6. 'come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Chriſt, the 'which number of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelve 'yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reaſon put not I as 'to ſhew any certaine time of this coming, ſith I have 'not that knowledge; but to ſhew that he is nye, but 'how nygh I wot never. But take we heede to the fourth 'part of the ſecond viſion of Saint *John*, put in the Book 'of *Revelations*, in the which, under the opening of the 'ſeven ſeales, is declared the State of the Church, from the 'time of Chriſt into the end of the world. The opening 'of the foure firſt ſeales ſhew the State of the Church, fro 'the time of Chriſt to the time of Antichriſt and his fore- 'goers, the which is ſhewed in the opening of the other 'three ſeales. The opening of the firſt ſeale telleth the 'State of the Church, in the time of the Preaching of 'Chriſt and of his Apoſtles. For the firſt, that is, the Lyon 'gave his voice, that betokeneth the Preachers of Chriſtes 'Reſurrection and his Aſcenſion. For then yede out a 'white Horſe, and he that ſate upon him had a bow in his 'hand, and he yede out overcoming to overcome. By 'this white-horſe we underſtand the cleane life and con- 'verſation that theſe Preachers haden: and by the bowe, KING Hen. 4. 'their true teaching, pricking ſorrowe in mennes hearts 'for their ſinnes withouted flattering. And they wen- 'ten out of *Jewry* that they comen of, overcoming ſome 'of the *Jewes*, and maken them to leave the truſt that 'they hadden in the olde Lawe, and to beleeve in Jeſus 'Chriſt and ſhewen his teaching. And they wenten out 'to overcome the Paynemes, ſhewing to them that their 'Images were no Gods, but mens workes, unmighty 'to ſave themſelve or any other, drawing them to the 'Beliefe of Jeſus Chriſt God and Man. In the open- 'ing of the ſecond ſeale, there cryed the ſecond Beaſt, 'that is, a Calfe, that was a Beaſt wonted to be ſlaine, 'and offered to God in the olde Law. This ſheweth the 'State of the Church in the time of Martyrs, that for 'their ſtedfaſt Preaching of Gods true Law ſhed their bloud, 'that is ſignified by the red horſe that went out at this ſeale 'opening; and this eſtate began at *Nero* the curſed Expoſitio. Neronis. 'Emperour, and dured unto the time of *Conſtantine* the Conſtantinus magnus. 'great, that endowed the Church. For in this time ma- 'ny of Chriſts ſervants, and namely the Leaders of Gods 'flocke were ſlaine. For of two and twenty Biſhops of 'Rome that were between *Peter* and *Silveſter* the firſt, Silveſter. 'I reade but of foure but that they weren Martyrs for 'the Law of Chriſt. And alſo in the time of *Diocle-* 'ſian the Emperour, the perſecution of the Chriſten 'men was ſo great, that in thirty dayes were ſlaine 22. 'thouſand Men and Women in divers countries for the 'Law of God.

'The opening of the third ſeale telleth the State of the The 3. ſeale. 'Church in time of Hereticks that beth figured by the black 'Horſe, for falſe underſtanding of holy writ: for then 'cryed the third Beaſt that is a man, for at that time 'was it neede to preache the myſterie of Criſts incarnati- 'on, and his paſſion ayenſt theſe Erretikis that feliden Expoſitio. 'mis of theſe pointis; how Chriſt tooke verreyly mans 'kinde of our Lady, him being God as he was byfore, and 'his moder being mayden byfore and after. The opening The 4. ſeale. 'of the fourth ſeale, telleth the State of the Church in Expoſitio. 'the time of ypocritis, that beth ſignified by the pale 'Horſe, that beth ſignes of penance with outfoorth to 'blinde the people. And he that ſate upon this Horſe 'his name was Death, for they ſhulle ſlee ghoſtly them 'that thay leden, and teacheth to truſt upon other thing 'than God: and helle followeth him, for helle received 'thilke that theſe diſteineth. At that time ſhall it neede, 'that the fourth Beaſt that is the Egle make his cry, that 'flyeth higheſt of foules to reare up Gods Goſpel, and 'to praiſe that Law above other, leſt mens witte and 'their traditions over-gone and treden down the Law of 'God, enforming of theſe ypocrites, and this is the laſt 'ſtate, that is, other ſhall be in the Church, byfore the 'coming of the great Antichriſt. The opening of the The 5. ſeale. 'fifth ſeale telleth the ſtate of the Church that then God 'ſhall follow, and deſire that lovers of Goddis law 'ſhulleth have after the end of this world to be delivered 'of this woe. The opening of the ſixt ſeale telleth the 'State of the Church in time of Antichriſts time, the The 6. ſeale. 'which ſtate ye may know to be in the Church whan 'ye ſeth fulfilled, that Saint *John* propheſieth to fall in the 'opening of this, where he ſaith thus: After that I ſawe 'foure Angels ſtonding upon four comers of the Earth, 'holding the foure windes of the Earth that they blowen 'nought upon the Earth, ne upon the Sea, ne upon 'eny Tree. Theſe foure Angels beth the number of all 'the Devils Miniſters, that on that time ſhulleth in the 'pleaſaunce of their Lord Antichriſt ſtoppe the four windis, 'that bete the foure Goſpels to be Preached, and ſo let 'the breth of the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt to fall 'upon men mourning for ſinne, and calling them to a- 'mendment, and to other that wolden increaſe in vertues, 'other upon perfit men? What is there after this to fall, The 7. ſeale. 'but that the myſtery of the ſeaventh ſeale be ſhewed, 'that he come in his own perſon. That Jeſus Chriſt 'ſhall ſlee with ſpirit of his mouth, when the Fiend ſhall 'ſhew the utmoſt perſecution, that he and his ſervants 'may doe to Chriſtis limmes, and that ſhall be the third 'warning that the world ſhall have to come to this dread- 'ful dome.

{KING Hen.4.}

'In all this matter have I nought ſeid of my ſelf, but 'of other Doctors that beth proved, I ſeyd alſo in my 'ſecond principal part, that it were to wete tofore what 'Judge we ſhall reken. Wherefore we ſhulleth wite that 'God himſelfe ſhall heare this reckening, he that ſeeth 'all our dedis, and all our thoughts fro the beginning of 'our life to the end, and he ſhall ſhew their the hid things 'of our hert, opening to all the world the rightfulneſs of 'his dome. So that with the might of God, every 'mans dedis to all the world ſhall be ſhewed, and ſo it 'ſeemeth by the words of S. *John*, in the Book of Pri-'vities, there he ſeith thus: I ſawe dede men, little and 'great, ſtonding in the ſight of the throne, and bookes 'weren opened; and another booke was opened that was 'of life, and dede men weren judged after the things that 'weren written in the bookes after their worchings. Theſe 'bookes beth mens conſciences that now beth cloſed. 'But then they ſhulleth be opened to all the world to re-'den therein both dedis and thoughts. But the booke of 'life is Chriſts living and doctrine, that is now hid to 'men that ſhulleth be damned through their owne malice, 'that deemeth men to ſerve the world rather than God: 'In the firſt book ſhall be write all that we haveth 'doe, in that other booke ſhall be write that we ſhulden 'have doe, and then ſhulle dede men be demyd of thilke 'thingis that ben written in the Bookis: For if the dedis 'that we haven doe, the which beene written in the bookis, 'of our conſcience, be according to the booke of Chriſts 'teaching and his living, the which is the booke of life 'we ſhulle be ſaved, or elſe we ſhulle be damned, for the 'doome ſhall be given after our workis. Looke therefore 'now what thing is written in the booke of thy conſci-'ence, while thou art here: and if thou findeſt ought 'contrary to Chriſts life, other to his teaching, with the 'knife of penaunce and repentance ſcrape it away and 'write it better, evermore hertly thinking that thou ſhalt 'yelde reckening of thy bayly.

'Alſo I ſaid principally that it were to witen, what re-'ward ſhall be geve on that doome, to wiſe ſervants and 'good, and what to falſe ſervants and wicked. For the 'which it is to wite, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall 'come to the doome here into this world, in the ſame body 'that he tooke of our Ladie, having thereon the woundis 'that he ſuffered for our again bieng. And all that ever 'ſhullen be ſaved, taking againe their bodyes clyving to 'their head Chriſt, ſhall be raviſhed metying him in the 'aire, as *Paul* ſaith: They that ſhall be damned lyen up-'on the earth, as in a tonne of Wine the dreggis dwellen 'byneth, and the Cliere wine hoveth above. Then ſhall 'Chriſt axe reckening of the deedes of mercy, reproving 'falſe Chriſten men for the levying of them, reherſing the 'deedes of the ſame and other truthis by the which his 'true ſervants then followed him, that ſhulle thilke falſe 'ſervants goe with the Devil, whom they have ſerved 'in the Earth, then ſwallowing into the endleſs fire. 'And righteful men ſhullen goe into everlaſting life, then 'ſhall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of Priviries; 'Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the Earth. 'Woe to the paynym that gaſe that worſhip to dead 'Images wrought of mans hands, and to other crea-'tures that he ſhould have gone to God that him wrought: 'Woe to the *Jew* that truſteth ſo muchil in the olde 'Lawe, then ſhall he ſe *Maries* ſonne deeming the world 'whom he deſpiſed and ſet on the Croſs: Woe to the falſe 'Chriſten man that knew the will of his Lord and fulfill-'led it nought.

'Alſo woe for ſin of thinking to thee, that thou haſt 'ſhyt out the meine of God, that is, minde of his paſſion, 'holy contemplation of his goodneſs, and memory of 'his benefites, fro the chamber of thine hert; and haſt 'made it a houſe of Swyn and a den of Theeves, by un-'cleane thoughtes and delightes. As thou here haſt ſperd 'God out of thine hert, ſo he ſhall ſpere thee out of Heaven: 'Thou haſt herberwid the meine of the Fiend, and with 'them in Hell thou ſhalt ever abide. Woe alſo for ſinne of 'ſpeech, for thou might nought open thy ſoule and ſtink-'ing mouth with the which thou haſt ſpoken unhoneſtly, 'curſing, fraud, deceite, leaſings, forſwearing, ſcorning, 'and backebiting, to praiſe God in the fellowſhip of Saints. 'For loving is not comynlych in mouthes of ſinners. For 'in the which gif thou haddeſt kept thy mouth cleane, thou 'ſhouldeſt have ſonged in fellowſhip of Angels this bleſſed 'ſong; *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipo-'tens*; Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Then yel-'ing and weeping thou ſhalt cry in company of Devils;

*Væ, Væ, Væ, quantæ ſunt tenebræ?*

'Woe, Woe, Woe, How great beth theſe darkneſs? Wo 'alſo for ſinne of deede. Thou haſt bene proud, thy pride 'ſhall be drawne to Hell, as *Eſay* ſaith, or thou haſt bene 'brent with envie of the Devil. Envie entred into the 'world, and they ſhoulden followen him that ben on his 'ſide, as *Salomon* ſaith. Or thou haſt beſtirred with wrath, 'and everich man that beareth wrath to his brethren is 'guilty in doome, as Chriſt in the Goſpel ſaith of *Mat-'thew*. Or thou be ſlow to good deedes, myſſawe ſhall 'come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy poverty as a 'man armed, as the Book of *Proverbes* ſaith. Or thou 'haſt haunted lechery, gluttony, or covetiſe. That for-'ſooth were ye, that everich avouterer, or uncleane man, 'that is a glutton, other chynch, ſhall never have Heritage 'in the Realm of Chriſt and of God, as *Paul* ſaith. But 'Fire, Brimſtone, and the Spirit of Tempeſtes, that is, 'the Fiend of Hell, ſhulen be a partie of their paine, as it 'is written in the *Pſaulter*, when theſe Damned men be in 'this woe, they ſhulen ſing this rueful Song that is ywrit-'ten in the Book of Mourning: The joy of our heart is a 'go: our quiet is turned into woe, the Crowne of our *Note.* 'head is fallen us fro. Alas for ſinne that we have do. 'But joy and joy, and joy to them that be ſaved. Joy in 'God, joy in himſelf, joy in other that ben ſaved. Alſo 'joy for their travel is brought to ſo gracious an end. Joy, 'for they ſcape the pain of Hell; Joy, for their bliſs that *Concluſion.* 'they han in the ſight of God, *Cui ſit honor & gloria, in 'ſecula ſeculorum*, Amen.

And thus much concerning this worthy and fruitful Sermon, which as by the ancientneſs of the phraſe ſeemeth to be Preached much about the time of *John Wickliff*; ſo I thought here, by occaſion of *William Thorps* examinati-on, beſt to place the ſame, for the apt coherence both of the ſpirit, and of the matter. Eſpecially having before our eyes, the publick utility of the Reader, to whom, by the ſtudious reading thereof, might riſe plentiful matter of true Chriſtian information, both of the wholeſome fear-ing of God, and of the right guiding of every Chriſtian mans life.

Which I thought good to annex further in our ſtory, after the examination of *William Thorp*, and the Martyr-dom of *William Sawtrey*, and of *John Badby* thus de-ſcribed (as ye have heard) which was about the year 1409. By the way here is to be conſidered, at leaſt to be admoniſh-ed, that all this while the ſchiſm in the Church of *Rome* did yet continue, and ſo indured till the Council of *Con-ſtance*, which was in whole, the ſpace of twenty and *Vide ſupra.* nine years. The origine whereof (as was ſaid before) firſt began at *Urbanus* the Fifth; which *Urbanus* being dead, *Urbanus 5.* *An.* 1389. next followed Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, who *Bonifacius 9.* ſate fourteen years. He in ſelling his pardons was ſo im-*Innocentius 7.* pudent and ſo paſt ſhame, that he brought the Keys of *Peter* (as ſaith *Platina*) in contempt. After him ſucceed-ed *Innocentius* the Seventh, and ſate two years: who be-*Gregorius 12.* ing dead, the Cardinals conſulting together, and ſeeing *The Cardi-nals device* the foul enormity and inconvenience growing upon this *to ceaſe the* contentious ſchiſm in their Church of *Rome* (minding *ſchiſm.* to provide ſome remedy for the ſame, after the beſt device *The vow* they could) in their conclave where they were aſſem-*and oath of* bled for a new election for the Pope, took this order, *the Cardi-* promiſing among themſelves with ſolemn Vow made to *nals made* God, to *Mary* the Bleſſed Virgin, to *Peter* and *Paul*, and *for the* to all the bleſſed company of Saints; That if any of *ſchiſm.* them, within the College or without the College, ſhould be called to the high place of Apoſtolical Preeminence; he ſhould effectuouſly renounce the juriſdiction and title of his Popedom, if or whenſoever the contrary Pope for the time being would in like many renounce his place and title, and his Cardinals in the like manner condeſcend to the other Cardinals of *Rome*. So that both theſe two Colleges of Cardinals agreeing together, one chief Bi-ſhop might be choſe and taken out of them both, to be made the true Pope. Provided moreover, that none ſhould ſeek any releaſment or abſolution from the ſaid promiſe, vow and bond, once paſſed among them; Unto all which

things furthermore every one ſubſcribed with his hand. Theſe things thus prefixed and ratified upon the ſame, they proceeded to the Election. In which was choſen *Gregorius* the Twelfth, who the ſame day of his election, in the preſence of all the Cardinals confirmed the Vow, Sacrament, and Promiſe made, ſubſcribing the ſame with his hand in form as followeth, *And I* Gregory, *this day being the laſt of* November, *in the year of our Lord,* 1407. *choſen and elected for Biſhop of* Rome, *do ſwear, vow, and promiſe, and confirm all the premiſſes above contained, &c.* This being done, ſhortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80 years. As the time thus paſſed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the Pope, according to his Oath, would give over, with the other Pope alſo. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two Popes to be attempted, by Letters from one to another; aſſigning both day and place, where and when they ſhould meet together; but yet no effect did follow.

The Oath and Vow of Pope Gregory the 12th.

*Ex Chron. D. Albani.*

This ſo paſſing on, great murmuring was among the Cardinals, to ſee their holy perjured Father ſo to neglect his Oath and Vow aforenamed. Inſomuch that at length, divers of them did forſake the Pope, as being perjured (as no leſs he was) ſending moreover to Kings and Princes of other Lands, for their counſel and aſſiſtance therein, to appeaſe the Schiſm. Amongſt the reſt, Cardinal *Biturienſis* was ſent to the King of *England*; who publiſhed divers Propoſitions and Concluſions (remaining in the Regiſters of *Thomas Arundel*) diſputeth, that the Pope ought to be ſubject to Laws and Councils. Then King *Henry* (moved to write to *Gregory* the Pope) directeth his Letter here under enſuing, which was the year of our Lord, 1409. The contents of the Letter be theſe.

The Pope falſly perjured. Cardinals leave the perjured Pope.

{Anno 1409.}

## The Letter of King *Henry* the Fourth to Pope *Gregory* the Twelfth.

King Henry the Fourth to Pope Gregory the Twelfth. Two hundred thouſand ſlain by Schiſm of Rome. Thirty thouſand ſlain in Camp fighting for the Biſhoprick of Leodium.

*MOſt bleſſed Father, if the diſcreet Providence of the Apoſtolical See, would call to mind with what great perils the univerſal World hath been damnified hitherto under pretence of this preſent Schiſm; and eſpecially would conſider, what ſlaughter of Chriſtian people to the number of two hundred thouſand (as they ſay) hath been through the occaſion of War raiſed up in divers quarters of the World; and now of late, to the number of thirty thouſand Souldiers, which have been ſlain through the diſſention moved about the Biſhoprick of* Leodium *between two ſet up, one by the Authority of one Pope, the other by the Authority of the other Pope, fighting in Camp for the Title of that Biſhoprick. Certes ye would lament in ſpirit and be ſore grieved in mind for the ſame. So that with good conſcience ye would relinquiſh rather the honour of the See Apoſtolick, than ſuffer ſuch horrible bloodſhed hereafter to enſue, under the cloke of diſſimulation, following herein the example of the true Mother in the Book of* Kings: *who pleading before* Solomon *for the right of her Child, rather would depart from the Child, than the Child ſhould be parted by the Sword. And although it may be vehemently ſuſpected by the new Creation of nine Cardinals, by your laſt made, contrary to your Oath (as other men do ſay) that you do but little heed or care for ceaſing the Schiſm; Yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the World, that your circumſpect Seat ſhould ever be noted and diſtained with ſuch an inconſtancy of mind; whereby the laſt error may be worſe than the firſt.* Ex Chron. D. Albani, *Part the ſecond.*

## King *Henry* the Fourth to the Cardinals.

King Henry the Fourth to the Cardinals.

*AND to the Cardinals likewiſe, the ſaid King directeth another Letter with theſe Contents here following: We deſiring to ſhew what Zeal we have had and have, to the reformation of peace of the Church; by the conſent of the States of the Realm, have directed to the Biſhop of* Rome *our Letters after the tenour of the Copy herewith in theſe preſents incloſed to be executed effectually: wherefore we ſeriouſly beſeech your reverend Colledge, That if it chance the ſaid* Gregory *to be preſent at the Council of* Piſe, *and to render up his Popedom, according to your deſire, and his own Oath; you then ſo Ordain for his ſtate totally, that chiefly God may be pleaſed thereby, and that both the ſaid* Gregory *and alſo we which entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cauſe to give you worthily condign thanks for the ſame.* Ibid.

*Concilium Piſanum.*

This being done in the year of our Lord, 1409. afterward in the year next following, *Anno* 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to wit, of *Gregorius* and *Benedictus*, by common advice aſſembled together at the City of *Piſe*, for the reformation of Unity and Peace in the Church. To the which Aſſembly, a great multitude of Prelates and Biſhops being convented, a new Pope was choſen, named *Alexander* the Fifth. But to this Election, neither *Gregorius* nor *Benedictus* did fully agree. Whereby there were three Popes together in the *Roman* Church (that is to underſtand) not three Crowns upon one Popes head, but three Heads in one Popiſh Church together. This *Alexander*, being newly made Pope, ſcarcely had well warmed his triple-Crown, but ſtraight giveth out full remiſſion, not of a few, but all manner of ſins whatſoever, to all them that conferred any thing to the Monaſtery of S. *Bartholomew* by *Smithfield*, reſorting to the ſaid Church any of theſe days following; to wit, on *Maundy-Thurſday*, *Good-Friday*, *Eaſter* even, the Feaſt of the *Annunciation*, from the firſt Even-ſong to the later. But this Pope, which was ſo liberal in giving remiſſion of many years to other, was not able to give one year of life to himſelf, for within the ſame year he died. In whoſe ſtead ſtept up Pope *John* 23.

*Ex Chro. D. Alban.* {Anno 1410.} *Concil. Piſan.*

Three Popes at three.

The vain remiſſion by the Popes indulgence.

Pope Alexander dead.

Pope John 23.

*Ex Joan. Gerſon de Hiſtoria Hæreſiarum, lib. 4.*

In the time of this *Alexander* great ſtir began in the Country of *Bohemia*, by the occaſion of the Books of *John Wickliff*, which then coming to the hands of *John Hus*, and of other both men and women, eſpecially of the Lay ſort, and Artificers, began there to do much good. Inſomuch, that divers of them not only men, but women alſo, partly by the reading of their Books tranſlated into their Tongue, partly by the ſetting forward of *John Hus*, a notable learned man, and a ſingular Preacher at that time in the Univerſity of *Prague*, were in ſhort time ſo ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move queſtions, yea and to reaſon with the Prieſts, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

The Goſpel beginning to take root in Bohemia.

By reaſon whereof, complaint was brought to the ſaid Pope *Alexander* the Fifth, who cauſed eſtſoons the forenamed *John Hus* to be cited up to *Rome*. But when he came not at the Popes citation, then the ſaid Pope *Alexander* addreſſed his Letters to the Archbiſhop of *Swinco*. Wherein he ſtraitly charged him to prohibite and forbid, by the Authority Apoſtolical, all manner of Preachings or Sermons to be made to the people, but only in Cathedral Churches or Colledges, or Pariſh-Churches, or in Monaſteries, or elſe in their Church-yards. And that the Articles of *Wickliff* ſhould in no caſe of any perſon, of what ſtate, condition, or degree ſoever, be ſuffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly. Commanding moreover and charging the ſaid Archbiſhop, that he with four Bachelors of Divinity, and two Doctors of the Canon-Law joyned unto him, would proceed upon the ſame, and ſo provide that no perſon in Churches, Schools, or any other place, ſhould teach, defend, or approve any of the aforeſaid Articles. So that whoſoever ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be accounted an Heretick, and unleſs he ſhall revoke ſolemnly and publickly the ſaid Articles, and ſhall for ever abjure the Books wherein the foreſaid Articles be contained, ſo that they may be utterly aboliſhed out from the eyes of the faithful; the ſame ſhould be apprehended and impriſoned, all appellation ſet apart, the help alſo of the ſecular Arm being called thereunto; if need ſhall require, &c. Theſe were the contents of this mighty and fierce Bull of Pope *Alexander*.

The Letter of Pope Alexander the Fifth to the Archbiſhop of Swinco of Bohemia.

The Popes cruel Bull againſt John Hus.

Againſt the which Bull on the other ſide *John Hus*, juſtly complaining, excepteth again and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his Book, intituled, *De Eccleſia, cap.* 18. Where he declareth this Mandate of the Pope to ſtand directly againſt the doings and ſayings both of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles; conſidering how Chriſt himſelf preached to the people, both in the Sea, in the Deſert, in Fields, in Houſes, in Synagogues, in Villages; And the Apoſtles alſo in all places did the ſame, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreover, the ſaid Mandate or Bull of the Pope to redound unto the great detriment of the Church

*John Hus objecteth againſt the Popes cruel Bull.*

The Popes Bull contrary to Chriſt.

KING *Hen.4.*

Church, in binding the Word of God, that it might not have his free paſſage. Alſo, the ſame to be prejudicial unto Chappels newly erected for the Word to be preached in them. Wherefore (ſaith he) from this Commandment or Mandate of Pope *Alexander*, I did appeal unto the ſaid *Alexander* being better informed and adviſed. And as I was proſecuting my Appeal, the Lord Pope (ſaith *John Hus*) immediately died.

The notable Judgment of God in ſtriking the Adverſaries of the Goſpel.

Then the Archbiſhop of *Swinco* aforeſaid, to whom this preſent Bull was directed, when he ſaw the Proceſs, Bulls and Mandates of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be thus contemned of *John Hus* and his Fellows, neither having any hope of redreſs in *Winceſlaus* the King, which ſeemed to neglect the matter, went out of his Country into *Hungary*, to complain unto *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungary*, and Brother to the ſaid *Winceſlaus*. But this quarrelling Archbiſhop, whether before (as the *Bohemians* ſay) or after (as *Silvius* ſaith) that he had ſpoken with *Sigiſmund*; immediately there (by the juſt Judgment of God) died in *Hungary*, as the ſtory ſaith, for ſorrow. Whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his Goſpel, newly beginning to take root among the *Bohemians*. Albeit, this tranquility there did not long continue without trouble and perſecution, neither could it in thoſe furious days and Reign of *Antichriſt*. For after this *Alexander* ſucceeded Pope *John* the 23. Who, likewiſe playing his part in this Tragedy, bent all his might and main to diſturb the *Bohemians*, as more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in further proceſs of our Hiſtory, coming to the year of our Lord, 1413.

The Goſpel ſeldom times long quiet.

Pope *John* 23.

Thus the poor *Chriſtians* (as ye ſee) like to the ſilly *Iſraelites* under the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, were infeſted and oppreſſed in every place, but eſpecially here in *England*, and that ſo much the more here, becauſe that the King, not like to *Winceſlaus*, went full and whole with the Pope and his Prelates againſt the Goſpellers.

The pride and glory of the Clergy of *England* in thoſe days.

By reaſon whereof the Kingdom of the Pope and his Members here in this Realm began to be ſo ſtrong, that none durſt ſtir or once mute againſt them. The Biſhops having the King ſo full on their ſide, armed moreover with Laws, Statutes, Puniſhments, Sword, Fire, and Fagot, reigned and ruled as they liſted, as Kings and Princes within themſelves. So ſtrong were they of Power, that no humane Force was able to ſtand againſt them: ſo exalted in Pride, and puft up in Glory, that they thought all things to be ſubject to their reverend Majeſties. Whatſoever they ſet forth or decreed, it muſt of all men be received and obeyed.

And ſuch was their ſuperſtitious blindneſs and curious vanity, that whatſoever toy came once in their fantaſie; it was ſtraightways determined and ſtabliſhed for a Law of all men to be obſerved, were it never ſo frivolous or ſuperſtitious; as well appeareth by *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other, who having now a little leiſure from ſlaying and killing the innocent people, Martyrs and Confeſſors of the Lord, and having now brought their Enemies (as they thought) under feet; began to ſet up themſelves, and to invent new cuſtom, as the guiſe is of the Popes Church, ever to intrude into the Church of God ſome ceremony or cuſtom of their own making, whereby the Church of Chriſt hath been hitherto exceedingly peſtred. So likewiſe this *Thomas Arundel*, thinking the Church yet not ſufficiently ſtuffed with Ceremonies and vain Traditions of men, bringeth in a new-found Gaud, commonly called *The tolling of Aves*, in honour of our Lady, with certain *Aves* to be ſaid, and days of pardon to be given for the ſame. For the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the Kings requeſt, he directed his Mandate to the Biſhop of *London*, well ſtuffed with words of Idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth.

Forty days of pardon given by T. *Arundel* Archbiſhop.

## A Mandate of *Thomas Arundel*, directed to the Biſhop of *London*, to warn men to ſay certain Prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or ringing of Curphew.

THomas, &c. *To the right reverend Brother, the Lord* Robert, *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* London, *greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumſpect conſideration, how the moſt high Word that was in the beginning with God, choſe to him an holy and immaculate Virgin of the Kingly Stock, in whoſe womb he took true fleſh by inſpiral inſpiration, that the merciful goodneſs of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might aboliſh the ſentence of condemnation, which all the Poſterity of Mankind, that was created, had by ſin incurred: Amongſt other Labours in the Vine of the Lord of Sabbath, we ſung to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Chriſtian Religion did extol with voices of praiſes ſo worthy a Virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of our Redemption, by whom the holy day firſt ſhined to us, which gave us hope of Salvation; And although all the ſame people were drawn to reverence her, which being a happy Virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of Heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all Nations, miniſtring light to the people that were miſerably drowned in the darkneſs of death: We truly as the Servants of her own Inheritance, and ſuch as are written of, to be of her peculiar Dower, as we are by every mans confeſſion acknowledged to be, we I ſay ought more watchfully than any others to ſhew the endeavours of our devotion in praiſing her. Who being hitherto merciful to us, yea being even Cowards, would that our power, being as it were ſpread abroad every where through all the coaſts of the World, ſhould with a victorious Arm fear all foreign Nations; That our power, being on all ſides ſo defended with the Buckler of her Protection, did ſubdue unto our victorious Standards, and made ſubject unto us, Nations both near at hand and far off.*

Ringing of Curphew.

If this be not blaſphemous and derogatory to Chriſt, let the Reader judge.

These men make a *Bellone* of our Lady.

*Likewiſe our happy eſtate (all the time that we have paſſed ſince the beginning of our lives) may be well attributed only to the help of her Medicine; to whom alſo we may worthily aſcribe now of late in theſe our times, under the mighty Government of our moſt Chriſtian King, our deliverance from the ravening Wolves, and the mouths of cruel Beaſts, which had prepared againſt our Banquets a meſs of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjuſtly, ſecretly lying in wait for us, in recompence of the good will that we ſhewed to them. Wherefore, that ſhe being on high ſitting before the Throne of the heavenly Majeſty, the Defendreſs and Patroneſs of us all, being magnified with all mens praiſes, may more plentifully exhibit to us the Sons of Adoption the teats of her * Grace, in all thoſe things that we ſhall have to do; At the requeſt of the ſpecial devotion of our Lord the King himſelf, we command your Brotherhood, ſtraitly enjoyning you, that you command the Subjects of your City and Dioceſs, and of all other Suffragans, to worſhip our Lady* Mary *the Mother of God, and our † Patroneſs and Protectreſs, evermore in all adverſity, with ſuch like kind of prayer and accuſtomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Chriſts faithful people is wont to worſhip her at the ringing of* Coure le feu. *And when before day in the morning ye ſhall cauſe them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing ſhe be every where honoured devoutly by the aforeſaid our and your Suffragans, and their Subjects as well religious as ſecular, in your and their Monaſteries and Collegiate-Churches: That we ſo humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly Piety, may mercifully come to the help, the protection and defence of the ſame our Lord the King, who for the happy remedy of quietneſs, and for our ſuccour from tempeſtuous Floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes with all his whole deſire to watching. We therefore coveting more earneſtly to ſtir up the minds of all faithful people to ſo devout an exerciſe of God, &c. We grant by theſe preſents, to all and every man, &c. that ſhall ſay the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel five times at the Morning-Peal*

False help fought and ſet up of Idolaters.

* The Papiſts would fuck our Ladies paps.

† Will ye ſtand to this Doctrine ye Catholicks? Papiſts blaſphemy fighting againſt the Grace of Chriſt. Ringing of Curphew.

with

*with a devout mind*, toties quoties (*how oft ſoever*) *forty days pardon by theſe preſents.* Given under our Seal in our Manor of *Lambeth* the tenth day of *Febr. Anno noſtræ tranſlat. 9. Ex Regiſt. Thom. Arundel.*

Forty days pardon for five *Aves.*

Heaping up Ceremonies in the Church.

By this frivolous and barbarous Conſtitution, with many other of like ſort heaped into the Church by the *Papiſts*, appeareth the proper natures and condition of this Catholick Generation. Who being themſelves not greatly exerciſed nor experienced in any ſerious cogitation of ſpiritual matter (as ſeemeth) take upon them to govern the Spiritual Church of Chriſt, whereof indeed they have no ſkill or very little. And therefore according to their unskilful handling, they lead and rule the Church after ſuch outward ſights and ceremonies, ſeemly perhaps to their own groſs affection; but not agreeing (nay rather clean contrary) to the right nature and condition of the Spiritual Houſe and Kingdom of the Lord. And like as in their inventions they ſwerve utterly from the right handling of all Spiritual Government; ſo in their manners and form of life likewiſe they do reſemble little or no part almoſt of ſuch as are and ought to be true Paſtors and Miniſters of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain, in theſe *Roman* Prelates to be noted; who ſo well conſidering the humble ſtate and lowly ſpirit which ought to be in Paſtoral Leaders of the Church, will compare the ſame with the uſual pomp of theſe glorious Poteſtates.

The pomp of the Popes Church noted.

As for example, what can be more convenient for a true Paſtor Eccleſiaſtical, than humility of heart and ſpirit, according to the example of the Head-Biſhop himſelf? So what greater ſhew of Arrogancy and Pride could there be, than in this, whom I have oft named before, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*? who, paſſing by the high ſtreet of *London*, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the Bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great ſnuff, and did ſuſpend all ſuch Churches in *London* (not only with the Steeple and Bells, but alſo with the Organs) ſo many as did not receive his coming with the noiſe of Bells, according as out of his own Regiſters may appear; the word whereof annexed to his own Somner, I have hereto annexed in his own form, as followeth.

## A Commiſſion directed to the Somner, to ſuſpend certain Churches of *London*, becauſe they rung not their Bells at the preſence of my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

THomas *by the permiſſion of God, &c. To our well-beloved* Thomas Wilton, *our Somner ſworn, health, grace, and bleſſing. The comelineſs of our holy Church of* Canterbury, *over which we bear Rule, deſerveth and requireth, that while we paſs through the Province of the ſame our Church (having our Croſs carried before us) every Pariſh-Church in their turns ought and are bounden, in token of ſpecial reverence that they bear to us, to ring their Bells. Which notwithſtanding, yea on* Tueſday *laſt paſt, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the Clock before Dinner, paſſed openly on foot as it were through the midſt of the City of* London, *with our Croſs carried before us; divers Churches, whoſe names are here beneath noted, ſhewed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our coming) unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our Church of* Canterbury, *ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we being willing to revenge this injury, * for the honour of our Spouſe, as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all thoſe Churches under our Inditement, ſuſpending Gods holy Organs and Inſtruments in the ſame. Which we alſo ſuſpend by the tenour of theſe preſents, till the Miniſters of the aforeſaid Churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful Grace.* Given, &c.

Churches of *London* ſuſpended for not ringing at the coming of the Archbiſhop.

* Oh injurious enemies to Chriſt his humility.

What great reaſon was in this, why this Archbiſhop either ſhould thus look for the ringing of the Bells, or why he ſhould be thus diſpleaſed with not ringing, I do not ſee. Be-like his mind in the mean time was greatly occupied with ſome great muſe, as feeling of Gods fear, with repentance and remembrance of his ſins, with zealous care and ſolicitude for his Flock, with the earneſt meditation of the Paſſion and Life of our Saviour, who in this World was ſo deſpiſed: or elſe was ſet upon ſome grave ſtudy, while he ſo waited for the ringing of the Bells, which were wont to be ſo noiſome to all Students. And why were not the Trumpeters alſo ſhent as well, becauſe they did not ſound before his Perſon? But though the Bells did not clatter in the Steeples, and therefore his Thunderbolt ſhould have fallen upon the Steeples which had deſerved; why ſhould the body of the Church therefore be ſuſpended? At leaſt, the poor Organs (me thinketh) had ſome part of wrong to be put to ſilence in the Quire, becauſe the Bells rang not in the Tower.

{ KING } *Hen.* 4.

Organs ſuſpended in the Church, becauſe the Bells did not ring.

Of the like matter alſo we read in the ſaid Regiſters, falling between the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and the Priory of the ſame Town, for not ringing at the Biſhops coming into the Church. Whereupon much ſuit and contention was between them, till at length the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* took up the matter, moderating it, as in the ſaid *Regiſters, fol.* 441. appeareth to be ſeen as followeth:

Ex Regiſtro Tho. Arundeli.

Variance between the Biſhop and Prior of Worceſter for not ringing at the Biſhops coming.

UNiverſis, &c. Thomas, &c. *Whereas there happened variance lately between our reverend Brother the Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter *on the one party, and the religious and diſcreet men the Prior and Covent of the ſame Church on the other party, for not ringing of Bells at the coming of our ſaid Brother to his foreſaid Church, at length the parties (conſidering the great inconvenience that might come thereof) at our inſtance and requeſt did agree on this manner, that as often as it ſhall happen our reverend Brother to go to his aforeſaid Church, either to celebrate Orders, or to viſit his Church in the Head or in the Inferiors, or to make Cream and Oil in the ſame Church; Alſo in the Feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *which is the chiefeſt Feaſt in the Abbey aforeſaid; then the Prior and the Covent, and their Succeſſors for the time being, ſhall ring ſolemnly againſt his coming, or ſhall cauſe to be rung ſolemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made againſt the ſame. Which agreement that it may be more firmely kept, we let you all underſtand by theſe preſents, ſealed with our Seal.* Given at our Palace of *Canterbury*, July 12. the tenth year of our Government.

The like ſtir for Bell-ringing and for Proceſſions, had almoſt happened between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Succeſſor to this *Thomas Arundel*, named *Henry Chichley* on the one party, and the Abbey of S. *Albans* on the other party, had not the Abbot, in time ſubmitting himſelf to the Archbiſhop, ſo provided, that the ringing of their Bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their Liberties. Whereunto the Archbiſhop granted by theſe his Letters as followeth:

Ringing to the Archbiſhop at S. *Albans.*

Ex Regiſt. Hen. Chicheley, *fol.* 365.

HEnry, &c. *to the religious men, the Abbot and Covent of the Monaſtery of* S. Albans *in the Diocеſs of* Lincoln, *health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance between us, and you the Abbot and Covent, by reaſon of not giving reverence to us, being due to our Province of* Canterbury; *that is, for not ringing the Bells, and meeting us with Proceſſions when we paſſed by divers places of our Province, as well due of common cuſtom, as of old uſe, and for the Prerogative of the Church of* Canterbury, *as alſo being due of every one being within the compaſs of this our ſaid Province, when and as often as we ſhall paſs by their places; at length your Lord Abbot (coming perſonally to us) did grant both for you and the Covent aforeſaid, to do and to give of your gentleneſs all reverence and honour, with ſuch reverence both to us and our Church of* Canterbury, *as often as we paſs by your Monaſtery, or the places nigh or adjoyning thereto, or ſhall hereafter go by; ſo that it might not be prejudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priviledge; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, deſiring to keep you from damage, let you underſtand by theſe preſents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or priviledge whatſoever herein;*

*nor*

{KING 2 Hen. 4.} *not by any means to be prejudicial to you by theſe your reverences or other duties, whatſoever you have or ſhall grant to us of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your Dominion. In witneſs whereof, &c.* Dated the 28*th* day of *January*, 1425. at S. *Albans*, the twelfth year of our Government.

To expreſs moreover and deſcribe the glorious pomp of theſe Prince-like Prelates in theſe blind days of Popiſh Religion reigning then in the Church, I thought to adjoyn hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and injoyned ſtrait penance by *William Courtney* Predeceſſor of the ſaid *Thomas Arundel*, for bringing litter to his Horſe, not in Wains as they ſhould do, but in privy ſacks, in a ſecret manner under their Clokes or Coats. For the which ſo hainous and horrible Treſpaſs, the ſaid Archbiſhop ſitting in his Tribunal-Seat, did call and cite before him the ſaid perſons (*pro litera*, i. e. for litter, after his own *Latin*) and after their ſubmiſſion injoyned them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foreſaid Parties, here followeth out of the ſaid Archbiſhops Regiſters, both by his own words, and by picture of the perſons in the ſame Regiſters annexed and painted, in all reſemblance, as there ſtandeth, and here is alſo to be ſeen.

*Wil. Courtney Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

*Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.*

*A deſcription of poor men doing their Penance with their ſtraw on their back.*

The Picture of them drawn in all proportion according to the exemplar ſtanding in the Regiſter.

*This baſ full of ſtraw I beare on my back. Becauſe my lords horſe his litter did lack if ye be not good to my lords graces horſe, ye are like to goe barefoot before the croſſe.*

*Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.* *Erroris mater ignorantia quoſdam* Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forſtall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, *Tenentes Domini de* Wengham *taliter obcæcavit, quod ante adventum dicti Domini Archiepiſcopi ad palatium ſuum* Cantuariæ *in vigilia dominica in ramis palmarum*, Anno Dom. 1390. *de cariendo & ducendo ad dictum palatium fœnum, ſtramen, ſive literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenuta ſuorum, quæ & quæ tenent de Domino & Eccleſia ſua* Cantuariæ *aſtringuntur, per balivum Domini ibidem juſſi & legitima præmoniti debita ſervitia more ſolito impendere dedignantes, ſtramen hujuſmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in ſufficienti quantitate, ſed modice in ſaccis ſub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt; in vilipendium Domini, ac ſubtractionem jurium Eccleſiæ ſuæ* Cantuar. *Unde ſuper hoc evocati coram Domino, die Jovis in hebdomada Paſchæ in caſtro ſuo de* Statewode *pro Tribunali ſedente perſonaliter comparentes, ipſius judicio in hac parte ſe humiliter ſubmiſerunt, veniam & miſericordiam pro commiſſis devote petendo. Et deinde Dominus præfatus*, Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forſtall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, *de ſtando mandatis Eccleſiæ, & fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis injungendam, juratas abſolvit in forma juris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ, pœna ſalutari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime ſequente prædicti pœnitentes nudi capita & pedes, proceſſionem apud Eccleſiam collegiatam de* Wengham *faciendam cum ſingulis ſaccis ſuper humeris ſuis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & ſtramine) ita quod ſtramen & fœnum hujuſmodi ad ora ſaccorum patentium intuentibus præminerent, lentis inceſſibus procederent humiliter & devote.*

Mark ye Grammarians, this verb, for litter.

*In Engliſh.*

IGnorance the mother of Error, ſo much hath blinded and deceived certain perſons, to wit, *Hugh Pennie*, *John Forſtall*, *John Boy*, *John Wanderton*, *William Hayward*, and *John White*, Tenants of the Lord of *Wengham*, that againſt the coming of the foreſaid Archbiſhop to his Palace of *Canterbury* on *Palmes-Sunday* even, the year of our Lord, 1390. where they being warned by the Bayliff, to convey and carry Hay, Straw, and other litter to the aforeſaid Palace, as they were bound by the tenour of their Lands, which they hold of the See of *Canterbury*; refuſing and diſdaining to do their ſervice, as they were accuſtomed, brought their ſtraw and other litter, not in Carts and Wains openly and ſufficiently, but by piece-meal, and cloſely in bags or ſacks, in contempt of their Lord, and derogation of the Right and Title of the See of *Canterbury*. Whereupon they being aſcited and preſented before the Archbiſhop, ſitting in Judgment at his Manor of *Statewood*, yielded and ſubmitted themſelves to his Lordſhips pleaſure, humbly craving pardon of their Treſpaſs. Then the aforeſaid Archbiſhop abſolved the above named *Hugh Pennie*, *&c.* they ſwearing to obey the Laws and Ordinances of holy Church, and to do the puniſhment that ſhould be appointed them for their deſerts; that is, that they going leiſurely before the proceſſion, every one of them ſhould carry openly on his ſhoulder his bag ſtuffed with hay and ſtraw; ſo that the ſaid hay and ſtraw ſhould appear hanging out, the mouthes of the Sacks being open.

*Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

Penance injoyned for bringing ſtraw to my Lords horſe.

Excommunication and abſolution abuſed.

Notes

## *Notes of certain Parliament matters paſſed in this Kings days.*

Notes of this Kings Parliament.

TO proceed now further in the Reign of this King, and to intreat alſo ſomething of his Parliaments as we have done of other before. Firſt, we will begin with the Parliament holden in the firſt year of his coming in.

Moreover, forſomuch as our Catholick *Papiſts* will not believe yet the contrary, but that the Juriſdiction of their Father the Pope hath ever extended throughout all the World, as well here in *England*, as in other places; Here therefore ſpeaking of the Parliaments holden in this Kings days concerning this matter, I refer them to the Parliament of the ſaid King *Henry* in his firſt year holden, and to the 27*th* Article of the ſame. Where they may read in the tenth Objection laid againſt King *Richard* in plain words, how that, foraſmuch as the Crown of this Realm of *England*, and the Juriſdiction belonging to the ſame; as alſo the whole Realm it ſelf, at all times lately paſt, hath been at ſuch liberty, and injoyed ſuch Prerogative, that neither the Pope, nor any other out of the ſame Kingdom, ought to intrude himſelf nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the forenamed King *Richard* the Second, for procuring the Letters Apoſtolical from the Pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain Statutes of his, and that his Cenſures might be proſecuted againſt the Breakers thereof. Which ſeemed then to the Parliament to tend againſt the Crown and Regal Dignity, as alſo againſt the Statutes and Liberties of this the ſaid our Realm of *England*, *Act. Parl. An.* 1. *Reg. Hen.* 4. *Act.* 27.

The Popes Juriſdiction excluded out of this Realm.

Ex an. 1. Reg. Henrici, Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the ſecond year of the ſaid King, this was in the Parliament required, that all ſuch Perſons as ſhall be arreſted by force of the Statute made againſt the *Lollards*, in the ſecond year of *Henry* the Fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arreſted by none other than by the Sheriffs, or ſuch like Officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The King granted to their advice therein.

An. 8. Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 116.

In the eighth year moreover of this Kings Reign, it was likewiſe propounded in the Parliament, that all ſuch perſons as ſhall procure, or ſue in the Court of *Rome* any Proceſs touching any Benefice, Collation, or Preſentation of the ſame, ſhall incur the pain of the Statute of Proviſors, made in the thirteenth year of *Richard* the Second, whereunto the King granted, that the Statutes heretofore provided ſhould be obſerved.

An. 8. R. Hen. 4. Act. 114.

*Item*, in the ſaid Parliament, there it was put up by Petition, that the King might enjoy half the profits of every Parſons Benefice who is not reſident thereon. Thereunto the King anſwered, That the Ordinaries ſhould do their duties therein, or elſe he would provide further remedy to ſtay their Pluralities.

Ibid. Act. 37.

*Item*, in the ſaid Parliament it was required; that none do ſue to the Court of *Rome* for any Benefice, but only to the Kings Courts.

¶ In the next year following, which was the ninth of this King, another Petition of the Commons was put in Parliament againſt the Court of *Rome*, which I thought good here to expreſs, as followeth:

Ex Rotulo Parliamenti, an. 9. Hen. 4.

*The Commons do beſeech, that foraſmuch as divers Proviſors of the Benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the Court of* Rome, *through their ſingular covetouſneſs now newly imagined to deſtroy thoſe that have been long time Incumbents in divers their Benefices of holy Church peaceably, ſome of them by the Title of the King, ſome by Title ordinary, and by the Title of other true Patrons thereof, by colour of Proviſions, Relations, and other Grants made to the ſame Proviſors by the Apoſtoil of the ſaid Benefices, do purſue Proceſſes in the ſaid Court by Citations made beyond the Sea, without any Citations made within the Realm in deed againſt the ſame Incumbents, whereby many of the ſaid Incumbents, through ſuch privy and crafty Proceſſes and Sentences of privation and inhabilitation, have loſt their Benefices, and others put in the places of the ſaid Incumbents, before the publication of the ſame ſentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to loſe their Benefices through ſuch Proceſſes, to their perpetual deſtruction and miſchief; And foraſmuch as this miſchief cannot be holpen without any eſpecial remedy be had by Parliament: Pleaſeth it the King to conſider the great miſchief and danger that may ſo come unto divers his Subjects without their knowledge, through ſuch Citations out of the Realm, and thereupon to ordain by the advice of the Lords of this preſent Parliament, that none preſented be received by any Ordinary unto any Benefice of any ſuch Incumbent for any cauſe of privation or inhabilitation, whereof the Proceſs is not founded upon Citation made within the Realm, and alſo that ſuch Incumbents may remain in all their Benefices, until it be proved by due Inqueſt in the Court of the King, that the Citations whereupon ſuch privations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the Realm: and that if ſuch Ordinaries, or ſuch preſented, or others, do purſue the contrary, that then they and their Procurators, Fautors, and Counſellors, do incur the pains contained in the Statute made againſt Proviſors in the thirteenth year of the Reign of the late* Richard *King of* England *the Second, by Proceſs to be made, as is declared in the Statute made againſt ſuch Proviſors in the* 27*th year of the Reign of King* Edward, *Predeceſſor to our Lord the King that now is, any Royal Licences or Grants in any manner to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that all other Statutes made againſt Proviſors, and not repealed before this preſent Parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.*

The wickedneſs of Popes Proviſors inciting and depriving benefited men in *England*, their citation being not known in the Realm.

*That the Kings Council have Power by Authority of Parliament, in caſe that any man find himſelf grieved in particular, that he may purſue: and that the ſaid Council by the advice of the Juſtices, do right unto the Parties. This to indure until the next Parliament, reſerving always unto the King his Prerogative and Liberty.*

KING Hen. 4.

Item, *that no Popes Collector thenceforth ſhould levy any money within the Realm for Firſt-fruits of any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, under pain of incurring the Statute of Proviſions.*

An. 9. Regis Hen. 4. Act. 42.

Beſides in the ſaid Parliament holden the eleventh year of this King, is to be noted how the Commons of the land put up a Bill unto the King, to take the Temporal Lands out from Spiritual mens hands or poſſeſſion. The effect of which Bill was, that the Temporalties diſordinately waſted by men of the Church, might ſuffice to find to the King 15 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Eſquires, and a 100 houſes of Almoſe, to the relief of the poor people, more than at thoſe days within *England*. And over all theſe foreſaid charges, the King might put yearly in his Coffers 20000 pound.

Ex Chron. D. Albani. Fabiane, &c. Vitis.

Provided, that every Earl ſhould have of yearly rent three thouſand mark; and every Knight a hundred mark and four plough-lands; every Eſquire forty mark by year, with two plough-lands; and every houſe of Almoſe a hundred mark, with overſight of two true Seculars unto every houſe, and alſo with proviſion, that every Townſhip ſhould keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living; with condition that if more fell in a Town than the Town might maintain, then the ſaid Almoſe-houſes to relieve ſuch Townſhips.

A computation of Church-goods, to how much they do amount.

And to bear theſe Charges, they alledged by their ſaid Bill, That the Temporalties, being in poſſeſſion of Spiritual men, amounted to 3 C. and 22 M. mark by year. Where of they affirmed to be in the See of *Canterbury*, with the Abbies of Chriſts Church, of S. *Auguſtines*, *Shrewsbury*, *Coggeſhale*, and S. *Oſus*, 20 M. mark by year. In the See of *York* and Abbies there 20 M. mark. In the See of *Wincheſter* and Abbies there 20 M. mark. In the See of *London*, with Abbies and other Houſes there 20 M. mark. In the See of *Lincoln*, with the Abbies of *Peterborough*, *Ramſey*, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Norwich*, with the Abbies of *Bury*, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Ely*, *Spalding* and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Bathe*, with the Abbey of *Okinborne* and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Worceſter*, with the Abbies of *Exſham*, *Abingdon*, and other, 20 M. mark. In the See of *Cheſter*, with the Precinct of the ſame, with the Sees of S. *David*, of *Saliſbury*, and *Exeter*, with their precincts, 20 M. mark, The Abbies of *Ravens* or *Revans*, of *Fountains*, of *Gernons*, and divers other, to the number of five more, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of *Leiceſter*, *Walthan*, *Gosborne*, *Merton*, *Ticeter*, *Oſney*, and other, unto the number of ſix more, 20 M. mark. The Abbies of *Dovers*, *Batil*, *Lewis*, *Coventry*, *Daventre*, and *Tourney*,

KING Hen. 5. 30 M. mark. The Abbies of *Northampton, Thorton, Briſtow, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchiſſor, Frideſwide, Notly,* and *Grimoisby,* 20 M. mark.

The which foreſaid Sums amount to the full of 3 C. M. mark. And for the odd of 22 M. mark, they appointed *Hartford, Rocheſter, Huntingdon, Swinſhed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Tewkesbury, Dunſtable, Whirborn, Taunton,* and *Biland.*

And over this, they alledged by the ſaid Bill, that over and above the ſaid ſum of 3 C. and 22 M. mark, divers Houſes of Religion in *England* poſſeſſed as many Temporalties as might ſuffice to find yearly 15 M. Prieſts and Clerks, every Prieſt to be allowed for his ſtipend 7 mark by the year.

To the which Bill no anſwer was made, but that the King of this matter would take deliberation and adviſement, and with that anſwer ended, ſo that no further labour was made.

Anno 1413. Theſe things thus hitherto diſcourſed, touching ſuch acts and matters as have been incident in the life time of this King, followeth next the thirteenth year of his Reign. In the which year the ſaid King *Henry* the Fourth after he had ſent a little before a certain company of Captains and Souldiers to aid the Duke of *Burgundy* in *France* (among whom was the Lord *Cobham*) keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Eltham*, fell grievouſly ſick. From thence he was conveyed to *London*, where he began to call a Parliament, but tarried not the end. In the mean time, the infirmity of the King more and more increaſing, he was taken and brought into a Bed in a fair Chamber at *Weſtminſter*. And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the ſame Chamber; and they anſwered and ſaid, *Jeruſalem*. And then he ſaid it was his Prophetie, *That he ſhould make his end in* Jeruſalem. And ſo diſpoſing himſelf toward his end in the foreſaid Chamber, he died; upon what ſickneſs, whether of Leproſie, or of ſome other ſharp Diſeaſe, I have not to affirm. *Ex vetuſt. Chron. Anglico, cujus initium:* That all men called. The like Propheſie we read of Pope *Silveſter* the Second, to whom being inquiſitive for the time and place where he ſhould die, it was anſwered, *That he ſhould die in* Jeruſalem. Who then ſaying Maſs in a Chappel (called likewiſe *Jeruſalem*) perceived his end there to be near, and died. And thus King *Henry* the Fourth, Succeſſor to the lawful King *Richard* the Second, finiſhed his life at *Weſtminſter*, and was buried at *Canterbury* by the Tomb of *Thomas Becket*, *&c. Anno* 1413.

The King had a Propheſie, that he ſhould die in *Jeruſalem*. Propheſies deceivable.

*Ex vetuſt. Chron. Anglico, cujus initium eſt.* That all men called The Propheſie of Pope *Silveſter* the Second.

## *King* Henry *the Fifth.*

King *Henry* the Fifth. AFter this *Henry* the Fourth reigned *Henry* the Fifth his Son, which was born at *Monmouth* in *Wales*, of whoſe other Vertues, and great Victories gotten in *France*, I have not greatly to intermeddle; eſpecially ſeeing the memory of his worthy Proweſs, being ſufficiently deſcribed in other Writers in this our time, may both content the Reader, and unburden my labour herein; eſpecially ſeeing theſe later Troubles and Perturbations of the Church offer me ſo much, that unneth any vacant leiſure ſhall be left to intermeddle with matters prophane.

Great tempeſt at the Coronation of the new King. After the Coronation then of this new King; which was the ninth day of *April*, called then *Paſſion-Sunday*, which was an exceeding ſtormy-day, and ſo tempeſtuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the ſame, a Parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno* 1413. At which time *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* collected in *Pauls* Church at *London* an univerſal Synod of all the Biſhops and Clergy of *England*. In that Synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined; that the day of Saint *George*, and alſo of Saint *Dunſtan*, ſhould be double Feaſt, called *Duplex Feſtum*, in holy Kitchin, in holy Church I would ſay.

A Synod called at *London*: S. *George* and S. *Dunſtans*-day made double Feaſt.

And becauſe the order and manner of thoſe Pope-holy Feaſts either yet is not ſufficiently known to ſome rude and groſs capacities, or may peradventure grow out of uſe, and be ſtrange and unknown to our Poſterity hereafter; therefore to give a little *memorandum* thereof (by the way for erudition of times hereafter to come) touching this myſtical Science of the Popes deep and ſecret Divinity; here is to be noted, that the Feaſts of the holy Mother Catholick-Church be divided into ſundry members. Like as a plentiful Root in a fruitful Field riſeth up and burgeneth into manifold Arms, and the Arms again do multiply into divers and ſundry Branches, out of the which moreover, although no Fruit do come, yet both Leaves and Flowers do bud and bloſſom in moſt copious wiſe, right beautiful to behold; Even ſo this *Feſtum*, containing a large matter of great variety of Days and Feaſts, groweth in it ſelf and multiplieth, being thus divided; Firſt, into *Feſtum duplex*, and into *Feſtum ſimplex*; that is, into Feaſt-double, and to Feaſt-ſimple. Again, this *Feſtum duplex* brancheth four-fold-wiſe, to wit, into *Feſtum principale duplex*, into *Majus duplex*, into *Minus duplex*, and *Inferius duplex*; that is, in principal double, in greater double, in leſſer double, and inferiour or lower double. Unto theſe ſeveral ſorts of Feaſts what days were peculiarly aſſigned, it were too long to recite. For this preſent purpoſe it ſhall ſuffice to underſtand, that as unto the principal double Feaſt only belongeth eight days in the year; ſo the *Majus duplex Feſtum* had given unto him by this Convocation the day of Saint *George* and of Saint *Dunſtan*, as is afore remembred; albeit by conſtitution it was ſo decreed, yet by cuſtom it was not ſo uſed. *Item*, it is to be noted, that theſe two Feaſts, to wit, *Principale duplex*, and *Majus duplex*, did differ and were known from all other by four Notes; by ſervice in the Kitchin, and by ſervice in the Church, which were both double, by ringing in the Steeple, which was with a double peal; by Copes in the Quire, and by thurifying or cenſing the Altars: For in theſe two principal and greater double Feaſts, the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth leſſon muſt be read with ſilken Copes. Alſo at the ſaid Feaſts, in the time of the Leſſons, the Altars in the Church muſt be thurified; that is, ſmoked with Incenſe, &c. And likewiſe the *Minus duplex*, and *Inferius duplex* had alſo their peculiar ſervice to them belonging.

The Feaſt of the Popes Church deſcribed and divided.

*Feſtum duplex Principale duplex, Majus duplex, Minus duplex, Inferius duplex.* Conſtitution againſt Counell. *Ex tab. Feſtorum.*

Secondly, The *Simplex Feſtum*, which is the ſecond Arm ſpringing of this diviſion, is thus divided: Either having a triple invitory, or a double, or elſe a ſingle invitory. Of the which moreover, ſome have three Leſſons, ſome have nine, &c.

*Simplex Feſtum* in the Popes Church.

And thus much by occaſion for Popiſh Feaſts; not that I do ſo much deride them, as I lament, that ſo much and manifeſt Idolatry in them is committed, to the great diſhonour of our Lord God, which is only to be honoured.

## *The Trouble and Perſecution of the Lord* Cobham.

BUt to let this by-matter paſs, again to return to the foreſaid univerſal Synod aſſembled by *Thomas Arundel* at S. *Pauls* Church in *London*, as is before remembred: the chief and principal cauſe of the aſſembling thereof (as reporteth the Chronicle of Saint *Albans*) was to repreſs the growing and ſpreading of the Goſpel, and eſpecially to withſtand the noble and worthy Lord *Cobham*, who was then noted to be a principal Favourer, Receiver, and Maintainer of them, whom the Biſhop miſnamed to be *Lollards*, eſpecially in the Dioceſſes of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Hereford*, ſetting them up to preach whom the Biſhops had not licenſed, and ſending them about to preach, which was againſt the Conſtitution Provincial, before remembred, holding alſo and teaching Opinions of the Sacraments, of Images, of Pilgrimage, of the Keys and Church of *Rome*, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the *Romiſh* Church, &c.

The trouble of the Lord *Cobham*. *Ex Chron. Mon. Albam.*

In the mean time as theſe were in talk amongſt them concerning the good Lord *Cobham*; reſorted unto them the twelve Inquiſitors of Hereſies (whom they had appointed at *Oxford* the year afore, to ſearch out Hereticks, with all *Wickliffs* Books) who brought 246 Concluſions, which they had collected as Hereſies out of the ſaid Books. The Names of the ſaid Inquiſitors were theſe:

*Walden in faſciculo zizaniorum Wicklavi.*

1. *John Whitnam*, a Maſter in the new Colledge.
2. *John Langedon*, Monk of Chriſts Church in *Canterbury*.
3. *William Ufford*, Regent of the *Carmelites*.
4. *Thomas Claxton*, Regent of the *Dominicks*.
5. *Robert Gilbert*.
6. *Richard Earthiſdale*.
7. *John Lucke*.
8. *Richard Sneditham*.
9. *Richard Fleming*.
10. *Thomas Rotorborne*.
11. *Robert Ronbery*.
12. *Richard Craſdale*.

Theſe things thus done, and the Articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their Communication, concluding among themſelves, that it was not poſſible for them to make whole Chriſts Coat without ſeam (meaning thereby their patched Popiſh Synagogue) unleſs certain great men were brought out of the way, which ſeemed to be the chief Maintainers of the ſaid Diſciples of *Wickliff*. Among whom this noble Knight Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, the Lord *Cobham*, was complained of by the general Proctors to be the chief Principal. Him they accuſed, firſt, for a mighty Maintainer of ſuſpected Preachers in the Dioceſs of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Hereford*, contrary to the minds of the Ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have ſent thither the ſaid Preachers, but alſo to have aſſiſted them there by force of Arms, notwithſtanding their ſynodal Conſtitution made afore to the contrary. Laſt of all, they accuſed him that he was far otherwiſe in belief of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Penance, of Pilgrimage, of Image-worſhipping, and of the Eccleſiaſtical Power, than the holy Church of *Rome* had taught many years before.

*The Lord Cobham accuſed for maintaining the Godhead of Chriſt.*

*The Lord Cobham accuſed for his Chriſtian belief.*

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, Proceſs ſhould be awarded out againſt him, as againſt a moſt pernitious Heretick.

*Proceſs againſt him.*

Some of that Fellowſhip which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not beſt to have the matter ſo raſhly handled, but by ſome preparation made thereunto before, conſidering the ſaid Lord *Cobham* was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the King, their counſel was to know firſt the Kings mind to ſave all things upright. This counſel was well accepted, and thereupon the Archbiſhop *Thomas Arundel*, with his other Biſhops, and a great part of the Clergy, went ſtraitways unto the King then remaining at *Kenings-ton*, and there laid forth moſt grievous Complaints againſt the ſaid Lord *Cobham*, to his great infamy and blemiſh, being a man right godly. The King gently heard thoſe blood-thirſty Prelates, and far otherwiſe than became his Princely Dignity: notwithſtanding requiring, and inſtantly deſiring them, that in reſpect of his noble Stock and knighthood, they ſhould yet favourably deal with him. And that they would, if it were poſſible, without all rigor or extreme handling reduce him again to the Churches unity. He promiſed them alſo, that in caſe they were committed to take ſome deliberation, his ſelf would ſeriouſly commune the matter with him.

*A ſpiritual practice.*

*The King ſpeaketh for him.*

*His gentle promiſe.*

Anon after, the King ſent for the ſaid Lord *Cobham*. And as he was come, he called him ſecretly, admoniſhing him betwixt him and him, to ſubmit himſelf to his Mother the holy Church, and as an obedient Child to acknowledge himſelf culpable. Unto whom the Chriſtian Knight made this anſwer: *You moſt worthy Prince*, ſaith he, *I am always prompt and willing to obey, forſomuch as I know you a Chriſtian King, and the appointed Miniſter of God, bearing the Sword to the puniſhment of evil Doers, and for ſafeguard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole Obedience, and ſubmit thereunto (as I have done ever) all that I have, either of Fortune or Nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatſoever ye ſhall in the Lord command me. But as touching the Pope and his Spirituality, I owe them neither ſuit nor ſervice, forſomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great* Antichriſt, *the Son of Perdition, the open Adverſary of God, and the Abomination ſtanding in the holy place.* When the King had heard this, with ſuch like ſentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him ſo utterly.

*The Kings admoniſhment to the Lord Cobham.*

*The anſwer of the Lord Cobham to the King.*

*Rom.* 13. 1 *Pet.* 2. *Lord Cobham obedient to the King.*

*A moſt Chriſtian obedience.*

2 *Theſ.* 2. *Mat.* 24.

*The Lord Cobham Forſaken of the King.*

And as the Archbiſhop reſorted again unto him for an anſwer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and puniſh him according to their deviliſh Decree, which they called the Laws of holy Church. Then the ſaid Archbiſhop, by the counſel of his other Biſhops and Clergy, appointed to call before him Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, the Lord *Cobham*, and to cauſe him perſonally to appear, to anſwer to ſuch ſuſpect Articles as they ſhould lay againſt him. So he ſent forth his chief Summoner, with a very ſharp citation into the Caſtle of *Cowling*, where as he at that time dwelt for his ſolace. And as the ſaid Summoner was come thither, he durſt in no caſe enter the Gates of ſo Noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home again, his Meſſage not done.

1 KING 1 *Hen.* 5.

*Lord Cobham ſummoned by the Archbiſhop.*

Then called the Archbiſhop one *John Butler* unto him, which was then the Doorkeeper of the Kings Privy-Chamber; and with him he covenanted, through promiſes and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to paſs under the Kings Name. Whereupon the ſaid *John Butler* took the Archbiſhops Summoner with him, and went unto the ſaid Lord *Cobham*, ſhewing him, that it was the Kings pleaſure, that he ſhould obey that citation, and ſo cited him fradulently. Then ſaid he to them in few words, *That he in no caſe would conſent to thoſe moſt deviliſh practices of the Prieſts.* As they had informed the Archbiſhop of that anſwer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by publick Proceſs or open Commandment. And in all the haſte poſſible, upon the *Wedneſday* before the Nativity of our Lady, in *September*, he commanded Letters citatory to be ſet upon the great Gates of the Cathedral-Church of *Rocheſter* (which was but three *Engliſh* miles from thence) charging him to appear perſonally before him at *Ledis* the eleventh day of the ſame month and year, all excuſes to the contrary ſet apart. Thoſe Letters were taken down anon after by ſuch as bare favour unto the Lord *Cobham*, and ſo conveyed aſide. After that cauſed the Archbiſhop new Letters to be ſet up on the Nativity-day of our Lady, which alſo were rent down, and utterly conſumed.

*John Butler playeth the part.*

*Citations ſet up againſt the Lord Cobham.*

*The citations taken down.*

Then foraſmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at *Ledis* (where he ſate in Conſiſtory, as cruel as ever was *Caiphas*, with his Court of Hypocrites about him) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of moſt deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falſly informed by his hired Spies, and other gloſing Glaverers, that the ſaid Lord *Cobham* had laughed at him to ſcorn, diſdained all his doings, maintained his old Opinions, contemned the Churches Power, the Dignity of a Biſhop, and the Order of Prieſthood (for all theſe was he then accuſed of) in his moody madneſs without juſt proof did he openly Excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny ſatisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afreſh, to appear before him the *Saturday* before the Feaſt of S. *Matthew* the Apoſtle, with theſe cruel Threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himſelf more ſtrong towards the performance thereof he compelled the Lay-power, by moſt terrible menacings of Curſes and Interdictions, to aſſiſt him againſt that ſeditious Apoſtata, Schiſmatick, and Heretick, the Troubler of the publick Peace, that Enemy of the Realm, and great Adverſary of all holy Church; for all theſe hateful Names did he give him.

*Falſe Accuſations againſt Lord Cobham.*

*Lord Cobham excommunicated.*

*Lord Cobham again cited.*

This moſt conſtant Servant of the Lord, and worthy Knight Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, the Lord *Cobham*, beholding the unpeaceable fury of *Antichriſt* thus kindled againſt him, perceiving himſelf alſo compaſſed on every ſide with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and ſo wrote a Chriſtian confeſſion or reckoning of his Faith (which followeth hereafter) both ſigning and ſealing it with his own hand. Wherein he alſo anſwered to the four chiefeſt Articles that the Archbiſhop laid againſt him. That done, he took the Copy with him, and went therewith to the King, truſting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confeſſion of his, than the common belief or ſum of the Churches Faith, called *The Apoſtles Creed*, of all Chriſtian men then uſed, with a brief Declaration upon the ſame, as here enſueth.

*Lord Cobham confeſſeth his Faith before men.*

*The Apoſtles Faith.*

*The*

## *The Chriſtian Belief of the Lord* Cobham.

The common Creed of Chriſtians.

I *Believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth: And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary, *ſuffered under* Pontius Pilate, *Crucified, Dead and Buried, went down to Hell, the third day roſe again from Death, Aſcended up to Heaven, ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence ſhall come again to judge the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the univerſal Holy Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgivneſs of Sins, the upriſing the fleſh, and Everlaſting Life,* Amen.

A Declaration of his belief.

And for a more large Declaration (ſaith he) of this my Faith in the Catholick Church, I ſteadfaſtly believe, That there is but one God Almighty; in and of whoſe Godhead are thoſe three perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and that thoſe three perſons are the ſelf ſame God Almighty. I believe alſo, That the ſecond perſon in this moſt bleſſed Trinity, in moſt convenient time appointed thereunto before, took fleſh and blood of the moſt bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, for the ſafeguard and redemption of the univerſal kind of Man, which was before loſt in *Adams* offence.

Joh. 5. Gal. 4. John 1. Luke 2.

Chriſt, is the only head of his Church.

Moreover I believe, That the ſame Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, thus being both God and Man, is the only head of the whole Chriſtian Church, and that all thoſe that have been or ſhall be ſaved, be members of this moſt Holy Church. And this Holy Church I think to be divided into three ſorts of companies.

The Church divided into three parts.

Whereof the firſt ſort be now in Heaven, and they are the Saints from hence departed. Theſe as they were here converſant, conformed always their lives to the moſt holy Laws and pure examples of Chriſt, renouncing Satan, the World, and the fleſh with all their concupiſcence and evils.

Contrary wrote he, *ad Parliamentum Ex Waldeno.*

The ſecond ſort are in Purgatory (if any ſuch place be in the Scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain.

The third ſort are here upon the Earth, and be called the Church Militant. For day and night they contend againſt crafty aſſaults of the Devil, the flattering proſperities of this world, and the rebellious filthineſs of the fleſh.

The Church militant divided in three.

This later Congregation by the juſt Ordinance of God is alſo ſevered into three divers eſtates, that is to ſay, into Prieſthood, Knighthood, and the Commons. Among whom the will of God is, That the one ſhould aid the other, but not deſtroy the other. The Prieſts firſt of all, ſecluded from all worldlineſs, ſhould conform their lives utterly to the examples of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Evermore ſhould they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholeſome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modeſt alſo, more loving, gentle, and lowly in ſpirit ſhould they be, than any other ſorts of people.

What the Prieſts ſhould do.

Knighthood what it ſhould do.

In the Knighthood are all they which bear ſword by Law of Office; Theſe ſhould defend Gods Laws, and ſee that the Goſpel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the ſame, and ſecluding all falſe Preachers; yea thoſe ought rather to hazard their lives, than to ſuffer ſuch wicked Decrees as either bleminſh the Eternal Teſtament of God, or yet let the free paſſage thereof, whereby Hereſies and Schiſms might ſpring in the Church. For of none other ariſe they, as I ſuppoſe, than of erroneous conſtitutions, craftily firſt creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought alſo to preſerve Gods people from oppreſſors, tyrants and thieves, and to ſee the Clergy ſupported ſo long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and miniſter the Sacraments freely. And if they ſee them do otherwiſe, they are bound by the Law or Office to compel them to change their doings; and to ſee all things performed according to Gods preſcript ordinance.

Mark here a moſt chriſtian heart.

What the common people ought to do.

The later fellowſhip of this Church, are the common people; whoſe duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the foreſaid miniſters of God, their Kings, Civil Governours and Prieſts. The right Office of theſe, as juſtly to occupy every Man his faculty, be it Merchandiſe, Handicraft, o the Tithe of the ground. And ſo one of them to be as an helper to another, following always in their ſorts the juſt Commandments of the Lord God.

Belief of the Lord *Cobham* concerning the Sacraments.

Over and beſides all this, I moſt faithfully believe, That the Sacraments of Chriſts Church are neceſſary to all Chriſtian believers; this always ſeen to, that they be truly miniſtred according to Chriſts firſt Inſtitution and Ordinance. And foraſmuch as I am malicioufly and moſt falſly accuſed of a miſ-belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, to the hurtful ſlander of many; I ſignifie here unto all Men, that this is my faith concerning that. I believe in that Sacrament to be contained Chriſts very body and blood under the ſimilitude of bread and wine, yea the ſame body that was conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin *Mary*, done on the Croſs, died and was buried, aroſe the third day from the death; and is now glorified in Heaven. I alſo believe the univerſal Law of God to be moſt true and perfect, and they which do not ſo follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be ſaved. Whereas he that ſeeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, ſhall taſte for it the felicity of everlaſting innocency.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Gods Law to be preferred before mans Law.

Finally, this is my faith alſo, that God will ask no more of a Chriſtian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that moſt bleſſed Law. If any Prelates of Church require more, or elſe any other kind of obedience, than this to be uſed; he contemneth Chriſt, exalting himſelf above God, and ſo becometh an open Antichriſt. All the premiſſes I believe particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his Holy Scripture, that I ſhould believe; inſtantly deſiring you my Liege Lord and moſt worthy King, that this confeſſion of mine may be juſtly examined by the moſt godly wiſe, and learned Men of your Realm. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be ſo allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true Chriſtian. If it be proved otherwiſe, then let it be utterly condemned; provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I ſhall moſt reverently at all times obey thereunto.

A Chriſtian deſire of the Lord *Cobham*.

This requeſt was lawful.

Obedience unto his King.

This brief confeſſion of his Faith the Lord *Cobham* wrote (as is mentioned before) and ſo took it with him to the Court, offering it with all meekneſs unto the King to read it over. The King would in no caſe receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that ſhould be his Judges. Then deſired he in the Kings preſence, that an hundred Knights and Eſquires might be ſuffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all Hereſies. Moreover he offered himſelf after the Law of Arms, to fight for life or death with any Man living, Chriſtian or Heathen, in the quarrel of his Faith, the King and the Lords of his Council excepted. Finally, with all gentleneſs he proteſted before all that were preſent, that he would refuſe no manner of correction that ſhould after the Laws of God be miniſtred unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekneſs obey it. Notwithſtanding all this the King ſuffered him to be ſummoned perſonally in his own Privy Chamber. Then ſaid the Lord *Cobham* to the King, that he had appealed from the Archbiſhop to the Pope of *Rome*, and therefore he ought, he ſaid, in no caſe to be his Judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he ſhewed it with all reverence to the King. Wherewith the King was then much more diſpleaſed than afore, and ſaid angerly unto him, that he ſhould not purſue his appeal; but rather he ſhould tarry in hold, till ſuch time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he, or nild he the Archbiſhop ſhould be his Judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the L. *Cobham* had lawfully afore required. But forſomuch as he would not be ſworn in all things to ſubmit himſelf to the Church, and ſo take what penance the Archbiſhop would enjoyn him; He was arreſted again at the Kings Commandment, and ſo led forth to the *Tower* of *London*, to keep his day (ſo was it then ſpoken) that the Archbiſhop had appointed him afore in the Kings Chamber.

The Chriſtian ſtomach and manhood of the L. *Cobham*.

No reaſonable offer would ſerve

L. *Cobham* appealed from the Archbiſhop to the Pope

Straight handling of the King.

L. *Cobham* would not obey the beaſt.

Then cauſed he the foreſaid Confeſſion of his Faith to be copied again, and the anſwer alſo (which he had made to the four Articles propounded againſt him) to be written in manner of an Indenture in two ſheets of Paper: That when he ſhould come to his anſwer, he might give the one Copy unto the Archbiſhop, and reſerve the other to himſelf. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23*d* day of *September* the *Saturday* before the Feaſt

The confeſſion and anſwer of the L. *Cobham* newly copied.

*Caiaphas ſitteth in Conſiſtory.*

of S. *Matthew*; *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop, ſitting in *Caiaphas* room in the Chapter-Houſe of *Pauls* with *Richard Clifford* Biſhop of *London*, and *Henry Bolingbrook* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; Sir *Robert Morley* Knight and Lieutenant of the *Tower* brought perſonally before him the ſaid Lord *Cobham*, and there left him for the time; unto whom the Archbiſhop ſaid theſe words.

## *The firſt Examination of the Lord* COBHAM.

*Antichriſt was here in full power.*

SIR *John*, in the laſt general Convocation of the Clergy of this our Province, ye were detected of certain Hereſies, and by ſufficient witneſſes found culpable. Whereupon ye were, by form of ſpiritual Law cited, and would in no caſe appear. In concluſion upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly Excommunicated. Notwithſtanding we neither yet ſhewed our ſelves unready to have given you Abſolution (nor yet do to this hour) would ye have meekly asked it. Unto this the Lord *Cobham* ſhewed, as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwiſe occupied, and ſo deſired no Abſolution. *A ſign of Gods true ſervant.* But ſaid he would gladly before him and his Brethren make reherſal of that Faith which he held and intended always to ſtand to, if it would pleaſe them to licenſe him thereunto. And then he took out of his boſom a certain writing intended, concerning the Articles whereof he was accuſed, and ſo openly read it before them, giving it unto the Archbiſhop as he had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the Copy.

*The Sacrament of the Lords body.*

I *John Oldcaſtle* Knight, Lord of *Cobham*, Will that all Chriſtian Men, weet and underſtand, that I clepe Almighty God into witneſs, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, ſhall be mine intent and my will, to believe faithfully and fully all the Sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in Holy Church; and moreover do declare me in theſe four points, I believe that the moſt worſhipful Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts body in form of bread, the ſame body that was born of the bleſſed Virgin our Lady Saint *Mary*, done on the Croſs, dead and buried, the third day roſe from death to life, the which body is now glorified in Heaven.

*Penance.*

Alſo as for the Sacrament of Penance I believe, That it is needful to every Man that ſhall be ſaved to forſake ſin, and to do due penance for ſin before done, with true Confeſſion, very Contrition, and due ſatisfaction as Gods Law limiteth and teacheth, and elſe may not be ſaved; which penance I deſire all Men to do.

*Images.*

And as of Images, I underſtand that they be not of believe, but that they were ordained ſith they believe was zewe of Chriſt, by ſufferance of the Church, to be Calenders to lewd Men, to repreſent and bring to mind the Paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and Martyrdom and good living of other Saints: And that whoſo it be, that doth the worſhip to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth ſuch hope or truſt in help of them, as he ſhould do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the greateſt ſin of Maumetry.

*Pilgrimage.*

Alſo I ſuppoſe this fully, That every Man in this Earth is a Pilgrim toward bliſs, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keep the holy Commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on Pilgrimages to all the world, and he die ſo) he ſhall be damned: he that knoweth the holy Commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he ſhall be ſaved though he never in his life go on Pilgrimage, as Men now uſe to *Canterbury* or to *Rome*, or to any other place.

*The anſwers examined.*

This anſwer to his Articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the Biſhops as is ſaid afore. Then counſelled the Archbiſhop with the other two Biſhops and with divers of the Doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to ſtand aſide. In concluſion by their aſſent and information he ſaid thus unto him; *Quarrel picked where none was given.* Come hither, Sir *John*: In this your writing are many good things contained, and right Catholick alſo, we deny it not: but ye muſt conſider that this day was appointed you to anſwer to other points concerning thoſe Articles, whereof, as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore ye muſt yet declare us your mind more plainly.

KING *Hen.* 5.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm and believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration rightly done by a Prieſt, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm and believe, that as concerning the Sacrament of Penance (whereas a competent number of Prieſts are) every Chriſtian Man is neceſſarily bound to be confeſſed of his ſins to a Prieſt ordained by the Church or not.

*The Wolf was hungry, he muſt needs be fed with blood.*

After certain other communication, this was the anſwer of the good Lord *Cobham*, That none otherwiſe would he declare his mind, nor yet anſwer unto his Articles, than was expreſly in his writing there contained. Then ſaid the Archbiſhop again unto him; Sir *John*, beware what ye do. For if ye anſwer not clearly to thoſe things that are here objected againſt you (eſpecially at the time appointed you only for that purpoſe) the Law of the Holy Church is, That compelled once by a judge we may openly proclaim you an Heretick. Unto whom he gave this anſwer; Do as ye ſhall think beſt, for I am at a point. Whatſoever he or the other Biſhops did ask him after that, he bad them reſort to his Bill; for thereby would he ſtand to the very death. Other anſwer would he not give that day; wherewith the Biſhops and Prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully diſquieted.

*The Chriſts anſwer of the Lord Cobham unto their quarellings.*

*A tyranny where he that is not.*

*His anſwer not to their mind.*

At the laſt the Archbiſhop counſelled again with his other Biſhops and Doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the Holy Church of *Rome* (following the ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Hierome*, Saint *Ambroſe*, and of the Holy Doctors) had determined in theſe matters, no manner of mention once made of Chriſt. Which determination (ſaith he) ought all Chriſtian Men both to believe and to follow.

*Antichriſt ſetteth men above God*

Then ſaid the Lord *Cobham* unto him, That he would gladly both believe and obſerve whatſoever Holy Church of Chriſts inſtitution had determined, or yet whatſoever God had willed him either to believe to do. But that the Pope of *Rome* with his Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of that Church had lawful power to determine ſuch matter as ſtood not with his word throughly; that would he not (he ſaid) at that time affirm. With this the Archbiſhop bad him to take good adviſement till the *Munday* next following (which was the 25*th* day of *September*) and then juſtly to anſwer, ſpecially unto this point; Whether there remained material bread in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration or not? He promiſed him alſo, to ſend unto him in writing thoſe matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his anſwer making. And all this was nought elſe, but to blind the multitude with ſomewhat. The next day following, according to his promiſe, the Archbiſhop ſent unto him into the *Tower*, this fooliſh and blaſphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned Clergy.

*The Lord Cobham refuſeth unto to Chriſt.*

*What could be more reaſonably ſaid if they had reaſon to receive it*

*A doctrine of Divels to blind the ſimple.*

## *The determination of the Archbiſhop and Clergy.*

*Ex magno proceſſu Thomæ Arundel.*

THE Faith and determination of the Holy Church touching the bliſsful Sacrament of the Altar, is this; That after the Sacramental words be once ſpoken by a Prieſt in his Maſs, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſts very body. And the material wine that was before wine is turned into Chriſts very blood. And ſo there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the Sacramental words were ſpoken; How believe ye this Article? Holy Church hath determined that every Chriſtian Man, living here bodily upon the Earth, ought to be ſhriven to a Prieſt ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. How feel ye this Article?

*The firſt Article.*

*The ſecond Article.*

Chriſt ordained S. *Peter* the Apoſtle to be his Vicar here in Earth, whoſe See is the Holy Church of *Rome*; And he granted, that the ſame power which he gave unto *Peter* ſhould ſucceed to all *Peter's* ſucceſſors, which we call now Popes of *Rome*; by whoſe power in Churches particular be ordained Prelates, as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Parſons Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom Chriſtian Men ought to obey after the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. This is the determination of Holy Church. How feel ye this Article?

*The third Article.*

*The ſeed of the Serpent*

Holy

KING *Hen.5.* The fourth Article.

Holy Church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Chriſtian Man, to go on Pilgrimage to holy places: and there ſpecially to worſhip Holy Reliques and Images of Saints, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, Confeſſors, and all other Saints beſide, approved by the Church of *Rome*. How feel ye this Article?

He ſeeth their ignorance and malice.

And as the Lord *Cobham* had read over this moſt wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he conſidered again, That God had given them over, for their unbeliefs ſake, into moſt deep errors and blindneſs of ſoul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermoſt malice was purpoſed againſt him, howſoever he ſhould anſwer. And therefore he put his life into the hands of God, deſiring his only ſpirit to aſſiſt him in his next anſwer. When the ſaid 25*th* day of *September* was come (which was alſo the *Munday* before *Michaelmas*) in the ſaid year of our Lord 1413. *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* commanded his judicial ſeat to be removed from the Chapter-Houſe of *Pauls* to the Dominick Friers within *Ludgate* at *London*. And as he was there ſet with *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, *Henry* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Bennet* the Biſhop of *Bangor*; He called in unto him his Council and his Officers, with divers other Doctors and Friers, of whom theſe are the names here following; Maſter *Henry Ware*, the Official of *Canterbury*; *Philip Morgan*, Doctor of the Laws; *Howel Kiffin*, Doctor of the Canon Law; *John Kempe*, Doctor of the Canon Law; *William Carleton*, Doctor of the Canon Law; *John Whitnam*, of the New College in *Oxford*; *John Whithead*, Doctor in *Oxford* alſo, *Robert Wombewel*, Vicar of Saint *Lawrence* in the *Jewry*; *Thomas Palmer*, the Warden of *Minors*; *Robert Chamberlain*, Prior of the *Dominicks*; *Richard Dodington*, Prior of the *Auguſtines*; *Thomas Walden*, Prior of the *Carmelites*, all Doctors of Divinity. *John Stephens* alſo, and *James Gole*, both Notaries, appointed there purpoſely to write all that ſhould be either ſaid or done. All theſe with a great ſort more of Prieſts, Monks, Canons, Friers, Pariſh-Clerks, Bell-ringers, Pardoners, diſdained him with innumerable mocks and ſcorns, reckoning him to be an horrible Heretick, and a Man accurſed afore God.

Ex utroque exemplari.

The Council of Cayphas.

The Phariſees and Scribes.

A rable of Antichriſts.

Anon the Archbiſhop called for a Maſs Book, and cauſed all theſe Prelates and Doctors to Swear thereupon, that every Man ſhould faithfully do his Office and duty that day. And that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party nor the other, any thing ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpoken or done, but according to the truth, as they would anſwer before God and all the world at the day of Doom. Then were the two foreſaid Notaries ſworn alſo to write and to witneſs the Proces that there ſhould be uttered on both parties, and to ſay their minds (if they otherwiſe knew) before they ſhould Regiſter it. And all this diſſimulation was but to colour their miſcheifs, before the ignorant multitude.

Conſilium Malignantium.

For a falſe colour ſwear they.

All done to deceive the ignorant.

Conſider herein (gentle Reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the juſt fear of God; for as they were then, ſo are they yet to this day.

Lord Cobham cometh again before them.

After that, came out before them Sir *Robert Morley* Knight, and Lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good Lord *Cobham*, there leaving him among them as a Lamb among Wolves, to his examination and anſwer.

## *Another Examination of the Lord* COBHAM.

Ex veriſſo exemplari Londinenſi.

THEN ſaid the Archbiſhop unto him, Lord *Cobham* ye be adviſed (I am ſure) of the words and Proceſs which we had unto you upon *Saturday* laſt paſt in the Chapter-houſe of *Pauls*; which Proceſs were now too long to be rehearſed again. I ſaid unto you then, That you were accurſed for your contumacy and diſobedience to the Holy Church, thinking that ye ſhould with meekneſs have deſired your abſolution.

The curſe of Antichriſt.

Then ſpake the Lord *Cobham* with a chearful countenance, and ſaid, God ſaid by his holy Prophet, *Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris*, which is as much to ſay as, *I ſhall curſe where you bleſs.*

Malac. 2.

The Archbiſhop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, ſaying, Sir, At that time I gently profered to have aſſoiled you if you would have asked it. And yet I do the ſame if ye will humbly deſire it in due form and manner as holy Church hath ordained.

A Wolviſh offer of gentleneſs.

Then ſaid the Lord *Cobham*, Nay forſooth will I not, for I never yet treſpaſſed againſt you, and therefore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards Heaven, and ſaid; I ſhrieve me here unto thee my Eternal Living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee (O Lord) moſt grievouſly in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetouſneſs, and in lechery. Many Men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible ſins; good Lord, I ask thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he ſtood up again and ſaid with a mighty voice; Lo, good people, lo; For the breaking of Gods Law and his great commandments, they never yet curſed me: But for their own Laws and Traditions moſt cruelly do they handle both me and other Men. And therefore, both they and their Laws, by the promiſe of God ſhall utterly be deſtroyed.

L. Cobham confeſſeth himſelf unto God.

Mans Law before Gods Law preferred.

Jer. 51.

At this the Archbiſhop and his company were not a little blemiſhed. Notwithſtanding, he took ſtomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuſe of their tyranny, and examined the Lord *Cobham* of his Chriſtian belief.

Whereunto the Lord *Cobham* made this godly anſwer, I believe (ſaith he) fully and faithfully in the univerſal Laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy ſacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I ſhould believe. Then demanded the Archbiſhop an anſwer of that Bill which he and the Clergy had ſent him into the Tower the day afore, in manner of a determination of the Church concerning the four Articles whereof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the Sacrament of the Altar, how he believed therein.

The true Chriſtian belief of the Lord *Cobham*.

Whereunto the Lord *Cobham* ſaid, That with that Bill he had nothing to do. But this was his belief (he ſaid) concerning the Sacrament. That his Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt Supper with his moſt dear Diſciples, the night before he ſhould ſuffer took bread in his hand; And giving thanks to his Eternal Father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gave it unto them, ſaying, *Take it unto you, and eat thereof all, this is my body which ſhall be betraied for you: Do this hereafter in my remembrance.* This do I throughly believe (ſaith he) for this Faith am I taught in the Goſpel of *Matthew*, in *Mark*, and in *Luke*, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians Chap.* 11.

Matt. 26. Mark 14. Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11

Antichriſt alloweth not this faith.

Then asked the Archbiſhop, If he believed that it were bread after the Conſecration or Sacramental words ſpoken over it.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid: I believe that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts very body in form of bread, the ſame that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, done on the Croſs, dead, and buried, and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in Heaven.

Then ſaid one of the Doctors of the Law: after the Sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Chriſt.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid then to one Maſter *John Whitehead*: You ſaid once unto me in the Caſtle of *Cowling*, that the ſacred Hoſt was not Chriſts body. But I held then againſt you, and proved that therein was his body, though the Seculars and Friers could not therein agree, but held each one againſt the other in that opinion. Theſe were my words then, if ye remember it.

*John Whitehead* gone from his opinions. All this would not help.

Then ſhouted a ſort of them together and cryed with great noiſe: We ſay all, That it is Gods body.

A blaſphemous brood

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the Conſecration or not?

Quarel pickers.

Then looked the Lord *Cobham* earneſtly upon the Archbiſhop, and ſaid; I believe ſurely that it is Chriſts body in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?

And the Archbiſhop ſaid, Yes, mary do I.

Then asked him the Doctors, whether it were only Chriſts body after the Conſecration of a Prieſt, and no bread, or not?

The Sacrament of Chriſts body is both the body and bread.

And he ſaid unto them, It is both Chriſts body and bread; I ſhall prove it thus: For like as Chriſts dwelling

Neither will Scripture nor reaſon ſerve This opinion hath S. *Auguſtine.*

here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the inviſible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only viſible and ſeen in him: So in the Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts very body and bread alſo, as I believe the bread is the thing that we ſee with our eyes, the body of Chriſt (which is his fleſh and his blood) is thereunder hid, and not ſeen but in Faith.

*Gelaſius contra Eutychen.*

And moreover to prove, That it is both Chriſts body and alſo bread after the Conſecration, it is by plain words expreſſed by one of your own Doctors writing againſt *Eutyches*, which ſaith, *Like as the ſelf ſame Sacraments do paſs by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt into a divine nature, and yet notwithſtanding keep the property ſtill of their former nature; ſo that principal myſtery declareth to remain one true and perfect Chriſt*, &c.

The Popes divinity.

Then ſmiled they each one upon another, that the people ſhould judge him taken in a great Hereſie. And with a great brag divers of them ſaid: It is a foul Hereſie.

Then asked the Archbiſhop what bread it was? And the Doctors alſo inquired of him whether it were material or not?

Material.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid unto them; The Scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my Faith hath nothing to do therewith. But this I ſay and believe, that it is Chriſts body and bread. For Chriſt

John 6.

ſaid in the ſixth of *John*'s Goſpel, *Ego ſum panis vivus, qui de cælo deſcendi: I which came down from Heaven am the living and not the dead bread.* Therefore I ſay now again as I ſaid afore, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God, and very Man, ſo in the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is Chriſts very body and bread.

An Hereſie after the Papiſts making.

Then ſaid they all with one voice; It is an Hereſie.

One of the Biſhops ſtood up by and by, and ſaid, What? it is an Hereſie manifeſt, to ſay that it is bread after the ſacramental words be once ſpoken, but Chriſts body only.

1 Cor. 10

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid, S. *Paul* the Apoſtle was (I am ſure) as wiſe as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the *Corinthians*, *The bread that we break*, ſaith he, *is it not the partaking of the body of Chriſt?* Lo he called it bread and not Chriſts body, but a mean whereby we receive Chriſts body.

The Sacrament is called bread.

That ſaid they again, *Paul* muſt be otherwiſe underſtood. For it is ſure an Hereſie to ſay that it is bread after the Conſecration, but only Chriſts body.

The Lord *Cobham* asked, How they could make good that ſentence of theirs?

They anſwered him thus: For it is againſt the determination of Holy Church.

The determination of the Church muſt ſtand, whatſoever *Paul* ſaith.

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop unto him: Sir *John*, we ſent you a writing concerning the faith of this bleſſed Sacrament, clearly determined by the Church of *Rome* our Mother, and by the holy Doctors.

A moſt Chriſtian anſwer.

Then he ſaid again unto him, I know none holier than is Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it ſtandeth not with the Scriptures, but manifeſtly againſt them. If it be the Churches, as ye ſay it is, it hath been hers only ſince ſhe received the great poiſon of worldly poſſeſſions, and not afore.

The judgment of the Lord *Cobham* concerning the determination of the Church.

Then asked they him, to ſtop his mouth therewith: If he believed not in the determination of the Church?

The Doctors confounded in their own queſtion.

And he ſaid unto them, No forſooth, for it is no God. In all our Creed, this word (*in*) is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghoſt, Three Perſons and One God. The Birth, the Death, the Burial, the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt, hath none (*in*) for belief, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the Sacraments, the forgivneſs of ſin, the later Reſurrection, nor yet the life everlaſting, nor any other (*in*) than in the Holy Ghoſt.

Then ſaid one of the Lawyers, Tuſh, that was but a word of Office: But what is your belief concerning Holy Church?

The L. *Cobham* believeth not in the Pope.

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered: My belief is (as I ſaid afore) that all the Scriptures of the ſacred Bible are true. All this is grounded upon them I believe throughly. For I know it is Gods pleaſure that I ſhould ſo do. But in your lordly Laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Chriſts holy Church, as your open deeds do ſhew: But ye are very Antichriſts, obſtinately ſet againſt his holy Law and Will. The Laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetouſneſs.

KING *Hen. 5.*

An Hereſie after the Papiſts.

This, they ſaid, was an exceeding Hereſie (and that in a great fume) not to believe the determination of holy Church.

Then the Archbiſhop asked him, What he thought of holy Church?

Holy Church defined.

He ſaid unto him, my belief is, That the Holy Church is the number of them which ſhall be ſaved, of whom Chriſt is the head. Of this Church one part is in Heaven with Chriſt, another in Purgatory (you ſay) and the third is here in Earth. This later part ſtandeth in three degrees, as I ſaid afore plainly in the confeſſion of my belief.

Conſider him to be then in ſhrewd handling.

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop unto him; Can you tell me who is of the Church?

The Lord *Cobham* anſwered; Yes, truly can I.

*Walden contra Wickleviſtas li. 2. c. 3.*

Then ſaid Doctor *Walden* the Prior of the Carmelites; It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Chriſt ſaith in *Matthew*, *Nolite judicare, preſume to judge no man.* If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or Brother, much more the judgment of your ſuperior.

How we may judge or not judge by the Scriptures.

The Lord *Cobham* made him this anſwer, Chriſt ſaith alſo in the ſelf ſame Chapter of *Matthew*, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, ſo is a falſe Prophet by his works, appear they never ſo glorious: But that ye left behind ye. And in *John* he hath this Text: *Operibus credite, Believe ye the outward doings.* And in another place of *John*: *Juſtum judicium judicate; when we know the thing to be true, we may ſo judge it and not offend.* For *David* ſaid alſo; *Recte judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly always ye Children of Men.* And as for your ſuperiority, were ye of Chriſt, ye ſhould be meek Miniſters, and no proud Superiors.

Matt. 7.

John 1.

John 7.

Deut. 16.

Pſal. 56.

Diverſity of judgments.

Then ſaid Doctor *Walden* unto him, Ye make here no difference of judgments: Ye put no diverſity between the evil judgments which Chriſt hath forbidden, and the good judgments, which he hath commanded us to have. Raſh judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So ſwift Judges always are the learned Scholars of *Wickliff*.

A perfect anſwer.

Unto whom the Lord *Cobham* thus anſwered: It is well ſophiſtred of you forſooth. Prepoſterous are your judgments evermore. For as the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, *Ye judge evil good and good evil:* and therefore the ſame Prophet concludeth, That your ways are not Gods ways, nor Gods ways your ways. And as for the vertuous Man *Wickliff*, whoſe judgments ye ſo highly diſdain, I ſhall ſay here of my part, both before God and Man, that before I knew that deſpiſed Doctrine of his, I never abſtained from ſin. But ſince I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwiſe I truſt been with me: ſo much grace could I never find in all your glorious inſtructions.

Eſay 5.

Eſay 55.

*Walden in præfatione doctrinæ, &c.*

A great adverſary.

Then ſaid Doctor *Walden* again yet unto him: It were not well with me (ſo many vertuous Men living, and ſo many learned Men teaching the Scripture, being alſo ſo open, and the examples of Fathers ſo plenteous) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the Divel preach. S. *Hierome* ſaith, *That he which ſeeketh ſuch ſuſpected maſters ſhall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day Divel.*

*Hieron. in breviar. in Matth.*

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid, Your Fathers, the old Phariſees, aſcribed Chriſts miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the Divel. And you as their natural Children have ſtill the ſelf ſame judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living muſt needs be Hereticks, and that muſt your Doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it. Then ſaid he to them all; to judge you as you be we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all Gods Law, that ye ſhould thus ſit in judgment of any Chriſtian Man, or yet give ſentence upon any other Man unto death, as ye do here daily? no ground have ye in all the Scripture ſo lordly to take it upon you, but in *Annas* and *Caiphas*, which ſate thus upon Chriſt, and upon his Apoſtles after his Aſcenſion. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Chriſts members as ye do, and neither of *Peter* nor *John*.

Luke 11.

John 10.

Doctors when the Scripture fail, they begin to rail.

The Clergy to ſit on life or death, hath no ground in Scriptures.

Followers of *Caiaphas*.

Then ſaid ſome of the Lawyers: Yes, forſooth, Sir, for Chriſt judged *Judas*.

The Lord *Cobham* ſaid, No, Chriſt judged him not, but he judged himſelf, and thereupon went forth and ſo did hang

KING *Hen. 5.*

king himself: but indeed Christ said, Wo unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the Church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of Gods Law.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venime?

The Lord *Cobham* said, Your possessions and Lordships, For then cryed an Angel in the Air (as your own Chronicles mention) *Wo, wo, wo, this day is venime shed into the Church of God.* Before that time all the Bishops of *Rome* were Martyrs in a manner. And since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all Men consider well this, That Christ was meek, and merciful; the Pope is proud, and a tyrant; Christ was poor, and forgave, the Pope is rich and a malitious Man-slayer, as his daily acts do prove him. *Rome* is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all the Disciples of him. Of whom, Prelates, Priests, and Monks, are the body, these pil'd Friers are the tail, which covereth his most filthy part.

26 Bishops of *Rome* together Martyrs, save only four.

A comparison between the Martyrs and the Popes time.

A comparison between Christ and the Pope.

*Rome* is Antichrists nest

Then said the Prior of the Friers *Augustines*, Alack, Sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.

And the Lord *Cobham* said, Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet *Esaias*, long afore my time. *The Prophet*, saith he, *which preacheth lies, is the tail behind.* For as you Friers and Monks be (like Pharisees) divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you with such other, are the very natural members of Antichrist.

Esay 9.

Friers proved sanctified, and yet found no traitors.

Matt. 23.

Then said he unto them all, Christ saith in his Gospel, *Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye close up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men, neither enter ye in your selves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own Traditions, and therefore are ye the household of Antichrist; ye will not permit Gods verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true Ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reproved.* But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

The Religion of Bishops.

Then said the Archbishop, By our Lady, Sir, there shall none such preach within my Dioceſs (and God will) nor yet in my jurisdiction (if I may know it) as either make division, or yet dissention among the poor Commons.

Note I pray you how those are counted traitors and seditious, that teach or cause Gods truth to be taught

The Lord *Cobham* said, both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable Men. But *Daniel* and Christ Prophecyed, that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the worlds beginning. And this Prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ saith also, *If those days of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any flesh be saved*; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though Priests and Deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the Sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on Gods Law, yet have these other Sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.

Luke 23.

John 19.

Prophecy.

Matter of Prophecy. Priests. Deacons.

Then a Doctor of Law, called Master *John Kemp*, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the Bill which they had afore sent him into the Tower by the Archpishops Council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. For they were so amazed with his answers (not all unlike to them which disputed with *Stephen*) that they knew not well how to occupy the time, their wits and sophistry (as God would) so failed them that day.

Mark this working of Satan.

Acts 6.

The first Article.

My Lord *Cobham* (saith this Doctor) we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this; and then he read upon the Bill. The Faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is this; That after the Sacramental words be once spoken of a Priest in his Mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body, and the material wine is turned into Christs blood. And so there remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine; which were there before the Sacramental words were spoken: Sir, believe you not this?

Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

The Lord *Cobham* said, This is not my belief. But my Faith is (as I said to ye afore) That in the worshipful Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very body in form of bread.

The Lord *Cobhams* belief in the Sacrament.

Then said the Archbishop, Sir *John*, ye must say otherwise.

The Lord *Cobham* said, Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side (as I trust he is) but that there is Christs body in form of bread, as the common belief is.

Then read the Doctor again.

The second Article.

The second point is this; Holy Church hath determined, that every Christian Man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven of a Priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?

The Lord *Cobham* answered and said, A diseased or sore wounded Man hath need to have a sure wise Chirurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessary were it therefore to be first shriven unto God, which only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a Priest, if he be a Man of good life and learning; for the Laws of God are to be required of the Priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an Idiot, or a Man of vicious living that is my Curate, I ought rather to fly from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodness towards my souls health.

Confession of sins to God only. Mal. 2.

Then read the Doctor again.

The third Article.

The third point is this; Christ ordained S. *Peter* the Apostle to be his Vicar here in Earth, whose See is the Church of *Rome*. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto *Peter* should succeed unto all *Peter's* successors, which we call now Popes of *Rome*. By whose special power in Churches particular be ordained Prelates and Archbishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christian Men ought to obey after the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. This is the determination of holy Church. Sir, believe ye not this?

Who is next unto *Peter*.

To this he answered and said, He that followeth *Peter* most nigheſt in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor *Peter* whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of *Silvester*, which for the more part were Martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of *Peter*.

Succession, not of place but of condition, maketh *Peters* heir.

With that, one of the other Doctors asked him; Then what do ye say of the Pope?

The Lord *Cobham* answered, As I said before, so I say again; That he and you together make whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you Bishops, Priests, Prelates, and Monks, are the body, and the begging Friers are the tail, for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtil Sophistry: neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with *Peter* follow Christ in Conversation.

Antichrists head, body, and tail.

Then read the Doctor again.

The fourth Article. Pilgrimage.

The fourth point is this; Holy Church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Christian Man, to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy Reliques and Images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approved by the Church of *Rome*. Sir, what say you to this?

What is to be done with images

Whereunto he answered, I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fare from Cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or els to bury them fare in the ground as ye do other aged people which are Gods images.

Saints are become now covetous beggers.

It is a wonderful thing, that Saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your Shrines and Idols, your fained Absolutions and Pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth and chief pleasures of all Christian Realm.

A whelp of the same Haire.

Why Sir (said one of the Clerks) will ye not worship good Images?

Images not to be worshipped.

What worship should I give unto them? said the Lord *Cobham.*

Then said Frier *Palmer* unto him, Sir, will ye worship the Cross of Christ, that he died upon?

Where is it, said the Lord *Cobham?*

The Frier said, I put you the case, Sir, that it were here even now before you.

The Cross, whether it is to be worshipped.

The Lord *Cobham* answered, This is a great wise Man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing it self is. Yet once again I ask you, What worship I should do unto it.

Galat. 6.

A Clerk said unto him, Such worship as *Paul* speaketh of, and that is this; *God forbid that I should joy, but only in the Cross of Jesus Christ.*

Then said the L. *Cobham*, and spread his arms abroad; This is the very Cross, yea, and so much better than your Cross of Wood, in that it was created of God, yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.

The material Cross is not material to our Faith.

Then said the Bishop of *London*, Sir, Ye wot well that he died on a material Cross.

What it is to rejoyce in the Cross of Christ.

The Lord *Cobham* said, Yea, and I wot also, that our salvation came not in by that material Cross, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wot, That Holy Saint *Paul* rejoyced in none other Cross, but in Christs Passion and Death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the self same verity that he hath suffered for afore?

Another Clerk yet asked him, Will ye then do none honour to the Holy Cross?

He answered him, Yes, if it were mine own, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.

Slandered with the truth.

These men seem to stand only upon their estimation amongst the people.

Then said the Archbishop unto him, Sir *John*, Ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole Spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here, to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain so far as I can see. Well we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: ye must either submit your self to the Ordinance of Holy Church, or else throw your self (no remedy) into most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late.

The Lord *Cobham* said, I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in this troubling me before this multitude.

A Wolvish offer of gentleness.

Then said the Archbishop again unto him, We once again require you to remember your self well, and to have none other manner of opinion in these maters, than the universal Faith and belief of the Holy Church of *Rome* is. And so like an obedient Child return again to the unity of your Mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas anon it will be too late.

The Lord *Cobham* said expresly before them all; I will none otherwise believe in these points than that I have told you here afore. Do with me what you will.

Bloody murtherers.

Finally, then the Archbishop said; Well, then I see none other but that we must needs do the Law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for an Heretick.

And with that the Archbishop stood and read there a Bill of his Condemnation, all the Clergy and Laity vailing their Bonets. And this was the tenor thereof.

## ¶ *The Definitive Sentence of his Condemnation.*

Suffered of God as a plague.

An heretick for confessing of Christ.

IN *the name of God; So be it, We* Thomas *by the sufferance of God, Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan and Primate of all* England, *and Legate from the Apostolick See of* Rome, *will this to be known unto all Men. In a certain cause of Heresie and upon divers Articles, whereupon Sir* John Oldcastle *Knight, and Lord* Cobham, *after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused and presented before us in our last Convocation of all our Province of* Canterbury, *holden in the Cathedral Church of* Pauls *at* London, *at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal Clergy of the said Convocation, we proceeded against him according to the Law (God to witness) with all the favour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might,* which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he might be converted and live; *we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the Churches unity, declaring unto him what the Holy and universal Church of* Rome *hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we found him in the Catholick Faith far wide, and so stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof; We yet pitying him of Fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed: but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the Law, and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the Sentence definitive, against him.*

KING Hen.5.

Ezec.18.

Ezec.35.

The Wolf would appear charitable.

See if they knew not themselves.

¶ Then brought he forth another Bill, containing the said Sentence, and that he read also in his beggerly Latine. *Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata*, and so forth. Which I have also translated into English that Men may understand it.

Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli.

¶ *Christ we take unto witness, that nothing else we seek in this our whole enterprise, but his only glory. Forasmuch as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said Sir* John Oldcastle *Knight, and Lord* Cobham, *not only to be an evident Heretick in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other Hereticks against the Faith and Religion of the holy and universal Church of* Rome; *namely about the two Sacraments (of the Altar, and of penance) besides the Popes power and Pilgrimages; And that he, as the Child of iniquity and darkness, hath so hardned his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his Pastor; Neither will he be allured by straight admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: The worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthiness again considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his dammable obstinacy (we being loth that he which is naught should be worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude) by the sage counsel and assent of the very discreet Fathers, our honourable Brethren and Lords, Bishops here present,* Richard *of* London, Henry *of* Winchester, *and* Bennet *of* Bangor, *and of other great learned and wise Men here, both Doctors of Divinity, and of the Laws Canon and Civil, Seculars and Religious, with divers other expert Men assisting us: we sententially and definitively by this present writing judge, declare and condemn the said Sir* John Oldcastle *Knight, and Lord* Cobham, *for a most pernicious detestable Heretick, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the Church again, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned Heretick, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we Excommunicate and denounce Accursed, not only this Heretick here present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other way maintain him; as very fautors, receivers, defenders counsellers, aiders and maintainers of condemned Hereticks.*

That Church is a whore.

A true sheep heareth the voice of a true pastor.

A colour of deceit.

Christ is condemned in his faithful members.

How spiritual these Fathers are?

*And that these Premises may be the better known of all faithful Christian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you straight commandment thereupon by this writting also, That ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of Excommunication concerning both this Heretick and his Fautors, to be published throughout all Diocesses, in Cities, Towns and Villages, by your Curates and Parish-Priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the Curate every where go into the Pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this excess in the*

Mother

KING Hen. 5. *Mother Tongue, in an audible and intelligible Voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of this Declaration alſo the people may fall from their evil Opinions conceived now of late by Seditious preachers. Moreover we Will, That after we have delivered unto each one of you Biſhops, which are here preſent, a Copy thereof, that ye cauſe the ſame to be written out again into divers Copies, and to be ſent unto the other Biſhops and Prelates, of our whole Province, that they may alſo ſee the Contents thereof ſolemnly publiſhed within their Dioceſſes and Cures. Finally, We will that both you and they ſignify again unto us ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your Writings as the matter is, without fained colour, in every point performed; the day whereon ye received this Proceſs, the time when it was of us Executed, and after what ſort it was done in every condition, according to the Tenor hereof, that we may know it to be juſtly the ſame.*

Keep the Sepulchre never ſo much, yet Chriſt will riſe.

None office left undone pertaining to Anti-chriſt. What care they here to ſhew their Popery.

T. Walden. in faſciculo Zizaniorum fol. xxxvii.

A Copy of this writing ſent *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* afterward from *Maidſtone* the tenth day of *October*, within the ſame year of our Lord, 1413. unto *Richard Clifford* the Biſhop of *London*, which thus beginneth, *Thomas permiſſione divina*, &c.

Richard Clifford.

The ſaid *Richard Clifford* ſent another Copy thereof incloſed within his own Letters, unto *Robert Maſcal* a *Carmelite* Frier, which was then Biſhop of *Hereford* in *Wales*, written from *Haddam*, the 23. of *October* in the ſame year, the beginning whereof is as followeth: *Reverende in Chriſto Pater*, &c.

Robert Miſchal.

This *Robert Maſchal* directed another Copy thereof from *London* the ſeven and twentieth day of *November* in the ſame year, incloſed in his own Commiſſion alſo, unto his Archdeacon and Deans in *Hereford* and *Shrewesbury*. And this is thereof the beginning, *Venerabilibus & diſcretis viris*, &c. In like manner did the other Biſhops within their Dioceſs.

Ex utroque exemplari.

After that the Archbiſhop had thus read the Bill of his Condemnation, with moſt extremity before the whole multitude; the Lord *Cobham* ſaid with a moſt cheerful countenance, Though ye judge my Body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and ſure, that ye can do no harm to my Soul, no more than could Satan unto the Soul of *Job*. He that created that, will of his infinite Mercy and Promiſe ſave it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning theſe Articles before-rehearſed I will ſtand to them even to the very death, by the Grace of my Eternal God.

Mat. 10. Job. 1.

And therewith he turned him unto the people, caſting his hands abroad, and ſaying with a very loud voice, Good Chriſtian people, for Gods Love be well ware of theſe men, for they will elſe beguile you, and lead you blinfold into Hell with themſelves. For Chriſt ſaith plainly unto you, *If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.*

Mat. 15.

He prayeth for his Enemies.

After this, he fell down there upon his Knees, and thus before them all prayed for his Enemies, holding both his hands and his eyes towards Heaven, and ſaying, Lord God Eternal, I beſeech thee of thy great mercy ſake to forgive my purſuers, If it be thy bleſſed will. And then he was delivered to Sir *Robert Morley*, and ſo led forth again unto the Tower of *London*; and thus there was an end of that days work.

Ex vetuſto exemplari Londinenſium.

While the Lord *Cobham* was thus in the Tower, he ſent out privily unto his Friends: And they at his requeſt wrote this little Bill here following: cauſing it to be ſet up in divers quarters of *London*, that the people ſhould not believe the ſlanders and lies that his Enemies the Biſhop's ſervants and Prieſts had made on him abroad. And thus was the Letter:

A teſtimonial made by his friends.

FOraſmuch as Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Knight, and Lord *Cobham*, is untruly Convicted and Impriſoned, falſly reported and ſlandered among the common people by his Adverſaries, that he ſhould both otherwiſe think and ſpeak of the Sacraments of the Church, and ſpecially of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, than was written in the Confeſſion of his belief; which was intended and taken to the Clergy, and ſo ſet up in divers open places of the City of *London*: Known be it here to all the World, that he (never ſince) varied in any point therefrom, but this is plainly his belief, That all the Sacraments of the Church be profitable and expedient alſo to all them that ſhall be ſaved, taking them after the intent that Chriſt and his true Church hath Ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar is verily and truly Chriſts Body in form of Bread.

To ſtop lying lips. A rehearſal of his belief. In form of Bread, but not without Bread he meaneth.

After this, the Biſhops and Prieſts were in great diſcredit both with the Nobility and Commons; partly for that they had ſo cruelly handled the good Lord *Cobham*; and partly again, becauſe his Opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the Sacrament. The Prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the laſt conſented to uſe another practice ſomewhat contrary to that they had done before. They cauſed it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed ſervants, friends, and babling Sir *John*'s, that the ſaid Lord *Cobham* was become a good man, and had lowly ſubmitted himſelf in all things unto holy Church, utterly changing his Opinion concerning the Sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an Abjuration in his name, that the people ſhould take no hold of his Opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and ſo to ſtand the more in awe of them, conſidering him ſo great a man, and by them ſubdued.

The Clergy in hate of the people. A practice of falſe Prieſts. These are common feats.

This is the Abjuration, ſay they, of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Knight, ſometime the Lord *Cobham*.

### *An Abjuration counterfeited of the Biſhops.*

IN *Dei nomine, Amen.* I *John Oldcaſtle* denounced, detected and convicted of and upon divers Articles ſavouring both of Hereſie and Error, before the reverend Father in Chriſt and my good Lord, *Thomas* by the permiſſion of God, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and my lawful and rightful Judge in that behalf, expreſly grant and confeſs, that as concerning the eſtate and power of the moſt holy Father the Pope of *Rome*, of his Archbiſhops, his Biſhops, and his other Prelates, the degrees of the Church, and the holy Sacraments of the ſame, ſpecially of the Sacraments of the Altar, of Penance, and other obſervances beſides of our Mother holy Church, as Pilgrimages and Pardons; I affirm (I ſay) before the ſaid reverend Father Archbiſhop and elſewhere, that I being evilly ſeduced by divers ſeditious preachers, have grievouſly erred, and heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly anſwered, and obſtinately rebelled; and therefore I am by the ſaid reverend Father, before the reverend Fathers in Chriſt alſo, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Bangor*, lawfully condemned for an Heretick.

*Walden. in faſciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.*

Mark from whence this grace cometh.

Fine workmanſhip I trow.

Neverthleſs, yet I now remembring my ſelf and coveting by this mean to avoid that Temporal pain which I am worthy to ſuffer as an Heretick, at the aſſignation of my moſt excellent Chriſtian Prince and Liege Lord, King *Henry* the fifth, now by the Grace of God moſt worthy King both of *England* and of *France*; minding alſo to prefer the wholſom Determination, Sentence, and Doctrine of the holy univerſal Church of *Rome*, before the unwholſom Opinions of my ſelf, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and throughly confeſs, grant, and affirm, That the moſt holy Fathers in Chriſt, St. *Peter* the Apoſtle, and his ſucceſſors Biſhops of *Rome*, ſpecially now at this time, my moſt bleſſed Lord Pope *John*, by the permiſſion of God, the three and twentieth Pope of that name, which now holdeth *Peter*'s ſeat (and each of them in their ſucceſſion) hath full ſtrength and power to be Chriſts Vicar in Earth, and the Head of the Church Militant. And that by the ſtrength of his office (what though he be a great ſinner, and afore-known of God to be damned?) he hath full Authority and power to rule and govern, bind and looſe, ſave and deſtroy, accurſe and abſoil all other Chriſtian men.

Alas good man thou art ſlandered.

And agreeably ſtill unto this I confeſs, grant, and affirm all other Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates in their Provinces, Dioceſs, and Pariſhes (appointed by the ſaid Pope of *Rome* to aſſiſt him in his doings or buſineſs) by his Decrees, Canons, or vertue of his office, to have had in times paſt, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, Authority and power to rule and govern, bind and looſe, accurſe and abſoil the ſubjects

or

How prove ye that by the Scriptures?

or people of their foreſaid Provinces, Dioceſs, and Pariſhes, and that their ſaid ſubjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confeſs, grant, and affirm, that the ſaid Spiritual Fathers, as our moſt holy Father the Pope, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the ſtate, order and governance of their ſubjects or people, to make Laws, Decrees, Statutes, and Conſtitutions, yea, and to publiſh, command, and compel their ſaid ſubjects and people to the obſervation of them.

No Scripture have they to ſhew.

Moreover, I confeſs, grant, and affirm, that all theſe foreſaid Laws, Decrees, Statutes, and Conſtitutions, made, publiſhed, and commanded, according to the form or ſpiritual Law, all Chriſtian people, and every man in himſelf is ſtraightly bound to obſerve, and meekly to obey, according to the diverſity of the foreſaid Powers, as the Laws, Statutes, Canons and Conſtitutions of our moſt holy Father the Pope, Incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Reſcripts, Sextiles, and Extravagants over all the World; and as the Provincial Statutes of Archbiſhops in their Provinces, the Synodal acts of Biſhops in their Dioceſs, and the commendable Rules and Cuſtoms of Prelates in their Colleges, and Curates in their Pariſhes, all Chriſtian people are both bound to obſerve, and alſo moſt meekly to obey. Over and beſides all this, I *John Oldcaſtle* utterly forſaking and renouncing all the foreſaid Errors and Hereſies, and all other Errors and Hereſies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this Book or holy Evangely of God, and Swear, that I ſhall never more from henceforth hold theſe aforeſaid Hereſies, nor yet any other like unto them wittingly. Neither ſhall I give counſel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that ſhall hold, teach, affirm and maintain the ſame, as God ſhall help me, and theſe holy Evangeliſts.

Intolerable yokes lay they.

Never made he ſuch an Oath. And this maintain they ſtill. The Popes holy Bible of Papiſts.

And that I ſhall from henceforth Faithfully obey and inviolably obſerve all the holy Laws, Statutes, Canons, and Conſtitutions, of all the Popes of *Rome*, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Reſcripts, Sextiles, Sums, Papal Extravagants, Statutes Provincial, Acts Synodal, and other ordinary Regules and Cuſtoms conſtituted by them, or that ſhall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To theſe and all ſuch other will I my ſelf with all power poſſible apply. Beſides all this, the Penance which it ſhall pleaſe my ſaid reverend Father the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hereafter to enjoyn me for my ſins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my ſeducers and falſe teachers, and all other beſides, whom I ſhall hereafter know ſuſpected of Hereſie or Errors, I ſhall effectually preſent, ſend or cauſe to be preſented unto my ſaid reverend Father Lord Archbiſhop, or to them which have his Authority, ſo ſoon as I can conveniently do it, and ſee that they be corrected to my uttermoſt power.

Mark this handling.

This charge give they commonly.

¶ This Abjuration never came to the hands of the Lord *Cobham*, neither was it compiled of them for that purpoſe, but only therewith to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time. After the which like fetch and ſubtil practice was alſo deviſed the recantation of the Archbiſhop *Thomas Cranmer*, to ſtop for a time, the peoples mouths. Which ſubtilty in like manner was alſo practiſed, with the falſe recantation of the Biſhop *Hooper*, and divers other, as in their places hereafter (Chriſt granting), ſhall be ſhewed.

For confirmation of this Hiſtory.

And thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Lord *Cobham*, with all the circumſtances of the true time, place, occaſion, cauſes, and order belonging to the ſame, wherein I truſt I have ſufficiently ſatisfied all the parts, requiſite to a faithful Hiſtory, without corruption. For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind alſo of the wrangling caviller may be ſatisfied, and to ſtop the mouth of the Adverſary (which I ſee in all places to be ready to bark) I have therefore of purpoſe annexed with all my ground and foundation, taken out of the Archives and Regiſters of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ex Epiſtola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond.* Whereby may appear the manifeſt error both of *Polydorus*, and of *Edward Hall*, who, being deceived in the right diſtinction of the times, aſſign this Citation and Examination of the Lord *Cobham* to be after the Council of *Conſtance*, when as *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* at the Council of *Conſtance* was not alive. The Copy and Teſtimony of his own Letter ſhall declare the ſame, being written and ſent to the Biſhop of *London* in form as followeth:

Ex archivis & Regiſt. Thom. Arun. Archi. Cant. Polydorus. Edward Hall deceived.

{KING Hen. 5.}

## The Copy of the Epiſtle of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, written to the Biſhop of *London*, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of this foreſaid Hiſtory of the Lord *Cobham* above premiſed.

*TO the Reverend Father in Chriſt, and Lord, the Lord* Robert, *by the grace of God Biſhop of* Hereford, Richard *by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of* London, *health and continual increaſe of ſincere love: We have of late received the Letters of the reverend Father in Chriſt, and Lord, the Lord* Thomas *by the grace of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, to this effect:* Thomas *by the permiſſion of God, Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, to our reverend Brother the Lord* Richard *Biſhop of* London, *health and Brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us in the Convocation of Prelates and Clergy of our Province of* Canterbury *laſt Celebrate in our Church of St.* Paul, *intreating amongſt other things with the ſaid Prelates and Clergy upon the Union and Reformation of the Church of* England, *by us and the ſaid Prelates and Clergy; that it was almoſt impoſſible to amend the hole of our Lords Coat which was without ſeam, unleſs firſt of all certain Nobles of the Realm, which are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of theſe Hereticks called* Lollards, *were ſharply rebuked, and if need were by the cenſures of the Church and the help of the Secular Power, they be revoked from their errors. And afterward having made diligent inquiſition in the Convocation amongſt the Proctors of the Clergy and others which were there in number out of every Dioceſs of our Province; it was found out amongſt others, that Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *Knight, was and is the principal receiver, favourer, protecter, and defender of them, and that ſpecially in the Dioceſs of* London, Rocheſter *and* Hereford, *he had ſent the ſaid* Lollards *to preach, not being licenſed by the Ordinaries and Biſhops of the Dioceſs or places, contrary to the Provincial Conſtitutions in that behalf made, and hath been preſent at their wicked Sermons, grievouſly puniſhing with threatnings, terrors, and the power of the Secular Sword, ſuch as did withſtand him: alledging and affirming amongſt others, that we and our fellow Brethren, Suffragans of our Provinces, had not, neither have any power to make any ſuch Conſtitutions: Alſo he hath holden and doth hold Opinion, and teach as touching the Sacraments of the Altar, of Penance, of Pilgrimage, and the worſhipping of Saints, and of the Keys, contrary to that which the univerſal Church of* Rome *doth teach and affirm.*

A thing thought right neceſſary that the Lord *Cobham* ſhould be made out of the way, or elſe not poſſible for Papiſtry to flouriſh.

*Wherefore, on the behalf of the ſaid Prelates and Clergy, we were then required that we would vouchſafe to proceed againſt the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle *upon the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding for the reverence of our Lord the King, in whoſe favour the ſaid Sir* John *at that preſent was, and no leſs alſo for honour of his Knighthood; we with our fellow Brethren, and Suffragans then preſent, with a great part of the Clergy of our Province, coming perſonally before the preſence of our Lord the King, being then at his Manner of* Kenington, *put up againſt the ſaid Sir* John *a complaint, partly reciting the faults of the ſaid Sir* John, *but at the requeſt of our Lord the King, we deſiring to reduce the ſaid Sir* John *to Unity of the Church, without any reproach, we deferred all the execution of the premiſſes for a great time. But at the laſt, foraſmuch as our ſaid Lord the King, and his great travels taken about the converſion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our ſaid Lord the King vouchſafed to certify us by word and writing; we immediately decreed to call forth the ſaid Sir* John *perſonally to anſwer before us at a certain time already paſſed, in and upon the Premiſſes, and ſent our Meſſengers with theſe our Letters of Citation to the ſaid Sir* John, *then being at his Caſtle at* Cowling. *Unto the which Meſſenger we gave commandment, that he ſhould in no caſe*

Sir John Oldcaſtle in favour with the King.

*go*

KING Hen. 5.

*go into the Caſtle, except he were Licenſed. But by the mean of one* John Butler, *Porter to the Kings Chamber, he ſhould require the ſaid Sir* John, *that he would either Licenſe the ſaid Meſſenger to come into the Caſtle, or that he would cite him, or at the leaſt, that he would ſuffer himſelf to be cited without his Caſtle. The which Sir* John *openly anſwered unto the ſaid* John Butler, *declaring the Premiſſes unto him on the behalf of our Lord the King; that he would by no means be Cited, neither in any caſe ſuffer his Citation. Then we being certified of the Premiſſes, lawfully proceeded further.*

*Firſt, Having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by perſonal Citation, we Decreed to Cite him by an Edict, to be openly ſet up in the Porches of the Cathedral Church of* Rocheſter *next unto him, little more than three* Engliſh *Miles diſtant from the ſaid Caſtle of* Cowling. *As we had thus cauſed him to be Cited, and our Edict aforeſaid to be publickly and openly ſet upon the Porches of the ſaid Church, that he ſhould perſonally appear before us the eleventh day of* September *laſt paſt, to anſwer unto the Premiſſes, and certain other things concerning Hereſie: The which day being come, and we ſitting in the Tribunal Seat in our great Chappel within the Caſtle of* Leeds *of our Dioceſs, the which we then inhabited, and whereas we then kept reſidence with our Court, and having taken an Oath, which is requiſite in the Premiſſes, and the Information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts whereas the ſaid Sir* John *dwelleth (fortifying himſelf in his ſaid Caſtle) defending his Opinions manifoldly, contemning the Keys of the Church and the Archbiſhops power; we therfore cauſed the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *Cited as is aforeſaid, to be openly with a loud voice called by the Crier; and ſo being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him (as he was no leſs worthy) obſtinate, and for puniſhing of his ſaid obſtinacy we did then and there Excommunicate him. And foraſmuch as by the order of the Premiſſes, and other evident tokens of his doings, we underſtand that the ſaid Sir* John *for the defence of his errors doth fortify himſelf (as is aforeſaid) againſt the Keys of the Church, by preſence whereof a vehement ſuſpition of Hereſie and Schiſm riſeth againſt him; We have Decreed, if he may be apprehended, again perſonally to Cite him, or elſe, as before, by an Edict, that he ſhould appear before us the Saturday next after the Feaſt of St.* Matthew *the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt next coming, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe, if he can, why he ſhould not proceed againſt him, to a more grievous puniſhment, as an open Heretick, Schiſmatick, and open Enemy of the univerſal Church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhould not be pronounced ſuch an one, or that the aid of the Secular Power ſhould not be ſolemnly required againſt him. And further to anſwer, do, and receive as touching the Premiſſes, whatſoever Juſtice ſhall require. The which time being come, that is to ſay, the Saturday next after the Feaſt of St.* Matthew, *being the twenty fourth day of* September, *Sir* Robert Morley *Knight, Lieutenant of the* Tower *of* London, *appeared perſonally before us, ſitting in the Chapter-houſe of the Church of St.* Paul *at* London, *with reverend fellow-brethren and Lords,* Richard *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* London, *and* Henry *Biſhop of* Winchester, *and brought with him Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, and ſet him before us (for a little before he was taken by the Kings ſervants, and caſt into the* Tower:) *unto which Sir* John Oldcaſtle *ſo perſonally preſent we rehearſed all the order of the Proceſs, as it is contained in the Acts of the day before paſſed, with good and modeſt words and gentle means; that is to ſay, how he the ſaid Sir* John *was detected and accuſed in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of our ſaid Province, as is aforeſaid, upon the Articles before-rehearſed, and how he was Cited, and for his contumacy Excommunicate. And when we were come to that point we offered our ſelves ready to Abſolve him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Sir* John *not regarding our offer, ſaid, That he would willingly rehearſe before us, and my ſaid fellow Brethren, the Faith which he held and affirmed. So he having his deſire, and obtaining licenſe, took out of his Boſom a certain Schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the ſame, and delivered the ſame Schedule unto us, and the Schedule of the Articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:*

The Keys of the Church falſly wreſted.

The Lord Cobham Excommunicated.

The Lord Cobham caſt into the Tower.

The tears of the Crocodile.

Popiſh Abſolution neglected.

## *The Catholick Faith and Confeſſion of the Lord* Cobham.

I *John Oldcaſtle*, Knight, Lord of *Cobham*, deſire to make manifeſt unto all Chriſtians, and God to be taken to witneſs, that I never thought otherwiſe, or would think otherwiſe (by Gods help) than with a ſtedfaſt and undoubted Faith to embrace all thoſe his Sacraments which he had Inſtituted for the uſe of his Church.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in theſe 4 points of my Faith; firſt of all I believe the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body of Chriſt under the form of Bread, the very ſame Body which was born of his Mother *Mary*, Crucified for us, dead and buried, roſe again the third day, ſitteth on the right hand of his Immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his Eternal Glory. Then as touching the Sacrament of Penance, this is my belief, that I do think the correction of a ſinful life to be moſt neceſſary for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaved, and that they ought to take upon them ſuch Repentance of their former life, by true confeſſion, unfeigned contrition, and lawful ſatisfaction as the Word of God doth preſcribe unto us; otherwiſe there will be no hope of Salvation.

Of Penance.

Of Images.

Thirdly, As touching Images, this is my Opinion, That I do judge them no point of Faith, but brought into the World after the Faith of Chriſt by the ſufferance of the Church, and ſo grown in uſe, that they might ſerve for a Kalender for the Lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly Examples and Martyrdom of Chriſt and other holy men: But if any man do otherwiſe abuſe this repreſentation, and give the reverence unto thoſe Images, which is due unto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather unto him to whom the holy men themſelves owe all their honour, ſetting all their truſt and hope in them which ought to be refered unto God: or if they be ſo affected toward the dumb Images, that they be in any behalf addict unto them, either be more addicted unto one Saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from Idolatry, grievouſly offending againſt God the Author of all honour.

Laſt of all I am thus perſwaded, That there be no inhabitants here in Earth, but that we ſhall paſs ſtraight either to life or puniſhment: for whoſoever doth ſo order his life that he ſtumbleth at the Commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for Salvation, although he run over all the corners of the World. Contrariwiſe, he which obſerveth his Commandments cannot periſh, although in all his life time he walked no Pilgrimage, neither to *Rome*, *Canterbury*, nor *Compoſtella*, or to any other place, whither the common people are accuſtomed to walk.

Of Pilgrimages.

This Schedule, with the Articles therein contained, being read (as is aforeſaid) by the ſaid Sir *John*, we with our fellow Brethren aforeſaid; and many other Doctors and learned men had conference upon the ſame, and at the laſt by the counſel and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe words following unto the ſaid Sir *John* there preſent: Behold Sir *John*, there are many good and Catholick things contained in this Schedule; But you have at this time to anſwer unto other matters which ſavour of Errors and Hereſies: Whereunto (by the conſent of this Schedule) it is not fully anſwered, and therefore you muſt anſwer thereunto, and more plainly expreſs and declare your Faith and Opinions as touching thoſe points in the ſame Bill; that is to ſay, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration rightly done, there remaineth material Bread or not.

See whether theſe men pick quarrels where they need not.

*Item*, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is neceſſary in the Sacrament of Penance for a man to confeſs his ſins unto a Prieſt appointed by the Church.

The which Articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongſt many other things he anſwered plainly, That he would make no other declaration or anſwer thereunto than was contained in the ſaid Schedule. Whereupon we favouring the ſaid Sir *John*, with benign and gentle means we ſpake unto him in this manner: Sir *John* take heed,

for

for if you do not plainly anſwer to theſe things which are objected againſt you, within a lawful time now granted you by the Judges, we may declare you to be an Heretick: but the ſaid Sir *John* perſevered as before, and would make no other anſwer. Conſequently notwithſtanding, we together with our ſaid fellow Brethren, and others of our Counſel, took advice, and by their counſel declared unto the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, what the ſaid holy Church of *Rome* in this matter, (following the ſaying of bleſſed St. *Auguſtine*, *Hierom*, *Ambroſe*, and other holy men) hath determined, the which determinations every Catholick ought to obſerve. Whereupon the ſaid Sir *John* anſwered, That he would believe and obſerve whatſoever the holy Church determined, and whatſoever God would he ſhould obſerve and believe. But that he would in no caſe affirm, that our Lord the Pope, the Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops or other Prelates of the Church, have any power to determin any ſuch matters. Whereunto, we yet favouring him, under hope of better adviſement promiſed the ſaid Sir *John*, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforeſaid, whereunto he ſhould more plainly anſwer, written in *Latin*, and for his better underſtanding tranſlated into *Engliſh*: whereupon we commanded and heartily deſired him, that againſt Monday next following he ſhould give a plain and full anſwer: the which determination we cauſed to be tranſlated the ſame day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner:

Here is no mention made of the Word of God.

Wolves cloathed in ſheeps skins

The ſum of the Popiſh belief.

The Faith and Determination of the holy Church upon the holy Sacrament of the Altar is this: That after the Conſecration done in the Maſs by the Prieſt, the material Bread ſhall be changed into the material Body of Chriſt; and the material Wine into the material Blood of Chriſt; therefore after the Conſecration there remaineth no more any ſubſtance of Bread and Wine, which was there before. What do you anſwer to this Article?

Confeſſion.

And the holy Mother-Church hath determined, that every Chriſtian dwelling upon Earth ought to confeſs his ſins unto a Prieſt Ordained by the Church if he may come unto him. How think you by this Article?

The Popes ſupremacy.

Chriſt Ordained St. *Peter* his Vicar on Earth, whoſe Seat is in the Church of *Rome*, giving and granting the ſame Authority, which he gave unto *Peter*, alſo to his ſucceſſors, which are now called Popes of *Rome*, in whoſe power it is to Ordain and Inſtitute Prelates in particular Churches, as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Curates, and other Eccleſiaſtical Orders, unto whom the Chriſtian people owe obedience, according to the Tradition of the Church of *Rome*. This is the determination of the holy Church: What think you by this Article?

Pilgrimage.

Beſides this the holy Church hath determined, That it is neceſſary for every Chriſtian to go on Pilgrimage to holy places, and there ſpecially to worſhip the holy Relicts of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, Confeſſors, and all Saints whomſoever the Church of *Rome* hath allowed: What think you of this Article?

Upon which Monday being the five and twentieth day of the ſaid Month of *September*, before us and our fellow Brethren aforeſaid, having alſo taken unto us our reverend Brother *Benedict*, by the Grace of God, Biſhop of *Bangor*, and by our Commandment our Counſellers and Miniſters M. *Hen. Ware* Official of our Court of *Canterbury*, *Philip Morgan* Doctor of both Laws, *Howel Kiffin* Doctor of the Decretals, *John Kempe* and *William Carlton* Doctors of Law, *John Witnam*, *Thomas Palmer*, *Robert Wombwell*, *John Withe*, and *Robert Chamberlain*, *Richard Dotington*, and *Tho. Walden*, profeſſors of Divinity; alſo *James Cole*, and *John Stevens* our Notaries appointed on this behalf: They all and every one being Sworn upon the Holy Goſpel of God, laying their hands upon the Book, that they ſhould give their Faithful Counſel in and upon the matter aforeſaid, and in every ſuch cauſe, and to the whole World: By and by appeared Sir *Robert Morley* Knight, Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*, and brought with him the foreſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, ſetting him before us. Unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearſed the Acts of the day before paſſed. And as before we told him that he both is and was Excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would deſire and receive in due form the abſolution of the Church. Unto whom the ſaid Sir *John* then and there plainly anſwered, That in this behalf he would require no Abſolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and ſoft means we deſired and required him to make plain anſwer unto the Articles which were laid againſt him. And firſt of all, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar. To the which Article, beſides other things, he anſwered and ſaid thus: That as Chriſt being here on Earth had in him both Godhead and Manhood; notwithſtanding, the Godhead was covered and inviſible under the humanity; the which was manifeſt and viſible in him: ſo, likewiſe in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the very Body and very Bread, Bread which we do ſee, the Body of Chriſt hidden under the ſame, which we do not ſee. And plainly he denied, that the Faith as touching the ſaid Sacrament determined by the *Romiſh* Church and holy Doctors, and ſent unto him by us in the ſaid Schedule, was the determination of the holy Church. But if it be the determination of the Church, he ſaid that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures, after the Church was endowed, and after that Poyſon was poured into the Church, and not afore. Alſo, as touching the Sacrament of Penance and Confeſſion, he plainly ſaid and affirmed then and there, that if any *Man* were in any grievous ſin, out of the which he knew not how to riſe, it were expedient and good for him to go unto ſome holy and diſcreet Prieſt to take counſel of him: But that he ſhould confeſs his ſin to any proper Prieſt or to any other, although he might have the uſe of him, it is not neceſſary to Salvation, foraſmuch as by only contrition ſuch ſin can be wiped away, and the ſinner himſelf purged. As concerning the worſhipping of the Croſs, he ſaid and affirmed, that the only Body of Chriſt which did hang upon the Croſs, is to be worſhipped; foraſmuch as that Body alone was and is the Croſs, which is to be worſhipped.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The Sacrament both Body and Bread in divers reſpects.

How confeſſion is to be allowed.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the Image of the Croſs, He anſwered by expreſs words, That he would only do it that honour that he would make it clean and lay it up ſafe. As touching the Power and Authority of the Keys, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, he ſaid, That the Pope is very Antichriſt, that is, the head; that the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates be his members, and that the Friers be his tail. The which Pope, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, a man ought not to obey, but ſo far forth as they be followers of Chriſt and of *Peter*, in their life, manners, and converſation, and that he is the ſucceſſor of *Peter* which is beſt and pureſt in life and manners. Furthermore, the ſaid Sir *John*, ſpreading his hands, with a loud voice ſaid thus to thoſe which ſtood about him: Theſe Men, which judge and would condemn me, will ſeduce you all and themſelves, and will lead you unto Hell; therefore take heed of them. When he had ſpoken thoſe words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, ſpake unto the ſaid Sir *John*, exhorting him with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the Church, to believe and hold that which the Church of *Rome* doth believe and hold. Who expreſly anſwered, That he would not believe or hold otherwiſe than he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at the laſt with bitterneſs of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive Sentence in this manner:

What honour is to be done to the Croſs.

The Pope is Antichriſt, the Biſhops are his members, and the Friers his tail.

The bold talk of the Lord Cobham.

*Conveneruni in unum adverſus Dominum & Chriſtum ejus.* Pſal. 2.

℣ In the Name of God, Amen. *We* Thomas *by the permiſſion of God, Archbiſhop and humble Miniſter of the holy Church of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, in a certain cauſe or matter of Hereſie upon certain Articles, whereupon Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, Lord* Cobham, *before us in the laſt Convocation of our Clergy of our Province of* Canterbury *holden in the Church of St.* Paul *in* London, *after diligent inquiſition thereupon made, was detected and accuſed, and by our ſaid Province notoriouſly and openly defamed. At the requeſt of the whole Clergy aforeſaid thereupon made to us in the ſaid Convocation, with all favour poſſible that we might (God we take to witneſs) lawfully proceeding againſt him, following the footſteps and example of Chriſt, which would not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live, we have endeavoured by all ways and means we might or could to reform him,*

They call themſelves humble, which rule over Kings, and exerciſe the tyranny of the World.

Following Chriſts footſteps clean contrary.

{KING Hen. 5.}

*him, and rather reduce him to the Unity of the Church, declaring unto him what the holy univerſal Church of* Rome *doth teach, hold, and determin in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandring aſtray from the Catholick Faith, and ſo ſtubborn and ſtiff-necked, that he would not confeſs his Error, or clear himſelf thereof, to deteſt the ſame; notwithſtanding we favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wiſhing and deſiring his preſervation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himſelf; and, if he would, to repent and reform himſelf. And laſt of all, forſomuch as we perceived him to be unreaſonable, obſerving chiefly thoſe things which by the Law are required in this behalf, with great ſorrow and bitterneſs of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the Definitive Sentence in this wiſe.*

The universal Church, meaneth by a figure the part for the whole.

*The Name of Chriſt being called upon, ſetting him only before our eyes. Foraſmuch as by act enacted, ſigns exhibited, evidences and divers tokens, beſides ſundry kind of proofs, we find the ſaid Sir* John *to be and have been an Heretick, and a follower of Hereticks in the Faith, and obſervation of the Sacred univerſal Church of* Rome, *and ſpecially as touching the Sacraments of the Euchariſt and of Penance; and that as the ſon of iniquity and darkneſs he hath ſo hardened his heart, that he will not underſtand the voice of the Shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair ſpeech: having firſt of all ſearched and ſought out, and diligently conſidering the merits of the cauſe aforeſaid, and of the ſaid Sir* John, *his deſerts and faults aggravated through his damnable obſtinacy; Not willing that he that is wicked ſhould become more wicked, and infect other with his contagion, by the counſel and conſent of the reverend Men of profound wiſdom and diſcretion, our Brethren the Lords* Richard *Biſhop of* London, Henry *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Benedict *Biſhop* of Bangor, *and alſo of many other Doctors of Divinity, the Decretals and Civil Law, and of many other Religious and Learned perſons our aſſiſtants, we have judged and declared ſententially, and definitively condemned the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle *Knight, Lord* Cobham, *being convict in, and upon that moſt deteſtable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the Church, and in thoſe things which the Sacred univerſal Church of* Rome *doth hold, teach, determin, and ſhew forth. And eſpecially as one erring in the Articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as an Heretick unto the Secular judgment.*

They call light darkneſs and darkneſs light.

Like will to like.

So did the phariſees deliver Chriſt unto Pilate.

*Moreover, we have Excommunicated, and by theſe writings do pronounce and Excommunicate him as an Heretick, and all other which from henceforth, in favour of his error, ſhall receive, defend, or give him counſel, or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of Hereticks. And to the intent that theſe Premiſes may be known unto all faithful Chriſtians, we charge and command you, that by your ſentence definitive you do cauſe the Curates which are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their Churches, when as moſt people is preſent, in their Mother-Tongue, through all your Cities and Dioceſes to publiſh and declare the ſaid Sir* John Oldcaſtle, *as is before ſaid, to be by us condemned as an Heretick, Schiſmatick, and one erring in the Articles aboveſaid; and all other which from henceforth in favour of his errors ſhall receive or defend him, giving him any counſel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be Excommunicate as receivers, favourers, and defenders of Hereticks; as is more effectually contained in the Proceſs. That by ſuch means the erroneous Opinions of the people (which peradventure hath otherwiſe conceived the matter) by thoſe declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing alſo we will and command to be written and ſignified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow Brethren, that they all may manifeſt, publiſh, and declare throughout all their Cities and Dioceſs; the manner and form of this our Proceſs, and alſo the Sentence by us given, and all other ſingular the contents in the ſame. And likewiſe cauſe it to be publiſhed by their Curates which are under them, as touching the day of receipt of theſe Preſents, and what you have done in the Premiſes, how you and they have executed this our Commandment. We will that you and they duly and diſtinctly certify us the buſineſs being done, by your and their Letters Patents, according to this Tenor.* Dated in our Manner of *Maidſtone*, the 10*th* of *October*, *An.* 1413, and in the 18*th* year of our tranſlation.

Thus have you here the judicial Proceſs of the Biſhops againſt this moſt noble Chriſtian Knight, deſcribed by their own Letters and ſtyle. After all this, the ſentence of death being given, the Lord *Cobham* was ſent away, Sir *Robert Morley* carrying him again unto the *Tower*, where after he had remained a certain ſpace, in the night ſeaſon, (it is not known by what means) he eſcaped out and fled into *Wales*, where he continued by the ſpace of four years.

Sir Robert Morley. The Lord Cobham returned again to the Tower.

## *A defence of the Lord* Cobham, *againſt* Nicholas Harpsfield, *ſet out under the name of* Alanus Copus.

AS I was entring into this ſtory of the Lord *Cobham*, after the tractation of all the former Hiſtories hitherto paſſed, having next to ſet upon this preſent matter, luckily, and as God would, in ſuch opportunity of ſeaſon, as God may ſeem to work himſelf for defence of his Saints, cometh to my hands a certain Book of new-found Dialogues, compiled in *Latin* by *Nicholas Harpsfield*, ſet out by *Alanus Copus*, an *Engliſh*-man, a perſon to me unknown, and obſcure hitherto unto the World, but now to purchaſe himſelf a name with *Eroſtratus*, or with the Sons of *Enachim*, cometh out not with his five Eggs, but with his ſix railing Dialogues. In the which Dialogues the ſaid *Alanus Copus Anglus* (whether he under the armour of other, or other under title of his name, I know not, nor paſs not) uncourteouſly behaving himſelf, intemperately abuſing his Time, Study, and Pen, forgetting himſelf, neglecting all reſpect of honeſty, and mild modeſty, neither dreading the ſtroke of God, nor paſſing for ſhame, neither favouring the living, nor ſparing the dead, who being alive as they never offended him, ſo now cannot anſwer for themſelves being gone; thus provoking both God and man againſt him, after an unſeemly ſort, and with a foul mouth and ſtinking breath, rageth and fareth againſt dead mens aſhes, taking now the ſpoil of their good name, after their Bodies lie ſlain in the field; his Gall and Choler being ſo bitter againſt them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remain upon Earth. Inſomuch that for the hatred of them he ſpurneth alſo againſt me, and ſlieth in my face, for that in my *Acts and Monuments*, deſcribing the Hiſtory of the Church, I would ſay any thing in the favour of them, whom the *Romiſh* Catholicks have ſo unmercifully put to death. The anſwer to whoſe Book although it would require a ſeveral tractation by it ſelf (as if Chriſt grant ſpace and leiſure hereafter it ſhall not be forgotten) yet becauſe ſuch opportunity of the Book is offered to me at this preſent coming now to the matter of the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* and other, with whom he firſt beginneth to quarrel, it ſhall be requiſite a little by the way to cope with this *Cope*, whatſoever he be, ſo much as truth ſhall give me for their defence to ſay ſomething. And here to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and unhoneſt rebukes, which I leave to ſcolds and men of his profeſſion againſt they lift to brawle, let us briefly and quietly conſider the matter for diſcuſſing of the truth. Wherein firſt I ſhall deſire the Reader with equality and indifferency to hear both the parties to ſpeak, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and ſlain could ſay for themſelves, if they were preſent, as alſo what this man here doth object againſt them now being gone. And ſo according to the ſame to judge both upon them as they deſerve, and of me as they ſhall pleaſe.

*Alanus Copus Anglus* with his ſix Dialogues. *Eroſtratus* to get him a fame ſet *Dianaes* Temple on fire. *Alanus Copus Anglus* intemperately abuſeth his Pen.

*Copus* a barker againſt dead men.

Anſwer to *Alanus Copus.*

Indifferency of the Reader craved.

Now to the ſcope of Maſter *Cope*'s matter, which is this: whether this foreſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Lord *Cobham* (firſt to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a Martyr, or to be reproved for a Traitor? And whether that I in writing of him, and of Sir *Roger Acton*, with other moe in my former Edition, have dealt fraudulently, and corruptly, in commending them in theſe *Acts and Monuments*, or no? Touching the diſcuſſion whereof, firſt I truſt the gentle M. *Cope*, my friend, neither will nor well can deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the ſtory of the Lord *Cobham*, hath been premiſed; who yet all this while was neither Traitor to his Country, nor Rebel to his Prince, as by the courſe of his Hiſtory hitherto the Reader may well underſtand. Firſt, in the time of King *Henry* the fourth, he was ſent over to *France* to the Duke of *Orleans*;

Whether the Lord *Cobham* be to be judged a Traitor or a Martyr.

The Lord Cobham true and obedient to King Henry the fourth. The Lord Cobham in the beginning favoured of King Henry the 5. The Kings displeasure procured against the Lord Cobham by Popish Prelates. The Lord Cobham obedient to the King. The Lord Cobham constant in his Faith to the sentence of death.

*Orleans*; he did obey. Afterward, King *Henry* the fifth coming to the Crown, he was of him likewise well liked and favoured, until the time that *Thomas Arundel* with his Clergy, complaining to the King, made bate between them. Then the Lord *Cobham* being Cited by the Archbishop, at his Citation would not appear. But sent for by the King, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly subjection he shewed there to the King, the story declareth. After he yielded an obedient confession of his Faith; it would not be received. Then did he appeal to the Bishop of *Rome*, for the which the King took great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the King to the Archbishop, and committed to the *Tower*; which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his Examination once or twice: there like a constant Martyr, and witness of the truth, he stood to his Confession, and that unto the very Sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let *Alanus Copus* say what he will, or what he can: This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said *Alanus Copus Anglus*, put to the like trial himself, would venture so narrow a point of Martyrdom for his Religion, as this Christian Knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed, after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said Lord *Cobham* was then returned again unto the *Tower*; which he with patience and meekness did also obey; from the which *Tower* if he afterward by the Lords Providence did escape, whether hath *Alanus Copus* herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the Man for taking that which was offered? What Catholick in all *Loven*, having his House over his head on fire, will not be glad to have, if he might, the door set open to fly the peril? or else why did *Alanus Copus* fly his Country, having so little need, if this man bleeding almost under the Butchers Axe, might not enjoy so great an offer of so lucky deliverance?

Thus hitherto, I trust, the cause of the Lord *Cobham* standeth firm and strong against all danger of just reprehension. Who being, as ye have heard, so faithful and obedient to God; so submiss to his King; so sound in his Doctrine; so constant in his cause; so afflicted for the truth; so ready and prepared to death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertain and doubtful Chronicles, but out of the true Originals and Instruments remaining in ancient Records: What lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he declaring himself such a Martyr, that is, a witness to the verity, (for the which also at last he suffered the fire) may therefore worthily be adorned with the title of Martyr, which is in *Greek* as much as a witness-bearer?

The Lord Cobham worthy the name of a Martyr. The name of a Martyr what it signifieth.

Calumnia.

But here now steppeth in Dame ἡ διαβολὴ, with her cousin scold *Alecto*, *&c.* who neither learning to hold her Tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs find her a knot in a Rush, and beginning now to quarrel, inferreth thus: But after (saith he) that the Lord *Cobham* was escaped out of the *Tower*, his fellows and confederates, convented themselves together seditiously against the King, and against their Country. A great crime no doubt, M. *Cope*, if it be true; so if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto your self, so to enter this Action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellows of the L. *Cobham* were these you mean of? Sir *Roger Acton* ye say, Master *Brown*, and *John Beverly*, with thirty six other, hanged and burned in the said Field of St. *Giles's* A marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of twenty Thousand, specified in story, should rise against the King, and yet but three persons only known and named. And then to proceed further, I would ask of Master *Cope* what was the end of this Conspiracy, to rebel against the King, to destroy their Country, and to subvert the Christian Faith, for so purporteth the story? As like true the one as the other. For even as it is like that they being *Turks* went about to destroy the Faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their Country wherein they were bred; even so like it is that they went about to destroy the King, whom God and their Conscience taught to obey.

Sir Roger Acton Knight, Master John Brown, Esq; Jo. Beverly, preacher.

Yet further proceeds this furnish promoter in his accusation, and saith moreover, That these foresaid fellows and adherents of the Lord *Cobham* were in the Field assembled, and there incamped in a great number against the King; and how is this proved? By *Robert Fabian*. Which appeareth to be as true as that which in the said *Robert Fabian* followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth, that *John Cledon* and *Richard Turmin* were burnt in the same year, being 1413, when indeed by the true Registers they were not burnt before the year of our Lord 1415. But what will Master *Cope* say, if the Original Copy of the Indictment of these pretensed Conspirators do testify that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretendeth? But they purposed (you will say) and intended to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to judge, whereas no fact appeareth. But give their intent was so to come, yet might they not come to those Thickets near to the Field of St. *Giles*, having *Beverly* their preacher with them (as ye say your self) as well to pray and to preach in that worthy place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the Church of Christ in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate Woods and secret Thickets, from the sight of Enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the Word of God? In Queen *Mary's* time was not the same colour of Treason objected against *George Egle*, and other moe, for frequenting and using into backsides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltless? Did not *Adam Damlip* die in like case of Treason, for having a *French* Crown given him at his departure out of *Rome* by Cardinal *Pool*? What cannot cankred *Calumnia* invent, when she is disposed to cavil? It was not the Cardinals Crown that made him a Traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

KING Hen. 5. Rob. Fabian proved with an untruth

An untruth in Al. Cop.

Praying and preaching in back corners a common thing in time of persecution. Ill will taketh all things to worst meaning.

In *France* what assemblies have there been in late years, of good and innocent Christians congregating together in back fields and coverts in great routs, to hear the preaching of Gods Holy Word, and to pray; yea, and not without their weapon also, for their own safegard, and yet never intended nor minded any Rebellion against their King. Wherefore in cases of Religion it may and doth happen many times that such Congregations may meet without intent of any Treason meant. But howsoever the intent and purpose was of these foresaid Confederates of the Lord *Cobham*, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plain by Records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come unto the place) how will M. *Cope* now justify his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the Field of St. *Giles* against the King? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle Reader, how unlikely and untidely the points of this tale are tied and hanged together (I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie;) wherein these accusers in this matter seem to me to lack some part of *Sinons* art, in conveying their Narration so unartificially. First, say they, The King was come first, with his Garison, unto the Field of St. *Giles*, and then after the King was there incamped, consequently the fellows of the Lord *Cobham*, the Captain being away, came and were assembled in the same Field where the King was, against the King, and yet not knowing of the King, to the number of twenty Thousand, and yet never a stroke in that Field given. And furthermore, of all this 20000 aforesaid, never a mans name known but only three, to wit, Sir *Roger Acton*, Sir *John Brown*, and *John Beverly*, a preacher. How this jear is clampered together let the Reader judge, and believe as he seeth cause.

Another untruth Al. Copr.

An unlikely tale.

But give all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proved, yet by the Popes dispensation, which in this Earth is almost Omnipotent, be it granted, that after the King had taken the Field of St. *Giles* before, the Companions of the Lord *Cobham* afterward coming and assembling in the Thickets near the said Field, to fight seditiously against the King, their Country, and against the Faith of Christ, to the number of Twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the Prisons of *London* were full, and yet never a mans name known of all this multitude, but only three; all this I say being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of M. *Cope*, whether the Lord *Cobham* was here present, with his company in the Field, or not? Not in person (saith *Cope*) but with his mind and with his counsel he was present, and addeth this reason, saying, And therefore he being brought again after his escape, was convict both of Treason and Heresie, and therefore sustaining a

The Lord Cobham no Traitor. Al. Cop. pag. 833. lin. 11.

double

KING *Hen. 5.*

double puniſhment, was both hanged and burnt for the ſame, &c. And how is all this proved? By *Robert Fabian* he ſaith. Whereunto briefly I anſwer, that *Robert Fabian* in that place maketh no ſuch mention of the Lord *Cobham* aſſiſting or conſenting to them either in mind or in counſel. His words be theſe, *That certain adherents of Sir* John Oldcaſtle *aſſembled in the field near to St.* Giles, *in great number, of whom was Sir* Roger Acton, *Sir* John Brown, *and* John Beverly. *The which with thirty ſix moe in number were after convict of Hereſie and Treaſon, and for the ſame were hanged and burnt within the ſaid field of S.* Gyles, &c. Thus much in *Fabian* touching the commotion and condemnation of theſe men; but that the Lord *Cobham* was there preſent with them in any part, either of conſent or counſel, as *Alanus Copus Anglus* pretendeth, that is not found in *Fabian*, but is added of his liberal *cornucopiæ*, whereof he is ſo copious and plentiful, that he may keep an open Shop of ſuch unwritten untruths, which he may afford very good cheap, I think, being ſuch a plentiful Artificer.

*Alan. Copus taken with another untruth.*

But here will be objected againſt me the words of the Statute made the ſecond year of King *Henry* the 5th. whereupon this adverſary triumphing with no little glory, ὅσπερ τι λαμπρὸν ἀνελόμενος thinketh himſelf to have double vantage againſt me; firſt in proving theſe foreſaid Complices and Adherents of the Lord *Cobham* to have made inſurrection againſt the King, and ſo to be Traitors. Secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where in my former Book of *Acts* and *Monuments* I do report, how that after the death of Sir *Roger Acton*, of *Brown* and *Beverley*, a Parliament was holden at *Leiceſter*, where a Statute was made to this effect; *That all and ſingular ſuch as were of* Wickliffs *learning, if they would not give over (as in caſe of felony and other treſpaſſes, loſing all their goods to the King) ſhould ſuffer death in two manner of kinds, that is, they ſhould firſt be hanged for Treaſon againſt the King, and then be burned for Hereſie againſt God.*

*Ex ſtat. Reg. Hen. 5. anno. cap. 7.*

*The former edition of Acts and Monuments page 175.*

Whereupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and anſwering the ſame, that I purge both them of Treaſon, and my ſelf of untruth, ſo far as truth and fidelity in Gods cauſe ſhall aſſiſt me herein. Albeit in beginning firſt my Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical matters, wherein I have nothing to do with debatement of cauſes judicial, but only following the ſimple narration of things done and executed; I never ſuſpected that ever any would be ſo captious with me, or ſo nice noſed, as to preſs me with ſuch narrow points of the law, in trying and diſcuſſing every cauſe and matter ſo exactly, and ſtraining, as ye would ſay, the bowels of the Statute law ſo rigorouſly againſt me; yet forſomuch as I am thereunto conſtrained now by this adverſary, I will firſt lay open all the whole Statute made the 2d year of this foreſaid *Henry* the Fifth, after the death of the foreſaid Sir *Roger Acton* and his fellows, at the Parliament holden at *Leiceſter*, *Anno* 1415. That done, I will note upon the words thereof, ſo as by the circumſtances of the ſame may appear, what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocency, or for the accuſation of this adverſary. The tenor and purport of the Statute hereunder enſueth.

## The Words and Contents of the Statute made *Anno 2. Henrici quinti, cap. 7.*

(A) *The Preface or Preamble of the Statute.*

FOr*ſomuch as great* (A) *Rumors, Congregations and Inſurrections here in* England, *by divers the King His Majeſties liege People, have been made here of late, aſwell by thoſe which were of the Sect of Hereſie called* Lollardy, *as by other of their confederations, excitations and abatement, to the intent* (B) *to adnul and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith and the Law of God within the ſame Realm, as alſo to* (C) *deſtroy our Sovereign Lord the King himſelf, and* (D) *all manner of Eſtates of the ſame his Realm, as well Spiritual as temporal* (E) *and alſo all manner policy and the Laws of the Land; Finally, the ſame our Lord the King, to the honour of God, in conſervation and fortification of the Chriſtian Faith, and alſo in ſalvation of his royal eſtate, and of the eſtate of all his Realm, willing to provide a more open and more due puniſhment againſt the malice of ſuch Hereticks and* Lollards, *than hath been had or uſed in that caſe heretofore, ſo that for the fear of the ſame Laws and puniſhments, ſuch Hereſies and* Lollardies *may the rather ceaſe in time to come.*

(B)
(C)
(D)
(E)

*By the advice and aſſent aforeſaid, and at the prayer of the ſaid Commons, hath ordained and eſtabliſhed; that eſpecially the Chancellor, the Treaſurer, the Juſtice of the one Bench and of the other, Juſtices of Aſſiſe, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs of Cities and Towns, and all other Officers, having the government of people either now preſent, or which for the time ſhall be, do make an Oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole pain and diligence to put out, to do to put out, ceaſe and deſtroy, all manner of hereſies and errors, commonly called* Lollardies, *within the places in which they exerciſe their charges and offices from time to time, with all their power; and that they aſſiſt, favour and maintain the Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries, ſo often as they or any of them ſhall be thereunto required by the ſaid Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries; So that when the ſaid Officers and Miniſters travel or ride to arreſt any* Lollard, *or to make any aſſiſtance at the* (F) *inſtance and requeſt of the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, by vertue of this Statute, the ſame Ordinaries and Commiſſaries* (G) *do pay for their coſt reaſonably. And that the ſervices of the King (unto whom the Officers be firſt ſworn) be preferred before all other Statutes for the liberty of holy Church and the Miniſters of the ſame, and eſpecially for the puniſhment of Hereticks and* Lollards, *made before theſe days, and not repealed, but being in force; and alſo that all perſons convict of Hereſie, of whatſoever eſtate, condition, or degree they be, by the ſaid* Ordinaries *or their Commiſſaries left unto the ſecular power, according to the laws of holy Church, ſhall leeſe and forfeit all their Lands and Tenements which they have in fee ſimple, in manner and form as followeth; that is to ſay, That the King ſhall have all the Lands and Tenements which the ſaid Convicts have in fee ſimple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other Lords, of whom the Lands and Tenements of ſuch Convicts be holden immediately, after that the King is thereof ſeiſed and anſwered of the* (H) *year, day and waſt, ſhall have livery thereof out of the hands of the King, of the Lands and Tenements aforeſaid, ſo of them holden, as hath been uſed in caſe of Attainder of Felonies, except the Lands and Tenements, which be holden of the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, before whom any ſuch impeached of Hereſie be convict,* (I) *which Lands and Tenements ſhall wholly remain to the King as forfeit. And moreover, that all the Goods and Cattels of ſuch convicted be forfeit to our right Sovereign Lord the King, ſo that no perſon convict of Hereſie, and left unto the ſecular power (according to the laws of holy Church) do forfeit his Lands before that he be dead. And if any ſuch perſon ſo convicted be infeoffed, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents or ſervices, in fee or otherwiſe in whatſoever manner, or have any other poſſeſſions or chattels by gift or grant of any perſon or perſons, to the uſe of any other than only to the uſe of ſuch convicts; that the ſame lands, tenements, rents or ſervices, or other ſuch poſſeſſions, or chattels, ſhall not be forfeit unto our Sovereign Lord the King in any manner wiſe.*

Here it appeareth at whoſe ſuit and ſupplication this ſtature was ſet forward as alſo the cauſe why.

*Aſſiterunt reges & Phariſæi.*

(F)

(G)

(H)

(I)

*And moreover, that the Juſtices of the Kings Bench, the Juſtices of Peace, and Juſtices of Aſſiſe, have full power to enquire of all ſuch which hold any errors or hereſies, as* Lollards, *and who be their maintainers, receivers, fautors and ſuſtainers, common writers of ſuch Books, as well of their Sermons, as Schools, Conventicles, Congregations, and Confederacies, and that this clauſe be put in the Commiſſions of the Juſtices of Peace. And if any perſons be indicted of any points above ſaid, that the ſaid Juſtices have power to award againſt them a* Capias, *and that the Sheriff be bound to arreſt the perſon or perſons ſo indicted, as ſoon as he can find them, either by himſelf or by his officers. And for ſo much as the cogniſance of hereſies, errors, or* Lollardies, *appertaineth to the Judges of holy Church, and not unto the Secular Judges; that ſuch perſons indicted* (K) *be delivered unto the Ordinaries of the places, or to their Commiſſaries, by Indentures between them to be made, within ten days after their arreſt, or ſooner, if it may be done, to be thereof acquitted, or convict by the Laws of holy Church, in caſe ſuch perſons be not indicted of any other thing, the cogni-*

(K)

*ſance whereof appertaineth to the Judges and ſecular Officers; in which caſe after they ſhall be acquitted, or delivered before the ſecular Judges of ſuch things as appertain to the ſecular Judges, they ſhall be ſafely ſent unto the ſaid Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures, as is aforeſaid, to be acquitted or convicted of the ſame Hereſies, Errors and Lollardies, as is aforeſaid, according to the Laws of holy Church, and that within the term aboveſaid; provided, that the ſaid Indictments be not taken in evidence,* (L) *but only for information before the Judges ſpiritual, againſt ſuch perſons indicted; but that the Ordinaries begin their proceſs againſt ſuch perſons indicted in the ſame manner as though no ſuch judgment were, having no regard to ſuch Indictment. And if any be indicted of Hereſie, Error or* Lollardy, *and taken by the Sheriff, or any other Officer of the King, he may be let to mainprize within the ſaid ten days, by good ſurety, for whom the ſaid Sheriffs or other Officers will anſwer, ſo that the perſon ſo indicted be ready to be delivered unto the ſaid Ordinaries, or to their Commiſſaries, before the end of the tenth day above here recited, if he may by any means for ſickneſs. And that every Ordinary have ſufficient Commiſſaries or Commiſſary abiding in every County in place notable, ſo that if any ſuch perſon indicted be taken, the ſaid Commiſſaries or Commiſſary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Sheriff or any of his Officers, to come unto the Kings Gaol within the ſaid County, there to receive the ſame perſon ſo indicted, by indenture, as is aforeſaid; And that in the Inqueſts in this caſe taken, the Sheriffs and other Officers unto whom it appertaineth, do impanel good and ſufficient perſons, not ſuſpected, nor procured, that is to ſay, ſuch as have at the leaſt, every one of them that ſhall be ſo impanelled in ſuch inqueſts, within the Realm, an hundred ſhillings by the year, in lands, tenements, or rent, upon pain to leeſe to the Kings uſe twenty pounds. And that thoſe which ſhall be impanelled upon ſuch Inqueſts or Seſſions and Goals, have every one of them to the value of forty ſhillings by the year. And if any ſuch perſon arreſted, whether it be by the Ordinaries, or the Officers of the King,* (M) *either eſcape or break Priſon before he be thereof acquit before the Ordinary; that then all his Goods and Chattels, which he had at the day of ſuch arreſt, ſhall be forfeit to the King; And his Lands and Tenements which he had the ſame day be ſeiſed alſo into the Kings hands, and that the King have the profits thereof from the ſame day until he render himſelf unto the ſaid Priſon from whence he eſcaped. And that the aforeſaid Juſtices have full power to enquire of all ſuch eſcapes and breaking of Priſons, and alſo of the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, of ſuch perſons indicted. Provided, that if any ſuch perſon indicted do not return unto the ſaid Priſon, and dieth (not being convict;) that then it ſhall be lawful for his heirs to enter into the Lands and Tenements of his or their anceſtour, without any other ſute made unto the King for their cauſe. And that all thoſe which have Liberties or Franchiſes Royal in* England, *as the County of* Cheſter, *the County and Liberty of* Durham, *and other like; And alſo the Lords which have Juriſdictions and Franchiſes Royal in* Wales, *where the Kings Writs do not run, have like power to execute and put in execution in all points, theſe Articles by them or by their Officers in like manner, as do the Juſtices and other the Kings Officers above declared.*

¶ *Notes touching the Statute prefixed.*

Notes upon the Statute aforeſaid.

Thus having recited the words of the Statute, now let us conſider the reaſons and objections of this adverſary, who, grounding peradventure upon the Preface or Preamble of this foreſaid Statute, will prove thereby the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton*, with the reſt of their labetors, to have been Traitors to their King and their Country. Whereunto I anſwer, firſt in general, that although the face or Preface prefixed before the Statute, may ſhew and declare the cauſe and occaſion original why the Statute was made, yet the making of the Statute importeth no neceſſary probation of the Preface always to be true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no force material thereunto, nor is any neceſſary part of the body of the ſaid Statute; but only adhereth as a Declaration of the circumſtance thereof,

Prefaces before Statutes not to be regarded in trial of truth.

and ſometime is clean omitted, and differeth much from the ſubſtance of the ſame. For as Statutes in Civil Policy moſt commonly do tend to a publick end, and are general; ſo Prefaces before Statutes, which moſt commonly declare the cauſe or beginning thereof, are private; and do ſtand only but upon particular facts; which either of ill will or diſpleaſure may be ſuggeſted, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for fear may be believed, at leaſt ſuſpected, as many ſuſpicions do oft times riſe in Princes heads through falſe ſurmiſes, and malicious complaints of certain evil diſpoſed about them, whereby many cruel Laws, riſing upon a falſe ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent bloud. Example whereof we have not only in this preſent Statute, *Anno ſecundo Regis Henrici* 5. but alſo in the like Statute, commonly called the Statute *Ex officio vel de comburendo*, made by this Kings Father and Predeceſſor, *Anno ſecundo Henrici quarti, cap.* 5. In the Preface of which bloudy Statute is contained another like complaint of the Prelates and Clergy, not only as heinous, but alſo as ſhamefully falſe and untrue, againſt the poor *Lollards*, as by the words of the complaint may appear, beginning, *Excellentiſſimo & Gratioſiſſimo Principi, &c.* Wherein moſt falſly they ſlander and miſreport the true ſervants of Chriſt to be *Lollards*, Hereticks, Subverters of the Commonwealth, deſtroyers of the Chriſtian Faith, enemies to all good Laws, and to the Church of Chriſt. The words of which Statute, proceeding much after the like courſe as doth this preſent Statute, may eaſily bewray the untruth and falſe ſurmiſe thereof, if thou pleaſe (gentle Reader to mark and conſer the words according as they are there to be read and ſeen, as followeth; *Conventicu-las & confederationes faciunt, ſcholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atque ſcribunt, populum nequiter inſtruunt & informant, & ad ſeditionem ſeu inſurrectionem excitant, quantum poſſunt, & magnas diſſenſiones in populo faciunt, & alia diverſa enormia auditui horrenda indies perpetrant, in Fidei Catholicæ, & Eccleſiæ ſubverſionem, divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam deſtructionem ſtatus, jurium, & libertatum dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ.* And after a few words, *Ad omnem juris & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus deſtruendum, &c.* He that is or ſhall be acquainted with old Hiſtories, and with the uſual practices of Satan the old enemy of Chriſt, from the firſt beginning of the Primitive Church, unto this preſent time, ſhall ſee this to be no news, but a common, and as one would ſay, a Quotidian Fever among Chriſts children, to be vexed with falſe accuſations and cruel ſlanders.

*Nemeſion* the *Egyptian*, and true Martyr of Chriſt, was he not firſt accuſed to be a Felon? And when that could not be proved, he was condemned at the ſame judgment for a Chriſtian; and therefore being caſt into bands, was ſcourged, by the commandment of the Preſident, double to the other Felons, and at length was burned with the Thieves, although he never was found Thief nor Felon.

Againſt *Cyprian* in like ſort it was ſlanderouſly objected by *Galenus Maximus* Proconſul, *Quod diu ſacrilegia mente vixerit, & nefariæ ſibi conſpirationis homines adjunxerit*, That he had long continued with a mind full of Sacriledge, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conſpiracy.

So *Juſtinus Martyr*, what falſe and criminous accuſations ſuffered he by *Creſcens*? *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* and Martyr, was accuſed of *Decius*, *Quod ad Cyprianum literas daret contra remp. i.e.* That he wrote Letters unto *Cyprian* againſt the Commonwealth.

To conſider the Laws and Statutes made by Tyrants and Emperors in the firſt Perſecution of the Primitive Church, againſt the innocent ſervants of Chriſt, and to compare the ſame with the Laws and Statutes in this later Perſecution under Antichriſt; a man ſhall find, that as they agree all in like cruelty, ſo was there no great difference in falſe forging of pretended cauſes and crimes deviſed. For as then the Chriſtians were wrongfully accuſed of the Gentiles for Inſurrections and Rebellions againſt the Emperors and Empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of Infants, for worſhipping the Sun (becauſe they prayed toward the Eaſt) for worſhipping alſo the Head of an Aſs, *&c.* upon the rumors whereof divers and ſundry Laws and Statutes were enacted, ſome ingraven

{KING *Hen.* 5.}

*Anno* 2. H. 5. *cap.* 15.

The Preface before the Statute *de comburendo.*

*Ex vetuſtis inſtrumentis*

Falſe accuſation no newes in Chriſts Church.

Example of *Nemeſion*, Martyr.

Example of *Cyprian.*

Example of *Juſtine* the Martyr.

Example of *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome.*

Laws and Statutes grounded upon falſe cauſes againſt the Chriſtians.

The perſecutorie Statutes in the Primitive Church and of the late Church compared.

in

KING 1 Hen. 5. 1

in braſs, ſome otherwiſe wrote againſt them; ſo in this foreſaid Statute, *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 5. *cap.* 7. Alſo *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. and in ſuch other Statues or Indictments made and conceived againſt the *Lollards*, the caſe is not ſo ſtrange, but it may credibly be ſuppoſed, that the making thereof did riſe rather upon malice and hatred againſt their Religion conceived, than upon any juſt cauſe miniſtred of their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuſe. Like as in the time of *Domitianus*, for fear of *David*'s ſtock, all the Nephews of *Jude* the Lords Brother in the fleſh were accuſed to the Emperor. And alſo the like fear and hatred ſtirred up other Emperors, and the Senate of *Rome*, to proceed with perſecuting Laws againſt the Chriſtian flock of Chriſt; *Euſeb. lib.* 5. *cap.* 21. whereupon roſe up thoſe malicious ſlanders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lies, and wrongful accuſations againſt the Chriſtians; ſo that what crimes ſoever malice could invent, or raſh ſuſpicion could miniſter, that was imputed againſt them.

Fear and hatred cauſers of perſecution.

Not unlike alſo it may ſeem, that the Pope with his Prelates, fearing and miſdoubting leſt the proceeding of the Goſpel preached by theſe perſons, ſhould overthrow the ſtate of their Majeſty, did therefore by ſiniſter accuſations inflame the hearts of Princes againſt them, and under ſome coloured covert, to ſhadow their cloaked hatred, deviſed theſe and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly ſerve their purpoſe.

The matter debated by Records, whether the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton* were Traitors or not.

This hitherto have I ſaid as in a general ſum, anſwering to the Preamble of the foreſaid Statute, for the defence of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and Sir *Roger Acton*, and other, as not defining preciſely what was, or was not (for here I may ſay with *Hall*, that as I was not preſent at the deed doing, ſo with him, I may alſo leave the ſame at large:) But as one by tracing the foottſteps of the truth, as by all conjectures hunting out in this matter what is moſt like, would but only ſay my mind *ſine ſtrepitu* (as Lawyers ſay) *& ſine figura judicii.*

Now conſequently it followeth that we deſcend to the ſpecial points and particulars of the foreſaid Preamble; to conſider what thereof may be collected, or neceſſarily is to be judged, either for proof or diſproof of this foreſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and his fellows.

(A) Rumors, Congregations, Inſurrections.

(A) And firſt, where the proem of this Statute beginneth with *Rumors, Congregations and Inſurrections*, &c. As it is not like, that if theſe men had intended any forcible Entries or Rebellion againſt the King, they would have made any rumors thereof before the deed done; ſo is it more credibly to be ſuppoſed, all theſe flouriſhes of words to be but words of courſe, or of office, and to ſavour rather of the rankneſs of the inditers Pen, who diſpoſed either *per amplificationem rhetoricam*, to ſhew his Copy, or elſe *per maliciam papiſticam*, to aggravate the crime, and to make mountains of molehills, firſt of Rumors maketh Congregations, and from Congregations riſeth up to Inſurrections; whereas in all theſe Rumors, Congregations and Inſurrections, yet never a blow was given, never a ſtroke was ſtricken, no bloud ſpilt, no furniture nor inſtruments of war, no ſign of Battel, yea no expreſs ſignification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact deſcribed, neither in Records, nor yet in any Chronicle. Again, if theſe Rumors were words ſpoken againſt the King, as calling him a Tyrant, an Uſurper of the Crown, the Prince of Prieſts, *&c.* why then be none of theſe words expreſſed in their Indictments, or left in Records? doth Mr. *Cope* think for a man to be called a Traitor, to be enough to make him a Traitor, unleſs ſome plain and evident proof be brought for him to be ſo indeed, as he is called? *Rumors* (ſaith he) *Congregations and Inſurrections were made.* Rumors are uncertain; Congregations have been, and may be among Chriſtian men in dangerous times for good purpoſes, and no Treaſon againſt their Princes meant. The term of Inſurrections may be added *ἐκ τοῦ ἀφέλου* by practice, or ſurmiſe of the Prelates and Pen-men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the King, might add this rather of their own gentleneſs, than of the others deſerving. Certain it is, and undoubted, that the Prelates in thoſe days, being ſo mightily inflamed againſt theſe *Lollards*, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practiſed againſt them what they could, firſt to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kind of practice among the *Popiſh* Clergy have not lacked neither before nor ſince. Moreover, if theſe men had made ſuch a rebellious Inſurrection againſt the King, as is pretended in the Preamble before this Statute, which were a matter of High Treaſon; how chanceth then, that the whole body of the Statute, following after the ſaid Preface or Preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches thereof, both in matter of arreſt, of indictment, information, requeſt, allowance of Officers, cogniſance of Ordinaries, of the foreſact, *&c.* upon caſes of Hereſie and not of Treaſon, as by particular tractation ſhall be (Chriſt willing) declared.

Inſurrections of the *Lollards* againſt the King not likely.

And forſomuch as theſe men be ſo grievouſly accuſed of *Alanus Copus*, for congregating and riſing againſt their King, and the whole Realm, if I had ſo much leiſure to defend, as he hath pleaſure to diffame; here might be demanded of him, to keep him ſome further play (touching this mighty Inſurrection, whereas they came in number twenty thouſand againſt the King) in what order of Battel-ray they marched, what Captains, under-Captains, and petty Captains they had to guide the Wings, and to lead the Army? whether they were Horſemen or Footmen? If they were Horſemen (as is pretended) what meant they then to reſort to the Thickets near to S. *Giles*'s Field, which was no meet place for Horſes to ſtir? If they were Footmen, how ſtandeth that with the Author, which reporteth them to be Horſemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what Enſigns or Flaggs, what Shot, what Powder, what Armour, Weapons, and other furniture of War; alſo what Treaſure of Mony to wage ſo many, to the number of 20000, what Trumpets, Drums, and other noiſe neceſſary for the purpoſe they had? All theſe preparations for ſuch an enterpriſe requiſite and neceſſary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well ſought, it would be found at length, that inſtead of Arms and Weapons, they were coming only with their Books, and with *Beverly* their Preacher into thoſe Thickets. But as I was not there preſent at the fact (as is before ſaid) ſo have I neither certainty to define upon their caſe, nor yet Maſter *Cope*, to exclaim againſt them, unleſs peradventure, that he, taking an occaſion of the time, will thus argue againſt them; that becauſe it was the hot Month of *January*, the ſecond day after the *Epiphany*, therefore it is like, that Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, with twenty thouſand *Lollards*, camped together in the Fields in all the heat of the Weather, to deſtroy the King and all the Nobles, and to make himſelf Regent of *England*; and why not as well the King, as Regent of *England*, ſeeing all the Nobles ſhould have been deſtroyed, and he only left alone to reign by himſelf?

(B) Aſlander of the Lord *Cobham*, that he intended to deſtroy Chriſtian Faith.

It followeth more in the Preamble of the foreſaid Statute, (B) *to adnul, deſtroy and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith, and the Law of God, and Holy Church*, &c. He that was the forger and inventer of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the Prelates, ſeemeth no cunning *Dædalus*, nor half his Craftſmaſter in lying for the Whetſtone. Better he might have learned of *Simon* in *Virgil*, more artificially to have framed and conveyed his narration. Which although in no caſe could ſound like any truth; yet ſome colour of probability ſhould have been ſet upon it, to give it ſome countenance of a like tale: As if he had firſt declared the Lord *Cobham* to have been before in ſecret confederacy with the great *Turk*; or if he had made him ſome *Termagant* or *Mahound* out of *Babylonia*, or ſome *Herod* of *Judea*, or ſome Antichriſt out of *Rome*, or ſome Grand-pancht Epicure of this World, and had ſhewed, that he had received Letters from the great *Soldan*, to fight againſt the Faith of Chriſt, and Law of God; then had it appeared ſomewhat more credible, that the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, with his Sect of Hereſie, went about to *adnul, deſtroy and ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith and Law of God, within the Realm of* England, &c.

But now, where will either he or Mr. *Cope*, find men ſo mad to believe, or ſo ingenious, that can imagine this to be true, that the Lord *Cobham*, being a Chriſtian, and ſo faithful a Chriſtian, would or did ever cogitate in his mind to deſtroy and adnul the Faith of Chriſt in the Realm of *England*? Whatſoever the report of this purſuant or Preface ſaith, I report me unto the indifferent Reader, how ſtandeth this with any face of truth? That he which before, through the reading of *Wickliff*'s Works, had

been ſo earneſtly converted to the law of God, who had alſo approved himſelf ſuch a faithful ſervant of Chriſt, that for the faith of Chriſt he being examined and tried before the Prelates, not only ventured his life, but ſtood conſtant unto the ſentence of death deſtined againſt him; being a condemned and a dead man by law, *Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet & timorem, paſſus ſit quicquid pati potuit*, who had, as much as to devotion and fear appertained, ſuffered already what he might or could ſuffer, as *Cyprian* ſaid by *Cornelius*; That he, I ſay, which a little before, in the Month of *September*, ſtood ſo conſtant in defence of Chriſts faith, would now in the Month of *January* riſe to deſtroy, adnul, and ſubvert Chriſts faith, and the Law of God, and holy Church within the Realm of *England*?

*Cypr. l. 4. Epiſt. 2.*

How can it be, not likely only, but poſſible to be true, that he which never in all the time of his life denied the faith; which ever confeſſed the faith ſo conſtantly; which was for the ſame faith condemned; yea, and at laſt alſo, burned for the faith, would ever fight againſt the faith and law of God, to adnull and ſubvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and ſee when he ſhould have ſo deſtroyed and adnulled the chriſtian faith and law of God in *England*, what faith or law then could he, or did he intend to bring into the Realm of *England*? the *Turks* faith? or the *Jews* faith? or the Popes faith? or what faith elſe I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Chriſt, and will ſhew himſelf a friend to no other faith beſides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C) The Lord *Cobham* falſly ſlandered for intending to deſtroy the King.

(C) And therefore, even as it is true, that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* with his Confederates and Abettors were up in Arms to ſubvert and extinguiſh the faith of Chriſt and law of God in the Realm of *England*, ſo by the like truth it may be eſteemed, that the ſame perſons roſe alſo to deſtroy their ſovereign Lord the King and his brethren. Firſt, thanks be to God, that neither the King nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, ſaith the Preface, was to deſtroy their ſovereign Lord the King. Whereunto I anſwer with this interrogatory, whether was his intent privily to have deſtroyed him, or by open force of Arms? If privily, what needed then ſuch a great Army of 20000 Men, to atchieve that ſecret feat? rather I would think that he needed more the help of ſuch as were near about the King; as ſome of the Kings privy Chamber, or ſome of his ſecret Council; whereof neither Chronicle nor Record doth inſinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the King; you muſt underſtand, Mr. *Cope*, that to withſtand a King in his own Realm, many things are required, long time, great preparation, many friends, great aſſiſtance, and aid of Kindred, Mony, Horſe, Men, Armour, and all other things appertaining for the ſame.

How unlike it is that the Lord *Cobham* did riſe againſt the King.

Examples what an hard matter it is to riſe againſt the King.

Earl *Goodwin* of *Weſtſax*, who had married *Canutus* daughter, being a Man both ambitious, and as falſe a Traitor, for all his ſix Sons, and great Alliance, yet durſt not ſet upon King *Edward* to invade him in his Realm, although he ſought many occaſions ſo to do, yet never durſt he enterpriſe openly that which his ambition ſo greatly preſumed unto.

The Nobles againſt King *Henry* 3d.

In the time of King *Henry* the 3d. *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Gilbert Clare* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Humfrey Rone* Earl of *Ferrence*, with a great number of Lords and Barons, thought themſelves to have great right on their ſides; yet durſt they not, for all their power, openly aſſail the King in his Realm, before great debatement and talk firſt had between.

The Nobles againſt King *Edward* 2d.

Likewiſe what murmuring and grudging was in the Realm againſt King *Edward*, the ſecond, among the Peers and Nobles, and alſo Prelates (only *Walter* Biſhop of *Coventry* except) firſt for *Gaveſtone*, then for the *Spencers*, at what time *Tho.* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Guido* Earl of *Warwick*, with the moſt part of all other Earls and Barons, concordly conſenting together to the diſplacing firſt of *Gaveſtone*, then of the *Spencers*, yet neither raſhly, nor without great fear, durſt ſtir up War in the Land, or diſquiet or vex the King, but firſt by all means of moderate counſel, and humble Petition, thought rather to perſwade, than to invade the King.

The Nobles againſt King *Richard* 2d.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, *Tho. Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Uncle, with the Earls of *Arundel*, of *Warwick*, and *Darby*, with the power almoſt of the whole Commons, ſtood up in Arms againſt the King; and yet notwithſtanding, all their power joyned together being ſo great, and their cauſe ſeeming to them ſo reaſonable, yet were they not ſo hardy, ſtraightways to fly upon the King, but by way of Parliament thought to accompliſh that which their purpoſe had conceived, and ſo did, without any War ſtriking againſt the King.

1 KING 1 Hen. 5

The Nobles againſt King Henry 4th.

After King *Richard* the Second was depoſed, and was in Priſon yet living, divers Noblemen were greatly inflamed againſt King *Henry* the fourth, as Sir *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Spencer* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Earls likewiſe of *Kent* and of *Saliſbury*, with Sir *John Cheiney*, and other more, whereof divers had been Dukes before, and now depoſed by King *Henry* the 4th. although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice againſt the ſaid King *Henry*, yet had they neither heart nor power openly with mans force to aſſail the King, but ſecretly were compelled to atchieve their conceived intent, which notwithſtanding they could not accompliſh. *Ex hiſt. D. Alban.*

The inſurrection of the Lord *Cobham* againſt the King, ſlayed by circumſtance.

Thus you may ſee, Maſter *Cope*, or elſe Maſter *Harpsfield*, or whatſoever ye be, to gainſtand a King, and with open force to encounter with him in his own Land, and in his own Chamber of *London*, where he is ſo ſure and ſtrong, what a matter, and of how great chievance it is, wherein ſo many and ſo great difficulties do ly, the attempt ſo dangerous, the chances ſo uncertain, the furniture of ſo many things required, that ſcarce in any Kings days heretofore any Peers or Nobles of the Realm, were they never ſo ſtrongly aſſiſted with power, wit or counſel, yet either were able, or elſe well durſt ever to enterpriſe upon a caſe ſo dangerous, notwithſtanding they were of themſelves, never ſo far from all fear of God, and true obedience. And ſhall we then think, or can we imagine (Mr. *Cope*) that Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, a Man ſo well inſtructed in the knowledge of Gods Word, being but a poor Knight by his degree, having none of all the Peers and Nobles in all the World to joyn with him, being Priſoner in the Tower of *London* a little before in the Month of *December*, could now in the Month of *January*, ſo ſuddenly, in ſuch an hot ſeaſon of the year, ſtart up an Army of 20 thouſand fighting Men to invade the King, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to adnul Chriſtian Faith, to deſtroy Gods Law, and to ſubvert holy Church? And why doth not he add moreover, to ſet alſo all *London* on fire, and to turn all *England* into a Fiſh-pool? Belike theſe Men, which give out theſe figments of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, did think him to be one of *Deucalion's* ſtock, who by caſting of ſtones over his ſhoulder, could by and by make Men at his pleaſure, or elſe that he had *Cadmus* Teeth to ſow, to make ſo many Harveſt men to ſtart up at once.

A rebellion to be of 20000, and yet no Country to be known from whence they came, it is not like.

But let us conſider yet further of theſe 20 thouſand Soldiers, ſo ſuddenly without wages, without victual, or other proviſion congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what Quarter, Country or Countrys they came. In other Kings days, whenſoever any Rebellion was againſt the King, moved by the Commons, as when *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tiler* of *Kent*, and *Eſſex* roſe in the time of King *Richard* the 2d. When *William Mandevil* of *Abington*, *Jack Cade* of *Kent*, in the time of King *Henry* the 6th. In the time of King *Henry* the eighth, when the commotion was of Rebels in *Lincolnſhire*, then in *Yorkſhire*. When in King *Edward* the 6th time, *Humphrey Arundel* in *Devonſhire*, Captain *Kette* in *Northfolk* made ſtir againſt the King, the Country and parts from whence theſe Rebels did ſpring, were both noted and alſo defamed. In this ſo traiterous commotion therefore, let us now learn what theſe men were, and from what Country or Countrys in all *England* they came. If they came out of any, let the Chronicles declare what Countrys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of *Eutopia*, where, belike, this figment war firſt forged and invented. Wherefore ſeeing neither the Countrys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all theſe 20000 do appear what they were, either in Chronicle or in Record, but remain altogether unknown, I leave it (gentle Reader) to thy judgment, to think thereupon, as thy wiſdom ſhall lead thee.

Never was any Rebellion of Commons in *England*, but the ſpecial Country from whence they came was noted and known.

(D) It

KING *Hen.* 5.

(D) Another falſe report of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, that he intended to kill all manner of eſtates in the Realm.

(D) It followeth more in the foreſaid Preface; *And to deſtroy all other manner of eſtates of the ſame Realm of* England, *as well Spiritual as temporal*, &c. By the courſe of this Preamble it appeareth, that the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was a wonderful cruel Tyrant and Murderer, who being not yet ſatisfied with the bloud of the King, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would alſo make havock and ſweep-ſtake of all manner of Eſtates in the Realm of *England*. What and leave no manner of Eſtate alive? No, neither Lord Spiritual nor Temporal, but all together ſhall be deſtroyed. And what had all theſe Eſtates done, thus ſo miſerably to be deſtroyed? Although perchance, the mood of this man might have been incenſed and kindled againſt the King, and the Lords Spiritual, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforeſaid; yet why ſhould all other manner of other Eſtates both ſpiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the Eſtates in *England*, neither Duke, Earl, Baron, Lord, Knight, or other Gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he having all the Eſtates, Peers, Nobles and Gentlemen of the Realm againſt him, and none to ſtand with him, either could or durſt attempt any commotion againſt the whole power of the Land, he being but only Gentleman only, with Sir *Roger Acton*, and Mr. *Brown* left alone? At leaſt, good reaſon yet would, that thoſe hundred Knights ſhould have been ſpared out of this bloudy ſlaughter, whom he offered to reduce unto the King, before, for his purgation. And finally, if this was his purpoſe, that all theſe Eſtates both ſpiritual and temporal ſhould have been cut down, what needed then that he ſhould have made himſelf a Regent, when as he might as well have made himſelf a King, or what elſe he would, being left then Prince alone?

(E) An hard matter to deſtroy all policy and laws of a Land.

(E) The Preamble as it began with untruth, and continued in the ſame figure, heaping one untruth upon another; ſo now endeth with another miſreport as untrue as the reſt, ſhewing and declaring that the intent of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was alſo, *To deſtroy all manner of policy*, and finally, *the Laws of the Land*, &c. We read of *William* the Conqueror, otherwiſe named *William* Baſtard, who being a puiſſant Duke in his Country, when that the Crown of *England* was alotted to him, and he coming over with all his Peers, Nobles and Barons of his whole Land, into this Realm, and had with great difficulty obtained Victory againſt King *Harold*; yet to alter and deſtroy the policy and the Laws of the Land, it paſſeth his power. Inſomuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded ſo far as he did, unleſs he had firſt ſworn to the Nobles of this Land, to retain ſtill the laws of King *Edward*, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forſware himſelf, breaking his Oath in altering and changing many of the foreſaid Laws, yet will he, nill he, he could not ſo deſtroy them all (for the which much war and great commotions endured long after in the Realm) but that he was conſtrained, and alſo contented to allow and admit a great part of the ſaid Laws of King *Edward*. And if he, being King and Conqueror, with all his ſtrength of *Normans* and *Engliſhmen* about him, was too weak and inſufficient to deſtroy all manner of policy and Laws of this Land which he had conquered; how much leſs then is it to be ſuppoſed that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* being but a private ſubject, and a poor Knight, and a condemned Priſoner, deſtitute and forſaken of all Lords, Earls and Barons, who to ſave his own life had more to do than he could well compaſs, would either take in hand, or conceive in his head any ſuch exploit, after the ſubverſion of Chriſtian Faith, and Law of God; after the ſlaughter of the King and all manner of Eſtates, as well ſpiritual as temporal, in the Realm of *England*, after the deſolation of holy Church, to deſtroy alſo all manner of policy, and finally, the Laws of the Land? Which monſtrous and incredible figments, how true it may ſeem to Mr. *Cope*, or to ſome other late Chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell; certainly to me, and as I think, to all indifferent Readers, it appeareth as true as is the Verſe of the Satyr, wherewith it may well be compared;

*Nil intra eſt oleam, nil extra eſt in nuce duri.*

But here will it be ſaid again perhaps, that the matter of ſuch Preambles and Prefaces being but purſuants of Statutes, and containing but words of courſe, to aggravate and to give a ſhew of a thing which they would have to ſeem more odious to the people, is not ſo preciſely to be ſcanned, or exquiſitely to be ſtood upon, as for the ground of a neceſſary eaſe of truth. Objection.

This is it (Mr. *Cope*) that I ſaid before, and now do well grant and admit the ſame, that ſuch preambles or forefaces lined with a *non ſequitur*, containing in them matter but of ſurmiſe, and words of courſe, and rather monſters out of courſe, and many times riſing upon falſe information, are not always in themſelves material, or neceſſary probations in all points to be followed, as appeareth both by this Statute, and alſo by the Statute of this Kings Father, *Anno* 2. *Henr.* 4. *cap.* 15. beginning *Excellentiſſimo, &c.* And yet notwithſtanding, out of theſe ſame preambles, and forefronts of Statutes, and other Indictments, which, commonly riſing upon matter of information, run only upon words of courſe, of office, and not upon ſimple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they inſert into their ſtories, having no reſpect or examination of circumſtances to be compared, but only following bare rumors, or elſe ſuch words as they ſee in ſuch fabling Prefaces or Indictments expreſſed. Whereby it cometh ſo to paſs, that the younger Chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of error. And you alſo, Mr. *Cope*, following the ſteps of the ſame, do ſeem likewiſe to err together with them for good fellowſhip. And thus concerning the face of this Statute hitherto ſufficiently. Answer. *Ex orig. ſtat. Hen.* 4. *c.* 15. The reaſon and cauſe how Chroniclers oft times be deceived. *Alan. Cope* deceived by his Chroniclers.

Now let us conſider and diſcuſs in like manner firſt the coherence, then the particular contents of the ſaid Statute. As touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man ſhall find almoſt a Chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the Statute well agree with themſelves. Wherein he that was the drawer, or firſt informer thereof, ſeemeth to have forgot his Verſe and Art poetical.

*Atque ita mentitur, ſic veris falſa remiſcet.* — *Hor. art. poet.*
*Primum ne medio, medium ne diſcrepet imo.*

For whereas the Preface of the Statute ſtandeth only upon matter of Treaſon, conceived by falſe ſuggeſtion and wrong information; the body of the ſaid Statute, which ſhould follow upon the ſame, runneth only upon matter of Hereſie pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appear.

(F) The body of the Statute. *an.* 2. *Reg. Hen.* 5. *ca.* 7. examined.

(F) For firſt, Where he ſaith, *At the inſtance and requeſt of the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries*, &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cauſe of Treaſon nor Felony. For that every man of duty is bound, and by the Laws of the Realm may arreſt and apprehend a Traitor, or a Felon, if he can; where otherwiſe by this Statute, an Officer is not bound to arreſt him which offendeth in caſe of this Statute, without requeſt made by the Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries; and therefore this offence ſeemeth neither to be Treaſon nor Felony.

(G) Secondly, Where it followeth, that *the ſame Ordinaries and Commiſſaries do pay for their coſts*, &c. This allowance of the Officers charges in this ſort proveth this offence neither Treaſon nor Felony. (G)

(H) Thirdly, Where the Statute willeth the King to be *anſwered of the year, day and waſt*, &c. By this alſo is proved the offence not to be Treaſon; for elſe in caſes of Treaſon, the whole inheritance, I trow, Mr. *Cope* (ſpeaking as no great skilful Lawyer) is forfeit to the Prince. (H)

(I) The Fourth Argument I take out of theſe words of the Statute, *Whereas ſuch Lands and Tenements which are holden of the Ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the King, as forfeit*, &c. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the Prelates (for their matter of *Lollardy* only) were the occaſioners and procurers of this Statute; and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit riſing thereby, as good reaſon was they ſhould. And thus it is notorious, that the Preface running ſpecially and principally upon Treaſon, and the Statute running altogether upon points of Hereſie, do not well cohere nor joyn together. (I)

(K) (*K*) Fifthly, In that ſuch perſons indicted ſhall be delivered unto the Ordinaries of the places, *&c.* it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of Treaſon, forſomuch as Ordinaries cannot be Judges in caſes of Treaſon or Felony, by the laws of our Realm, *Bract. in fine* 1. *lib.*

(L) (L) Sixthly, By the Indictments provided not to be taken in evidence, but only for information, before the Judges Spiritual, *&c.* It is likewiſe to be noted, to what end theſe Indictments were taken; to wit, only to inform the Ordinaries, which cannot be in caſes of Treaſon.

(M) (M) Laſtly, Where it followeth toward the end of the Statute, touching eſcape or breaking of Priſon, *&c.* By this it my lightly be ſmelt, whereto all the purpoſe of this Statute driveth, that is, to the ſpecial eſcape of the Lord *Cobham* out of the Tower, to this end, to have his Lands and Poſſeſſions forfeit unto the King. And yet the ſame eſcape of the Lord *Cobham*, in this Statute conſidered, is taken by Mr. Juſtice *Stanford*, *in libro primo*, of the Pleas of the Crown, *cap.* 33. to be an eſcape of one arreſted for Hereſie, where he ſpeaketh of the caſe of the Lord *Cobham*.

*John Stanf. of the Pleas of the Crown. lib.* 1. *cap.* 33.

Moreover, as touching the parts of this foreſaid Statute, how will you joyn theſe two branches together, whereas in the former part is ſaid, *That the Lands of ſuch perſons convict ſhall be forfeit to the King, not before they be dead*; and afterward it followeth, *That their goods and poſſeſſions ſhall be forfeit at the day of their arreſt to the King?* But herein ſtandeth no ſuch great doubt, nor matter to be weighed; This is without all doubt, and notoriouſly, evidently, and moſt manifeſtly may appear, by all the arguments and whole purport of the Statute; That as well the Preamble and Preface thereof, as the whole body of the ſaid Statute, was made, framed and procured only by and through the inſtigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates and the *Popiſh* Clergy, not ſo much for any Treaſon committed againſt the King; but only for fear and hatred of *Lollardy*, tending againſt their Law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any Treaſon againſt the Prince. And then to ſet the King and all the States againſt them, whereby the more readily to work their diſpatch, they thought it beſt, and none ſo compendious a policy, as prettily to joyn Treaſon together with their *Lollardy*; wherein the poor men once intangled, could no ways eſcape deſtruction. *Papæ conſilium callidum.*

*The firſt procurers of this Statute.*

*Practice of Prelates to couple treaſon with hereſie.*

This, Maſter *Cope*, have I ſaid, and ſay again, not as one abſolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof, as I was not preſent my ſelf, ſo with your own *Hall* I may and do leave it at large, but as one leading the Readers by all conjectures and arguments of probability and of due circumſtance, to conſider with themſelves what is further to be thought in theſe old accuſtomed practices and proceedings of theſe Prelates. Proteſting moreover (Maſter *Cope*) in this matter to you, that thoſe Chronicles which you ſo much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witneſſes ſufficient, nor as judges competent. Who as they were not themſelves preſent at the deed done no more than I, but only following uncertain rumors, and words of courſe and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themſelves, and alſo deceive you and other which depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this Statute enough. Out of which Statute you ſee (Mr. *Cope*) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great advantage, to prove any Treaſon in the Lord *Cobham*, or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premiſſes.

*Alan Copum pag.* 833. *l.* 4.

It remaineth further, that foraſmuch as you in your ſixth Dialogue, with your Author *Edward Hall*, do alledge the Records, *Et publica judicii Acta*, to defame theſe men for Traitors (although what Records they be you bring forth never a word) I therefore in their defence do anſwer for them, which cannot now anſwer for themſelves. And becauſe you, to accuſe them, do mention a certain Record, and yet do not ſhew us what Record it is, and peradventure cannot, if ye would: I have taken the pains therefore, for the love of them whom you ſo hate, to ſearch out ſuch Records, whereby any occaſion can be raiſed againſt them. And firſt I will declare the Commiſſion granted, then the Indictment commenſed againſt them. {KING Hen. 5.}

The which Commiſſion and Indictment, albeit in countenance of words will ſeem to miniſter much ſuſpition againſt them, to the ſimple Reader, before he be better acquainted with theſe ſubtil dealings and practices of Prelates; yet truſting upon the goodneſs of the cauſe, which I ſee here ſo falſly and ſlightly to be handled, I nothing fear nor doubt to produce the ſame out of the Records in *Latine* as they ſtand; to the intent that when the crafty handling of the adverſaries ſhall be diſcloſed, the true ſimplicity of the innocent, to the true hearted Reader, may the more better appear. The words firſt of the Commiſſion here follow under written; which when thou ſhalt hear, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle Reader, I beſeech thee, before thou underſtand further, what packing and ſubtle conveyance lieth covered and hid under the ſame

## In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

The Work of the Commiſſion againſt the L. *Cobham.*

R. *Dilectis & fidelibus ſuis Willielmo Roos de Hamlack, Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croiomere Majori Civitatis ſuæ London. Hugoni Huls, Joanni Freſton, & Joanni Mertin ſalutem. Sciatis quod cum nos plenius* (A) *informemur, ac notorie & manifeſte dignoſcatur, quod quam plures ſubditi noſtri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alii mortem noſtram contra ligeanciæ ſuæ debitum proditorie imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicæ, quam ſtatus dominorum & magnatum regni noſtri Angl. tam ſpiritualium quam temporalium deſtructionem propoſuerunt, ac diverſas congregationes, & alia conventicula illicita pro nefando propoſita ſuo in hac parte perimplend. fecerunt in noſtri exheredationem ac Regni noſtri deſtructionem manifeſtam: Nos hujuſmodi Lollardos ac alios prædictos juxta eorum demerita in hac parte caſtigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumſpectione veſtris plenius confidentes, aſſignavimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres veſtrum, quorum vos præfati Major & Ego, duos eſſe volumus Juſtic. noſtros ad inquirend. per ſacram. proborum & legal. hominum de civitate prædicta & ſuburbiis ejuſdem, ac de Comitatu Middleſexiæ, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius ſciri poterit de omnibus & ſingulis proditionibus & inſurrectionibus per hujuſmodi Lollardos in civitate, ſuburbiis, & comitat. prædictis, factis & perpetrat. necnon de omnimodo proditionibus & inſurrectionibus, rebellionibus & feloniis in civitate, ſuburbiis, & com. prædictis, per quoſcunque & qualitercunque factis ſive perpetratis, & ad caſd. proditionem inſurrect. rebell. & felonias aud. & termin. ſecund. legem & conſuetudinem Regni noſtri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ad hoc providerit is diligentes ſuper premiſſis fac. inquiſitiones, & præmiſſa omnia & ſingula audiatis & terminetis in forma prædicta facturi, &c. Salvis, &c. Mandavimus enim vicecomitibus noſtris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ejus ſcire fac. venire faciatis coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot. &c. de Ballivа ſua, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos, &c. & inquiri. In cujus, &c. T.R. apud Weſtm.* (B) *x. die Jan. Per ipſum Regem.*

(B)

By theſe high and tragical words in this Commiſſion ſent down againſt the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* and their fellows, it may peradventure ſeem to the ignorant and ſimple Reader, ſome heinous crime of Treaſon to reſt in them, for conſpiring againſt God, the Church, the King and their Country. But what cannot the fetching practice of the *Romiſh* Prelates bring about, where they have once conceived a malice? Wherefore marvel not (good Reader) at this, nor judge thou according to the words which thou heareſt, but ſuſpend thy judgment a while till the matter be more opened unto thee. Examples of like handling be not ſo rare, but thou mayſt ſoon judge by other times the like alſo of theſe. *George Egle*, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of Queen *Mary*, and yet Commiſſion was directed againſt him, as in caſe of raiſing up a commotion againſt the Queen. *Adam Damlip* in *Calis* did but preach, and the receiving of one poor Crown two years before at *Rome*, was enough to make him a Traitor. In time of

*Examples of divers falſly accuſed for Treaſon.*

King

KING *Hen.* 5.

King *Henry* the Eighth, one *Cingleton*, Chaplain to Queen *Anne*, the Queens Majesties Mother that now is, did but preach the Gospel, moved by zeal (as I have credible witness of his own Scholar that heard him speak it, being with him) and yet by vertue of a Commission it was objected to him, for raising up commotion against the King, yea, and also for killing of *Pakington*, and suffered for the same as a Traitor. So here, what matter or marvel is it, if the King incensed, or rather circumvented by the wrong information of the Prelates, whom he believed, gave out his Commission, against things never wrought nor thought?

Wherefore I exhort thee, Christian Reader, as I said before, judge not by and by the truth by the words of the Commission, but judge rather the words of the Commission by the truth. Neither measure thou the line by the stone, but the stone rather by the line. At least, yet defer thy sentence till both the Commission and the Indictment being laid together, thou mayst afterward see and perceive more what is to be judged in the case.

(A) In the mean season mark well these words of the King in this Commission, (A) *Cum nos plenius informemur*, &c. By the which words it is easie to be understood, that the King himself had no certain knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of Bishops no doubt and Prelates) and thereupon gave forth his Commission aforesaid. And then how will this stand with our Chroniclers, and other Epitomes and Summaries, whom Master *Cope* doth alledge? for if it be certain that *Robert Fabian* saith, That the King himself being in the Field took certain of them, as Sir *Roger Acton*, Master *Brown*, and *John Beverley*; and your own *Edward Hall* also, and your Epitome agreeth to the same; and, saith moreover, that they were brought before the Kings presence: *Thomas Cooper* also, whom you alledge, addeth further, and saith, that the King there by strength did take them.

Our English Chronicles examined by the words of the Commission.

I pray you (Master *Cope*) what needed the King to write this by information, when as he himself was both present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witness of the deed? The which if it be true that the King heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your *Chronicos* and your *Epitomas*? But herein I will neither greatly stick with you, nor contend with them; desiring the Reader only to bear in mind the date of this present Commission when it was given, (B) which soundeth to be the 10th day of *January*, and afterward to compare the same with the date of the Indictment hereunder following, which I will (the Lord willing) also hereunto annex, leaving nothing out; yea rather, ministring to the adversary all manner of helps, whatsoever they can seek or require for their most advantage in this matter, to be desired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, not fearing whatsoever blind malice can cavil against them.

## The Indictment of the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton* and others, with Notes following upon the same.

PARLIAMENTA *coronæ coram Domino Rege apud Westm. de termino Sancti Hilarii, anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti, post conque. primo, Rot. 7. inter Parliamenta Regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrope, Gulielmo Crowmere Majore Civitatis London. Hugone Huls & sociis Justic. Domini Regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de Civitate Domini Regis London. & Suburbiis ejusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos Domini Regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in Civitate, Suburbiis, & Com. prædictis, factis & perpetratis, necnon de omnibus proditionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & feloniis in Civitate, Suburbiis & Com. præd. per quoscunque & qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, & ad easdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & feloniias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni Domini Regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius Domini Regis patentes, assign. apud Westm. die Mercurii* (A) *proximo post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo,* (B) *per sacram. xii. Jur. extitit, presentatum; quod Jo. Oldcastle de Couling. in Com. Kanc. chr. & alii Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diversas opiniones hæreticas, & alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones & errores prædictos manutenere, ac in facto minime perimplere valentes, quamdiu regia potestas & tam status regal. Domini nostri Regis, quam status & officium Prelaticæ dignitatis infra Regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso & proditorie machinando, tam statum Regni, quam statum & officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum Regnum Angl. penitus adnullare; Ac Dominum nostrum Regem, fratres suos, prælatos, & alios magnates ejusdem Regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, relict. cult. divinis & religiosis observantiis ad occupationes mundanas provocare, & tam Ecclesias Cathedrales, quam alias Ecclesias & domos Religiosas de reliquis & aliis bonis Ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, & dictum Johannem Oldcastle* (C) *Regentem ejusdem Regni constituere, & quamplura regimina secundum eorum voluntatem infra Regnum prædictum* (D) *quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei Catholicæ & cleri, quam status & majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem Regnum ordinare; falso & proditorie ordinaverunt & proposuerunt, quod ipso insimul cum quamplurimis rebellibus Domini Regis* (E) *ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diversis partibus Regn. Angl. modo guerrino arrivat.* (F) *privatim insurgent. & die Mercurii proximo* (G) *post Festum Epiphaniæ Domini Anno Regni Regis prædicti prædicto apud Villam & Parochiam Sancti Egidii* (H) *extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimit. convenirent & insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in præmissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud Villam & Parochiam prædictas prædicti Johannes Oldcastle & alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorio perseverantes, præd. dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos,* viz. (H) *Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Joan. de Lanc. & Humfred. de Lancast. necnon Prelatos & magnates præd. interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum regem, & heredes suos de regno suo prædicto exheredare, & præmissa omnia & singula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falso & proditorie proposuerunt & imaginaverunt* (I) *& ibidem versus campum præd. modo guerrino arrivati proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem inditamentum Dominus Rex nunc, certis de causis, coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit Vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet præfatum Joannem Oldcastle, si, &c. & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram Domino Rege apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurii proximo post octavas Sancti Hilarii isto eodem termino ad respondendum Domino Regi de præmissis, &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram Domino Rege Vic. return. quod prædictus Joan. Oldcastle non fuit inventus in balliva sua, &c. Per quod preceptum fuit Vic. quod exigi faceret eum de Com. in Com. quousque utlagetur si non, &c. Et si, &c. tunc eum caperet, & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberent corpus ejus coram Domino Rege in octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ ex tunc prossimum sequen. ubicunque, &c. ad respondendum Domino Regi de proditionibus & feloniis superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octavas Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo, Joannes Sutton, & Joannes Michel, Vic. Midd. coram Domino Rege returnaverunt quod ad Com. Midd. centum apud Braynford die Jovis proximo ante Festum Sanct. Barnabæ Apostoli, Anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post Conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor Com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes prædictus Joannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem Com. prædict. utlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis suis.*

Notis

## *Notes and Conſiderations upon the Indictment and Commiſſion above prefixed.*

(A) *Die Mercurii proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ*, &c.

(A) The firſt Note concerning the date and day both of the Commiſſion, and of the verdict of Jurors concurring on one day.

Firſt, here is to be noted and conſidered (good Reader) the day and date of giving out the Commiſſion, and then of the verdict preſented by the Jurors which was both in one day, that is, on the Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany*, in the firſt year of the reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, which was the tenth day of the month of *January* (as the date of the Commiſſion ſaith) *Anno* 1413, after the uſe of *England*, or after the *Romiſh* uſe, *Anno* 1414, ſo that after the uſe ever we count whether it be *Anno* 1413, or elſe *Anno* 1414, the Dominical Letter beginning at the firſt day of *January* to change, muſt needs be G. for the year, and ſo neceſſarily make Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany* to be the tenth day of the ſaid month of *January*. Thus then this preſent Wedneſday, which was the tenth day of the month, being well noted and borne in mind, on the which day both the Commiſſion was directed, and alſo the verdict preſented, let us now proceed further in the foreſaid Indictment. It followeth.

(B) The ſecond Note of the names of the Jurors left out.

(B) *Per Sacramentum xii. Juratorum extitit præſentatum*, &c.

¶ If there had been true dealing in this, the Jurors ſhould have been named. But it is not like that there was ever any ſuch Indictment found by any Jurors, and therefore they did beſt not to name the Jurors, leſt they would have denied this Indictment to be their act. It followeth more in proceſs of the Indictment.

(C) The third argument, by making a Regent, the King being not yet gone over.

(C) *Et dictum Joan. Oldcaſtle, Regentem ejuſdem regni conſtituere*, &c.

¶ If there were no other argument this were ſufficient to prove the manifeſt untruth of this ſurmiſed Indictment, when as the King was not yet gone to *France*, nor determined to go, how could they conſpire then to make a Regent? For the King went in *July* following, *viz.* the ſecond year of his reign, leaving behind him the Queen his Mother-in-law for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was untruly entred and ſtollen into the records with an antedate, or elſe at the leaſt there appeareth manifeſt untruth, that they ſhould conſpire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought upon, unleſs it were already run into the heads of the Clergy, who ſhortly after fearing their Temporalties, as *Caxton* ſaith, perſwaded the King to make Wars in *France*. This word Regent therefore proceedeth of the ſecret ſpirit of the Clergy, and maketh the whole matter very ſuſpitious to be grounded altogether upon the malice of the Clergy, and their untrue ſurmiſes. It followeth moreover.

(D) The fifth argument by contrariety.

(D) *Quaſi gens ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem*, &c.

¶ How doth this ſtand with that which goeth before, that they conſpired to make a Regent, except you will ſay, that to make a Regent is to be a people without an head? It followeth.

(E) The ſixth argument by the perſons unknown.

(E) *Cum quamplurimis rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum*, &c. ¶ A ſtrange matter, that they ſhould know of the conſpiracy of twenty thouſand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels but the Lord *Cobham* only, or one or two mo, and all the reſt were *ignoti*.

(F) The ſeventh argument by the unskilful penning.

(F) *Privatim inſurgentes*, &c. ¶ This ſmelleth of the Clergies own penning, without any great advice of learned Counſel; for otherwiſe ſuch as had been herein skilful would never have put in *privatim inſurgentes*.

(G) The eighth argument by the date and time.

(G) *Die Mercurii proximo poſt feſtum Epiph. D. An. R. R. prædict.* &c. ¶ This Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany* was the tenth day of the month of *January*, and the ſame day when both the conſpiracy was put in execution, and the ſame day when the Commiſſion was given out to enquire, alſo when the fact was by inquiry preſented. Whereby it may ſeem a ſtrange thing that ſo great a conſpiracy known before hand, was not ſuppreſſed nor inquired of by any Commiſſion, but only by a Commiſſion bearing date of the ſame day, upon which day, by the purport of the Indictment, the conſpiracy ſhould have been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforeſaid.

(H) *Prædict. D. noſtrum regem, fratres ſuos, viz. Thom. Ducem Clarentiæ, Jo. de Lancaſtre, & Humfr. de Lancaſtre*, &c. ¶ If the Kings learned Counſel had dealt in this Indictment, as in caſe of Treaſon they ſhould have done, if it had been a matter of truth they would never have handled it ſo ſlenderly, and wrongly, as to name the Dukes of *Bedford* and of *Glocester*, *Joh.* of *Lancaſter*, and *Humfry* of *Lancaſter*, who were made Dukes in the thirteenth year of the reign of King *Henry* the Fourth their Father, as appeareth by *Caxtons* Chronicle. (H) The ninth argument, by error and wrong naming the Dukes. KING Hen. 5.

(I) The tenth note or argument by the abſence of the party.

(I) *Et ibidem verſus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arrayati proditorie, modo inſurrectiones, contra ligeantias ſuas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum D. noſtrum regem*, &c.

¶ This is falſified by plain evidence of Hiſtories, and *Cope* himſelf confeſſeth no leſs. For ſo he ſaith and confeſſeth, *pag.* 833. lin. 12. That Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was not there in perſon, but only that his conſent and good will was there.

The 11th note or argument.

Again, ſeeing this equitation or riding toward St. *Giles* field was upon the Wedneſday next after the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, as in this Indictment and proceſs of Outlawry is above teſtified, which was the tenth day of *January*, and Commiſſion alſo the ſame day was charged, and the Jury alſo impannelled the ſame day, and yet no Juror named; *Item*, the verdict the ſame day preſented; how all theſe can concur together, and all in one day, let the Reader after he have well conſidered the matter, uſe his judgment therein, not only whether it be like, but alſo whether it be poſſible.

The twelfth note or argument. The L. *Cobham*, Sir R. *Acton*, &c. proved no Traytors.

Over and beſide all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duly handled, as touching the Treaſon, then had it not been needful to have brought Sir *Jo. Oldcaſtle* into the Parliament-Houſe before the Lords to be judged; for by his Outlawry (if it had been true) he was attainted, and without any more ado ſhould have had judgment in the *Kings-Bench* as a Traytor. But the chief Juſtice knowing the handling of the matter, durſt not belike enterpriſe ſo far. Wherefore it was deviſed that he ſhould certifie the record into the Parliament, which he did, together with the Biſhops ſentence filed to the record, which was very ſtrange.

And thereupon the Lords gave ſuch a judgment as was not due for a Traytor. For that they gave no judgment, that he ſhould be drawn, hanged, and let down alive, and then Bowelled and Quartered, which is the judgment of a Traytor. And albeit the Parliament might have attainted him without any more ado, and by the ſame Act of Attainder have ordained a ſpecial judgment, as they ſhould think good; yet when he was before attainted by the Outlawry, they could not lawfully vary from the common judgment of Treaſon. At leaſt how could or ſhould the judgment of Sir *Roger Acton*, Maſter *Brown*, and *John Beverly*, who were judged in the Guildhall before, and without the Parliament, vary from the ſaid common judgment of Traytors, if they had truly committed and been convicted of ſuch High Treaſon?

The 13th note or argument.

Add this moreover to the foreſaid notes; that if Sir *John Oldcaſtle* after his eſcape out of priſon, had been culpable, and ſo attainted of that High Treaſon, whereby his lands had been immediately forfeit unto the King by the proceſs of his Outlawry; what needed the King then in the ſecond year of his reign, in the Parliament after holden at *Leiceſter*, have made that *proviſo* to have his land forfeit to him by vertue of Parliament, upon his eſcape on the day of his arreſt, when as the lands and cattel of his had been forfeit before, by the proceſs of the Outlawry, as is before ſpecified?

Thus you ſee, *M. Cope*, how little vantage you can wreſt out of this Commiſſion and Indictment againſt the L. *Cobham* and his fellows, to prove them Traytors. And admit the ſaid L. *Cobham* was attainted of Treaſon by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons aſſented to the Act; yet it bindeth not in ſuch ſort, as if indeed he were no Traytor, that any may not by ſearch of the truth utter and ſet forth ſincerely and juſtly the very true cauſe of his death.

Anſwer to the Allegations of *Fab. Pa. Vin. Gil.* and *Hall*, &c.

Thus then having ſufficiently cleared the L. *Cobham* and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and ſtatutes; let us now come to your *Engliſh* Chronicles wherewith you ſeem to preſs me, and to oppreſs them, whom

KING Hen. 5. whom ye name to be *Rob. Fabian, Ed. Hall, Pol. Virgil, Tho. Cooper, Richa Grafton,* with other brief Epitomes and Summaries, *&c.* Concerning which Authors as I have nothing to ſay, but to their commendations, in this place: ſo if that you had avouched the ſame to the commendation rather than to the reproof of other, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cauſe. But now like a ſpider-catcher ſucking out of every one what is the worſt, to make up your leyſtall, you heap up a dunghill of durty Dialogues, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent ſlanders, manifeſt untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and ſtinking blaſphemy, able almoſt to corrupt and infect the air. Such is the malady and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write. Which of yours nevertheleſs I do not here reproach or contemn, as neither do I greatly fear the ſame. God of his mercy keep the ſword out of the Papiſts hand, it is not the pen of the Papiſts I greatly paſs upon, though twenty Copes and ſo many Surpleſſes were ſet againſt the Book of Monuments, were I ſo diſpoſed (*M. Cope*) to dally, or as the *Greeks* do ſay, ἀντιπαίξω, and to repay again as I am provoked. But in deſpiteful railing, and in this ſatyrical ſort of barking I give you over, and ſuffer you therein to paſs not only your ſelf, but alſo *Cerberus* himſelf, if ye will, the great bandog of *Pluto*.

Modeſty commended in Writers. Mildneſs and humanity rather beſeems and is the grace of the *Latin* phraſe. If ye could hit upon the vain thereof, it would win you much more honeſty with all honeſt men. But the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beſeech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

In the mean time ſeeing this your pratling pen muſt needs be walking, yet this you might have learned of theſe your own Authors whom you alledg, more civilly to have tempered your fume in exclaiming againſt them whoſe cauſe is to you not perfectly known. And now briefly to anſwer to theſe your foreſaid writers, as witneſſes produced againſt theſe men: there be two things (as I take it) in

Two things to be obſerved in ſtory Writers. Chronicle-writers to be conſidered; firſt the grounds which they follow: ſecondly, in what place they ſerve.

The ground of Hiſtories to be conſidered. As touching the order and ground of writing among theſe Chroniclers, ye muſt conſider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all theſe by you forenamed was preſent at the deed, nor witneſs of the fact, ſo have they nothing of themſelves herein certainly to affirm, but either muſt follow publick rumor and hear-ſay for their Author, or elſe one of them muſt borrow of another. Whereof neither ſeemeth to me ſufficient. For as publick rumor is never certain; ſo one Author may ſoon deceive another.

By reaſon whereof it cometh oft to paſs, that as theſe ſtory-writers hit many times the truth, ſo again all is not in the Goſpel that they do write: wherefore great reſpect is here to be had, either not to credit raſhly every one that writeth Stories, or elſe to ſee what grounds they have whom we do follow.

All things not true that be found in ſtories. Now to demand (*M. Cope*) of you, what authority or foundation hath your *R. Fabian*, hath *Polyd. Virgil, Ed. Hall*, and other of your Authors, to prove theſe men to be Traytors? What authority do they avouch? what Acts, what Regiſters, what Records, or out of what Court do they ſhew, or what demonſtration do they make? And do you think it ſufficient, becauſe theſe men do only affirm it, without further probation, with your ἔφησε ἴφυ, therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not ſo *M. Cope*, that I do here diminiſh any thing, or derogate from the credit of thoſe writers you alledg, whoſe labours have deſerved well, and ſerve to great utility: but coming now to trial of a matter lying in controverſie between us, we are now forced to ſeek out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to ſay, ſo it is, but the cauſe is to be ſhewed why it is ſo affirmed. And what though *Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil*, and *Edward Hall* ſhould altogether (as they do not) agree in the Treaſon of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and of the reſt? yet neither is this any ſufficient ſurety to prove them Traytors; conſidering that Writers of Stories for the moſt part following either blind report, or elſe one taking of another, uſe commonly all to ſound together after one tune, *tanquam Dodonæi lebetes*, ſo that as one ſaith, all ſay, and if one err, all do err. Wherefore you ſee Maſter *Cope*, how it is not ſufficient nor ſure to ſtick only to the names and authorities of Chronographers, unleſs the ground be found ſubſtantial whereupon they ſtand themſelves. Which yet in none of theſe whom you have produced doth appear.

Words without probation, are not ſufficient in ſtory matters.

Chroniclers how far, and to what effect they ſerve. Secondly, In alledging and writing of Chronicles, it is to be conſidered to what place and effect they ſerve. If ye would ſhew out of them the order and courſe of times, what years were of dearth and of plenty, where Kings kept their Chriſtmaſs, what Conduits were made, what Mayors and Sheriffs were in *London*, what Battels were fought, what Triumphs and great Feaſts were holden, when Kings began their reign, and when they ended, *&c.* In ſuch vulgar and popular affairs the narration of the Chronicler ſerveth to good purpoſe, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or falſe, or whether any liſteth to believe them. But whereas a thing is denied, and in caſes of judgment, and in controverſies doubtful, which are to be decided and boulted out by evidence of juſt demonſtration: I take them neither for Judges of the Bench, nor for arbiters of the cauſe, nor as witneſſes of themſelves ſufficient neceſſarily to be ſticked unto: albeit I deny not but Hiſtories are taken many times, and ſo termed for witneſſes of times, and glaſſes of antiquity, *&c.* yet not ſuch witneſſes as whoſe teſtimony beareth always a neceſſary truth, and bindeth belief.

Hiſtories not raſhly to be believed. The Two witneſſes which came againſt *Suſanna* being Senators, both of ancient years, bare a great countenance of a moſt evident teſtimony, whereby they almoſt both deceived the people, and oppreſſed the innocent, had not young *Daniel* by the holy ſpirit of God, taken them aſide, and ſeverally examining them one from the other, found them to be falſe lyers both; leaving to us thereby a leſſon of wholſome circumſpection, not raſhly to believe all that cometh, and alſo teaching us how to try them out. Wherefore (*M. Cope*) following here the like example of *Daniel* in trying theſe your records which ye infer againſt theſe men, we will in like manner examine them ſeverally one from another, and ſee how their teſtimony agreeth: firſt beginning with your *R. Fabian*. Which *R. Fab.* being neither in the ſame age, nor at the deed doing, can of himſelf give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

The teſtimony of *Fabian* againſt the Lord *Cobham* examined. How then doth *R. Fabian* prove this matter of Treaſon to be true? what probation doth he bring? what authority doth he alledg? And doth *R. Fabian* think if he were not diſpoſed to conceive of the L. *Cobham*, and thoſe men, a better opinion but to be Traytors, that men are bound to believe him only at his word, without any ground or cauſe declared, why they ſhould ſo do, but only becauſe he ſo ſaith, and it pleaſed him ſo to write? And if ye think (*M. Cope*) the word only of this witneſs ſufficient to make authority, ſpeaking againſt the L. *Cobham*, and proving nothing which followed ſo many years after him; why may not I as well and much rather take the word and teſtimony of *Richard Belward* a *Norfolk* man of the Town of *Criſam*, who living both in his time, and poſſibly knowing the party, and puniſhed alſo for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded alſo in the Regiſters of the Church of *Norwich*, to give this teſtimony among other his articles, for the foreſaid L. *Cobham, viz.* that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was a true Catholick man, and falſly condemned, and put to death without a reaſonable cauſe, *&c. Ex regiſt. Norvic.*

The teſtimony of *Richard Belward* for the Lord *Cobham*.

*Ex Regiſt. Epiſc. Norv.*

Againſt this man if you take exception, and ſay, that one Heretick will hold with another; why may not I with the like exception reply to you again, and ſay as well, one *Papiſt* will hold with another, and both conjure together, to make and ſay the worſt againſt a true *Proteſtant*?

Further, yet to examine this foreſaid *Fabian*, witneſs againſt Sir *J. Oldcaſtle*, as *Daniel* examined the witneſſes againſt *Suſanna*: I will not here ask under what Tree theſe Adherents of Sir *J. Oldcaſtle* conſpired againſt the King, and ſubverſion of the Land, but in what time, in what year and month this Conſpiracy was wrought? *Fabian* witneſſeth, that it was in the Month of *January*. Contrariwiſe, *Ed. Hall*, and other our abridgmenters following him, do affirm that they were condemned in the *Guild-Hall* the 12*th* of *December*, and that their execution upon the ſame was in *January* following, ſo that by their ſentence the fact was done either in the Month of *December*, or elſe before, and ſo *Fabianus mentitus eſt in caput ſuum, ſet cum Daniele dicam*, or if it were in the Month of *January*, as *Fabian* ſaith, then is *Hall* and his followers deceived, teſtifying the fact to be done in the Month of *December*.

Witneſſes againſt the Lord *Cobham* agree not together.

And

*Fabian convict of a manifeſt untruth in his ſtory of the L. Cobham. Fab. part. 7 in vita Hen. 5. pag. 590.*

And yet to object moreover againſt the ſaid *Fabian*, forſomuch as he is ſuch a raſh witneſs againſt theſe burned perſons, whom he called Traytors: it would be demanded further of him, or in his abſence of Mr. *Cope*, in what year this Treaſon was conſpired? If it were in the ſame year (as he confeſſeth himſelf) in which year *John Cleidon* the Skinner, and *Rich. Tarmine* Baker were burned, then was it neither in the month of *January*, nor in the firſt year of King *Henry* the Fifth; for in the Regiſter of *Canterbury* it appeareth plain, that *John Cleidon* was condemned neither in the time of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop, nor yet in the firſt nor ſecond year of King *Henry* the Fifth, but was condemned in the ſecond year of the Tranſlation of *Henry Chicheſly*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the 17 day of *Auguſt*, which was the year of our Lord 1415. So that if this conſpiracy was in the ſame year (after the witneſs of *Fabian*) in which year *John Cleidon* was burned, then doth the teſtimony of *Fabian* neither accord with other witneſſes, nor with himſelf, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witneſs of *R. Fabian*.

*Ex Regiſt. Archiep. Cant.*

The teſtimony of *Polydore* examined.

Let us next proceed to *Polydore Virgil*, whoſe partial and untrue handling of our Hiſtory, in other places of his Books, doth offer to us ſufficient exception not to admit his credit in this: And yet becauſe we will rather examine him, than exclude him, let us hear a little what he ſaith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbring the ſame upon my five fingers.

Five untruths of *Polydore* noted in our ſtory.

First untruth.

First, ending with the life of King *Henry* the Fourth, he ſaith that he reigned fourteen years and ſix months, and two days, *Angliæ Hiſtoriæ, Lib.* 21. which is an untruth worthy to be puniſhed with a whole years baniſhment (to ſpeak after the manner of *Apuleius*) when as truth is, he reigned by the teſtimony of the ſtory of St. *Albanes*, of *Fabian*, of *Hall*, of our old *Engliſh* Chronicle, and of *Scala Mundi*, but thirteen and ſix months, lacking, as ſome ſay, five days; *Hall* ſaith he raigned but twelve years.

2. Untruth.

The ſecond untruth of *Polydore* is this, whereas he, ſpeaking of this ſedition of *Sir John Oldcaſtle* and his adherents, affirmeth the ſame to be done after the burning of *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, which was (ſaith he) *Anno* 1415, in which year (ſaith he) *Thomas Arundel* died. His words be theſe, *In eodem concilio damnata eſt Johan. Wicliff. Hæreſis, ac Johan. Hus, & Hieronimus Pragenſis in ea urbe combuſti ſunt. Quod ubi reliquis conſociis, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, pateſit, tanquam furiis agitati primum conjurationes in omnes ſacerdotes, deinde in regem, &c.* In which words he not only erreth, falſly aſſigning the cauſe and occaſion of this ſedition to the death of *John Hus*, and of *Hierome*, but alſo miſſeth as much in the order and computation of the years. For neither was Sir *Roger Acton* with his foreſaid fellows alive at the time of the Council; neither doth he agree therein with any of our *Engliſh* writers, except only with *Hall*, who alſo erreth therein as wide as he.

3,4. Untruth.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he addeth and ſaith, that after this rebellion raiſed againſt the King, the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, being there preſent himſelf, was taken and priſoned in the Tower, and afterward eſcaped out of the ſaid Tower by night; wherein is contained a double untruth. For neither was Sir *John Oldcaſtle* there preſent himſelf, if we believe *Fabian* and *Cope*, *Dial. 6. pag.* 833. *lin.* 11. neither yet did he ever eſcape out of the Tower after that conſpiracy, if ever any ſuch conſpiracy was.

*Copus pag. 833. lin. 11.*

5. Untruth.

His fifth, but not the laſt untruth in *Polydore*, is this, that he ſaith, *Tho. Arundel* to have died in the ſame year, noting the year to be *Anno* 1415, whereas by the true Regiſters he died *Anno* 1414.

Another untruth in *Polydore* noted

To this untruth another may be joyned, where he erring in the computation of the years of the ſaid *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, reporteth him to ſit twenty two years. Who was there Archbiſhop but only eighteen years, as is to be ſeen in the Records of *Canterbury*. The words of *Polydore* be theſe, *Thomas Arundelius Cantuarienſis antiſtes annum jam tunc ſedens ſextum & vigeſimum e vita exceſſit, lib.* 22. *Aug. Hiſt.* Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with *Polydore*, and peradventure the adverſary will find ſome eaſie ſhift for this matter.

But let us now paſs from *Polydore*, not (as they ſay) out of the Hall into the Kitchin, but out of the Kitchin into the Hall, examining and perpending what ſaith *Edward Hall* another witneſs in this matter; upon whom Mr. *Cope* bindeth ſo faſt, that he ſuppoſeth his knot is never able to be looſed. And moreover he ſo treadeth me down under his feet in the dirt (as a man would think him ſome dirt-daubers ſon) ſo that the ſpots thereof, he ſaith, will never be gotten out while the world ſtandeth, and a day longer. Nothwithſtanding I truſt, Maſter *Cope*, that your dirty pen with your cockiſh brags hath not ſo debauded and beſpotted me, nor yet convicted me to be ſuch a depraver of Hiſtories. But I hope to ſponge it out. At leaſt way, with a little *aſperges* of the Popes holy water, I truſt to come to a *Dealbabor* well enough.

{KING Hen. 5.}

The teſtimony of *Hall* againſt the L. *Cobh.* examined.

But certes Mr. *Cope*, your Maſterſhip muſt firſt underſtand, that if ye think ſo to depreſs and diſprove me of untruth in my Hiſtory, you muſt go more groundly to work, and bring againſt me other Authors than *Edward Hall*. You muſt conſider Mr. *Cope*, if you be a controller of ſtory-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing ſpirit, or a mind diſpoſed to carp and cavil where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great ſearching out of Books and Authors, not only of our time, but of all ages. And eſpecially where matters of Religion are touched pertaining to the Church, it is not ſufficient to ſee what *Fabian* or what *Hall* ſaith; but the Records muſt be ſought, the Regiſters muſt be turned over, Letters alſo and ancient Inſtruments ought to be peruſed, and Authors with the ſame compared; finally, the Writers amongſt themſelves one to be conferred with another. And ſo with judgment matters are to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with ſimplicity pure from all addition and partiality to be uttered.

*Cope a carter of ſtories where of he hath no ſkill.*

Thus did *Aventinus*, thus did *Sleidanus*, write. Theſe helps alſo the eldeſt and beſt Hiſtorians ſeemed to have, both *Titus Livius*, *Saluſtius*, *Quintus Curtius*, and ſuch like, as by their Letters and Records inſerted may well appear. The ſame helps likewiſe both in your *Fabian* and in your *Edward Hall* were to be required, but eſpecially in you (Mr. *Cope*) your ſelf, which take upon you ſo cockiſhly (rather than wiſely) to be a controller and maſter Moderator of other mens matters. In which matters (to ſay the truth) you have no great skill, and leſs experience, neither have you ſuch plenty of Authors meet for that purpoſe, nor yet ever travelled to ſearch out the origines and grounds of that whereof ye write. But only contented with ſuch as cometh next to hand, or peradventure, receiving ſuch Alms as ſome of your poor friends beſtow upon you, you think it ſufficient if you can alledge *Fabian* and *Hall* for your purpoſe.

Now what purpoſe and affection herein doth lead you, or rather doth drive you to the carping and barking againſt the Hiſtory of theſe good men, that be hence gone and had their puniſhment, all men may ſee it to be no ſimple ſincerity of a mind indifferent, but the zeal only of your Sect of *Popery*, or rather of fury, which ſetteth your railing ſpirit on fire. But now out of the fiery Kitchin to come to the *Hall* again, let us ſee what matter lieth in the teſtimony of *Edward Hall*, to prove theſe men to be Traitors. And here forſomuch (M. *Cope*) as you ſeem neither ſufficiently acquainted with this your own Maſter and Author Maſter *Hall*, nor yet well experienced in the ſearching out of Hiſtories, I will take a little pains for you, in this behalf, to certifie you, concerning the ſtory of this Author, whereof peraſe you your ſelf are ignorant.

*Anſwer to Ed. Hall.*

The truth whereof is this, that as the ſaid *Edward Hall*, your great Maſter and *Teſtis*, was about the compiling of his ſtory, certain there were which reſorted to him, of whom ſome were drawers of his Pedigree and Vineat, ſome were Gravers, the names of whom were *John Betts*, and *Tyral*, which be now both dead. And other there were of the ſame ſodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the houſe of *Richard Grafton* both the Printer of the ſaid Book, and alſo (as is thought) a great helper of the penning of the ſame. It ſo befel, that as *Hall* was entring into the ſtory of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, of Sir *Roger Acton* and their fellows, the Book of *John Bale*, touching the ſtory of the Lord *Cobham*, was the ſame time newly come over. Which Book was privily conveyed by one of his ſervants into the Study of *Hall*, ſo that in turning over his Books it muſt needs come to his hands. At the ſight where-

{KING} *Hen. 5.* whereof, when he ſaw the ground and reaſons in that Book contained, he turned to the Authors in the foreſaid Book alledged, whereupon within two nights after, moved by what cauſe, I know not, but ſo it was, that he taking his pen, raced and cancelled all that he had written before againſt Sir *John Oldcaſtle* and his fellows; and was now ready to go to the print, containing near to the quantity of three Pages. And leſt *(M. Cope)* you, or any other ſhould think me to ſpeak beſide my Book, be it therefore known both to you, and to all other, by theſe preſents, that the very ſelf ſame firſt Copy of *Hall*, raced and croſſed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be ſhewed and ſeen, as need ſhall require. The matter which he cancelled out, came to this effect. Wherein he following the Narration of *Polydore*, began with like words to declare how the Sacramentaries here in *England*, after the death of *Jo. Huſſe*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, being pricked, as he ſaith, with a Demoniacal ſting, fell conſpired againſt the Prieſts, and after againſt the King, having to their Captains Sir *John Oldcaſtle* the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, with many moe words to the like purpoſe and effect, as *Polydore*, and other ſuch like Chronicles do write againſt him. All which matter notwithſtanding the ſaid *Hall* with his pen at the ſight of *John Bales* Book, did utterly extinguiſh and aboliſh; adding in the place thereof the words of Maſter *Bales* Book, touching the accuſation and condemnation of the ſaid Lord *Cobham* before *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, taken out of the Letter of the ſaid Archbiſhop, as is in his own Story to be ſeen: *In vita Hen. 5. Pag. 2. lin. 30.*

*Hall raceth out his own ſtory written againſt the Lord Cobham.*

*Hal. in vita Hen. 5. pag. 2. lin. 30.*

And thus *Ed. Hall* your Author, revoking and calling back all that he had deviſed before againſt the L. *Cobham* (whereof I have his own hand to ſhew, and witneſs ſubſtantial upon the ſame) in his printed Book recordeth of him no more, but only ſheweth the proceſs between the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and him for matters of Religion. And ſo ending with Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, he proceedeth further to the aſſembly of Sir *Roger Acton* (whom he falſly calleth *Robert Acton*) *Jo. Browne*, and *Beverly*, the Narration whereof he handleth in ſuch ſort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth it ſelf. For where he excludeth the L. *Cobham* out of that aſſembly, he diſcordeth therein from *Polydore* and other; and where he affirmeth the fact of that conſpiracy to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of *December*; that is manifeſtly falſe, if the records before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this aſſembly to be after the burning of *John Huſſe*, and of *Jerome* of *Prague*, therein he accordeth with *Polydore*, but not with the truth. Moreover ſo doubtful he is and ambiguous in declaration of his ſtory, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

*Hall in the ſtory of the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other ſtories.*

*Untruth in Hall noted.*

*Hall doubtful in the ſtory of Sir R. Acton, &c.*

Firſt, as touching the confeſſion of them, he confeſſeth himſelf that he ſaw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large. And as concerning the cauſes of their death, he leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth *M. Cope*) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but only recite the ſurmiſes and minds of divers men diverſly, ſome thinking it was of conveying the L. *Cobham* out of the Tower, ſome that it was for Treaſon and Hereſie; and here cometh in the mention only of a record, but what record it is neither doth he utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwiſe again affirming (as he ſaith) that it was for fained cauſes furniſed by the Spiritualty, more of diſpleaſure than truth. And thus your Author *Hall*, having recited the variety of mens opinions, determineth himſelf no certain thing thereof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the witneſſes of all men, referreth the whole judgment of the matter free unto the Reader. And ſo concluding his Narration, forſomuch as he was neither a witneſs of the fact, nor preſent at the deed, he overpaſſeth the ſtory thereof.

*Hall no witneſs in Sir Roger Acton's caſe.*

And what witneſs then will you, or can you (Maſter *Cope*) take of *Edw. Hall*, which denieth himſelf to be a witneſs? Will you compell him to ſay that he ſaw not? and to witneſs that he cannot? Wherefore like as *Suſanna* in the ſtory of *Daniel*, was quit by right judgment in the caſe of adultery, becauſe her accuſers and Teſtes being examined aſunder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; ſo why may not in like caſe of Treaſon, Sir *Roger Acton*, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, *Brown* with the reſt, claim the ſame privileg? ſeeing among the Teſtes and witneſſes produced againſt them ſuch diſcord is found, and ſuch halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, perſon, year, day, nor month.

*Repugnance noted in the witneſs againſt the L. Cobham, and Sir R. Acton.*

1. For firſt, where *Fabian* and his fellows ſay, that they were aſſembled together in a great company in the field near to Saint *Giles*, the forged Indictment above alledged, ſaith, they were but riding toward the field. 1 Repugnance in the place.

2. Secondly, where the foreſaid Indictment and *Polydore* give the L. *Cobham* to be preſent perſonally in that aſſembly, *Hall*, and *Alanus Copus Anglus*, do exclude his perſonal preſence from thence; and ſo doth *Fabian* alſo ſeem to agree, ſpeaking only of the adherents of Sir *John Oldcaſtle*. 2 Repugnance in the perſon. *Alanus Copus, p. 833. lin. 12.*

3. Where *Hall* and *Polydore* report this aſſembly to be after the burning of *John Hus*, and of *Jerome* at the Council of *Conſtance*, which was *Ann.* 1415, that cannot be, but if there were any ſuch conſpiracy in the firſt year of *Hen.* V. it muſt needs be in *Ann.* 1413. And here by the way, why do certain of your Epitom-writers, ſpeaking of the L. *Cobham*, committed firſt to the Tower for Hereſie, refer the ſaid impriſonment to the year 1412, whereas by their own count reckoning the year from the Annunciation, it muſt needs be *Ann.* 1413, being done in harveſt time. 3 Repugnance in the year.

4. Fourthly, where *Hall* with his followers affirm that Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown* and *Beverly* were condemned the twelfth day of *December*, the record is evident againſt it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of *January*. 4 Repugnance in the month.

5. Fifthly, whereas the foreſaid Record of the Indictment giveth the Wedneſday next after the *Epiphany*, which was the tenth day of *January* that preſent year, both the fact to be committed the ſame day, the Commiſſion alſo to be granted and delivered to the Commiſſioners the ſame day, the ſaid Commiſſioners to ſit in Commiſſion the ſame day, the Sheriffs of *Middleſex* to return a Jury out of the body of *Middleſex* the ſame day, and the Jurors to find the Indictment of the ſame day, and yet no Juror in the Indictment named the ſame day. 5 Repugnance in the day.

*Item*, the Lord *Cobham* the ſame day to be found conſpiring to make himſelf Regent, when as the King, that day and year was not yet paſſed into *France*; how all theſe can concur and hang together, and all in one day; I ſuppoſe it will coſt you two days before you with all your learned Council will ſtudy it out. And when you in your unlawful aſſemblies have conſpired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I think) three days, before you honeſtly diſpatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye think that ye have impreſſed in me ſuch a foul note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world ſtandeth, yet ſhall the poſterity to come judg between you and me, whether ſhall appear more honeſt and true, my defence for that worthy Lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling againſt him, moved with no other cauſe but only with the peeviſh ſpirit of Popery, which can abide nothing but that favoureth of your own Sect. For elſe how many loud lying Legends, yea what Legions of lyes are daily uſed and received in the Popiſh Church? What doltiſh dreams? what fained miracles? what blaſphemous tales and Friarly fables, and idle inventions, fighting againſt the ſincere Religion, Doctrine and Croſs of Chriſt? And could you hold your pen from all theſe and find nothing elſe to ſet your idleneſs on work, but only to write againſt the Lord *Cobham*, *Sir Roger Acton*, *Brown*, *Onley*, *Cowbridge*, with a few other, whom with much ado at length you have ſought out, not ſo much for any true zeal to rebuke iniquity, as craftily ſeeking matter by theſe to deface and blemiſh the Book of Acts and Monuments? Which ſeemeth belike to make you ſcratch there where it itcheth not. And if I ſhould after the like dealing take in hand your Popiſh portues, and with the like diligence excuſe every Popiſh Martyr and Saint there Canonized; think you Maſter *Cope*, I could not make you out half a dozen as rank Traytors and Rebels to their Kings and Princes, as ever were any of theſe of your picking out? What Pope almoſt hath there been theſe laſt five hundred years, which hath not been a Traytor to his Emperour and Prince, and to his Country? Either openly rebelling againſt them, or privily conſpiring their deſtruction, or proudly

*Papiſts can not ſee great beams in their own eyes, which ſpie ſmall motes in other.*

*Popes Traytors to their Emperors and Princes.*

proudly ſetting their feet upon their necks, or ſpurning their Crowns off from their heads, or making the Son to fight againſt the Father? how many have they depoſed, and ſet up other in their ſeats? how many Emperors and Kings have they wrongfully curſed? What Conſuls of *Rome* have they reſiſted, depoſed and put to death? What Wars have they raiſed up againſt their own Country of *Rome*? Yea, the continual holding of the City of *Rome* from his lawful Emperor, what is it but a continual point of Treaſon?

What will you anſwer me (Mr. *Cope*) to the Pope, which conſpired to let fall down a ſtone upon the Emperors head, kneeling at his prayers?

*The Popes Saints and Confeſſors many were Traytors.*

And though this Treachery, being as big as a Millſtone, ſeemed but a ſmall mote in your eye, that it could not be eſpied; yet what will ye ſay by the Monk of *Swinſtead*, that poiſoned King *John*, who was both abſolved by his Abbot before his Treaſon committed, and after his Treaſon, had a perpetual Maſs ſung for him, to help him out of Purgatory? And what think ye in your Conſcience is to be ſaid of *Thomas Becket*, who did enough, and more than became him, to ſet the *French* King, and the King of *England* together by the ears? Of *Anſelm* likewiſe, and of *Stephen Langton*, who departed both out of the Realm to complain of their Princes and Sovereigns? The like may be ſaid alſo of *Jo. Peckham*, *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of the ſame See, notoriouſly reſiſted the Kings commandment, being ſent for by King *Edward* the Third, to come to the Parliament at *York*; through the default of whoſe coming, the preſent opportunity of getting of *Scotland* was the ſame time loſt.

*Rich. Scrope Archbiſhop of York, Traytor, and yet counted a holy man.*

*Richard Scrope* Archbiſhop of *York* was openly in Arms to rebel and fight againſt King *Henry* the Fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death: and yet notwithſtanding, Commiſſion was ſent down from the Pope ſhortly after, to excommunicate them which put him to death, his Treaſon notwithſtanding. Read the ſtory ſincerely of Pope *Benedict* the *12th.* and of Pope *Clement* the *6th.* And ſee how the traiterous Rebellion of theſe two Popes againſt *Ludovicus* their rightful Emperor can be defended; which Emperor at laſt was alſo impoiſoned, and not without the practice of Pope *Clement*, as doth *Hieronimus Marius* credibly witneſs.

*Popes commonly Traytors.*

*Tho. Lancaſter a Traytor, and yet made a Saint by the Pope.*

In the Reign of King *Edward* the Second, mention was made before of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*. Who, with a great number of other Nobles and Barons of the Realm, roſe in armour againſt their Prince, and therefore at length were put to death as Traitors. And yet notwithſtanding this Treaſon committed (Maſter *Cope*) if you be ſo ignorant in our ſtories that you know it not, ſet your ſetters on to ſearch, and you ſhall find it true, that certain Noblemen went up to *Rome*, for the Canonizing of the ſaid *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, to be made a Saint, and obtained the ſame. Inſomuch that in a certain old Kalendar, the name of the ſaid St. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, is yet extant to be ſeen.

*Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury rebelled againſt his Prince, and yet made a Saint by the Pope.*

In the former Book of the *Acts and Monuments* above, about the page 353, or 354. mention was made of *Edmund Abbenden* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whom although I do not diſprove, but rather commend in my Hiſtory, for his bold and ſage counſel given unto King *Henry* the *3d.* and alſo for offering the cenſure of Excommunication againſt the King in ſo neceſſary a cauſe; yet notwithſtanding the ſame *Edmund* afterward, about his later end, went up with a rebelling mind to complain of his King unto the Pope, and in his journey died, before his return; who afterward for the ſame was Canonized by the Pope, and now ſhineth among the Saints in the Popes Kalendar.

*Tho. Arundel a rank Traytor againſt his King, and yet a great pillar counted in the Popes Church.*

Let us come more near to theſe days and times, and conſider the doings of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who being firſt depoſed and exiled for his contemptuous deſerts againſt the King, and afterward coming in with *Henry Bolinbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, in open Arms, and with main force, roſe againſt his natural and lawful King, Think you, Mr. *Cope*, this is not as great a point of Treaſon, as that which was done in *Thickets* Fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous Saints, yet I think nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly ſtick to ſay, *Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.*

All theſe things well conſidered, tell me (Mr. *Cope*) I pray you, is Treaſon ſuch a ſtrange and uncouth thing in your Pope-Catholick Church, that your burning zeal of obedience to Kings and Princes cannot read the ſtory of the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton*, but your Pen muſt needs be inflamed to write againſt them, and yet ſo many Traitors in your own Kalendars neither ſeen, nor once ſpoken of? And if the Traiterous Conſpiracy and Rebellion of ſo many your Kalendar Saints, committed againſt Emperors, Kings and Princes, cannot ſtir your zeal, nor move your Pen; nor if the Treaſon of Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, raiſing War againſt his own City of *Rome*, and cauſing thirty thouſand Citizens in one Battel to be ſlain, deſerveth not to be eſpied, and accuſed as much as this Treaſon of the Lord *Cobham*; yet what will you, or can you anſwer to me (Maſter *Cope*) as touching the horrible Treaſon of Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, committed not againſt Emperor nor King, nor any mortal man, but againſt the Lord himſelf, even againſt your God of your own making, being therein as you ſay, no ſubſtance of bread, but the very perſonal body, fleſh, bloud, and bone of Chriſt himſelf; which body notwithſtanding the foreſaid Pope *Gregory* the *7th.* took and caſt with his own hands into the burning fire, becauſe he would not anſwer him to a certain doubt or demand? *Ben. Card.* Southly, if Sir *John Oldcaſtle* had taken the body of King *Henry* the Fifth, and thrown him into the fire, the fact being ſo notoriouſly certain as this is, I would never have beſtowed any word in his defence. And could this and ſo many other heinous Treaſons paſs through your fingers, Mr. *Cope*, and no other to ſtick in your Pen but the Lord *Cobham*?

{KING Hen. 5.}

*Pope Greg. 7. a Traytor againſt the Lords own body. Vide ſupra.*

Finally and ſimply to conclude with you (Maſter *Cope*) and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions and practices of your Religion, or hath been almoſt theſe five hundred years, but a certain perpetual kind of Treaſon, to thruſt down your Princes and Magiſtrates, to derogate from their Right and Juriſdiction, and to advance your own Majeſties and Dominations, as hath been ſufficiently above proved, and laid before your faces in a Parliament holden in *France* by the Lord *Peter de Cugnerijs*? Wherefore if the aſſembly of theſe forenamed perſons, either within or without Saint *Giles*'s Field, be ſuch a great Mote of Treaſon in your eyes, firſt look upon the great Blocks and Millſtones of your own Traitors at home, and when you have well diſcuſſed the ſame, then after pour out your Wallet of your trifling Dialogues, or Trialogues, if ye liſt againſt us, and ſpare us not. Not that I ſo think this to be ſufficient excuſe to purge the Treaſon of theſe Men, if your *Popiſh* Kalendars and Legends be found full of Traitors. *Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium*: but this, I ſhink, That the ſame cauſe which made them to ſuffer as Traitors, hath made you alſo to rail againſt them for Traitors, that is, meer hatred only againſt their Religion, rather than any true affection you have to your Princes and Governors. Who, if they had been as fervent in your *Popery*, and had ſuffered ſo much for the holy Father of *Rome*, or for the liberties of the holy Mother Church of *Rome*, I doubt not but they, as holy Children of *Rome*, had been rung into your *Romiſh* Kalendar with a *Feſtum duplex*, or at leaſt with *Feſtum ſimſimplex*, of nine Leſſons, alſo with a Vigil peradventure before them.

*Vide ſupra.*

*Religion commonly maketh Treaſon among the Papiſts.*

Now becauſe they were of the contrary profeſſion, and enemies to you *Magna Diana Epheſiorum*, you play with them as the *Epheſian* Carvers did with Saint *Paul*, and worſe. Ye thruſt them out as ſeditious Rebels, not only out of life and body, but alſo, cannot abide them to have any poor harborer in their own friends houſes, among our *Acts and Monuments* to be remembred. In the which *Acts and Monuments*, if gentle Maſter *Ireneus*, with his fellow *Critobulus* in your Clerkly Dialogues, will not ſuffer them to be numbred for Martyrs; yet ſpeak a good word for them (Maſter *Cope*) they may ſtand for *Teſtes* or Witneſs-bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Now

KING Hen. 5.

Anſwer to the ſecond part of *Cope's* accuſation concerning his untrue charging of the Book of Acts and Monuments.

Now to the other part of his accuſation; wherein this *Alanus Copus Anglus* in his ἑξαπλᾶ or ſix fold Dialogues contendeth and chafeth againſt my former edition, to prove me in my Hiſtory to be a lier, forger, impudent, a miſreporter of truth, a depraver of ſtories, a ſeducer of the world, and what elſe not? Whoſe virulent words and contumelious terms, how well they become his Popiſh perſon, I know not. Certes for my part I never deſerved this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. M. *Cope* is a man whom yet I never ſaw, and leſs offended, nor ever heard of him before. And if he had not in the front of his Book intituled himſelf to be an *Engliſhman*, by his writing I would have judged him rather ſome wild *Iriſh* man, lately crept out of Saint *Patricks* purgatory, ſo wildly he writeth, ſo famiſhly he fareth.

But I ceaſe here, and temper my ſelf, conſidering not what M. *Cope* deſerveth to be ſaid unto, nor how far the peſt here could run if it had his ſcope, but conſidering what the tractation rather of ſuch a ſerious cauſe requireth. And therefore ſeriouſly to ſay unto you (M. *Cope*) in this matter, where you charge my Hiſtory of Acts and Monuments ſo cruelly, to be full of untruths, falſe lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and fained fables; briefly and in one word to anſwer you, not as the *Lacones* anſwered to the Letters of their adverſary, with *ſi*, but with *o ſi*; would God (M. *Cope*) that in all the whole Book of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the later end of the ſame, were never a true ſtory, but that all were falſe, all were lies, and all were fables. Would God the cruelty of your Catholicks had ſuffered all them to live, of whoſe death ye ſay now that I do lie. Although I deny not but in that Book of Acts and Monuments, containing ſuch diverſity of matter, ſomething might overſcape; yet I have beſtowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

The Book of Acts and Monuments too true if it had pleaſed God otherwiſe.

If you M. *Cope*, or any other can better my rude doings and find things out more finely and truly, with all my heart I ſhall rejoyce with you and the Common-wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexterity, fineneſs, or other induments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you nor any other. I grant that is a laboured Story, ſuch as you ſeem to require, containing ſuch infinite variety of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: But ſuch time, as I had, that I did beſtow, if not ſo laboriouſly as others could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I hear what you will ſay; I ſhould have taken more leaſure and done it better. I grant and confeſs my fault, ſuch is my vice, I cannot ſit all the day (M. *Cope*) fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and ſmoothing my ſelf all the day at Glaſs of *Cicero*, yet not withſtanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinks I ſhould not be reprehended, at leaſt not ſo much be railed on at Maſter *Copes* hand. Who if he be ſo pregnant in finding fault with other mens labours (which is an eaſie thing to do) it were to be wiſhed, that he had enterpriſed himſelf upon the matter, and ſo ſhould have proved what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do utterly excuſe my ſelf, yea rather am ready to accuſe my ſelf, but yet notwithſtanding think my ſelf ungently dealt withal at Maſters *Copes* hand. Who being mine own Country-man, an *Engliſhman* as he ſaith, alſo of the ſame Univerſity, yea, College and School that I was of; knowing that the firſt edition of theſe Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of *Germany*, where few friends, no conference, ſmall information could be had; and the ſame edition afterward tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by others, whileſt I in the mean time was occupied about other Regiſters; and now the ſaid *Cope* hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new Edition of the ſame Acts and Monuments, at this preſent time to be ſet forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed; if he had known any fault needful to be corrected, he might gently by letters have admoniſhed me thereof; gentleneſs would ſo have required it, time would well have ſuffered it. Neither was he ſo far off, but he might ſooner have written a letter to me, than a Book againſt me. Neither was I ſo ingrateful and inhuman, but I would have thanked him for his monition; neither yet ſo obſtinate, but being admoniſhed, I would have corrected willingly where any fault had been committed.

Ungentleneſs noted in *Cope*.

But herein your nature (Maſter *Cope*) doth right well appear. Firſt in the ſaid Book of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things be contained, not unfruitful nor unprofitable peradventure for the inſtruction of your conſcience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deſerved your thanks, all that you diſſemble and paſs over, only excepting thoſe matters which make for cavillation. Thus the black Spider out of pleaſant flowers ſucketh his poiſon. And what Book is ſo pleaſant and fruitful, though it were the Popes own Portues, yea, his own Decretals, yea, his own very Maſs Book, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind ſo diſpoſed to cavil, as you bring to the reading of my Hiſtory, but I could find out twice as many *mendacia*, *maculas*, *impudentias*, *dolos malos*, *fabulas*, *fucos*, as you have done in theſe Acts and Monuments? And yet you have done pretily well.

The nature of the ſpider.

Beſides all this, yet better to mark the goodneſs of your gentle nature: Be it ſo that I had been in ſome piece of my Story deceived, as I do not juſtifie my ſelf in all points therein, yet you, underſtanding that I was about the correction of my Book again, might either have taken the beſt, and left the worſt, or elſe have gently taken the pains to have advertiſed me of ſuch Notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at leaſt might have deferred your Dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my Book, to ſee firſt what would in the later Edition be altered. But belike your Gall was full, your haſte could not tarry, your venim muſt needs burſt out.

*Et ſi non aliqua nocuiſſes, mortuus eſſes.*

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be ſuch, and diſpoſition of your nature ſo far from all humanity, dealing with me ſo extreamly, if I thus provoked with your extremity again, ſhould now after this your curriſh nature ſhape you a name accordingly, and in ſtead of *Cope*, Godfather you to be a perpetual ſycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your ſycophantical Book well deſerve it? Or think you I could not repay you again with like extremity as you bring, and dreſs your drowſie or rather louſie Dialogues in their right colors, if I were ſo diſpoſed? But my purpoſe is with patience to ſpare you, and rather to pray for you; God make you a good man. Peradventure he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, than to ſting you. Leaving therefore the conſideration of your ingrateful doings, I will now conſider only the points wherein you charge me in your Book, anſwering briefly unto the ſame. Briefly, I ſay, becauſe the greatneſs of this Volume, and abundance of other more fruitful matter, giveth me little leaſure at this preſent to ſtand about brawling words.

*Copus Sycophanta.*

The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments, defended.

Firſt he ſeemeth to be highly grieved with me for my Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments. Wherein he hath no cauſe either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himſelf. As touching which Calendar I have ſufficiently and expreſly declared before ſo much, as might quickly ſatisfie this ſcruple of M. *Cope*, if he either would have taken the pains, or elſe had leaſure to read the words contained in the Latin Preface before the Book prefixed, which are thus, *Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi ut pro indice duntaxat ſuum cujuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, ad privatum lectoris ſerviret uſum, &c.* In which words preventing before the cavilling objection of the adverſary, I forewarned the Reader aforehand touching the Calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed, for no other purpoſe, but to ſerve the uſe only of the Reader, inſtead of a Table, ſhewing the year and month of every Martyr, what time he ſuffered, &c. What hurt I pray you is in this Calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments, more than in the Table of M. *Copes* Book, ſet after his Dialogues? But M. *Cope* had no leaſure to perſue this place; it made not for his humor.

*Ex præmio ad lectorem.*

Objection for Martyrs in the Calendar.

But this grieveth him in the Calendar, and that very ſore: for that I place in this Calendar, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, *Beverly*, and other for Martyrs, and diſplace for them other Holy, ancient Martyrs and Saints, as *Anatholius*, *Sother*, *Dorothea*, *Clarus*, *Lucianus*, *Severinus*, *&c.*

Anſwer.

Anſwer. If M. *Cope* cannot abide the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, and *Beverly*, which were hanged (as he ſaith for Treaſon) to have the name of Martyrs, then let them bear the name of witneſs bearers, or Teſtes of the truth, becauſe they were alſo burned for the Teſtimony of their faith. Seeing there is no difference in the ſaid names, all is one to me, by which they are called.

Untruth noted in *Al. Cope.*

And where he chargeth me for thruſting and ſhouldring out the old and ancient holy Saints aforenamed out of this Caldendar, and placing other newcome Saints in their rooms: this is not the firſt untruth that M. *Cope* hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the leaſt. Unto whom I might therefore fitly anſwer again with his own familiar phraſe, or rather the phraſe of *Cicero*, which he doth ſo much affectate: *Quod nimirum hic ipſe Alan. Copus Anglus unde me mendacii coarguit, inde ſibi ipſi ſempiternam ac indelebilem turpiſſimi mendacii ac ſingularis impudentiæ notam inurat.* For why have not I as juſt cauſe to ſay this to him, as he to me? Forſomuch as in the firſt beginning and Preface of the ſaid Book of Acts and Monuments, I ſo diligently and expreſly do warn all men before, firſt that I make here no Calendar purpoſely of any Saints, but a Table of good and godly men that ſuffered for the truth, to ſhew the day and month of their ſuffering. My words be extant and evident, which are theſe: *Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur iſti, quod inferuntur in Calendarium, &c.* And declaring afterward how the ſaid Calendar doth ſtand but inſtead of a Table, my words do follow thus: *Haud aliter calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi ut pro indice duntaxat ſuum cujuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, Lectori ad uſum atque ad manum ſerviat, &c.*

*Copus p. 130 lin. 18.*

*In præfat. ad lect. lector. ii. Acts and Monuments.*

Again, neither did I receive theſe men into that Calendar, that holy *Anatholius*, *Sother*, *Dorothea*, with other ancient Holy Saints ſhould be removed out, as you do falſly and untruly affirm, but becauſe the courſe of that ſtory, reaching but 500. years, did but comprehend thoſe former times of ſuch ancient Martyrs, but only of ſuch as ſuffered in theſe later days, therefore requiſite it was that in the Table ſuch ſhould be placed chiefly, of whom the whole Book did then principally and only intreat, to demonſtrate thereby the time and day of their Martyrdom. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new Calendar, which were never inſerted in the ſame before, but only becauſe both together could not there have ſtanding, neceſſity ſo there required theſe in no caſe to be omitted, and yet no injury meant to the other to be excluded out of their own Calendars; whereto properly they did pertain. As for this Calendar or this Table, becauſe they were not pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither was it neceſſary they ſhould be included. And yet neither did I (M. *Cope*) without due and ſolemn proteſtation omit the ſame in my foreſaid Catalogue to prevent and ſtop all cavilling mouths; As by ſpecial words in the ſaid proem of my Book unto the Reader doth appear, following in this wiſe; *Interim nullius ego boni ſanctique viri (modo qui vere ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat calendarium, mimineret, non in templis a me collocari, ſed domeſticæ tantum lectioni præparari, &c.* And where is now (Maſter *Cope*) this your rejecting, expelling, removing, expulſing, exempting, deturbating and thruſting out of *Anatholius*, *Sother*, *Dorothea*, and other holy Saints out of Catalogues, Faſts, and Calendars? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, *Qui veros Chriſti Martyres e cœlo ad tartara deturbat?* That is, Which tumbleth down true Martyrs from Heaven into Hell? Which if ye mean by me, In one word I anſwer, ye falſly bely me, Maſter *Copus*, I had almoſt called you Maſter *Capus*, ſo like a Capon you ſpeak. Neither have you nor any other ever heard me ſo ſay. Neither have I ever heard of any ſo mad to play ſo the Giants with their Mountains to to climb the Heavens, to tumble down Gods true and Holy Martyrs out of Heaven into Hell, unleſs it were your ſelf (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and ſuch other of your gilden and Popiſh fraternity, which make of Gods true Saints ſtinking dunghils, (for ſo ye term them in your Books) and not only thruſt into Heaven your *Pſeudoſanctos*, Saints of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow; but alſo depulſe down from Heaven, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloved ſervants, his faithful people, and bleſſed Martyrs; which have died for the word of God. And what marvel then, if in your blaſphemous Books ye caſt down from Heaven to Hell the poor Saints of Chriſt, when in effect you deject alſo the Blood and Croſs of the Son of God, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, ſetting up in his office and place, *tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte aſcendere, quo Thomas aſcendit.* Say, Maſter *Cope* your conſcience indifferently; ſet all Popiſh partiality apart, whereas the Scripture teacheth us ſimply, *Quod citra ſanguinem nulla fit remiſſio. i.* Without blood there is no remiſſion; whether ye think, by this blood of the *New Teſtament* is meant the Blood of Chriſt alone, or the Blood of other moe beſides? If the Blood of one muſt ſtand alone, why do ye then with the Giants build up your Mountains, and make a ladder of *Beckets* Popiſh Blood, for men to ſcale the Heavens? Or in ſo doing, how can you, but either with the Proteſtants wipe out of your Calendar *Thomæ Sanguinem*, or elſe demoliſh from Heaven *Sanguinem Chriſti*, with the Papiſts?

*Copus al-moſt called Capus.*

KING 1 *Hen. 5.* The Papiſts would thruſt down Gods true ſaints out of Heaven to Hell.

*Becket's* blood ſet up, to the injury of Chriſts blood.

And here by the way, I cannot but muſe, why you are ſo devout in ſetting up the Croſs of Chriſt in your Church, which are ſuch enemies to the true Croſs of Chriſt to ſtand in Heaven. Look upon this (M. *Cope*) and tell me, *utra pars verius veros Chriſti martyres e Cœlo in tartara detrudat?* And therefore as you falſly belie me in this, for detruding and tumbling out of Heaven, *Anatholius*, *Julianus*, *Clarus*, *Lucianus*, *Agatha*, *Dorothea*, and other againſt whom I never yet ſpake any reproaching word, but rather in this my Volume have ſet forth their commendation: ſo it is untrue likewiſe, where you affirm, that in this my Calendar I make an ἀποθεωσιν, or Canonization of falſe Martyrs. I told you before when ye were in *England*, I tell you again, being now in your tranſmigration, in words as plain as I could: *Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidenter ſumpſit Gregorius nonus.* Were not theſe words of my proteſtation manifeſt enough? Were they not ſufficient to ſatisfie a reaſonable Momus? And to make the matter more plain, did I not adde moreover as followeth? *Porro neque eo ſpectat hoc calendarium, ut novam aliquam feſtorum dierum legem præſcribam Eccleſiæ, &c.* And not contented with this, foreſeeing before ſuch wrangling Spirits to come, as now I ſee in you; I ſhewed alſo the cauſe why I needed not ſo to do. My words were theſe: *Feſtorum dierum jam plus ſatis erat in mundo, &c.* And yet further becauſe no cavillar ſhould take hold here of any injury done to the holy Saints, either old or new in the Church: therefore in expreſs words I removed away all ſuſpition of any injury, preventing the objection of the adverſary in theſe words: *Habeat & Eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iidem ne odorentur, modo quam ſint vetuſti, tum etiam vere ſancti ſint, &c.*

Papiſts devout to ſet up Chriſts Croſs in Earth: but enemies to Chriſts Croſs in Heaven.

*Copus mo-mus. Copus p. 820.*

Theſe places of my Book, if ye did ſee; why do you diſſemble them? If ye had not ſo much leaſure to read them; how had you ſo much leaſure to write againſt any mans Book, not knowing what is in the Book contained? And how ſtands it then with truth, that ſo like a Momus ye cry out ſo in your Book againſt theſe new made Martyrs, *qui non poſſunt niſi per aliorum injuriam creſcere, &c.* Alſo again, where you exclaim againſt me, and ſay that I thruſt out the ancient Martyrs from their ſeat and poſſeſſion, and place new in their rooms, &c.

Untruth in *Cope.*

*Copus p. 161 lin. penultimo.*

*Copus p. 820 lin. 25.*

Alſo where you continuing yet ſtill in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digreſs) do charge me further, that I do appoint out holy days and working days by colours of red and black, in my foreſaid Calendar to be obſerved; theſe lewd notes of yours, if they had been picked out of my Calendar by you, without mine own ſpecial declaration before made to the contrary, they might ſeem to have ſome bluſh of credit. Now what will the Reader ſay, or what may he judge, conſidering and conferring this your cavilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether ſet to play the perpetual Syc. I had almoſt called you by your

right

KING *Hen.* 5. right name Maſter *Cope*. But God make you (as I ſaid) a good man. Reading further in your Book, I could not but ſmile and laugh at this your ridiculous and moſt loud lying *Hyperboliſm*; where you comparing my making of Saints with the Popes making, can find (as ye ſay) in the Pope no ſuch impudent arrogancy in preſuming as ye find in me, &c. If the Pope had not abuſed his arrogant juriſdiction in canoniſing and deifying his Sanits, more than I have done; the year ſhould not be cumbred with ſo many idle Holy days, not the Calendars with ſo many Raskal Saints, ſome of them as good, as ever were they that put Chriſt to death.

*Copus p. 819. l. 17.*

But where will you find (Maſter *Cope*) any man to believe this your Hyperbolical compariſon to be true, which ſeeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeaſurable exceſs of the Popes arrogancy, not only in ſhrining ſuch a rabble of blind Saints of his own creating; but alſo in preſcribing the ſame to be received univerſally in the whole world; and not to be received only, but alſo to be invocated for gifts and graces; alſo to be worſhipped for advocates and mediators? Wherein riſeth a double abomination of the Pope, the one for his Idolatrous making and worſhipping of Saints; the other for his Blaſphemous injury and derogation to Chriſt in repulſing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other Mediators of his own making. And now to conſider what Saints theſe were, or what were the cauſes of their Sanctings; what Saint almoſt among all the Popes Saints ſhall you find (Maſter *Cope*) made within theſe five hundred years, but commonly he was either ſome Pope, or ſome rich Biſhop and Prelate, or ſome fat Abbot, or ſome blind Frier, ſome Monk, or Nun, ſome ſuperſtitious regular, or ſome builder of Monaſteries, or ſome Giver and Benefactor to the Popiſh Clergy, or maintainer agoniſing for the Dignities and Liberties of the Popiſh Church? What poor Lay-man or Lay-woman, were their lives never ſo Chriſtian, their Faith and Confeſſion never ſo pure, their death never ſo agoniſing for the witneſs of Chriſt, and truth of his word, ſhall find any place of favour in all the Popes πανσέληνος, that is, in the Popes Calendar, either in red colour, or elſe in black?

Double abomination in the Popes Calendar.

The great Saint-maker of *Rome*, and who be his Saints.

But here (Maſter *Cope*) if ye had the wit, ſo much to defend as ye have to overthwart, you might take me with the manner, and reply again for the defence of your great Saint-maker, or rather God-maker of *Rome*; that he maketh mo Martyrs and Saints of theſe foreſaid poor Lay-men, and Lay-women, than ever he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, impriſoneth and famiſheth them, and ſo maketh truer Martyrs of Chriſt, than any other of his new ſhrined Saints, whom he hath ſo dignified in his Calendar. For the one he doth Rubricate only with his red Letters; the other doth he Rubricate with their own Blood. And therefore to anſwer you (M. *Cope*) to your compariſon made between the Pope and me, for making of holy Martyrs and Saints: Briefly I ſay and report me to all the world, that therein is no compariſon. For if ye ſpeak of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? If ye ſpeak of falſe Martyrs, who doth make them, but the Pope? And furthermore to compare together the cauſes of theſe Martyred Saints in my Calendar with them which ſhine ſhrined in the Popes Calendar (taking the ſame proportion of time as I do, within theſe laſt 500. years) why may not I have as good cauſe to celebrate theſe in my Calendar, which loſt their lives and were ſlain, principally for the cauſe of Chriſt and of his word, as the Pope hath to celebrate his double and ſimple feaſted Saints in his Calendar; who in their doings, doctrine and life, as they ſeemed rather to ſerve the Pope, than Chriſt the Lord; ſo in their death appeared no ſuch cauſe, why they ſhould be ſanctified in the Church beyond all other? Let not the Church of Chriſt (M. *Cope*) be deluded with Hypocritical names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceived your ſelf, but let us reſort ſincerely to the Word of God. What was in S. *Francis* (look upon his ſuperſtitious life, and preſumptuous Teſtament, wrought no doubt by *Satan* to diminiſh and obſcure the *Teſtament* of Jeſus Chriſt) why he ſhould be made a Saint, and not an Enemy rather of Chriſt.

The great God maker of *Rome*.

No cauſe why the Popes new Saints ſhould be put in the Calendar.

What was likewiſe in *Frier Dominick*, who before *Francis* ten years together perſecuted the poor *Waldenſes* to death and deſtruction? Why ſhould he ſtand a Saint and a Pillar of the Church? I pray you what ſee you in *Thomas Becket*, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the Popiſh Church? What in *Aldelmus*, and in *Anſelmus*, but only that they chaſed away married Prieſts from the Churches, and planted in idle Monks in their ſtead? The like alſo did *Dunſtanus*, who was rubricated with a *duplex feſtum*. *Elizabeth* who was the Wife of the *Marqueſs* of *Thuring*, when ſhe had with much perſwaſions got out her Husband to fight againſt the *Turks*, and was there ſlain, ſhe afterward encloyſtered her ſelf, and was made a Nun. And do ye think theſe cauſes to be ſufficient why they ſhould be made Saints, worſhipped in Churches, and ſet in Calendars? Long it were to make rehearſal of all this riffraff, and almoſt infinite. One example may ſuffice for many. S. *Gilbert* of *Sempringham* was the Son of *Jocelin* a Knight, who for his deformity of his body was ſet to learning, and afterward made Canon, and was Author of the *Gilbertines* in the time of King *John*.

*Tho. Becket. Aldelmus. Anſelmus.*

*Dunſtanus. Elizabeth.*

The canonization of S. *Gilbert* of *Sempringham*.

This *Gilbert* after he had erected thirteen Monaſteries of his Order of *Sempringham*, was afterward laboured for unto the Pope to be made made a Saint. Who hearing of his Miracles, wrote his Letters to *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the behalf of the foreſaid *Gilbert* willing and commanding *per Apoſtolica ſcripta*, that the Feaſt of the ſaid *Gilbert* ſhould be ſolemnized through all the province of *Canterb. Ut meritis nimirum ejus & precibus apud miſericordiſſimum judicem miſericordiam conſequamur, &c.*

*Ex lib. de vita Gilberti confeſſoris.*

Whereupon *Hubert* the Archbiſhop directeth down his writings to all the Biſhops within his Provine, the Contents of which his writings do follow, *Hubertus Dei gratia Canterb. Archiepiſcop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Chriſto frat. Epiſcop. per provinciam Canterb. Sal. grat. & benedictionem.* D. *Papa, ſicut ex literis ipſius manifeſte perpenditur, de converſatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magiſtri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per teſtes & teſtimonia ſufficienter inſtructus, de concilio fratrum Cardin. ipſum mag. Catalogo ſanctorum decrevit aſcribi, ſolennitatem ejus conſtituit & mandavit per Canterb. provinciam ſolenniter celebrari. Inſuper & corpus ejus cum requiſiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam elevari. Veſtra igitur Univerſitas huic mandato cum devotione congaudeat, & ſecundum formam in ipſo mandato præſcriptam, prædicti confeſſoris domini depoſitionem annuam faciatis cum reverentia & ſolenniter obſervari; ut apud dominum & ab illo veſtra debeat & poſſit devotio commendari. necnon & ipſius ſancti ſupplex interceſſio vobis proficiat ad ſalutem. Valete.*

The Popes letter and the Archbiſhops for the canonizing of St. *Gilbert*.

The ſumm of the which writing of the Archbiſhop tendeth to this effect: That forſomuch as the Pope hearing of the life and miracles of *Gilbert*, Maſter of the Order of *Sempringham*, by ſufficient witneſs and teſtimonies, hath in his Letters commanded him by the advice of his Cardinals, that the ſaid *Gilbert*, ſhould be Canonized and aſcribed in the Catalogue of Saints, and that his ſolemnity ſhould be celebrated ſolemnly throughout all the Province of *Canterbury*: And alſo his body to be taken up and ſhrined to the Honour and Glory of God: He therefore, at the Popes commandment writing unto them, willeth all the Suffragans within his Province of *Canterbury*, yearly to ſolemnize and cauſe to be ſolemnized reverently the deſpoſition of the ſaid S. *Gilbert* Confeſſor; to the intent that their devotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And alſo that the humble interceſſion of the ſaid Saint, may profit them to their ſalvation.

Is this good doctrine M. *Cope* in the Pope's canonization?

Furthermore, for the more full Canoniſing (canviſing I had almoſt ſaid) of this new made Saint, the Saint Pope *Innocent* writing to *Hubert* aforeſaid, adjoyneth withal a Collect of his own making, which is this, *Plenam in nobis æterne ſalvator tuæ virtutis operare medelam, ut qui præclara beati Gilberti confeſſoris tui merita veneramur, ipſius adjuti ſuffragiis a cunctis animarum noſtrarum languoribus liberemur: Qui vivis & regnas, &c.* That is, Work in us O eternal Saviour full redemy of thy vertue, that we which worſhip the worthy merits of bleſſed *Gilbert* thy Confeſſor, being ſuccoured by his Suffrages, may be delivered from all languors and diſeaſes of our ſouls; who liveſt and reigneſt, &c.

The blaſphemous collect of the Pope making for S. *Gilbert*.

The conſecration of this one Saint (who perhaps was not the worſt) I thought here to commemorate to the in-

*Copus p. 119. lin. 7.*

tent that the Reader, meaſuring by this one the Canoniſation of all the reſt, may judge the better upon this compariſon of Maſter *Cope*, whether of us, doth vindicate more impudent authority, the Pope in his Calendar, or I in mine: or to make the compariſon more fit, whether is more impudent, the Pope in his Calendar, or elſe Maſter *Cope* in his Dialogues more doltiſh.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you; to Canoniſe or to Authoriſe any Saints, for Man it is preſumptuous; to preſcribe any thing here to be worſhipped, beſide God alone, it is Idolatrous; to ſet up any Mediators but Chriſt only, it is blaſphemous. And whatſoever the Pope doth or hath done in his Calendar, my purpoſe in my Calendar, was neither to deface any old Saint, or to Solemnize any new. In my Book of Acts and Mounuments entreating of matters paſſed in the Church, theſe later five hundred years, I did regulate out a Calendar, not for any Canon to conſtitute Saints, but only for a Table of them which within the ſame time did ſuffer for the Teſtimony of the word, whom I did, and do take to be good and godly Men. If any have other judgment of them, I bind no man to my opinion, as the Pope doth to his. The day will come which ſhall Judge both them and you. In the mean ſeaſon it ſhall be beſt for you (Maſter *Cope*) in my judgment to keep a good Tongue in your Head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to judge before the Lord. Mans judgment may fail and is uncertain, the judgment of God is always ſure. Beſt it is therefore either to be ſure by the word and judgment of God before, what you do ſay, or elſe to ſay the beſt. Of ſuch ſlandrous and intemperate railing can come no good, neither to them whom ye rail upon; nor to your ſelf which raileth; nor to the Church of God that heareth you rail. For them you cannot hurt, they are gone. To your ſelf though your matters be true, yet little honeſty it will bring to be counted a railer; and if it be uncertain, your ſtate is dangerous, and if it be falſe moſt miſerable: And as to the Church what great edification can proceed of ſuch contentious brawling and barking one againſt another, I do not greatly ſee. And if the zeal of the Biſhops of *Romes* Church have ſo much ſwallowed you up, that you cannot but ſtamp and ſtare at Traitors when ye ſee them put in Calendars: firſt (Maſter *Cope*) be ye ſure that they be Traitors (wiſdom would) whom you call Traitors. And if ye can ſo prove them (as ye have not yet) then let your *Irenæus*, or *Critobulus*, tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeal of yours as hot as Purgatory burn out, and flame as well againſt your own Traitors, having ſo many in your own Calendar and Church at home?

*Cope* counſelled to ceaſe his railing.

No good cometh of railing.

The zeal of M. *Cope* expended.

And if there be ſuch a Catholick zeal in you, that hath ſet your gentle breſt on ſuch a pelting chaſe, why then is not this your Catholick zeal equally indifferent? Why take ye on ſo fell on the one ſide againſt Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Sir *Roger Acton*, M. *Brown*, &c. A man would think you played *Hercules furens in Orcheſtra*. On the one ſide again, ye are *Oleo tranquillior*. What difference (Maſter *Cope*) call you this? Or what zeal make you this to be? Albeit, your zeal I judge not, as I know it not. Swift judgment ſhall not become me, which go about to correct the ſame in you. But this I exhort you to beware (Maſter *Cope*) that by your own fruits and doings evident, ye do not bewray this zeal in you to be *Non ſecundum ſcientiam*, nor ſuch a zeal as fighteth *Pro domo Dei, ſed pro domo Pontificis*. As I ſaid, I judge you not. You have your judge to whom ye ſtand or fall. My counſel is that you do not ſo zeal the Biſhop of *Rome*, that for his ſake ye loſe your own ſoul. Ye remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good *Ludere cum ſanctis*; worſe it is *Illudere*; worſt of all it is *Debacchari in immerentes*; Becauſe that *Deus ipſe ultionum Dominus* many times taketh their cauſe in hand, according as it is written. *Opprobria opprobriantium tibi ceciderunt in me, i. e.* The rebukes of thy rebukers fell upon me. And ſeldom have I ſeen any ſuch blaſphemous railers againſt the end or puniſhment of Gods Saints and Servants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themſelves.

And admit this (as granted unto you Maſter *Cope*) that theſe men had been Traitors, which ye are not able to prove: Well, they had their puniſhment therefore, the world can go no further, and what would you have more? who if they repented, why may they not have as good part in Chriſts Kingdom as your ſelf? Now forſomuch as the ſaid perſons alſo ſuffering a double puniſhment were ſo conſtant in the way of truth, and moſt principally for the ſame were perſecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, becauſe I ſaw it pertain to the profit of the Church, why might I not inſert it, with other Church ſtories in my Book? Let the Church take that which belongeth to the Church. Let the world take that which is to the world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye think it much, that I would exemplifie theſe whom ye call Traitors in the Book of Martyrs; Firſt, ye muſt underſtand, that I wrote no ſuch Book bearing the Title of the Book of Martyrs; I wrote a Book called the Acts and Monuments of things paſſed in the Church, &c. Wherein many other matters be contained beſide the Martyrs of Chriſt. But this peradventure moveth your choler, that in the Calendar I name them for Martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendar call them by the name of Martyrs, which were faithful witneſſes of Chriſts truth and Teſtament, for the which they were alſo chiefly brought unto that end? Or why may I not call them Holy Saints, whom Chriſt hath ſanctified with his bleſſed Blood? And what if I ſhould, alſo call the thief and murderer, hanging on the right ſide of the Lord, by the name of a Holy Saint and Confeſſor, for his witneſſing of the Lord, what can Maſter *Cope* ſay againſt it?

{KING Hen. 5.}

The noble of Martyrs in the Calendar defended.

What is a Martyr.

Holy Saints of Chriſt.

And as for colouring the names of certain Martyrs in the ſaid Calendar in red or ſcarlet Letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleaſed the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that ſo much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expoſtulate in this behalf with the great Saint-maker of *Rome*, who hath redded them much more than ever did I? For he did red and die them with their own Blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red Letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

Martyrs in the Calendar coloured with red.

The Painter coloureth with red.

The Pope colougeth with blood.

* Proceeding now out of the Calendar unto the Book wherein he chargeth me with ſo many lies, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and untruths, it remaineth likewiſe I clear my ſelf, anſwering firſt to thoſe lies and untruths, which to the Story of Sir *Roger Acton*, and Sir *John Oldcaſtle* do appertain. And after to other particulars, as in order of my Book do follow. And firſt, where he layeth againſt me whole heaps, and Cartloads, I cannot tell how many lies and falſities; I here briefly anſwer Maſter *Cope* again (or what Engliſh *Harpesfield* elſe ſoever lyeth covered under this Engliſh *Cope*) that if a lie be (after the definition of S. *Auſtine*) whatſoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceive another; then I proteſt to you Maſter *Cope*, and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my Book. What the intent and cuſtom is of the Papiſts to do, I cannot tell: for mine own part I will ſay, although many other vices I have, yet from this one I have always of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceive any Man or Child, ſo near as I could, much leſs the Church of God, whom I with all my heart do reverence, and with fear obey. And therefore among divers cauſes, that have withdrawn my mind from the Papiſts faction, almoſt there is none greater than this, becauſe I ſee them ſo little given to truth, ſo far from all ſerious feeling and care of ſincere Religion, ſo full of falſe pretenſed hypocriſie and diſſimulation, ſo little regarding the Church of Chriſt in their inward hearts, which they ſo much have in their mouths, ſo as under the title thereof they may hold up their own eſtate. Otherwiſe ſo little reverence they yield to the true and honourable Church of Jeſus the Son of God, that what unworthy and raſcal Miniſters they take into it they paſs not, what fictions, what lies and Fables, what falſe Miracles and abſurd forgeries they invent to delude it, they care not. I ſpeak not of all.

The author cleareth himſelf of lies and untruths laid againſt him.

Some there be of that Sect unſtained in conſcience, and more religious, and better diſpoſed natures, only of ſimple ingnorance deceived. But ſuch commonly have been and be the chief guides and leaders of the Papiſts Church, that little true care and ſmall zeal hath appeared in them toward the Church of Chriſt, not much regarding what corruption increaſed therein, ſo that their

Commodity

{KING} *Hen.5.* The lies and fictions innumerable in the Popes Church.

Commodity might not decreaſe. Thus out of this Fountain have guſhed out ſo many Prodigious lies in Church Legends, in Saints lives, in Monkiſh fictions, in fabulous Miracles, in falſe and forged Reliques, as in pieces of the Holy Croſs, in the Blood of Hales, in our Ladies milk, in the Nails of Chriſt, which they make to a great number. Likewiſe in their falſe and blind Errors, corrupt Doctrines, abſurd Inventions, repugnant to the truth of the word. *Item*, In their Baſtard Books, forged Epiſtles, their *Apocrypha*, and *Pſeudopigrapha*. Here come in their forged Canons, their foiſting and cogging in ancient Councils and Decrees, as in ὃς ἀπὸ ἕμας πέτρας, in Canons of the Apoſtles (if thoſe Canons were the Apoſtles) *Excepta Romana ſede*, foiſted into the decrees by *Gratianus*, alſo the cogging in a falſe Canon to the Council of *Nice* for the maintenance of the See of *Rome*, as appeareth in the ſixth Synod of *Carthage*.

Untruth in the Popiſh Epiſtle Decretal.

Here come in alſo the Epiſtles of *Clement*, and other ſundry Epiſtles Decretal, which as they are no doubt falſly inſerted by other, ſo are they the well-head of many ſuperſtitious Traditions, oppreſſing this day the Church of Chriſt. To ſpeak moreover of the Liturgies of Saint *James*, of *Chryſoſtome* and other, of the firſt Maſs ſaid by Saint *Peter* at *Rome*, and that Saint *Peter* ſate 25. years Biſhop of *Rome*. To ſpeak alſo of the works of *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, *Hierome*, and *Gregory*, what Doctor or famous writer hath there been in the Church, under whoſe name ſome counterfeited Books have not falſly been fathered, and yet ſtand ſtill authoriſed under their patronage, to the great detriment of the Church? What ſhould I ſpeak of *Abdias*; *Amphilochius*, *Dionyſius Areopagita*: The Dialogues of *Gregory*, which falſly to this day have been aſcribed to *Gregory* the Firſt, where indeed they were firſt written in Greek by *Gregory* the Third, and afterward Tranſlated out of Greek into Latin by Pope *Zacharie*, *vide ſupra*. Likewiſe that worthy and Imperial Sermon intituled, *Euſebii Pamphili Sermo ad Conventum Sanctorum*, hath to this day wrongfully born the name of *Euſebius*. Whereas in very truth it was made by the good Emperor *Conſtantinus* himſelf, in his own Heroical ſtyle in Latin, and afterward Tranſlated out of Latin into Greek by *Euſebius*, as he himſelf confeſſeth in his work. *De vita Conſtant. lib.* 4. But as touching this Sermon, although the name be changed, ſo godly and fruitful it is that it mattereth not much under whoſe name it be read, yet worthy to be read under the name of none ſo much as of the Emperor *Conſtantine* himſelf, who was the true Author and owner thereof.

Untruth in Books counterfait.

Gregories Dialogues.

*Sermo ad conventum ſanctorum, in ſint Euſebii, made by Conſtantine the Emperor.*

Briefly, except it be the Books only of the *New Teſtament*, and of the Old; what is almoſt in the Popes Church, but either it is mingled or depraved, or altered, or corrupted, either by ſome additions interlaced, or by ſome dimunition mangled and gelded, or by ſome gloſs adulterate, or with manifeſt lies contaminate? So that in their Doctrines ſtandeth little truth; In their Legends, Portues, and Maſs Book, leſs truth; In their Miracles and Reliques leaſt truth of all. Neither yet do their Sacraments remain clear and void of manifeſt lies and corruption. And ſpecially here cometh in the maſter Bee, which bringeth in much ſweet Honey into Popes Hives, the Maſter lie I mean of all lies, where the Pope leaveth not one crum of Bread, nor drop of Wine in the reverend Communion; untruly and idolatrouſly taketh away all ſubſtance of Bread from it, turning the whole ſubſtance of Bread, into the ſubſtance of Chriſts own Body; which ſubſtance of Bread if the Pope take from the Sacrament, then muſt he alſo take the breaking from it; for breaking and the Body of Chriſt can in no wiſe ſtand literally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proved by the Word of God to be a manifeſt lie; ſo think not much (good Reader hereat) as though I paſſed the bounds of modeſty in calling it the arch lie, or maſter lie of all lies. Becauſe upon this one an infinite number of other lies and errors in the Popes Church, as Handmaids do waite and depend.

Untruth in the Popes doctrine.

Untruth in the Popes Legend and Maſs Books.

Untruth in the Popes miracles and reliques.

Untruth in the Popes Sacraments.

A maſter lie.

But forſomuch as I ſtand here not to charge other men ſo much, as to defend my ſelf, ceaſing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to ſtir this ſtinking puddle of theſe wilful and intended lies and untruths, which in the Popes Religion and in Papiſts Books be innumerable, I will now return to thoſe untruths and impudent lies which Maſter *Cope* hath hunted out in my Hiſtory of Acts and Mounments, firſt beginning with thoſe untruths which he carpeth in the Story of the foreſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown* and the reſt.

And firſt where he layeth to my charge, that I call them Martyrs, which were Traitors and ſeditious Rebels againſt the King, and their Country; to this I have anſwered ſufficiently before.

Now here then muſt the Reader needs ſtay a little, at M. *Copes* requeſt, to ſee my vanity and impudence yet more fully and amply repreſſed in refuting a certain place in my Latin Story, concerning the Kings Statute made at *Leiceſter*, which place and words by him alledged, be theſe, Pag. 107. *Quocirca Rex indicto Leiceſtriæ concilio (quod fortaſſis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) propoſito edicto immanem denunciat pœnam his quicunque deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus ſectarentur, uſque adeo in eos ſeverus, ut non modo hæreticos, ſed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos ſupplicio, ſuſpendio ſimul & incendio, afficiendos ſtatuerit, &c. Et mox; Adeo ille vires, rationeſque intendebat omnes adverſus Wickelevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent, &c.*

3. Points. 1. Objection.

Upon theſe words out of my foreſaid Latin Book alledged, Maſter *Cope* perſwadeth himſelf to have great advantage againſt me, to prove me a notorious lier, in three ſundry points. Firſt, in that whereas I ſay, that the King did hold his Parliament at *Leiceſter*, adding this by the way of parentheſis (*quod fortaſſis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum, &c.*) Here he concludeth thereby, *ſimpliciter* and preciſely, that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Roger Acton* with his Fellows, were Traitors, &c. Whereby a man may ſoon ſhape a caviller, by the ſhadow of Maſter *Cope*. For whereas my *Dialyſis* out of the text ſpeaketh doubtfully and uncertainly, by this word (*fortaſſis*) meaning indeed the King to be in fear of the Goſpellers, that he durſt not hold his Parliament at *London*, but went to *Leiceſter*; he argueth preciſely therefore, that the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Richard Acton*, and his fellows went about to kill the King. Secondly, Where I affirm that the King in that Parliament made a grievous Law againſt all ſuch as did hold the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, that they ſhould be taken hereafter, not for Hereticks, but alſo for Felons, or Rebels, or Traitors, and therefore ſhould ſuſtain a double puniſhment, both to be hanged, and alſo to be burned, &c. Here cometh in Maſter *Momus*, with his *Cope* on his back, and proving me to be a lier, denieth plainly that the King made any ſuch Statute; *vide* Pag. 853. line 6. where his words be theſe: *Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus, & deinceps geminatas pœnas ſuſpendii & incendii luerant, ut nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur, &c.*

*Cope* cavilleth without cauſe.

*Stat. an. 2. Hen. 5 cap. 7.*

2. Objection.

*Copus p. 853. lin. 6.*

3. Objection.

Firſt, Here would be asked of Maſter *Cope*, what he calleth *Patriæ Hoſtes, & proditores?* If he call theſe Traytors, then let us ſee whether they that followed the Sect of *Wickliff* were made Traytors and Hereticks by the Kings Law, or not. And firſt let us hear what ſaith *Polydore Virgil*, his own witneſs in this behalf, whoſe words in his twenty ſecond Book, *pag.* 441. be theſe, *Quare publice edixit, ut ſi uſpiam deinceps reperientur qui eam ſequerentur Sectam, patriæ hoſtes haberentur, quo ſine omni lenitate ſeverius ac ocius de illis ſupplicium ſumeretur, &c.* That is, wherefore it was by publick Statute decreed, That whoſoever were found hereafter to follow the Sect of *Wickliff*, ſhould be accounted for Traytors, whereby, without all lenity they ſhould be puniſhed more ſeverely and quickly, &c.

The Sect of *Wickliff* made Here ſie and Treaſon by King *Henry* the fifth. *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 22.

Thus have you (Maſter *Cope*) the plain teſtimony of *Polydore* with me. And becauſe ye ſhall further ſee your ſelf more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of Hiſtories, you ſhall underſtand moreover and hear, what *Thomas Walden* one of your own Catholick brotherhood, and who was alſo himſelf alive, and a doer in the ſame Parliament, being the Provincial of the *Carmelites*, ſaith in this matter, writing to Pope *Martin*, whoſe very words in *Latin* here follow, written in his Prologue to the ſaid *Martin*, in this wiſe, *Nec mora longa proceſſit, quin Statutum publicum per omne Regni concilium in publico emanavit edicto, quod omnes* Wicleviſtæ, *ſicut Dei*

*T. Walden. in tomo primo, Doctrinali ad Martinum Papam in prologo.*

*proditores eſſent, ſic proditores Regis, proſcriptis bonis, cenſerentur & Regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter Deum, ſuſpendio propter Regem, &c.* That is, And it was not long after, but a publick Law and Statute came out, by the common aſſent of the general Parliament of the whole Realm, That all *Wickleviſts*, as they are Traytors to God, ſo alſo ſhould be counted Traytors to the King and to the Realm, having their Goods loſt and confiſcate to the King. And therefore ſhould ſuffer double puniſhment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the King, &c. And thus have you (M. *Cope*) not only my Sentence, but alſo the very words of my ſtory confirmed by this Author; becauſe ye ſhall not think me to ſpeak ſo lightly or impudently without my Book. And moreover to confirm the Sentence of *Thomas Walden*, it followeth alſo in another place of the foreſaid Author, *Tom.* 1. *lib.* 2. *De Doctrinali fidei Eccleſiæ Cathol. cap.* 46. where he writeth in theſe words, *Et tamen jam cum regnare cœpiſſet illuſtris Rex* Henricus 5. *qui adhuc agit in ſceptris, & de eorum perfidia per Catholicos hene doctos legem Statui fecit, ut ubique per Regnum* Wickleviſta *probatus, ut reus puniretur de crimine læſæ Majeſtatis, &c.* That is, and yet when the Noble King *Henry* the Fifth, who as yet doth live and reign, began firſt to reign, he began to ſet forth a Law, by his learned Catholicks which were about him, againſt the falſeneſs of theſe men, ſo that whoſoever was proved to be a *Wickleviſt*, through the whole Realm, ſhould be puniſhed for a Traytor, &c. What words can you have Maſter *Cope*, more plain than theſe? or what Authority can you require of more credit, which lived in the ſame time, and both did ſee and hear of the ſame things done? Who alſo writing to Pope *Martin*, was by the ſaid Pope *Martin* allowed, approved and ſolemnly commended, as appeareth by the Popes Epiſtle to him, wherein the Pope declareth, how he cauſed his Books, *Per ſolennes viros videri, & examinari*; That is, by ſolemn perſons to be ſeen and examined, &c. So that you muſt needs grant either this to be true that *Walden* writeth, or elſe that the Pope (*tanquam Papa*) in allowing his writings, may err and be deceived. Chooſe ye (Maſter *Cope*) of theſe two Opinions whether you will take.

*Walden. tome* 1. *De Doctrinali Eccleſiæ, c.* 46. *lib.* 2.

Either *Walden* writeth true, or elſe the Pope erreth.

And if ye think this my aſſertion yet not ſufficiently reſcued with theſe Authorities aforeſaid, I will alſo hereunto adjoyn the teſtimony of another Writer named *Roger Wall*, who writing *De Geſtis Henric.* 5. and ſpeaking of the ſaid Statute of this Parliament ſomething more plainly than the reſt, hath theſe words, *In hoc etiam Parliamento nobilitas Regia hoſtes Chriſti ſibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere univerſis, quod ipſe abſque cujuſcunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Chriſtianæ fidei æmulator exiſteret; ſtatuit & decrevit, ut quotquot ipſius Sectæ, quæ dicitur* Lollardorum, *inveniretur æmuli & Fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in Majeſtatem Regiam haberentur, &c.* In *Engliſh*, Alſo in this Parliament the noble King reputing Chriſt Enemies to be Traytors to himſelf, to the intent that all men ſhould know without all doubt that ſo long as he lived, he would be a true and perfect Follower of Chriſtian Faith; did enact and decree, that whoſoever ſhould be found Followers and Maintainers of this Sect, which is called *The Lollards Sect, Ipſo facto*, ſhould be counted and reputed guilty of Treaſon againſt the Kings Majeſty, &c.

*Rog. Wallus lib. de geſtis Hen.* 5 *f.* 10.

By theſe hitherto alledged, if M. *Cope* will not be ſatisfied, yet let the Reader indifferently judge; *Utrum in hac re magis nugatur* Foxus, *an* Copus *calumniatur*. And yet moreover to make the matter more certain, mark the clamation of the ſaid *Roger Wall* added to the end of thoſe words above recited, whereby we have to underſtand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the King in the ſaid Parliament, and alſo what was the blind affection of Monks and Prieſts at that time toward their King and Prince (which was then called *Princeps Sacerdotum*) in condemning and deſtroying the poor *Lollards*. The words of the Monk be theſe, *O verus amicus, qui amico illatam injuriam ſibi inferri conſimiliter arbitratur, præjudicium illi intentum reputat eſſe ſuum, & ad ejus onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros ſupponere non veretur, &c.* That is, O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that injury no leſs done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended againſt him, reputeth to be as his own; and to bear together the burthens of his friend, ſticketh not to lay to his own ſhoulders, for the eaſing and helping of him, &c.

King Henry the Fifth called *Princeps Sacerdotum*. *Rog. Wallus, ibid.*

How can it now be denied (Maſter *Cope*) in reading theſe Authors, and ſeeing their Teſtimonies, but that *Lollardy* in the Parliament was made both Treaſon and Hereſie, and had therefore a double judgment of puniſhment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other, according as in my former *Latin* ſtory I recorded, and yet I trifled not?

KING *Hen.* 5.

*Copus, pag.* 839. *line* 8. Objection.

2. But you will ſay again (as ye do) that there is no mention made for Hereſie to be made Treaſon, nor of any double puniſhment to be inflicted for the ſame. In the body of the Statute (I grant) there is no expreſs mention in words of Hereſie to be made Treaſon, expreſly ſignified in rigour of words; but incluſively it is ſo inferred, that it cannot be denied. For firſt, where Lands, Goods and Cattel of the ſaid *Lollards* were loſt and forfeit to the King, what doth this import elſe, but Treaſon or Felony?

Anſwer.

*Stat. An.* 2. *Hen.* 5. *cap.* 7.

And where the Lord *Cobham* (for whoſe cauſe ſpecially this Statute ſeemed to be made) did ſuſtain afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the ſame Statute, what is here contained, but a double penalty? Again, where in the beginning of the Statute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after upon the ſame followeth the ſervices of the King, whereunto the Officers be firſt ſworn ſhould be firſt preferred for Liberty of Holy Church, and puniſhment of Hereticks, made before theſe days and now repealed, *ut ſupra*. What meaneth this; but to make theſe Congrations of the *Lollards* to be forceable entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful aſſemblies, affraiers of the people, armor, riots, and inſurrections, and ſo ſendeth them to the former Statutes not repealed, that is, to the Statute, *Anno* 13. *Hen.* 4. Chap. 7. where the puniſhment is left to the diſcretion of the King. Or elſe to the Statute, *Anno* 15. *Rich.* 2 Chap. 2. where the penalty is made fine and ranſome. Or elſe to the Statute, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. Chap. 6. where ſuch aſſemblies be made plain Treaſon, *in fine ſtatuti.*

*Vid. Stat. An.* 13 *H.* 4. *cap.* 7. *Vid. Stat. An.* 15 *R.* 2. *cap.* 2. *Vid. Stat. An.* 5 *R.* 2. *cap.* 6.

And as here is matter of Treaſon ſufficiently contained, ſo for Hereſie likewiſe the ſame Statute referreth them to the Ordinaries, and to the Laws properly to Hereſie appertaining, and to the Statute, *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. where the penalty is burning. Alſo to the Statute, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5.

*Vid. Stat. An.* 2 *Hen.* 4 *cap.* 15. *Vid. Stat. An.* 5 *Ric.* 2. *cap.* 5, 6.

So that in this preſent Statute here mention is contained, as ye ſee, although not in expreſs words, yet incluſively (by referring to other Statutes not repealed) both *Lollardy* which is puniſhed with burning, and forcible Entries which are puniſhed at the Kings pleaſure. And thus much concerning the ſecond untruth, which Maſter *Cope* untruly noted in me.

Third Objection:

3. The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I ſay, there was no other cauſe of deviſing this ſharp Law and puniſhment againſt theſe men, but only for having the Scripture-Books. And therefore here is to be noted in the margent *Foxi dolus malus*, but let Maſter *Cope* take heed he deceive not himſelf and other. For my part I remember no ſuch place in this my *Latin* ſtory where I ſo ſay. Only my words be theſe, added in the later end of the place above recited, *Wicleviani verò dicebantur quicunque id temporis Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent, &c.* That is, They were called *Wickleviſts*, whoſoever at that time read the Scripture in *Engliſh*, or vulgar Tongue, &c. I ſay not, that for the Scriptures being read in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, therefore the Law was enacted, but ſo is Maſter *Cope* diſpoſed to conſtrue it. What Law and Statutes were made againſt writing or reading of any Book in *Engliſh*, or any other Tongue contrary to the Catholick (that is, the *Romiſh*-Faith) or to the determination of the holy Church (that is, of *Rome*) read I beſeech thee the bloody Statute made *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. above ſpecified. Alſo read the Conſtitution Provincial of *Thomas Arundel* above mentioned: Where it was decreed, That the Text of holy Scripture ſhould not be had, or read in the vulgar-Tongue, from the time of Maſter *John Wicklick* for ever after, unleſs the

Anſwer.

Reading of Scripture-Books contrary to the *Romiſh* faith made Hereſie. *Stat. An.* 1 *H.* 4. *c.* 1. *Vid. ſup.*

The Text of the Scripture not to be tranſlated into the Vulgar-Tongue under pain of Hereſie. *Conſt. provinc. Thom. Arund. Vide ſupra.*

KING *Rich.* 2. the ſaid tranſlation be approved firſt by the Ordinary, or by Provincial Council, under pain and puniſhment of Hereſie. Now let the Reader judge whether the reading of Scripture-Books in the *Engliſh*-Tongue, by the making or tranſlating of *Wickliff*, or from the time of *Wickliff* downward, be counted Hereſie, or not. As for the approving of the Ordinary, or of the Provincial Council added in the end of the ſaid Conſtitution, it maketh more for a ſhew, or pretence, than for any juſt exception, or any true intention. For what man, having thoſe Scriptures tranſlated in *Engliſh*, would either preſent them to their Ordinaries being ſo ſet againſt the reading of ſuch Books? Or what Ordinary would or did ever yet ſince *Arundels* time approve any ſuch tranſlation, preſented unto them? Or elſe why did the good Martyrs of *Amerſam* ſuffer death, in the beginning of King *Henry* the Eighth, for having and reading certain Books of Scripture, which were (as is ſaid) only four Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*, with certain other Prayers? And the other which heard them but only read, did bear Faggots; and the ſame time, the Children were compelled to ſet Faggots unto their Fathers; at which time *Longland* being then Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and preaching to them at the ſtake, ſaid, *That whatſoever they were that did but move their lips in reading thoſe Chapters were damned for ever; as when we come to that time, by the Grace of Chriſt, ſhall hereafter more amply and notoriouſly appear. And where then is this* Dolus malus Foxi, *margined againſt me, for crafty dealing in my ſtory?*

Children of *Amerſham* cauſed to ſet Faggots to their Fathers.

*Copus p. 833. line 20.*

Moreover, where Maſter *Cope* proceeding farther in this matter, asketh me, *How was the Lord* Cobham *obedient to the King, when as for the fear of him the King durſt not then keep his Parliament at* London? To whom I anſwer again, asking likewiſe of Maſter *Cope*, *How was the King then afraid to hold his Parliament at* London *for the Lord* Cobham, *when the Lord* Cobham *at that time was in* Wales? And here Maſter *Cope* thinking to have me at a narrow ſtrait, and to hold me faſt, biddeth me tell him how it could be otherwiſe, but the Lord *Cobham* muſt needs have Fautors? And who ſhould theſe Fautors be (ſaith he) but Sir *Roger Acton*, *Brown*, and their Fellows? The which mighty queſtion of Maſter *Cope* I anſwer again; *How could Sir* Roger Acton, Brown, *and their Fellows be then Fautors of the Lord* Cobham, *for whom the King durſt not hold the Parliament at* London, *when as the ſaid* Roger Acton, Brown, *and the reſt were put to death, a whole year almoſt before the Parliament at* Leiceſter *began?*

*Cop. pp. 835. line 13.*

And now as I have hitherto briefly, and truly anſwered your askings (Maſter *Cope*) let me be ſo bold with you again, to propound to you likewiſe another queſtion, forſomuch as you have put me to the ſearching of the Statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now out of the ſame Statutes riſeth a double ſcruple, or queſtion, worthy to be ſolved. The caſe is this, That foraſmuch as ſo many good Martyrs and Saints of God hitherto, in this Realm of *England*, haven been burned from the time of King *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, *Henry* the Sixth, *Henry* the Eighth, to the time, and in the time of Queen *Mary*; my queſtion is, That you with all your learned Council about you will tell me, by what Law or Statute of the Realm were theſe men brent? I know the ancient cuſtom hath been, that Hereticks convicted by a Provincial Council were wont to be left to the ſecular power. But how will ye prove me, theſe Hereticks were either convict by ſuch Provincial Council, or that theſe ſecular men ought to be your Butchers in burning them, whom ye have committed to them? If ye alledge the ſix Articles made in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, thoſe Articles neither did ſerve before the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, neither yet were they revived after his time. If ye alledge the Statute made *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5. In that Statute (I anſwer) is contained no matter of burning, but only of arreſt to be done at the Certifications of the Prelates, without any further puniſhment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye alledge the Statute made *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. and revived in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, mentioned before. To that Statute I anſwer, that although the pretenſed Statute appeareth in form of words in the printed Book to give unto the Temporal Officers authority to bring them to the Stake, and to burn them whom the Biſhop delivereth, yet is it not to be proved, either by you or any other, that Statute to be Law, or warrant ſufficient to burn any perſon or perſons committed to the ſecular power by the Clergy. And that I prove thus; for although the ſame Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth in the Books printed appear to have Law and Authority ſufficient, by the full aſſent both of the King, of the Lords, and of the Commons; yet being occalioned by Maſter *Cope* to ſearch further in the Statutes, I have found that in the Rolls and firſt Originals of that Parliament, there is no ſuch mention either of any Petition, or elſe of any aſſent of the Commons annexed, or contained in that Statute, according as in the printed Books uſual in the Lawyers hands too craftily and falſly is foiſted in, as by the plain words thereof may well appear.

Statute of the ſix Articles in the time of King Hen. 8. *Stat. An.* 5. *Ric.* 2. *cap.* 5. *Stat. de comburendo, An.* 2. *H.* 4. *c.* 15. *Vide ſupr. Hen.* 4. *de comburendo,* proved not ſufficient to burn any man.

For where the ſaid Statute, *Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. being thus intituled in the Rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos*, and aſſented unto in this form, hath theſe words.

### *Stat. Anno* 2. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 15. Intituled in the Roll thus, *Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos*; and aſſented unto in this form.

*QUas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri ſuperius expreſſatas do. noſter Rex, de conſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerum Regni ſui, in præſenti Parliamento exiſtentium conceſſit, & in omnibus & ſingulis juxta formam & effectum eorundem Ordinavit & Statuit de cetero firmiter obſervari*, and ſo forth, according to the Petition: and more words are there not in the Statute-Roll. Wherefore, whereas the Statute-Book printed hath thus: *Super quibus quidem novitatibus & exceſſibus ſuperius recitatis (videlicet*, in the Petition of the Prelates and Clergy) *Prælati & Clerus ſupradicti ac etiam Communitates dicti Regni in eodem Parliamento exiſten. dict. Domino Regi ſupplicarunt, &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex, &c. ex aſſenſu magnatum & aliorum proceruh ejuſdem Regni, &c. conceſſit, ordinavit, &c.* Theſe words, &c. *Etiam Communitates dicti Regni, &c.* are put in further than the Roll doth warrant, and ſeemeth to be the practice of the Clergy, to make that as an Act of Parliament, and to ſeem to have the force of a Law, which was never aſſented unto by Commons.

The printed Statute, *An.* 2 *H.* 4. *c.* 15. falſly corrupted.

And thus you ſee how this foreſaid Statute, printed both in *Engliſh* and in *Latin* among the Provincial Councils of *Oxford* (by the vertue whereof ſo many good men have been burned ſo long in *England*) doth utterly overthrow it ſelf, for that it ſwarveth from the Record both in form and in matter, and lacketh the aſſent of the Commons. Which doubt I thought at this preſent to propound unto you (Maſter *Cope*) for that you have ſo urged me to the ſearching out of the Statutes, by your declaiming againſt the Lord *Cobham*.

*Ex conſtitutionibus provincialibus* Oxoniæ *celebratis.* Joan. Antho.

Moreover unto this Statute aforeſaid, joyn alſo withall another *Memorandum* of like practice done *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. In the which year, whereas a Statute was concluded in the Parliament, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5. againſt certain Preachers ſpecified in the ſame Statute, which going about in certain habits from place to place, did draw the people to Sermons; and Commiſſions were made and directed in the ſaid Parliament to the Sheriffs, to arreſt all ſuch Preachers, and to impriſon the ſame, at the Certifications of the Prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the ſame Statute, *Anno* 5. *Rich.* 2. *cap.* 5. was revoked by the King in the Parliament, *Anno* 6. *Rich.* 2. upon the words of the Commons being theſe, *videl.* Foraſmuch as the ſame Statute was never aſſented, ne granted by the Commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their aſſent, and now ought to be undone, for that it was never their meaning to be juſtified, and to bind themſelves and their Succeſſors to the Prelates no more, than their Anceſtors had done before them. *Ex Rotul.* And yet this foreſaid revocation notwithſtanding, in Queen *Maries* time, they inquired upon that Statute.

*Vide Stat. An.* 5. *Ric.* 2. *cap.* 5.

*Ex Rot. Parl.*

In

In ſearching of theſe Statutes, as you have occaſioned me to find out theſe ſcruples; ſo being found out, I thought here not to diſſemble them, forſomuch as I ſee and hear many now adays ſo boldly to bear themſelves upon this Statute, and thinking ſo to excuſe themſelves, do ſay, that they have done nothing but the Law, the Law; to the intent that theſe men ſeeing now how inexcuſable they be both before God and man, having no Law to bear them out, may the ſooner repent their bloody and unlawful tyranny, exerciſed ſo long againſt Gods true Servants, yet in time before that the juſt Law of God ſhall find out their unjuſt dealings, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will do hereafter.

The perſecutors in burning Gods people have done againſt the Law.

In the mean time, this my Petition I put up to the Commons, and to all other which ſhall hereafter put up any Petition to the Parliament: that they, being admoniſhed by this abuſe, will ſhew themſelves hereafter more wiſe and circumſpect, both what they agree unto in Parliaments, and alſo what cometh out in their name. And as theſe good Commons in this time of King *Henry* the Fourth, would not conſent nor agree to this bloody Statute, nor to any other like; For ſo we read that the Commons in that bloody-time of King *Henry* the Fourth, when another like cruel Bill was put up by the Prelates in *Anno* 8. *Henry* the Fourth againſt the *Lollards*, they neither conſented to this, and alſo overthrew the other: ſo in like manner it is to be wiſhed, that the Commons in this our time, or ſuch other that ſhall have to do in Parliaments hereafter, following the ſteps of theſe former times, will take vigilant heed to ſuch cruel Bills of the Popes Prelacy, being put up, that neither their conſent do paſs raſhly, nor that their names in any condition be ſo abuſed; Conſidering with themſelves that a thing once being paſſed in the Parliament cannot afterward be called back; And a little inconvenience once admitted, may grow afterward to miſchiefs that cannot be ſtopped. And ſometime it may ſo happen, that through raſh conſent of Voices, the end of things being not well adviſed, ſuch a thing may be granted in one day, that afterward many days may cauſe the whole Realm to rue. But I truſt men are bitten enough with ſuch black Parliaments, to beware of After-claps. The Lord Jeſus only Protector of his Church, ſtop all crafty devices of ſubtil Enemies, and with his Wiſdom direct our Parliaments, as may be moſt to the advantage of his Word, and comfort of his people. *Amen, Amen.*

A neceſſary Admonition to the Commons of *England.*

And thus much having ſaid for the defence of the Lord *Cobham*, of Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, *John Brown* Eſquire, *John Beverly* Preacher, and of other their Fellows againſt *Alanus Copus Anglus*, here I make an end with this preſent *Interim*, till further leiſure ſerve me hereafter (Chriſt willing) to pay him the whole intereſt which I owe unto him. Adding this in the mean time, and by the way; that if Maſter *Cope* had been a *Momus* any thing reaſonable, he had no great cauſe ſo to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord *Cobham*, and that worthily, for his valiant ſtanding by the truth of his Doctrine before *Thomas Arundel* the Archbiſhop; ſo touching the matter of this Conſpiracy, I did not affirm or define any thing thereof in my former Hiſtory ſo preciſely, that he could well take any vantage thereof againſt me, who in writing of this Conſpiracy laid againſt Sir *Roger Acton*, and Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, do but disjunctively or doubtfully ſpeak thereof, not concluding certainly this Conſpiracy either to be true, or not true, but only proving the ſame not to be true at that time, as *Polydore Virgil*, and *Edward Hall* in their Hiſtories do affirm; which ſay, that this Conſpiracy began after the burning of *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague*, which could not be. And therein tendeth my Aſſertion. My words are plain, and are theſe; *Wherefore it is evident that there was either no Conſpiracy at all againſt the King, or elſe that it was at ſome other time, or done by ſome other Captains, &c.*

{KING Hen. 5.}

Propoſition disjunctive.

Lib. Act. Mon. 174.

Theſe be my words with other more: In the which Propoſition disjunctive, if either part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refel both; which he hath not done. But only ſtanding faſt upon the one part diſſimuleth the other. And this is *Alanus Copus Anglus*, who ſay that time he ſhall come from *Rome* (whither he is now gone, as I hear ſay) I truſt he will return a better *Logician* home again *in ſuam Angliam.*

But to the truth of the matter; as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, whatſoever this worthy, noble, vertuous Knight, Sir *Roger Acton* was otherwiſe; this is certain, that he was always of contrary mind and opinion to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to that kind of people, for the which cauſe he had great envy and hatred at their hands, and could as little bear it: neither do I greatly diſſent from them, which do ſuſpect or judge that the Lord *Cobham*, by his friendly help eſcaped out of the *Tower*, and that peradventure was the cauſe why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other cauſes alſo there might be, that theſe good men percaſe did frequent among themſelves ſome Conventicles, (which Conventicles were made Treaſon by the Statute aforeſaid) either in thoſe Thickets, or in ſome place elſe, for the hearing of Gods Word, and for publick Prayer; and therefore had they this *Beverley* their Preacher with them.

Sir *Roger Acton* contrary to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

Cauſes conjectural why Sir *Roger Acton* with the reſt, were put to death for Traytors and *Lollards.*

But to conclude, whatſoever this Sir *Roger Acton* was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Acts and things done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned, and put to death or Martrydom three years and more before the Lord *Cobham* died. Likewiſe Maſter *John Brown*, and *John Beverley* the Preacher, ſuffered with him the ſame kind of death (as ſome ſay) in the Field of Saint *Giles*, with other more, to the number of 36, if the ſtory be true. Which was in the month of *January*, *Anno* 1413. after the computation of our *Engliſh* ſtories, counting the year from the *Annunciation*, but after the *Latin* Writers, counting from Chriſts Nativity, *Anno* 1414. according as in this Picture is ſpecified.

Divers

{KING Hen. 5.}

*Divers Perſons counted for Lollards hanged and burned in the firſt year of the Reign of King Henry the V.*

{Anno 1414.}

Theſe men, as is ſaid, ſuffered before the Lord *Cobham* about three years, of whoſe death divers do write diverſly. Some ſay they were hanged and burnt in S. *Giles* Field; of whom is *Fabian*, with ſuch as follow him. Other there be which ſay, that ſome of them were hanged and burnt. *Polydorus* ſpeaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. Another certain *Engliſh* Chronicle I have in my hands borrowed of one M. *Bowyer*, who ſomewhat differing from the reſt, recordeth thus of Sir *Roger Acton*, that his Judgment before the Juſtice was thus, to be drawn through *London* to *Tyburne*, and there to be hanged, and ſo he was naked, ſave certain parts of him covered with a Cloth, &c. And when certain days were paſt (ſaith the Author) a Trumpeter of the Kings called *Thomas Cliff*, got Grant of the King to take him down, and to bury him, and ſo he did, &c. And thus have you the ſtory of Sir *Roger Acton*, and his fellow Brethren. As touching their cauſe, whether it were true, or elſe by error miſtaken of the King, or by the fetch of the Biſhops ſurmiſed, I refer it to the judgment of him which ſhall Judge both the quick and the dead, *& ſeculum per ignem*. To whom alſo I commit you M. *Cope*; God ſpeed your Journey well to *Rome*, whither I hear ſay you are going, and make you a good man.

Diverſity in Authors.

An *Engliſh* Story beginning the A Table of all the Kings.

M. *Cope* gone to *Rome*.

After the deceaſe or martyrdom of theſe above mentioned, who were executed in the month of *January*, *Anno* 1414. in the next month following, and in the ſame year, the twentieth day of *February*, God took away the great Enemy of his Word, and Rebel to his King, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Whoſe death following after the execution of theſe good men above recited, by the marvelous ſtroke of God ſo ſuddenly, may ſeem ſomewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was alſo ſome great procurer of their death, in that God would not ſuffer him longer to live, ſtriking him with death incontinently upon the ſame. But as I did the other before, ſo this alſo I do refer to the ſecret Judgment of the Lord, who once ſhall Judge all ſecrets openly.

The death of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Ex hiſt. S. Alban.* Gods works and puniſhment to be noted.

In the mean time this may ſeem ſtrange, that the ſame *Thomas Arundel*, who a little before ſate in Judgment againſt the Lord *Cobham*, and pronounced Sentence of death upon him, did himſelf feel the ſtroke of death, and the Sentence of God executed upon him before the other. Who would have thought but that the Lord *Cobham*, being ſo caſt and condemned definitively by the Archbiſhops Sentence, ſhould have died long before the Archbiſhop? But ſuch be the works of Gods Almighty Hand, who ſo turned the wheel, that this condemned Lord ſurvived his Condemner three or four years.

*Thomas Arundel* giveth ſentence againſt the Lord *Cobham*, and God giveth ſentence againſt *Tho. Arundel*. The condemned man overliveth his condemner.

In the death of this Archbiſhop, firſt *Polydore Virgil* is deceived, who in his twenty ſecond Book, *page* 441. affirmed his death to be *Anno* 1415. in the ſecond year of King *Henry* the Fifth, alſo after the beginning of the Council of *Conſtance*, who indeed never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever ſaw the ſecond year of that King (unleſs ye count the firſt day for a year) but died before, *Anno* 1414. *February* 20. *Ex Hiſt. S. Albani & multis*. Furthermore, concerning the death of this *Arundel*, and the manner thereof, who had been ſo heavy a Troubler of Chriſts Saints in his time, becauſe the thing ſeemeth worthy of noting, to behold the puniſhment of God upon his Enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alledged out of *Thomas Gaſcoin in Dictionario Theologico*, Whoſe plain words be theſe, *Anno* 1414. *Tho. Arundel. Cant. Archiepiſcop. ſic lingua percuſſus erat, ut nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem ſuam potuerit, divitis epulonis exemplo, & ſic tandem obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligaſſet, ne ſuo tempore prædicaretur.* That is, *Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *was ſo ſtricken in his Tongue, that he could neither ſwallow nor ſpeak for a certain ſpace before his death, much like after the example of the rich Glutton, and ſo died upon the ſame. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he ſo bound the Word of the Lord, that it ſhould not be preached in his days, &c.* Which if it be true, as it doth well here appear, theſe and ſuch other horrible Examples of Gods wrath may be terrible Spectacles for ſuch as occupy their Tongues and Brains ſo buſily to ſtop the courſe of Gods Word, ſtriving but againſt the ſtream, againſt the force whereof, neither are they able to reſiſt, and many times in reſiſting are overturned themſelves, and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of *Thomas Arundel*, who continued Archbiſhop in the See of *Canterbury* the ſpace of 18 years.

*Polydore Virgil* erreth.

*Thom. Gaſcoin in Dictionario theologico.* An example of Gods working hand againſt the enemies of his word.

The marvelous hand of God upon *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

It is in vain to gainſtand Gods words

After this *Arundel*, ſucceeded next in the ſaid See of *Canterbury* *Henry Chicheſly*, made Archbiſhop *Anno* 1414. and ſate five and twenty year. This *Henry* following likewiſe the ſteps of his Predeceſſor, ſhewed himſelf no ſmall Adverſary againſt the Favourers of the Truth. In whoſe time was much trouble and great affliction in the Church. For as the preaching and teaching of the Word did multiply and ſpread abroad daily more and more, ſo on the contrary ſide, more vigilant care and

*Henry Chicheſly* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

ſtrait

ſtrait Inquiſition followed and increaſed againſt the people of God, by reaſon whereof divers did ſuffer, and were burned; ſome for fear fled the Countrey: many were brought to examination, and by infirmity conſtrained to abjure. Of whom hereafter Chriſt willing particularly in order of their times we will intreat.

As true Piety and ſincere preaching of Chriſts Word began at this time to decay; So idle Monkry and vain Superſtition in place thereof began to increaſe. For about the ſame year the King began the foundation of two Monaſteries, one of the one ſide of *Thames*, of Friers Obſervants, the other on the other ſide of *Thames* called *Shene* and *Zion*, dedicated to Charter-houſe-Monks, with certain *Bridgit*-Nuns or Recluſes, to the number of ſixty, dwelling within the ſame Precinct; ſo that the whole number of theſe with Prieſts, Monks, Deacons, and Nuns, ſhould equal the number of twelve Apoſtles, and ſeventy two Diſciples. The Order of theſe was according to the deſcription of S. *Paul* the Apoſtle, *Col.* 1. *Eat not, taſte not, touch not, &c.* to eat no Fleſh, to wear no Linnen, to touch no Money, &c.

*Sion* and *Bethlem* builded.

About *Michaelmas*, the ſame year the King began his Parliament at *Leiceſter*, above mentioned. In the which Parliament the Commons put up their Bill again, which they had put up before, *Anno* 11. *Hen.* 4. that Temporalties, diſorderly waſted by men of the Church, might be converted and imployed to the uſe of the King, of his Earls and Knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as is before recited. In fear of which Bill, leſt the King would give thereunto any comfortable audience (as teſtifieth *Robert Fabian* and other Writers) certain of the Prelates and other head-men of the Church put the King in mind to claim his Right in *France*. Whereupon *Henry Chicheſly* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made a long and ſolemn Oration before the King to perſwade him to the ſame, offering to the King in the behalf of the Clergy great and noble ſums. By reaſon whereof (ſaith *Fabian*) the Bill was again put off, and the King ſet his mind for the recovery of the ſame; ſo that ſoon after he ſent his Letters and Meſſengers to the *French* King concerning that matter, and received from him again anſwer of deriſion, with a Pipe of *Tennis-Balls* (as ſome record) ſent from the *Dolphin*, for him to play with at home. Whereby the Kings mind was incenſed the more toward that Voyage. Who when furniſhing himſelf with Strength and Armor, with Powder and Shot, and Gun-ſtones to play with in *France*, and with other Artillery for that purpoſe convenient, ſo ſet over into *France*, where he got *Hareflew* with divers other Towns and Caſtles in *Normandy* and *Picardy*, and at *Agencourt* had a great Victory over the *French* Army, they being counted but ſeven thouſand, by pricking ſharp ſtakes before them, &c. After that he wan *Cane*, *Towke*, *Rowan*, with other Towns more, as *Meldune*, or *Melione*, and married with *Katharine* the *French* Kings Daughter. And yet notwithſtanding the third time he made his Voyage again into *France*, where at length at *Bloyes* he fell ſick and died: concerning all which Voyages, becauſe they are ſufficiently diſcourſed in *Fabian*, *Hall*, and other Chronographers, referring therefore the Reader unto them, I will return my ſtory to other matters of the Church more effectual.

*Vide ſupra.*

*Fabian* with others.

A crafty practice of the Prelates.

The King ſtirred up to wars by the Biſhops.

## *The entry of the Story of the* Bohemians.

*Vide ſupra.*

I Declared a little before how by the occaſion of Queen *Anne*, which was a *Bohemian*, and married to King *Richard* the Second, the *Bohemians* coming thereby to the knowledge of *Wickliffs* Books here in *England*, began firſt to taſte and ſavour Chriſts Goſpel, till at length by the preaching of *John Hus* they increaſed more and more in knowledge. Inſomuch that Pope *Alexander* the Fifth hearing thereof, began at laſt to ſtir coals, and directeth his Bull to the Archbiſhop of *Swinco*, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no perſon in Churches, Schools, or other places, ſhould maintain that Doctrine, citing alſo *John Hus* to appear before him. To whom the ſaid *John* anſwering again, declared that Mandate or Bull of the Pope utterly to repugne againſt the manifeſt examples and doings both of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the Goſpel, in binding the Word of God not to have free recourſe. And therefore from this Mandate of the Pope he appealed to the ſame Pope better adviſed. But while he was proſecuting his Appeal, Pope *Alexander* died, as is aforeſaid. *Ex Cochlæo in hiſt. Huſſit.*

The *Bohemians* receiving the Goſpel.

The Pope againſt the *Bohemians*.

*John Hus* cited of the Pope.

*John Hus* appealeth from the Pope to the Pope.

KING *Hen.* 5.

Pope *John* 23.

After whom ſucceeded Pope *John* the Three and twentieth, who alſo, playing his part here in this matter like a Pope, ſought by all means poſſible how to repreſs and keep under the *Bohemians*, firſt beginning to work his malice upon the foreſaid *John Hus* their Preacher, who at the ſame time preaching at *Prague* in the Temple of *Bethlehem*, becauſe he ſeemed rather willing to teach the Goſpel of Chriſt, than the Traditions of Biſhops, was therefore accuſed of certain to the forenamed Pope *John* the Three and twentieth for an Heretick. The Biſhop committed the whole matter unto Cardinal *de Columna*; who when he had heard the Accuſation, he appointed a day to *John Hus*, that he ſhould appear in the Court of *Rome*: which thing once done, *Wenceſlaus* King of the *Romans*, and of *Boheme*, at the requeſt ſpecially of his wife *Sophia*, and of the whole Nobility of *Boheme*, as alſo at the earneſt ſuit and deſire of the Town and Univerſity of *Prague*, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to deſire the Biſhop to quit and clearly deliver *John Hus* from that Sentence and Judgment: and that if the Biſhop did ſuſpect the Kingdom of *Boheme* to be infected with any heretical or falſe Doctrine, he ſhould ſend his Embaſſadors thither which might correct and amend the ſame, if there be any error or fault in them. And that all this ſhould be done at the only coſt and charges of the King of *Boheme*; and to promiſe in his name that he would aid and aſſiſt the Biſhops Legates with all his Power and Authority, to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be taken or found in any erroneous Doctrine. In the mean ſeaſon alſo *John Hus*, before his day appointed, ſent his lawful and meek Procurators unto the Court of *Rome*, and with moſt firm and ſtrong Reaſons did prove his Innocency; whereupon he truſted ſo, that he thought he ſhould have eaſily obtained that he ſhould not have been compelled, by reaſon of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But when as the Cardinal *de Columna*, (unto whoſe will and judgment the whole matter was committed) would not admit any defence or excuſe, *John Hus* his Procurators appealed unto the high Biſhop: yet notwithſtanding this laſt refuge did not ſo much prevail with Cardinal *de Columna*, but that he would openly excommunicate *John Hus* as an obſtinate Heretick, becauſe he came not at his day appointed unto *Rome*.

*John Hus* accuſed to Pope *John*.

*John Hus* excommunicate by Cardinal *de Columna*.

Notwithſtanding, forſomuch as his Procurators had appealed unto the high Biſhop, they had other Judges appointed unto them, as Cardinal *Aquileianus* and Cardinal *Venetus*, with certain others. The which Judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the ſpace of one year and a half, at laſt they return'd to the Sentence and Judgment of Cardinal *de Columna*, and confirming the ſame, commanded *John Hus* his Procurators that they ſhould leave off to defend him any more, for they would ſuffer it no longer. Whereupon when his Procurators would not ceaſe their inſtant ſuit, certain of them were caſt into priſon, and grievouſly puniſhed, the other leaving their buſineſs undone, returned into *Boheme*.

The *Bohemians* notwithſtanding little cared for all this, but continuing ſtill, as they grew more in knowledge, ſo the leſs they regarded the Pope, complaining daily againſt him and the Archbiſhop for ſtopping the Word of God, and the Goſpel of Chriſt to be preached, ſaying, *That by their Indulgences and other practices of the Court of* Rome, *and of the Biſhops Conſiſtory, they ſought their own profit, and not the Glory of Jeſus Chriſt; that they pluckt from the Sheep of Chriſt the Wool and Milk, and did not feed them, either with the Word of God, or with good examples. Teaching moreover and affirming, that the Commandments of the Pope and Prelates are not to be obeyed, but ſo far as they follow the Doctrine and life of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles; and that Lay-men ought to judge the works of Prelates, as* Paul *judged the works of* Peter *in correcting him,* Gal. 2. *Furthermore, they had amongſt them certain Notes and Obſervations, whereby they might diſcern how far and wherein they might obey their Prelates; they derided alſo and ſcorned the Popes Juriſdiction, becauſe of the Schiſm that was then in the Church, when there were three Popes together, one ſtriving againſt another for the Papacy.*

The *Bohemians* againſt the Pope and his doings. *Ex Cochlæo in Hiſtoriis ſuis. lib.* 1.

Over

{KING} {*Hen.* 5.}

Three doubts of John Hus propounded.

Over and besides this, at the same time *John Hus* did propound publickly, and by the Notaries caused to be written three doubtful questions, the tenour whereof followeth here word for word, and is this; *Forasmuch*, saith he, *as it is good for men being in doubt to ask counsel, whereby all dubitation is removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the Truth; three doubts arise here to be resolved: The first doubt is, Whether we ought to believe in the Pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, which confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal Priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the Doctors do hold or say, that some of* Pharaohs *Host being drowned in the Red-Sea, and of the* Sodomites *being subverted, be saved?*

*Credere in Deum. Credere Deo. Credere Deum.* Pet. Lumb. *lib.* 4. *dist.* 17. *cap.* 11. Against avarice confession.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively, alledging the saying of *Bede* upon this place of the Apostle *(To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness*, Rom. 4.) Upon this place saith *Bede*, *Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c.* The second doubt saith he, the Master of the Sentences doth answer, *lib.* 4. *dist.* 17. *cap.* 11. in these words, *What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart, &c.* For the third doubt he brought in the words of S. *Hier.* upon the Prophet *Nahum*, speaking of the *Egyptians* destroyed in the Sea, and of the *Sodomites* destroyed with fire, and of the *Israelites* destroyed in the Desert. *Know you* (saith *Hierome*) *that God therefore punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, and therefore because they were here punished, they should not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lye, which is not to be granted.* These three questions be-like *John Hus* did bring in to declare how the Doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the Church of *Rome*, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

Counsel of the Prelates of Prague against the Gospellers.

It followeth moreover after the death of the Archbishop *Swinco* above mentioned, that one named *Conradus* was placed by the Pope there to be chief General, which *Conradus* conferring with the Divines and Doctors of the University of *Prague*, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissention and discords between the Clergy and the people. Whereupon a certain Council was devised to be holden after this sort and manner as followeth:

1. First, That all Doctors and Masters of the University of *Prague* should be assembled in the Court of the Archbishop, and in his presence, that every Doctor and Master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff* before condemned.

2. *Item*, Concerning the seven Sacraments of the Church, the Keys and Censures of the Church, the Manners, Rites, Ceremonies, Customs, and Liberties of the Church, concerning also the worshipping of Reliques and Indulgences, the Orders and Religions of the Church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the Church of *Rome*, and no otherwise, of the which Church of *Rome* the Pope is the Head, and the College of Cardinals is the Body: who are the true and manifest Successors of blessed Saint *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, and of the College of the other Apostles of Christ.

*Purum bonum, Purum malum, Medium.*

3. *Item*, That every one shall swear, that in every Catholick matter, belonging to the Church, he will stand to the determination of the Apostolical See, and that he will obey the Prelates in all manner of things, whersoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden; or that which is meer ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both. Which mean or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or evil.

4. *Item*, That every one shall swear and confess by his Oath, that the Opinions of *Wickliff* and others, touching the seven Sacraments of the Church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said Church of *Rome*, be false.

5. *Item*, That an Oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintain any of the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff* aforesaid, or in any other matter Catholick, and especially of the seven Sacraments and other Aricles above specified, but only as doth the Church of *Rome*, and no otherwise.

6. *Item*, That every Ordinary in his Dioces shall cause the said Premisses, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth Articles aforesaid, to be published in his Synods, and by his Preachers to be declared to the people in the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

7. *Item*, If any Clerk, Student, or Lay-man shall withstand any of the premisses, that the Ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old Laws and Canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means; for none but the Ordinary hath Power to correct such a man, because the Archbishop is Chancellor both of the Kingdom and University of *Prague*.

8. *Item*, That the Songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others fame, be not sung either in Streets, Taverns, or any other place.

9. *Item*, That Master *John Hus* shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the Court, neither shall hinder the preaching in *Prague* by his presence; that by this, his Obedience to the Apostolical See may be known.

10. *Item*, That this Council doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the Kingdom of *Boheme*.

11. *Item*, If Master *John Hus* with his complices will perform this, which is contained in the four former Articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of Faith: otherwise if they will not so do, we in giving this testimony, should lye greatly unto our Lord the King and the whole World. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the Court of *Rome*, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved. This counsel and devise being considered amongst the Heads of the University of *Prague*, the foresaid Administrator named *Conradus*, presented unto the King and to the Barons of the Realm, and also to the Senate of *Prague*. Whereof as soon as word came to *John Hus* and his Adherents, they likewise drew out other Articles in manner and form of a Council as followeth:

For the honour of God and the true preaching of his Gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and of the Marquisship of *Moravia*, and of the City and University of *Prague*, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the Clergy and the Scholars of the University.

1. First, Let the right and just decreement of the Princes, and of the Kings Council, be holden and stand in force, which between the Lord Archbishop *Swinco* on the one party, and between the Rector and Master *John Hus* on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed in the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King.

2. *Item*, That the Kingdom of *Boheme* remain in his former Rites, Liberties, and common Customs, so as other Kingdoms and Lands do enjoy; that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy Mother universal Church.

3. *Item*, That Master *John Hus* (against whom the foresaid Lord *Swinco* could object no Crime before the Council) may be present in the Congregation of the Clergy, and there whosoever will object to him either Heresie or Error, let him object, binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

4. *Item*, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the Commandment be made by our Soveraign Lord the King through all his Cities, and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all Villages and Towns, That Master *John Hus* is ready to render account of his Faith, and therefore if any will object unto him any Heresie or Error, let him write his name in the Chancery of the Lord Archbishop, and bring forth his Probations openly before both the Parties.

5. *Item*, If none such shall be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be noised and rumored in the Popes Court, that in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, in the City of *Prague*, and in the

the Marquiſsdom of *Moravia*, many there be whoſe hearts be infected with Hereſie and Error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be puniſhed.

6. *Item*, That commandment be directed to Doctors of Divinity and of the Canon-Law, and to the Chapter of Cathedral-Churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any ſuch to be an Heretick or Erroneous, and if they deny to know any ſuch, then let them make recognition thereof, before the publick Notary, confirming the ſame with their Seals.

7. *Item*, Theſe things thus done and premiſed, then that our Soveraign Lord the King, and alſo that the Archbiſhop will give commandment under pain, that no man ſhall call one another Heretick or Erroneous, unleſs he will ſtand to the probation of that Hereſie or Error, as it becometh him.

8. *Item*, After theſe things obtained, that our Soveraign Lord the King, with the conſent of his Barons, will then levy a Subſidy, or collect of the Clergy, and direct an honeſt Ambaſſy to the Popes Court, with the which Ambaſſadors let them alſo go upon their own proper charges or expences for their purgation, which have cauſed this Kingdom falſly and grievouſly to be infamed in the Apoſtolick Court.

9. *Item*, In the mean ſeaſon for the preſence of Maſter *John Hus*, no Interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy Mother-Church, &c.

The Pope maketh war.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parts, the one objecting, the other anſwering in Articles as is aforeſaid: In the mean time it happened by the occaſion of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Naples*, who had beſieged the Popes Towns and Territories, that Pope *John* raiſing up War againſt the ſaid *Ladiſlaus*, gave full remiſſion of ſins to all them which would War of his ſide to defend the Church. When this Bull of the Popes Indulgence was come to *Prague*, and there publiſhed, the King *Wenceſlaus*, who then favoured that Pope, gave commandment that no man ſhould attempt any thing againſt the ſaid Popes Indulgences. But *Hus* with his Followers, not able to abide the impiety of thoſe Pardons, began manifeſtly to ſpeak againſt them; of the which company were three certain Artificers; who hearing the Prieſt preaching of theſe Indulgences, did openly ſpeak againſt them, and called the Pope *Antichriſt*, which would ſet up the Croſs to fight againſt his evenchriſtened. Wherefore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to Ward. But the people joyning themſelves together in Arms, came to the Magiſtrates, requiring them to be let looſe. The Magiſtrates with gentle words and fair promiſes ſatisfied the people, ſo that every man returning home to his own houſe, the tumult was aſſwaged. But the Captains being in priſon, were notwithſtanding there beheaded, whoſe names were *John*, *Martine*, and *Staſcon*. The death and Martyrdom of theſe three being known unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were ſlain, and with great ſolemnity brought them unto the Church of *Bethlem*. At whoſe Funeral divers Prieſts favouring that ſide, did ſing on this wiſe; *Theſe be the Saints which for the Teſtament of God gave their Bodies, &c.* And ſo their Bodies were ſumptuouſly interred in the Church of *Bethlem*, *John Hus* preaching at the ſame Funeral, much commending them for their conſtancy, and bleſſing God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which had hid the way of his verity ſo from the prudent of this World, and had revealed it to the ſimple Lay-people and inferior Prieſts, which choſe rather to pleaſe God than men.

*John, Martine, Staſcon, Martyrs.*

Thus the City of *Prague* was divided. The Prelates with the greateſt part of the Clergy, and moſt of the Barons, which had any thing to loſe, did hold with the Pope, eſpecially *Steven Paletz*, being the chieſeſt doer on that ſide. On the contrary part the Commons with part of the Clergy and Students of the Univerſity, went with *John Hus*, *Wenceſlaus* the King, fearing leſt this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the Doctors and Prelates and Council of his Barons, thought beſt to remove *John Hus* out of the City, who had been excommunicated before by the Pope. And further to ceaſe this diſſention riſen in the Church; he committed the matter to

*Steven Paletz a great Enemy to John Hus.*

*John Hus baniſhed out of Prague.*

the diſpoſition of the Doctors and the Clergy. They, conſulting together among themſelves 5 did ſet forth a Decree, ratified and confirmed by the Sentence of the King, containing the ſum of 18 Articles for the maintenance of the Pope and of the See of *Rome*, againſt the Doctrine of *Wickliff* and *John Hus*. The names of the Doctors of Divinity were theſe, *Steven Paletz*, *Staniſlaus de Znoyma*, *Petrus de Ikoyma*, *Joannes Heliæ*, *Andreas Broda*, *Johannes Hildeſen*, *Mattheus Monachus*, *Hermanus Heremita*, *Georgius Bota*, *Simon Wenda*, *&c. John Hus*, thus departing out of *Prague*, went to his Country, where he, being protected by the Lord of the ſoil, continued there preaching, to whom reſorted a great concourſe of people, neither yet was he ſo expelled out of *Pregue*, but that ſometimes he reſorted to his Church at *Bethlem*, and there alſo preached unto the people.

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Moreover, againſt the ſaid Decree of the Doctors, *John Hus* with his company replied again, and anſwered to their Articles, with contrary Articles again as followeth.

## *The Objections of* John Hus *and of his part againſt the Decree of the Doctors.*

FIrſt, The foundation of the Doctors whereupon they found all their writings and counſels, is falſe, which foundation is this, whereas they ſay that part of the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Boheme* is peſtilent and erroneous, and holdeth falſly of the Sacraments.

2. The Doctors hereby do defame the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and do raiſe up new Diſcords.

3. Let them ſhew therefore thoſe perſons of the Clergy, whom they call peſtilent, and ſo let them verifie their report, binding themſelves to ſuffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

4. Falſe it is that they ſay the Pope and his Cardinals to be the true and manifeſt Succeſſors of *Peter* and of the Apoſtles, and that no other Succeſſors of *Peter* and of the Apoſtles, can be found upon the Earth beſides them. When as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour. And all Biſhops and Prieſts be Succeſſors of *Peter* and of the Apoſtles.

5. Not the Pope, but Chriſt only is the Head; and not the Cardinals, but all Chriſts faithful people be the Body of the Catholick Church, as all holy Scripture and Decrees of the holy Fathers do teſtifie and affirm.

6. And as touching the Pope, if he be a Reprobate, it is plain that he is no Head, no nor Member alſo of the holy Church of God, but of the Devil, and of his Synagogue.

7. The Clergy of the Goſpellers agreeing with the ſaying of Saint *Auſtin* which they alledge, and according to the Sanctions of the Fathers, and determinations of the holy Mother-Church, do ſay and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45 Articles is unlawful, and unjuſt, and raſhly done: and that not only beeauſe the Doctors, but alſo all Biſhops and Archbiſhops, in ſuch great Cauſes, namely touching Faith (as theſe Articles do) have no authority at all, as appeareth. *De baptiſmo & ejus effectu cap. Majores. Et in Can. 17. diſt. cap. Hinc ſedi, &c.*

8. The ſecond cauſe of the diſcord which they alledge alſo is moſt falſe; ſeeing the Faith of whole *Chriſtendom*, concerning the Church of *Rome*, is divided in three parts by reaſon of three Popes, which now together do Reign: and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to ſtand in all things to the determination of the Pope, and of the Cardinals, but ſo far forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, from whence the Sanctions of the Fathers did firſt ſpring, as is evident. *De accuſationibus cap. Qualiter, &c.*

9. In the fourth Article they braſt out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themſelves. By reaſon that they doltiſhly have reprehended the Goſpellers, who in all their doings receive the holy Scripture (which is the Law of God, the way of truth and life) for their judge and meaſure: and afterward they themſelves do alledge the Scripture, *Deut. 17.* where all Judges both Popes and Cardinals are taught to judge and diſcern between Leper and Leper, and in every Eccleſiaſtical Cauſe, only after the

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the rule of Gods Law. And ſo are they contrary unto their ſecond Article, wherein they ſay, That in every Catholick matter we muſt run to the Pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the Articles aforeſaid.

10. Conſequently, like Idiots they do moſt falſely alledge for their purpoſe the Canon, under the name and authority of *Hierome*, written 24. q. 1. *Hæc eſt fides Papa, &c.* where they do apply the words of *Hierome* moſt impertinently to the Pope of *Rome*, which he writeth to S. *Auſtin*, calling him a moſt bleſſed Pope.

24. 2. 1. *Hæc eſt fides.*

11. By the which place of *Hierome* it is manifeſt that the firſt Article of thoſe Doctors is falſe. Foraſmuch as by theſe words appeareth that other betides the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Cardinals are called bleſſed Popes, holding the Faith and ſeat of *Peter*, and are ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, as was *Auſtin* and other Holy Biſhops moe.

12. Whereof it followeth moreover, That the Church of *Rome* is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principal See of his whole Church. For Chriſt, which was the head Prieſt of all, did firſt ſit in *Jeruſalem*, and *Peter* did ſit firſt in *Antioch*, and afterward in *Rome*. Alſo other Popes did ſit ſome in *Bonony*, ſome at *Peruſium*, ſome at *Avinion*.

*Auſtin* called Pope.

13. *Item*, the foreſaid Prelates are falſifiers of the Holy Scriptures and Canons, and therefore are worthy to be puniſhed: Which affirm and ſay, That we muſt obey the Pope in all things. For why, it is known that many Popes have erred, and one Pope was alſo a Woman. To whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but alſo unlawful to Communicate with them. As all Rubricks, and infinite Canons do declare.

14. *Item*, Their, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Articles do ſtand and are grounded upon untrue and falſe perſwaſions. And therefore are to be rejected and deteſted like the other before: Seeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to diſſention and fallity.

15. It is manifeſt alſo to the Laity, that this diſſention among the Clergy riſeth for no other cauſe, but only for the preaching of the Goſpel, which reprehendeth ſuch *Simoniacks*, and ſuch Hereticks in the Church of God, as namely haunt the Court of *Rome* ſpreading out their branches abroad into all the World. Who deſerve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the Clergy Goſpellers, but alſo of the Secular Power. And ſo theſe three vices, to wit, Symony, Luxury, and Avarice (which is Idol-worſhip) be the cauſes of all this Diſſention among the Clergy in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and not the other, which they falſly aſcribe to the Goſpellers of *Prague*. Theſe three vices being removed, Peace and Unity would ſoon be reſtored in the Clergy.

Pope Joan a Woman. Symony, Luxury, Avarice, three cauſes of diſſention in the Clergy.

16. Moreover, their laſt Article is too groſs, and not only is without all Law, but alſo without all colour of Law: whereas they fondly and childiſhly do argue thus, That the Proceſſes made againſt Mr. *John Hus* ought to be obeyed, becauſe forſooth the common ſort of the Clergy of *Prague*, hath received them. By the ſame reaſon they may argue alſo, That we muſt obey the Divel, for our firſt Parents *Adam* and *Eve* obeyed him. Alſo our fore-anceſtors before us were *Pagans*, wherefore we muſt obey them, and play alſo the *Pagans*.

17. But let this frivolous Opinion go, this is certain truth, That the ſaid Proceſſes, made againſt Mr. *John Hus*, by Law are none. Foraſmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the Commiſſion of the Pope, againſt the determination of the holy Mother-Church, as appeareth *Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom.* and a Thouſand other Laws beſides.

18. Finally, whoſoever wittingly and obſtinately do defend and execute (the ſaid Proceſs made) or conſenteth unto them, are all to be counted as Blaſphemers, Excommunicate, and Hereticks, as hath been afore written and exhibited to the Lord General Biſhop *Olomucenſe*. And more ſhall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the Doctors. *Ex Æneæa Sylvi. & Cochlæo.*

¶ Unto theſe Objections of *John Hus* and his part, the Catholick Doctors again did anſwer in a long tedious Proceſs; The ſcope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the Pope, and to maintain his obedience above all other Potentates in the World; affirming and contending, that although Chriſt is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are ſleeping in Purgatory, and which are labouring in the Church Militant, and which are reſting in Heaven, yet this letteth not, but the Pope is Head of the Church here Militant, that is, of all the faithful, which here in this World live under his office. Like as Chriſt is King of all kings, and yet *Charles* may be King of *France*: ſo ſay they. Chriſt may be the Univerſal Head, and yet the Pope may be Head under Him of the whole Church; And thus concluded they that the Pope is the Head, and that the College of Cardinals is the Body of the *Romiſh* Church, which Church of *Rome* is placed in the Eccleſiaſtical Office here over the Earth, to know and define upon every Eccleſiaſtical and Catholick matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all ſuch Univerſal matters, and care upon all Univerſal Churches, and upon the Univerſal flock of faithful Chriſtians. Foraſmuch as in the Regiment of the Church through the Univerſal World, there muſt needs remain in ſuch Office always ſome ſuch manifeſt and true ſucceſſors of *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles and of the College of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt; neither can there be found or given upon Earth any other ſucceſſors, but only the Pope which is the Head, and the College of Cardinals, which is the body of the foreſaid Church of *Rome*. And although the whole Univerſal multitude of the faithful do make the Body of Chriſt, yet the ſame Body of Chriſt is not placed here in Office to exerciſe ſuch Authority upon Earth. Becauſe that Univerſal multitude was never yet, nor ever can be congregate together.

As *Charles* may be King of *France*; ſo alſo we grant, the Pope may be Biſhop of *Italy*, and ſo it is a good conſequence. He may ſo be if God had ſo appointed him, but where doth he ſo appoint?

*Ex Cochlæo in Hiſt. Huſſit.* Catholick, that is, Univerſal.

And therefore neceſſary it is, That ſome ſuch true and manifeſt Succeſſors and Judges be appointed, to whom recourſe muſt be had in all ſuch Catholick and Eccleſiaſtical matters determinable. For like as in Earthly Regiments every cauſe of diſcord is brought before his Judge, and hath his place aſſigned where to be decided: ſo like reaſon would require, that in principal matters and controverſies of Faith, ſome ſuch preſidents and places be limited for the purpoſe to have ſuch doubts reſolved. And this being granted, then the Doctors proceed, and here muſt needs conclude (ſay they) that there cannot be given in all the World any other place, but only the Church of *Rome*; the Head whereof is the Pope, and the Body is the College of Cardinals. For like as Chriſt, departing out of this World in his Corporal preſence, left his Body here with us under the Sacrament in an other form, whereby he remaineth with us (according to his Promiſe, *Mat. ult.*) unto the conſummation of the World: even ſo Chriſt walkt here on Earth in his Bodily preſence, he was Pope himſelf and Chief Biſhop, and ſo Head of the Church here Militant in Earth, corporally conjoyned with the ſame, as the Head is to his Body. But after that he departed out of the World, becauſe his Body which is the Church Militant upon the Earth, ſhould not be headleſs, therefore he left *Peter* and his Succeſſors to his Church, for an Head in his place, unto the conſummation of the World, ſaying to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, &c. *Matth. 16.* And again he ſaith, *Feed my ſheep*, Joan. ult. That is to ſay, Be thou *Peter* the Head over thy Brethren.

If ye go to human policy, what ever ſay any private caſe of *England*, brought to the Emperors Court to be decided? If ye go to Gods policy, then ſhew Gods Word for it.

The promiſe of Chriſt Doctorly applied.

O deep Divinity of theſe Doctors.

Tedious it were, to recite all the bibble babble of theſe Doctors in this their long reſponſal. Who ſo liſteth to ſee the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may reſort either to the Hiſtory of *Silvius*, or elſe to Maſter *Cochleus*, in his firſt Book, *De Hiſt. Huſſit.*

*Vide Æneam Silv. & Cochlæum. De Hiſt. Huſſit.* lib. 1.

Thus then Maſter *John Hus* being driven out of *Prague* (as is afore touched) by the motion of theſe Doctors, and moreover being ſo Excommunicate, that no Maſs nor other muſt be ſaid there where he was preſent: the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out againſt the Prelates and other Popiſh Prieſts, which were the workers thereof, accuſing them to be Symoniacks, Covetous, Whoremaſters, Adulterers, Proud, ſparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignomy and ſhame: And much craving Reformation to be had of the Clergy.

The King ſeeing the inclination of the people, being alſo not ignorant of the wickedneſs of the Clergy, under pretence to reform the Church, began to require greater exactions upon ſuch Prieſts and Men of the Clergy, as were known and accuſed to be wicked livers. Where-

upon they on the other part that favoured *John Hus*, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the Catholick Faction, or enemies to *John Hus*. By reason whereof the Priests of the Popish Clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear. Insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means M. *Hus* began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his Church at *Bethlehem*, and none did control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the King much gain and Money by that reason.

The Priests of Bohemia displayed and taxed for their ill life.

And thus the Popish Clergy, while they went about to persecute *John Hus*, were inwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of Laymen, as of learned Men of the Clergy. Insomuch that Women also and Children were against them. And by the same reason, wherewith they thought to intangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the Doctors which before condemned this Doctrine in *John Hus* for intolerable Heresie, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that Temporal Lords might take away Temporal Livings from the Clergy sinning *habitualiter*, that is, Lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now when the King and the Lords Temporal began to mearse them and bereave them of their Temporalties for their transgressions, the said Doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word. Again, where the foresaid Doctors before could not abide in *John Hus*, that Tithes were to be counted for pure Alms, now coming to the *Guid-Hall*, they were fain to intreat for their Temporal Goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same Temporalites to be meer Alms and Devotion of good Men, given unto the Church. *Ex Cochlæo.*

The Popish Doctors and Priests overthrown in their own reason.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more that the Popes Clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to *John Hus*, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for the which cause *Stephen Paletz*, and *Andræas de Broda*, being the chief Champions of that Faction, though they would not remedy the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel Letters to Master *Hus*. And to help the matter forward, the People also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his Letters to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, which was Brother to *Sigismund* Emperor, for the suppressing of *John Hus* and of his Doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last year of his Popedom, *Anno.* 1414. The tenor of whose Letters to King *Wenceslaus* in this wise proceedeth.

*Stephen Paletz, Andrew Broda, writ against John Hus.*

## *The Letter of Pope* John *to King* Wenceslaus.

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JOHN *Bishop, Servant of Gods Servants, to his well-beloved Son in Christ*, Wenceslaus, *King of* Romans *and of* Bohemia, *greeting and Apostolical Benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, represent the room of Christ here in Earth: this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and concord (by which concord Kingdoms do increase, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honour and our wel-beloved Son in the Lord*, Sigismund *your Brother Germain and Cousin, for the noble King of the* Romans, &c. *And furthermore it followeth in these words; And as we have cause to joy at the premisses; so likewise again the heavy rumors which are here, do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under our dominion, there be certain which do follow and lean to the errors of that Arch-Heretick* Wickliff, *whose Books have been long since condemned in the general* Roman *Council, to be Erroneous, Heretical, and swerving from the Catholick Faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons cleaving to the opinions of the Hereticks (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excess, to cover their haughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commadments of the Apostolical Seat) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the Keys and Ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the Apostolical Dignity, setting at naught the Decrees of the Holy Fathers and Canons. Wherefore we exhort your worship for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will (so effectually) to shew forth your Regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the Catholick Faith (which you go about to defend) and for the conservation of your Kingly Name, state and honour, for the prosperous and safe government of your Kingdom and Dominions, as it becometh a Catholick Prince, whereby this blot of Heresie (which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal Men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the Congregation of the pure and Catholick Faith and Truth) may be rooted out,* &c.

{KING Hen. 5.}

Given at *Boncnia* in the Ides of *June*, in the fifth year of our Popedom, *&c.*

In this Epistle of Pope *John* above prefixed, forsomuch as mention is made of a certain Council before holden at *Rome* (which was four years before) against the Articles and Books of *John Wickliff*, it shall not be impertinent nor out of purpose to repeat a certain merry History and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by *Nicholas Clemangis* of a certain Spirit, which ruled the Popish Councils; his words are these.

The story of an Owl appearing at the Council of Pope *John*. *Ex Nic. Clemangis.*

The same Pope called a Council at *Rome* about four years before, at the earnest sute of diverse men. And a Mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said Council, (according to the accustomed manner) the Council being set, and the said *John* sitting highest in a Chair prepared for him for that purpose: Behold, an ugly and dreadful Owl, or as the common Proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro, with her evil favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the Church, cast her staring eyes upon the Pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel, to see the Night-Crow, which is wont to abide no light, how she should in the mid-day come in the face of such a multitude, and judged (not without cause) that it was an ilfavored token. For behold, said they (whispering one in another ear) the Spirit appeareth in the shape of an Owl. And as they stood beholding one another, and adviling the Pope, scarcely could they keep their contenance from laughter. *John* himself, upon whom the Owl stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat and to fret and fume with himself, and not finding by what other means he might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the Council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another Session: In the which Owl again after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking sted fastly upon the Bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before (and justly;) saying, he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with battes and shoutings: But she being afraid neither with their noise, neither with any thing else, would not away, until that with the strokes of the sticks, which were thrown down at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful Friend, who at the same time came to *Rome*: the which thing I scarcly crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his Oath, that it was most certain and true: adding moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that Council called for such a purpose, and by little and little the Council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith. Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual Doves have been present with Popes and their Councils, and governed them; yet their evil Doctrine declareth no less. Read gentle Reader, the Book of *Clemangis*, and thou shalt not think thy labor evil bestowed. For he hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly bewrayed the filthiness of Antichrist, and his Ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the Church, &c. And thus much for Pope *John*.

KING Hen. 5.

The deſcription of the Popes Councell holden at Rome, in which appeared monſtrous Owle, to the utter defacing of the Pope, and all his clergie.

## The Council of Conſtance.

The Council of Conſtance.

HERE by the way is to be noted and underſtood, that during all this time of Pope *John*, there were three Popes Reigning together, neither was yet the Schiſm ceaſed, which ſo long time had continued, the ſpace (as I ſaid) of 29 years. By reaſon whereof a general Council was ordained and holden at *Conſtance* in the ſame year, *Anno.* 1414. being called by *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and Pope *John* the three and twentieth, for the pacifying of the foreſaid Scniſm, which was then between three Popes, ſtriving for the Popedom. The firſt whereof was *John*, whom the *Italians* ſet up. The ſecond was *Gregory*, whom the *French*-men ſet up. The third was *Benedict*, whom the *Spaniards* placed. In this Schiſmatical ambitious conflict, every one defended his Pope, to the great diſturbance of Chriſtian Nations. This Council endureth four years long, wherein all their matters were decided moſt by four Nations, to ſay, the *Engliſh*, *Germain*, *French*, and *Italian* Nation. Out of which four Nations were appointed and choſen four Preſidents to judge and determine the matters of the Council. The names of which Preſidents were theſe; *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* for *France*, *Anthony* Archbiſhop of *Rigen* for *Italy*, *Nicholas* Archbiſhop of *Cenefuenſis* for *Germany*, and *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Bath* for *England*; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publick profit, might have been concluded, if the rotten fleſh of Churchmen could have biden the ſalt of the Goſpel, and if they had loved the truth. But as *Gregorius Nazianzenus* writeth, there lightly come few general Councils, but they end more with diſturbance, than tranquility: ſo it happened in this Council. For whereas *John* the 23*th.* in the firſt Seſſion exhorteth them by theſe words taken out of the eighth of *Zachary*, *Veritatem diligite*, that is to ſay, *Love the truth*, further moniſhing them, and ſpecially the Divines, every Man to do his endeavour for the unity of the Church, and to ſpeak their mind freely; how ſoon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared ſhortly after by the deſpiſing of the Prophets, and perſecuting of Chriſt in his members, as by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appear hereafter in the proceſs of this ſtory. Firſt this *John* did reſign his Papacy, the Emperor giving him thanks kiſſed his feet.

Three Popes togeather ſtriving for the Popedom.

The Prelates aſſembled in this Council were numbred togeather with their deputies, 1940. *Philip* and *Cheney*, &c. *Gregorius in Epiſtola quadam.*

Afterward the ſaid *John* repenting him that he had ſo done; ſought means to flee, whereunto *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtrich* did aſſiſt him; for he changing his Garments fled by night with a ſmall company. And when he was now come unto *Schaff*-Houſe to go into *Italy*, the Emperor purſuing, took him, and proclaimed *Frederick* Traitor, and for that cauſe took away certain Cities from him. At the laſt the matter was appeaſed under this condition, that *Frederick* ſhould require grace of the Emperor, and reſign all his poſſeſſions unto him. Whereupon the Emperor received him again into favor, and reſtored him to his Dukedom: This Pope, being thus depoſed, was committed unto the County *Palatine*, and by him carried to the Caſtle of *Manheim*, where he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of three years. Afterward he was again by Pope *Martin* admitted to the number of Cardinals.

Duke Frederick of *Auſtrich* proclaimed a Traitor.

Pope *John* taken and caſt into priſon.

This Pope *John* was depoſed by the decree of the Council, more than three and forty moſt grievous and hainous crimes being objected and proved againſt him; as that he had hired *Marcilus Permenſis* a Phyſitian to poiſon *Alexander* his predeceſſor. Further, that he was an Heretick, a Simoniak, a Liar, an Hypocrite, a Murtherer, an Inchanter, a Dice-player, an Adulterer, and a Sodomite, and finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

Mark the good qualities of Pope *John.*

And now to return unto the Council, firſt we will declare the order of their Seſſions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will (Chriſt willing) adjoyn the ſpecial tractation of ſuch matters, as pertain to the ſtory of the *Bohemians*, and *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, who in the ſame ungodly Council were condemned and burned.

This Council therefore of *Conſtance*, which was ſummoned by the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and Pope *John* the 23d. about the Nativity of our Lord Jeſus, *An.* 1414. began the ſame year to be aſſembled about the later end of the year. Which firſt beginning, as the manner is, with a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, as they were ſinging according to their cuſtom their Hymn, *Veni ſancte ſpiritus*, there was at the ſame time a certain Bill ſet up in the Church by ſome well diſpoſed man, as it ſeemed, wherein were contained theſe words following; *Aliis rebus occupati nunc adeſſe vobis non poſſumus*, that is to ſay, *We are otherwiſe occupied at this time, we cannot intend to come to you.* Here is alſo to be remembered the worthy ſaying of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, when talk was miniſtred as touching the reformation of ſpirituality, and ſome ſaid, *quod oporteat incipere a Minoritis*, that is, the reformation ought firſt to begin at the Minorites; the Emperor anſwering again,

A writing ſet up how the Holy Ghoſt had no leaſure to come to the Council of *Conſtance.*

The worthy anſwer of the Emperor touching the order of reformation.

*Non a Minoritis, ſed a Majoritis*; that is, *Not with the Minorites*, ſaith he, *but with the Majorites*: Meaning the Reformation ought firſt to begin with the Pope, Cardinals and Biſhops, and other ſuperior ſtates of the Church; and ſo to deſcend after to the inferiours. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpoſe and order of the Seſſions as we promiſed. The which Council continued, as is aforeſaid, by the ſpace of four years, and had in it five and forty Seſſions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as the depoſition of three ſeveral Popes, which were before ſpoken of, and the hearing of certain Legates. Yet I mind to make ſome brief recapitulation of the moſt principal matters there done in the Seſſions orderly enſuing.

1. In the firſt Seſſion chiefly was concluded, Firſt, That this Council was lawfully Congregate.

2. *2d. Item*, That the going away of the Pope ſhould be no let or ſtay, but the Council might proceed.

Note by this example, the authority of Councils preferred before the Pope.

¶ Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the General Council is above the Pope, contrary to their own Doctrine.

*3d. Item*, This Council ſhould not be diſſolved before the Church were reformed, as well in the ſuperiors as inferiors.

3. 4. In the *4th.* Seſſion amongſt other things, this was firſt concluded; That a Synod Congregate in the Holy Ghoſt, making a General Council, repreſenting the whole Catholick Church here Militant, hath power of Chriſt immediately, to the which power every perſon, of what ſtate or dignity ſoever he be, yea, being the Pope himſelf, ought {Anno 1415.} to be obedient in all ſuch things as concern the general reformation of the Church, as well in the heads, as in the ſubjects.

*Item*, The ſaid Pope ſhould not tranſlate the Court of *Rome*, and the Officers of the ſame Court, from the City of *Conſtance*. And that all his cenſures, doings and workings after the time of his departure, whatſoever he ſhould enterpriſe to do to the prejudice of this Council, ſhould be no effect.

5. In the *5th.* Seſſion the ſame Articles were repeated and concluded again.

6. In the *6th.* Seſſion procuration and citation was ſent out againſt the Pope.

Commiſſioners appointed to hear *John Hus*.

*Item*, Commiſſioners were appointed out of the four Nations for the hearing of *John Hus*, which ſhall be hereafter mentioned in his ſtory following.

*Item*, The memory of *John Wickliff* was condemned, and the ſentence, given in the Council holden at *Rome* upon the condemnation and burning of *Wickliff's* Books, was there confirmed.

Citation granted againſt *Hierome* of *Prague*.

*Item*, In the ſame Seſſion, Citation was ſent out againſt *Hierome* of *Prague*, the tenor whereof followeth after in the ſtory of the ſaid *Hierome*.

*Item*, In this Seſſion was Decreed againſt Libels of infamy.

7. In the *7th.* Seſſion, nothing was handled, but that tenor of the Citation againſt Pope *John* was recited.

8. Sentence given for the burning of *Wickliff's* bones.

In the *8th.* Seſſion, the Sentence and Condemnation of *John Wickliff*, and his 45. Articles was recited, and ſentence given againſt his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearſed in the Hiſtory of *John Wickliff* before paſſed.

9. In the *9th.* Seſſion, the matter and cauſe of Pope *John* was again intreated, and Commiſſioners appointed to enquire upon his cauſe, and Judges for the ſame.

10. In the *10th.* Seſſion, ſuſpenſion was given out and read againſt the ſaid Pope.

11, 12. In the *11th.* and *12th.* Seſſions, Notaries were aſſigned and definitive ſentence given againſt the ſaid Pope: where alſo it was decreed that none of them, that intended before for the Papacy, ſhould be choſen Pope.

13. The people of Chriſt Excommunicated from the Communion of the Holy Cup.

In the *13th.* Seſſion was Decreed, *Quod nullus Presbyter ſub pœna Excommunicationis Communicet populo ſub utraque ſpecie panis & vini*; That is, *That no Prieſt under pain of Excommunication ſhall Communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.*

14. In the *14th.* Seſſion came in the reſignation of Pope *Gregory* the *12th.* which was one of the three before mentioned, ſtriving for the Papacy, with certain other Articles concerning the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the ratification of their reſigning, which gave other the Papacy. {KING Hen. 5.}

15. The ſolemn publiſhing of the ſentence of condemnation againſt *John Hus*.

Then enſueth the *15th.* Seſſion, in the which Licence was commanded on all parts under pain of Excommunication and the great curſe, that no perſon or perſons high or low, of what eſtate or degree ſoever he were, Emperor, King, Cardinal or other, ſhould diſturb the ſaid Seſſion with any manner of noiſe, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the ſentence and condemnation againſt *John Hus* was read and publiſhed, which after in the ſtory of *John Hus* followeth to be ſeen more at large.

16. In the *16th.* Seſſion, Ambaſſadors were aſſigned by the Council to go into *Aragon* to *Benedictus* the *13th.* to treat with him for the reſignation of his Papacy, as the other two had done before.

*Item*, Power was given to Judges to cite under pain of deprivation, all ſuch as privily departed away from the Council; in the which Seſſion alſo the ſentence againſt *John Hus* was confirmed and ratified.

17. The Emperors journey into *Aragon*.

In the *17th.* Seſſion, the Emperor took upon him a journey to the King of *Aragon*, to treat with Pope *Benedictus*. An Excommunication denounced againſt all ſuch as ſhould go about to impeach the Emperors journey, about that matter, *&c.*

*Item*, Prayers and Proceſſions were determined to be made by the Council every *Sunday* for the ſame cauſe, with an hundred days of pardon given to them that would be preſent thereat; and that all Prelates ſhould [illegible], at every of theſe ſaid Maſſes and Proceſſions in their Pontificalibus. Granting beſides to every Prieſt that ſaid one Maſs, for the ſame a hundred days of pardon: And to all other that once a day ſhould ſay one *Pater noſter*, and one *Ave*, for the ſafety of the Emperor, forty days of pardon.

Pardons were here dog cheap.

18. In the *18th.* Seſſion certain Judges were aſſigned for the hearing of matters, which the Council had no leaſure to hear.

It was there alſo decreed, That ſuch Letters and Bulls, as were written in the name of that Council, ſhould be received with no leſs credit and authority than the Bulls proceeding from the See Apoſtolical, and that the falſifiers of the ſame ſhould incur no leſs penalty, than the falſifiers of the other. Legates alſo and Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Italy*.

19. In the *19th.* Seſſion, which was the ſame year in the month of *September*, *Hierome* of *Prague*, who was cited as is beforeſaid, was accuſed of Hereſie, and caſt into priſon by the ſaid Council, and conſtrained to abjure. The which his abjuration hereafter followeth to be ſeen in his Hiſtory.

*Conſilium ſadiſragine.*

*Item*, It was decreed, *Quod non obſtantibus ſalvis conductibus Imperatoris, Regum*, &c. *poſſit per judicem competentem de hæretica pravitate inquiri*, &c. That is, Notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct given by the Emperor and Kings, *&c.* Inquiry may be made againſt any Man for Hereſie by a ſufficient Judge, and Proceſs to be made according to the Law.

The cauſes of Hereſies were committed to certain Judges and Deputies.

And how chanceth it that the Chart of *Conſtantine* his donation, is not here mentioned?

*Item*, The Chart called *Carolina*, and divers other Charts and conſtitutions concerning the Liberties of the Church of *Rome*, being brought forth were approved and confirmed.

20. Provide that the Churchmen loſe nothing in no caſe.

In the *20th.* Seſſion, Letters and Inſtruments were made and ſet upon Church doors, to require and admoniſh Duke *Frederick* to reſtore again unto *George* Biſhop of *Auſtrick*, ſuch lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of Interditement, Suſpending and Excommunicating.

During the time of this Seſſion, the Ambaſſadors returned out of *Aragon* from Pope *Benedict*, and were heard with great audience; whereas certain Articles and conditions between the Pope and the Council were brought forth and agreed upon to the number of twelve.

21. {Ann. 1416.}

In the year of our Lord 1416. was the *21th.* Seſſion, beginning after their manner with a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, with Proceſſion and ſuch other Rites, in the time of which Maſs, *James* Biſhop of *Lody* made a Sermon, taking for his Theam theſe words; *Exprobravit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam*: That is, *The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardneſs*, &c. This Sermon being ended,

ANNO 1 Hen. 5. *Jerome of Prague* replied againſt the Sermon of the Biſhop of *Londy.*

ended, *Jerom* of *Prague* which had Abjured as is ſaid the years before, being preſent thereat, ſtood up upon a certain Bench or form, replying againſt the foreſaid *James* and his Sermon, alledging and preaching divers and ſundry things, whereupon the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, one of the Commiſſioners proceeded againſt him, pronouncing the ſentence definitive, which he had in writing againſt the ſaid *Jerom*; which ſentence being read and approved by the Council (the tenor whereof enſueth in his Hiſtory) the ſaid *Jerom* was delivered unto the Secular Power, and burned.

22 & 23. The 22d and 23d Seſſions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the Ambaſſadors of *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*, and granting them voices in the Council.

In the 24th Seſſion, Citation was given out againſt *Benedict*, keeping with *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*.

The 25th Seſſion containeth nothing but a certain *Commendam* given to the Church of *Olemucenſis*.

In the 26th Seſſion there was nothing elſe handled, but the Uniting and Incorporating of the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Navar* into the Council, and alſo concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

27,28. Ann. 1417. After this followed the 27th and 28th Seſſions, which were in the year 1417. Wherein was treated the relation and declaration concerning the cauſe betwixt Duke *Frederick* and the Biſhop of *Trident*, and Proceſs given out againſt the ſaid Duke, accuſing him of Sacriledge; and alſo Excommunicating him for not obeying the Admonition of the Council; concerning the uſurpation and detaining of the City of *Trident*, and other Poſſeſſions from Biſhop *George*, as is before ſpecified.

29,30. In the 29th and 30th Seſſions, Protectors and Notaries were given out in the cauſe againſt Pope *Benedict*, and Order Decreed upon his obſtinacy; wherein alſo the withdrawing of the King of *Arragon* from the ſame Pope was recited, and approved by the Council.

31. In the 31ſt Seſſion, certain Inſtruments and ſpecial Letters Monitory were directed from the Council to a certain Earl of *Italy*, named *Comes Virtutum*, for laying violent hands upon *Albert* Biſhop of *Aſce*, and for bringing him to Priſon; requiring the ſaid Earl, under pain of Interdiction and Excommunication, to ſet the ſaid Biſhop at liberty. Alſo another Decree was ſet forth for reſtoring again the liberties of the Church of *Baron*.

32,33. Pope *Benedict* accuſed. In the 32d and 33d Seſſions, the accuſation of Pope *Benedict* was renewed, and his obſtinacy accuſed, and witneſs brought in; at which thing doing the Emperor *Sigiſmund* was preſent.

34. In the 34th Seſſion, the cauſe of the foreſaid Pope was heard, and Proceſs given out againſt him.

35. In the 35th Seſſion, the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Caſtile* were brought in, and united to the Council, and Inſtruments thereof made and read. Alſo, that notwithſtanding the Oaths made to the foreſaid Pope, Men might lawfully forſake his obedience.

36. The Pope curſeth the Council. In the 36th Seſſion, a certain Citation was made and read againſt the Pope, containing his deprivation, and the ſentence againſt him, and Inſtruments made upon the ſame. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his Curſes, Deprivations and Excommunications againſt them; the ſaid Synod did adnihilate all his doings.

37. The 37th Seſſion did renew again the accuſation of the foreſaid Pope, and the ſentence definitive againſt him was publiſhed.

38. In the 38th Seſſion certain Decrees were made touching the adnihilating of the penalties of the Ambaſſadors of King *Henry*, Son of *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*. Alſo, another Decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Arragon*.

Thus Pope *Benedict* being Depoſed and Excommunicated, as is aforeſaid, in the next Seſſions following they addreſſed themſelves to the Election of a new Pope, beginning firſt in the 39th Seſſion, to give out Decrees concerning General Councils, and proviſion for the avoiding of ſuch like Schiſms hereafter. Decreeing every tenth year to have a General Council, after the two Councils that ſhould follow immediately after this; of the which, the one ſhould be kept within five years then next following, and the ſecond within ſeven years after that.

39. Decrees for General Councils.

*Item*, In the ſame Seſſion was drawn out a form touching ſuch things as the Pope ſhould profeſs and bind himſelf to obſerve at the time of his Election, of the which Form the Order and Tenor is this:

The Profeſſion which the Pope is bound to. *J. N.* Elected for Pope, profeſs with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whoſe Church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to bleſſed St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſo long as I ſhall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy Catholick Faith after the traditions of the Apoſtles, of General Councils, and of other holy Fathers, and namely of the eight General Councils: *Nicene* the firſt, the ſecond of *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſine* the third, *Chalcedon* the fourth, the fifth and ſixth of them in *Conſtantinople*, the ſeventh of *Nice*, the eighth of *Conſtantinople*. And alſo of the General Councils of *Lateran*, *Lions*, and *Vienna*, willing to obſerve the ſame Faith unviolate even to the uttermoſt, and to preach and defend the ſame, even to the ſpending of my life and blood; and alſo by all means poſſible to proſecute and obſerve the Rite of the Sacraments Canonically delivered to the Catholick Church. And this my Profeſſion and Confeſſion, by my commandment being written out by the Notary of the Arches of the holy Church of *Rome*, I have ſubſcribed with mine own hand, and ſincerely with a pure mind and devout conſcience I offer it unto the Almighty God upon ſuch an Altar, *&c.* In the preſence of ſuch witneſs, *&c. Yeven*, &c.

It was alſo Decided in this Seſſion, That no Prelates ſhould be tranſlated againſt their wills.

40. The third of the ſame month and the ſame year, followed the 40th Seſſion, wherein certain Decrees were conſtitute and read, as touching Reformations to be made through the whole Church by the Pope that next ſhould be, with the Council, before this Synod ſhould break up.

*Item*, That they ſhould ſo proceed to the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, notwithſtanding the abſence of thoſe Cardinals which were with Pope *Benedict* in *Spain*. This done, the order and manner was Decreed for the Election of the Pope.

41. After theſe things thus Decreed; in the next Seſſion, which was 41, the Conſtitution of *Clement* the ſixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the Cardinals being then in the Conclave about the chuſing of the Pope; and upon the ſame, Oaths were Miniſtred unto the Cardinals and other Electors, binding them to obſerve and keep all ſuch things as they ſhould be bound to, during the time of the Election.

The order and manner of the Conclave in chuſing the Pope. *Firſt*, That they ſhould enter into the Conclave within ten days after the fortieth Seſſion, which was this preſent day after ſun-ſet.

*Secondly*, That every Cardinal ſhould have but two ſervitors attending upon him at the moſt, either of the Laity or Clergy, as they would themſelves.

*Thirdly*, That they ſhould remain together in the ſaid Conclave, without any Wall betwixt them, or any other cover, ſave only bare Curtains, if any were diſpoſed to ſleep.

*Fourthly*, That the Conclave ſhould ſo be ſhut up, and the entry to the Privy-Chamber be kept ſo ſtraightly, that none of them ſhould come in or out, nor any have recourſe unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any Man to come to them, except by the conſent of them all certain ſhould be called about matters concerning the Election.

*Fifthly*, That no Man ſhould ſend to them either Meſſenger or Writings.

*Sixthly*, That a competent Window ſhould be aſſigned unto them to receive in their Victuals, but that no perſon might come in thereat.

*Seventhly*, That no day after their firſt ingreſs into the Conclave, beſide Bread, Wine, and Water, they ſhould have any more Diſhes but one of one only kind, either of Fleſh or Fiſh, Eggs, Pottage, made of Fiſh or Fleſh, not after the daintieſt ſort, beſide Sallets, Cheeſe, Fruit, and Conſerves, whereof there ſhall be no principal Meſs made but for ſauce and taſte.

*Eightbly*, That not one ſhould be compelled to go into the Conclave; but if they did all refuſe to go in, then they ſhould be compelled thereunto.

*Ninthly*,

*Ninthly*, That ſuch as would go out, might; but if they would all go out before the Pope were Elect, they ſhould be compelled to go in again, except ſuch whom infirmity did excuſe; but without the excuſe of infirmity, if any went out, he ſhould no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

*Tenthly*, That ſuch as went out by reaſon of infirmity, to be abſent, and return before the Election be determined, may be admitted again into the Conclave in the ſame ſtate wherein they ſhall find the Election to ſtand,

Further and beſides, the Keepers of the Conclave ſhould alſo be Sworn to ſee all theſe Premiſes obſerved and kept without fraud or guile, and that they ſhould not ſtraiten the Cardinals and other Electors above the order here taken.

And if the King be there himſelf, ſitting in his Throne of Eſtate; he ſhould receive the ſame Oath of the Cardinals.

Upon this, ſuch as ſhould be Electors, beſide the Cardinals were choſen.

These were wiſe Cardinals, they would not go into the Conclave, but they would be ſure to have their Goods ſafe and unſpoiled.

Furthermore, foraſmuch as the Goods and ſubſtance of ſuch as were Elect, were accuſtomed to be given and granted unto ſuch as could catch them: whereupon under the pretence of the ſame, many did invade the Goods of the Cardinals, and others which were in the Conclave, falſly faining them to be Elected which were not to be Elected. To ſtop the greedy ravening of ſuch, a Decree alſo was publiſhed in the ſame Seſſion.

Theſe things thus prepared and ſet in order, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, with the Cardinals and other Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Doctors, with other Electors, entring into the Conclave upon Monday, on Thurſday after they had hatched out a Pope, being St. *Martins* even, whereupon they named him *Martin*. This *Martin* thus being Elected, was ſtraightway brought in by the Emperor and the Council into the Church of *Conſtance*, and there inthronized for Pope, not without great Solemnity and Triumph. The twenty firſt day of the ſaid Month, this foreſaid *Martin*, according to their accuſtomed Pomp, was honourably brought in to be Crowned with ſumptuous Proceſſion from the high Church of *Conſtance*, unto the Monaſtry of St. *Auſtin*: the Emperor on Foot leading his Horſe by the Bridle on the right hand, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburgh* Prince Elector likewiſe leading his Horſe on the left hand, the Pope himſelf riding in the midſt upon his Palfrey.

Pope *Martin* hatched.

The Emperor leadeth the Pope's Horſe by the Bridle on the right hand. The Prince Elector leadeth the Popes Horſe on the left hand.

And thus being brought into the Monaſtry aforeſaid, and ſo reduced round about again from thence to the high Church of *Conſtance*, he was there Crowned with all Magnificence.

Notwithſtanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this Council, more great than wiſe, did not end thus: for in the next Seſſion, which was the forty ſecond, came out a Decree in the name of the Pope and the Council, diſcharging the bond of the Emperor and the County Palatine, touching the ſafe cuſtody of Pope *John*, who was by Bond committed unto them to be kept in ſafety. 42.

In the 43d Seſſion, certain other Decrees and Statutes were made by Pope *Martin* in the ſaid Synod, annullating and reproving all the Acts and proceedings of the other Popes before, during the time of the Schiſm from the time of *Gregory* the eleventh. As in matters concerning Exemptions, Unions, Fruits and Profits of the Church, Benefices, Symony, Diſpenſations, Tithes, and other burthens of the Church. Alſo concerning the Apparel of the Clergy, and ſuch other things. 43. Apparel of the Clergy.

In the 44th Seſſion, the ſage Fathers of this Council were occupied about the determining what place the next Council ſhould be kept in. The forty fifth Seſſion brake up and diſſolved this Synod. 44.

Now to finiſh our tedious rehearſal of this Synod, The Cardinal *Umbald*, by the commandment of the Pope and the Council, with a high and loud voice pronounced theſe words: *Domini ite in pace*; which is, Lords depart in peace; whereunto the Standers by anſwered, *Amen*. 45.

Thus the Council being diſſolved, Frier *John* Biſhop of *Catthan*, by the conſent and commandment of the Pope and the Council, went up into the Pulpit to make a Sermon, taking for his Theme, *Vos autem triſtitiam habetis; iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor veſtrum*, You are now in ſadneſs, I will ſee you again, and then your hearts ſhall rejoyce. The which Collation being ended, another Cardinal named *Anthony* was ſent up by the Pope and the Council, with his Proclamation; *Firſt*, to diſmiſs the Synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Alſo to declare the Popes Indulgence unto them, who by the Authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one preſent at that Council, full Abſolution once in their life: ſo that every one, within two months after the hearing of this Indulgence, ſhould procure the ſame in form of writing. Alſo, another Indulgence was granted in like manner of Plenary remiſſion at the hour of death, and that was underſtood as well of the Houſhold, as of the Maſters themſelves. But under this condition, that from the time of notification of the ſame, they ſhould faſt by the ſpace of one whole year every Friday, for the Abſolution in their life time: And for the Abſolution at the hour of death, to faſt the ſame Friday another year, except they had ſome lawful impediment to the contrary, ſo that after the ſecond year, they ſhould faſt unto their lives end, or elſe do ſome other good work. The which being in this manner proclaimed, the Synod brake up, and every man departed home. { Hen. 5. } Ex Paralipomenis Abbatis Urſp.

The number of the Foreigners reſorting to this Council, both Spiritual and Temporal, was 80500, whereof the number of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, was 346.

Abbots and Doctors, 564.

Secular Men { Princes, Dukes, Earls, Knights, Eſquires, } 16000.

The number of Prelates in the Council of *Conſtance*.

Beſides common Women belonging to the ſame Council, 450.

Barbars, 600. Minſtrels, Cooks, and Jeſters 320.

Common Women in the Council of *Conſtance*.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the Town of *Conſtance*, between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, were numbred to be 60500 ſtrangers and foreigners, at that Council. 60500 ſtrangers at the Council of *Conſtance*.

Here is to be noted that in this Council of *Conſtance* nothing was Decreed or Enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the Popes Authority is under the Council, and that the Council ought to judge the Pope. The general Council above the Pope.

And as touching the Communion in both kinds, although the Council did not deny, but that it was uſed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; yet notwithſtanding by the ſame Council it was Decreed to the contrary. Communion in both kinds denied by this Council.

Hitherto we have comprehended the Order and Diſcourſe of this Council, with the Acts and Seſſions concerning the ſame; which Council, although it was principally thought to be aſſembled, for quieting of the Schiſm between the three Popes, yet notwithſtanding a great part thereof was for the cauſe of the *Bohemians*, and eſpecially for *John Hus*, as appeared by their preparation before the Council. For before the Council began, the Emperor *Sigiſmund* aforeſaid ſent certain Gentlemen *Bohemians* which were of his own Houſhold, giving them in charge to bring *John Hus* Bachelor of Divinity, unto the ſaid Council, and that under his ſafe conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, That *John Hus* ſhould purge and clear himſelf of the blame which they had laid againſt him: and for the more better aſſurance, the Emperor did not only promiſe him ſafe conduct, that he might come freely unto *Conſtance*, but alſo that he ſhould return again into *Bohemia*, without fraud or interruption; he promiſed alſo to receive him under his protection, and under ſafeguard of the whole Empire. For the ſame only cauſe the Emperor ſent him afterwards the ſaid ſafe conducts double written, both in *Latin* and *Almain*; the form whereof doth hereafter enſue.

¶ Sigiſmund, *by the Grace of God King of the Romans, of* Hungary *and* Denmark, Croatia, *&c. To all Princes as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earls, Barons, Captains, Borough-maſters, Judges, and Governors, Officers of Towns, Burgeſſes and Villages, and unto all Rulers of the Commonalty, and generally to all the Subjects of our Empire, to whom theſe Letters ſhall come, grace and all goodneſs.*

We

KING Hen. 5. The ſafe conduct given to Maſter *John Hus.*

*We charge and command you all, That you have reſpect unto* John Hus *the which is departed out of* Bohemia, *to come unto the General Council; the which ſhall be celebrate and holden very ſhortly at the Town of* Conſtance. *The which* John Hus *we have received under our protection and ſafeguard of the whole Empire, deſiring you that you will chearfully receive him when he ſhall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, ſhewing him favour and good will, and ſhew him pleaſure in all things, as touching the forwardneſs, eaſe, and aſſurance of his journey, as well by Land as by Water.*

*Moreover, we Will, That he and all his company, with his carriage and neceſſaries, ſhall paſs throughout all Places, Paſſages, Ports, Bridges, Lands, Governances, Lordſhips, Liberties, Cities, Towns, Bourgages, Caſtles and Villages, and all other your Dominions, without paying of any manner of impoſition or Dane-money, Peage, Tribute, or any other manner of Toll whatſoever it be. We Will alſo, That you ſuffer to paſs, reſt, tarry, and to ſojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need ſhall ſo require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him withal, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our Imperial Majeſty.* Yeven at *Spire* the 18th of *October*, in the year of our Lord God 1414.

By this it may appear, That this ſafe conduct was granted not in the time of the Council by the Biſhop, but before the Council by the Emperor: who was or ought to be the Principal Ordainer and Director of the Council under God. Now whether the Biſhops did well in breaking and adnulling this promiſe of the Emperor, againſt the Emperors mind, becauſe the diſcuſſion thereof belongeth *Ad materiam juris, non facti*, being a matter rather of Law than of Story, I will defer to reaſon this caſe with Mr. *Cope*, to ſuch time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof. *Al. Copus. P. 929.*

Notwithſtanding briefly to touch and paſs, let us conſider part of the reaſons of the ſaid *Cope*, how frivolous and falſe they be and eaſie to be refelled. What (ſaith he) if he preached by the way coming up? Firſt, That it is falſe, *vide infra*. What (ſaith he) if he ſtood obſtinate in his Hereſie? What if he ſought to eſcape away after his coming up? To this the Lords of *Bohemia* do anſwer, That this ſafe conduct was broken, and he Impriſoned not only before he attempted to eſcape, or before he was condemned for an Heretick, but alſo before he was heard of the Council what he was. *Vide infra.* Anſwer to *Al. Copus.*

Further, where *Cope* ſaith, that the General Council was above the Emperor, and hath power in caſe of Hereſie to break publick Leagues and Grants; To that I ſay, That this ſafe conduct ſtood not only upon the Emperor, but alſo upon the conſent of the Pope himſelf. *Vide infra.*

And admit that to be true, That the Council had power to make this Decree, to break promiſe with Hereticks; yet this cannot be denied, but that *John Hus* was condemned and judged before that Decree in the nineteenth Seſſion was made. Finally when *Cope* hath proved by what Scripture the Councils have power to defeat the Authority of their Emperors in ſuch Secular Cauſes touching ſafe conducts, and outward ſafety, then will I anſwer him more fully herein. But to the purpoſe again of the ſtory.

*John Hus* taketh the Emperors ſafe conduct.

*John Hus* ſeeing ſo many fair promiſes, and the aſſurance which the Emperor had given unto him, ſent anſwer unto the Emperor, that he would come unto the Council. But before he departed out of the Realm of *Bohemia*, and ſpecially out of the Town of *Prague*; he did write certain Bills long enough afore, as well in *Latin* as in the *Bohemian* Language, and *Almain*, and cauſed them to be ſet and faſtned upon the Gates of the Cathedral Churches and Pariſh Churches, Cloiſters and Abbies, ſignifying unto them all, that he would go to the General Counſel at *Conſtance*, wherefore if any man have any ſuſpition of his Doctrine, that he ſhould declare it before the Lord *Conrade*, or Biſhop of *Prague*, or if he had rather, at the General Council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reaſon of his Faith. The example of his Letters and Intimations ſet up, were theſe; the Copy whereof here followeth:

## The Letters of *John Hus* ſet up in common places of the City of *Prague*.

Letters of *John Hus* ſet up.

*After* John Hus, *Bachelor of Divinity, will appear before the moſt reverend Father the Lord* Conrade, *Archbiſhop of* Prague, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick Seat, in their next Convocation of all their Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *being ready always to ſatisfy all Men which ſhall require him to give a reaſon of his Faith and Hope that he holdeth, and to hear and ſee all ſuch as will lay unto his charge, either any ſtubbornneſs of Error or Hereſie, that they ſhould write in their names there, as is required both by Gods Law and Mans. And if ſo be that they could not lawfully prove any ſtubbornneſs of Error or Hereſie againſt him, that then they ſhould ſuffer the like puniſhment that he ſhould have had; unto whom all together he will anſwer the next General Council at* Conſtance, *before the Archbiſhop and the Prelates, and according to the Decrees and Canons of the Holy Fathers, ſhew forth his innocency in the Name of Chriſt.* Dated the Sunday next after the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew.*

## *The intimations following, were drawn out of the* Bohemian *Tongue.*

Another intimation of *John Hus* ſet up for his going to *Conſtance.*

I Maſter *John Huſnetz*, do ſignify unto all Men, That I am ready to come and ſtand before the face of my Lord the Archbiſhop, and to anſwer to all things whereof I am falſly accuſed in the next Convocation of Bachelors; and chiefly to this point, That in many places they do report me to be an Heretick, not having reſpect unto Juſtice or Law, neither yet to my merits or deſerts. Therefore ſince that you, which do never ceaſe to ſlander and backbite me with your words, do underſtand and know theſe things, come forth openly before the face and preſence of the Lord Archbiſhop, and with an open mouth declare and ſhew forth what falſe Doctrine or other things ye have heard me teach, contrary to the Catholick Faith; and if that I ſhall be found faulty in never ſo ſmall a matter, contrary or againſt the Faith of Chriſt, or in any falſe Doctrine, and that I do chuſe that or other things contrary to the Faith of Chriſt, then I will hold my peace and ſuffer puniſhment as an Heretick. And if there be no Man that will reſiſt againſt me, or accuſe me in this point, once again I ſay unto you, That I am ready to appear at *Conſtance* in the famous Congregation, to the end that I may ſtand in the company of the Divines, even before the face of the Pope. Therefore whoſoever knoweth any falſe Doctrine contrary to the Faith of Chriſt in me, let him come thither and ſhew it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay againſt me, and for my part I will not be ſlack, if I may underſtand or know it, to anſwer as well to ſmall as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and deſire to be defended. All you good Men therefore which love the truth, ſay now whether by theſe my words I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the Law of God or Man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifeſt unto all men, that it hapneth not through my fault the ſame day. The offer of *John Hus* to his Enemies.

## This Epiſtle which followeth was ſet upon the Gates of the Kings Palace, Tranſlated into *Latin*, out of the *Bohemian* Tongue.

A writing of *John Hus* at the Kings Gates.

*UNto the Kings Majeſty, the Queen, and to all ſuch as are of his Council, and to all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, which now are in the Kings Court, I* John Hus *do ſignify and publiſh, That I have underſtood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be Letters brought from the Pope to the Kings Majeſty; the Contents whereof is this: That the Kings Majeſty ſhould bring to paſs, that the Hereticks which were now lately ſprung up in his Kingdom and Dominions, ſhould not take any fine or ſtrong root. Forſomuch as without any deſert, as I truſt by Gods Grace the fame or noiſe is ſtrung and blown abroad; it ſhall be*

our

*our part to foreſee and take heed, that neither the Kings Majeſty, neither the noble Kingdom of* Bohemia, *ſhould be driven to bear or ſuffer any reproach or ſlander for me. Wherefore now of late I have ſent my Letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence cauſed to be openly ſet up to this intent, that I might thereby cauſe the Archbiſhop to be careful and diligent about the matter, ſignifying openly, that if there were any Man in all* Bohemia, *which did know me to be a follower of any falſe or corrupt Doctrine, he ſhould profeſs his name in the Archbiſhops Court, and there ſhew forth and declare what he thought. And foraſmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuſe me, the Archbiſhop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and deſire the Kings Majeſty, which is the defender of the truth, alſo the Queen and their Counſellors, and all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, that they would give me a faithful Teſtimonial of this matter; forſomuch as I have oftentime willed and attempted this, and no Man hath either accuſed me or troubled me. I do it moreover to be known unto all* Bohemia, *and to all Nations, That I will be preſent even at the firſt time before the Council of* Conſtance, *in the moſt famous place, in the preſence of the Pope, the Pope being Preſident; and finally, in the preſence of all others which will come to that moſt famous place; and that whoſoever hath any ſuſpition of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the Faith of Chriſt, let him come hither alſo, let him declare there before or in the preſence of the Pope, and all the Doctors of Divinity, what erroneous and falſe Doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. More, if he ſhall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the Chriſtian Faith, I will not refuſe to ſuffer whatſoever puniſhment ſhall be due for an Heretick. But I hope and truſt even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving Men, the which do willingly kick and ſpurn againſt the truth.*

The ſame time *John Hus* ſent his procurers to the Lord Biſhop of *Nazareth*, Ordained by the Apoſtolick See, Inquiſitor of Hereſie of the City and Dioceſs of *Prague*, requiring him, That if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the ſaid Biſhop before the ſaid procurer, and the publick Notary, with many other credible Witneſſes, anſwered, That he had often talked with *John Hus*, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a goodly and faithful Man; and this his Teſtimony of *John Hus*, he approved by his Letters, the Copy whereof is here under written.

## ¶ The Biſhop of *Nazareth* his Teſtimonial.

The Teſtimony of the good Biſhop of Nazareth.

WE Nicholas *by the Grace of God Biſhop of* Nazareth, *and Inquiſitor, ſpecially deputed by the Apoſtolical Seat, for Hereſies both of the City and Dioceſs of* Prague, *by theſe Preſents do it to be known unto all Men, that we in times paſt have often commanded and talked with that honourable Man Maſter* John Hus, *Bachelor of Divinity, of the famous Univerſity of* Prague, *and have had divers and ſundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters, and in all his ſayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a Faithful and a Catholick Man, finding no manner of evil, ſiniſter, or by any means erroneous doings in him unto this preſent. We do witneſs and proteſt moreover, how the ſaid* John Hus, *of late, in the Cathedral Church of* Prague, *and in other both Collegiate and Pariſh-Churches, and in the Colleges of the Univerſity of* Prague, *and in the Gates and Porches of the moſt Noble Prince and Lord, the Lord* Wenceſlaus *King of* Romans *and of* Bohemia; *alſo in the Gates of the reverend Father the Lord* Conrade *Archbiſhop of* Prague, *Legate of the Apoſtolick See, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Prague, *and of other Princes and Barons, then being in the City of* Prague, *hath ſet up his Letters written both in* Latin, *and in the* Bohemian *Tongue, containing ſententially in effect, how the foreſaid Maſter* John Hus *would appear before the reverend Father the Lord* Conrade, *the foreſaid Archbiſhop of* Prague, *and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *that ſhall be congregated and called together by the ſaid Archbiſhop, at the day appointed in the ſaid City of* Prague, *ready always to ſatisfy every Man that ſhall deſire and require him to ſhew a reaſon of his Faith and Hope that he holdeth, and to ſee and hear all and every one which could prove any obſtinacy of Error or Hereſie lawfully againſt him, under the pain to receive the like puniſhment: unto whom all together he would, by Gods help, anſwer in the Counſil of* Conſtance, *which was now at hand, before the ſaid Lord Archbiſhop and us, with all other Prelates, and there in Chriſts Name, according to the Decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, to declare and ſhew forth his Innocency. After the which Letters, as is aforeſaid by the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *openly ſet up, there did no Man appear before us, the which would accuſe the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *of any Error, either of any Hereſie. For the evident witneſs of all which things we have commanded theſe preſent Leters to be made, and confirmed the ſame with the ſetting to of our Seal.* Dated in *Prague* the thirtieth of *Auguſt, Anno* 1414.

The Biſhop of Nazareth witneſſeth with *John Hus.*

Upon which matter alſo, a publick Inſtrument was drawn, teſtified with the Hand and Seal of the publick Notary, named *Michael Pruthatietz.* The Copy of which Inſtrument here under followeth:

## ¶ An Inſtrument of Recognition, or Proteſtation of the Lord Inquiſitor of Hereſies.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *In the year of his Nativity, one thouſand four hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of* Auguſt, *in the fifth year of the Biſhoprick of the moſt holy Father in Chriſt,* John *by the Grace of God Pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermoſt Parlor of the Houſe of the moſt famous Man the Lord* Peter *of* Zwogſta, *called* Zuirglits, *Maſter of the Mint of the moſt famous Prince and Lord, the Lord* Wenceſlaus, *King of the* Romans *and of* Bohemia, *in the greater City of* Prague, *about the Abbey of St.* James *the Apoſtle, in the preſence of me the publick Notary here under written, and certain witneſſes here within written, ſpecially called for that purpoſe.*

*There was perſonally preſent Maſter* John Jeſſenitz, *Maſter of Art, procurer in the name of the Honourable Man, Maſter* John Hus, *Bachelor, formed in Divinity of the Univerſity of* Prague. *He moſt humbly and earneſtly required of the reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord,* Nicholas *Biſhop of* Nazareth, *Inquiſitor of Hereſies for the City and Dioceſs of* Prague, *ſpecially appointed by the Apoſtolick See, being there alſo preſent, ſaying, Reverend Father, do you know any Hereſie or Error in Maſter* John Huſnetz, *otherwiſe called* Hus? *The which ſaid Lord* Nicholas, *not compelled or conſtrained, but of his own will and accord freely and openly did there Recogniſe, ſaying theſe or the like words, in the* Bohemian Tongue.

*I have often and many times been converſant with Maſter* John Hus, *and have eaten and drunk with him: alſo I have been often preſent at his Sermons, and diver of his Collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any Error or Hereſie, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a Catholick Man, neither have I found any thing that doth ſavour of any Error or Hereſie.*

*Again, the ſaid Maſter* John *his procurer in the behalf as above, required and asked the ſaid Lord* Nicholas, *Biſhop and Inquiſitor, whether any Man have accuſed the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *of any Hereſie before him, being Inquiſitor for Hereſie, and hath convicted him of Hereſie. He anſwered, That ſince the time he knew* John Hus, *and that he was made Inquiſitor for Hereſie in the City and Dioceſs of* Prague *(as is aforeſaid) never any Man accuſed, either convinced the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *of any Hereſie before him unto this preſent time. Adding moreover, That he the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *did openly ſet up his Letters Patents this preſent year aforeſaid, in the ſaid Month of* Auguſt, *upon the Porches of the Cathedral*

*Church*

KIP. Lieg. 5.

*Church of* Prague, *and other Collegiate and Pariſh-Churches of the City of* Prague, *and upon the Gates of our ſaid Lord, our Lord the King, and the Archbiſhop of* Prague, *containing in them this effect; how that he would appear before* Conrade *Archbiſhop of* Prague, *and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, *which ſhould be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforeſaid, ready always to ſatisfie all Men as touching the Faith and Hope which he held, and to ſee and hear all or ſingular that would lay any obſtinacy of error and hereſie unto him, that they ſhould determine themſelves there to ſuffer the like puniſhment, according to the extremity both of Gods Law and Mans Law, unto whom altogether he would anſwer in his own right before the ſaid Archbiſhop of* Prague, *and the ſaid Lord* Nicholas, *Biſhop and Inquiſitor aforeſaid, and the Prelates even in the next General Council of* Conſtance, *and there according unto the Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and ſhew forth his uprightneſs and innocency, upon all and ſingulars of which proceedings, Maſter* John de Jeſenitz *procurer, and in the procurers name or behalf as afore, required and deſired that he might have one or many publick Inſtruments made unto him by me the publick Notary here under-written. Theſe things were done the Year, Indiction, Day, Month, Hour, Place, and Biſhoprick, as is aforeſaid, in the preſence of theſe noble and famous Men, the Lord* William de Zwingelitz, *Baron of the Kingdom of* Bohemia, Peter *his Son, the Lord* Hlawaczion, de Renow *likewiſe Baron* Wenceſlaus de Lunarx, Vaſſone de Miekonitz, Burgrave *of the Caſtle of* Lichtenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz *Eſquire, and* William de Dupoer, *Knight of the ſaid Dioceſs of* Prague, *with many other worthy and credible witneſſes, which were ſpecially deſired and required unto the Premiſes. And I* Michael, *ſometimes of the Son of* Nicholas de Prachatitz *of the Dioceſs of* Prague, *and by the Imperial Authority, publick Notary, was preſent with the witneſſes fore-named, at the affairs aforeſaid, at the requeſt, demand, anſwer, and petition, and all and ſingular the doings within written, and did ſee and hear all theſe things to be done in the foreſaid manner and form. But being buſied with other matters, I have cauſed this to be faithfully drawn and written, and ſubſcribing the ſame with mine own hand, have publiſhed and reduced it into this form, and have ſigned it with my Seal and name accuſtomed, being called and required to bear witneſs of all and ſingular the Premiſes.*

After this was all the Barons of *Bohemia* were aſſembled in the Abbey of St. *James*, about the affairs of the Realm, whereas the Archbiſhop of *Prague* was alſo preſent: There the ſaid *John Hus* preſented ſupplications, by the which he moſt humbly deſired the Barons, that they would ſhew him that favour towards the ſaid Archbiſhop, that if the ſaid Archbiſhop did ſuſpect him of any Error or Hereſie, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and ſuffer correction for the ſame at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no ſuch thing in him, that he would then give him a teſtimonial thereof; through the which he being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto *Conſtance*. The ſaid Archbiſhop confeſſed openly before all the Aſſembly of Barons, That he knew not that the ſaid *John Hus* was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counſel; that the ſaid *John Hus* ſhould purge himſelf of the Excommunication he had incurred. This report, which the Archbiſhop had given of *John Hus*, doth appear by the Letters which the Barons of *Bohemia* ſent unto the Emperor *Sigiſmund* by the ſaid *Hus*, in the Town of *Conſtance*.

*Conrade the Archbiſhop cleareth John Hus.*

Finally, all the Prelates and Clergy aſſembled together in the Town of *Prague*, in the Archbiſhop his Court, where appeared perſonally the worſhipful Maſter *John Jeſenitz*, Doctor of Decretals and Procurer, in the name and behalf of the honourable Man Maſter *John Hus*, requiring that either the ſaid Maſter *John Hus*, or that he in the name and behalf of him might be ſuffered to come into the Archbiſhops Court, to the preſence of the Archbiſhop, and the Prelates which were there congregated together, foraſmuch as Maſter *John Hus* is ready to ſatisfie all Men which ſhall require him to ſhew any reaſon of his Faith or Hope which he holdeth, and to ſee and hear all and ſingular which were there gathered together, that is to ſay, the Lord Archbiſhop and Prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obſtinacy, or error, or hereſie unto him, that they ſhould there write in their names, and according both unto Gods Law and Mans, and the Canon Law, prepare themſelves to ſuffer like punithment, if they could not lawfully prove any obſtinacy of error or hereſie againſt him: unto whom altogether he would, by Gods help, anſwer before the ſaid Archbiſhop and the Prelates in the next General Council holden at *Conſtance*, and ſtand unto the Law, and according to the Canons and Decretals of the holy Fathers, ſhew forth and declare his innocency in the Name of Chriſt. Unto the which, Maſter *John* of *Jeſenitz* Doctor, one called *Ulricus Swabe* of *Swabenitz*, Marſhal of the ſaid Archbiſhop, coming forth of the ſaid Court, did utterly deny unto the ſaid Maſter Doctor and his party, all manner of ingreſs and entrance into the Court, and to the preſence of the Archbiſhop aforeſaid, and of the Prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the Archbiſhop, with the Prelates aforeſaid, were occupied about the Kings Affairs, requiring the ſaid Maſter Doctor, that he would tarry in ſome place without the ſaid Court, that when the Archbiſhop, and the Prelates had finiſhed the Kings Affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the Court there. The ſaid Maſter *John Hus*, and the Doctor of Law tarried a while, intreating to be admitted into the Archbiſhops Court: but ſeeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a ſolemn proteſtation of his requeſt, that both he, and alſo Maſter *John Hus* and his part, could not be ſuffered to come into the Archbiſhops Court, to the preſence of the Archbiſhop and the Prelates. Requiring of the foreſaid Notary publick Inſtruments to be made of the ſame, which alſo was done.

*John Hus requires to have teſtimony of his Faith, and could not be admitted.*

And theſe were the things which were done before *John Hus* took his journy to the General Council of *Conſtance*, the which I minded briefly to rehearſe, whereunto I will alſo annex ſomewhat as touching his journy thitherwards.

About the Ides of *October*, 1414. *John Hus* being accompanied with two Noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, *Wancelat* of *Duba*, and *John* of *Clum*, he parted from *Prague*, and took his journey towards *Conſtance*. And in every place as he paſſed, he notified his preſence by his Letters which he ſent abroad, and eſpecially in every good Town or City of Name, the Tenor whereof enſueth:

*John Hus taketh his journey to Conſtance.*

## The Copy of the Letters which *John Hus* ſet up in the common places of the Cities which he paſſed through, going to the Council.

*Maſter* John Hus *goeth now unto* Conſtance, *there to declare his Faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this preſent doth hold, and by Gods help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore even as he hath manifeſted throughout all the Kingdom of* Bohemia *by his Letters and Intimations, willing before his departure to have ſatisfied and given an account of his Faith unto every Man, which ſhould object or lay any thing againſt him in the General Convocation holden in the Archbiſhop of* Pragues *Court: So likewiſe he doth manifeſt and ſignifie, that if there be any Man in this Noble and Imperial City, the which will impute or lay any error or hereſie unto him, that he ſhould prepare himſelf to come unto the Council, foraſmuch as the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *is ready to ſatisfie every man at the ſaid Council, which ſhall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his Faith.*

*The Letters which John Hus ſet up in Cities as he paſſed to Conſtance.*

In all Cities as he paſſed by, and principally when he was departed out of *Bohemia*, and entred into *Almain*, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his Hoſts through all the Towns of *Germany*, and eſpecially of the Citizens and Burgeſſes, and oftentimes of the Curates. Inſomuch that the ſaid *Hus* did confeſs in a certain Epiſtle, that he found in no place ſo great Enemies as in *Bohemia*. And if it hapned that there were any brute or noiſe before

*How John Hus was received by the way going up to the Council.*

of

of his coming, the ſtreets were always full of people which were deſirous to ſee *John Hus* and gratifie him; and amongſt all other, eſpecially at *Noremberg*, whereas certain Merchants, which went before, certified the Citizens of his coming. In the ſame City there were many Curates which came unto him, deſiring him that they might talk with him ſecretly apart: unto whom he anſwered, That he loved much rather to pronounce and ſhew forth his Mind and Opinion openly before all Men, than in hugger mugger, for he would keep nothing cloſe nor hidden. So after dinner, until it was night he ſpake before the Prieſts and Senators, and divers other Citizens, inſomuch that they all had him in great eſtimation and reverence, one only Doctor except, which was a *Charter-houſe* Monk, and the Curate of St. *Sebauld*, which did improve all that he had ſaid.

A *Charter-houſe* Monk againſt *John Hus.*

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the Town of *Prague*, which was the third day of *November*, he came unto *Conſtance*, and lodges at an honeſt Matrons Houſe, being a Widow named *Faith*, in St. *Galles-ſtreet*.

*John Huſſes* hoſt, ſi named *Faith.*

The morrow after, the Gentleman Maſter *John de Clum*, and Maſter *Henry Latzemboge*, went to ſpeak with the Pope, and certified him that *John Hus* was come, whom they had brought to *Conſtance* to the General Council, under the Emperor his ſafe conduct; deſiring him alſo that he on his part would grant the ſaid *John Hus* liberty to remain in *Conſtance*, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the Pope anſwered, That albeit that *John Hus* had killed his Brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt ſhould be done unto him during his abode in the Town of *Conſtance*.

The Pope conſenteth to the ſafe-conduct of *John Hus.*

*Staniſlaus Znoma*, *Huſſes* enemy, going to *Conſtance*, died by the way.

In this mean time, the greateſt adverſary that *John Hus* had, named Maſter *Steven Paletz*, the which was alſo a *Bohemian* born, was come unto *Conſtance*. But his companion Maſter *Staniſlaus Znoma* was not yet paſſed the Borders of *Bohemia* when he was ſtricken with an Impoſtume, whereof he died. As ſoon as the ſaid *Paletz* was come to *Conſtance*, he did aſſociate unto him one *Michael de Cauſis*, the which had before falſly accuſed and blamed the ſame *John Hus*. And this may not be forgotten, that the ſaid *Paletz* had been familiarly converſant and acquainted with the ſaid *John Hus* from his youth upward; but after that there was a Bull brought unto *Prague*, from Pope *John* the 23d, againſt the King of *Apulia*, named *Ladiſlaus*, the ſaid *John Hus* withſtood it openly, forſomuch as he ſaw that it was wicked and naught.

*Steven Paletz* and *Michael de Cauſis*, chief enemies to *Hus.*

A Bull againſt *Ladiſlaus* King of *Apulia.*

And as touching the ſaid *Paletz*, albeit that he had confeſſed at a certain Banquet in the preſence of the ſaid *John Hus*, that the ſaid Bull was contrary to all equity and right; yet notwithſtanding forſomuch as he was obliged and bound unto the Pope, by means of certain Benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the ſaid Bull againſt *John Hus*. And this was the cauſe of the diſcord and falling out between them. As for *Michael de Cauſis*, the companion of Maſter *Paletz*, he was ſometime the Curate of *New Prague*; but he not being content therewith, but ſeeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it, for he made a ſemblance that he had found out a new invention or mean, whereby the Mines of Gold in *Gilory*, which were periſhed and loſt, might be renewed and ſet on work again. By this means he did ſo much with the King *Winceſlaus*, that he did put a great ſum of mony into his hands, to do that withal which he had promiſed.

*Michael de Cauſis.*

This honeſt man, after he had laboured and travelled certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to paſs, and that by that means he was utterly in deſpair of his purpoſe, he conveyed himſelf privily out of the Realm of *Bohemia* with the reſt of the money, and withdrew himſelf, as a worthy Bird for ſuch a Neſt, into the Court of *Rome*. Such a Man of ſuch conditions was eaſily corrupt with mony, and that by the adverſaries of the ſaid *Hus*, and promiſed them to do what he could for them, the which he did ſhortly after. Theſe two jolly roiſters, *Steven Paletz* and *Michael de Cauſis*, drew out certain Articles againſt the ſaid *Hus*, ſaying, That they had gathered them out of his own writings, and ſpecially out of his Treatiſe which he had written of the Church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to ſhew the ſaid Articles unto the ſaid Cardinals, Biſhops, and Monks, and ſuch other of that ſort, doing them alſo to underſtand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the ſaid *John Hus* had committed and done againſt the holy Conſtitutions, and other Ordinances of the Pope and the Church; which if need were, they ſaid they would propound before the Council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did ſo incenſe the Cardinals, and all the Prieſts, that all they with one mind and conſent thought to cauſe the good Man to be taken and laid hands on.

The wicked life of *Michael de Cauſis*, *Huſſes* enemy deſcribed.

The enemies of *Hus* practice againſt him.

The 26th day after the ſaid *Hus* was come to *Conſtance*, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his Friends; the Cardinals, through the inſtigation and motion of *Paletz* and *Michael de Cauſis*, ſent two Biſhops; to wit, the Biſhop of *Auguſta*, and of *Trident*, and with them the Burrough-maſter of the Town of *Conſtance*, and a certain Knight, to the place where *John Hus* lodged, about dinner-time, which ſhould make report unto him that they were ſent by the Pope and his Cardinals, to advertiſe him that he ſhould come to render ſome knowledge or witneſs of his Doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes deſired, and that they were ready to hear him.

*John Hus* deſired to declared his cauſe before the whole Council.

Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, I am not come for any ſuch intent, as to defend my cauſe particularly before the Pope and his Cardinals, proteſting that I never deſired any ſuch thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole Aſſembly of the Council, and there anſwer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all ſuch things as ſhall be demanded or required of me. Notwithſtanding, ſaid he, foraſmuch as you require me ſo to do, I will not refuſe to go with you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they evil intreat or handle me; yet nevertheleſs I truſt in my Lord Jeſus, that he will ſo comfort and ſtrengthen me, that I ſhall deſire much rather to die for his Glory ſake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his Holy Scriptures. Wherefore it came to paſs, that the Biſhops being inſtant upon him, and not ſhewing any outward ſemblance that they bare any malice or hatred againſt him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid Gariſons both in the Houſe where they were aſſembled, and alſo in other Houſes; *John Hus* took his Horſe which he had at his lodging, and went unto the Court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

*John Hus* is come before the Pope and the Cardinals. The words of the Pope and the Cardinals to *John Hus.*

When he was come thither, and had ſaluted the Cardinals, they began to ſpeak to him in this ſort: We have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true, are in no caſe to be ſuffered: For Men ſay, that you have taught great and manifeſt Errors, and contrary and againſt the Doctrine of the True Church; and that you have ſowed your Errors abroad through all the Realm of *Bohemia*, by a long ſpace or time; wherefore we have cauſed you to be called hither before us, that we might underſtand and know how the matter ſtandeth.

The anſwer of *John Hus* to the Pope and the Cardinals.

Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered in few words, Reverend Fathers, you ſhall underſtand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I ſhould rather chuſe to die, than I ſhould be found culpable of one only error, much leſs of many and great errors. For this cauſe I am the more willingly come unto the General Council, which is here appointed to ſhew my ſelf ready even with all my heart to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me. The Cardinals anſwered him again, That his ſayings pleaſed them very well, and upon that they went away, leaving the ſaid *John Hus*, with Maſter *John de Clum*, under the guard and keeping of the Armed Men.

*Dolus malus Cardinalium.*

In the mean ſeaſon, they did ſuborn and furniſh out a certain Divine, a Frier Franciſcan, a ſubtil and crafty Man, and a malicious hypocrite, to queſtion with the ſaid *John Hus*, which was compaſſed round about with Armed Men. This Man drawing near in his Monkiſh geſture, ſaid, Reverend Maſter, I a ſimple and rude Idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many ſtrange and contrary things againſt the Catholick Faith to be aſcribed unto you, the which do diverſly move my mind being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do deſire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly Men, that you would teach me moſt ſimple and miſerable Man, ſome certainty and truth. And firſt. Men ſay, That you hold opinion that after the conſecration and

A Frier Minor puteth two queſtions to *John Hus.*

Pro-

KING Hen. 5.

Pronunciation of the words in the Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth only material Bread. *John Hus* anſwered, That it was falſly attributed and imputed unto him. Then ſaid he, I pray you, Is not this your Opinion? No verily, ſaid *John Hus*, I do not ſo think of it. When the Monk asked this queſtion the third time, Maſter *J. de Clum* being moved ſomewhat with him, ſaid, Why art thou ſo importunate upon him? Verily, if any Man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou albeit he hath ſhewed thee his mind ſo often, yet ceaſeſt not to trouble him. Then ſaid the Monk, Gentle Maſter, I pray you pardon me a poor Idiot and ſimple Frier; ſurely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and deſirous to learn. This Frier put forth another queſtion unto him, proteſting his ſimplicity and ignorance, What manner of Unity of the Godhead and Manhood was in the Perſon of Chriſt? When *John Hus* had heard this queſtion, he turning himſelf unto Maſter *John de Clum*, in the *Bohemian* Language ſaid, Truly this Frier is not ſimple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard queſtion. And afterward turning himſelf to the Frier, he ſaid unto him, Brother, you ſay that you are ſimple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and craftie, and not ſimple. It is not ſo verily, ſaid the Frier. Well ſaid *John Hus*, I will cauſe you well to underſtand that it is ſo. For as touching the ſimplicity of a Man it is required in things that concern civility and manners; that the ſpirit, the underſtanding, the heart, the words and the mouth ſhould agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain ſemblance of ſimplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an Idiot and ſimple, but your deeds ſhew plainly and evidently a great ſubtilty and craft in you, with a great quickneſs and livelineſs of wit, in that you have propoſed unto me ſo hard and difficult a queſtion.

A Frierly Jeſter.

Maſter John de Clum ſpeaketh for John Hus.

A Wolf in a Lambs skin.

Notwithſtanding, I will not fear to ſhew you my mind in this queſtion. And when he had made an end, the Monk gave him great thanks for his gentleneſs, and ſo departed. After that, the Popes Gariſon which were about the ſaid *John Hus*, told him, That this Frier was called Maſter *Didace*, who was eſteemed and counted the greateſt and moſt ſubtil Divine in all *Lumbardy*. Oh, ſaid *John Hus*, that I had known that afore, I would have handled him after another ſort and faſhion; but I would to God they were all ſuch, then through the help and aid of the Holy Scriptures I would fear none of them. In this manner the ſaid *Hus*, and Maſter *John de Clum*, were left under the keeping of theſe Men of Arms, until four of the Clock at Afternoon. After which time the Cardinals aſſembled again in the Popes Court, to deviſe and take counſel what they ſhould do with *John Hus*. Then *Stephen Paletz*, and *Michael de Cauſis*, with divers other of their adherents, made earneſt ſuit that he ſhould not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the Judges on their part, they brag'd up and down in a manner, as they had been mad Men, and mocked the ſaid *John Hus*, ſaying, Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art under our power and juriſdiction, and ſhalt not depart until ſuch time as thou haſt paid the uttermoſt farthing.

Didace a crafty Frier.

Many a man beguiled under a cloke of ſimplicity.

John Huſſes accuſers triumph over him when he was taken.

A little afore night, they ſent the Proveſt of the *Roman* Court unto Maſter *John de Clum*, to ſhew him that he might return to his Lodging; but as for *John Hus*, they had otherwiſe provided for him. When Maſter *John de Clum* heard theſe news, he was wonderfully diſpleaſed, forſomuch as through their crafts, ſubtilties, and gloſſing words, they had ſo trained this good man into their ſnares, whereupon he went unto the Pope, declaring unto him all that was done; moſt humbly beſeeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promiſe which he had made unto him and Maſter *Henry Latzembog*, and that he would not ſo lightly falſify and break his Faith and Promiſe. The Pope anſwered, That all theſe things were done without his conſent or commandment, and ſaid further to Maſter *Clum* apart, What reaſon is it that you ſhould impute this deed unto me, ſeeing that you know well enough that I my ſelf am in the hands of theſe Cardinals and Biſhops?

The Pope breaketh Promiſe.

In mine Opinion, foraſmuch as Pope *John* feared that which indeed did after follow, that he ſhould be deprived of his Dignity, he thought to win the favour of theſe *Herodian* Cardinals and Biſhops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the ſaid Maſter *Clum* returned very penſiveful ſorry; he complained very ſore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the Pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this, the ſaid *John Hus* was led by the Officers to the Chapter-houſe of the great Church of *Conſtance*, where he was kept Priſoner by the ſpace of Eight days; from thence he was carried unto the *Jacobines*, hard by the River of *Rhine*, and was ſhut up in the Priſon of the Abby, the which was hard by the *Bogards*.

The Pope to pleaſe the Council was againſt *John Hus*.

After he had been incloſed there a certain time he fell ſore ſick of an *Ague*, by means of the ſtench of the place, and became ſo weak, that they deſpaired of his life. And for fear leſt this good man ſhould die in Priſon, as others are wont to do, the Pope ſent unto him certain of his Phyſitians to cure and help him. In the midſt of his ſickneſs his accuſers made importunate ſuit to the principals of the Council, that the ſaid *John Hus* might be condemned, and preſented unto the Pope theſe Articles here under-written:

The imprisonment and ſickneſs of *John Hus*.

## ¶ *Articles preſented againſt* John Hus.

Articles againſt *John Hus*.

*Firſt*, He doth err about the Sacraments of the Church, and ſpecially about the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, forſomuch as he hath openly preached, *that it ought* to be Miniſtered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to ſay, the Body and Blood. This Article is evident, forſomuch as his Diſciples at this inſtant in *Prague* do Miniſter the ſame in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the Schools and in the Church, or at the leaſt that he doth hold this Opinion, that after the words of Conſecration pronounced upon the Altar, there remaineth ſtill material Bread in the Sacrament. This Article ſhall be known by his Examination.

The Suppet of the Lord.

*Secondly*, He doth err as touching the Miniſters of the Church, forſomuch as he ſaith, That they cannot Conſecrate or Miniſter the Sacraments when they are in mortal ſin. This Article ſhall likewiſe be known by his Examination. Notwithſtanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered by his writings *De Eccleſia*; the which if he deny, let there then be ſome Divines and others appointed, to peruſe and look over his ſaid writings of the Church. Moreover he ſaith, That other men beſide Prieſts may Miniſter the Sacrament. This Article is evident forſomuch as his Diſciples do the ſame at *Prague*, the which of themſelves do violently take the Sacrament out of the Treaſury, and Communicate among themſelves, when the Holy Communion is denied unto them. By this and other things alſo it is ſufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal ſin, hath the power of Orders or Prieſthood, forſomuch as ſuch only as have taken Orders ought to Miniſter the Sacrament unto themſelves. And becauſe he proceedeth from ſmall matters unto great and weightier, it doth conſequently appear and follow, that thoſe which be in the ſtate of Grace can bind and looſe.

Of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

*Thirdly*, He doth err as touching the Church, and ſpecially for that he doth not allow and admit that the Church ſignifieth the Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and the Clergy underneath them; but ſaith, that this ſignification was drawn out from the School-men, and is in no caſe to be holden or allowed. This Article is manifeſt by his ſaid Treatiſe upon the Church.

Of the Church.

Moreover, he doth err concerning the Church, in that he ſaith, That the Church ought not to have any Temporal Poſſeſſions. And that the Temporal Lords may take them away from the Church and the Clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forſomuch as through his Doctrine and Inticements many Churches in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and in the City of *Prague*, are already ſpoiled and robbed of a great part of their Temporalties and goods. He ſaith alſo, that *Conſtantinus* and other Secular Princes erred by inriching and indowing Churches and Monaſteries. This Article is manifeſt by that which goeth next before

Eccleſiaſtical Revenews.

*Fourthly*,

The Biſhops power.

*Fourthly*, He erreth as touching the Church, in that he ſaith, That all Prieſts are of like power, and therefore affirmeth, that the reſervations of the Popes caſualties, the ordering of Biſhops, and the Conſecration of the Prieſts, were invented only for covetouſneſs. This Article doth ſomewhat appear by thoſe aforegoing, but by his Examination ſhall be more evident.

The power of the Keys of the Church.

*Fifthly*, He erreth concerning the Church, in that he ſaith, That the Church being in ſin, hath no power of the Keys, when as the Pope, Cardinals, and all other of the Prieſts and Clergy are in deadly ſin; the which he ſaith is poſſible enough. This alſo doth appear in his Treatiſe upon the Church in his firſt error as touching the Miniſters of the Church.

Excommunication.

*Sixthly*, He erreth touching the Church, foraſmuch as through contempt he doth not fear Excommunication. This doth notoriouſly appear by his own doings, that he did contemn and deſpiſe the Apoſtolick and Ordinary cenſure, and in all the Apoſtolick Excommunications and Injunctions he hath born himſelf upon the Divine Commandments, and in contempt of the Keys, to the ſetting out of his Hypocriſie, he hath ſaid Maſs all the ways between this and the City of *Prague*, and thereby hath prophaned the Proceſs and Authority of the Church.

Inveſtitures

*Seventhly*, He erreth again as touching the Church, becauſe he keepeth not the Inſtitutions and Inveſtitures thereof, but holdeth Opinion that every man hath Authority to inveſt and appoint any man to the cure of Souls. This is evident by his own doings, forſomuch as many in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himſelf, were appointed and put into Parith-Churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the Apoſtolick See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the City of *Prague*.

The Office of preaching.

*Eighthly*, He erreth as touching the Church, in that he holdeth Opinion, That a man, being once Ordained a Prieſt or Deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the Office of preaching. This is likewiſe manifeſt by his own doings, foraſmuch as he himſelf could never be letted from preaching, neither by the Apoſtolick See, neither yet by the Archbiſhop of *Prague*.

*Lupus agnum accuſat quod turbavit fontem.*

A heaping together of many grievous crimes.

And to the intent that the ſaid *John Hus*, who is clothed in Sheeps clothing, and inwardly a ravening Woolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you moſt reverend Fathers; I ſay, that from the firſt time that he took in hand, or went about to ſow ſuch Errors and Hereſies, the which afterward he did indeed, he underſtanding and perceiving himſelf to be withſtanded and gainſayed by the *Germans*, which were in the Univerſity of *Prague*, forſomuch as he could conclude nothing, becauſe they had three Voices, and he on his part had but one only Voice: he went about and brought to paſs, and that by the Secular Power, that the *Germans* ſhould have but one Voice, and he and his parts three Voices: the which thing when the *Germans* once perceived, rather than they would loſe or forſake any part of their right which they had in Voices, or be in danger in their perſons, the which would then have enſued upon it, to ſave themſelves, they wholly with one conſent agreed together to depart out of *Prague*; and by this means this ſolemn and famous Univerſity of *Prague* was made deſolate, that had brought forth ſo many notable men in divers Sciences. Behold this his firſt fruits which divided that ſo famous Univerſity, forſomuch as Grapes are not gathered of Thorns, neither figs of Brambles.

The departure of the *Germans* from the Univerſity of *Prague*.

The 45 Articles of *Wickliff*.

Moreover, when there were queſtions moved amongſt the Divines of the Univerſity of *Prague* upon the 45 Articles of *John Wickliff*, and that they had called a Convocation, and all the Divines of *Bohemia*, (for the *Germans* were already departed) they concluded that every one of thoſe Articles were either Heretical, Seditious, or Erroneous. He alone held the contrary Opinion, that none of thoſe Articles were either Heretical, Seditious, or Erroneous, as afterward he did diſpute, hold, and teach, in the common Schools of *Prague*, whereby it is evidently enough fore-ſeen, that he doth affirm thoſe Articles of *Wickliff*, the which are not only condemned in *England*, but alſo by the whole Church, becauſe they were firſt invented and ſet forth by the members of Antichriſt.

Moreover, he being complained of to the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, that he preached and ſet forth certain Articles which were Heretical, Falſe, and Seditious, he was forbidden by the ſaid Archbiſhop to preach any more, who proceeded againſt him, according to the Canonical Sanctions, the which proceſs is confirmed by the Apoſtolick See, and publiſhed as well in the Court of *Rome*, as without; the which *John Hus* and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated and prophanated. And whoſoever did ſpeak againſt him, they were deprived of their Benefices, and others placed in, which have ruled and yet do rule the ſaid Churches, and the flocks pertaining to the ſame, not having any cure or charge of the Souls committed unto them, neither by the Apoſtolick See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the place.

The Office of preaching forbidden by the Archbiſhop.

Inſurrection feared in *Bohemia* againſt the Clergy.

Alſo as many, as well Prieſts as Lay-men in the City of *Prague* and Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which have ſpoken againſt the Doctrine of *Hus*, and the prophanation of the Proceſs aforeſaid, or at the leaſt not allowed the ſame, have ſuffered moſt mortal hatred and perſecutions, and yet to this day do ſuffer. But that at this preſent it is diſſimuled until the end of the Proceſs againſt *John Hus*. Wherefore if he be now let go again, without doubt they ſhall ſuffer great perſecution both in Body and Goods and throughout all the Realm of *Bohemia*, Houſe ſhall be againſt Houſe, and this miſchief will creep, yea ſuddenly ſpring up throughout all *Germany*, and innumerable Souls ſhall be infected, ſo that there ſhall be ſuch peſecution of the Clergy and Faithful, as hath not been ſince the time of the Emperor *Conſtantine* to this preſent day; for he ceaſeth not to move and ſtir up the Laity againſt the Clergy and faithful Chriſtians. And when any of the Clergy would draw him away, or call him from his Hereſie, and for that cauſe doth forbid him to preach, that he doth not teach any Hereſies: then ſaith he, and teacheth, that the Clergy doth that of envy and malice, becauſe he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to ſay, their Symony, and Pride, and Covetouſneſs.

Moreover, he ſtirreth up the Secular Princes againſt the Prelates of Churches, Monaſteries, and Univerſities, and generally againſt the whole Clergy. Going about by this means, he preacheth and teacheth that Prelates and other Men of the Church ought not to have any Temporal Goods or Poſſeſſions, but only to live upon Alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoied divers and many Prelates, Clerks, and Churches in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and City of *Prague*, forſomuch as thereby they are already ſpoiled and robbed of their Poſſeſſions. Yea, he teacheth alſo that it is Lawful for the Lay people without ſin to withhold and keep back the Tithes and Oblations, or to give the Church Goods to any other Miniſter; all the Secular Princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but ſpecially the Laity, who follow every Man his own will.

*Caiphas* prophecied.

He hath generally to lay for himſelf all thoſe Hereticks which do but very ſmally regard the Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and hate the Authority of the *Roman* Church, yea do utterly deteſt and abhor the ſame; the which thing will more and more encreaſe, except it be effectually and manfully withſtood; and if he do by any means eſcape from the Council, he and his favourers will ſay that his Doctrine is juſt and true, and that it is allowed by the Authority of the univerſal Sacred Council, and that all his adverſaries are wicked and naughty men, ſo that he would do more miſchief, than ever any Heretick did ſince the time of *Conſtantinus Magnus*.

*Maſter Peirz Heth*, for the ſame by Ghoſt had no leiſure to come to that Counſil.

Wherefore moſt holy Fathers, provide and take heed to your ſelves, and to the whole flock amongſt whom the Holy Ghoſt hath placed you, to rule the Church of Chriſt, the which he hath purchaſed with his own Blood; and whilſt the Diſeaſe is new and freſh, help and remedy it, as well touching him which doth ſo infect and trouble the Church of God, as alſo concerning the occaſions, through the which he hath preſumed, and might do the ſame, becauſe the Prelates do abuſe the Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and as well the Prelates as thoſe that are under them, do not keep and obſerve the Order of the Church which is appointed them by God, whereby it cometh to paſs, that whilſt they themſelves do walk the broken and unknown Paths, their flock falleth headlong into the Ditch.

Wherefore

KING *Hen.* 5.

Wherefore let our Sovereign Lord the Pope, and this moſt ſacred Counſel ordain and depute Commiſſioners, the which may examine the ſaid *John Hus* upon all aforewritten, and other things in the preſence of them which know the matter. Let there be alſo certain Doctors and Maſters appointed to read over and peruſe his Books which he hath written, whereof ſome are here preſent, that the Church may be ſpeedily purged and cleanſed from theſe errors.

Upon this his accuſation, they ordained and appointed three Commiſſioners or Judges, that is to ſay, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and the Biſhop of *Caſtile*, and the Biſhop of *Lybuſs*. The which Prelates being thus deputed, heard the accuſation and the witneſs which was brought in by certain babling Prieſts of *Prague*, confirmed by their Oaths, and afterward recited the ſaid accuſation unto the ſaid *Hus* in the Priſon at ſuch time as his Ague was fervent and extreamly upon him.

*John Hus ſick of an Ague in Priſon.*

Upon this, *John Hus* required to have an Advocate to anſwer for him; the which was plainly and uttterly denied him. And the reaſons that the Maſters and Commiſſioners brought againſt it was this, that the plain Canon doth forbid that any man ſhould be a defender of any cauſe of his, which is ſuſpect of any kind of Hereſie. The vanity and folly of the witneſſes was ſuch, that if in caſe they had not been both the accuſers and judges themſelves, there ſhould have needed no diſtinct confutation. I would have rehearſed the teſtimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be ſuch, as the prudent and wiſe Reader could not have read without great tediouſneſs. Howbeit, ſome of them ſhall be declared, when we come to the proceſs of his judgment.

*Hus denied of an advocate.*

Afterward, when *John Hus* had recovered a little ſtrength or health, by the commandment of the three Commiſſioners, there were preſented unto him certain Articles, many in number, which they ſaid, they had gathered out of his Book which he made of the Church; of which Articles ſome were forged and invented by Maſter *Paletz*, and other ſome were gathered only by halves, as ſhall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the judgment pronounced and given againſt the ſaid *Hus*.

Thus *John Hus* remained in the Priſon of the Covent of the *Franciſcans*, until the *Wedneſday* before *Palm Sunday*, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean ſeaſon to imploy and ſpend his time withal, he wrote certain Books, that is to ſay, of the Ten Commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penance, of the three enemies of Mankind, of the Prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

*The Books which John Hus wrote in Priſon.*

The ſame day Pope *John* the 23d, changed his Apparel, and conveyed himſelf ſecretly out of *Conſtance*, fearing the judgment by the which afterward he was deprived of his Papal Dignity, by means of moſt execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cauſe that *John Hus* was tranſported and carried unto another Priſon: for the Popes ſervants, which had the charge and keeping of *John Hus*, underſtanding that their Maſter was fled and gone, delivered up the Keyes of the Priſon unto the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and to the Cardinals, and followed their Maſter the Pope. Then by the whole conſent of the Council, the ſaid *John Hus* was put into the hands of the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, who ſent him to a Caſtle on the other ſide of the River of *Rhine*, not very far from *Conſtance*, where he was ſhut up in a Tower with Fetters on his Legs, that he could ſcarce walk in the day time, and at night he was faſtned up to a Rack againſt the Wall hard by his Bed.

*Pope John fled out of Conſtance.*

In the mean ſeaſon, certain Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Pole* and *Boheme* did all their endeavour to purchaſe his deliverance, having reſpect to the good renown of all the Realm, the which was wonderfully defamed and ſlandered by certain naughty perſons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they which were in the Town of *Conſtance*, that ſeemed to bear any favour unto *John Hus*, were made as mocking ſtocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the ſlaves and baſe people. Wherefore they took counſel and concluded together to preſent their requeſt in writing unto the whole Council, or at the leaſt unto the four Nations of *Almain*, *Italy*, *France* and *England*; this requeſt was preſented the 14*th* day of *May*, *Anno* 1415 the tenor here enſueth.

*Noblemen of Boheme labour for Hus.*

## ¶ *The firſt Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of* Boheme *delivered up to the Council for the deliverance of* John Hus, *the fourteenth day of* May, Anno 1415.

MOST Reverend Fathers and Lords, the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* and *Pole* here preſent, by this their preſent writing do ſhew and declare unto your Fatherly Reverences, how that the moſt noble King and Lord, the Lord *Sigiſmund*, King of the *Romans*, always *Auguſtus*, King of *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *&c.* hearing of the great diſſention that was in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, as Heir, King and Lord Succeſſor, willing to foreſee and provide for his own honour, ſent theſe Noblemen, Maſter *Wenceſlate de Duba*, and *John de Clum* here preſent, that they would bring and aſſure Maſter *John Hus* under the King his name and ſafe conduct. So that he would come to the ſacred general Council of *Conſtance*, under the ſafe conduct of the ſaid King, and the protection of the ſacred Empire, openly given and granted unto the ſaid Maſter *John Hus*, that he might purge himſelf and the Kingdom of *Boheme*, from the ſlander that was raiſed upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his Faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge. The which the ſaid Nobles, with the fornamed Maſter *John Hus*, have performed and done, according to the Kings Commandment.

*The ſafe conduct of the Emperor challenged.*

When as the ſaid Maſter *John Hus* was freely of his own accord come unto *Conſtance*, under the ſaid ſafe conduct, he was grievouſly impriſoned before he was heard, and at this preſent is tormented both with Fetters, and alſo with hunger and thirſt. Albeit that in times paſt at the Council holden at *Payſan*, 1410. In the year of our Lord, the Hereticks which were condemned, were ſuffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithſtanding this, Maſter *John Hus*, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not ſo much as once heard, is taken and impriſoned, when as neither King nor any Prince Elector, neither any Embaſſador of any Univerſity was yet come or preſent. And albeit the Lord the King, together with the Nobles and Lords here preſent, moſt inſtantly required and deſired, that as touching his ſafe conduct they would foreſee and have reſpect unto his honour, and that the ſaid Maſter *John Hus* might be openly heard, forſomuch as he would render and ſhew a reaſon of his Faith; and if he were found and convicted obſtinately to affirm or maintain any thing againſt the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the ſame, according to the inſtruction and determination of the Council; yet could he never obtain this. But the ſaid Maſter *John Hus*, notwithſtanding all this, is moſt grievouſly oppreſſed with Fetters and Irons, and ſo weakned with thin and ſlender diet, that it is to be feared, leſt that, his power and ſtrength being hereby conſumed and waſted, he ſhould be put in danger of his wit or reaſon.

*The extremities John Hus ſuffered in priſon.*

And although the Lords of *Boheme* here preſent are greatly ſlandered, becauſe they ſeeing the ſaid Maſter *John Hus* ſo to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the Kings ſafe conduct, have not by their Letters put the King in mind of his ſaid ſafe conduct, that the ſaid Lord and King ſhould not any more ſuffer any ſuch matters, forſomuch as they tend to the contempt and diſregard of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, which from the firſt original and beginning, ſince it received the Catholick Faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy Church of *Rome*; yet notwithſtanding they have ſuffered and born all theſe things patiently hitherto, leſt by any means, occaſion of trouble or vexation of this ſacred Council might ariſe or ſpring thereof.

Wherefore moſt Reverend Fathers and Lords, the Nobles and Lords before named, do wholly and moſt earneſtly deſire and require your Reverences here preſent, that both for the honour of the ſafe conduct of our ſaid Lord the King, and alſo for the preſervation and increaſe of the worthy fame and renown, both of the foreſaid Kingdome of *Boheme*, and your own alſo, you will make a ſhort

end about the affairs of Maſter *John Hus*; forſomuch as by the means of his ſtrait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do moſt ſpecially truſt upon the moſt upright conſciences and judgments of your Fatherly Reverences. But foraſmuch as, moſt Reverend Fathers and Lords, it is now come to the knowledge and underſtanding of the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* here preſent, how that certain backbiters and ſlanderers of the moſt famous Kingdom of *Boheme* aforeſaid, have declared and told unto your Reverences, how that the Sacrament of the moſt precious bloud of our Lord is carried up and down through *Boheme* in Veſſels not conſecrate or hallowed, and that Coblers do now hear Confeſſions, and miniſter the moſt bleſſed body of our Lord unto others. The Nobles therefore of *Boheme* here preſent, require and deſire you, that you will give no credit unto falſe promoters and tale tellers, for that, as moſt wicked and naughty ſlanderers and backbiters of that Kingdom aforeſaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring alſo your Reverences, that ſuch ſlanderous perſons of the Kingdom aforeſaid may be named and known. And the Lord the King, together with your Reverences, ſhall well perceive and ſee that the Lords of *Boheme* will go about in ſuch manner to refel and put away the falſe and frivolous ſlanders of theſe naughty perſons, that they ſhall be aſhamed to appear hereafter before the Lord the King and your Reverences.

The confutation of certain ſlanders.

The Biſhop of *Luthonis*.

As ſoon as this their ſupplication was read, the Biſhop of *Luthonis* riſing up, ſaid *Moſt Reverend Fathers, I well perceive and underſtand, that the laſt part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars and friends, as though the Kingd m of* Boheme *were ſlandered by us. Wherefore I deſire to have time and ſpace of deliberation, that I may purge my ſelf from this crime that is laid againſt me.* The Principal of the Council appointed him the 17th day of *May*, at the which day the Lords of *Boheme* ſhould be preſent again, to hear both the anſwer of the Council, and alſo the excuſe of the Biſhop of *Luthonis*; the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the ſeventeenth day of *May*, which was the fourth day before *Whitſontide*, they met there again; where firſt of all a certain Biſhop, in the name of the whole Council, anſwered by word to the Nobles of *Boheme*; the contents of whoſe anſwer may eaſily be known by the ſecond ſupplication, which the *Bohemians* put up to the Council. But firſt I ſhall here in theſe few words following, ſhew how the Biſhop of *Luthonis* defended himſelf againſt that which is before written.

### ¶ *The Anſwer of the Biſhop of* Luthonis, *to the laſt part of the ſupplication, which the Nobles of* Boheme *preſented unto the Council.*

The anſwer and accuſation of the Biſhop of *Luthonis* againſt *John Hus*.

MOſt Reverend Fathers and Noble Lords, as *Peter de Mladoneywitz* Bachelor of Art, in the name of certain of the Nobles of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, in his writings, amongſt other things did propound how that certain ſlanderers and backbiters of the ſaid Kingdom, have brought to the ears of your Reverences, that the moſt precious bloud of Chriſt is carried up and down in *Boheme* in Bottles, and that Coblers do hear Confeſſions, and miniſter the Body of Chriſt unto others; whereupon moſt Reverend Fathers and Lords, albeit that I together with the other Prelates, Doctors, Maſters, and other innumerable Catholicks of the ſaid Kingdom, the which do deſire as much as in them lieth, to defend the faith of Chriſt, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that moſt wicked and deteſtable Sect of *Wickliffs*, which now (alas for ſorrow) beginneth to ſpring and riſe in the ſaid Kingdom, as it is well known: Notwithſtanding, here in this my Oration, not for any ſhame or reproof, but for the honour of the Kingdom aforeſaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new Sect, which is now lately ſprung up in the ſaid Kingdom, the followers whereof do miniſter and communicate the Sacraments in many Cities, Towns and Places of the ſaid Kingdom, under both kinds both of Bread and Wine, and do conſtantly teach the common people, both Men and Women, that it is ſo to be communicated. obſtinately affirming the ſame, and that the Clergy which do repugn or ſay nay unto it, are to be counted Church robbers, as by the writings of their aſſertions, being directed and preſented hereafter ſhall openly appear.

{ KING Hen. 5. }

Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the Writings which were ſent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the Bloud of Chriſt is carried about in Veſſels not conſecrated, approving the foreſaid erroneous aſſertion of the *Wickleviſts*, that affirm it neceſſary for ſalvation, that the people ſhould communicate under both kinds of Bread and Wine; and that it is neceſſary, as the Body of Chriſt is carried in the Pix or Box, ſo the Bloud of Chriſt ſhould be carried in Bottles, or other neceſſary Veſſels from place to place, and eſpecially about the miniſtration of the ſick. Alſo I declared not of my ſelf, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible perſons, that there was a certain Woman a follower of that Sect, the which taking by violence the Body of Chriſt out of a Prieſts hands, did communicate unto her ſelf, and affirmed that all men ought to do ſo, if the Prieſts ſhould deny them the Communion. And the ſame Woman amongſt many other errors, of the which ſhe was convicted, did affirm that a good Lay-woman might better conſecrate and give Abſolution, than an evil Prieſt; affirming that an evil Prieſt can neither conſecrate nor abſolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my aſſiſtants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that Coblers in the ſaid Kingdom do hear Confeſſion, or miniſter the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt, as is alledged by the ſaid *Peter*, in the behalf of the ſaid ſupplicants. Notwithſtanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or ſtop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore moſt Reverend Fathers, leſt that the Kingdom might be defamed any more by ſuch peſtiferous Sects, and that the Chriſtian Faith might happen to be indangered; with all Reverence and Charity I do deſire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this moſt ſacred Council would provide ſome ſpeedy remedy for this Kingdom, as touching the premiſſes.

Moreover, whether be they backbiters and ſlanderers, or wicked and falſe enviers of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, the which do let the errors aforeſaid, and many others more, which are ſown by the *Wickleviſts* in the ſaid Kingdom, and alſo elſewhere, which alſo both do labour and have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of thoſe errors out of the Kingdom aforeſaid, and as Catholick Men, for the zeal of their Faith have manifeſtly put forth themſelves againſt the maintainers of the ſaid errors, or ſuch as do maintain and defend the teachers of thoſe errors; this anſwer I have here preſented before your Reverences, always wholly ſubmitting my ſelf and aſſiſtance unto your judgment, and to the definition of this moſt ſacred Council of *Conſtance*.

### ¶ *The Anſwer of the Nobles of* Boheme.

The Biſhop of *Luthonis* anſwer confuted.

THe day before *Whitſontide*, the Nobles of *Boheme* did confute this their anſwer made two days before in the Council to their former writing, as here followeth: Moſt Reverend Fathers and Lords, forſomuch as upon *Thurſday* it was anſwered in the behalf of your Reverences, to the requeſts of the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme*, that the ſaid Lords were miſinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their ſaid Bill: therefore the foreſaid Lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requeſts more at large unto your Reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your Fatherly wiſdoms and circumſpections, but that your Reverences (their deſires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuouſly and diſtinctly diſcern and judge as touching this matter.

The Biſhops do quarrel about the ſafe conduct of J. Hus.

And firſt of all, whereas the Lords alledged and ſaid, how that Maſter *John Hus* was come hither unto *Conſtance*, freely of his own good will, under the ſafe conduct of the Lord the King, and the proceſſion of the ſacred Empire; it is anſwered on the behalf of your Reverences, how that the ſaid Lords are miſinformed as touching the ſafe conduct, and that you have underſtood by ſuch as are worthy credit,

KING 1 Hen. 5.

credit, that the friends and favourers of the ſaid Maſter *John Hus*, did firſt procure and get his ſafe conduct, fifteen days after his impriſonment.

*The ſafe conduct of J. Hus obtained and ſhewed, before the impriſonment of J. Hus.*

The Lords of *Boheme*, and eſpecially the Lord *John de Clum* here preſent, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth anſwer, that not only the fifteenth day after, but even the very ſame day that *John Hus* was apprehended and taken, when as our reverend Father the Pope, in the preſence of all his Cardinals, demanded of Maſter *John de Clums*, whether Maſter *John Hus* had any ſafe conduct from the King his Son: he anſwered, *Moſt holy father and Cardinals, know ye that he hath a ſafe conduct*; and when he was asked the queſtion again the ſecond time, he anſwered in like manner.

Yet notwithſtanding none of them required to have the ſafe conduct ſhewed unto them: and again, the third day following, the Lord *John de Clum* complained unto our Lord the Pope; how notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct of our Soveraign Lord the King, he detained and kept Mr. *John Hus* as Priſoner, ſhewing the ſafe conduct unto many. And for the further truth herein, he referreth himſelf unto the teſtimonies and witneſſes of divers Earls, Biſhops, Knights, Gentlemen, and famous Citizens of the City of *Conſtance*, the which all together at this preſent did ſee the ſaid ſafe conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the ſaid *John de Clum* is ready to bind himſelf under what penalty ſhall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promiſed, whoſoever ſay to the contrary.

Moreover, the Lords of *Boheme* refer themſelves unto the knowledge of certain Princes Electors, and other Princes, Biſhops, and many other Noblemen, which were preſent before the Kings Majeſty, where and when as the ſaid ſafe-conduct was granted and given out by the ſpecial commandment of our ſaid Lord the King.

*The Biſhops of the Council falſly informed touching the ſafe conduct of John Hus.*

Hereby your Fatherly Reverences may underſtand and perceive that the ſaid Lords of *Boheme* are not evil informed as touching the ſaid ſafe conduct; but rather they which by ſuch reports have falſly and untruly informed your Reverences. And firſt of all, they have offended againſt the Lord our King and his Chancellors. Secondarily, againſt the Lords and Nobles of *Boheme*, as though we had privily and by ſtealth, purchaſed the ſaid ſafe conduct. Wherefore the Lords aforeſaid, moſt humbly require and deſire your Reverences, that you will not ſo lightly believe ſuch as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and diſcuſs that the truth may the more evidently appear.

*John Hus impriſoned before he was either condemned or heard.*

Secondly, Whereas the Lords aforeſaid, alledging how Maſter *John Hus* coming unto *Conſtance* of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was impriſoned, your Reverences have made anſwers thereunto, that he the ſaid Mr. *John Hus* in the time of *Alexander* the 5th, was infamed and ſlandered upon certain Hereſies, and thereupon cited perſonally to appear in the Court of *Rome*, and there was heard by his procurers.

And forſomuch as he refuſed obſtinately to appear, he was excommunicated, in the which Excommunication he continued (as you affirm) by the ſpace of five years, for the which he was judged, and counted not only a ſimple and plain Heretick, but an Hereſiarch, that is to ſay, an inventer and ſower of new and ſtrange Hereſies, and that he, coming toward *Conſtance*, did preach by the way openly. To this the Lords aforeſaid do anſwer, that as touching his ſlander and citation, they can affirm nothing, but by report. But as touching that he did not perſonally appear, that ſay they have heard both himſelf and divers other credible perſons ſay, yea even the moſt famous Prince *Wenceſlaus* King of *Boheme*, and almoſt all the whole Nobility is witneſs, that he would willingly have appeared at *Rome*, or elſewhere, if he might ſafely have come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted; and moreover, his procurers which he ſent unto the Court of *Rome*, alledging reaſonable cauſes for his non-appearance, ſome of them were caſt into Priſon, and others were evil intreated.

*Alexander the fifth. The anſwer touching the citation of J. Hus to the Court of Rome.*

*J. Hus his procurers evil intreated at Rome.*

As for the Excommunication which he hath ſo long ſuſtained, they have heard him often ſay, that he hath not reſiſted againſt the ſame by contumacy, or ſtubbornneſs, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himſelf unto the acts of his cauſes which were pleaded in the Court of *Rome*, wherein all this is more largely contained, the which your Reverences may evidently perceive and ſee in this our preſent publick tranſumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforeſaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Maſter *John Hus* did preach openly in the City of *Conſtance*; the Lords aforeſaid, and eſpecially the Lord *John de Clum* here preſent, do anſwer, that he hath continually lodged with the ſaid Maſter *John Hus* here in *Conſtance*; and that whoſoever they be, that have been ſo bold, or dare be ſo bold to ſay and affirm that Maſter *John Hus* had preached (as is premiſed) or that which is leſs, ſince the time of his coming unto this City, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and impriſonment, that he went but one ſtep out of the houſe of his lodging, that the ſaid Lord *John de Clum* will and is content to bind himſelf, with any ſuch as ſhall affirm the ſame, under what penalty ſoever it be, of mony or otherwiſe, that that which he hath falſly reported unto your Reverences, he ſhall never be able juſtly and truly to affirm and prove.

*J. Hus falſly reported to preach openly at Conſtance.*

*J. Hus falſly charged to preach coming to the Council.*

Thirdly, Whereas your Reverences do ſay, that you do not underſtand or know, what the Lords do mean, by the Hereticks condemned at the Council holden at *Piſa*, whether the mocking or deriding of the Pope, whoſe Embaſſadors came thither for unity or concord, the which were ſuffered, and gently treated, as their Lords were moſt inclined unto unity and peace; or elſe that they did underſtand or mean the particular Hereticks, which were there condemned; adjoyning thereunto, that the Hereticks alſo coming unto the Council under the pretence of that unity, ſhould be gently handled and entreated, *&c.* Reverend Fathers and Lords, whether they be counted the firſt, or that they be thought the ſecond or laſt, the Lords aforeſaid require none other thing, but that the ſaid Maſter *John Hus* may uſe ſuch liberty as they uſed, forſomuch as he came willingly unto this moſt ſacred Council, not for any other purpoſe, but only publickly to recogniſe his faith. And in what point ſoever he ſhall ſeem to vary from the Word of God, and the union of the holy Mother the Church, in that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto, and not only himſelf, but alſo his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the Kingdom of *Boheme*. Alſo he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble Kingdom of *Boheme* from the ſiniſter and evil ſlander which was raiſed upon it.

*J. Hus had many ewell-willers in Bohemia.*

Laſt of all moſt reverend Fathers and Lords, forſomuch as your reverences have moſt favourably anſwered unto the principal requeſt made by the Lords aforeſaid, that the Proceſs of Maſter *John Hus*, through Gods help, ſhould be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleneſs; the Lords aforeſaid do render moſt hearty thanks unto your Reverences, and whenſoever their deſire by Gods help ſhall come to the end or effect long wiſhed or looked for, they will not only here, but alſo before the whole Kingdom of *Boheme*, and in all other places whereſoever they come, render moſt immortal thanks unto your Reverences for ever.

℣ This Declaration of the Nobles of *Boheme* above prefixed, may ſerve not only to the confutation of the Biſhop *Luthonis* this *Bohemian*, but alſo againſt the cavillations of *Alanus Copus Anglus*, *Dial. 6. page 929.* touching the ſafe conduct of *John Hus*, whereof ſufficiently before hath been ſaid.

When as the Noblemen of *Boheme* by long time could receive no anſwer of thoſe ſupplications which they had already put up, they determined the laſt day of *May* following, by another ſupplication being put up unto the principals of the Council, to intreat that *John Hus* might be delivered out of Priſon, and defend his own cauſe openly: they alſo put up the teſtimonial of the Biſhop of *Nazareth*, as touching *John Hus*. The Copy whereof is expreſſed in the beginning of this Hiſtory, word by word.

*Vide ſupra.*

## Another ſupplication of the Nobles of *Boheme*.

*Another ſupplication of the Bohemians for J. Huſs.*

MOſt *Reverend Fathers and Lords in Chriſt, of late there was a ſupplication put up unto your Reverences on the behalf of the Lords and Nobles of* Boheme, *and the Nation of* Pole, *wherein they moſt humbly deſired*

*your Reverences to conſider how the informations which were put up unto your Reverences, by the enemies of Maſter* John Hus, *were inſufficient; and with reverence be it ſpoken, in many points untrue, as in the ſafe conduct granted by the Kings Majeſty, and alſo in other Articles, as more plainly appeareth in the Schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon the which ſaid Schedule and other things at that preſent, being put up, they could not as yet receive any anſwer. Wherefore the Lords aforeſaid, moſt humbly require your Fatherly Reverences, that it would pleaſe you to conſider the ſaid ſupplication, and to give ſome anſwer to the Lords aforeſaid thereupon, and ſpecially having reſpect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the ſaid Maſter* John Hus, *the which may be underſtood and known by the Schedule aforeſaid, that you will mercifully conſider and foreſee, that all thoſe griefs and evils, ſo far different from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.*

The Lords could have no anſwer of their ſupplication.

*To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may pleaſe your Fatherly Reverences to underſtand that it is notified and known unto the Barons, Nobles and Citizens, Clergy and Laity of the Kingdom of* Boheme, *that Maſter* John Hus *in all his acts and doings, as well Scholaſtical as Eccleſiaſtical, and eſpecially in all his publick and open Sermons, hath made and hath accuſtomed to make theſe manner of proteſtations, and which without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them ſtrong and firm, as by this his proteſtation here following, which he made about the determination of a certain queſtion, it may moſt evidently and plainly appear unto every man which would behold and look upon the ſame; the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is ſuch.*

## ¶ The Proteſtation of *John Hus.*

The Proteſtation of J. Hus.

*FOrſomuch as above all things I do deſire the honour of God, the profit of the holy Church, and that I my ſelf may be a faithful member of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is the Head and Husband of the holy Church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even ſo now again, I make this Proteſtation, That I never obſtinately ſaid, or hereafter will ſay any thing that ſhall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly deſire to hold the very true and infallible truth and verity; ſo that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather chooſe by the hope and help of the Lord* Vid. in prim. edit. p. 207. *to ſuffer extream puniſhment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready to offer this my miſerable life unto death for the Law of Chriſt, the which I do believe every part and parcel thereof, to be given and promulgate for the ſalvation of Mankind, by the counſel and determination of the moſt holy Trinity and the Saints of God, &c.*

*By the which his Proteſtation, and alſo other Proteſtations by the ſaid Maſter* John Hus, *being well obſerved and noted, it may be eaſily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpoſe was and is, that he neither would nor will have ſpoken or written any thing in his Books, Treatiſes, Doctrines or publick Sermons; or elſe to have affirmed any Articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did underſtand or know to be erroneous, offenſive, ſeditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear; albeit that theſe and ſuch like things are falſly imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent and purpoſe, and ſo is, that every Point, Concluſion or Article contained in his Books or Articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Goſpel, the holy Doctors and Writers upon the holy Scriptures, and to that end and purpoſe, as is before expreſſed in his Proteſtations; and if in any point he ſhould be found to vary or go aſtray, or that he were not well underſtood of others, by like information to be informed, underſtood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no means ſuſtain or defend any manner of Article againſt the holy Church of* Rome, *or the Catholick Faith.*

*Wherefore, moſt Reverend Fathers, the premiſſes notwithſtanding, his enemies, through the extream hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by peicemeal, certain Articles out of the Books of Maſter* John Hus, *rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reaſons, neither having any relation unto the diſtinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certain falſe and feigned Articles againſt him to this end, that all charity and love being ſet apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the ſafe conduct upon good and juſt occaſion openly aſſigned, and given unto the ſaid Maſter* John Hus, *by the moſt noble Prince the Lord* Sigiſmund, *King of the* Romans *and of* Hungary, *for his juſt defence againſt all the frivolous accuſations and aſſaults of the enemies, not only of the ſaid Maſter* John Hus, *but alſo of the famous Kingdom of* Boheme, *and for the quiet appeaſing of all ſuch tumults and rumors riſing and ſpringing in the ſaid Kingdom of* Boheme, *or elſewhere; the avoiding of which moſt perilous uproars, the ſaid King of* Romans, *doth greatly deſire and wiſh, as the right heir and ſucceſſor of the ſaid Kingdom.*

{KING Hen. 5.}

*Whereupon the Barons and Nobles aforeſaid, moſt humbly deſire and require, the premiſſes being conſidered, and reſpect had unto the great infamy and ſlander which may happen by the premiſſes unto the ſaid Kingdom and Inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take ſome order and mean, that Maſter* John Hus *may herein directly heard by ſome famous men, Divines already deputed, or otherwiſe to be appointed, upon all and ſingular ſuch Articles as ſhall be laid unto him, to declare his own mind and intent, and alſo the mind of the Doctors alledged for this purpoſe, with the manifold diſtinctions and equivocations; in the which the drawers out of the moſt part of his Articles have alſo made equivocations, that ſo according unto the diſpoſition of the witneſſes, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous inſtigation of his enemies, when he was miſerably detained Priſoner, that he ſhould not be condemned unheard. Forſomuch as by the ſaid declarations, your Fatherly Reverences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himſelf is ready always to ſubmit himſelf under the determination of this moſt ſacred Council. For your Reverences, by the crafty and feigned perſwaſions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Maſter* John Hus *hath been incurably obſtinate by a long time, in moſt perilous Articles, the which your Reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence herein to be ſhewed, there is preſented unto your Reverences an inſtrument of publick recognition of the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt the Lord* Nicholas *Biſhop of* Nazareth, *an Inquiſitor of Hereſies, eſpecially appointed by the Apoſtolick See in the Dioceſs of* Prague, *the which by your Reverences is more diligently to be hearkned unto.*

Articles foiſted out of Hus's Books by his enemies.

The Council evil informed againſt John Hus.

*Wherefore it may pleaſe your Fatherly Reverences to command the ſaid Maſter* John Hus, *neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in the which he is now moſt grievouſly detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of ſome Reverend Lord Biſhops, or Commiſſioners, appointed or to be appointed by his preſent Council; that the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *may ſomewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and be the more diligently and commodiouſly examined by the Commiſſioners. And for the more aſſurance, the Barons and Nobles aforeſaid of the Kingdom of* Boheme, *will provide moſt ſure and good ſureties, the which will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the World. Which alſo ſhall promiſe in this behalf, that he ſhall not flee or depart out of their hands, until ſuch time as the matter be fully determined by the ſaid Commiſſioners. In the execution of the which premiſſes, we have determined to provide and foreſee unto the fame and honour of the ſaid Kingdom of* Boheme, *and alſo to the ſafe conduct of the moſt worthy Prince, the King of* Romans, *leſt that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the Kingdom aforeſaid, might not a litte ſlander and reprove the ſaid Lords, pretending and ſhewing forth hereafter, that they had made unreaſonable or unlawful requeſts; for the withſtanding of which miſchief, we require your Fatherly Reverences, that you will decree, and moſt graciouſly conſent, that this our petition and ſupplication may be drawn out again by your Notary, and reduced into a publick form and order.*

The Nobles required that J. Hus not being convict nor condemned, ſhould be delivered out of Priſon.

A petition for Mr. John Hus's deliverance out of Priſon.

After

KING *Hen. 5.*

The anſwer of the Council to the ſupplication.

After this ſupplication was read before the Deputies of the four Nations, the Patriarch of *Antioch* anſwered in the name of them all unto every Article of the ſaid ſupplication; but it was done in few words.

First, as touching the proteſtation of *John Hus*, whether it be true or falſe, it ſhall be made evident in the proceſs of his cauſe. Moreover, whereas they ſay that the adverſaries of *John Hus* have perverſly drawn certain things out of his Books, that alſo the matter it ſelf ſhall declare in the end. Whereas if it ſhall be found and decreed that *John Hus* is unjuſtly and untruly accuſed, that then it ſhall come to paſs that his adverſaries ſhall incur perpetual ignominy and ſlander. But as touching ſureties, albeit there might be a thouſand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the Deputies of the Council with a ſafe conſcience may receive, or take them in this mans cauſe, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of *June* next. *John Hus* ſhall be brought again unto *Conſtance*, and there have free liberty to ſpeak his mind before the Council, and he promiſed that they would lovingly and gently hear him; but the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promiſe.

*In no caſe muſt be bailed.*

*No credit to be kept with an Heretick.*

The ſame day the ſaid Barons and Lords preſented a ſupplication of this tenor unto the Emperor:

Supplication to the Emperor *Sigiſmund.*

*Unto the moſt high and mighty Prince, the Lord* Sigiſmund *King of the* Romans, *always* Auguſtus, *King of* Hungary, Croatia *and* Dalmatia, *our moſt gracious Lord, faithful and true ſervice in all things, and at all times. Moſt noble Prince, and gracious Lord, we ſignifie unto your worthineſs, that we all together with one mind, conſent and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend Fathers and Lords, the Deputies of the four Nations, and to the whole ſacred Council of* Conſtance, *this our ſupplication hereunder written, as reaſonable, juſt, and worthy of conſideration, the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.*

¶ The Copy of the ſupplication, which was preſented unto the Deputies of the Council, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

The Barons ſupplication to the King for *John Hus.*

*WHerefore we moſt humbly require and deſire your Princely Majeſty, that both for the love of juſtice, and alſo of the fame and renown of that moſt famous Kingdom of* Boheme, *whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly, the true Lord, Heir and Succeſſor; and alſo foreſeeing unto the liberty of your ſafe conduct, that you will with your favourable countenance, beholding theſe moſt reaſonable and juſt ſupplications which we have put up to the Lords aforeſaid, put to your helping hand toward the ſaid moſt reverend Fathers and Lords, that they will effectually hear us, in this our moſt juſt petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforeſaid; leſt that the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous Kingdom of* Boheme, *and ſuch be our ſlanderers alſo, hereafter may detract and ſlander us, that we ſhould make unreaſonable and unlawful requeſts unto the ſaid reverend Fathers and Lords: and therefore we required and deſired of them, that it would pleaſe them to decree by ſetting to their publick Hand and Seal, to authoriſe our ſaid publication. Likewiſe, we do moſt heartily require your Highneſs, that you would vouchſafe in like manner, to give us your teſtimony of the premiſſes.*

But what anſwer the Emperor made hereunto, we could never underſtand or know; but by the proceſs of the matter a man may eaſily judge, that this good Emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obſtinate miſchief of the Cardinals and Biſhops, to break and falſifie his promiſe and faith which he had made and promiſed; and this was their reaſon whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by ſafe conduct, or by any other mean unto him, which was ſuſpected or judged to be an Heretick. But by the Epiſtles and Letters of *John Hus*, a man may eaſily judge what the Kings mind was. Now we will proceed in the Hiſtory.

The King forced by the importunity of the Cardinals to break promiſe.

The miſchievous counſel of the Popiſh band.

The fifth day of June, the Cardinals, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Prieſts, all that were almoſt in *Conſtance*, aſſembled at a great number, at the Covent of the *Franciſcans* in *Conſtance*, and there it was commanded, that before *J. Hus* ſhould be brought forth, in his abſence they ſhould rehearſe the Witneſſes and Articles which they had ſlanderouſly gathered out of his Books: the which Articles, with *John Huſs*'s anſwer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then preſent a certain Notary, named *Mladoniewitz*, the which bare great love and amity unto the ſaid *Hus*, who as ſoon as he perceived that the Biſhops and Cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the ſaid Articles in the abſence of *John Hus*, he went with all ſpeed unto Maſter *Wencelate de Duba*, and *John* of *Clum*, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the Emperor. Who underſtanding their intent, ſent *Lewis* the County *Palatine* of *Heydelburgh*, and the Lord *Frederick*, *Burgrave* of *Nuremberg*, to ſignifie unto them which ruled the Council, that nothing ſhould be reſolved or done in the caſe of *John Hus*, before that it were firſt heard with equity, and that they ſhould ſend him all ſuch Articles as were laid againſt the ſaid *Hus*, which were either falſe or heretical, and he would do ſo much, that the ſaid Articles ſhould be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the Emperors will, the judgment of the principals of the Council was ſuſpended, until ſuch time as *John Hus* were preſent.

The crafty counſel of the Papiſts ſtopped by the Emperor.

In the mean ſeaſon, theſe Gentlemen, Maſter of *Duba* and of *Clum*, did give unto the two Princes, which the Emperor had ſent, certain ſmall Treatiſes which the ſaid *John Hus* had made, out of the which they had drawn certain Articles to preſent unto them which rule the Council, under this condition, that they ſhould render them again, when they ſhould demand them. The intent and meaning of theſe Barons was, that by this means the adverſaries of *John Hus* might the more eaſily be reproved, the which of a naughty and corrupt conſcience had picked out corrupt ſentences out of the ſaid Books of *John Hus*. The Books were delivered unto the Cardinals and Biſhops; and that done *John Hus* was brought forth, and the Princes which were ſent by the Emperor, departed back again. After they ſhewed the Books unto *John Hus*, and he confeſſed openly before the whole Aſſembly that he had made them, and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the ſame.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of theſe reverend Fathers, for here happened a ſtrange and ſhameful matter. With much ado they had ſcarcely read one Article, and brought forth a few Witneſſes upon the ſame againſt him, but as he was about to open his mouth to anſwer, all this mad Herd or Flock began ſo to cry out upon him, that he had not leiſure to ſpeak one only word. The noiſe and trouble was ſo great and ſo vehement, that a man might well have called it a brute or noiſe of wild Beaſts, and not of Men; much leſs was it to be judged a congregation of Men gathered together, to judge and determine ſo grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noiſe and cry did never ſo little ceaſe, that he might anſwer any thing at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Eccleſiaſtical Doctors, by and by he ſhould hear theſe goodly replies upon him, that maketh nothing to the purpoſe.

*J. Hus* forced to keep ſilence by outrage of the Biſhops and Prieſts.

The like practice in theſe later days was uſed at *Oxford* againſt the godly fathers.

Beſides all this, ſome did outrage in words againſt him, and otherſome ſpitefully mocked him; ſo that he ſeeing himſelf overwhelmed with theſe rude and barbarous noiſes and crys, and that it profited nothing to ſpeak, he determined finally with himſelf to hold his peace and keep ſilence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adverſaries thought that they had won the Battel of him, and cried out all together, *Now he is dumb, now he is dumb: This is a certain ſign and token, that he doth conſent and agree unto theſe his errors.* Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the moſt moderate and honeſt among them, ſeeing this diſorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all ſhould be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the Prelates and others departed from the Council for that preſent, and appointed to meet there again the morrow after to proceed in judgment.

An outragious Council.

The next day, which was the ſeventh of June, on which day the Sun was almoſt wholly eclipſed, ſomewhat after, about ſeven of the Clock, this ſame Flock aſſembled again in the Cloyſter of the Friers Minors, and by their appointment *John Hus* was brought before them, ac-

A great Eclipſe of the Sun.

companied with a great number of armed men. Thither went alſo the Emperour, whom the Gentlemen, Maſter of *Duba*, and *Clum*, and the Notary named *Peter*, which were great friends of the ſaid *Hus*, did follow to ſee what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accuſation of *Michael de Cauſis*, they read theſe words following: *John Hus* hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the Chappel of *Bethleem*, and alſo in many other places of the City of *Prague*, of the which errors ſome of them he hath drawn out of *Wickliffs* Books, and the reſt he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the ſame very obſtinately and ſtiffly.

They went forth with ſwords and ſtaves as it had been to take a thief.

Peter and John follow Chriſt into the Biſhops houſe.

Firſt, that after the conſecration and pronouncjation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material Bread; and this is proved by the witneſs of *John Protiwaie*, Pariſh-Prieſt of Saint *Clements* in *Prague*, *John Pecklow* Preacher at St. *Giles* in *Prague*, *Beniſe* Preacher in the Caſtle of *Prague*, *Andrew Brode*, Canon of *Prague*, and divers other Prieſts. Unto this *John Hus* taking a ſolemn Oath, anſwered that he never ſpake any ſuch word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the Archbiſhop of *Prague* forbad him to uſe any more that term or word Bread, he could not allow the Biſhops commandment; foraſmuch as Chriſt in the ſixth Chapter of *John* doth oftentimes name himſelf the bread of Angels, which came down from Heaven, to give life unto the whole world. But as touching material bread, he never ſpake any thing at all. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* taking a certain bill in his hand, which he ſaid he received the day before, ſaid unto *John Hus*, Will you put any Univerſalities *a parte rei*, *i.e.* as touching the thing? When *John Hus* anſwered, that he would, becauſe St. *Anſelm* and divers others had ſo done, the Cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

Matter made againſt *John Hus*.

Falſe witneſs againſt *John Hus*.

The anſwer of *J. Hus*.

Naming of bread forbidden by the Archbiſhops.

It followeth then, ſaid he, that after the conſecration is made, there remaineth the ſubſtance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: That the conſecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, as you ſay, either there doth remain the common ſubſtance of material bread, or contrariwiſe. If the ſubſtance do remain, then is our purpoſe at an end. If contrariwiſe, then it doth follow, that by the deciſion of the ſingularity, the univerſal ceaſeth any more to be: *John Hus* anſwered, Truly it ceaſeth to be in this ſingular material Bread, by means of this Tranſubſtantiation, when as it is changed and Tranſubſtantiated into the Body of Chriſt; but notwithſtanding in other ſingularities it is made ſubject.

The Cardinal ſophiſticateth with *J. Hus*.

Then a certain *Engliſhman* by that argument would prove out of the firſt Poſition, that there remained material Bread. Then ſaid *John Hus*, that is a childiſh argument, which every Boy in Schools knoweth, and thereupon gave a ſolution. Then another *Engliſhman* would prove, that there remained material Bread in the Sacrament, becauſe the Bread after the conſecration was not annihilate. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, Although ſaid he, that the Bread be not annihilate or conſumed, yet ſingularly it ceaſeth there to be by means of the alteration of his ſubſtance into the Body of Chriſt. Here another *Engliſhman* ſtepping forth, ſaid, *John Hus* ſeemeth unto me to uſe the ſame kind of crafty ſpeech which *Wickliff* uſed, for he granted all theſe things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perſwaded that material Bread remained in the Sacrament after the conſecration. The which when *John Hus* had denied, ſaying, that he ſpake nothing but only ſincerely and uprightly, according to his conſcience; the *Engliſhman* proceeded to demand of him again, whether the body of Chriſt be totally and really in the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, Verily, I do think that the body of Chriſt is really and totally in the Sacrament of the Altar, even that body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, ſuffered, died, and roſe again, and ſitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty. When they had diſputed a good while to and fro, as touching univerſalities, the *Engliſhman* which before would prove that material bread remained in the Sacrament, becauſe that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, ſaid, to what purpoſe is this Diſputation upon univerſalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpoſe, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

The diſputation of the *Engliſhmen*.

An *Engliſhman*.

*J. Hus* agreeth with that blind time in the Sacrament.

Then another *Engliſhman*, named *Stokes*, ſaid I have ſeen at *Prague* (ſaith he) a certain Treatiſe, the which was aſcribed unto this man *John Hus*, wherein it was plainly ſet forth, that after the Conſecration there remained material bread in the Sacrament. Verily, ſaid *John Hus*, ſaving your reverence, that is not true.

*Stokes* an *Engliſhman*.

Then they returned again unto the witneſſes of them which were ſpoken of a little before, who every man for himſelf affirmed with an Oath that which he had ſaid. Amongſt whom *John Protyway*, Pariſh Prieſt of S. *Clements* in *Prague*, when he ſhould come to confirm his teſtimony added more, that *John Hus* ſhould ſay, that St. *Gregory* was but a rimer, when he did alledge his authority againſt him. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, that in this point they did him great injury, forſomuch as he always eſteemed and reputed S. *Gregory* for a moſt holy Doctor of the Church.

*John Hus* falſly accuſed, for calling S. *Gregory* a rimer.

The Cardinal of *Florence*.

Theſe contentions and Diſputations being ſomewhat appeaſed, the Cardinal of *Florence* turned himſelf toward *John Hus*, and ſaid, Maſter, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all witneſs is firm and ſtable; and here you ſee now almoſt twenty witneſſes againſt you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongſt the which ſome have heard you teach theſe things themſelves, the other by report and common brute or voice do teſtifie of your Doctrine, and all together generally bring firm reaſons and proofs of their witneſs, unto the which we are forced and conſtrained to give credit; and for my part, I ſee not how you can maintain and defend your cauſe againſt ſo many notable and well learned men. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered in this manner, I take God and my Conſcience to witneſs, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fancy to teach in ſuch ſort or manner, as theſe men here have not feared to witneſs againſt me that which they never heard. And albeit, they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more eſteem, yea and without compariſon, regard the witneſs of my Lord God, before the witneſs and judgment of all mine adverſaries upon whom I do in no point ſtay my ſelf. Then ſaid the Cardinal again unto him, it is not lawful for us to judge according to your conſcience; for we cannot chooſe, but that we muſt needs ſtay our ſelves upon the firm and evident witneſs of theſe men here. For it is not for any diſpleaſure or hatred, that theſe men do witneſs this againſt you (as you do alledge:) for they alledge and bring forth ſuch reaſons of their witneſs, that there is no man that can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can in any caſe be in doubt thereof. And as touching Maſter *Stephen Paletz*, whereas you ſay, you do ſuſpect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain Points or Articles, out of your Books to betray them afterward; it ſeemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath uſed and ſhewed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your Articles much more than they are in your own Books. I underſtand alſo that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and ſpecially you have ſaid, that you do ſuſpect M. Chancellor of *Paris*, than whom there is no more excellent and Chriſtian man in all the whole world.

Tvventy witneſſes prevailed againſt *J. Hus*, but the teſtimony of all *Boheme* could not ſerve on his part.

The Cardinal of *Cambray*.

He meaneth *Gerſon*.

Then was there read a certain Article of accuſation, in the which it was alledged, That *John Hus* had taught and obſtinately defended certain erroneous Articles of *Wickliff*'s in *Boheme*. Whereunto *Hus* anſwered, that he never taught any errors of *John Wickliff*'s, or of any other mans. Wherefore if it be ſo that *Wickliff* hath ſowed any errors in *England*, let the *Engliſhmen* look to that themſelves. But to confirm their Article, there was alledged, that *John Hus* did withſtand the condemnation of *Wickliff*'s Articles, the which were firſt condemned at *Rome*; and afterward alſo, when the Archbiſhop of *Swinco*, with other learned men, held a Convocation at *Prague* for the ſame matter, when as they would have there been condemned for this cauſe, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholick Faith or Doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous or offenſive: he anſwered, that he durſt not agree thereunto, for offending his conſcience, and

Another accuſation for defending of *Wickliff*'s Articles.

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KING Hen. 5. Certain Articles of Wickliff that J. Hus ſtood in.

and eſpecially for theſe Articles, that *Silveſter* the Pope and *Conſtantine* did err in beſtowing thoſe great gifts and rewards upon the Church. Alſo, that the Pope or Prieſt, being in mortal ſin, cannot conſecrate nor baptiſe. This Article, ſaid he, I have thus determined, as if I ſhould ſay, that he doth unworthily conſecrate or baptiſe, when as he is in deadly ſin, and that he is an unworthy Miniſter of the Sacraments of God. Here his accuſers with their witneſſes, were earneſt and inſtant that the Article of *Wickliff* was written by the very ſame words of the Treatiſe which *John Hus* made againſt *Stephen Paletz*. Verily ſaid *John Hus*, I fear not to ſubmit my ſelf, even under the danger of death, if you ſhall not find it ſo as I have ſaid. When the Book was brought forth, they found it written as *John Hus* had ſaid. He added alſo moreover, that he durſt not agree unto them which had condemned *Wickliff*'s Articles, for this Article, *The tenths were pure alms.*

A Treatiſe againſt Stephen Paletz.

Whether tenths be pure alms.

Here the Cardinal of *Florence* objected unto him this Argument, as touching the Alms: *It is required that it ſhould be given freely without bond or duty. But Tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore they are no alms.* *John Hus* denying the *Major* of this Syllogiſme brought this reaſon againſt him. Forſomuch as rich men are bounden under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the ſix works or mercy, which Chriſt repeateth in the 25*th* Chapter of *Matthew*, and theſe works are pure alms: *Ergo*, alms is alſo given by bond and duty. Then an Archbiſhop of *England*, ſtepping up, ſaid, if we all be bound unto thoſe ſix works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, which have nothing at all to give, ſhould be damned. I anſwer, ſaid *Hus*, unto your antecedent, that I ſpake diſtinctly of rich men, and of thoſe which had wherewithal to do thoſe works: They, I ſay, were bound to give alms under pain of damnation.

Alms ſtand of duty.

He anſwered moreover, unto the *Minor* of the firſt Argument, *That Tenths were at firſt given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty*; and when as he would have declared it more at large, he could not be ſuffered. He declared alſo divers other cauſes why he could not with ſafe Conſcience conſent unto the condemnation of *Wickliff*'s Articles. But howſoever the matter went, he did affirm and ſay, that he did never obſtinately confirm any Articles of *Wickliff*'s, but only that he did not allow and conſent that *Wickliff*'s Articles ſhould be condemned before that ſufficient reaſons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation; and of the ſame mind, ſaith *John Hus*, are a great many other Doctors and Maſters of the Univerſity of *Prague*. For when as *Swinco* the Archbiſhop commanded all *Wickliff*'s Books to be gathered together in the whole City of *Prague*, and to be brought unto him, I my ſelf brought alſo certain Books of *Wickliff*'s which I gave unto the Archbiſhop, deſiring him, that if he found any error or Hereſie in them, he would note and mark them, and I my ſelf would publiſh them openly. But the Archbiſhop, albeit that he ſhewed me no error nor Hereſie in them, burned my Books, together with thoſe that were brought unto him, notwithſtanding that he had no ſuch commandment from Pope *Alexander* the fifth of that name. But notwithſtanding by a certain policy, he obtained a Bull from the ſaid Pope by means of *Jaroſlaus* Biſhop of *Sarepte*, of the Order of *Franciſcans*, that all *Wickliff*'s Books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there was none named) ſhould be taken out of all mens hands.

J. Hus his mind touching the condemnation of Wickliff's Articles.

Wickliff's Books burned in Prague by the Archbiſhop Swinco.

A narration touching Wickliff's Books.

The Univerſity of Prague maketh ſupplication to the King for ſaving of Wickliff's Books.

The Archbiſhop, uſing the authority of this Bull, thought he ſhould bring to paſs, that the King of *Boheme* and the Nobles ſhould conſent to the condemnation of *Wickliff*'s Books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheleſs, he calling together certain Divines, gave them in Commiſſion to ſit upon *Wickliff*'s Books, and to proceed againſt them by a definitive ſentence in the Canon Law. Theſe Men, by a general ſentence, judged all thoſe Books worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctors, Maſters and Scholars of the Univerſity heard report of, they all together, with one conſent and accord (none excepted but only they, which before were choſen by the Archbiſhop to ſit in judgment) determined to make ſupplication unto the King to ſtay the matter. The King granting their requeſt, ſent by and by certain unto the Archbiſhop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching *Wickliff*'s Books, contrary unto the Kings will and pleaſure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the King, the matter was paſſed over.

*Wickliff*'s Books burned in Prague againſt the Kings will.

In the mean time Pope *Alexander* the 5*th* being dead, the Archbiſhop, fearing leſt the Bull which he had received of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and ſhutting the Gates of his Court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed ſoldiers, conſumed and burned all *Wickliff*'s Books. Beſides this great injury, the Archbiſhop by means of his Bull aforeſaid, committed another no leſs tolerable. For he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of Excommunication, ſhould teach any more in Chappels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the Pope; who being dead, and the cauſe of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewiſe unto his ſucceſſor *John* 23*d*. Before whom when as, by the ſpace of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocate to defend my cauſe, I appealed unto the high Judge Chriſt. When *John Hus* had ſpoken theſe words it was demanded of him, whether he had received Abſolution of the Pope or no? He anſwered, No. Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Chriſt or no? Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more juſt or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Chriſt, foraſmuch as the Law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cauſe of grief or wrong done by an inferiour Judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is then an higher Judge than Chriſt? Who, I ſay, can know or judge the matter more juſtly, or with more equity? when as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or, who can better help the miſerable and oppreſſed than he? While *John Hus* with a devout and ſober countenance, was ſpeaking and pronouncing thoſe words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole Council.

A decree that no man ſhould teach any more in Chappels.

J. Hus appealed to the Pope, and from the Pope to Chriſt.

A queſtion of the counſel, whether it be lawful to appeal to Chriſt or no.

The Popiſh Church deriderh Chriſt.

Then was there rehearſed another Article of his accuſation in this manner; That *John Hus* to confirm the Hereſie which he had taught the common and ſimple people out of *Wickliff*'s Books, ſaid openly theſe words, That at what time a great number of Monks and Friers, and other learned men were gathered together in *England*, in a certain Church, to diſpute againſt *John Wickliff*, and could by no means vanquiſh him, or give him the foyl, ſuddenly the Church-door was broken open with lightning, ſo that with much ado *Wickliff*'s enemies hardly eſcaped without hurt. He added moreover, that he wiſhed his ſoul to be in the ſame place where *John Wickliff*'s ſoul was. Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, that a dozen years before that any Books of Divinty of *John Wickliff*'s were in *Boheme*, he did ſee certain Works of Philoſophy of his, the which, he ſaid, did marvelouſly delight and pleaſe him. And when he underſtood the good and godly life of the ſaid *Wickliff*, he ſpake theſe words, *I truſt*, ſaid he, *that* Wickliff *is ſaved*; *and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wiſh, that my ſoul were in the ſame place where* John Wickliff's *is*. Then again did all the company jeſt and laugh at him.

Hus accuſed for truſting that Wickliff's ſoul is ſaved.

It is alſo in his accuſation, that *John Hus* did counſel the people, according to the example of *Moſes*, to reſiſt with the ſword againſt all ſuch as did gainſay his Doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the ſame, there were found openly in divers places certain intimations, that every man, being armed with his ſword about him, ſhould ſtoutly proceed, and that Brother ſhould not ſpare Brother, neither one neighbour another. *John Hus* anſwered, that all theſe things were falſly laid unto his charge by his adverſaries; for he at all times when he preached, did diligently admoniſh and warn the people, that they ſhould all arm themſelves to defend the truth of the Goſpel, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, *with the helmet and ſword of Salvation*; and that he never ſpake of any material ſword, but of that which is the Word of God. And as touching intimations, or *Moſes* ſword, he never had any thing to do withal.

Sedition laid to his charge.

Hus accuſed for moving certain tumults againſt the Clergy, and diviſion in the Univerſity of Prague.

It is moreover affirmed in his accuſation and witneſs, that many offences are ſprung up by the Doctrine of *Hus*. For firſt of all, he ſowed diſcord between the Eccleſiaſtical and the Politick ſtate: whereupon followed the perſecution

ſecution, ſpoiling and robbery of the Clergy and Biſhops. And moreover, that he through his diſſention diſſolved the Univerſity of *Prague*. Hereunto *John Hus* briefly anſwered, that theſe things had not happened by his means or default. For the firſt diſſention that was between the Eccleſiaſtical and Politick ſtate, ſprang and grew upon this cauſe, that Pope *Gregory* the Twelfth of that name, promiſed at his Election, that at all times at the will and pleaſure of the Cardinals he would depart from, and give over his ſeat again; for under that condition he was elect and choſen. This man, contrary and againſt *Winceſlaus* King of *Boheme*, who was then alſo King of the *Romans*, made *Lewes* Duke of *Bavaria* Emperor.

A Story of Popes.

A few years after it happened when as Pope *Gregory* would not refuſe and give over his ſeat and office at the requeſt of the Cardinals, that the whole College of Cardinals ſent Letters to the King of *Boheme*, requiring him, that together with them he would renounce and forſake his obedience unto Pope *Gregory*, and ſo it ſhould come to paſs, that by the authority of a new Biſhop he ſhould recover again his Imperial Dignity. For this cauſe the King conſented to the will of the Cardinals as touching a Neutrality; that is to ſay, that he would neither take part with Pope *Gregory*, neither yet with *Benedict* the Twelfth, Biſhop of *Avinion*, which was then named Pope, as it doth appear by Chronicles. In this cauſe then, forſomuch as the Archbiſhop *Swinco* with the Clergy were againſt the King, and abſtaining from the Divine ſervice, many of them departed out of the City, and the Archbiſhop himſelf breaking down the Tomb of the Lord *Wincelate*, contrary and againſt the Kings will, did alſo take *Wickliffs* Books and burned them: Thereupon the King without any gain-ſaying, ſuffered that certain goods of theirs, which of their own wills were fled away, ſhould be ſpoiled, becauſe they ſhould not conſent or accord with the Biſhop. Whereupon it is eaſie to be underſtood and known that *John Hus* was falſly accuſed for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one *Naſo*, riſing up, ſaid, The Clergy (ſaid he) did not abſtain from the Divine ſervice, becauſe they would not ſwear to conſent unto the King, but becauſe that they were ſpoiled and robbed of their goods and ſubſtance. And the Cardinal of *Cambray*, who was one of the Judges ſaid, Here I muſt ſay ſomewhat which is come into my mind.

The cauſe why *Swinco* and other of the Clergy did fly out of *Prague*.

This Doctor *Naſo* was Counſellor to King *Winceſlaus*.

When as I came from *Rome*, the ſame year that theſe things were done, by chance I met on the way certain Prelates of *Boheme*. Whom when I demanded what news they had brought out of *Boheme*, they anſwered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact: for all the Clergy were ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, and very ill intreated and handled. Then *John Hus* alledging the ſame cauſe which he did before, went forward unto the ſecond part of the article which was objected againſt him, denying alſo that it hapned through his fault, that the *Germans* departed from the Univerſity of *Prague*. But when as the King of *Boheme*, according to the foundation of *Charles* the Fourth his Father, granted three voices unto the *Bohemes*, and the fourth unto the *Germans*; whereat the *Germans* grudging that they ſhould be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themſelves with a great Oath, and under a great penalty, both of their ſame, and alſo money, that none of them ſhould return again unto *Prague*. Notwithſtanding, I am not aſhamed to confeſs, that I did approve and allow the doings of the King, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my Country. And becauſe you ſhall not think that I have ſpoken any untruth. Here is preſent *Albert Warren Trapius*, which was Deacon of the Faculties, who had ſworn to depart with the reſt of the *Germans*; he, if that he will ſay the truth, ſhall eaſily clear me of this ſuſpition.

A declaration how the *Germans* departed from the Univerſity of *Prague*.

The penalty of money was a 100 ſilver ſhock.

But when as *Albert* would have ſpoken, he could not be heard. But the foreſaid *Naſo*, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to ſpeak, ſaid, This matter do I underſtand well enough, for I was in the Kings Court when theſe things were done in *Boheme*, when as I ſaw the Maſters of the three Nations, of the *Germans*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Sileſians*, amongſt whom the *Polonians* were alſo numbred, moſt humbly come unto the King, requiring that he would not ſuffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the King promiſed them that he would foreſee and provide for their requeſts. But *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, with divers others, perſwaded the King that he ſhould not ſo do. Whereat the King at the firſt being not a little moved, gave him a ſore check, that he and *Jerome* of *Prague* did ſo much intermeddle themſelves, and moved ſuch open controverſies, inſomuch that he threatned them, that except they would foreſee and take heed, he would bring it to paſs that the matter ſhould be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore moſt reverend Fathers, you ſhall underſtand that the King of *Boheme* did never favour with his heart theſe men, whoſe unſhamefaſtneſs is ſuch, that they feared not even of late to intreat me evil, being ſo much in the Kings favour and credit. After him ſtepped forth *Paletz*, ſaying, Verily moſt reverend Fathers, not only the learned men of other Nations, but alſo of *Boheme* it ſelf, are through the counſel of *John Hus* and his adherents baniſhed out of *Boheme*; of the which number ſome remain yet in exile in *Moravia*. Hereunto *John Hus* anſwered: How can this be true, ſaid he, ſithence I was not at *Prague* at that time, when as theſe men you ſpeak of departed and went away from thence? Theſe things were thus debated the day aforeſaid as touching *John Hus*.

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*Paletz* ſpeaketh againſt *John Huſs*.

This done, the ſaid *John Hus* was commited to the cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Reigen*, under whom *Jerome* of *Prague* was alſo priſoner. But before that he was led away the Cardinal of *Cambray* calling him back again in the preſence of the Emperor, ſaid, *John Hus*, I have heard you ſay, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto *Conſtance*, neither the Emperor himſelf, neither the King of *Boheme* could have compelled you to do it. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, Under your licenſe moſt reverend Father, I never uſed any ſuch kind of talk or words. But this I did ſay, That there was in *Boheme* a great number of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which alſo might eaſily have kept me in ſome ſure and ſecret place, that I ſhould not have been conſtrained to come into this Town of *Conſtance*, neither at the will of the Emperor, neither of the King of *Boheme*. With that the Cardinal of *Cambray*, even for very anger began to change his colour, and deſpiteouſly ſaid, Do you not ſee the unſhamefaſtneſs of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whiſpering on all parts, the Lord *John de Clum*, ratifying and confirming that which *John Hus* had ſpoken, ſaid, That *John Hus* had ſpoken very well; for on my part, ſaid he, which in compariſon of a great many others am but of ſmall force in the Realm of *Boheme*, yet always if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him eaſily by the ſpace of one year, even againſt all the force and power of both theſe great and mighty Kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puiſſance than I am? And have ſtronger Caſtles and places than I have? After that the Lord *de Clum* had ſpoken, the Cardinal of *Cambray* ſaid, Let us leave this talk. And I tell you, *John Hus*, and counſel you, that you ſubmit your ſelf unto the ſentence and mind of the Council, as you did promiſe in the Priſon; and if you will do ſo, it ſhall be greatly both for your profit and honour.

*Hieronymus* delivered to cuſtody. *Jerome* of *Prague*.

The Cardinal of *Cambray*.

*John de Clum*.

And the Emperor himſelf began to tell him the ſame tale, ſaying, Albeit that there be ſome which ſay, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to priſon, you obtained of us our Letters of ſafe-conduct: Notwithſtanding, I can well prove by the witneſs of many Princes and Noblemen, that the ſaid ſafe conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my Lord *de Dube* and *de Clum*, before you were parted out of *Prague*, under whoſe guard we have ſent for you, to the end that none ſhould do you any outrage or hurt, but that you ſhould have full liberty to ſpeak freely before all the Council, and to anſwer as touching your Faith and Doctrine: and as you ſee, my Lords the Cardinals and Biſhops have ſo dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you, for the which we have great cauſe to thank them. And forſomuch as divers have told us, that we may not, or ought not of right to defend any man which is an Heretick, or ſuſpect of Hereſie; therefore now we give you even the ſame counſel which the Cardinal of *Cambray* hath given you already, that you be not obſtinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do ſubmit your ſelf under ſuch obedi-

The Emperors Oration to *John Hus*.

The ſlander of the unſhamefaſt Sycophant.

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KING Hen. 5. ence as you owe unto the authority of the holy Council, in all things that ſhall be laid againſt you, and confirmed by credible witneſſes. The which thing if you do according to our counſel, we will give order that for the love of us, of our Brother, and the whole Realm of *Boheme*, the Council ſhall ſuffer you to depart in peace, with an eaſie and tolerable penance and ſatisfaction. The which thing if you contrariwiſe refuſe to do, the Preſidents of the Council ſhall have ſufficient wherewithal to proceed againſt you. And for our part be ye well aſſured, that we will ſooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or ſuffer any longer that you ſhall maintain or uſe this ſtiffneſs of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and uſed. Wherefore our advice and counſel is, that you ſubmit your ſelf wholly unto the judgment of the Council. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered in this ſort, O moſt noble Emperor, I render unto your Highneſs moſt immortal thanks for your Letters of ſafe conduct. Upon this Lord *John de Clum* did break him of his purpoſe, and admoniſhed him that he did in no point excuſe himſelf of the blame of obſtinacy.

Then ſaid *John Hus*, O moſt gentle Lord, I do take God to my witneſs, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obſtinately, and that for this ſame intent and purpoſe I did come hither of mine own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy Doctrine than mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had ſpoken and ſaid theſe things, he was ſent away with Serjeants.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of *June*, the very ſame company which was aſſembled the day before, aſſembled now again at the Covent of the *Franciſcans*. And in this aſſembly were alſo *John Hus* his Friends, Lord *de Dube*, and Lord *de Clum*, and *Peter* the Notary. Thither was *John Hus* alſo brought: and in his preſence there were read about Thirty nine Articles, the which they ſaid, were drawn out of his Books. *Hus* acknowledged all thoſe that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which ſort there were but very few. The reſidue were counterfeited and forged by his adverſaries, and ſpecially by *Stephen Paletz*, the principal Author of this miſchief: for they could find no ſuch thing in the Books, out of the which they ſaid they had drawn and gathered them; or at the leaſt, if they were, they were corrupted by ſlanders, as a man may eaſily perceive by the number of Articles.

39 Articles laid to John Hus.

Theſe be the ſame Articles in a manner which were ſhewed before in the priſon to *John Hus*, and are rehearſed here in another order. Howbeit there were more Articles added unto them, and otherſome corrected and enlarged. But now we will ſhew them one with another, and declare what the ſaid *Hus* did anſwer both openly before them all, as alſo in the priſon, for he left his anſwers in the priſon briefly written with his own hand in theſe words.

The anſwer of John Hus concerning his Book of the Church.

I *John Hus*, unworthy Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, Maſter of Art, and Bachelor of Divinity, do confeſs that I have written a certain ſmall Treatiſe, Intituled, *Of the Church*; the copy whereof was ſhewed me by the Notaries of the three Preſidents of the Council, that is to ſay, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhop of *Caſtle*, and the Biſhop of *Libuſſe*; the which Deputies or Preſidents, in reproof of the ſaid Treatiſe, delivered unto me certain Articles, ſaying, that they were drawn out of the ſaid Treatiſe, and were written in the ſame.

The firſt Article: There is but one holy univerſal or Catholick Church, which is the univerſal company of all the Predeſtinate. I do confeſs that this Propoſition is mine, and is confirmed by the ſaying of S. *Auguſtin* upon S. *John*.

St. Paul was never any member of the Devil.

The ſecond Article: St. *Paul* was never any member of the Devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant Church. And likewiſe St. *Peter* which fell into an horrible ſin of perjury and denial of his Maſter, it was by the permiſſion of God, that he might the more firmly and ſtedfaſtly riſe again and be confirmed. I anſwer according to St. *Auguſtine*, that it is expedient that the Elect and Predeſtinate ſhould ſin and offend.

Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of ſeparations from the holy Church. The firſt is not to perdition, as all the Elect are divided from the Church. The ſecond is to perdition, by the which *certain Hereticks are through their deadly ſin divided from the Church. Yet notwithſtanding by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock*, and be of the fold of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of whom he ſpeaketh himſelf, ſaying, *I have other ſheep which are not of this fold*, Joh. 20.

*Two manner of ſeparations from the Church.*

The third Article: No part or member of the Church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forſomuch as the charity of Predeſtination, which is the bond and chain of the ſame, doth never fall. This Propoſition is thus placed in my Book: As the reprobate of the Church proceed out of the ſame, and yet are not as parts or members of the ſame; forſomuch as no part or member of the ſame doth finally fall away, becauſe that the charity of Predeſtination, which is the bond and chain of the ſame, doth never fall away. This is proved by the thirteenth Chapter of the firſt to the *Corinthians*, and to the *Romans*, the eighth Chapter: *All things turn to good to them which love God. Alſo I am certain that neither death nor life can ſeparate us from the charity and love of God, as it is more at large in the Book.*

*The members of the Church never fall finally away.*

The fourth Article: The predeſtinate, although he be not in the ſtate of Grace according to preſent juſtice, yet is he always a member of the univerſal Church. This is an error, if it be underſtood of all ſuch as be predeſtinate: for thus it is in the Book, about the beginning of the fifth Chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and ſorts of being in the Church; for there are ſome in the Church, according to the miſhapen faith, and other ſome according to predeſtination, as Chriſtians predeſtinate now in ſin, but ſhall return again unto grace.

*The predeſtinate is always a member of the univerſal Church, although not in preſent juſtice.*

The fifth Article: There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any humane election, or any ſenſible ſign, that can make any man a member of the univerſal Church. I anſwer, this article is after this manner in my Book. And ſuch ſubtilties are underſtood and known by conſidering what it is to be in the Church, and what it is to be a part or member of the Church, and that predeſtination doth make a man a member of the univerſal Church, the which is a preparation of grace for the preſent, and of glory to come: and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any ſenſible ſign. For the Traytor *Judas Iſcarioth* notwithſtanding Chriſts election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of Apoſtleſhip, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, yet was he no true Diſciple, but a wolf covered in a ſheeps-skin, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith.

*To be in the Church, and a member of the Church.*

*Predeſtination.*

The ſixth Article: A reprobate man is never a member of the holy Church. I anſwer, it is in my Book with ſufficient long probation out of the *26th Pſalm*, and out of the fifth Chapter to the *Epheſians*, and alſo by St. *Bernards* ſaying, The Church of Jeſus Chriſt is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death. I have alſo written in the fifth Chapter of my Book, that the holy Church is the Barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predeſtinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain, and the evil as the chaff: and thereunto is added the Expoſition of Saint *Auguſtine*.

*Both good and bad in the Church.*

The ſeventh Article: *Judas* was never a true Diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt. I anſwer, and I do confeſs the ſame. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is paſſed before, and by St. *Auguſtine* in his Book of penance, where he doth expound the meaning of St. *John*, in the firſt Epiſtle and ſecond Chapter, where he ſaid, *They came out from amongſt us, but they were none of us.* He knew from the beginning all them which ſhould believe, and him alſo which ſhould betray him, and ſaid, *And therefore I ſay unto you, that none cometh unto me except it be given him of my father.* From that time many of the Diſciples parted from him; and were not thoſe alſo called Diſciples, according to the words of the Goſpel? And yet notwithſtanding they were true Diſciples, becauſe they did not remain and continue in the Word of the Son of God, according as it is ſaid, *If you remain in my word, you be my diſciples.* Forſomuch then as they did not continue with Chriſt as his true Diſciples, ſo likewiſe are they not the true Sons of God: although they ſeem ſo, unto him they are not ſo, unto whom it is known what they ſhall be, that is to ſay, of good, evil. Thus much writeth

St.

St. *Auguſtine*: It is alſo evident that *Judas* could not be the true Diſciple of Chriſt, by means of his covetouſneſs: for Chriſt himſelf ſaid in the preſence of *Judas*, as I ſuppoſe, Except a man forſake all that he hath, he cannot be my Diſciple. Forſomuch then as *Judas* did not forſake all things, according to the Lords will, and follow him, he was a Thief, as it is ſaid *John* the twelfth, and a Divel, *John* the ſixth, whereby it is evident by the Word of the Lord, that *Judas* was not his true but fained Diſciple. Whereupon St. *Auguſtine* writing upon *John*, declaring how the ſheep hear the voice of Chriſt, ſaith, What manner of hearers, think we, his ſheep were? Truly *Judas* heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the ſhepherd; but being clothed in a ſheeps skin, he lay in wait for the ſhepherd.

8. The eighth Article of the Congregation of the Predeſtinate, whether they be in the ſtate of Grace or no, according unto preſent juſtice, is the holy univerſal Church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the ſame Church which hath neither wrinkle, neither ſpot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Son of God doth call his own. The anſwer, The words of the Book out of the which this article was drawn are theſe: Thirdly, The Church is underſtood and taken for the congregation and aſſembly of the faithful, whether they be in the ſtate of grace, according to preſent juſtice or not. And in this ſort it is an article of our faith, of the which St. *Paul* maketh mention in the fifth Chapter to the *Epheſians*: *Chriſt ſo loved his Church, that he delivered and offered himſelf for the ſame, &c.* I pray you then, is there any faithful man the which doth doubt that the Church doth not ſignifie all the Elect and Predeſtinate, the which we ought to believe to be the univerſal Church, the glorious Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, holy and without ſpot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our Creed, *I believe the Holy Catholick Church*: and of this Church doth St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Gregory*, St. *Jerome*, and divers others make mention.

*The Church is taken ſometime for the congregation of the Elect and faithful, and ſo is the article taken in the Creed.*

9. The ninth Article. *Peter* never was, neither is the Head of the holy univerſal Church. The anſwer: This article was drawn out of theſe words of my Book. All men do agree in this point, that *Peter* had received of the Rock of the Church (which is Chriſt) humility, poverty, ſtedfaſtneſs of faith, and conſequently bleſſedneſs. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was, when he ſaid, Upon this Rock I will build my Church, that he would build every militant Church upon the perſon of *Peter*, for Chriſt ſhould build his Church upon the Rock which is Chriſt himſelf, from whence *Peter* received his ſtedfaſtneſs of faith, forſomuch as Jeſus Chriſt is the only Head and foundation of every Church, and not *Peter*.

*Peter never was head of the whole univerſal Church.*

*The Church builded upon Peter, how.*

10. The tenth Article: If he that is called the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, do follow Chriſt in his life, then he is his true Vicar. But if ſo be, he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the meſſenger of Antichriſt, and the enemy and adverſary of St. *Peter*, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and alſo the Vicar of *Judas Iſcarioth*. I anſwer, The words of my Book are theſe: If he which is called the Vicar of St. *Peter*, walk in the ways of Chriſtian vertues aforeſaid, we do believe verily that he is the true Vicar, and true Biſhop of the Church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the meſſenger of Antichriſt, contrary both to St. *Peter*, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore Saint *Bernard* in his fourth Book did write in this ſort unto Pope *Eugenie*: Thou delighteſt and walkeſt in great pride and arrogancy; being gorgeouſly and ſumptuouſly arrayed, what fruit or profit do thy flock or ſheep receive by thee? If I durſt ſay it, theſe be rather the paſtures and feedings of Divels than of ſheep. St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* did not ſo; wherefore thou ſeemeſt by theſe thy doings to ſucceed *Conſtantine*, and not St. *Peter*. Theſe be the very words of St. *Bernard*. It followeth after in my Book, that if the manner and faſhion of his life and living be contrary to that which St. *Peter* uſed, or that he be given to avarice and covetouſneſs, then is he the Vicar of *Judas Iſcarioth*, which loved and choſe the reward of iniquity, and did ſet out to ſale the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. As ſoon as they had read the ſame, thoſe which ruled and governed the Council, beheld one another, making mocks and mowes, they nodded their heads at him.

*The Vicar of Chriſt, how he is to be taken.*

*Bern. ad Eugen. lib. 4.*

The eleventh Article: All ſuch as do uſe ſimony, and Prieſts living diſſolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the ſeven Sacraments, as unbelieving baſtards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the Keys or Cenſures, Rites and Ceremonies, neither of the Divine ſervice of the Church, or of veneration or worſhipping of Relicks, neither of the Orders conſtituted and ordained in the Church, neither yet of Indulgences or Pardons. I anſwer, that it is placed in this manner in my Book. This abuſe of authority or power is committed by ſuch as do ſell and make merchandize of holy Orders, and get and gather together riches by ſimony, making Fairs and Markets of the holy Sacraments, and living in all kind of voluptuouſneſs and diſſolute manners, or in any other filthy or villainous kind of living: They do pollute and defile the holy Eccleſiaſtical ſtate. And albeit that they profeſs in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and conſequently believe not in God: But as unbelieving baſtards they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the ſeven Sacraments of the Church. And this appeareth moſt evidently, forſomuch as all ſuch do utterly contemn and deſpiſe the name of God according to the ſaying of *Malachi*, the firſt Chapter, *Unto you, O Prieſts, be it ſpoken, which do deſpiſe and contemn my name.*

{KING *Hen. 5.*} 11.

*Prieſts making merchandize of holy Orders.*

12. The twelfth Article: The Papal dignity hath his original from the Emperors of *Rome*. I anſwer, and mark well what my words are: The preheminence and inſtitution of the Pope is ſprung and come of the Emperors power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety ſixth *Diſtinction*: for *Conſtantine* granted this privilege unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other after him confirmed the ſame: That like as *Auguſtus* for the outward and temporal goods beſtowed upon the Church, is counted always the moſt high King above all others; ſo the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould be called the principal Father above all other Biſhops. This notwithſtanding the Papal dignity hath his original immediately from Chriſt, as touching his ſpiritual adminiſtration and office to rule the Church. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* ſaid, In the time of *Conſtantine*, there was a General Council holden at *Nice*, in the which, albeit the higheſt room and place in the Church was given to the Biſhop of *Rome*, for honours cauſe, it is aſcribed unto the Emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and ſay, that the Papal dignity took his original rather from that Council, than by the Emperors authority and power?

*The Pope taketh his original from the Emperors.*

*96. Diſt.*

13. The thirteenth Article: No man would reaſonably affirm (without relation) either of himſelf or of any other, that he is the head of any particular Church. I anſwer, I confeſs it to be written in my Book, and it followeth ſtraight after, Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and truſt that he is a member of the holy univerſal Church, the Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the ſaying of the Preacher, *No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deſerved grace and favour, or hatred.* And *Luk.* 17. *When ye have done all that ye can, ſay that you are unprofitable ſervants.*

*The Pope is not the head of any particular Church.*

The fourteenth Article: It ought not to believed that the Pope, whatſoever he be, may be the head of any particular Church, unleſs he be predeſtinate or ordained of God. I anſwer, that I do acknowledg this Propoſition to be mine, and this is eaſie to prove forſomuch as it is neceſſary that the Chriſtian Faith ſhould be depraved, forſomuch as the Church was deceived by *N.* as it appeareth by St. *Auguſtine*.

15. The fifteenth Article: The Popes power as Vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and addreſs his life according to Jeſus Chriſt, and follow the manners of St. *Peter*. I anſwer, that it is thus in my Book, That it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained Vicar, ſhould addreſs and frame himſelf, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And *John Hus* ſaid moreover before the whole Council: I underſtand that the power and authority in ſuch a Pope as doth not repreſent the manners of Chriſt, is fruſtrate and void, as touching the merit and reward, which he ſhould obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the ſame: but not as concerning his office. Then certain others ſtanding by, aſked of him, ſaying, Where is that gloſs in your Book? *John Hus* anſwered, You ſhall find it in my

*The Popes power vain.*

*Diſtinction of merit and of office.*

{KING Hen. 5.}

my Treatise against Mr. *Paletz*, whereat all the assistants (looking one upon another) began for to smile and laugh.

16. Holiness cometh not by sitting, but by following.

The sixteenth Article: The Pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the room and place of Saint *Peter*, but because he hath great revenues. I answer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written, He is not most holy, because he is called the Vicar of St. *Peter*, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, labour and travel, and in perfect love and charity.

17. The Cardinals do count it heresie, that they should be compelled to be followers of the Apostles.

The seventeenth Article: The Cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other Apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the Apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus, I answer, that it is thus written in my Book, and it proveth it self sufficiently: For if they enter in by another way than by the door which is the Lord Jesus, they be murtherers and thieves.

Then said the Cardinal of *Cambray*, Behold both this and all other Articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his Book than are presented in his Articles. Truly *John Hus* thou hast kept no order in thy Sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to have applied your Sermons according to your audience? or to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you before the people to preach against the Cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the Laity. Then answered *John Hus*, Reverend Father, forsomuch as I did see many Priests and other learned men, present at my Sermons, for their sakes I spake those words. Then said the Cardinal, thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talk thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the Church.

18. *John Hus* condemneth the cruelty of the Prelates in seeking the death of hereticks.

The eighteenth Article: An Heretick ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the Ecclesiastical censure. These are my words, That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, specially forsomuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judg such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death. As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in the twelfth Chapter of St. *Luke*. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the eighth Chapter of St. *John*. And it is said in the eighteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthew*. If thy brother have offended thee, *&c.* Mark therefore what I do say, That an heretick whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures, and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same, as St. *Augustine* and others have done, disputing against the Hereticks. But if there were any which after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leave off their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment.

As soon as *John Hus* had spoken those things, the Judges read in his Book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them which delivered an Heretick unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresie, and compared them unto the High Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, which said unto *Pilate*, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death*, and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christs own witness, they were greater murtherers than *Pilate*. *For he*, said Christ, *which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence.* Then the Cardinals and Bishops made a great noise, and demanded of *John Hus*, saying, Who are they that thou dost compare or assimule unto the Pharisees? Then he said, all those which delivered up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the Scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto *Pilate*. No, no, said they again; for all that, you spake here of Doctors. And the Cardinal of *Cambray*, according to his accustomed manner, said, Truly they which have made and gathered these Articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable & horrible.

The betraying and condemning of Innocents. And how could this Bishop of *Cambray* understand the Books of *John Hus* being written in *Bohemian* speech, which he understood not?

19. The nineteenth Article: The Nobles of the world ought to constrain and compel the Ministers of the Church to observe and keep the Law of Jesus Christ. I answer, that it standeth thus word for word in my Book. Those which be on our part do preach and affirm that the Church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and consisteth in these parts: That is to say, Ministers of the Church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the Nobles of the world that should compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ, and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.

The Church militant standeth in three parts. 1. Ministers. 2. Nobles. 3. Commons.

20. The twentieth Article: The Ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience, which the Priests and Monks have invented without any express authority of the Holy Scriptures. I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my Book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, Spiritual, Secular, and Ecclesiastical. The Spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the Law and Ordinance of God, under the which the Apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The Secular obedience is that which is due according to the Civil Laws and Ordinances. The Ecclesiastical obedience is such as the Priests have invented, without any express authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in *Deut.* 24. *Thou shalt do all that which the Priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.*

Three kinds of obedience: 1. Spiritual. 2. Secular. 3. Ecclesiastical.

True obedience ruled by Gods commandment.

*Deut.* 24.

21. The twenty first Article: He that is Excommunicated by the Pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the Pope, and the General Council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the Excommunications and Curses of the Pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answer, that I do not acknowledg this Proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my Book, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me great wrong, and that they refuse to hear me in the Popes Court. For after the death of one Pope, I did appeal to his Successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the Pope to the Council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And therefore last of all I have appealed to the Head of the Church my Lord Jesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better than any Pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forsomuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause, neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the Cardinal of *Cambray* unto him, and said, Wilt thou presume above St. *Paul*, who appealed unto the Emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ? *John Hus* answered, Forsomuch then as I am the first that do it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an Heretick? And yet notwithstanding St. *Paul* did not appeal unto the Emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake unto him by revelation, and said, *Be firm and constant for thou must go unto Rome.* And as he was about to rehearse his Appeal again, they mocked him.

Appealing unto Christ.

Appealing unto Christ forbidden by the Cardinal of *Cambray*.

¶ Forsomuch as mention here is made of the Appeal of the said *Hus*, it seemeth good here to shew the manner and form thereof.

## The Copy and tenor of the Appeal of J. *Hus*.

The Appeal of *John Hus* from a Pope *John* 23. unto Christ.

FOr *asmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last, and uttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those which honour and fear him; defending and keeping all those that love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stiff-necked and unpenitent sinner, and that the Lord Jesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, wicked Judges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit*

*mit all their cauſes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and ſeeth all things, ſaying in this manner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himſelf againſt me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord, thou haſt given me underſtanding, and I have acknowledged thee, thou haſt opened unto me all their enterpriſes; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto ſacrifice, and have not reſiſted againſt them. They have wrought their enterpriſes upon me, ſaying, Let us put wood in his bread, and let us baniſh him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more ſpoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hoſts, which judgeſt juſtly, and ſeeſt the devices and imaginations of their hearts, haſten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifeſted my cauſe unto thee, forſomuch as the number of thoſe which trouble me is great, and have counſelled together, ſaying, The Lord hath forſaken him, purſue him and catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not ſeparate thy ſelf far from me, forſomuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will ſuccour me. My God, my God, look down upon me, wherefore haſt thou forſaken me? So many dogs have compaſſed me in, and the company of the wicked have beſieged me round about, for they have ſpoken againſt me with deceiful tongues, and have compaſſed me in with words full of deſpite, and have inforced me without cauſe. Inſtead of love towards me they have ſlandered me, and have recompenced me with evil for good, and in place of charity they have conceived hatred againſt me.*

The fervent complaint and prayer of Chriſt againſt wicked Judges.

After the example of Chriſt he maketh his prayer to God.

*Wherefore behold, I ſtaying my ſelf upon this moſt holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppreſſion, from this moſt wicked ſentence and judgment, and the Excommunication determined by the Biſhops, Scribes, Phariſees, and Judges, which ſit in* Moſes *ſeat, and reſign my cauſe wholly unto him; ſo as the holy Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, John Chryſoſtom, *appealed twice from the Council of the Biſhops and Clergy; and* Andrew *Biſhop of* Prague, *and* Robert *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *appealed unto the ſoveraign and moſt juſt Judg, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by falſe witneſs. Alſo I deſire greatly that all the faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, and eſpecially the Princes, Barons, Knights, Eſquires, and all other which inhabit our Country of* Boheme, *ſhould underſtand and know theſe things, and have compaſſion upon me, which am ſo grievouſly oppreſſed by the Excommunication which is out againſt me, the which was obtained and gotten by the inſtigation and procurement of* Michael de Cauſis *my great enemy, and by the conſent and furtherance of the Canons of the Cathedral Church of* Prague, *and given and granted out by* Peter *of* Saint Angels, *Dean of the Church of* Rome, *and Cardinal, and alſo ordained Judg by Pope* John *XXIII, who hath continued almoſt theſe two years, and would give no audience unto my Advocates and Procurators, which they ought not to deny, (no not to a* Jew *or Pagan, or to any heretick whatſoever he were) neither yet would he receive any reaſonable excuſe, for that I did not appear perſonally, neither would he accept the teſtimonials of the whole Univerſity of* Prague *with the ſeal hanging at it, or the witneſs of the ſworn Notaries, and ſuch as were called unto witneſs. By this all men may evidently perceive that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or diſobedience, forſomuch as that I did not appear in the Court of* Rome, *was not for any contempt, but for reaſonable cauſes.*

A godly prayer of *John Hus.*

*Chryſoſtome. Andrew of Prigue. Robert Biſhop of Lincoln appealeth from men to Chriſt.*

*And moreover, forſomuch as they had laid ambuſhments for me on every ſide by ways where I ſhould paſs, and alſo becauſe the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumſpect and adviſed: And forſomuch as my procurers were willing and contented to bind themſelves even to abide the puniſhment of the fire to anſwer to all ſuch as would oppoſe or lay any thing againſt me in the Court of* Rome; *as alſo becauſe they did impriſon my lawful procurator in the ſaid Court, without any cauſe, demerit, or fault, as I ſuppoſe. Forſomuch then as the order and diſpoſition of all ancient Laws as well Divine of the Old and New Teſtament, as alſo of the Canon Laws, is this, that the Judges ſhould reſort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to enquire of all ſuch crimes as ſhall be objected and laid againſt him which is accuſed or ſlandered, and that of ſuch men as by converſation have ſome knowledg or underſtanding of the party ſo accuſed (the which may not be the evil willers or enemies of him which is ſo accuſed or ſlandered; but muſt be men of an honeſt converſation, no common quarrel-pickers or accuſers, but fervent lovers of the Law of God:) and finally, that there ſhould be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accuſed party might without danger or peril, reſort or come, and that the judg and witneſſes ſhould not be enemies unto him that is accuſed. And alſo forſomuch as it is manifeſt, that all theſe conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the ſafeguard of my life, I am excuſed before God from the frivolous pretended obſtinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I* John Hus *do preſent and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my juſt Judg, who knoweth and defendeth, and juſtly judgeth every mans juſt and true cauſe.*

*John Hus* complaineth of *Michael de Cauſis* his great enemy.

The Procurator of *John Hus* laid in priſon at *Rome*

{KING 1 Hen. 5.}

The Pope proved to do againſt his own Canon-law.

The twenty ſecond Article. A vicious and naughty man liveth viciouſly and naughtily; but a vertuous and godly man liveth vertuouſly and godly. I anſwer, My words are theſe, That the diviſion of all humane works is in two parties, that is, that they be either vertuous or vicious; forſomuch as it doth appear, that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it vertuouſly and godly. And contrariwiſe if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby underſtand deadly ſin, doth univerſally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the ſubject, that is, of the man which doth them: ſo likewiſe vertue and godlineſs doth quicken all the acts and doings of the vertuous and godly man; inſomuch that he being in the ſtate of grace is ſaid to pray and do good works even ſleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Gregory*, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in the ſixth Chapter of *Luke*, *If thine eye*, that is to ſay, the mind or intention be ſimple, not depraved with the perverſneſs of any ſin or offence, all the whole body, that is to ſay, all the acts and doings ſhall be clear and ſhining, that is, acceptable and grateful unto God. But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened. And in the ſecond to the *Corinthians*, tenth Chapter, *All things that you do, do them to the glory of God.* And likewiſe in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and laſt Chapter, it is ſaid, *Let all your doings be done with charity.* Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity, is vertuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This ſaying may well be proved out of the 23 Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where God ſpeaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his Commandments is bleſſed in the houſe and in the field, out-going and in-coming, ſleeping and waking, but he that doth not keep his commandments is accurſed in the houſe, and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, ſleeping and waking, *&c.* The ſame alſo is evident by St. *Auguſtine* upon the Pſalm where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praiſe the Lord. And *Gregory* ſaith, That the ſleep of Saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and conſequently be vertuous and good? And contrariwiſe it is underſtood of him which is in deadly ſin, of whom it is ſpoken in the Law, that whatſoever the unclean than doth touch, is made unclean.

22. A knot found in a ruſh.

The tree that is good bringeth forth good fruit.

2 *Cor.* 10

1 *Cor.* ult.

*Deut.* 23.

To this end doth that alſo appertain which is before repeated out of the firſt of *Malachi*. And *Gregory* in the firſt Book and firſt Queſtion ſaith, We do defile the Bread, which is the Body of Chriſt, when as we come unworthily to the Table, and when we being defiled, do drink his Blood. And St. *Auguſtine* upon the 146th *Pſalm* ſaith, If thou doſt exceed the due meaſure of nature, and doſt not abſtain from gluttony, but gorge thy ſelf up with drunkenneſs, whatſoever laud and praiſe thy tongue doth ſpeak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaſpheme the ſame. When he had made an end of this article, the Cardinal of *Cambray* ſaid, The Scripture ſaith that we be all ſinners. And again, if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive our ſelves, and ſo we ſhould always live in deadly ſin. *John Hus* anſwered, The Scripture ſpeaketh in that place of venial ſins, the which do not utterly expell or put away the habit of vertue from a man, but do aſſociate themſelves together.

Cardinal of *Cambray* objecteth.

*John Hus* anſwereth.

KING Hen. 5. together. And a certain Engliſhman whoſe name was W. ſaid, But thoſe ſins do not aſſociate themſelves with any act morally good. *John Hus* alledged again S. *Auguſtines* place upon 146 *Pſal.* the which when he rehearſed, they all with one mouth ſaid, What makes this to the purpoſe?

23. Forbidding to Preach whether it ought to be obeyed.

The twenty third Article. The Miniſter of Chriſt living according to his Law, and having the knowledge and underſtanding of the Scriptures, and an earneſt deſire to edifie the people, ought to preach; notwithſtanding the pretended Excommunication of the Pope. And moreover, if the Pope, or any other Ruler, do forbid any Prieſt or Miniſter ſo diſpoſed to Preach, that he ought not to obey him. I Anſwer, that theſe are my words; That albeit the Excommunication were either threatned or come out againſt him, in ſuch ſort that a Chriſtian ought not to do the Commandments of Chriſt, it appeareth by the words of Saint *Peter*, and the other Apoſtles, *That we ought rather to obey God then man.* Whereupon it followeth, that the Miniſter of Chriſt living according unto his Law, *&c.* ought to preach notwithſtanding any pretended Excommunication. For it is evident, That it is commanded unto the Miniſters of the Church to Preach the Word of God, *Acts* 5. God hath commanded us to preach and teſtifie unto the people, as by divers other places of the Scripture, and the holy Fathers rehearſed in my Treatiſe, it doth appear more at large. The ſecond part of this Article followeth in my Treatiſe in this manner.

Preaching and Almsgiving be not works indifferent, but duties and commandments. To forbid a Miniſter to Preach, and to forbid a rich man to give Alms, is both one.

By this it appeareth, that for a Miniſter to Preach, and a rich Man to give Alms, are not indifferent Works, but Duties and Commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the Pope, or any other Ruler of the Church, do command any Miniſter diſpoſed to Preach, not to Preach, or a rich Man diſpoſed to give Alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreover, to the intent that you may underſtand me the better, I call that a pretended Excommunication, the which is unjuſtly diſordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the Law and Gods Commandments. For the which, the meet Miniſter appointed thereunto, ought not to ceaſe from Preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.

Then they objected unto him, that he had ſaid, that ſuch kind of Excommunications were rather Bleſſings. Verily, ſaid *John Hus*, even ſo I do now ſay again, that every Excommunication, by the which a man is unjuſtly Excommunicate, is unto him a Bleſſing before God; according to that ſaying of the Prophet, *I will curſe where as you bleſs*: and contrariwiſe, they ſhalt curſe, but thou, O Lord, ſhall bleſs. Then the Cardinal of *Florence*, which had always a Notary ready at his hand to write ſuch things as he commanded him, ſaid, The Law is, that every Excommunication, be it never ſo unjuſt, ought to be feared. It is true, ſaid *John Hus*; for I do remember eight Cauſes, for the which Excommunication ought to be feared. Then ſaid the Cardinal: Are there no more but eight? It may be, ſaid *John Hus*, that there be more.

How the Popes Curſings are Bleſſings.

The Cardinal of *Florence* with his Notary.

Eight cauſes why Excommunication ought to be feared.

24. A Miniſter once admitted, is more bound to Preach, than to do any other work of mercy; the Popes prohibition notwithſtanding.

The twenty fourth Article. Every man which is admitted unto the Miniſtery of the Church, receiveth alſo by ſpecial commandment the Office of a Preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that Commandment, notwithſtanding any Excommunication pretended to the contrary. The Anſwer: My words are theſe. Forſomuch as it doth appear by that which is aforeſaid, That whoſoever cometh or is admitted unto the Miniſtery, receiveth alſo by eſpecial Commandment the Office of Preaching, he ought to fulfil that Commandment, any Excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithſtanding. Alſo no Chriſtian ought to doubt, but that a man ſufficiently inſtructed in Learning, is more bound to counſel and inſtruct the ignorant, to teach thoſe which are in doubt, to chaſtiſe thoſe which are unruly, and to remit and forgive thoſe that do him Injury, than to do any other works of mercy. Forſomuch then as he that is rich and hath ſufficient, is bound under the pain of damnation, to miniſter and give corporal and bodily Alms, as appeareth in the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew*; How much more is he bound to do Spiritual Alms?

25. Cenſures of the Popes Church multiply the Popes covetouſneſs.

The twenty fifth Article. The Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures are Antichriſtian, ſuch as the Clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and ſervitude of the common people. Whereby if the Laity be not obedient unto the Clergy at their will and pleaſure, it doth multiply their covetouſneſs, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for Antichriſt. Whereby it is an evident ſign and token, that ſuch Cenſures proceed from Antichriſt; the which Cenſures in their Proceſſes they do call Fulminations or Lightnings, whereby the Clergy doth chiefly proceed againſt ſuch as do manifeſt and open the wickedneſs of Antichriſt, which thruſt themſelves into the Office of the Clergy. Theſe things are contained in the laſt Chapter of his Treatiſe of the Church. I Anſwer, and I deny that it was in that form. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23d Chapter. And in the Examination of the Audience, they have gathered certain Clauſes moſt contrary thereunto. The which when they had read, the Cardinal of *Cambray* renewed his old Song, ſaying; Truly theſe are much more grievous and offenſive, than the Articles which are gathered.

26. Chriſt interdicted none, but prayed for all.

The twenty ſixth Article. There ought no interdictment to be appointed unto the People, forſomuch as Chriſt the high Biſhop, neither for *John Baptiſt*, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdictment. My words are theſe: When as I complained, that for one Miniſters ſake, an Interdictment was given out, and thereby all good men ceas'd from the laud and praiſe of God. And Chriſt the high Biſhop, notwithſtanding that the Prophet was taken and kept in Priſon, than whom there was no greater amongſt the Children of Men, did not give out any Curſe or Interdictment, no not when as *Herod* beheaded him; neither when as he himſelf was ſpoiled, beaten, and blaſphemed of the Souldiers, Scribes and Phariſees, did he then curſe them, but prayed for them, and taught his Diſciples to do the ſame, as it appeareth in the fifth Chapter of S. *Matthew*. And Chriſts firſt Vicar following the ſame Doctrine and Learning, ſaith in his firſt Epiſtle of Saint *Peter*, and the ſecond Chapter, *Hereunto are ye called: for Chriſt hath ſuffered for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps, who when he was curſed and evil ſpoken of, did not curſe again.* And Saint *Paul* following the ſame order and way in the twelfth Chapter of the *Romans*, ſaith, *Bleſs them that perſecute you.* There were beſides theſe, many other places of Scripture recited in that Book; but they being omitted, theſe were only rehearſed, which did help or prevail to ſtir up or move the Judges minds. 1 Pet. 2. Rom. 12.

And theſe are the Articles which are alledged out of *John Hus* his Book, entituled, *Of the Church.*

Other Articles moreover out of his other Books were collected, and forced againſt him: Firſt, out of his Treatiſe written againſt *Steven Paletz*, to the number of ſeven Articles. Alſo ſix other Articles ſtrained out of his Treatiſe againſt *Staniſlaus Znoyma.* Whereunto his Anſwers likewiſe be adjoyned, not unfruitful to be read.

## ¶ *Here followeth ſeven Articles, which are ſaid to be drawn out of his Treatiſe which he wrote againſt* Stephen Paletz.

Articles drawn out of the Treatiſe written againſt Stephen Paletz.

THe firſt Article. If the Pope, Biſhop, or Prelate, be in deadly ſin, he is then no Pope, Biſhop, nor Prelate. The Anſwer: I grant thereunto, and I ſend you unto Saint *Auguſtine*, *Jerome*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Gregory*, *Cyprian*, and *Bernard*; the which do ſay moreover, That whoſoever is in deadly ſin, is no true Chriſtian, how much leſs then is he Pope, or Biſhop? Of whom it is ſpoken by the Prophet *Amos*, in his eighth Chapter, *They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became Princes, and I knew them not*, &c. But afterward I do grant, that a wicked Pope, Biſhop, or Prieſt, is an unworthy Miniſter of the Sacrament, by whom God doth Baptize, Conſecrate, or otherwiſe work to the profit of his Church; and this is largely handled in the Text of the Book by the Authority of the holy Doctors, for even he which is in deadly ſin, is not worthily a King before God,

as appeareth in the firſt Book of Kings, the fifteenth Chapter; Whereas God ſaith unto *Saul* by the Prophet *Samuel*, ſaying, *Forſomuch as thou haſt refuſed and caſt off my word, I will alſo refuſe and caſt thee off, that thou ſhalt be no more King.* Whilſt theſe things were thus intreating, the Emperor looking out of a certain Window of the Cloyſter, accompanied with the County *Palatine*, and the Burgrave of *Norenberg*, conferring and talking much of *John Hus*, at length he ſaid, That there was never a worſe or more pernicious Heretick than he. In the mean while, when *John Hus* had ſpoken theſe Words as touching the unworthy King, by and by the Emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat thoſe words again; which after that he had done, his duty therein being conſidered, the Emperor anſwered: No man, ſaith he, doth live without fault. Then the Cardinal of *Cambray* being in a great fury, ſaid, Is it not enough for thee that thou doſt contemn and deſpiſe the Eccleſiaſtical State, and goeſt about by thy Writings and Doctrine to perturb and trouble the ſame, but that now alſo thou wilt attempt to throw Kings out of their State and Dignity? Then *Paletz* began to alledge the Laws, whereby he would prove that *Saul* was King, even when thoſe words were ſpoken by *Samuel*, and therefore that *David* did forbid that *Saul* ſhould not be ſlain, not for the holineſs of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holineſs of his Anointing. And when as *John Hus* repeated out of S. *Cyprian*, that he did take upon him the name of Chriſtianity in vain, which did not follow Chriſt in his living: *Paletz* anſwered, Behold and ſee what a folly is in this Man, which alledgeth thoſe things which make nothing for the purpoſe; for albeit any man be not a true Chriſtian, is he not therefore true Pope, Biſhop, or King? When as theſe are names of Office, and to be a Chriſtian, is a name of merit and deſert; and ſo may any man be a true Pope, Biſhop, or King, although he be no true Chriſtian. Then ſaid *John Hus*, If Pope *John* the three and twentieth were a true Pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his Office? The Emperor anſwered, The Lords of the Council have now lately agreed thereupon, that he was true Pope; but for his notorious and manifeſt evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the Church of God, and did ſpoil and bring to ruine the power thereof, he is rejected and caſt out of his Office.

*The Emperors judgment of John Hus.*

*The Cardinal of Cambray.*

The ſecond Article. The grace of Predeſtination is the Bond whereby the body of the Church, and every part and member thereof is firmly knit and joyned unto the Head. The anſwer: I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and it is proved in the Text out of the eighth Chapter of the *Romans*, *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the charity and love of Chriſt*, &c? and in the tenth Chapter of *John*, *My ſheep hear my voice; and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternal life, neither ſhall they periſh eternally, neither is there any man which ſhall take them out of my hands.* This is the knot of the Body of the Church, and of our Spiritual Head Chriſt, underſtanding the Church to be the congregation of the Predeſtinate.

The third Article. If the Pope be a wicked man, and ſpecially a Reprobate, then even as *Judas* the Apoſtle, he is a Devil, a Thief, and the Son of perdition, and not the Head of the holy Militant Church, forſomuch as he is no part or member thereof. The Anſwer: My words are thus, If the Pope be an evil or wicked man, and ſpecially if he be a Reprobate; then even as *Judas*, ſo is he a Devil, a Thief, and the Son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy Militant Church? Whereas he is not truly any Member, or part thereof; for if he were a Member of the holy Church, then ſhould he be alſo a Member of Chriſt, and if he were a Member of Chriſt, then ſhould he cleave and ſtick unto Chriſt by the grace of predeſtination and preſent juſtice, and ſhould be one Spirit with God, as the Apoſtle ſaith in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, the ſixth Chapter, *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Chriſt?*

The fourth Article. An evil Pope or Prelate, or Reprobate is no true Paſtor, but a Thief and a Robber. The Anſwer. The Text of my Book is thus: If he be evil or wicked, then is he a Hireling, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, He is no Shepherd, neither are the Sheep his own. Therefore when he ſeeth the Wolf coming, he runneth away and forſaketh the ſheep: and ſo finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every ſuch Reprobate, or wicked Pope or Prelate, is no true Paſtor; but a very Thief and a Robber, as is more at large proved in my Book. Then ſaid *John Hus*, I do ſo limit all things, that ſuch as touching their deſert, are not truly and worthily Popes and Shepherds before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are Popes, Paſtors, and Prieſts. KING 1 *Hen.* 5.

Then a certain Man riſing up behind *John Hus*, clothed all in Silk, ſaid, My Lords, take heed leſt that *John Hus* deceive both you and himſelf with theſe his Gloſſes, and look whether theſe things be in his Book or not; for of late, I had diſputation with him upon theſe Articles, in the which I ſaid, that a wicked Pope, &c. was no Pope, as touching merit and deſert, but as touching his Office he was truly Pope. Whereupon he uſed theſe Gloſſes which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his Book. Then *John Hus*, turning himſelf unto him, ſaid, Did you not hear that it was ſo read out of my Book? and this did eaſily appear in *John* the twenty third, whether he were true Pope, or a very Thief and Robber. Then the Biſhops and Cardinals looking one upon another, ſaid, That he was a true Pope, and laughed *John Hus* to ſcorn.

The fifth Article. The Pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his Office, *Moſt Holy*; for then the King ought alſo to be called *Moſt Holy*, according to his Office. Alſo the Tormentors, Lictors, and Devils ought alſo to be called Holy. The Anſwer. My words are otherwiſe placed, in this manner; So ought a feigner ſay, that if any man be a moſt holy Father, then he doth moſt holily obſerve and keep his Fatherlineſs: and if he be a naughty and wicked Father, then doth he moſt wickedly keep the ſame. Likewiſe, if the Biſhop be moſt holy, then is he alſo moſt good; and when as he ſaith, that he is Pope, it is the name of his Office.

Whereupon it followeth, That the man which is Pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a moſt holy man; and conſequently by that his Office he is moſt good. And foraſmuch as no man can be good by his Office, except he do exerciſe and uſe the ſame his Office very well; it followeth, that if the Pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exerciſe or uſe his Office his well. Forſomuch as he cannot uſe the Office well, except he be morally good, *Matthew* 12. *How can you ſpeak good things, when you your ſelves are evil?* And immediately after it followeth, If the Pope by reaſon of his Office be called, *Moſt Holy*, wherefore ſhould not the King of *Romans* be called *Moſt Holy*, by reaſon of his Office and Dignity? When as the King, according to S. *Auguſtines* mind, repreſenteth the Deity and Godhead of Chriſt, and the Prieſt repreſenteth only his Humanity. Wherefore alſo ſhould not Judges, yea, even Tormenters be called Holy, forſomuch as they have their Office by miniſtring unto the Church of Chriſt? Theſe things are more at large diſcourſed in my Book; but I cannot find or know, ſaith *John Hus*, any Foundation whereby I ſhould call the Pope moſt Holy, when as this is only ſpoken of Chriſt: Thou only art moſt holy: Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the Pope moſt Holy?

The ſixth Article. If the Pope live contrary unto Chriſt, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elect and choſen, according to humane election, yet doth he aſcend and come another way than by Chriſt. The Anſwer. The Text is thus: If the Pope live contrary unto Chriſt in pride and avarice, how then doth he not aſcend and come in another way into the Sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door our Lord Jeſus Chriſt? But admit, as you ſay, that he did aſcend by lawful Election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according unto the common and vulgar conſtitution and ordinances of men; yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved, that he ſhould aſcend and come in another way; for *Judas Iſcariot* was truly and lawfully choſen of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto his Biſhoprick, as Chriſt ſaith in the ſixth of *John*, *And yet he came in another way into the ſheepfold, and was a thief, and a devil, and the ſon of perdition.* Did he not come in another way? when as our Saviour ſpake thus of him, *He that eateth bread with me, ſhall lift up his heel againſt me.*

The

{KING Hen. 5.}

The ſame alſo is proved by S. *Bernard* unto Pope *Eugenius*. Then ſaid *Paletz*, Behold the fury and madneſs of this Man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be, than to ſay, *Judas* is choſen by Chriſt, and notwithſtanding he did aſcend another way, and not by Chriſt? *John Hus* anſwered, verily both parts are true, that he was elect and choſen by Chriſt, and alſo that he did aſcend, and came in another way, for he was a Thief, a Devil, and the ſon of Perdition. Then ſaid *Paletz*, Cannot a man be truly and lawfully choſen Pope, or Biſhop, and afterward live contrary unto Chriſt? And that notwithſtanding, he doth not aſcend any other ways. But I, ſaid *John Hus*, do ſay, that whoſoever doth enter into any Biſhoprick, or like Office by Simony, not to the intent to labor and travel in the Church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuouſly and unrighteouſly, and to the intent to advance himſelf with all kind of Pride, every ſuch man aſcendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the Goſpel, *he is a thief and a robber.*

The ſeventh Article. The condemnation of the forty five Articles of *John Wickliff* made by the Doctors, is unreaſonable and wicked, and the cauſe by them alledged is feigned and untrue; that is to ſay, That none of thoſe Articles are Catholick, but that every of them be either Heretical, Erroneous or Offenſive. The Anſwer: I have written it thus in my Treatiſe; The forty and five Articles are condemned for this cauſe, that none of thoſe forty and five is a Catholick Article, but each of them is either Heretical, Erroneous or Offenſive.

O Mr. Doctor, where is your proof? you feign a cauſe which you do not prove, *&c.* as it appeareth more at large in my Treatiſe. Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Cambray*, *John Hus*, thou didſt ſay that thou wouldſt not defend any Error of *John Wickliffs*. And now it appeareth in your Books, that you have openly defended his Articles. *John Hus* anſwered, Reverend Father, even as I ſaid before, ſo do I now ſay again, that I will not defend any Errors of *John Wickliffs*, neither of any other mans: but forſomuch as it ſeemed unto me to be againſt Conſcience, ſimply to conſent unto the condemnation of them, no Scripture being alledged or brought contrary and againſt them, thereupon I would not conſent or agree unto the condemnation of them: And foraſmuch as the reaſon which is copulative cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof.

The Cardinal of *Cambray.*

Now there remain ſix Articles of thirty nine. Theſe are ſaid to be drawn out of another Treatiſe which he wrote againſt *Staniſlaus de Znoyma.*

Articles drawn out of his Treatiſe written againſt *Staniſlaus de Znoyma.*

1. The firſt Article. No man is lawfully elect or choſen, in that the Electors, or the greater part of them, have conſented with a lively voice, according to the cuſtom of men to elect and chuſe any perſon, or that he is thereby the manifeſt and true ſucceſſor of Chriſt, or Vicar of *Peter* in the Eccleſiaſtical Office, but in that that any man doth moſt abundantly work meritoriouſly to the profit of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. The Anſwer: Theſe things which follow are alſo written in my Book. It ſtandeth in the power and hands of wicked Electors, to chuſe a Woman into the Eccleſiaſtical office, as it appeareth by the election of *Agnes*, which was called *John*, who held and occupied the Popes place and dignity, by the ſpace of two years and more.

It may alſo be, that they do chuſe a Thief, a Murderer or a Devil, and conſequently they may alſo elect and chuſe Antichriſt.

It may alſo be that for love, covetouſneſs, or hatred, they do chuſe ſome perſon whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that perſon is not lawfully elect and choſen; Inſomuch as the Electors, or the greater part of them, have conſented and agreed together according to the cuſtom of men, upon any perſon, or that he is thereby the manifeſt Succeſſor or Vicar of *Peter* the Apoſtle, or any other in the Eccleſiaſtical Office.

Therefore, they which moſt accordingly unto the Scripture do elect and chuſe, revelation being ſet apart, do only pronounce and determine by ſome probable reaſon upon him they do elect and chuſe; whereupon, whether the Electors do ſo chuſe good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is choſen; for in that point that any man doth moſt abundantly work meritoriouſly to the profit of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon ſaith Chriſt, in *John* 10. *Give credit unto works.*

The ſecond Article. The Pope being a Reprobate, is not the Head of the holy Church of God. The Anſwer, I wrote it thus in my Treatiſe, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reaſon of the Doctor, how this queſtion is contrary to the Faith, to ſay, That if the Pope be a Reprobate, how is he the Head of the Holy Church? Behold, the Truth cannot decay or fail in Diſputation, for did Chriſt diſpute againſt the Faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Phariſees, *Matthew* 12. *Ye ſtock and off-ſpring of vipers, how can ye ſpeak good things, when you your ſelves are wicked and evil?* And behold, I demand of the Scribes, if the Pope be a Reprobate, and the ſtock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy Church of God, that the Scribes and Phariſees, which were in the Council-houſe of *Prague*, may make anſwer hereunto? For it is more poſſible that a reprobate man ſhould ſpeak good things, forſomuch as he may be in ſtate of Grace according unto preſent Juſtice, than to be the Head of the holy Church of God.

Alſo in the fifth of *John*, our Saviour complaineth of the Jews, ſaying, How can you believe which do ſeek for glory amongſt your ſelves, and do not ſeek for the glory that cometh only of God? And I likewiſe do complain, how that if the Pope be a Reprobate; can he be the Head of the Church of God, which receiveth his glory of the World, and ſeeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more poſſible, that the Pope being a Reprobate ſhould believe, than that he ſhould be the Head of the Church of God; forſomuch as he taketh his glory of the World.

The third Article. There is no ſpark of apparance, that there ought to be one Head in the Spiritualty, to rule the Church, the which ſhould be always converſant with the Militant Church. The Anſwer, I do grant it. For what a conſequence is this. The King of *Bobeme* is head of the Kingdom of *Boheme*: *Ergo*, The Pope is Head of the whole Militant Church? Chriſt is the Head of the Spiritualty, ruling and governing the Militant Church by much more and greater neceſſity than *Cæſar* ought to rule the Temporalty. Forſomuch as Chriſt, which ſitteth on the right Hand of God the Father, doth neceſſarily rule the Militant Church as Head. And there is no ſpark of appearance that there ſhould be one Head in the Spiritualty ruling the Church, that ſhould always be converſant with the Militant Church, except ſome Infidel would heretically affirm, that the Militant Church ſhould have here a permanent and continual City or dwelling place, and not enquire and ſeek after that which is to come. It is alſo farther evident in my Book, how unconſequent the proportion of the ſimilitude is, for a reprobate Pope to be Head of the Militant Church, and a reprobate King to be Head of the Kingdom of *Bobeme*.

The fourth Article. Chriſt would better rule his Church by his true Apoſtles, diſperſed throughout the whole World, without ſuch monſtrous Heads. I Anſwer, That it is in my Book as here followeth, that albeit that the Doctor doth ſay, that the body of the Militant Church is oftentimes without a Head; yet notwithſtanding, we do verily believe that Chriſt Jeſus is the Head over every Church, ruling the ſame without lack or default, pouring upon the ſame a continual motion and ſenſe, even unto the later day: Neither can the Doctor give a reaſon why the Church, in the time of *Agnes*, by the ſpace of two years and five months, lived according to many Members of Chriſt in grace and favor, but that by the ſame reaſon the Church might be without a Head, by the ſpace of many years. Forſomuch as Chriſt ſhould better rule his Church by his true Diſciples diſperſed throughout the whole World, without ſuch monſtrous Heads. Then ſaid they all together, Behold, now he propheſieth. And *John Hus* again further proſecuting his former talk, ſaid, But I ſay that the Church in the time of the Apoſtles, was far better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth let and hinder, that Chriſt ſhould not now alſo rule the ſame better by his true Diſciples, without ſuch monſtrous Heads as have been now a late? For behold, even at this preſent we have no ſuch

head, and yet Chriſt ceaſeth not to rule his Church. When he had ſpoken theſe words, he was derided and mocked.

5. The fifth Article. *Peter* was no Univerſal Paſtor or Shepherd of the Sheep of Chriſt, much leſs is the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Anſwer, Thoſe words are not in my Book, but theſe which do follow. Secondly, It appeareth by the words of Chriſt, that he did not limit unto *Peter* for his Juriſdiction the whole World, no not one only Province. So likewiſe, neither unto any other of the Apoſtles. Notwithſtanding, certain of them walked through many Regions; and otherſome fewer, preaching and teaching the Kingdom of God, as *Paul*, which labored and travelled more than all the reſt, did corporally viſit and convert moſt Provinces, whereby it is lawful for any Apoſtle or his Vicar to convert and confirm as much people, or as many Provinces in the Faith of Chriſt, as they are able, neither is there any reſtraint of their Liberty or Juriſdiction, but only by diſability or inſufficiency.

The ſixth Article. The Apoſtles, and other faithful Prieſts of the Lord, have ſtoutly ruled the Church in all things neceſſary unto ſalvation, before the Office of the Pope was brought into the Church, and ſo would they very poſſibly do ſtill, if there were no Pope even unto the later day. Then they all cried out again and ſaid, *Behold the Prophet.* But *John Hus* ſaid, Verily it is true that the Apoſtles did rule the Church ſtoutly, before the Office of the Pope was brought into the Church. And certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewiſe may other faithful Men which do follow their ſteps do the ſame; for as now we have no Pope, and ſo peradventure it may continue and endure a year or more. Beſides this, were brought againſt him other nineteen Articles, objected unto him being in Priſon, which with his Anſwers to the ſame here likewiſe follow. Of the which Articles the firſt is this.

The firſt Article. *Paul*, according unto preſent Juſtice, was a Blaſphemer and none of the Church, and therewithal was in Grace, according unto Predeſtination of life everlaſting. The Anſwer: This propoſition is not in the Book, but this which followeth; Whereby it doth ſeem probable, that as *Paul* was both a Blaſphemer, according to preſent Juſtice, and therewithal alſo was a faithful Child of our holy Mother the Church, and in Grace according to Predeſtination of Life everlaſting: So *Iſcariot* was both in Grace, according unto preſent Juſtice, and was never of our holy Mother the Church, according to the Predeſtination of Life everlaſting, forſomuch as he lacked that Predeſtination. And ſo *Iſcariot*, albeit he was an Apoſtle, and a Biſhop of Chriſt, which is the name of his Office, yet was he never any part of the Univerſal Church.

The firſt Article. *Paul* how he was both a blaſphemer, and alſo a member of Chriſt.

The ſecond Article. Predeſtination. The ſecond Article. Whether Chriſt doth more love a Predeſtinate Man being ſinful, than any Reprobate in what grace poſſible ſoever he be. The Anſwer: My words are in the fourth Chapter of my Book intituled of the Church; and it is evident, that God doth more love any predeſtinate being ſinful, than any reprobate in what grace ſoever he be for the time: foraſmuch as he will, that the predeſtinate ſhall have perpetual bleſſedneſs, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his Creatures, yet he doth more love the predeſtinate, becauſe he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to ſay, life everlaſting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto preſent Juſtice. And the third Article of thoſe Articles before, ſoundeth much near unto this, That the predeſtinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. Theſe things are true in the compound ſenſe.

The third Article. Who ſo commiteth deadly ſin, ſwarveth from the Faith. The third Article. All the ſinful, according unto preſent Juſtice, are not faithful, but do ſwarve from the true Catholick Faith, forſomuch as it is impoſſible that any man can commit any deadly ſin but in that point, that he doth ſwarve from the Faith. The Anſwer: I acknowledge that ſentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did think upon the puniſhment which is to be laid upon ſinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the Divine Knowledge and Underſtanding, &c. then undoubtedly they would not ſo offend and ſin. This propoſition is verified by the ſaying of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Thy rulers are unfaithful, miſ-believers, fellows and companions of thieves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards.* Behold, the Prophet calleth the Rulers of the Church Infidels for their offences; for all ſuch as do not keep their Faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful ſervants, and they alſo are unfaithful children which keep not their obedience, fear, and love unto God their Father. KING Hen. 5.

*Item*, This propoſition is verified by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, the firſt Chapter to *Titus*. *They do confeſs that they know God, but by their works they do deny him.* And foraſmuch as they which are ſinful, do ſwarve away from the meritorious work of Bleſſedneſs, therefore they do ſwarve from the true Faith grounded upon Charity, forſomuch as Faith without Works is dead. To this end doth alſo appertain that which the Lord ſpeaketh, *Matth.* 23. of the faithful and unfaithful ſervant. Titus 1.

The fourth Article. The words of Chriſt for binding and looſing, unleſs they be vvell underſtood, do cauſe fear or preſumption. The fourth Article. These words of *John* in his two and twentieth Chapter, *Receive the holy Ghoſt*, and, *Whatſoever you ſhall bind upon earth, &c.* and *Matthew* the ſixteenth and eighteenth Chapter, for lack of underſtanding ſhall terrifie many Chriſtians, and they ſhall be wonderfully afraid, and others ſhall be deceived by them, preſuming upon the fulneſs of their Power and Authority. The Anſwer: This Sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I ſay in the ſame place, that it is firſt of all to be ſuppoſed, that the Saying of our Saviour is neceſſary, as touching the vertue of the Word, foraſmuch as it is not poſſible for a Prieſt to bind and looſe, except that binding and looſing be in Heaven. But for the lack of the true underſtanding of thoſe words, many ſimple Chriſtians ſhall be made afraid, thinking with themſelves, that whether they be juſt or unjuſt, the Prieſts may at their pleaſures, whenſoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant Prieſts do alſo preſume and take upon them to have power to bind and looſe whenſoever they will. For many fooliſh and ignorant Prieſts do ſay, that they have power and authority to abſolve every man confeſſing himſelf, of what ſin or offence ſoever it be, not knowing that in many ſins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an Hypocrite do confeſs himſelf, or ſuch a one as is not contrite for his ſin, whereof proof hath oftentimes been found and it is evident, forſomuch as the letter doth kill, but the Spirit doth quicken.

The fifth Article. Binding and looſing chiefly and principally belong to Chriſt. The fifth Article. The binding and looſing of God, is ſimply and plainly the chief and principal. The Anſwer: This is evident, forſomuch as it were blaſphemous preſumption to affirm, That a man may remit and forgive an evil Fact or Offence done againſt ſuch a Lord, the Lord himſelf not approving or allowing the ſame. For by the Univerſal Power of the Lord, it is neceſſary that he do firſt abſolve and forgive, before that his Vicar do the ſame; neither is there one Article of our Faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it ſhould be impoſſible for any man of the militant Church to abſolve or bind, except in ſuch caſe as it be conformable to the head of the Church, Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore every faithful Chriſtian ought to take heed of that ſaying, If the Pope, or any other, pretend by any manner of ſign to bind or looſe, that he is thereby bound or looſed; for he that doth grant or confeſs that, muſt alſo conſequently grant and confeſs that the Pope is without ſin, and ſo that he is a God, for otherwiſe he muſt needs err and do contrary unto the Keys of Chriſt. This ſaying proveth the fact of the Pope, who always in his Abſolution preſuppoſeth Contrition and Confeſſion. Yea moreover, if any letter of Abſolution be given unto any Offender, which doth not declare the circumſtances of the Offence which ought to be declared, it is ſaid that thereby the letter of Abſolution is of no force and effect. It is alſo hereby evident, that many Prieſts do not abſolve thoſe which are confeſſed, becauſe that either through ſhamefaſtneſs they do cloak or hide greater Offences, or elſe that they have not due Contrition or Repentance; for unto true Abſolution there is firſt required Contrition. Secondly, A purpoſe and intent to ſin no more. Thirdly, True Confeſſion. And fourthly, ſtedfaſt hope of forgiveneſs. The firſt appeareth by *Ezechiel*, If the wicked

To true Abſolution four thing are required.

KING *Hen. 5.*

wicked do repent him, *&c.* The ſecond, in the fifth and eighth of *John*, *Do thou not ſin any more.* The third part by this place of *Luke*, *Shew your ſelves unto the Prieſts.* And the fourth is confirmed by the ſaying of Chriſt, *My ſon, believe, and thy ſins are forgiven thee.* I alſo added many other probations in my Treatiſe out of the Holy Fathers, *Auguſtine*, *Jerome*, and the maſter of the Sentences.

The ſixth Article.

The ſixth Article. The Prieſts do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures thoſe things which ſerve for the belly, but ſuch as appertain to the true imitation and following of Chriſt, that they reject, and refuſe as impertinent unto ſalvation. The Anſwer: This St. *Gregory* doth ſufficiently prove in his ſeventeenth Homily, alledging the ſaying of Chriſt, *The harveſt is great, the workmen are few*; ſpeaking alſo that which we cannot ſay without grief or ſorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly hear good things, yet there lack ſuch as ſhould declare the ſame unto them; for behold, the World is full of Prieſts, but notwithſtanding there is a ſcarcity of Workmen in the Harveſt of the Lord. We take upon us willingly Prieſthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of Prieſthood. And immediatly after he ſaith, We are fallen unto outward affairs and buſineſs, for we take upon us one Office for honor ſake, and we do exhibit and give another to eaſe our ſelves of labor. We leave Preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called Biſhops to our pain, which do retain the name of Honor, but not the Verity.

Prieſts are given to their own ſtore and eaſily, than to the ſervice of Chriſt.

And immediately after he ſaith, We take no care for our Flock, we daily call upon for our ſtipend and wages, we covet and deſire Earthly things with a greedy mind, we gape after Worldly glory, we leave the cauſe of God undone, and make haſte about our Worldly affairs and buſineſs; we take upon us the place of Sanctity and Holineſs, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles, *&c.* This writeth Saint *Gregory*, with many other things more in the ſame place. Alſo in his Paſtoral, in his Morals, and in his Regiſter. Alſo Saint *Bernard*, as in many other places, ſo likewiſe in his 33. Sermon upon the *Canticles*, he ſaith, All friends, and all enemies, all kinſfolks and adverſaries, all of one houſhold, and no peace-makers; they are the Miniſters of Chriſt, and ſerve Antichriſt; they go honorably honored with the Goods of the Lord, and yet they do honor, *&c.*

The ſeventh Article.

The ſeventh Article. The power of the Pope, which doth follow Chriſt, is not to be feared. The Anſwer: It is not in my Treatiſe, but contrariwiſe, that the ſubjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the vertuous and good Rulers, and alſo thoſe which are wicked and evil. But notwithſtanding, if the Pope do abuſe his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And ſo the Lords the Cardinals, as I ſuppoſe, did not fear the power of *Gregory* the twelfth before his depoſition, when as they reſiſted him, ſaying, That he did abuſe his Power contrary unto his own Faith.

The Popes power doing ungodly is not to be feared.

The eighth Article.

The eighth Article. An evil and a wicked Pope is not the ſucceſſor of *Peter*, but of *Judas*. The Anſwer; I wrote this in my Treatiſe, If the Pope be humble and meek, neglecting and deſpiſing the honors and lucre of the World; if he be a Shepheard, taking his name by the feeding of the Flock of God (of the which feeding the Lord ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Feed my Sheep*) if he feed the Sheep with the Word, and with virtuous Example, and that he become even like his Flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labor and travel for the Church, then is he without doubt the true Vicar of Chriſt. But if we walk contrary unto theſe Virtues, for ſo much as there is no ſociety between Chriſt and Belial, and Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *He that is not with me, is againſt me*: how is he then the true Vicar of Chriſt or *Peter*, and not rather the Vicar of Antichriſt? Chriſt called *Peter* himſelf, *Satanas*, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had choſen his Vicar, and ſpecially appointed over his Church. Why ſhould not any other then, being more contrary unto Chriſt, be truly called *Satanas*, and conſequently Antichriſt, or at leaſt the chief and principal Miniſter or Vicar of Antichriſt? There be infinite teſtimonies of this matter in Saint *Auguſtine*, S. *Jerome*, *Cyprian*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Bernard*, *Gregory*, *Remigius*, and *Ambroſe*, &c.

The Pope doing contrary to Chriſt, is not the Vicar of Chriſt, but Antichriſt.

The ninth Article. The Pope is the ſame Beaſt of whom it is ſpoken in the *Apocalips*, *Power is given unto him to make war upon the Saints.* The Anſwer: I deny this Article to be in my Book.

The ninth Article. *John Hus* need not prove this Article, the Pope will prove it himſelf.

The tenth Article. The tenth Article. To preach againſt the Popes commandment.

The tenth Article. It is lawful to preach notwithſtanding the Popes Inhibition. The Anſwer: The Article is evident, for ſo much as the Apoſtles did preach contrary to the commandment of the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem*. And Saint *Hilary* did the like, contrary to the commandment of the Pope which was an *Arrian*. It is alſo manifeſt by the example of Cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandment of Pope *Gregory* the twelfth, ſent throughout all Realms ſuch as ſhould preach againſt him. It is alſo lawful to preach under Appeal, contrary unto the Popes Commandment. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

The eleventh Article. If the Popes commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the Doctrine of the Goſpel or the Apoſtles, it is not to be obeyed. The Anſwer: I have thus written in my Book, The faithful diſciple of Chriſt ought to weigh and conſider, whether the Popes commandment be expreſly and plainly the commandment of Chriſt or any of his Apoſtles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their Doctrine or no; and that being once known or underſtood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the ſame. But if he do certainly know that the Popes commandment is contrary and againſt the holy Scripture, and hurtful unto the Church; then he ought boldly to reſiſt againſt it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by conſenting thereunto. This I have handled at large in my Treatiſe, and have confirmed it by the authorities of Saint *Auguſtine*, *Hierome*, *Gregory*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Bernard*, and *Bede*, and with the holy Scripture and Canons, the which for brevities cauſe I do here paſs over. I will only rehearſe the ſaying of Saint *Iſidore*, who writeth thus, He which doth rule, and doth ſay or command any thing contrary and beſides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honored as a falſe witneſs of God, and a Church-robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no Prelate, but in ſuch caſe as he do command or take counſel of the counſels and commandments of Chriſt.

The eleventh Article.

How far Prelates are to be obeyed.

*Iſidor.*

Likewiſe Saint *Auguſtine* upon this ſaying, upon the chair of *Moſes*, *&c.* ſaith, ſecondly. *They teach in the chair of Moſes the law of God: Ergo*, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their own Inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you. Alſo in the ſaying of Chriſt, *He that heareth you, heareth me*, all lawful and honeſt things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Chriſts ſaying, *It is not you which do ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father which ſpeaketh in you.* Let therefore my adverſaries and ſlanderers learn, that there be not only twelve Counſels in the Goſpel, in the which ſubjects ought to obey Chriſt and his appointed Miniſters, but that there are ſo many counſels and determinations of God, as there be lawful & honeſt things joyned with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto under the pain of deadly ſin; for every ſuch thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumſtances, at the will and pleaſure of their Miniſter.

*Concilia præcepta.*

The twelfth Article. It is lawful for the Clergy and Laity, by their Power and Juriſdiction to judge and determine of all things pertaining unto Salvation, and alſo of the works of the Prelates. The Anſwer: I have thus written in my Book, That it is lawful for the Clergy and Laity to judge and determine of the works of their Heads and Rulers. It appeareth by this, that the judgment of the ſecret Counſels of God, in the Court of Conſcience is one thing, and the judgment of the Authority and Power in the Church is another. Wherefore Subjects firſt ought principally to judge and examine themſelves, 1 *Corinthians* the eleventh Chapter. Secondly, They ought to examine all things which pertain unto their ſalvation, for a Spiritual Man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alledged as touching the firſt Judgment, and not the ſecond, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the ſame place I do ſay, that the Lay-man ought to judge and examine the works of

The twelfth Article.

The Clergy and Laity may judge of the works of their Prelates.

Judgment double.

his Prelate, like as *Paul* doth judge the doings of *Peter* in blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them according to this ſaying, *Beware of falſe Prophets, &c.* Thirdly, to rule over the Miniſtry: For the ſubject ought by reaſon to judge and examine the works of the Prelates. And if they be good, to praiſe God therefore and rejoyce: But if they be evil, they ought with patience to ſuffer them, and to be ſorry for them, but not to do the like, leſt they be damned with them, according to this ſaying, *If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.*

Secret in the Court of Conſcience. Open in the Court of Authority.

The thirteenth Article. To Godward all wicked Miniſters be ſuſpended.

The thirteenth Article. God doth ſuſpend of himſelf every wicked Prelate from his Miniſtery, while he is actually in Sin, for by that means that he is in deadly ſin, he doth offend and ſin whatſoever he do, and conſequently is forbidden ſo to do; therefore alſo is he ſuſpended from his Miniſtry. The anſwer, This is proved as touching ſuſpenſion from Dignity, by *Hoſea* the fourth Chapter, and *Iſaiah*, and *Malachy* the firſt. And *Paul* in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, the eleventh Chapter, ſuſpendeth all ſuch as be ſinful, or in any grievous Crime or Offence, from the eating of the Body of the Lord, and the drinking of his Blood, and conſequently ſuſpendeth all ſinful Prelate from the miniſtration of the reverend Sacrament. And God doth ſuſpend the wicked and ſinful from the declaration of his righteouſneſs, *Pſalm* 49. Foraſmuch then as to ſuſpend in effect, is to prohibit the Miniſtery, or any other good thing for the offence ſake; or as the new Laws do determine or call it, to interdict, forbid: It is manifeſt by the Scriptures afore rehearſed, that God doth prohibit the ſinful, being in ſin, to exerciſe or uſe their Miniſtry or Office, which by Gods commandment ought to be exerciſed without offence. Whereupon he ſaith by *Iſaiah* the Prophet, *Ye that carry the veſſels of the Lord, be ye cleanſed and made clean.* And to the *Corinthians* it is ſaid, *Let all things be done with love and charity, &c.* The ſame thing alſo is commanded by divers and ſundry Canons, the which I have alledged in my Treatiſe.

The fourteenth Article. The lay-people ſupplanted by the Clergy.

The fourteenth Article. The anſwer which he made to the five and twentieth Article in Priſon, ſufficeth for this, that is to ſay, That the Clergy for their own preferment and exaltation, do ſupplant and undermine the lay-people, do increaſe and multiply their covetouſneſs, cloke and defend their malice and wickedneſs, and prepare a way for Antichriſt.

The firſt part he proveth by experience, by the example of *Peter de-Luna*, which named himſelf *Benedict*, by the example of *Angelus Coriarius*, which named himſelf *Gregory* the Twelfth; and alſo by the Example of *John* the Three and twentieth; likewiſe by the thirteenth and twenty fourth of *Ezekiel*, and out of *Gregory*, which ſaith, *What ſhall become of the Flock, when the Shepheards themſelves are become Wolves*, &c. Alſo out of *Hoſea*, *Michah*, and other of the Prophets, and many places of S. *Bernard*.

The ſecond part is proved by the eighth Chapter of *Jeremiah*, *Gregory* in his ſeventeenth Homily, and S. *Bernard* upon the *Canticles*.

The third part of this Article is alſo proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedneſs of any Schiſm but only the Clergy, alledging Scriptures, and bringing reaſons therefore? Who excuſeth Symony, but only the Clergy? likewiſe Covetouſneſs, in heaping together many Benefices, Luxurioufneſs and Fornication? For how many of the Clergy are there now a days which do ſay, it is no deadly ſin, alledging (albeit diſorderly) the ſaying of *Geneſis*, *Increaſe and multiply?*

Hereby alſo is the fourth part of the Article eaſily verified. For the way of Antichriſt is wickedneſs and ſin, of the which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh to the *Theſſalonians*: *Gregory* in his Regiſter, Paſtoral and Morals; alſo S. *Bernard* upon the *Canticles* plainly ſaith, Wicked and evil Prieſts prepare the way for Antichriſt.

The fifteenth Article. The diſhoneſty of ſuch as gathered falſe accuſations againſt *John Hus*.

The fifteenth Article. *John Hus* doth openly teach and affirm, that theſe Concluſions aforeſaid are true. The anſwer is manifeſt by that which I have afore written. For ſome of theſe Propoſitions I did write and publiſh, other-ſome mine enemy did feign, now adding, then diminiſhing and taking away, now falſly aſcribing and imputing the whole Propoſition unto me, the which thing the Commiſſioners themſelves did confeſs before me. Whom I deſired, for the falſe invention and feigning of thoſe Articles, that they would puniſh thoſe whom they themſelves knew and confeſſed to be mine Enemies.

{KING} 1 *Hen.* 5.

The fifteenth Article. Hereby alſo it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the Article following; that is to ſay, That all the aforeſaid Concluſions be falſe, erroneous, ſeditious, and ſuch as do weaken and make feeble the power and ſtrength of the Church, invented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Church. But if there be any ſuch, I am ready moſt humbly to revoke and recant the ſame.

The ſixteenth Article.

The ſeventeenth Article. There was alſo an objection made againſt me as touching the Treatiſes which I wrote againſt *Paletz* and *Staniſlaus de Znoyma*. The which I deſired for Gods ſake they might be openly read in the audience of the whole Council, and ſaid, that I, notwithſtanding my former proteſtation, would willingly ſubmit my ſelf to the judgment of the whole Council.

The ſeventeenth Article.

The eighteenth Article. There was alſo another Article objected againſt me in this form. *Item, John Hus* ſaid and preached, that he ſhould go to *Conſtance*, and if ſo be that for any manner of cauſe he ſhould be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithſtanding he never purpoſed to do it with his mind; foraſmuch as whatſoever he had before taught, was pure and true, and the ſound Doctrine of Chriſt. The Anſwer; This Article is full of lies, to the Inventer whereof I ſuppoſe the Lord ſaith thus, All the day long thou haſt imagined miſchief and wickedneſs, and with thy tongue, as with a ſharp razor, thou haſt wrought deceit: thou haſt delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedneſs and miſchief, than of equity and juſtice. Verily I do grant, that I left behind me a certain Epiſtle to be read unto the people, the which did contain, that all ſuch as did weigh and conſider my careful Labors and Travels, ſhould pray for me, and ſtedfaſtly preſerve and continue in the Doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, knowing for a certainty, that I never taught them any ſuch Errors as mine enemies do impute or aſcribe unto me; and if it ſhould happen that I were overcome by falſe Witneſs, they ſhould not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but ſtedfaſtly continue in the Truth.

The eighteenth Article.

The nineteenth Article. Laſt it was objected againſt me, That after I was come into *Conſtance*, I did write unto the Kingdom of *Boheme*, that the Pope and the Emperor received me honorably, and ſent unto me two Biſhops to make agreement between me and them; and that this ſeemeth to be written by me to this end and purpoſe, that they ſhould confirm and eſtabliſh me and my hearers in the Errors which I had Preached and Taught in *Boheme*. This Article is falſly alledged, even from the beginning. For how manifeſtly falſe ſhould I have written, that the Pope and the Emperor did honor me, when as otherwiſe I had written before, that as yet we knew not where the Emperor was? And before the Emperor himſelf came unto *Conſtance*, I was by the ſpace of three Weeks in Priſon. And to write that I was honored by my Impriſonment, the People of the Kingdom of *Boheme* would repute the honor as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in deriſion ſay unto me, That according to their wills and pleaſures I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this Article is wholly throughout falſe and untrue.

The nineteenth Article.

Unto theſe Articles above prefixed, were other Articles alſo to be annexed, which the *Pariſians* had drawn out againſt Mr. *John Hus*, to the number of nineteen. The chief Author whereof, was *John Gerſon*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, a great ſetter on of the Pope againſt good men. Of theſe Articles *John Hus* doth often complain in his Epiſtles, that he had no time nor ſpace to make anſwer unto them. Which Articles being falſly collected and wrongfully depraved, although *J. Hus* had no time to anſwer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to ſet them down for the Reader to ſee and judge.

Nineteen Articles drawn out by the Pariſians againſt John Hus. John Gerſon Chancellor of Paris.

¶ *Articles formerly contained or picked out of the Treatiſe of* John Hus *of* Prague, *which he intituled of the Church, following in this part or behalf the errors, as they term them, of* John Wickliffe.

THe firſt Article. No reprobate is true Pope, Lord, or Prelate. The Error is in the faith, and behavior, and manners

{KING Hen. 5.} manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well againſt the poor men of *Lions* as alſo againſt the *Waldenſes* and *Pikards*. The affirmation of which Error is temerarious, ſeditious, offenſive and pernitious, and tending to the ſubverſion of all humane Policy and Governance, foraſmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby ſhould all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unſtable, if it ſhould be founded upon Predeſtination and Charity: neither ſhould the commandments of *Peter* have been good, which willeth all ſervants to be obedient unto their Maſters and Lords, although they be wicked.

The ſecond Article. That no man being in deadly ſin, whereby he is no member of Chriſt, but of the Devil, is true Pope, Prelate, Lord. The Error of this is like unto the firſt.

The third Article. No reprobate or otherwiſe being in deadly ſin, ſitteth in the Apoſtolick Seat of *Peter*, neither hath any Apoſtolical power over the Chriſtian people. This Error is alſo like unto the firſt.

The fourth Article. No reprobates are of the Church, neither likewiſe any which do not follow the life of Chriſt. This Error is againſt the common underſtanding of the Doctors, concerning the Church.

The fifth Article. They only are of the Church, and ſit in *Peters* Seat, and have Apoſtolick power which follow Chriſt and his Apoſtles in their life and living. The Error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the firſt Article, but containing more arrogancy and raſhneſs.

The ſixth Article. That every man which liveth upſightly, according to the rule of Chriſt, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not ſent, yea, although he forbidden or excommunicated by any Prelate or Biſhop, even as he might and ought to give Alms; for his good life in living together with his Learning, doth ſufficiently ſend him.

This is a raſh and temerarious Error, offenſive, and tending to the confuſion of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy.

The ſeventh Article. That the Pope of *Rome* being contrary unto Chriſt, is not the univerſal Biſhop, neither hath the Church of *Rome* any Supremacy over other Churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of *Cæſar*, and not of Chriſt. An Error lately and plainly reproved.

The eighth Article. That the Pope ought not to be called moſt Holy, neither that his Feet are holy and bleſſed, or that they ought to be kiſſed. This Error is temerarious, unreverently and offenſively publiſhed.

The ninth Article. That according unto the Doctrine of Chriſt, Hereticks, be they never ſo obſtinate or ſtubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accurſed or excommunicated. This is the Error of the Donatiſts, temerariouſly, and not without great offence affirmed againſt the Law of the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as St. *Auguſtine* doth prove.

The tenth Article. That ſubjects and the common people may and ought publickly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their Superiors and Rulers, as having power given them of Chriſt, and example of S. *Paul* ſo to do. This Error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all Rebellion, Diſobedience and Sedition, and the curſe and malediction of *Cham*.

The eleventh Article. That Chriſt only is head of the Church, and not the Pope. It is an Error according unto the common underſtanding of the Doctors, if all the reaſon of the Supremacy, and of being head, be ſecluded and taken away from the Pope.

The twelfth Article. That the only Church, which comprehendeth the predeſtinate and good Livers, is the Univerſal Church, whereunto Subjects do owe obedience. And this is conſequent unto the former Article. The Error is contained as in the former Articles.

The thirteenth Article. That Tithes and Oblations given to the Church, are publick and common Alms. This Error is offenſive, and cohtrary to the determination of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 9.

The fourteenth Article. That the Clergy living wickedly, ought to be reproved and corrected by the Laypeople, by the taking away of their Tithes and other Temporal Profits. A moſt pernicious Error and offenſive, inducing the Secular people to perpetrate Sacriledge, ſubverting the Eccleſiaſtical Liberty. 15.

The fifteenth Article. That the Bleſſings of ſuch as are reprobate or evil livers of the Clergy, are maledictions and curſings before God, according to the ſaying, *I will curſe your bleſſings*. This Error was lately reproved of S. *Auguſtine*, againſt S. *Cyprian* and his followers; neither is the Maſter of the Sentences allowed of the Maſters in that point that he ſeemeth to favor this Article.

The ſixteenth Article. That in theſe days, and in long time before, there hath been no true Pope, no true Church or Faith, which is called the *Romiſh* Church, whereunto a Man ought to obey, but that it both was, and is the Synagogue of Antichriſt and Satan. The Error in this Article is in this Point, That it is derived, and taketh his foundation upon the former Articles. 16.

The ſeventeenth Article. That all gift of money given unto the Miniſters of the Church, for the miniſtration of any Spiritual matter, doth make ſuch Miniſters in that caſe uſers of Simony. This Error is ſeditious and temerarious, foraſmuch as ſomething may be given unto the Clergy, under the Title of ſuſtentation or maintaining the Miniſter, without the ſelling or buying of any Spiritual thing. 17.

The eighteenth Article. That whoſoever is Excommunicate of the Pope, if he appeal to Chriſt, he is preſerved that he need not fear the Excommunication, but may utterly contemn and deſpiſe the ſame. This Error is temerarious and full of arrogancy. 18.

The nineteenth Article. That every deed done without Charity, is ſin. This Error was reproved and revoked before this time at *Paris*, ſpecially if it be underſtood of deadly Sin; for it is not neceſſary that he which lacketh Grace, ſhould continually ſin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in ſin. 19.

*This following, the Maſters of* Paris, *by their whole voice and conſent, did add and adjoyn unto theſe nineteen Articles, for their reaſon and determination.*

WE affirm, That theſe Articles aforeſaid are notoriouſly Heretical, and that they are Judicially condemned for ſuch, and diligently to be rooted out with their moſt ſeditious Doctrines, leſt they do infect other. For albeit they ſeem to have a Zeal againſt the Vices of the Prelates and the Clergy, the which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto Learning; for a ſober and diſcreet Zeal, ſuffereth and lamenteth thoſe ſins and offences, which he ſeeth in the Houſe of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for Vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other Vices and Errors, foraſmuch as Devils are not caſt out through *Beelzebub*, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghoſt, who willeth, that in Correction the meaſure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the ſaying, Mark who, what, where and why, by what means and when, Prelates and Biſhops are bound, under grievous and expreſs penalties of the Law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themſelves againſt the foreſaid Errors, and ſuch other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be underſtood and noted, that the Error which is not reſiſted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or ſociety of him, which ſlacketh to withſtand a manifeſt miſchief.

Theſe things are intermedled by the way under correction, as by way of Doctrine.

## *John Gerſon* Chancellor of *Paris*, unworthily.

THeſe things thus declared, a man may eaſily underſtand, that *John Hus* was not accuſed for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our Faith, but becauſe he did ſtoutly preach and teach againſt the Kingdom of Antichriſt for the glory of Chriſt, and the reſtoring of the Church.

The words of the Cardinal of *Cambray* unto *John Hus* after his accuſation.

Now to return unto the Story: whereas the firſt thirty nine Articles, which I have before rehearſed, were all read over together with their Teſtimonies, the Cardinal of *Cambray* calling unto *John Hus*, ſaid, Thou haſt heard

heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid againſt thee, and what number of them they are; and now it is thy part to deviſe with thy ſelf what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and ſet before thee of the Council whereof the one of them thou muſt of force and neceſſity enter into.

A double inconvenience for *John Hus* to fall into.

Firſt, That thou do humbly and meekly ſubmit thy ſelf unto the judgment and ſentence of the Council, that whatſoever ſhall be there determined by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear, and ſuffer the ſame. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part, both for the honor of the moſt gentle Emperor here preſent, and alſo for the honor of his Brother the King of *Boheme*, and for thy own ſafeguard and preſervation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanity, love and gentleneſs, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of thoſe Articles which we have propounded unto thee, and doſt deſire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and licenſe thereunto: But this thou ſhalt well underſtand, that here are ſuch manner of men, ſo clear in underſtanding and knowledge, and having ſo firm and ſtrong reaſons and arguments againſt thy Articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril, if thou ſhouldeſt any longer will or deſire to defend the ſame.

This I do ſpeak and ſay unto thee, to counſel and admoniſh thee, and not as in manner of a Judge.

This Oration of the Cardinals many others proſecuting, every man for himſelf did exhort and perſwade *John Hus* to the like; unto whom, with a lowly countenance

*John Hus* anſwereth.

he anſwered, Moſt reverend Fathers, I have often ſaid, that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obſtinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I ſhould ſeem to have conceived a perverſe or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I deſire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof except I ſhall alledge moſt firm and ſtrong reaſons, I will willingly ſubmit my ſelf (as you require) unto your information.

Then there ſtart up one which, with a loud voice ſaid, Behold, how craftily this man ſpeaketh: He tearmeth it information, and not correction or determination. Verily ſaid *John Hus*, even as you will tearm it, information, correction or determination: for I take God to my witneſs, that I ſpeak nothing but with my heart and mind.

The Cardinal of *Cambray* appointeth *John Hus* certain conditions whereby he may be delivered.

Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Cambray*; foraſmuch then as thou doſt ſubmit thy ſelf unto the information and grace of this Council, this is decreed by almoſt threeſcore Doctors, whereof ſome of them are now deparred hence, in whoſe room and place the *Pariſians* are ſucceeded; and alſo it is approved by the whole Council, not one man ſpeaking the contrary thereunto.

Firſt of all, That thou ſhalt humbly and meekly confeſs thy ſelf to have erred in theſe Articles which are alledged and brought againſt thee.

Moreover, That thou ſhalt promiſe by an Oath, that from henceforth thou ſhalt not teach, hold or maintain any of theſe Articles. And laſt of all, that thou ſhalt openly recant all theſe Articles.

Upon the which Sentence, when as many others had ſpoken their minds, at the length *John Hus* ſaid, I once

The anſwer of *John Hus*.

again do ſay, that I am ready to ſubmit my ſelf to the Information of the Council; but this I moſt humbly require and deſire you all, even for his ſake, which is the God of us all, That I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my Conſcience doth repugn or ſtrive againſt, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal Damnation, that is, that I ſhould make revocation by Oath to all the Articles which are alledged againſt me. For I remember, that I have read in the Book of Univerſalities, That to abjure, is to renounce an Error which a man hath before holden. And forſomuch as many of theſe Articles are ſaid to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how ſhould I then renounce them by an Oath? But as touching thoſe Articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwiſe unto them, I will willingly perform that which you deſire.

The Emperor exhorteth *John Hus* to recant.

Then ſaid the Emperor, Why mayeſt not thou without danger alſo renounce all thoſe Articles which thou

ſayeſt are falſly alledged againſt thee by the Witneſſes? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have profeſſed any Error. To whom *John Hus* anſwerd: Moſt noble Emperor, this word to abjure, doth ſignifie much otherwiſe than your Majeſty doth here uſe it. Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Florence*, *John Hus*, you ſhall have a form of Abjuration, which ſhall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will eaſily and ſoon determine with your ſelf, whether you will do it or no: Then the Emperor, repeating again the words of the Cardinal of *Cambray*, ſaid, Thou haſt heard that there are two ways laid before thee: Firſt, That thou ſhouldeſt openly renounce thoſe thy Errors, which are now condemned, and ſubſcribe unto the judgment of the Council, whereby thou ſhouldeſt try and find their grace and favor. But if thou proceed to defend thy Opinions, the Council ſhall have ſufficient, whereby according to their Laws and Ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee. To whom *John Hus* anſwered, I refuſe nothing (moſt noble Emperor) whatſoever the Council ſhall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conſcience, or ſay that I have profeſſed thoſe Errors which was never in my mind or thought to profeſs. But I deſire you all, if it may be poſſible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may anſwer as much as ſhall ſuffice, as touching thoſe things which are objected againſt me, and ſpecially concerning Eccleſiaſtical Offices, and the ſtate of the Miniſtery.

The force of falſe witneſs.

But when as other men began to ſpeak, the Emperor himſelf began to ſing the ſame Song which he had ſung before. Thou art of lawful age, ſaid the Emperor, thou mighteſt eaſily have underſtood what I ſaid unto thee yeſterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto theſe Witneſſes which are worthy of credit, foraſmuch as the Scripture ſaith, *That in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all truth is tryed*: how much more then, by ſo many witneſſes of ſuch worthy men?

The Emperor to *John Hus*.

Wherefore if thou be wiſe, receive penance at the hands of the Council with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifeſt Errors, and promiſe by an Oath, that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refuſeſt to do, there are Laws and Ordinances whereby thou ſhalt be judged of the Council.

An old Biſhop of *Pole*.

Here a certain very old Biſhop of *Pole* put to his verdict. He ſaid, the Laws are evident as touching Hereticks, with what puniſhment they ought to be puniſhed. But *John Hus* conſtantly anſwered as before, inſomuch that

Objection of a Prieſt better fed than taught.

they ſaid he was obſtinate and ſtubborn. Then a certain well fed Prieſt, and gaily apparelled, cryed out unto the Preſidents of the Council, ſaying, he ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his Friends, That although he do ſwear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unſworn without Oath; wherefore he is not to be truſted. Unto this ſlander *John Hus* anſwered, as is ſaid in the laſt Article, affirming that he was not guilty of any Error.

*Paletz* againſt *John Hus*.

Then ſaid *Paletz*, to what end is this Proteſtation, forſomuch as thou ſayeſt that thou wilt defend no Error, neither yet *Wickliffe*, and yet doſt defend him? When he had ſpoken theſe words, he brought forth for witneſs nine Articles of *John Wickliffs*, and read them openly, and afterward he ſaid, When as I and Mr. *Staniſlaus*, in the preſence of *Ernſtus* of *Auſtrich*, Duke of *Prague*, preached againſt them, he obſtinately defended the ſame, not only by his Sermons, but alſo by his Books which he ſet forth. The which, except you do here exhibit, we will cauſe them to be exhibited. So ſaid the Emperor alſo. Unto whom *John Hus* anſwered, I am very well contented that not only thoſe, but alſo all other my Books, be brought forth and ſhewed.

A new heap of ſlanders.

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the Council a certain Article, wherein *John Hus* was accuſed, that he had ſlanderouſly interpreted a certain Sentence of the Popes: the which he denyed that he did, ſaying, That he never ſaw it but in Priſon, when as the Article was ſhewed him by the Commiſſioners. And when he was demanded who was the Author thereof; he anſwered, that he knew not, but that he heard ſay that Mr. *Jeſſenitz* was the Author thereof.

What

KING 1 *Hen.* 5. *John Hus waxeth faint and weary.*

What (ſaid they) then do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof? Then anſwered *John Hus*, what ſhould I ſay thereunto, when as I ſaid I never ſaw it, but as I have heard of it of you. Thus they were all ſo grievous and troubleſome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had paſſed all the night before without ſleep, through the pain of his Teeth.

*Another quarrel againſt John Hus, touching theſe three men beheaded at Prague. Vide ſupra.*

Then was there another Article read, in the which was contained, That three men were beheaded at *Prague*, becauſe that through *Wickliff's* Doctrine and Teaching they were contumelious and ſlanderous againſt the Popes Letters: and that they were by the ſame *Hus*, with the whole pomp of the Scholars, and with a publick Convocation or Congregation carried out to be buried, and by a publick Sermon placed among the number of Saints. And the ſame Dr. *Naſo*, of whom you have heard certain teſtimonies already recited, affirmed the ſame to be true, and that he himſelf was preſent, when as the King of *Bohemia* commanded thoſe Blaſphemers ſo to be puniſhed.

*John Hus lied.*

Then ſaid *John Hus*, both thoſe parts are falſe, that the King did command any ſuch puniſhment to be done, and that the Coarſes were by me conveyed with any ſuch pomp unto their Sepulture or Burial: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the King. Then *Paletz* confirmed the affirmation of Dr. *Naſo* his Fellow, with this argument (for they both labored to one end and purpoſe) That it was provided by the Kings commandment, that no man ſhould once ſpeak againſt the Popes Bulls: And theſe three ſpake againſt the Popes Bulls: *Ergo*, by vertue of the Kings commandment they were beheaded. And what *John Hus* his opinion and mind was as touching theſe men, it is evident enough by his Book entituled, *Of the Church*, wherein he writeth thus: I believe they have read *Daniel* the Prophet, where, as is ſaid, *And they ſhall periſh with ſword and fire, and with captivity*, and many ſhall fraudulently and craftily aſſociate themſelves unto them. And afterward he ſaith, how this is fulfilled in theſe two Lay-men, who not conſenting, but ſpeaking againſt the feigned lies of Antichriſt, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to do the ſame, and many were fraudulently aſſociate unto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichriſt, are fled, and have turned their backs, *&c.*

*Ex parte affirmativa non conſiſtit argum. in 2. figura.*

When theſe things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous ſtrange ſtudy, they held their peace for a certain ſpace. For this *Paletz*, and the foreſaid Doctor *Naſo* had alſo added, that *John Hus* in an open Sermon had inflamed and ſtirred up the people againſt the Magiſtrates, inſomuch that a great number of the Citizens did openly ſet themſelves againſt the Magiſtrates; and by that means was it, that he ſaid, Thoſe three were ready to ſuffer death for the Truth. And this ſedition was hardly appeaſed by any benefit or help that the King could do. Then the Engliſh-men exhibited the Copy of a certain Epiſtle, which they ſaid was falſly conveyed unto *Prague*, under the title of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and that *John Hus* did read the ſame out of the Pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praiſe *John Wickliff* unto the Citizens of *Prague*. When they had read the ſame before the Council, the Engliſh-men demanded of *John Hus*, whether he had read the ſame openly or no. Which when he had confeſſed, becauſe it was brought thither by two Scholars under the Seal of the Univerſity; they alſo inquired of him, what Scholars they were. He anſwered, this my Friend (meaning *Stephen Paletz*) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

*Another quarrel picked by Engliſhmen againſt John Hus.*

*The teſtimonial of Oxford for Wickliff brought to Prague.*

Then they firſt enquired of him, as touching the laſt man, where he was. *John Hus* anſwered, I heard ſay (ſaid he) that in his return into *England* he died by the way. As touching the firſt, *Paletz* ſaid, That he was a *Bohemian* and no Engliſh-man, and that he brought out of *England* a certain ſmall piece of the Stone of *Wickliffs* Sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his Doctrine at this preſent, do reverence and worſhip as a thing moſt holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all theſe things were done, and that *John Hus* was the Author of them all.

*A piece of the ſtone of Wickliffs ſepulchre brought for a Relick to Prague.*

Then the Engliſh-men exhibited another Epiſtle, contrary to the firſt, under the Seal of the Univerſity, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the Univerſity, not without great ſorrow and grief, hath experimented and found, That the Errors of *Wicliff* are ſcattered and ſpread out of that Univerſity throughout all *England*. And to the intent that through their help and labor means may be found to remedy this miſchief, they have appointed for that purpoſe twelve Doctors, Men of ſingular Learning, and other Maſters, which ſhould ſit in judgment upon the Books of *Wickliff*.

Theſe Men have noted out above the number of two hundred Articles, the which the whole Univerſity have judged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the ſaid Sacred Council, the ſaid Univerſity hath ſent them unto *Conſtance*, referring and remitting the whole Authority of the Judgment unto this Council.

*The Oath of Paletz.*

Here was great ſilence kept for a while. Then *Paletz* riſing up, as though he had finiſhed now his Accuſation, ſaid, I take God to my witneſs before the Emperors Majeſty here preſent, and the moſt reverend Fathers, Cardinals and Biſhops, that in this accuſation of *John Hus*, I have not uſed any hatred or evil will; but that I might ſatisfie the Oath which I took when I was made Doctor, that I would be a moſt cruel and ſharp Enemy of all manner of Errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy Catholick Church. *Michael de Cauſis* did alſo the like. And I, ſaid *John Hus*, do commit all theſe things unto the Heavenly Judge, which ſhall juſtly judge the cauſe or quarrels of both Parties. Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Cambray*, I cannot a little commend and praiſe the humanity and gentleneſs of Mr. *Paletz*, which he hath uſed in drawing out the Articles againſt Mr. *John Hus*. For as we have heard, there are many things contained in his Book much worſe and more deteſtable.

*The Oath of Michael de Cauſis.*

*John Hus witneſſeth the Lord.*

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Biſhop of *Rygen*, unto whom *John Hus* was committed, commanded, that the ſaid *John Hus* ſhould be carried again ſafely unto Priſon. Then *John de Clum* following him, did not a little incourage and comfort him. No tongue can expreſs what courage and ſtomach he received by the ſhort talk which he had with him; when as in ſo great a broil and grievous hatred, he ſaw himſelf in a manner forſaken of all men. After that *John Hus* was carried away, the Emperor began to exhort the Preſidents of the Council in this manner, ſaying,

*John de Clum doth comfort John Hus.*

*The Emperors Oration to the Preſidents of the Council.*

*YOu have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid againſt* John Hus, *which are not only proved by manifeſt and ſtrong witneſſes, but alſo confeſſed by him; of the which, every one of them by my judgment and advice, have deſerved and are worthy of death. Therefore except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be puniſhed with Fire. And albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithſtanding I do counſel you, that he be forbid the office of Preaching and Teaching, and alſo that he return no more into the Kingdom of* Boheme: *For if he be admitted again to Teach and Preach, and ſpecially in the Kingdom of* Boheme, *he will not obſerve and keep that which he is commanded, but, hoping upon the favour and good will of ſuch as be his adherents and fautors there, he will return again unto his former purpoſe and intent, and then, beſides theſe Errors, he will alſo ſow new Errors amongſt the People, ſo the laſt Error ſhall be worſe than the firſt.*

*That which God planteth, man ſhall never root up.*

*Moreover, I judge and think it good, that his Articles which are condemned, ſhould be ſent unto my Brother the King of* Boheme, *and afterward into* Pole *and other Provinces; whereas mens minds are repleniſhed with his Doctrine, with this commandment, That whoſoever do proceed to hold or keep the ſame, they ſhould by the common aid both of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power, be puniſhed. So at the length ſhall remedy be found for this miſchief, if the boughs, together with the root, be utterly rooted and pulled up: and if the Biſhops and other Prelates, which here in this place have labored and travelled for the extirpating of this Hereſie, be commended by the whole voices of the Council unto the King and Princes, under whoſe Dominion they are. Laſt of all, if there be any found here at* Conſtance, *which are Familiars unto* John Hus, *they alſo ought to be puniſhed with ſuch ſeverity and puniſhment as is due unto them, and ſpecially his Scholar* Jerome of Prague. *Then ſaid the reſt, when the Maſter is once puniſhed, we hope we ſhall find the Scholar much more tractable and gentle.*

*Hierome of Prague mentioned and promoted by the Emperor.*

After

After they had ſpoken theſe words, they departed out of the Cloyſter, where they were aſſembled and gathered together. The day before his Condemnation, which was the ſixth of *July*, the Emperor *Sigiſmund* ſent unto him four Biſhops, accompanied with Mr. *Wencelate de Duba*, and *John de Clum*, that they ſhould learn and underſtand of him what he did intend to do. When as he was brought out of Priſon unto them, *John de Clum* began firſt to ſpeak unto him, ſaying,

Four Biſhops ſent to *John Hus*.

The pitiful and loving Oration of *John de Clum* unto *John Hus*.

*After* J. Hus, *I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counſel or adviſe you, being a man of learning and underſtanding: notwithſtanding I do require you, if you know your ſelf guilty of any of thoſe Errors, which are objected and laid againſt you before the Council, that you will not be aſhamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleaſure of the Council; if contrariwiſe, I will be no Author unto you, that you ſhould do any thing contrary, or againſt your Conſcience, but rather to ſuffer and endure any kind of puniſhment, than to deny that which you have known to be the Truth. Unto whom* John Hus *turning himſelf, with lamentable Tears ſaid; Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the moſt High God for my witneſs, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the Council can inſtruct or teach me any better by the Holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpoſe. Then one of the Biſhops which ſat by, ſaid unto him, that he would never be ſo arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own Mind or Opinion before the judgment of the whole Council. To whom* John Hus *anſwered, neither do I otherwiſe mind or intend. For if he which is the meaneſt or leaſt in all this Council can convict me of Error, I will with an humble heart and mind perform, and do whatſoever the Council ſhall require of me. Mark, ſaid the Biſhops, how obſtinately he doth perſevere in his Errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the Keepers to carry him again to Priſon, and ſo they returned again unto the Emperor with their Commiſſion.*

The marvellous conſtancy of *John Hus*.

That is no right modeſty that more regardeth to obey man, than manifeſt verity. *John Hus* anſwereth.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the ſixth day of *July*, there was a General Seſſion holden of the Princes and Lords, both of the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Eſtates, in the head Church of the City of *Conſtance*, the Emperor *Sigiſmond* being Preſident in his Imperial Robes and Habit; in the midſt whereof there was made a certain high Place, being ſquare about like a Table, and hard by it there was a Desk of wood, upon the which the Garments and Veſtments pertaining unto Prieſthood were laid for this cauſe, that before *John Hus* ſhould be delivered over unto the Civil Power, he ſhould be openly deprived and ſpoiled of his Prieſtly Ornaments. When *John Hus* was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before the ſame high Place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the Biſhop of *Londy* went up into the Pulpit, and made this Sermon following.

### *The Sermon of the Biſhop of* Londy, *before the Sentence was given upon* John Hus.

The Sermon before the Sentence.

'IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Truſting by humble Invocation upon the Divine help and aid, moſt noble Prince, and moſt Chriſtian Emperor, and you moſt excellent Fathers, and reverend Lords, Biſhops and Prelates, alſo moſt excellent Doctors and Maſters, famous and noble Dukes, and high Counts, honorable Nobles and Barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpoſe of my mind may the more plainly and evidently appear unto this moſt Sacred Congregation: I am firſt of all determined to intreat or ſpeak of that which is read in the Epiſtle on the next Sunday, in the ſixth Chapter to the *Romans*; That is to ſay, *Let the body of ſin be deſtroyed*, &c.

The Theme

His Theme confirmed by *Ariſtotle*.

'It appeareth by the Authority of *Ariſtotle*, in his Book entituled, *De cælo & mundo*, how wicked, dangerous and fooliſh a matter it ſeemeth to be, not to withſtand perverſe and wicked beginnings. For he ſaith, That a ſmall Error in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy Doctor S. *Jerome*, in his Book upon the Expoſition of the Catholick Faith, teacheth how neceſſary a thing it is that Hereticks and Heretical ſhould be ſuppreſſed, even at the firſt beginning of them, ſaying thus; The rotten and dead fleſh is to be cut off from the body, leſt that the whole body do periſh and putrifie. For a ſcabbed Sheep is to be put out of the Fold, leſt that the whole Flock be infected. And a little Fire is to be quenched, leſt the whole Houſe be conſumed and burned. *Arius* was firſt a ſpark in *Alexandria*, who becauſe he was not at the firſt quenched, he preſumed, and went about with his wicked and perverſe imaginations, and phantaſtical inventions, to ſpot and defile the Catholick Faith, which is founded and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, defended with the victorious triumphs of ſo many Martyrs, & illuminated and ſet forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of ſo many men. Such therefore muſt be reſiſted; ſuch Hereticks of neceſſity muſt be ſuppreſſed and condemned.

KING Hen. 5.

'Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the puniſhment of every ſuch obſtinate Heretick, that the body of ſin is to be deſtroyed. Whereupon it is to be conſidered according to the holy Traditions of the Fathers, that ſome ſins are adverſe and contrary unto another. Otherſome are annexed or conjoyned together; other-ſome are, as it were, branches and members of others; and ſome are, as it were, the roots and heads of others. Amongſt all which, thoſe are to be counted the moſt deteſtable, out of which the moſt and worſt have their original and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all ſins and offences are to be abhorred of us; yet thoſe are ſpecially to be eſchewed, which are the head and root of the reſt. For by how much the perverſeneſs of them is of more force and power to hurt, with ſo much the more ſpeed and circumſpection ought they to be rooted out and extinguiſhed, with apt preſervatives and remedies. Forſomuch then as amongſt all ſins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the miſchief of this moſt execrable Schiſm, therefore have I right well propounded, *That the body of ſin ſhould be deſtroyed.* For by the long continuance of this Schiſm, great and moſt cruel deſtruction is ſprung up amongſt the Faithful, and hath long continued; abominable Diviſions of Hereſies are grown; Threatnings are increaſed and multiplyed; the confuſion of the whole Clergy is grown thereupon, and the Opprobries and Slanders of the Chriſtian people, are abundantly ſprung up and increaſed: And truly it is no marvel, forſomuch as that moſt deteſtable and execrable Schiſm, is, as it were, a body and heap of diſſolution of the true Faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, whereas ſuch a peſtiferous Schiſm hath raigned ſo long a time? For as Saint *Bernard* ſaith, Like as in the unity and concord of the Faithful, there is the Habitation and Dwelling of the Lord; ſo likewiſe in the Schiſm and diſſipation of the Chriſtians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the Devil. Is not Schiſm and diviſion the original of all ſubverſion, the den of Hereſies, and the nouriſher of all Offences? For the knot of Unity and Peace being once troubled and broken, there is free paſſage made for all ſtrife and debate. Covetouſneſs is uttered in others for lucres ſake; Luſt and Will is ſet at liberty, and all means opened unto ſlaughter. All Right and Equity is baniſhed, the Eccleſiaſtical power is injured, and the calamity of this Schiſm bringeth in all kind of Bondage, ſword and violence doth Rule, the Laity have the dominion, Concord and Unity are baniſhed, and all preſcript Rules of Religion utterly contemned and ſet at naught.

They cannot abide the Laity to rule in any caſe.

'Conſider, moſt gentle Lords, during this moſt peſtiferous Schiſm, how many Hereſies have appeared and ſhewed themſelves, how many Hereticks have ſcaped unpuniſhed, how many Churches have been ſpoiled and pulled down, how many Cities have been oppreſſed, and Regions brought to ruine, what confuſion hath there hapned in the Clergy? What and how great deſtruction hath been amongſt the Chriſtian people? I pray you mark how the Church of GOD, the the Spouſe of Chriſt, and the Mother of all Faithful, is contemned and deſpiſed. For who doth reverence the Keys of the Church, who feareth the Cenſures or Laws, or who is it that doth defend the Liberties thereof?

All the Popiſh Religion lieth in Lands, Lordſhips, and Livelies.

But

{KING *Hen.* 5.} 'But rather who is it that doth not offend the ſame, or 'who doth not invade it, or elſe what is he that dare not 'violently lay hands upon the Patrimony or Heritage of 'Jeſus Chriſt? The Goods of the Clergy, and of the 'poor, and the relief of Pilgrims and Strangers, gotten 'together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many 'Martyrs, are ſpoiled and taken away: behold, the abo- Note here the Popes Divinity, how the blood of Chriſt ſervеth to ſhade their patrimony. 'mination of deſolation brought upon the Church of 'GOD, the deſtruction of the Faith, and the confuſion 'of the Chriſtian people, to the ruine of the Lords Flock 'or Fold, and all the whole company of our moſt holy 'Saviour and Redeemer. This loſs is more great or 'grievous than any which could happen unto the Mar- 'tyrs of Chriſt, and this Perſecution much more cruel, 'than the Perſecution of any Tyrant; for they did but 'only puniſh the Bodies, but in the Schiſm and Diviſion 'the Souls are tormented. There the blood of Men was 'only ſhed, but in this caſe the true Faith is ſubverted 'and overthrown. That Perſecution was ſalvation unto 'many; but this Schiſm is deſtruction unto all men. 'When the Tyrants raged, then the Faith did increaſe; 'but by this Diviſion it is utterly decayed. During their 'cruelty and madneſs, the Primitive Church increaſed; 'but through this Schiſm it is confounded and over- 'thrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend, but in this 'Schiſm many do wittingly and willingly even of obſti- 'nacy offend. There came in Hereticks, uſers of Simony, 'and Hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the 'Church; under thoſe Tyrants, the merits of the Juſt were 'increaſed.

'But during this Schiſm, miſchief and wickedneſs 'are augmented: for in this moſt curſed and execrable 'Diviſion, Truth is made an enemy to all Chriſtians, 'Faith is not regarded, Love and Charity hated, Hope is 'loſt, Juſtice overthrown, no kind of courage or vali- 'antneſs, but only unto miſchief: Modeſty and Tempe- 'rance cloked, Wiſdom turned into deceit, Humility feign- 'ed, Equity and Truth fallified, Patience utterly fled, 'Conſcience ſmall, all Wickedneſs intended, Devotion 'counted folly, Gentleneſs abject and caſt away, Religion 'deſpiſed, Obedience not regarded, and all manner of 'Life reproachful and abominable. With how great and 'grievous ſorrows is the Church of God repleniſhed and 'filled, whilſt that Tyrants do oppreſs it, Hereticks in- 'vade it, uſers of Simony do ſpoil and rob it, and Schiſ- This Schiſm continued 40 years. 'maticks go about utterly to ſubvert it? O moſt miſer- 'able and wretched Chriſtian people, whom now by the 'ſpace of forty years, with ſuch indurate and continual 'Schiſm, they have tormented, and almoſt brought to 'ruine! O the little Bark and Ship of Chriſt, which 'hath ſo long time wandred and ſtrayed now in the midſt 'of the Whirl-pools, and by and by ſticketh faſt in the 'Rocks, toſſed to and fro with moſt grievous and tem- 'peſtuous Storms! O miſerable and wretched Boat of 'Peter, if the moſt Holy Father would ſuffer thee to 'ſink or drown, into what dangers and perils have 'the Wicked Pirats brought thee? Amongſt what Rocks 'have they placed thee? O moſt Godly and loving 'Chriſtians, what faithful devout Man is there, which 'beholding and ſeeing the great ruine and decay of the 'Church, would not be provoked unto Tears? What 'good Conſcience is there that can refrain Weeping? He ſtirreth up the Emperor *Sigiſmund*. 'becauſe that Contention and Striſe is poured upon 'the Eccleſiaſtical Rulers, which have made us to err 'in the way, becauſe they have not found, or rather 'would not find the way of Unity and Concord: Where- 'upon ſo many Hereſies, and ſo great Confuſion is ſprung 'up, and grown in the Flock of *Peter*, and the Fold of the 'Lord.

'Many Princes, Kings and Prelates, have greatly la- 'bored and travelled for the rooting out hereof; but yet 'could they never bring to paſs, or finiſh that moſt whol- 'ſome and neceſſary Work. Wherefore moſt Chriſtian 'King, this moſt glorious and triumphant Victory hath 'tarried only for thee, the Crown and Glory thereof 'ſhall be thine for ever, and this moſt happy Victory ſhall 'be continually celebrate to thy great Honor and Praiſe, 'that thou haſt reſtored again the Church which was ſo 'ſpoiled, thou haſt removed and put away all inveterate 'and overgrown Schiſms and Diviſions; thou haſt trod- 'den down uſers of Simony, and rooted out all Here- 'ticks. Doſt thou not behold and ſee how great, per- 'petual and famous Renown and Glory it will be unto 'thee? For what can be more Juſt, what more Holy, 'what Better, what more to be Deſired; or final- 'ly, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this 'wicked and abominable Schiſm, to reſtore the Church 'again unto her Ancient Liberty, to extinguiſh and put 'away all Simony, and to condemn and deſtroy all Er- 'rors and Hereſies from amongſt the Flock of the Faith- 'ful? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, 'nothing more profitable for the whole World; and fi- 'nally, nothing more acceptable unto God. For the 'performance of which moſt Holy and Godly Work, 'thou waſt elect and choſen of God, thou waſt firſt de- 'puted and choſen in Heaven, before thou waſt elect and 'choſen upon Earth. Thou waſt firſt appointed by the 'Celeſtial and Heavenly Prince, before the Electors of 'the Empire did elect or chooſe thee, and ſpecially, that 'by the Imperial Force and Power, thou ſhouldeſt con- 'demn and deſtroy thoſe Errors and Hereſies, which we 'have preſently in hand to be condemned and ſubvert- 'ed. To the performance of this moſt holy Work, God 'hath given unto thee the knowledge and underſtanding 'of his Divine Truth and Verity, power of Princely Ma- 'jeſty, and the juſt judgment of Equity and Righteouſ- 'neſs, as the Higheſt himſelf doth ſay: I have gi- 'ven thee Underſtanding and Wiſdom, to ſpeak and ut- 'ter my words, and have ſet thee to rule over Nations 'and Kingdoms, that thou ſhouldeſt help the People, 'pluck down and deſtroy Iniquity, and by exerciſing of 'Juſtice thou ſhouldſt, I ſay, deſtroy all Errors and He- 'reſies, and ſpecially this obſtinate Heretick here preſent, 'through whoſe Wickedneſs and Miſchief, many places *Euripidem reſtas deri. dest, ethio. pem albus.* 'of the World are infected with moſt peſtilent and here- 'tical Poyſon, and by this means and occaſion almoſt ut- 'terly ſubverted and deſtroyed. This moſt holy and god- 'ly labor, O moſt noble Prince, was reſerved only for thee, 'upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and 'miniſtration of Juſtice is given. Wherefore thou haſt eſta- 'bliſhed thy praiſe and renown, even by the mouths of Note the vile flattery of theſe Papiſts, when they would have any thing of the Emperor for their pur- poſe. 'Infants and ſucking Babes, for thy praiſes ſhall be cele- 'brate for evermore, that thou haſt deſtroyed and over- 'thrown ſuch and ſo great enemies of the Faith. The 'which that thou mayeſt proſperouſly and happily perform 'and bring to paſs, our Lord Jeſus vouchſafe to grant thee his grace and help, who is bleſſed for ever and ever. Amen.

* When this Sermon was thus ended, the Proctor of the Council riſing up, named *Henricus de Piro*, required, that the Proceſs of the Cauſe againſt *John Hus* might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive Sentence. Then a certain Biſhop, which was appointed one of the Judges, declared the Proceſs of the Cauſe, which was pleaded long ſince in the Court of *Rome*, and elſewhere, between *John Hus* and the Prelates of *Prague*. The Proctor of the Council calleth for the Sentence.

At the laſt he repeated thoſe Articles which we have before remembred; amongſt the which he rehearſed alſo one Article, That *John Hus* ſhould Teach the two Natures of the Godhead and Manhood to be one Chriſt. *John Hus* went about briefly with a word or two to anſwer every of them; but as often as he was about to ſpeak, the Cardinal of *Cambray* commanded him to hold his peace, ſaying, Hereafter you ſhall anſwer all together, if you will. Then ſaid *John Hus*, How can I at once anſwer all theſe things which are alledged againſt me, when as I cannot remember them all? Then ſaid the Cardinal of *Florence*, We have heard thee ſufficiently. But when as *John Hus* for all that would not hold his peace, they ſent the Officers which ſhould force him thereunto. Then began he to intreat, pray, and beſeech them, that they would hear him, that ſuch as were preſent might not credit or believe thoſe things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for at their hands he believed eaſily to obtain that which he deſired. The Cardinal of *Cambray* commanded *John Hus* to keep ſilence. *John Hus* could not be heard in the Council. *John Hus* committeth his cauſe to the Lord Chriſt.

When the Articles aboveſaid were ended, laſt of all there was added a notable Blaſphemy, which they all imputed

Mark the unſhamefaſtneſs of them to feign what they liſt. *John. Hus* again ſlandred.

imputed to *John Hus*, that is, That he ſaid there ſhould be a fourth Perſon in Divinity, and that a certain Doctor did hear him ſpeak of the ſame. When *John Hus* deſired that the Doctor might be named, the Biſhop that alleadged the Article, ſaid, That it was not needful to name him. Then ſaid *John Hus*, O miſerable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear ſuch a blaſphemy and ſlander.

23. The Council doth call it Heretical to appeal to Chriſt.

Afterward the Article was repeated, how he appealed unto Chriſt, and that by name was called Heretical. Whereunto *John Hus* anſwered, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe word is openly condemned here in this Council, unto thee again I do appeal; which when thou waſt evil intreated of thine enemies, diddeſt appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cauſe unto a moſt juſt Judge, that by thy Example, we alſo being oppreſſed with maniſeſt Wrongs and Injuries, ſhould flee unto thee. Laſt of all the Article was rehearſed, as touching the contempt of the Excommunication by *John Hus*. Whereunto he anſwered as before, that he was excuſed by his Advocates in the Court of *Rome*, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and alſo that it may be proved by the Acts, that the Excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might clear himſelf of obſtinacy, he was for that cauſe come unto *Conſtance*, under the Emperors ſafe Conduct. When he had ſpoken theſe words, one of them which was appointed Judge, read the definitive Sentence againſt him, which followeth thus word for word.

Contempt of the Popes excommunication laid to *John Hus*

## *The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of* Conſtance *againſt* John Hus.

The ſentence againſt *John Hus*

THe moſt Holy and Sacred General Council of *Conſtance*, being congregate and gathered together, repreſenting the Catholick Church, for a perpetual Memory of the thing, as the Verity and Truth did witneſs, An evil Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of moſt damnable memory, *John Wickliff*, through his peſtiferous Doctrine, not through Jeſus Chriſt by the Goſpel; as the Holy Fathers in times paſt have begotten faithful Children, but contrary unto the wholſome Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, as a moſt venomous root, hath begotten many peſtilent and wicked Children, whom he hath left behind him, Succeſſors and Followers of his perverſe and wicked Doctrine, againſt whom this Sacred Synod of *Conſtance* is forced to riſe up, as againſt baſtards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the ſharp knife of the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, to cut up their Errors out of the Lords field, as moſt hurtful Brambles and Bryers, leſt they ſhould grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forſomuch then as in the holy General Council, lately celebrated and holden at *Rome*, it was Decreed, That the Doctrine of *John Wickliff*, of moſt damnable memory, ſhould be condemned, and that his Books which contained the ſame Doctrine, ſhould be burned as Heretical, and this Decree was approved and confirmed by the Sacred Authority of the whole Council; nevertheleſs, one *John Hus* here perſonally preſent in this Sacred Council, not the Diſciple of Chriſt, but of *John Wickliff*, an Arch-heretick, after, and contrary or againſt the Condemnation and Decree hath Taught, Preached and affirmed the Articles of *Wickliff*, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times paſt by certain moſt Reverend Fathers in Chriſt, Lords, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, of divers Kingdoms and Realms, Maſters of Divinity of divers Univerſities; eſpecially reſiſting in his open Sermons, and alſo with his Adherents and Complices in the Schools, the condemnation of the ſaid Articles of *Wickliffs*, oftentimes publiſhed in the ſaid Univerſity of *Prague*, and hath declared him the ſaid *Wickliff*, for the favor and commendation of his Doctrine, before the whole multitude of the Clergy and People, to be a Catholick Man, and a true Evangelical Doctor. He hath alſo publiſhed and affirmed certain and many of his Articles, worthily condemned to be Catholick, the which are notoriouſly contained in the Books of the ſaid *John Hus*.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information firſt had upon the premiſes by the Reverend Fathers and Lords in Chriſt of the holy Church of *Rome*, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws, in great number aſſembled and gathered together, this moſt Sacred and holy Council of *Conſtance*, declareth and determineth the Articles aboveſaid (the which after due conference had, are found in his Books written with his own hand, the which alſo the ſaid *John Hus* in open audience, before this holy Council, hath confeſſed to be in his Books) not to be Catholick, neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are Erroneous, ſome of them wicked, otherſome offenſive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and ſeditious, and the greater part of them notoriouſly Heretical, and even now of late by the holy Fathers and general Councils reproved and condemned. And forſomuch as the ſaid Articles are expreſly contained in the Books of the ſaid *John Hus*, therefore this ſaid * Sacred Council doth condemn and reprove all thoſe Books which he wrote, in what form or phraſe ſoever they be, or whether they be tranſlated by others, and doth determine and decree, That they all ſhall be ſolemnly and openly burned in the preſence of the Clergy and People of the City of *Conſtance*, and elſewhere, adding moreover for the premiſes, That all his Doctrine is worthy to be deſpiſed and eſchewed of all faithful Chriſtians. And to the intent this moſt pernicious and wicked Doctrine may be utterly excluded and ſhut out of the Church, this ſacred Synod doth ſtraitly command, that diligent Inquiſition be made by the Ordinaries of the places by the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, for ſuch Treatiſes and Works, and that ſuch as are found be confuted and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which ſhall contemn or deſpiſe this Sentence or Decree, this ſacred Synod Ordaineth and decreeth, That the Ordinaries of the places, and the Inquiſitors of Hereſies, ſhall proceed againſt every ſuch perſon as ſuſpect of Hereſie.

KING { *Hen.* 5. } They ſhall bring you before their Councils, they ſhall perſecute you, and caſt you in Priſon, and bring you before Kings and Prelates, &c.

* The ſaid *conciliabulum malignantium.*

Wherefore, after due inquiſition made againſt the ſaid *John Hus*, and full information had by the Commiſſaries and Doctors of both Laws, and alſo by the ſayings of the witneſſes which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the ſaid *John Hus*, and before the Fathers and Prelates of this ſacred Council (by the which Allegations of the witneſſes, it appeareth, that the ſaid *John Hus* hath taught many evil and offenſive, ſeditious and perilous Hereſies, and hath preached the ſame by a long time) this moſt ſacred and holy Synod, lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, the name of Chriſt being invocate and called upon, by this their Sentence which here is ſet forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that *J. Hus* was and is a true and manifeſt Heretick, and that he hath Preached openly Errors and Hereſies lately condemned by the Church of God, and many ſeditious, temerarious and offenſive things to no ſmall offence of the Divine Majeſty, and of the Univerſal Church, and detriment of the Catholick Faith, and Church, neglecting and deſpiſing the Keys of the Church, and Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. In the which his Error, he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the ſpace of many years, much offending the faithful Chriſtians by his obſtinacy and ſtubbornneſs, when as he made his Appeal unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as the moſt High Judge, omitting and leaving all Eccleſiaſtical means. In the which his Appeal he alledgeth many falſe, injurious, and offenſive matters, in contempt of the Apoſtolick See, and the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Keys.

Many ſhall come in my name, and ſhall deceive many. *Mark* 13.

The Appeal to Chriſt is derogatory to the Pope, Holineſs.

Whereupon, both for the premiſes and many other things, the ſaid Synod pronounceth *John Hus* to be an Heretick, and judgeth him by theſe Preſents to be condemned and judged as an Heretick; and reproveth the ſaid Appeal as injurious, offenſive, and done in deriſion unto the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and judgeth the ſaid *Hus* not only to have ſeduced the Chriſtian people by his Writings and Preachings, and ſpecially in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, neither to have been a true Preacher of the Goſpel of Chriſt unto the ſaid people, according to the expoſition of the holy Doctors; but alſo to have been a Seducer of them, and alſo an obſtinate and ſtiffnecked perſon, yea and ſuch an one as doth not deſire to

Verity condemned for Hereſie.

return

KING *Hen.* 5.

return again to the lap of our Holy Mother the Church, neither to abjure the Errors and Heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred Council Decreeth and declareth, that the said *John Hus* shall be famously deposed and degraded from his priestly Orders and Dignity, &c.

*John Hus* clareth himself of obstinacy.

¶ Whilest these things were thus read, *John Hus*, albeit he were forbidden to speak, notwithstanding did often interrupt them, and specially when he was reproved of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice: I was never obstinate, but as always heretofore, even so now again I desire to be taught by the Holy Scriptures, and I do profess my self to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word subvert the Errors of all Hereticks, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or danger soever it were. When his Books were condemned, he said, *Wherefore have you condemned those Books, when as you have not proved by any one Article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or Articles of Faith? And moreover what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these Books written in the* Bohemian-*Tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read?* And oftentimes looking up to Heaven he prayed.

They condemn the Books written in the Bohemian-Tongue which they never read.

When the sentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said, *Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine Enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsly accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me; forgive them I say, for thy great mercies sake.* This his Prayer and Oration the greater part, and specially the chief of the Priests, did deride and mock.

Hus prayeth for his enemies.

At the last, the seven Bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his Priesthood commanded him to put on the Garments pertaining unto Priesthood, which thing when he had done, until he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembrance the white Vesture which *Herod* put on Jesus Christ to mock him withal. So likewise in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his Priestly Vestures, the Bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and provide for his honour and safegard. Then he (according as the manner of the ceremony is) going up to the top of the Scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort.

*John Hus* commanded to put on the Priests vestments.

*John Hus* his oration unto the people.

*These Lords and Bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; the which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of Man only, they might peradventure easily perswade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy and grudg of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsly alledged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the Heavens? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, indued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure Doctrine, armed against all the assauls of* Satan? *I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile Carcase appoined unto death, than their health and salvation. At this most godly word he was forced again to hear, by the consent of the Bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.*

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven Bishops afore rehearsed, first took away the Chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying, O *cursed* Judas, *why hast thou forsaken the council and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the* Jews? *We take away from thee this Chalice of thy salvation.* But *John Hus* received this Curse in this manner: But I trust unto God the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that he will not take away the Chalice of his redemption, but have a stedfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his Kingdom. Then followed the other Bishops in order, which every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their Curse. Whereunto *John Hus* answered, *That he did willingly embrace and bear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* At the last they came to the rasing of his shaven Crown. But before the Bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what Instrument it should be done, with a Rasor or with a pair of Shears.

The degrading of *John Hus*.

In the mean season, *John Hus* turning himself toward the Emperor, said, *I marvel that forsomuch as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty. Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut off the skin of the Crown of his Head with a pair of Shears.* And when they had done that, they added these words, *Now hath the Church taken away all her ornaments and priviledges from him.* Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be delivered over unto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach. For they caused to be made a certain Crown of Paper, almost a Cubit deep, in the which were Painted three Divels of wonderful ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, *Heresiarcha.* The which when he saw, he said, *My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake did wear a Crown of Thorns; why should not I then for his sake again wear this light Crown, be it never so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly.* When it was set upon his Head, The Bishop said, *Now we commit thy Soul unto the Divel.* But I, said *John Hus* (lifting his eyes up towards the Heavens) *do commit my Spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ, unto thee I commend my Spirit which thou hast redeemed.* These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the Bishops turning themselves towards the Emperor, said, *This most sacred Synod of* Constance *leaveth now* John Hus, *which hath no more any Office, or to do in the Church of God, unto the civil judgment and power.* Then the Emperor commanded *Ludovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, which stood before him in his Robes, holding the golden Apple with the Cross in his Hand, that he should receive *John Hus* of the Bishops, and deliver him unto them which should do the execution. By whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the Church doors he saw his Books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that passed by he exhorted, not to think that he should die for any Error or Heresie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his adversaries, which had charged him with most false and unjust Crimes. All the whole City in manner being in Armor, followed him.

The words of *John Hus* unto the Emperor.

The Crown of *John Hus* pared away with shears.

The marvelous constancy and courage of the blessed Martyrs.

The paper with the inscription set upon *Hus's* head.

The profestation of *John Hus* as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gate *Gotlebian*, between the Gardens and Gates of the Suburbs. When as *John Hus* was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto Heaven, he prayed, and said certain *Psalms*, and specially the 31, and 50 *Psalms*. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his Prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord I commend my spirit, &c.* Which thing when the Lay-people beheld which stood next unto him, they said, *What hath he done afore, we know not, but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly.* Othersome wished that he had a Confessor. There was a certain Priest by, sitting on Horseback, in a green Gown, drawn, about with red silk, which said, *He ought not to be heard, because he is an Heretick.* Yet notwithstanding, whilest he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain Doctor, a Monk, as *Hus* himself doth witness in a certain Epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison. Thus Christ Reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midst of his Enemies. In the mean time whilest he prayed, as he bowed his neck backward to look upward unto Heaven, the Crown of Paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the Souldiers taking it up again, said, let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his Masters the Divels, whom he hath served.

The prayers of *John Hus* well liked of the people.

*Ex hist. Joan. Hus* 31.

The paper with Divels fell from his head.

At the prayer of *John Hus* the paper with the Divels fell down

When as by the commandment of the Tormentors he was riſen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he ſaid, *Lord Jeſus Chriſt aſſiſt and help me, that with a conſtant and patient mind, by thy moſt gracious help, I may bear and ſuffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the Preaching of thy moſt Holy Goſpel and Word.* Then, as before, he declared the cauſe of his death unto the people. In the mean ſeaſon the Hang-man ſtripped him of his Garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him faſt unto the Stake with Ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the *Eaſt*, certain cried out that he ſhould not look towards the *Eaſt*, for he was an Heretick: So he was turned towards the *Weſt*. Then was his Neck tied with a Chain unto the Stake, the which Chain when he beheld, ſmiling he ſaid, *That he would willingly receive the ſame Chain for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worſe Chain.* Under his feet they ſet two Fagots, admixing ſtraw withal, and ſo likewiſe from the feet up to the Chin he was inclofed in round about with wood. But before the wood was ſet on fire. *Lodovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, with another Gentleman with him, which was the Son of *Clement*, came and exhorted *John Hus*, that he would yet be mindful of his Safe-guard, and renounce his errors. To whom he ſaid, *What error ſhould I renounce, when as I know my ſelf guilty of none? For as for thoſe things which are falſly alledged againſt me, I know that I never did ſo much as once think them, much leſs Preach them. For this was the principal end and purpoſe of my Doctrine, that I might teach all Men penance and remiſſion of ſins, according to the verity of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the expoſition of the Holy Doctors: wherefore with a cheerful mind and courage I am here ready to ſuffer death.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, they left him, and ſhaking hands together, they departed.

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Pardon offered again to John Hus.

John Hus faſtned to the Stake.

John Hus turned toward the Weſt.

The laſt confeſſion of John Hus.

The Martyrdom of bleſſed John Hus.

Then was the Fire kindled, and *John Hus* began to ſing with a loud voice, Jeſus Chriſt the Son of the living God have mercy upon me. And when he began to ſay the ſame the third time, the Wind drove the flame ſo upon his Face, that it choked him. Yet notwithſtanding he móved a while after, by the ſpace that a Man might almoſt ſcy three times the Lords Prayer. When all the wood was burned and conſumed, the upper part of the Body was left hanging in the Chain, the which they threw down ſtake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the Head being firſt cut in ſmall gobbets, that it might the ſooner be conſumed unto Aſhes. The Heart, which was found amongſt the bowels, being well beaten with Staves and Clubs, was at laſt pricked upon a ſharp Stick, and Roſted at a Fire apart until it was conſumed. Then with great diligence gathering the Aſhes together, they caſt them into the River of *Rhene*, that the leaſt remnant of the Aſhes of that Man ſhould not be left upon the Earth, whoſe memory notwithſtanding cannot be aboliſhed out of the minds of the godly, neither by Fire, neither by Water, neither by any kind of Torment.

Precious in the ſight of Lord is the death of his Saints.

The Heart of *John Hus* beaten with Staves, and conſumed with fire.

The aſhes of *John Hus* caſt into the River of *Rhene*.

¶ I know very well that theſe things are very ſlenderly written of me as touching the labours of this moſt Holy Martyr *John Hus*, with whom the labours of *Hercules* are not to be compared. For that ancient *Hercules* ſlew a few Monſters; but this our *Hercules* with a moſt ſtout and valiant courage, hath ſubdued even the world it ſelf, the Mother of all Monſters and cruel Beaſts. This Story were worthy ſome other kind of more curious handling; but forſomuch as I cannot otherwiſe perform it my ſelf, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the ſame unto all godly minds: neither have I heard it reported by others, but I my ſelf was preſent at the doing of all theſe things, and as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howſoever it were, I might preſerve the memory of this holy Man and excellent Doctor of the Evangelical truth.

The Author and witneſs of this Story.

What was the name of this Author which wrote this Story it is not here expreſſed. *Cochleus* in his ſecond Book *contra Huſſitas*, ſuppoſeth his name to be *Johannes Pizibram*, a *Bohemian*. Who afterward ſucceeding in the place of *John Hus* at *Prague*, at laſt is thought to relent to the Papiſts.

*M. John Pizibram* is thought to be his name. *Ex Cochleo lib. 2. de Hiſt Huſſit.*

This godly Servant and Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the cruel Council, and burned at *Conſtance*, *Anno* 1415. about the month of *July*.

How grievouſly this death of *John Hus* was taken among the Nobles of *Boheme* and of *Moravia*, hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appear by their Letters which they ſent unto the Council, and by the Letters of *Sigiſmund* the King of *Romans*, written unto them. Wherein he laboureth, all that can, to purge and excuſe himſelf of *Huſſes* death. Albeit he was not altogether

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gether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood: Yet notwithſtanding he pretendeth in words ſo to wipe away that blot from him, that the greateſt part of that crime ſeemeth to reſt upon the bloody Prelates of that Council; as the words of the King do purport in form as followeth.

*Ex Cochleo de Hiſt. Huſſ. lib. 4.*

The Emperor excuſeth himſelf of the death of Hus.

*INterea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni exiſtentibus, pervenit ad Conſtantiam,* &c. *i. In the mean time as we were about the coaſts of* Rhene, John Hus *went to* Conſtance, *and there was arreſted, as is not to you unknown. Who, if he had firſt reſorted unto us, and had gone with us up to the Council, perhaps it had been otherwiſe with him. And God knoweth what grief and ſorrow it was to our heart, to ſee it ſo to fall out, as with no words can be well expreſſed. Whereof all the* Bohemians, *which were there preſent, can bear us witneſs, ſeeing and beholding how careful and ſolicitous we were in labouring for him: Inſomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the Council; and not only out of the Council, but alſo went out of the City of* Conſtance *taking his part, unto ſuch time as the Rulers of the Council ſending unto us, ſaid;* That if we would not permit them to proſecute that which right required in the Council, what ſhould they then do in the place? *Whereupon thus we thought with our ſelves, that here was nothing elſe for us more to do, nor yet to ſpeak in this caſe, foraſmuch as the whole Council otherwiſe had been diſſolved. Where is to be noted moreover, that in* Conſtance *the ſame time there was not one Clerk, or two, but there were Ambaſſadors from all Kings and Princes in* Chriſtendom, *eſpecially, ſince the time that* (Petrus de Luna *giving over) all thoſe Kings and Princes which took his part, came to us; ſo that whatſoever good was to be done, it was now to be paſſed in this preſent Council, &c.* Ex Regiſt. Imp Sigiſmund. ad Nobiles, *&c.*

¶ By this it may appear that the Emperor, as partly aſhamed and ſorry of that which was, would gladly have cleared himſelf thereof, and have waſhed his hands with *Pilate*; yet he could not ſo clear himſelf, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehenſion, as may appear by his laſt words ſpoken in the Council to *John Hus*, whereof *John Hus* in his Epiſtles complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in *Boheme* in his 33*d* Epiſtle, as by his words here following may appear.

*Ex Epiſt. J. Hus. 33.*

The Emperor uncourteous to John Hus.

*I Deſire you yet again for the love of God, that the Lords of* Boheme *joyning together will deſire the King for a final audience to be given to me. Forſomuch as he alone ſaid to me in the Council, that they ſhould give me audience ſhortly, and that I ſhould anſwer for my ſelf briefly in writing: it will be to his great confuſion, if he ſhall not perform that which he hath ſpoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and ſure, as the other was concerning my ſafe conduct granted by him. Certain there were in* Bohemia, *which willed me to beware of his ſafe conduct. And other ſaid, he will ſurely give you to your Enemies. And the* Mileſt Dwaky *told me before* M. Jeſſenitz, *ſaying, Maſter, know it for certain you ſhall be condemned. And this I ſuppoſe he ſpake, knowing before the intention of the King. I hope well that he had been well affected toward the Law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor ſo prudently circumſpect in himſelf. He condemned me before mine enemies did. Who if it had pleaſed him, might have kept the moderation of* Pilate *the Gentile, which ſaid: I find no cauſe in this man: or at leaſt if he had ſaid but thus, Behold, I have given him his ſafe conduct ſafely to return: And if he will not abide the deciſion of the Council, I will ſend him home to the King of* Bohemia *with your ſentence and atteſtations, that he with his Clergy may judge him. But now I hear by the relation of* Henry Leffy, *and of other, that he will ordain for me ſufficient audience; And if I will not ſubmit my ſelf to the judgment of the Council, he will ſend me ſafe, the contrary way,* &c.

Pilate more moderate to Chriſt, than this Emperor to John Hus.

This *John Hus* being in priſon, wrote divers Treatiſes, as of the Commandments, of the Lords Prayer, of mortal Sin, of Matrimony, of the knowledge and love of God, of three Enemies of mankind, the world, and fleſh, and the Divel, of Penance, of the Sacrament of the Body and blood of the Lord, of the ſufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote alſo divers Epiſtles and Letters to the Lords, and to his Friends of *Boheme*; And in his writings did foreſhew many things before to come, touching the reformation of the Church; and ſeemeth in the priſon to have had divers prophetical revelations ſhewed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions, I thought here underneath to inſert, in ſuch ſort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the Volume too much; nor yet in reciting of none will I be ſo brief, but that the Reader may have ſome taſte, and take ſome profit of the Chriſtian writings and doings of this bleſſed man; Firſt beginning with the letter of the Lord *Clum*, concerning the ſafe conduct of *John Hus*.

## *A Letter of the Lord* John de Clum, *concerning the ſafe conduct of* John Hus.

'TO all and ſingular that ſhall ſee and hear theſe preſents, I *John de Clum* do it to underſtand, how Maſter *John Hus* Bachelor of Divinity, under the ſafe conduct 'and protection of the renowned Prince and Lord *Sigiſmond* of *Romans*, *ſemper Auguſtus*, and King of *Hungary*, '&c. My gracious Lord, and under the protection, defence, and 'ſafegard of the holy Empire of *Rome*, having the Letters 'Patent of the ſaid my Lord King of *Romans*, &c. Came 'unto *Conſtance* to render a full count of his faith in pub'lick audience to all that would require the ſame. This the 'ſaid Maſter *John Hus*, in this Imperial City of *Conſtance*, 'under the ſafe conduct of the ſaid my Lord King of *Ro'mans*, hath been and yet is detained. And although the Pope 'with the Cardinals have been ſeriouſly required by ſolemn 'Ambaſſadors of the ſaid my Lord King of *Romans*, &c. In 'the Kings Name and behalf, that the ſaid Maſter *John Hus* 'ſhould be ſet at liberty, and be reſtored unto me, yet not'withſtanding, they have and yet do refuſe hitherto to ſet 'him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the 'ſafe conduct of the King, and of the ſafegard and protecti'on of the Empire, or Imperial Majeſty. Wherefore I *John* 'aforeſaid, in the name of the King, do here publiſh and make 'it known, that the apprehending, and detaining of the ſaid 'Maſter *John Hus* was done wholly againſt the will of the 'forenamed King of *Romans* my Lord, ſeeing it is done in 'the contempt of the ſafe conduct of his ſubjects, and of the 'protection of the Empire, becauſe that the ſaid my Lord 'was then abſent far from *Conſtance*, and if he had been 'there preſent, would never have permitted the ſame. And 'when he ſhall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but 'that he, for this great injury and contempt of this ſafe con'duct done to him and to the Empire, will grievouſly be 'moleſted for the ſame.

*Given at* Conſtance, *in the day of the Nativity of the Lord*, 1414.

¶ In this Inſtrument above prefixed note (gentle Reader) three things.

Firſt, The goodneſs of this gentle Lord *John de Clum*, being ſo fervent and zealous in the cauſe of *John Hus*, or rather in the cauſe of Chriſt.

Secondly, The ſafe conduct granted unto the ſaid *John Hus*, under the faith and protection of the Emperor, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, Here is to be ſeen the contempt and rebellion of theſe proud Prelates, in diſobeying the authority of their high Magiſtrate, who contrary to his ſafe conduct given, and the mind of the Emperor, did arreſt and impriſon this good man, before the coming of the ſaid Emperor, and before that *John Hus* was heard. Let us now, as we have promiſed, adjoyn ſome of the Epiſtles of this godly Man.

## *An Epiſtle of* John Hus, *unto the people of* Prague, *in his own vulgar Speech.*

A Letter of John Hus to the people of Prague.

'GRace and Peace from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you being delivered from ſin may walk in his grace, 'and may grow in all modeſty and vertue, and after this 'may enjoy eternal life.

'Dearly beloved, I beſeech you which walk after the Law 'of God, that you caſt not away the care of the ſalvation 'of your ſouls, when as you hearing the Word of God

'are premoniſhed wiſely to underſtand that you be not deceived by falſe Apoſtles; which do not reprehend the ſins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminiſh them; which flatter the Prieſts, and do not ſhew to the people their offences; which magnifie themſelves, boaſt their own works, and marvelouſly extol their own worthineſs, but follow not Chriſt in his humility, in poverty, in the Croſs and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premoniſh us before, ſaying; *Falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets ſhall riſe, and ſhall deceive many.* And when he had forewarned his welbeloved Diſciples, he ſaid unto them, *Beware and take heed of falſe Prophets, which come to you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye ſhall know them by their fruits.* And truth it is, that the faithful of Chriſt have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themſelves. For as our Saviour himſelf doth ſay, The elect alſo, if it were poſſible, ſhall be brought into error. Wherefore my welbeloved, be circumſpect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the Devil. And the more circumſpect ye ought to be, for that Antichriſt laboureth the more to trouble you. The laſt judgment is near at hand: death ſhall ſwallow up many, but to the elect children of God the Kingdom of God draweth near, becauſe for them he gave his own Body. Fear not death, love together one another, perſevere in underſtanding the good will of God without ceaſing. Let the terrible and horrible day of Judgment be always before your eyes, that you ſin not; and alſo the joy of eternal life, whereunto you muſt endeavour. Furthermore, let the paſſion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, whatſoever ſhall be laid upon you. For if you ſhall conſider well in your minds his croſs and afflictions, nothing ſhall be grievous unto you, and patiently you ſhall give place to tribulations, curſings, rebukes, ſtripes, and priſonment, and ſhall not doubt to give to your lives moreover for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, welbeloved, that Antichriſt being ſtirred up againſt you, deviſeth divers perſecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the leaſt hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can teſtifie, although he hath been vehemently incenſed againſt me. Wherefore I deſire you all, with your prayers to make interceſſion for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, ſufferance, patience and conſtancy, that I never ſwarve from his divine verity. He hath brought me now to *Conſtance*. In all my journey, openly and manifeſtly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the ſervant of God. In no place I kept my ſelf ſecret, nor uſed any diſſimulation. But never did I find in any place more peſtilent and manifeſt Enemies than at *Conſtance*. Which Enemies neither ſhould I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own *Bohemians*, Hypocrites and Deceivers, who, for benefits received, and ſtirred up with covetouſneſs, with boaſting and bragging have perſwaded the people that I went about to ſeduce them out of the right way: But I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I ſhall perſiſt ſtrongly in the immutable verity of God unto the laſt breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his Office, I only as an outcaſt am neglected, &c. I commend you to the merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin *Mary* which hath redeemed us by his moſt bitter death, without all merits, from eternal pains, from the Thraldom of the Devil, and from ſin.

*From* Conſtance *the Year of our Lord*, 1415.

## Another Letter of *John Hus* to his Benefactors.

Another Letter of John Hus.

'MY gracious Benefactors and Defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that now ye ſetting aſide the vanities of this preſent world, will give your ſervice to the Eternal King, Chriſt the Lord. Truſt not in Princes, nor in the Sons of men, in whom there is no health. For the Sons of Men are diſſemblers and deceitful. To day they are, to morrow they periſh, but God remaineth for ever. Who hath his ſervants, not for any need he hath of them, but for their own profit: unto whom he performeth that which he promiſeth, and fulfilleth that which he purpoſeth to give. He caſteth off no faithful ſervant from him; for he ſaith; Where I am, there alſo ſhall my ſervant be. And the Lord maketh every ſervant of his to be the Lord of all his poſſeſſion, giving himſelf unto him, and with himſelf, all things; that without all tediouſneſs, fear, and without all defect he may poſſeſs all things, rejoycing with all Saints in joy infinite. O happy is that ſervant, whom, when the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall find watching. Happy is the ſervant which ſhall receive that King of Glory with joy. Wherefore welbeloved Lords and Benefactors, ſerve you that King in fear; which ſhall bring you, as I truſt, now to *Bohemè* at this preſent by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the laſt Letter that I ſhall write to you; who to morrow, as I ſuppoſe, ſhall be purged in hope of Jeſus Chriſt, through bitter death for my ſins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. *Sigiſmund* hath done all things with me deceitfully, God forgive him, and only for your ſakes. You alſo heard the ſentence which he awarded againſt me. I pray you have no ſuſpition of faithful *Vitus*.

{KING Hen. 5.}

## Another Letter to the Lord *John de Clum*.

Another Letter of John Hus.

'MOſt gracious Benefactor in Chriſt Jeſus, dearly beloved, yet I rejoyce not a little, that by the grace of God I may write unto your honour. By your Letter, which I received Yeſterday; I underſtand, Firſt how the iniquity of the great ſtrumpet, that is, of the Malignant Congregation (whereof mention is made in the *Apoc.*) is detected, and ſhall be more detected. With the which ſtrumpet the Kings of the Earth do commit Fornication, fornicating ſpiritually from Chriſt, and as is there ſaid, ſliding back from the truth, and conſenting to the lies of Antichriſt, through his ſeduction and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceived by your Letter how the Enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the ſetled conſtancy of your charity, wherewith you profeſs the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful ſervice of this preſent world, and to ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt quietly at home. Whom to ſerve is to Reign, as *Gregory* ſaith, *Whom he that ſerved faithfully, hath Jeſus Chriſt himſelf in the Kingdom of Heaven to miniſter unto him*, as he himſelf ſaith, *Bleſſed is that ſervant, whom when the Lord ſhall come, he ſhall find waking, and ſo doing. Verily I ſay unto you, that he riſing ſhall gird himſelf, and ſhall miniſter to him.* This do not the Kings of the world to their ſervants; whom only they do love ſo long as they are profitable and neceſſary for their commodities, *&c.*

## Another Epiſtle of *John Hus*, wherein he declareth why God ſuffereth not his to periſh, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himſelf and other.

'THE Lord God be with you. Many cauſes there were, welbeloved in God my dear Friends, which moved me to think that thoſe Letters were the laſt, which before I ſent unto you, looking that ſame time for inſtant death. But now underſtanding the ſame to be deferred, I take it for great comfort unto me, that I have ſome leaſure more to talk with you by Letters. And therefore I write again to you, to declare and teſtifie at leaſt my gratitude and mindful duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my welbeloved Brother Maſter *Jerom*, who I truſt will die holily and without blame; and do know alſo that he doth, and ſuffereth now more valiantly, than I my ſelf a wretched ſinner. God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our ſins the better, and repent for the ſame more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation ſhould put away our grievous ſins, and bring the more conſolation. He hath given us time, wherein we ſhould remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful King and Lord Jeſus, and ſhould ponder his cruel death, and ſo more patiently might learn to bear our afflictions. And moreover that we might keep in remembrance, how that the joyes of the life to come are

not

KING *Hen.5.*

'not given after the joyes of this world immediately, but 'through many tribulations the Saints have entred into the 'Kingdom of Heaven. For some of them have been cut 'and chopt all to pieces, some their eyes bored through, 'some sod, some roasted, some slain alive, some buried 'quick, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt millstones, drawn 'and hailed hither and thither unto execution, drowned in 'waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with 'rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted 'in bands. And who is able to recite all the torments and 'sufferings of the holy Saints, which they suffered under 'the *Old* and *New Testament* for the verity of God; 'namely, those which have at any time rebuked the malice 'of the Priests; or have Preached against their wickedness? 'And it will be a marvel if any man now also shall escape 'unpunished, whosoever dare boldly resist the wickedness 'and pervertity, especially of those Priests, which can abide 'no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled 'now to read my Books, in the which their malice is some- 'what described; and I know they have read the same 'more exactly and willingly, than the Bibly Gospel, seek- 'ing therein to find out errors. Given at *Constance* upon 'Thursday, the 28*th* day of *June*, *Anno* 1415.

A the ments of the Martyrs under the old and New Testament

## *Another Letter of* John Hus *wherein he rehearseth what injuries he received of the Council, and of the Deputies.*

'IF my Letter be not yet sent to *Boheme*, keep it and 'send it not, for hurt may come thereof, *&c.*

'*Item*, If the King do ask, who ought to be my Judge, 'since that the Council neither did call me, nor did cite me, 'neither was I ever accused before the Council, and yet the 'Council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their 'Proctor against me.

'*Item*, I desire you, right noble and gracious Lord *John*, 'audience shall be given me, that the King will be there 'present himself, and that I may have a place appointed 'near unto him, that he may hear me well, and under- 'stand what I say; and that you also with the Lord *Henry*, 'and with Lord *Wencelaus* and other mo, if you may, will 'be present, and hear what the Lord Jesus Christ, my 'procurator and advocate, and most gracious Judge, will 'put in my mouth to speak, that whether I live or die, 'you may be true and upright witnesses with me, lest 'lying lips shall say hereafter that I swarved away from the 'truth which I have Preached.

'*Item*, Know you that before witnesses and notaries in 'prison, I desire the Commissioners that they would depute 'unto me a Proctor and an Advocate, who promised so to 'do, and afterward would not perform it. Wherefore I have 'committed my self to the Lord Jesus Christ, that he will 'be my Procurator and Advocate and Judge of my Cause.

'*Item*, Know you, that they have as I suppose, no other 'quarrel against me, but only this, that I stood against the 'Popes Bull, which Pope *John* sent down to *Boheme*, to 'sanctifie war with the sign of the Cross and full remission 'of sins to all them which would take the holy Cross, to 'fight for the Patrimony of the *Romish* Church against 'Ladislaus King of *Naples*, and they have mine own writing 'which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be 'mine. Secondly, They have also against me, that I have 'continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take 'upon me to minister in the Church and say Mass. 'Thirdly, They have against me, because I did appeal from 'the Pope to Christ. For they read my appeal before me, 'the which with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before 'them all to be mine. Fourthly, Because I left a certain Let- 'ter behind me, which was read in the Church of *Bethleem*, 'the which Letter my adversaries have very evil favouredly 'translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did 'write that I went out with a safe conduct. Whereunto 'you your selves can say and bear me record, that I in my 'going out had no safe conduct of the Pope, neither yet 'did I know whether you should go out with me when I 'wrote that Letter.

'*Item*, If audience may be given to me, and that after the 'same audience the King would suffer me not to be retur- 'ned again into prison, but that I may have your Counsels 'and others my Friends; and if it may please God that I 'may say something to my soveraign Lord the King, for the 'behalf of Christianity, and for his own profit, *&c.*

Vid. supra, Pag. 480.

## *Another Letter of* John Hus, *wherein he confirmeth the* Bohemians, *and describeth the wickedness of that Council.*

Another Letter of John Hus.

'*John Hus*, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful 'in *Boheme*, which love the Lord, greeting through the 'grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs 'admonish you, that be the faithful and beloved of the Lord, 'how that the Council of *Constance* being full of pride, ava- 'rice, and all abomination, hath condemned my Books writ- 'ten in the *Boheme*-Tongue for Heretical, which Books they 'never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had 'heard them, yet they could not understand the same, being 'some *Italians*, some *Frenchmen*, some *Britains*, some '*Spaniards*, *Germains*, with other people of other Nations 'moe; unless peradventure *John* Bishop of *Litomish* under- 'stood them, which was present in that Council, and cer- 'tain other *Bohemians*, and Priests which are against me, 'and labour all they may how to deprave both the verity of 'God, and the honesty of our Country of *Boheme*. Which 'I judge in the hope of God, to be a godly Land, right well 'given to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth 'so greatly desire the Word of God, and honest manners. 'And if you were here at *Constance*, ye should see the grie- 'vous abomination of this Council, which they call so holy, 'and such as cannot erre. Of the which Council I have 'heard it by the *Swechers* reported, that the City of *Con- 'stance* is not able in thirty years to be purged of those 'abominations in that Council committed. And all be of- 'fended almost with that Council, being sore grieved to 'behold such execrable things perpetrate in the same.

The Coun- cil condemn Books which they understand not.

Praise of Bohemia.

The abomi- nation of the Council of *Constance* described.

'When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, 'seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing 'them also outragiously crying out, I said plainly unto them, 'that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better or- 'der and discipline in that Council. Then the chief Cardi- 'nal answered, sayest thou so? But in the Tower thou spakest 'more modestly. To whom said I, In the Tower no man 'cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me, 'My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with 'their sentence in condemning my Books. They shall be 'scattered hither and thither abroad, like light Butterflies, 'and their statutes shall endure as Spider-webs. They went 'about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ: 'but they could not overcome the vertue of God in me. 'They would not reason with the Scripture against me, as 'divers honourable Lords can witness with me, which being 'ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, took my 'part stoutly; namely Lord *Wenceslaus de Duba*, and Lord '*John de Clum*: for they were let in by King *Sigismund* 'into the Council. And when I said, that I was desirous to 'be instructed if I did in any thing erre; then they heard 'the chief Cardinal answer again; Because thou wouldest 'be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first 'revoke thy Doctrine according to the determination of Fif- 'ty Bachelors of Divinity appointed. O high instruction!

*John Hus* seemeth here to prophecy of the Council, as it came to pass.

The Coun- cil afraid to be tried by the Scriptures.

This Cardi- dal was Cardinal *Cambrensis.*

'After like manner S. *Katherine* also should have denied 'and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because 'the fifty Masters likewise did withstand her: which not- 'withstanding, that good Virgin would never do, standing 'in her faith unto death: But she did win those her 'Masters unto Christ, when as I cannot win these my 'Masters by any means. These things I thought good to 'write unto you, that you might know how they have 'overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any 'reason: but only did assay with terrors and deceits to per- 'swade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, 'whose Law I have magnified, was and is with me, and 'I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace 'unto death. Written at *Constance* after the Feast of *John* 'Baptist, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; 'although for the secret Judgments of God, I dare not say 'whether this be my last Epistle: for now also Almighty 'God is able to deliver me.

S. Katharine disputed with fifty Doctors, converted them; but *John Hus* could not convert his fifty Doctors.

## * *Another Letter of* John Hus, *wherein he comforteth his Friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his Books: and alſo declareth the wickedneſs of the Clergy.*

'MAſter *John Hus*, in hope the Servant of God, to all the Faithful which love him and his Statutes, wiſheth the Truth and Grace of God.

'Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you ſhould not fear or be diſcouraged, becauſe the Adverſaries have decreed that my Books ſhall be burnt. Remember how the *Iſraelites* burned the preachings of the Prophet *Jeremy*, and yet they could not avoid the things that were propheſied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the ſame Propheſie again, and that larger, which was alſo done. For *Jeremy* ſitting in priſon ſpake, and *Baruch* which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty fifth or forty fifth Chapter of the Viſion of *Jeremy*. It is alſo written in the Books of the *Machabees*, *That the wicked did burn the Law of* GOD, *and killed them that had the ſame*. Again, under the *New Teſtament*, they burned the Saints, with the Books of the Law of GOD. The Cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of Saint *Gregories* Books, and had burnt them all if they had not been preſerved of GOD by the means of *Peter Gregories* Miniſter. Having theſe things before your eyes, take heed leſt through fear you omit to read my Books, and deliver them to the Adverſaries to be burnt. Remember the ſayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, *Matth.* 24. *There ſhall be* (ſaith he) *before the day of Judgment, great Tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning, until this day, neither ſhall be afterwards: So that even the Elect of God ſhould be deceived, if it were poſſible. But for their ſakes thoſe days ſhall be ſhortned.* When you remember theſe things (beloved) be not afraid, for I truſt in GOD that that School of *Antichriſt* ſhall be afraid of you, and ſuffer you to be in quiet, neither ſhall the Council of *Conſtance* extend to *Bohemia*. For I think, that many of them which are of the Council, ſhall die before they ſhall get from you my Books. And they ſhall depart from the Council and be ſcattered abroad, throughout the parts of the World, like *Storks*, and then they ſhall know when *Winter* cometh, what they did in *Summer*. Conſider that they have judged their Head the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible Facts that he hath done. Go to now; Anſwer to this you Preachers, which Preach that the Pope is the god of the Earth, that he may, as the Lawyers ſay, make ſale of the holy things; that he is the Head of the whole holy Church, in verity well governing the ſame; that he is the heart of the Church in quickning the ſame ſpiritually: that he is the Well-ſpring from which floweth all vertue and goodneſs: that he is the Sun of the holy Church: that he is the ſafe Refuge to which every Chriſtian man ought to fly for Succour. Behold now that Head is cut off with the Sword, now the god of the Earth is bound, now his Sins are declared openly, now that Well-ſpring is dried up, that Sun darked, that Heart is plucked out and thrown away, leſt that any man ſhould ſeek ſuccour thereat. The Council hath condemned that Head, and that for this offence, becauſe he took money for Indulgences, Biſhopricks, and other ſuch like. But they condemned him by Order of Judgment which were themſelves the Buyers and Sellers of the ſame Merchandiſe. There was preſent *John* Biſhop of *Lytomiſſia*, who went twice about to buy the Biſhoprick of *Prague*, but others prevented him. O wicked men, why did they not firſt caſt out the beam of their own eyes? Theſe men have accurſed and condemned the Seller, but they themſelves which were the Buyers and Conſenters to the Bargain, are without danger. What ſhall I ſay, that they do uſe this manner of buying and ſelling at home in their own Countries? For at *Conſtance* there is one Biſhop that bought, and another which ſold, and the Pope for allowing of both their Facts took Bribes on both ſides. It came ſo to paſs in *Bohemia* alſo as you know. I would that in that Council God had ſaid, *He that amongſt you is without ſin let him give the Sentence againſt Pope* John; Then ſurely they had gone all out of the Council-houſe, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always, before this his fall, kiſs his Feet, and call him *The moſt holy Father*, ſeeing they ſaw apparently before, that he was an Heretick, that he was a Killer, that he was a wicked Sinner, all which things now they have found in him? Why did the Chardinals chooſe him to be Pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy Father? Why ſuffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the Office of the Popedom? for to this end they are his Counſellors, that they ſhould admoniſh him of that which is right. Are not they themſelves as guilty of theſe faults as he? ſeeing that they accounted theſe things Vices in him, and were partakers of ſome of them themſelves? Why durſt no man lay ought to his charge, before he had fled from *Conſtance*, but as ſoon as the ſecular power, by the ſufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they conſpired all together that he ſhould not live any longer? Surely, even at this day is the malice, the abomination and filthineſs of *Antichriſt* revealed in the Pope and others of this Council.

'Now the faithful Servants of GOD may underſtand what our Saviour Chriſt meant by this ſaying, *When you ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, which is ſpoken of by* Daniel, &c. *who ſo can underſtand it, &c.* Surely, theſe be great Abominations, pride, covetouſneſs, ſimony, ſitting in a ſolitary place; that is to ſay, in a Dignity without of goodneſs, of humility, and other vertues; as we do now clearly ſee in thoſe that are conſtituted in any Office and Dignity. O how acceptable a thing ſhould it be (if time would ſuffer me) to diſcloſe their wicked acts, which are now apparent, that the faithful Servants of God might know them? I truſt in God that he will ſend after me thoſe that ſhall be more valiant; and there are alive at this day, that ſhall make more manifeſt the malice of *Antichriſt*, and ſhall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall give both to you and me the joys of life everlaſting. This Epiſtle was written upon S. *John Baptiſts-day* in priſon and in cold Irons, having this meditation with my ſelf, that *John* was beheaded in his priſon and bonds, for the word of God.

Good books of good men have been burned of old time.

Good men with theſe books to be burned no news.

This how fitteth to propheſie of the Council of *Conſtance*

The blaſphemous opinion of Lawyers and Papiſts touching the Sovereignty of the Pope.

One Simoniſt condemneth another.

The Biſhops of the Council noted of Simony.

KING Hen. 5.

Pope *John* made a Pope, being known to be a murderer.

*Antichriſt* now firſt beginneth to be revealed in the Pope.

A Propheſie of *John Hus*

## *Another Letter of* John Hus.

'*John Hus* in hope the Servant of GOD, to all the faithful at *Boheme*, which love the Lord, wiſheth to ſtand and die in the Grace of God, and at laſt to attain unto eternal life.

'Ye that bear Rule over other and be rich, and ye alſo that be poor, welbeloved and faithful in God, I beſeech you, and admoniſh you all, that ye will be obedient unto God, make much of his Word, and gladly hearing the ſame, will humbly perform that which ye hear. I beſeech you ſtick faſt to the verity of Gods Word, which I have written and preached unto you out of his Law, and the Sermons of his Saints. Alſo I deſire you if any man either in publick Sermon, or in private talk heard of me any thing, or have read any thing written by me which is againſt the verity of God, that he do not follow the ſame. Albeit I do not find my conſcience guilty that I ever have ſpoken or written any ſuch thing amongſt you.

'I deſire you moreover if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that he do not follow the ſame; but pray to GOD for me, to pardon me that ſin of lightneſs. I pray you that ye will love your Prieſts and Miniſters, which be of honeſt behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; namely, ſuch Prieſts as travel in the Word of God. I pray you take heed to your ſelves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and eſpecially of theſe wicked Prieſts of whom our Saviour doth ſpeak, *That they are under ſheeps clothing, and inwardly are ravening Wolves.* I pray ſuch as be Rulers and Superiors, to behave themſelves gently towards their poor Inferiors, and to Rule them juſtly. I beſeech the Citizens that they will walk every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conſcience. The Artificers alſo I beſeech, that they will

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'exerciſe their Occupations diligently, and uſe them with 'the fear of GOD. I beſeech the Servants, that they will ſerve their Maſters faithfully. And likewiſe the School-Maſters I beſeech, that they living honeſtly will bring up their Scholars vertuouſly, and teach them faithfully, firſt to learn to fear God; then for the glory of God and the publick utility of the Commonwealth, and their own health, and not for avarice or for worldly honour, to employ their minds to honeſt Arts. I beſeech the Students of the Univerſity and all Schools, in all honeſt things to obey their Maſters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence they will ſtudy to be profitable both to the ſetting forth of the Glory of God, and to the Souls health, as well of themſelves, as of other men. Together I beſeech and pray you all, that you will yield moſt hearty thanks to the right honourable Lords, the Lord *Wencelaus de Duba*, Lord *John de Clum*, Lord *Henry Lumlovio*, Lord *Vilem Zagecio*, Lord *Nicholas*, and other Lords of *Boheme*, of *Moravia* and *Polonie*; that their 'diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; 'becauſe that they, like valiant Champions of Gods truth, 'have oftentimes ſet themſelves againſt the whole Council 'for my deliverance, contending and ſtanding againſt the 'ſame to the uttermoſt of their power; but eſpecially 'Lord *Wencelaus de Duba*, and Lord *John de Clum*. 'Whatſoever they ſhall report unto you, give credit unto 'them; for they were in the Council when I there anſwered many. They know who they were of *Bohemia*, 'and how many falſe and ſlanderous things they brought 'in againſt me, and that Council cried out againſt me, and 'how I alſo anſwered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beſeech you alſo that ye will pray for the King of '*Romans*, and for your King, and for his Wife your Queen, 'that God of his mercy would abide with them and with 'you, both now and henceforth in everlaſting life. *Amen.*

all noble men to pray and to follow.

'This Epiſtle I have written to you out of priſon and 'in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof 'for the ſentence of the Council upon my death; having 'a full truſt that he will not leave me, neither ſuffer me 'to deny his truth, and to revoke the errors, which falſe 'Witneſſes maliciouſly have deviſed againſt me. How mer-'cifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with 'me in marvelous temptations, ye ſhall know when as 'hereafter by the help of Chriſt we ſhall all meet together 'in the joy of the World to come. As concerning Maſter '*Hierome* my dearly beloved Brother and Fellow, I hear no 'other but that he is remaining in ſtrait bonds, looking for 'death as I do; and that for the Faith which he valiantly 'maintained amongſt the *Bohemians*, our cruel enemies of 'Boheme have given us into the power and hands of other 'enemies, and into bands. I beſeech you pray to God for 'them.

'Moreover, I beſeech you, namely you of *Prague*, that 'ye will love the Temple of *Bethlehem*, and provide ſo 'long as God ſhall permit, that the Word of God may be 'preached in the ſame. For, becauſe of that place, the 'Devil is angry, and againſt the ſame place he hath ſtirred 'up Prieſts and Canons, perceiving that in that place his 'Kingdom ſhould be diſturbed and diminiſhed. I truſt in 'God that he will keep that holy Church ſo long as it ſhall 'pleaſe him, and in the ſame ſhall give greater increaſe of 'his Word by other, than he hath done by me a weak 'Veſſel. I beſeech you alſo, that ye will love one another, 'and withholding no man from the hearing of Gods 'Word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not 'oppreſſed by any force and violence. *Written at* Conſtance, *the year of our Lord*, 1415.

## ¶ Another right godly Letter of *John Hus* to a certain Prieſt admoniſhing him of his Office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all Miniſters.

A worthy Leſſon for all Miniſters and Prelates.

THE *peace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c. My dear Brother be diligent in preaching the Goſpel, and do the work of a good Evangeliſt; neglect not your vocation; labour like a bleſſed Souldier of Chriſt. Firſt, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to other in well-doing, that you be not reprehended in your ſayings; correct Vice and ſet forth Vertue. To evil Livers threaten eternal puniſhment; but to thoſe that be faithful and godly, ſet forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be ſhort and fruitful, prudently underſtanding, and diſcreetly diſpenſing the holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain thoſe things that be uncertain and doubtful, leſt that your Adverſaries take hold upon you, which rejoyce in depraving their Brethren, whereby they may bring the Miniſters of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confeſſion of their Faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whereby ſuch as do repent earneſtly of their ſins, may the more often come to the holy Communion. And I warn you that you enter into no Taverns with Gueſts, and be not a common Company-keeper. For the more a Preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, whereſoever you may profit other. Againſt fleſhly luſt preach continually all that ever you can; For that is the raging Beaſt, which devoureth men, for whom the Fleſh of Chriſt did ſuffer. Wherefore my heartily beloved, I beſeech you to fly Fornication; for whereas a man would moſt profit and do good, there this Vice uſeth moſt to lurk. In any caſe fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; For S.* Auſtin *ſaith*, The more devout ſhe is, the more proclive to wantonneſs, and under the pretence of Religion the ſnare and venome of Fornication lurketh. *And this know my welbeloved, that the Converſation with them ſubverteth many, whom the Converſation of this World could never blemiſh nor beguile. Admit no Women into your houſe, for what cauſe ſoever it be, and have not much talk with them otherwiſe, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howſoever you do, fear God and keep his Precepts; ſo ſhall you walk wiſely, and ſhall not periſh; ſo ſhall you ſubdue the Fleſh, contemn the World, and overcome the Devil; ſo ſhall you put on God, find life, and confirm other, and ſhall crown your ſelf with the Crown of Glory, the which the juſt Judge ſhall give you.* Amen.

S. Auguſtine meaneth not here of all, but of the common ſort of light perſons.

## ¶ *This Letter of* John Hus *containeth a confeſſion of the infirmity of mans fleſh, how weak it is, and repugnant againſt the ſpirit. Wherein he alſo exhorteth to perſevere conſtantly in the truth.*

'HEalth be to you from Jeſus Chriſt, &c. My dear friend, 'I know that *Paletz* came to me to perſwade me 'that I ſhould not fear the ſhame of abjuration, but to con-'ſider the good which thereof will come. To whom I ſaid, '*That the ſhame of condemnation and burning is greater 'than to abjure*; and why ſhould I fear then that ſhame? 'But I pray you tell me plainly your mind: Preſuppoſe 'that ſuch Articles were laid to you, which you knew your 'ſelf not to be true; what would you do in that caſe? 'would you abjure? Who anſwered, *The caſe is ſore, and 'began to weep.* Many other things he ſpake which I did 'reprehend. *Michael de Cauſis* was ſometimes before in 'the priſon with the Deputies. And when I was with the 'Deputies, thus I heard him ſpeak unto the Keepers, *We 'by the Grace of God will burn this Heretick ſhortly, for 'whoſe cauſe I have ſpent many Florens.* But yet under-'ſtand that I write not this to the intent to revenge me of 'him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God 'for him with all my heart.

This *Paletz* was the chiefeſt enemy of *John Hus*, and procurer of his death.

*Michael de Cauſis* another bitter enemy of *John Hus*. *John Hus* prayeth for his enemies.

'Yet I exhort you again, to be circumſpect about our 'Letters. For *Michael* hath taken ſuch order, that none 'ſhall be ſuffered to come into the priſon; no nor yet the 'Keepers wives are permitted to come to me. O holy 'God, how largely doth *Antichriſt* extend his power and 'cruelty? But I truſt that his Power ſhall be ſhortned, and 'his Iniquity ſhall be detected more and more amongſt the 'faithful people.

A Propheſie of *J. Hus*.

'Almighty God ſhall confirm the hearts of his Faithful, 'whom he hath choſen before the conſtitution of the 'world, that they may receive the eternal Crown of Glory. 'And let *Antichriſt* rage ſo much as he will, yet he ſhall 'not prevail againſt Chriſt, which ſhall deſtroy him with 'the ſpirit of his mouth, as the Apoſtle ſaith; and then 'ſhall the Creature be delivered out of ſervitude of corrup-'tion, into the liberty of the glory of the Sons of God, as 'ſaith the Apoſtle in the words following. *We alſo within*

'our

'*our ſelves do groan, waiting for the Adoption of the Sons* '*of God, the redemption of our Body.*

'I am greatly comforted in thoſe words of our Saviour, '*Happy be you when men ſhall hate you, and ſhall ſeparate* '*you, and ſhall rebuke you, and ſhall caſt out your name as* '*execrable, for the Son of man: Rejoyce and be glad, for* '*behold, great is your reward in Heaven,* Luke 6. O wor- 'thy, yea O moſt worthy Conſolation, which not to un- 'derſtand, but to practiſe in time of Tribulation, is a hard 'Leſſon.

The example of Chriſt

'This rule Saint *James*, with the other Apoſtles, did 'well underſtand, which ſaith, *Count it exceeding joy my* '*Brethren, when ye ſhall fall into divers temptations,* '*knowing that the probation of your Faith worketh Pati-* '*ence; let Patience have her perfect work.* For certainly 'it is a great matter for a man to rejoyce in trouble, and to 'take it for joy to be in divers temptations. A light mat- 'ter it is to ſpeak it and to expound it; but a great matter 'to fulfil it. For why? our moſt patient and moſt valiant 'Champion himſelf, knowing that he ſhould ariſe again 'the third day, overcoming his Enemies by his death, and 'redeeming from damnation his Elect after his laſt Sup- 'per, was troubled in Spirit, and ſaid, *My Soul is heavy* '*unto death.* Of whom alſo the Goſpel ſaith, *That he be-* '*gan to fear to be ſad and heavy.* Who being then in 'an Agony, was confirmed of the Angel, and his ſweat 'was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And 'yet he notwithſtanding, being ſo troubled, ſaid to his 'Diſciples, *Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear the* '*cruelty of them that perſecute you, for you ſhall have me* '*with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of* '*your Perſecutors.* Whereupon thoſe his Souldiers, look- 'ing upon the Prince and King of Glory, ſuſtained great 'Conflicts. They paſſed thorow fire and water, and were 'ſaved, and received the Crown of the Lord God, of the 'which Saint *James* in his Canonical Epiſtle, ſaith, *Bleſ-* '*ſed is the man ſuffereth temptation, for when he ſhall be* '*proved, he ſhall receive the Crown of life, which God* '*hath promiſed to them that love.* Of this Crown I truſt 'ſtedfaſtly the Lord will make me a partaker alſo with you, 'which be the fervent Sealers of the Truth, and with all 'them which ſtedfaſtly and conſtantly do love the Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt, which ſuffered for us, leaving to us exam- 'ple that we ſhould follow his ſteps. *It behoved him to* '*ſuffer*, as he ſaith, and us alſo it behoved to ſuffer, that 'the Members may ſuffer together with the Head. For he 'ſaith, *If any man will come after me, let him deny him-* '*ſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.*

The Prayer of John Hus to Chriſt.

'O moſt merciful Chriſt, draw us weak Creatures af- 'ter thee, for except thou ſhould draw us, we are not able 'to follow thee. Give us a ſtrong ſpirit, that it may be 'ready, and although the Fleſh be feeble, yet let thy 'Grace go before us, go with us, and follow us; for 'without thee we can do nothing, and much leſs enter 'into the cruel death for thy ſake. Give us that prompt 'and ready ſpirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm 'hope and perfect charity, that we may give our lives 'patiently and joyfully for thy Names ſake, *Amen.* Writ- 'ten in priſon in bonds in the Vigil of S. *John the Baptiſt*, 'who being in priſon and in bonds for the rebuking of 'wickedneſs, was beheaded.

¶ Among divers other Letters of *John Hus*, which he wrote to the great Conſolation of others; I thought alſo here to intermix another certain godly Letter written out of *England*, by a faithful Scholar of *Wickliff*, as appeareth unto *John Hus* and the *Bohemians*, which for the zealous affection therein contained, ſeemeth not unworthy to be read.

## *A Letter to* John Hus, *and to the* Bohemians *from* London.

A zealous Letter to John Hus from London.

'GReeting, and whatſoever can be deviſed more 'ſweet, in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus. My dearly 'beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not 'I only, but alſo all they that have the Knowledge of the 'Truth; which abideth in you, and ſhall be with you 'through the Grace of God for evermore. I rejoyced 'above meaſure, when our beloved Brethren came and 'gave teſtimony unto us of your truth, and how you walked 'in the truth; I have heard Brethren how ſharply *Anti-* {KING *Hen.* 5.} '*chriſt* perſecuteth you, in vexing the faithful Servants of 'Chriſt with divers and ſtrange kinds of afflictions. And 'ſurely no marvel, if amongſt you (ſince it is ſo almoſt all the 'world over) the Law of Chriſt be too too grievouſly im- 'pugned, and that red Dragon having ſo many heads (of 'whom it is ſpoken in the *Apocalyps*) have now vomited 'out of his mouth that great Flood, by which he goeth 'about to ſwallow up the Women; but the moſt gracious 'God will deliver for ever his only and moſt faithful 'Spouſe. Let us therefore comfort our ſelves in the Lord 'our God, and in his unmeaſurable goodneſs, hoping 'ſtrongly in him, which will not ſuffer thoſe that love him 'to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpoſe, if we 'according to our duty ſhall love him with all our heart; 'for adverſity ſhould by no means prevail over us, if there 'were no iniquity reigning in us. Let therefore no tribu- 'lation or ſorrow for Chriſts cauſe diſcourage us, knowing 'this for a ſurety, that whomſoever the Lord vouchſafeth 'to receive to be his Children, thoſe he ſcourgeth, for ſo 'the merciful Father will have them tried in this miſerable 'life by perſecutions, that afterwards he may ſpare them. For 'the gold that this high Artificer hath choſen, he purgeth and 'trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his 'pure treaſury. For we ſee that the time we ſhall abide here 'is ſhort and tranſitory; the life which we hope for after this 'is bleſſed and everlaſting. Therefore whilſt we have time, 'let us take pain that we may enter into that reſt. What 'other thing do we ſee in this brittle life, than ſorrow, hea- 'vineſs and ſadneſs, and that which is moſt grievous of all 'to the Faithful, too much abuſing and contempt of the 'Law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour our ſelves, 'as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are 'eternal and abiding, deſpiſing in our minds all tranſitory 'and frail things. Let us conſider the holy fellowſhip of our 'Fathers that have gone before us. Let us conſider the 'Saints of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. Did they not paſs Examples of the old Martyrs. 'through this Sea of Tribulation and Perſecution? were 'not ſome of them cut in pieces, otherſome ſtoned, and 'other of them killed with the Sword? ſome others of 'them went about in Pelts and Goats skins, as the Apoſtle 'to the *Hebrews* witneſſeth. Surely they all walked ſtrait- 'ways, following the ſteps of Chriſt, which ſaid, *He that* '*miniſtreth unto me, let him follow me whereſoever I go,* '*&c.* Therefore let us alſo, which have ſo noble Examples 'given us of the Saints that went before us, laying away, as 'much as in us lieth, the heavy burden and the yoke of ſin 'which compaſſeth us about, run forward through patience, 'to the battel that is ſet before us, fixing our eyes upon the 'Author of Faith, and Jeſus the Finiſher of the ſame; who, 'ſeeing the joy that was ſet before him, ſuffered the pains of 'the Croſs, deſpiſing death. Let us call upon him, which 'ſuffered ſuch reproach againſt himſelf of Sinners, that we 'be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may 'heartily pray for help of the Lord, and may fight againſt 'his Adverſary *Antichriſt*; that we may love his Law, and 'not be deceitful Labourers, but that we may deal faithfully 'in all things, according to that which God hath vouch- 'ſafed to give us, and that we may labour diligently in the 'Lords Cauſe, under hope of an everlaſting Reward. Be- 'hold therefore Brother *Hus*, moſt dearly beloved in Chriſt, 'although in face unknown to me, yet not in faith and love, '(for diſtance of places cannot ſeparate thoſe whom the 'love of Chriſt doth effectually knit together) be comforted 'in the grace which is given unto thee, labour like a good 'Souldier of Chriſt Jeſus, preach, be inſtant in word and in 'example, and call as many as thou canſt to the way of 'truth; for the truth of the Goſpel is not to be kept in 'ſilence, becauſe of the frivolous Cenſures and Thunderbolts 'of *Antichriſt*. And therefore to the uttermoſt of thy power, 'ſtrengthen thou and confirm the Members of Chriſt, which 'are weakned by the Devil; and if the Lord will vouchſafe 'it, *Antichriſt* ſhall ſhortly come to an end. And there 'is one thing wherein I do greatly rejoyce, that in your 'Realm and in other places God hath ſtirred up the hearts 'of ſome men that they can gladly ſuffer, for the Word of 'God, Impriſonment, Baniſhment and Death.

'Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you, 'but I confeſs that I could wiſh to pour out my whole 'heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the Law of the 'Lord. Alſo I ſalute from the bottom of my heart all the faithful

{KING *Hen. 5.*} ‘faithful Lovers of the Law of the Lord, and ſpecially *Jacobellus* your Coadjutor in the Goſpel, requiring that he ‘will pray unto the Lord for me in the univerſal Church ‘of Jeſus Chriſt. And the God of peace which hath raiſed ‘from the dead the Shepherd of the ſheep, the mighty Lord ‘Jeſus Chriſt, make you apt in all goodneſs, to do his will, ‘working in you that which may be pleaſant in his ſight. ‘All your Friends ſalute you which have heard of your ‘conſtancy, I would deſire alſo to ſee your Letters written ‘back to us, for know ye that they ſhall greatly comfort ‘us.

*At* London *by your Servant, deſiring to be Fellow with you in your Labours*
Ricus Wichewitze, *Prieſt unworthy.*

## *Another Letter of* John Hus *to his Friends of* Boheme.

‘THe Lord God be with you. I love the counſel of the Lord above gold and precious ſtone. Wherefore I ‘truſt in the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, that he will give me ‘his Spirit to ſtand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, *For the ſpirit is ready, and the fleſh is weak.* The Lord Almighty ‘be the eternal reward unto my Lords, which conſtantly, ‘firmly and faithfully do ſtand for righteouſneſs; to whom ‘the Lord God ſhall give in the Kingdom of *Boheme*, to ‘know the truth. For the following of which truth, ne‘ceſſary it is that they return again into *Boheme*, ſetting ‘apart all vain-glory, and following not a mortal and mi‘ſerable King, but the King of Glory which giveth eternal ‘life.

‘O how comfortable was the giving of the hand of Lord ‘*John de Clum* unto me, which was not aſhamed to reach ‘forth his hand to me a Wretch, and ſuch an abject He‘retick, lying in fetters of Iron, and cried out upon all men! ‘Now peradventure I ſhall not ſpeak much hereafter with ‘you: Therefore ſalute in time as you ſhall ſee them all ‘the faithful of *Boheme*.

‘*Paletz* came to me into priſon. His ſalutation in my ‘vehement infirmity was this before the Commiſſaries, ‘that there hath not riſen a more perilous Heretick ſince ‘Chriſt was born, than was *Wickliff* and I. Alſo he ſaid, ‘*That all ſuch as came to hear my talk were infected with ‘this Hereſie, to think that the ſubſtance of bread remained ‘in the Sacrament of the Altar.* To whom I anſwered and ‘ſaid, O *Maſter what a grievous Salutation have you ‘given me, and how greatly do you ſin? Behold I ſhall ‘die, or peradventure to morrow ſhall be burnt; And what ‘reward ſhall be recompenced to you in* Boheme *for your ‘labour.*

‘This thing peradventure I ſhould not have written, leſt ‘I might ſeem to hate him. I have always had this in my ‘heart, *Truſt not in Princes, &c.* And again, *Curſed be the ‘man that truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh to be his arm.* ‘For God ſake be you circumſpect how you ſtand and ‘how you return. Carry no Letters with you. Direct your ‘Books not all by one, but diverſly by divers Friends.

The viſions of *John Hus* by dreams.

‘Know this, for certain, that I have had great conflicts ‘by dreams, in ſuch ſort as I had much ado to refrain from ‘crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes eſcape before he ‘went. And after the Lord *John* had told me thereof, ‘immediately in the night it was told me, That the Pope ‘ſhould return to you again. And afterward alſo I dream‘ed of the apprehending of Maſter *Jerome*, although not ‘in full manner as it was done. All the priſonments, whi‘ther and how I am carried, were opened to me before, ‘although not fully after the ſame form and circumſtance. ‘Many Serpents oftentimes appeared unto me, having ‘heads alſo in their tail; but none of them could bite me, ‘and many other things more.

A Propheſie of Maſter *Hierome* of *Prague*.

‘Theſe things I write, not eſteeming my ſelf as a Pro‘phet, or that I extol my ſelf, but only to ſignifie unto you ‘what temptations I had in body and alſo in mind, and ‘what great fear I had, leſt I ſhould tranſgreſs the Com‘mandment of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Now I remember ‘with my ſelf the words of Maſter *Jerome*, which ſaid, ‘*That if I ſhould come to the Council, he thought I ſhould ‘never return home again.* In like manner there was a This Tay‘lors name was *Andrew a Polonian.* ‘good and godly man, a Taylor, which taking his leave of ‘me at *Prague*, ſpake to me in theſe words, *God be with ‘you* (ſaid he) *for I think verily, my dear and good Maſter ‘John, that you ſhall not return again to us with your life. ‘The King, not of* Hungary, *but of Heaven, reward you ‘with all goodneſs, for the faithful Doctrine which I at ‘your hands received, &c.*

¶ And ſhortly after the writing hereof, he ſendeth alſo unto them another Prophetical Viſion of his to be expounded touching the reformation of the Church, written in his forty fourth Epiſtle, the Contents whereof be theſe.

## Another Letter of *John Hus*, ſent to the Lord *John de Clum.*

I *Pray you expound to me the dream of this night, I ſaw how that in my Church of* Bethlehem *they came to race and put out all the Images of Chriſt, and did put them out. The next day after I aroſe and ſaw many Painters, which painted and made more fairer Images, and many more than I had done before, which Images I was very glad and joyful to behold. And the Painters, with much people about them, ſaid,* Let the Biſhops and Prieſts come now, and put us out theſe Pictures. *Which being done, much people ſeemed to me in* Bethlehem *to rejoyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith felt my ſelf to laugh, &c.*

Propheti.

¶ This Viſion Lord *John de Clum*, and *John Hus* himſelf in his Book of Epiſtles in the forty fifth Epiſtle ſeemeth to expound, and applieth the Images of Chriſt unto the preaching of Chriſt and of his life. The which preaching and Doctrine of Chriſt, though the Pope and his Cardinals ſhould extinguiſh in him, yet did he foreſee and declare, that the time ſhould come, wherein the ſame Doctrine ſhould be revived again by others, ſo plenteouſly, that the Pope with all his Power ſhould not be able to prevail againſt it. Thus much as concerning this Viſion of *J. Hus*. Whereunto doth well accord the Propheſie of *Jerome* of *Prague*, printed in the Coin called *Moneta Huſſi*; of the which Coin I have my ſelf one of the Plates having this Superſcription following printed about it; *Centum revolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis & mihi*, that is, after an hundred years come and gone, you ſhall give account to God and to me. Whereof (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Furthermore, in the 48*th* Epiſtle the ſaid *J. Hus* ſeeming to ſpeak with the like Spirit of Propheſie, hath theſe words following, *Sed ſpero, quod quæ dixi ſub tecto, prædicabuntur ſuper tecta*: That is, but I truſt that thoſe things which I have ſpoken within the houſe, hereafter ſhall be preached upon the top of the houſe. Propheti.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the Propheſies of *John Hus*, it ſhall ſerve well in place, here moreover to record his words in a certain Treatiſe by him written, *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium abominatione*; wherein the ſaid *John Hus*, ſpeaking prophetically of the Reformation of the Church, hath theſe words following, *Ex iſtis ulterius adverte incidentaliter, quod Dei Eccleſia nequit ad priſtinam ſuam dignitatem reduci, &c.*

*That is in Engliſh.*

Moreover, hereupon note and mark by the way, that the Church of God cannot be reduced to his former Dignity, or be reformed, before all things firſt be made new; The truth whereof is plain by the Temple of *Solomon*. Like as the Clergy and Prieſts, ſo alſo the people and laity; Or elſe unleſs all ſuch as now be addict to avarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt converted and reclaimed, as well the people as Clergy and Prieſts. Albeit as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new Clerks and Prieſts ſhall come, and be taken; which all ſhall hate covetouſneſs, and the glory of this life, haſtening to an heavenly converſation. Notwithſtanding all theſe things ſhall come to paſs, and be brought by little and little in order of times, diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth and will do for his own goodneſs and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and patience, giving time and ſpace of repentance to them that have long lien in their ſins, to amend, and fly from the face of the Lords fury, while that, in like manner the carnal people, and carnal Prieſts ſucceſſively and in time ſhall fall away and be conſumed as with the moth, &c. Propheti.

*Another*

## Another Letter of *John Hus.*

MAfter Martin *my dear Brother in Chriſt, I exhort you in the Lord that you fear God, keep his Commandments, and flee the company of women, and beware of hearing their confeſſion, leſt by the hypocriſie of women Satan deceive you; truſt not their devotion. You know how I have deteſted the avarice and the inordinate life of the Clergy: wherefore through the Grace of God I ſuffer now Perſecution, which ſhortly ſhall be conſummate in me, neither do I fear to have my heart poured out for the Name of Chriſt Jeſus; I deſire you heartily be not greedy in ſeeking after Benefices. And yet if you ſhall be called to any Cure in the Country, let the Honour of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the travel thereof move you thereunto, and not the having of the Living or the Commodities thereof. And if you ſhall be placed in any ſuch Benefice, beware you have no young Woman for your Cook or Servant, leſt you edifie and increaſe more your Houſe than your Soul. See that you be a builder of your ſpiritual Houſe, being gentle to the Poor and humble of mind, and waſte not your Goods in great fare. I fear alſo if you do not amend your life, ceaſing from your coſtly and ſuperfluous Apparel, leſt you ſhall be grievouſly chaſtiſed, as I alſo wretched man ſhall be puniſhed, which have uſed the like, being ſeduced by cuſtom of evil men and worldly glory, whereby I have been wounded againſt God with the Spirit of Pride. And becauſe you have notably known both my preaching and outward Converſation even from my Youth, I have no need to write many things unto you, but to deſire you for the mercy of Jeſus Chriſt, that you do not follow me in any ſuch levity and lightneſs, which you have ſeen in me. You knew how before my Prieſthood (which grieveth me now) I have delighted to play oftentimes at Cheſs, and have neglected my time, and have unhappily provoked both my ſelf and other to anger many times by that play. Wherefore beſides other my innumerable faults, for this alſo I deſire you to invocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and ſo direct my life, that having overcome the wickedneſs of this preſent Life, the Fleſh, the World, and the Devil, I may find place in the heavenly Countrey, at the leaſt in the day of Judgment. Fare ye well in Chriſt Jeſus, with all of them which keep his Law. My grey Coat, if you will, keep to your ſelf for my remembrance, but I think you are aſhamed to wear that grey colour; therefore you may give it to whom you ſhall think good. My white Coat you ſhall give the Miniſter* N. *my Scholar. To* George *or elſe to* Zuzikon *ſixty Groats, or elſe my grey Coat, for he hath faithfully ſerved me.*

Note that then Prieſts were not married, and therefore he willeth them to avoid the company of Women.

He repenteth his gay Garments.

He repenteth his playing at the Cheſs.

John Hus from his gay Garments cometh to his white Coat.

℄ The Superſcription.

*I pray you that you do not open this Letter, before you be ſure and certain of my death.*

## The Conſolation of Maſter *Jerome* to Maſter *Hus.*

*MY Maſter, in thoſe things which you have both written hitherto, and alſo preached after the Law of God againſt the pride, avarice, and other inordinate Vices of the Prieſts, go forward, be conſtant and ſtrong. And if I ſhall know that you are oppreſſed in the cauſe, and if need ſhall ſo require, of mine own accord I will follow after to help you, as much as I can.*

John Hus condemned for no erroneous Doctrine wherein he was culpable.

BY the Life, Acts and Letters of *John Hus* hitherto rehearſed, it is evident and plain, that he was condemned not for any error of Doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, neither ſpake againſt the authority of the Church of *Rome*, if it were well governed, nor yet the ſeven Sacraments, and alſo ſaid Maſs himſelf, and almoſt in all their Popiſh opinions was a *Papiſt* with them; but only of evil will was accuſed of his malicious Adverſaries, becauſe he ſpake againſt the Pomp, Pride and Avarice, and other wicked Enormities of the Pope, Cardinals and Prelates of the Church, and becauſe he could not abide the high Dignities and Livings of the Church, and thought the doings of the Pope to be *Antichriſt*-like. For this cauſe he procured ſo many enemies and falſe Witneſſes againſt him. Who ſtraining and picking matter out of his Books and Writings, having no one juſt Article of Doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him an Heretick, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charity of Chriſt hath no place. Which being ſo, as thy charity (good Reader) may eaſily underſtand, in peruſing the whole courſe of his ſtory; I beſeech thee then, what cauſe had *John Cochleus* to write his twelve Books againſt *J. Hus* and *Huſſites?* In which Books how bitterly and intemperately he miſuſeth his Pen, by theſe few words in his ſecond Book thou mayſt take a little taſte: which words I thought here briefly to place in *Engliſh*, to the end that all *Engliſhmen* may judge thereby, with what ſpirit and truth theſe Catholicks be carried. His words be theſe, *Lib. 2. Hiſt. Dico igitur* Joan. Hus *neque ſanctum neque beatum habendum eſſe, ſed impium potius, &c.* That is, I ſay therefore *John Hus* is neither to be counted holy nor bleſſed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; inſomuch that in the day of Judgment it ſhall be more eaſie not only with the infidel *Pagans*, *Turks*, *Tartarians* and *Jews*, but alſo with the moſt ſinful *Sodomites*, and the abominable *Perſians*, which moſt filthily do lie with their Daughters, Siſters, or Mother, yea and alſo with moſt impious *Cain*, Killer of his own Brother, with *Thieſtes*, Killer of his own Mother, and the *Leſtrygones* and other *Anthropophagi*, which devour mans fleſh; yea more eaſie with thoſe infamous Murderers of Infants, *Pharaoh* and *Herod*, than with him, &c. Theſe be the words of *Cochleus*. Whoſe railing Books although they deſerve neither to be read nor anſwered, yet if it pleaſe God, it were to be wiſhed, that the Lord would ſtir up ſome towardly young man, that hath leiſure, to defend the ſimplicity of this *J. Hus*, which cannot now anſwer for himſelf. In the mean time, ſomething to ſatisfie or ſtay the Readers mind againſt this immoderate *Hyperbole* of *Cochleus*, in like few words I will bring out *John Hus* to ſpeak and to clear himſelf againſt this ſlander: whoſe words in his Book *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum abominatione deſolationis*, pag. 84. &c. I beſeech the Reader to note, *Nam & iſta ſcribens Ego non, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, niſi dilectio Dom. noſtri Jeſu Crucifixi, &c.* That is, For in writing theſe things, I confeſs nothing elſe to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jeſus crucified, whoſe prints and ſtripes (according to the meaſure of my weakneſs and vileneſs) I covet to bear in my ſelf, beſeeching him ſo to give me Grace, that I never ſeek to glory in my ſelf, or in any thing elſe, but only in his Croſs, and in the ineſtimable ignominy of his Paſſion which he ſuffered for me. And therefore I write and ſpeak theſe things, which I do not doubt will like all ſuch as unfainedly do love the Lord Chriſt crucified; and contrary will miſlike not a little all ſuch as be of *Antichriſt*. Alſo again, I confeſs before the moſt merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt crucified, that theſe things which I do now write, and thoſe that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durſt ſo have written, unleſs he by his inward unction had ſo commanded me. Neither yet do I write theſe things as of authority, to get me fame and name. For as S. *Auguſtine* and *Hierome* do ſay, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and Writings of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts and Prophets, and to the Canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulneſs of the Spirit of Jeſus. And whatſoever is there ſaid, is full of verity and wholſome utility, &c. And here place alſo would require ſomething to ſay to *Aeneas Sylvius*, to *Antoninus*, and to *Laziardus*, which falſly impute Articles to him, which he never maintained. But becauſe time ſuffereth not, I will proceed to the ſtory of Maſter *Jerome* of *Prague*.

{KING Hen. 5.}

Cochleus raileth againſt J. Hus without cauſe.

Ex Cochleo lib. 2. Hiſtoriarum, pag. 88.

* *The tragical and lamentable Hiſtory of the famous learned man and godly Martyr of Chriſt, Maſter* Jerome *of* Prague, *burned at* Conſtance *for like cauſe and quarrel as Maſter* John Hus *was*, 1416.

THeſe things hitherto being diſcourſed, touching the life, acts and conſtant martyrdom of Maſter *John Hus*, with part alſo of his Letters adjoyned to the ſame; whoſe death was on the fifth of *July*, *Anno* 1416. now remaineth conſequently to deſcribe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Chriſtian Companion and Fellow in bands

The ſtory of Jerome of Prague.

KING Hen. 5.

bands Master *Jerome* of *Prague*. Who grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his Country of *Boheme*, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done unto that man of worthy memory, Master *John Hus*; freely and of his own accord came unto *Constance* the fourth day of *April*, 1415. Who there perceiving that *John Hus* was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every side, he departed to *Ibeyling* a City of the Empire, until the next day; the which City was a mile off from *Constance*, and from thence he wrote his Letters by me unto *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* and his Barons, and also unto the Council, most earnestly requiring that the King and the Council would give him a safe Conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open Audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the Council that would lay any Crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

*Jerome* cometh to *Constance*.

The safe conduct was required, but in vain, of the Emperor.

When as the said King of *Hungary* was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the Lord Cardinal of *Cambray*, he denied to give Master *Jerome* any safe conduct, excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe conduct of *John Hus* before, and alledging also certain other causes. The Deputies also of the four Nations of the Council being moved thereunto by the Lords of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, answered, *We* (say they) *will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart.* Whose answers, when they were reported unto Master *Jerome*, he the next day after wrote certain Intimations according to the tenor under-written, which he sent unto *Constance* to be set upon the Gates of the City, and upon the Gates of the Churches and Monasteries, and of the houses of the Cardinals, and other Nobles and Prelates. The tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner.

The intimation of Jerome of Prague, set up in divers places of the Town of Constance

*Unto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord* Sigismund, *by the Grace of God King of the* Romans, *always* Augustus, *and of* Hungary, &c. *I* Jerome *of* Prague, *Master of Art of the general Universities of* Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg *and* Prague, *by these my present Letters do notifie unto the King, together with the whole reverend Council, and as much as in me lieth, do all men to understand, and know, that because of the crafty Slanderers, Backbiters and Accusers, I am ready freely and of mine will, to come unto* Constance, *there to declare openly before the Council, the purity and sincerity of my true Faith, and mine Innocency, and not secretly in Corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore if there be any of my Slanderers, of what Nation or Estate soever they be, which will object against me any Crime of Error or Heresie; let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole Council, and in their own names object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publickly before the whole Council, of mine innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true Faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in Error or Heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or an Heretick.*

*Wherefore I most humbly beseech my Lord the King, and the whole sacred Council, That I may have to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I offering such Equity and Right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole World, that this general Council doth not proceed according to Equity and Justice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and strait Justice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy Council of wise men.*

Safe conduct denied to *Jerome*.

*Jerome* returneth toward *Boheme*, with the testimonies of the Lords of *Boheme*.

When as yet he through such Intimations copied out in the *Bohemian*, *Latin*, and *German*-Tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe Conduct, then the Nobles, Lords, and Knights specially of the *Bohemian* Nation, present in *Constance*, gave unto Master *Jerome* their Letters Patents, confirmed with their Seals for a Testimony and Witness of the premisses. With the which Letters the said Master *Jerome* returned again unto *Boheme*; but by the Treason and Conspiracy of his Enemies he was taken in *Hirsaw* by the Officers of Duke *John*, and in *Zulzbach* was brought back again to the presence of the Duke. In the mean time such as were the Setters forward of the Council against Master *John Hus*, and Master *Jerome*; that is to say, *Michael de Causis* and Master *Paletz*, and other their Accomplices, required that the said Master *Jerome* should be cited by reason of his Intimations, and certain days after the citation here under-written was set upon the Gates and Porches of the City and Churches, which followeth here in this manner:

*Jerome* apprehended in the way by Duke *John*.

*Michael de Causis*, and *Paletz* enemies to *Jerome*.

¶ *This most sacred and holy Synod and General Council of* Constance, *faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal Militant-Church, unto* Jerome *of* Prague, *which writeth himself to be a Master of Art of so many Universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto Sobriety and Modesty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain Writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, the which was set up as it were by thine own person upon the Gates of the Churches and City of* Constance, *upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the Church of God,* Quasi modo geniti. *Wherein thou dost affirm, That thou wilt openly answer unto thy Accusers and Slanderers which shall object any Crime, Error or Heresie against thee, whereof thou art marvelously infamed and accused before us, and specially touching the Doctrine of* Wickliff, *and other Doctrines contrary unto the Catholick Faith, so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe conduct to come. But forsomuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty Foxes which go about to destroy the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenour of these presents, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold Errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third; We do ordain and appoint by Canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the publick Sessions of the sacred Council, if there be any holden in the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when as any Session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things, which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy Faith, and to receive and have as Justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as Catholick Faith shall require; We offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe conduct from all violence (Justice always being saved;) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, Process shall go forward against thee by the said Sacred Council, or by their Commissary or Commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept, thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding.* Given in the sixth Session of the General Council, the seventeenth day of *April*, under the Seal of the Presidents of the four Nations.

*Jerome* of Prague cited by the Council when he was taken.

## ¶ Grumpert *Faber-Notary of the* Germans.

After that *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, with the rest of the Council, understood by the foresaid Duke *John*, that Master *Jerome* was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master *Jerome* should be brought before them unto the Council. The which Duke *John*, after he had received Letters of the King and the Council, brought Master *Jerome* bound unto *Constance*, whom his Brother Duke *Ludovicus* led thorow the City to the Cloyster of the Friers *Minors* in *Constance*, whereas the chief Priests and Elders of the people, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, were gathered together; attending and waiting for his coming. He the said Master *Jerome* carried a great handbolt of Iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great ratling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after Duke *Ludovicus* aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him, with

This Duke *John* in histories is commonly called the Son of Clement.

*Jerome* is brought bound unto *Constance* by Duke *John*.

with the which chain they alſo kept him bound in the Cloyſter. When he was brought into the Cloyſter, they read before him the Letter of Duke *John*, which was ſent with the ſaid Maſter *Jerome* unto the Council, containing in effect, how that the ſaid Duke *John* had ſent Maſter *Jerome* unto the Council, who by chance was fallen into his hands, becauſe he heard an evil report of him, that he was ſuſpected of the Hereſies of *Wickliff*; that the Council might take order for him, whoſe part it was to correct and puniſh ſuch as did err and ſtray from the truth, beſides many other flattering Tales which were written in the ſaid Letter for the praiſe of the Council. After this they read the Citation which was given out by the Council againſt Maſter *Jerome*, whereof we have ſpoken before. Then certain of the Biſhops ſaid unto him, *Jerome, why didſt thou fly and run away, and didſt not appear when thou waſt cited?* He anſwered, *Becauſe I could not have any ſafe conduct, neither from you, neither from the King, as it appeareth by theſe Letters Patents of the Barons, which you have, neither by mine open Intimations could I obtain any ſafe conduct.*

The Council neither would give him liberty ſafely to come, nor freely to go

*Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy Friends to be here preſent in the Council, would not my ſelf be the occaſion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any underſtanding of this Citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in* Boheme, *I would have returned again.* Then all the whole Rabble riſing up, alledged divers and ſundry Accuſations and Teſtimonies againſt him with a great noiſe and tumult. When the reſt held their peace, then ſpake Maſter *Gerſon* the Chancellor of *Paris*, *Jerome, when thou waſt at* Paris *thou thoughteſt thy ſelf by means of thy Eloquence to be an Angel, and didſt trouble the whole Univerſity, alledging openly in the Schools many erroneous Concluſions with their* corolaria, *and eſpecially in the queſtion* de univerſalibus & de Idæis, *with many other very offenſive queſtions.* Unto whom Maſter *Jerome* ſaid, *I anſwer to you Maſter* Gerſon; *Thoſe matters which I did put forth there in the Schools at* Paris, *in the which alſo I anſwered to the Arguments of the Maſters, I did put them forth philoſophically, and as a Philoſopher, and Maſter of the Univerſity; and if I have put forth any queſtions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moſt humbly be informed, and amend the ſame.*

M. Jerome was accuſed by Mr. Gerſon, with commendation of his Eloquence. Gerſon renewveth matters.

Whiles he was yet ſpeaking, another (as I ſuppoſe, the Maſter of the Univerſity of *Cullen* upon the River of *Rheine*) riſing up, ſaid, *When thou waſt alſo at* Cullen, *in thy poſition which thou didſt there determine, thou didſt propound many erroneous matters.* Then ſaid Maſter *Jerome* unto him, *Shew me firſt one Error which I propounded.* Wherewithall he being in a manner aſtoniſhed, ſaid, *I do not remember them now at the firſt, but hereafter they ſhall be objected againſt you.*

The Maſter of the Univerſity of *Cullen*. This man would accuſe, but he lacked matter.

And by and by the third man riſing up, ſaid, *When that you were alſo at* Heidelberg, *you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain Shield or Scutchine, comparing the Trinity of Perſons in divinity unto Water, Snow and Ice, and ſuch like.* Unto whom Maſter *Jerome* anſwered, *Thoſe things that I wrote or painted there, the ſame will I alſo ſpeak, write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moſt humbly revoke and recant the ſame.*

The Maſter of the Univerſity of *Heidelberg*.

Then certain cried out, *Let him be burned, let him be burned.* Unto whom he anſwered, *If my death do delight or pleaſe you, In the Name of God let it be ſo.*

*Crucifige, crucifige eum.*

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop of *Saliſburg*; *Not ſo Maſter* Jerome, *forſomuch as it is written, I will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* When theſe and many other Tumults and Cries were paſſed, whereby they did then moſt diſorderly and outragiouſly witneſs againſt him, they delivered the ſaid Maſter *Jerome*, [illegible] ing bound, unto the Officers of the ſaid City of *Con[illegible]nce*, to be carried to priſon for that night; and ſo every [illegible] of them returned to their Lodgings.

In the mean time, one of the Friends of Maſter *John Hus*, looking out at a window of the Cloiſter, ſaid unto him, *Welcome* Jerome. Then ſaid he, *You are welcome my dear Brother.* Then ſaid *Peter* unto him, *Be conſtant and fear not to ſuffer death for the Truth ſake, of the which, when you were in times paſt at liberty, you did preach ſo much goodneſs.* Unto whom *Jerome* anſwered, *Truly Brother I do not fear death, and forſomuch as we know that we have ſpoken much thereof in times paſt; let us now ſee what may be known or done in effect.* By and by his Keepers coming to the window, threatning him with ſtrokes, did put away the ſaid *Peter* from the window of the Cloiſter.

{KING Hen. 5.}

Then came there one *Vitus* unto Maſter *Jerome*, and ſaid, *Maſter, how do you do?* Unto whom he anſwered, *Truly Brother, I do very well.* Then his Keepers coming about him laid hold of the ſaid *Vitus*, ſaying, *This is alſo one of the number, and kept him.* When it drew towards evening, the Archbiſhop of *Rigen* ſent certain of his Servants which led away Maſter *Jerome*, being ſtrongly bound with chains, both by the Hands and by the Neck, and kept him ſo for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain Tower of the City in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard, where they tying him faſt unto a great Block, and his Feet in the Stocks, his Hands alſo being made faſt upon them, they left him; whereas the Block was ſo high, that he could by no means ſit thereupon, but that his Head muſt hang downward. They carried alſo the ſaid *Vitus* unto the Archbiſhop of *Rigen*, who demanded of him, *Why he durſt be ſo bold to talk with ſuch a man being a Reprobate of all men, and an Heretick:* and when as he could find no cauſe of Impriſonment in him, and that he ſaid he was Maſter *John de Clums* Friend (taking an Oath and Promiſe of him, that he ſhould not go about to endamage the Council by reaſon of that Impriſonment and Captivity) ſo diſmiſſed him and ſent him away.

Et tu de illis es. Luc. 22.

Vitus had to the Chamber of Rigen.

Vitus bound by Oath.

Maſter *Jerome*, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the ſaid Tower two days and two nights, relieved only with Bread and Water. Then one of his Keepers, coming unto Maſter *Peter*, declared unto him how that Maſter *Jerome* lay hard by in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Maſter *Peter* deſired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, becauſe he would procure the ſame unto him. The Keeper of the priſon, granting his requeſt, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, ſo hanging by the heels, he uſed ſo ſmall repaſt, that he fell ſore ſick even unto the death. When as he living then in that captivity and priſon, deſired to have a Confeſſor, they of the Council denied that he ſhould have any, until ſuch time as by great importunity he obtained to have one; his Friends being then there preſent in the ſame Priſon and Tower, wherein he then lay by the ſpace of one year, lacking but ſeven days.

Jerome hanging in the ſtocks was fed with bread and water. Peter bringeth meat to Jerome.

Jerome in great ſickneſs obteth for a Confeſſor.

Maſter Jerome was kept in priſon the ſpace of one year.

After they had put *John Hus* to death, then about the Feaſt of the Nativity of *Mary* the Virgin, they brought forth Maſter *Jerome*, whom they had kept ſo long in chains, unto the Church of S. *Paul:* and threatning him with death, being inſtant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and conſent unto the death of Maſter *John Hus*, that he was juſtly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to eſcape out of their hands, according to their will and pleaſure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make Abjuration, and that in the Cathedral-Church and open Seſſion, the draught whereof penned to him by the *Papiſts*, here enſueth.

## ¶ *The Abjuration of Maſter* Hierome *of* Prague.

The forced abjuration of Hierome.

I Hierome *of* Prague, *Maſter of Art, acknowledging the Catholick Church, and the Apoſtolick Faith, do accurſe and renounce all Hereſies, and eſpecially that whereof I have hitherto been infamed, and that which in times paſt* John Hus *and* John Wickliff *have holden and taught in their Works, Treatiſes and Sermons, made unto the people and Clergy; for the which cauſe the ſaid* Wickliff *and* Hus, *together with the ſaid Doctrines and Errors, are condemned by this Synod of* Conſtance *as Hereticks, and all the ſaid Doctrine ſententially condemned, and eſpecially in certain Articles expreſſed in the Sentences and Judgments given againſt them by this ſacred Council.*

*Alſo I do accord and agree unto the holy Church of* Rome, *the Apoſtolick Seat in this ſacred Council, and with my mouth and heart do profeſs in all things, and*

*touching*

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*touching all things, and ſpecially as touching the Keys, Sacraments, Orders, and Offices, and Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, of Pardons, Reliques of Saints, Eccleſiaſtical liberty, alſo Ceremonies, and all other things pertaining unto Chriſtian Religion, as the Church of* Rome, *the Apoſtolick See, and this Sacred Council do profeſs: and ſpecially that many of the ſaid Articles are notoriouſly heretical, and lately reproved by the holy Fathers, ſome of them blaſphemous, other ſome erroneous; ſome offenſive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and ſeditious. And ſuch alſo were counted the Articles lately condemned by the Sacred Council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and ſingular Catholick men hereafter to preach, teach, or preſume to hold or maintain any of the ſaid Articles, under pain of being accurſed.*

*And I the ſaid* Hierome, *forſomuch as I have laboured by Scholaſtical arts to perſwade the opinion, de Univerſalibus realibus, and that one ſubſtance of the common kind ſhould ſignifie many things ſubject under the ſame, and every one of them, as Saint* Ambroſe, Hierome, Auguſtine, *do affirm, and likewiſe others; for the teaching hereof by a divine example I deſcribed as it were a certain Triangle, form or figure, the which I called the ſhield of faith.*

*Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked underſtanding thereof, the which peradventure ſome men may gather thereby, I do ſay, affirm, and declare that I never made the ſaid figure, neither named it the ſhield of faith to that intent or purpoſe, that I would extoll or prefer the opinion of Univerſalities above or before the contrary opinion, in ſuch ſort, as though that were the ſhield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the Catholick Faith could not be defended or maintained, when as I my ſelf would not obſtinately ſtick thereunto. But this I ſaid, becauſe I had put example in the deſcription of the Triangle or form, that one Divine eſſence conſiſted in three ſubjects or perſons in themſelves diſtinct, that is to ſay, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. The Article of the which Trinity is the chief ſhield of faith, and foundation of the Catholick truth.*

*Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the cauſes were for the which I was reputed and thought to ſtick to, and favour ſometime* John Hus; *I ſignifie unto all men by theſe preſents, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his Sermons, and alſo in the Schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainſay the Traditions of our Holy Mother the Church, or holy Doctors; inſomuch as when I was lately in this City, and the Articles which I affirmed were ſhewed unto me, which were alſo condemned by the Sacred Council, at the firſt ſight of them I did not believe that they were his, at the leaſt not in that form. But when as I had further underſtood by certain famous Doctors and Maſters of Divinity that they were his Articles, I required for my further information and ſatisfaction, to have the Books of his own hand-writing ſhewed unto me, wherein it was ſaid thoſe Articles were contained. The which Books when they were ſhewed unto me written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all, and every one of thoſe Articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judg and think him and his Doctrine, with his adherents to be condemned and reproved by the ſacred Council, as heretical and without reaſon. All which the premiſſes with a pure mind and conſcience I do here pronounce and ſpeak, being now fully and ſufficiently informed of the foreſaid ſentences and judgments given by the ſacred Council againſt the Doctrines of the ſaid* John Wickliff, *and* John Hus, *and againſt their own perſons; unto the which judgment as a devout Catholick in all things, I do moſt humbly conſent and agree.*

*Hierome is made here to ſay not his own mind, but what pleaſeth them.*

*Alſo I the foreſaid* Hierome, *which before the reverend Fathers the Lords Cardinals, and reverend Lords, Prelates and Doctors, and other worſhipful perſons of this ſacred Council in the ſame place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpoſe amongſt other things ſpeaking of the Church, did divide the ſame into three parts: And as I did perceive afterward, it was underſtood by ſome that I would affirm, that in the Triumphant Church there was faith. Whereas I do firmly believe that there is the bleſſed ſight and beholding of God, excluding all dark underſtanding and knowledg. And now alſo I ſay, affirm and declare that it was never my intent and purpoſe to prove that there ſhould be faith, ſpeaking of faith, as faith is commonly defined, but knowledg far exceeding faith. And generally whatſoever I ſaid, either there, or at any time before, I do refer, and moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelf unto the determination of this ſacred Council of* Conſtance.

*Moreover, I do ſwear both by the Holy Trinity, and alſo by the moſt Holy Goſpel, that I will for evermore remain and perſevere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholick Church. And all ſuch as by their Doctrine and teaching ſhall impugn this faith, I judg them worthy together with their Doctrines of eternal curſe. And if I my ſelf at any time (which God forbid I ſhould) do preſume to preach or teach contrary thereunto, I will ſubmit my ſelf unto the ſeverity of the Canons, and be bound unto eternal pain and puniſhment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confeſſion and tenor of my Profeſſion willingly before this ſacred General Council, and have ſubſcribed and written all theſe things with mine own hand.*

*Jerome* after his Abjuration returned into priſon.

After all this they cauſed him to be carried again unto the ſame priſon, but not ſo ſtraitly chained and bound as he was before; notwithſtanding kept every day with Soldiers and armed men. And when as afterward his enemies which were appointed againſt him, as *Michael de Cauſis*, and wicked *Paletz*, with other their companions in theſe affairs, underſtood and knew by the words and talk of Maſter *Hierome*, and by other certain tokens, that he made the ſame Abjuration and Recantation, not of a ſincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to ſcape their hands, they together with certain Friers of *Prague*, of the Order of *Carmelites*, then coming in, put up new accuſations againſt the ſaid Maſter *Hierome*, and drew the ſame into Articles, being very inſtant and earneſt that he ſhould anſwer thereunto. And forſomuch as his Judges, and certain Cardinals, as the Cardinal of *Cambray*, the Cardinal *de Urſinis*, the Cardinal of *Aquilegia*, and of *Florence*, conſidering the malice of the enemies of Maſter *Hierome*, did ſee the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole Council for his delivery.

*Jerome* accuſed anew by *Cauſis*, *Paletz*, and the *Carmelites*.

The Cardinal of *Cambray*, with certain other Cardinals labour for the delivery of *Jerome*.

It happened upon a certain day, as they were labouring in the Council for the delivery of the ſaid Maſter *Hierome*, that the *Germans* and *Bohemians* his enemies with all force and power reſiſted againſt it, crying out that he ſhould in no caſe be diſmiſſed. Then ſtart up one called Doctor *Naſo*, which ſaid unto the Cardinals, We marvel much of you moſt reverend Fathers, that your Reverences will make interceſſion for ſuch a wicked Heretick, for whoſe ſake we in *Boheme* with the whole Clergy have ſuffered much trouble and miſchief, and peradventure your Fatherhoods ſhall ſuffer; and I greatly fear, leſt that you have received ſome rewards either of the King of *Boheme*, or of theſe Hereticks. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they diſcharged themſelves of Maſter *Hieromes* cauſe and matter.

*Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæſaris.*

Then his enemies aforeſaid obtained to have other Judges appointed, as the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and a *German* Doctor, forſomuch as they did know that the Patriarch was a grievous enemy unto Maſter *Hierome*, becauſe he being before appointed Judg by the Council, had condemned *John Hus* unto death.

The Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* gave ſentence of death both againſt Mr. *Hus*, and Mr. *Hierome* of Prague.

But Mr. *Hierome* would not anſwer them in priſon, requiring to have open audience, becauſe he would there finally declare unto them his mind, neither would he by any means conſent unto thoſe private Judges. Whereupon the Preſidents of the Council thinking that the ſaid Maſter *Jerome* would renew his Recantation before the ſaid Audience, and confirm the ſame, did grant him open audience.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the 25*th* day of *May*, which was the *Saturday* before the Aſcenſion of our Lord, the ſaid Maſter *Jerome* was brought unto open Audience before the whole Council, to the great Cathedral Church of *Conſtance*, where by the Commiſſioners of the Council, in the behalf of his foreſaid enemies, there were laid againſt him of new a hundred and ſeven Articles, to the intent that he ſhould not ſcape the ſnare of death, which they provided and laid for him; inſomuch as the Judges had before

Ann. 1416. *Jerome* brought again before the Council.

declared that by the ſaying of the witneſſes it was already concluded in the ſame audience. The day aforeſaid, from morning until noon, he anſwered unto more than forty Articles, moſt ſubtilly objected againſt him; denying that he held or maintained any ſuch Articles as were either hurtful or falſe, and affirming that thoſe witneſſes had depoſed them againſt him falſly and ſlanderouſly, as his moſt cruel and mortal enemies. In the ſame Seſſion they had not yet proceeded unto death, becauſe that the noon-time drew ſo faſt on, that he could not anſwer unto the Articles. Wherefore for lack of time ſufficient to anſwer unto the reſidue of the Articles, there was another time appointed. Which was the third day after the foreſaid Saturday before the Aſcenſion of our Lord, at which time again early in the morning he was brought unto the ſaid Cathedral Church to anſwer unto all the reſidue of the Articles.

*Falſe witneſs againſt Hierome.*

In all which Articles, as well thoſe which he had anſwered unto the Saturday before, as in the reſidue, he cleared himſelf very learnedly, refelling his adverſaries (who had no cauſe, but only of malice and diſpleaſure were ſet againſt him, and did him great wrong) in ſuch ſort, that they were themſelves aſtonied at his Oration, and refutation of their teſtimonies brought againſt him, and with ſhame enough were put to ſilence: As when one of them had demanded of him what he thought by the Sacrament of the Altar, he anſwered, Before conſecration (ſaid he) it is Bread and Wine; after the conſecration it is the true Body and Blood of Chriſt; adding withal moe words according to their Catholick Faith. Then another riſing up, *Hierome*, ſaid he, there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou ſhouldeſt hold Bread to remain upon the Altar. To whom he pleaſantly anſwered, ſaying, That he believed Bread to be at the Bakers. At which words being ſpoken one of the *Dominick* Friers fumiſhly took on, and ſaid, What, doſt thou deny, that which no man doubteth of? Whoſe peeviſh faucineſs *Hierome* with theſe words did well repreſs, Hold thy peace (ſaid he) thou Monk, thou hypocrite: And thus the Monk being nipped in the head, ſat down dumb. After whom ſtarted up another, who with a loud voice cried out, I ſwear (ſaid he) by my conſcience, that to be true, that thou doſt deny. To whom ſaid *Hierome* again, ſpeaking in Latin, *Heus, inquit, ſic jurare per conſcientiam tutiſſima fallendi via eſt.* That is, thus to ſwear by your conſcience is the next way to deceive. Another there was, a ſpiteful and a bitter enemy of his whom he called by no other name than dog, or aſſe. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime againſt him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep ſilence.

*The dexterity of Hierome in confuting his adverſaries.*

*Falſe witneſſes.*

This done, then were the witneſſes called for, who coming in preſence gave teſtimony unto the Articles before produced. By reaſon whereof the innocent cauſe of *Hierome* was oppreſſed, and began in the Council to be concluded. Then *Hierome* riſing up began to ſpeak: Forſomuch (ſaith he) as you have heard mine adverſaries ſo diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you ſhould alſo now hear me to ſpeak for my ſelf. Whereupon with much difficulty at laſt audience was given in the Council for him to ſay his mind. Which being granted, he from morning to noon continuing, intreated of divers and ſundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who firſt beginning with his prayer to God, beſought him to give him ſpirit, ability, and utterance, which might moſt tend to the profit and ſalvation of his own ſoul. And ſo entring into his Oration.

*Audience hardly given to Hierome to ſpeak for himſelf.*

*The Oration of Hierome had before the Council.*

I Know, ſaith he, Reverend Lords, that there have been many excellent men, which have ſuffered much otherwiſe than they have deſerved, being oppreſſed with falſe witneſſes, and condemned with wrong judgments. And ſo beginning with *Socrates*, he declared how he was unjuſtly condemned of his Countrymen, neither would he eſcape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which ſeem moſt bitter to men, to wit, of impriſonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of *Plato*, the baniſhment of *Anaxagoras*, and the torments of *Zeno*. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the baniſhment of *Rupilius*, reciting alſo the unworthy death of *Boetius* and of others, whom *Boetius* himſelf doth write of.

*Socrates.*

*Plato. Anaxagoras Zeno. Rupilius. Boetius.*

From thence he came to the examples of the *Hebrews*, and firſt began with *Moſes* the deliverer of the people, and the Law-giver, how he was oftentimes ſlandered of his people as being a ſeducer and contemner of the people. *Joſeph* alſo, ſaith he, for envy was ſold of his Brethren, and for falſe ſuſpition of whoredom was caſt into bands. Beſides theſe, he reciteth *Eſaias*, *Daniel*, and almoſt all the Prophets, who as contemners of God, and ſeditious perſons, were oppreſſed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of *Suſanna*, and of divers other beſides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjuſtly caſt away with wrongful ſentence. At the length he came to *John Baptiſt*, and ſo in long proceſs he deſcended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what falſe witneſſes both he and *John Baptiſt* were condemned. Moreover, how *Stephen* was ſlain by the College of the Prieſts, and how all the Apoſtles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as ſeditious ſtirrers up of the people, and contemners of the gods, and evil doers. It is unjuſt, ſaith he, unjuſtly to be condemned one Prieſt of another, and yet he proved that the ſame hath ſo happened moſt unjuſtly in that Council of Prieſts. Theſe things did he diſcourſe at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with ſingular admiration of all that heard him.

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*Moſes.*

*Joſeph.*

*Eſaias. Daniel. The Prophets.*

*Suſanna.*

*John Baptiſt.*

*Chriſt.*

*The Apoſtles.*

And foraſmuch as all the whole ſum of the cauſe did reſt only in the witneſſes, by many reaſons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, eſpecially ſeeing they ſpake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And ſo proſecuting the matter, ſo lively and expreſſly he opened unto them the cauſes of their hatred, that he had almoſt perſwaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almoſt no truſt was given to their teſtimonies, ſave only for the cauſe and quarrel wherein they ſtood touching the Popes Doctrine. All mens minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he of his own accord came up to the Council, and to purge himſelf he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of vertue and godlineſs. This was (ſaith he) the old manner of ancient and learned men, and moſt holy Elders, that in matters of Faith, they did differ many times in arguments, not to deſtroy the Faith, but to find out the verity. So did *Auguſtine* and *Jerome* diſſent, not only being divers; but alſo contrary one from the other, and yet without all ſuſpition of hereſie.

*The falſe Witneſſes of Hierome refuted.*

All this while the Popes holy Council did wait ſtill, when he would begin to excuſe himſelf, and to retract thoſe things which were objected againſt him, and to crave pardon of the Council. But he perſiſting ſtill in his conſtant Oration, did acknowledg no error, nor gave any ſignification of retractation.

At laſt entring into the praiſe and commendation of Maſter *John Huſs*, he affirmed that he was a good, juſt, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did ſuffer. Whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious perſon, but a chaſt and ſober man, and a juſt and true Preacher of the holy Goſpel; and whatſoever things Maſter *John Huſs* and *Wickliff* had holden or written, ſpecially againſt the abuſe and pomp of the Clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and bleſſed men, and that in all points of the Catholick Faith he doth believe as the holy Catholick Church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all ſuch Articles as *John Wickliff* and *John Huſs* had written and put forth againſt the enormities, pomp and diſorder of the Prelates, he would firmly and ſtedfaſtly, without recantation hold and defend even unto the death. And laſt of all he added, that all the ſins that ever he had committed, did not ſo much gnaw and trouble his conſcience, as did that only ſin, which he had committed in that moſt peſtiferous fact, when as in his recantation he had unjuſtly ſpoken againſt that good and holy man and his Doctrine, and ſpecially in conſenting unto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that moſt curſed place, and that he did it through weakneſs of heart and fear of death: And moreover, that whatſoever thing he hath ſpoken againſt that bleſſed man, he hath altogether lyed upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

*Hierome commendeth the life, and bewaileth the death of Iohn Hus.*

*Hierome repenteth his ſpeaking againſt Iohn Hus.*

And

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And at the hearing hereof the hearers were not a little sorry. For they wished, and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death than life. And persisting in the praise of *John Hus*, he added moreover, that he never maintained any Doctrine against the state of the Church, but only spake against the abuses of the Clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the Prelates. Forsomuch as the Patrimonies of the Churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches; it was a grief to that good man (said he) to see the same mispent and cast away upon Harlots, great feastings, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things unbeseeming Christian Religion. And herein he shewed himself marvellous eloquent; yea never more.

*Hus never maintained any Doctrine against the Church of Rome, but only spake against their naughty life.*

*Hierome did put them to silence.*

And when his Oration was interrupted many times by divers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking; yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which escaped unblanckt, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak, and after began again, proceeding in his Oration, and desiring them to give him leave a while to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more, neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and murmurings.

*Jerome in prison 340 days.*

*The excellent memory in Mr. Hierome.*

And this was marvellous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison three hundred forty days, having neither Book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirable his memory served him: Declaring how all those pains of his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their unkind humanity towards him.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of *John Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, they which sat in the Council whispered together, saying, By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself. Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms and feet, with great chains and fetters of Iron.

*Mr. Hierome brought again before the Council.*

The *Saturday* next before the *Ascension*-day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the Cathedral Church before the open Congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid touching the praise and commendation of Master *John Wickliff*, and Master *John Hus*, confirming and establishing their Doctrine, he would yet recant the same: But he marvellous stoutly without all fear spake against them, and amongst other things said unto them, I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the Articles of the Faith, as the holy Catholick Church doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain Articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life. Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or perswade him to recant.

*Mr. Hierome holdeth all the Articles of the Catholick Church.*

*The Eloquence of Mr. Hierome.*

Then a certain Bishop, named the Bishop of *Londy*, made a certain Sermon exhortative against Master *Hierome*, perswading to his condemnation.

After the Bishop had ended the said Sermon, Master *Hierome* said again unto them, You shall condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But I after my death will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts: *Et citò vos omnes, ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo & justissimo Judice post centum annos.* That is, And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years.

*The Prophesie of M. Hierome.*

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and Philosophically had spoken in the said Audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no means he might be perswaded to recant the premisses, immediately even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

*The sentence read against Hierome.*

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. Christ our God, and our Saviour being the true Vine, whose Father is the Husbandman, taught his Disciples, and all other faithful men, saying, *If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry*, &c. The Doctrine and precepts of which most excellent Doctor and Master this most Sacred Synod of *Constance* executing and following in the cause of inquisition against Hereticks, being moved by this said Sacred Synod, through report, publick fame, and open infamation, proceeding against *Hierome* of *Prague*, Master of Art, Lay-man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master *Hierome* hath holden, maintained, and taught divers Articles heretical and erroneous, lately reproved and condemned by the holy Fathers, some being very blasphemous, othersome offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious, which have been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory, *John Wickliff*, and *John Hus*, the which are also written in divers of their Works and Books. Which Articles of Doctrine and Books of the said *John Hus*, and *John Wickliff*, together with their memory, and the person of the said *John Hus*, were by the said sacred Synod condemned of Heresie. The which sentence of condemnation this *Hierome* afterward during the time of Inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred Synod, and approved the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith, thereunto consenting, accursing all Heresie, specially that whereof he was infamed, and confessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past *John Hus* and *John Wickliff* maintained and taught in their Works, Sermons, and Books, for the which the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, together with their Doctrine and Errors, were by the said sacred Synod as heretical condemned. The condemnation of all which the premisses he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith. And if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession written with his own hand, he delivered up unto the holy Council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poyson which had long lurked and lyen hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Council. The which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said and professed before the whole Synod, being publickly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, and that he had most shamefully lyed in approving and allowing the said sentence, neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lyed; yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresie in the Books and Treatises of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their Books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master *Hierome* did profess as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Transubstantiation of the Bread into the Body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the Church doth hold and believe, saying also that he doth give more credit unto Saint *Augustine*, and the other Doctors of the Church, than unto *Wickliff* and *Hus*. It appeareth moreover by the premisses, that the said *Hierome* is an adherent and maintainer of the said *Wickliff* and *Hus*, and their Errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synod determineth the said Master *Hierome* as a rotten and withered

branch, not growing upon the Vine, to be cut off and caſt out. The ſaid Synod alſo pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an Heretick and drowned in all kind of Hereſies, excommunicate and accurſed, leaving him unto the arbitrement and judgment of the ſecular Judg, to receive juſt and due puniſhment, according to the quality of ſo great an offence; the ſacred Synod notwithſtanding intreating that the ſaid Judg would moderate his ſentence of judgment without peril of death.

M. Hierome given to the ſecular power.

The which ſentence ſo given before his face, and ended, a great and long Miter of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red Devils, the which when he beheld and ſaw, throwing away his Hood upon the ground amongſt the Prelates, he took the Miter and put it upon his head, ſaying, Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when as he ſhould ſuffer death for me moſt wretched ſinner, did wear a Crown of Thorn upon his head; and I for his ſake inſtead of that Crown, will willingly wear this Miter and Cap. Afterward he was laid hold of by the ſecular power.

A paper with red Devils put upon the head of M. Hierome by Deviliſh Papiſts.

KING Hen. 5. M. Hierome committed to the ſecular power.

After that he was led out of the ſaid Church to the place of execution; when he was going out of the Church, with a cheerful countenance and a loud voice lifting his eyes up unto Heaven, he began to ſing, *Credo in unum Deum*, as it is accuſtomed to be ſung in the Church. Afterward as he paſſed along, he did ſing ſome Canticles of the Church; the which being ended, in the entring out of the Gate of the City, as men go unto *Gothlehem*, he did ſing this Hymn, *Felix namque*. And that Reſpond being ended, after he came to the place of Execution where Maſter *John Hus* before had ſuffered death innocently, kneeling down before an Image which was like unto the Picture of Maſter *John Hus*, which was there prepared to burn Maſter *Jerome*, he made a certain devout prayer.

M. Hierome went ſinging unto his Martyrdom.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground ſpoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loyns with a linnen cloth, and bound him faſt with cords and chains of Iron, to the ſaid Image which was made faſt unto the earth; and ſo ſtanding upon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he ſung *Salve feſta dies*. And when the Hymn was ended, he ſung again with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, unto the end. That being ended, he ſaid unto the people in the *German* Tongue in effect as followeth. Dearly beloved children, even as I have now ſung, ſo do I believe, and none otherwiſe. And this Creed is my whole Faith, notwithſtanding now I die for this cauſe, becauſe I would not conſent and agree to the Council, and with them affirm and hold that Maſter *John Hus* was by them holily and juſtly condemned; for I did know well enough that he was a true Preacher of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

M. Hierome tyed to an Image like to J. Hus.

M. Hierome ſingeth at his Burning.

The words of Hierome to the people.

M. Hierome giveth teſtimony of John Hus.

After that he was compaſſed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they caſt all his garments upon the wood alſo, and with a fire-brand they ſet it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to ſing with a loud voice, *In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum.* When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he ſaid in the vulgar *Bohemian* Tongue, O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knoweſt how ſincerely I have loved thy truth. Then his voice by the vehemency of the fire was choaked and ſtopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he he had ſtill prayed or ſpoken within himſelf.

The laſt words of M. Hierome.

When as in a manner his whole Body with his Beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his Body certain great Bladders as big as an Egg, yet he continually very ſtrongly and ſtoutly moved, and ſhaked his head and mouth, by the ſpace almoſt of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, whileſt one might eaſily have gone from St. *Clements* over the Bridg unto our Lady-Church; he was of ſuch a ſtout and ſtrong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his Bedding, his Straw-bed, his Boots, his Hood, and all other things that he had in the priſon, and burned them all to aſhes in the ſame fire. The which aſhes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a Cart, and caſt them into the river of *Rheine*, which ran hard by the City.

The cruelty of his death.

The aſhes of M. Hierome caſt into the river of *Rheine*.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which teſtified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Maſter *Jerome*, and ſent the ſame unto us to *Prague* in writing, doth thus conclude. All theſe things (ſaid he) I did behold, ſee, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all thoſe things which happened unto him when he came toward *Conſtance*, and alſo at his firſt coming unto *Conſtance* of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto *Conſtance*, as is aforeſaid, I my ſelf did ſee and perfectly behold, and for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the ſame unto you, not lying or fallifying any point thereof, as he which is the ſearcher of all mens hearts can

The witneſs of the Writer.

bear

{KING Hen. 5.}

bear the witneſs, willing rather to ſuſtain the note of ignorance and rudeneſs of ſtile, to bear witneſs unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled by tickling, or flattering the ears of the hearers with fained and cloaked ſpeech, to ſwarve or go aſide from the truth.

The truth of this ſtory

Thus end the Tragical Hiſtories of Maſter *John Hus*, and Maſter *Jerome* of *Prague*, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain *Bohemian*, being a preſent witneſs and beholder of the ſame, written and compiled firſt in *Latin*, and ſo ſent by the ſaid *Bohemian* into his Country of *Boheme*, and again tranſlated out of the *Latin* with like fidelity into our *Engliſh* Tongue.

In the mean time while Maſter *Hierome* was in this trouble, and before the Council, the Nobles and Lords of *Boheme* and of *Moravia* (but not a little agrieved thereat) directed their Letters unto this barbarous Council of Popiſh murderers, in tenor and form of words as followeth.

## *The Letter of the Fifty four Nobles of* Moravia, *written unto the Council of* Conſtance *in the defence of Maſter* John Hus *and* Hierome *of* Prague.

To the right reverend Fathers and Lords in Chriſt, the Lords Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Ambaſſadors, Doctors and Maſters, and to the whole Council of *Conſtance*, We the Nobles, Lords, Knights and Eſquires, of the famous Marqueſdom of *Moravia*, wiſh the deſire of all goodneſs, and the obſervation of the Commandments of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

*Forſomuch as every man both by the Law of Nature, and alſo by Gods Law, is commanded to do that unto another man, which he would have done unto himſelf, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another, which he would not have done unto himſelf, as our Saviour ſaith,* Mat. 7. All things whatſoever you will that men ſhould do unto you, the ſame do you unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets; *yea, the Law is fulfilled in this one point,* Rom. 13. Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf: *We therefore (God being our Author) having reſpect as much as in us lyeth unto the ſaid Law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did ſend our Letters unto* Conſtance *for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Maſter* John Hus, *Bachelor of Divinity, and Preacher of the Goſpel. Whom of late in the Council of* Conſtance *(we know not with what ſpirit being led) you have condemned as an obſtinate Heretick; neither having confeſſed any thing, neither being lawfully convict as were expedient; having no errors or hereſies declared or laid againſt him, but only at the ſiniſter, falſe and importune accuſations, ſuggeſtions and inſtigations of his mortal enemies, and the Traytors of our Kingdom and Marqueſdom of* Moravia. *And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have ſlain him with moſt ſhameful and cruel death, to the perpetual ſhame and infamy of our moſt Chriſtian Kingdom of* Boheme, *and the famous Marqueſdom of* Moravia *(as we have written unto* Conſtance, *unto the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord* Sigiſmund *King of* Romans, *and of* Hungary, *the heir and ſucceſſor of our Kingdom) the which was alſo read and publiſhed in your Congregations, which we will here alſo have enrolled; and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.*

*Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our Letters Patents to your Reverences now preſent in the behalf of Maſter* John Hus, *openly profeſſing and proteſting both with heart and mouth, that he the ſaid Maſter* John Hus *was a juſt, good, and Catholick man, and a long ſeaſon worthily commended and allowed in our Kingdom for his life and converſation. He alſo preached and taught us and our ſubjects the Law of the Goſpel, and of the holy Prophets, and the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, according to the Expoſition of the holy Doctors approved by the Church, and left many Monuments in writing, moſt conſtantly deteſting and abhorring all errors and hereſies, continually admoniſhing both us and all faithful Chriſtians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travel, unto quietneſs and concord; ſo that uſing all the diligence that we might, we never heard or could underſtand, that Maſter* John Hus *had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or hereſie in his Sermons, or that by any manner of means he had offended us, or our ſubjects, either by word or deed, but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Chriſt, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to obſerve and keep the Law of the Goſpel, and the inſtitutions of the holy Fathers, after the preaching of our Holy Mother the Church, and to the edifying of mens ſouls. Neither did theſe premiſſes which you had ſo perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our Kingdom and Marqueſdom, ſuffice and content you, but that alſo without all mercy and pity you have apprehended, impriſoned and condemned, and even now peradventure, like, as you did Maſter* John Hus, *you have moſt cruelly murdered the worſhipful man Maſter* Jerome *of* Prague, *a man abounding in eloquence, Maſter of the Seven Liberal Arts, and a famous Philoſopher, not being ſeen, heard, examined, neither convict, but only at the ſiniſter and falſe accuſations of his and our accuſers and betrayers.*

The cauſe of John Hus cleared by the teſtimony of the Nobles of Bohemia.

All that will live godly in Chriſt. 2 Tim. 3.

Defence of Mr. Jerome of Prague.

*Furthermore, it is come to our knowledg and underſtanding (which we do not without great grief rehearſe) as we may alſo evidently gather by your writings, how that certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievouſly, albeit falſly and trayterouſly, accuſed us, our Kingdom and Marqueſdom aforeſaid, before you in your Council, that in the ſaid Kingdom of* Boheme *and Marqueſdom of* Moravia, *divers errors are ſprung up, which have grievouſly and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and alſo the hearts of many faithful men; inſomuch that without a ſpeedy ſtop or ſtay of correction, the ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom, together with the faithful Chriſtians therein, ſhould incur an irrecuperable loſs and ruin of their ſouls.*

*Theſe cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us, and to our ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom, albeit moſt falſly and ſlanderouſly, how may we ſuffer? Forſomuch as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other Kingdoms of the World have oftentimes wavered, making Schiſmes and Antipopes) our moſt gracious Kingdom of* Boheme, *and moſt noble Marqueſdom of* Moravia, *ſince the time they did receive the Catholick Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as a moſt perfect * Quadrant have always without reproof ſtuck upon the Church of* Rome, *and have ſincerely done their true obedience. Alſo with how great coſts and charges, and great travel, with what worſhip and due reverence they have reverenced the Holy Mother the Church and her Paſtors, by their Princes and faithful Subjects, it is more manifeſt than the day-light unto the whole world; and your ſelves, if you will confeſs the truth, can witneſs the ſame alſo.*

He meaneth the long ſchiſm ſpoken of before, where three Popes were ſtriving one againſt another.

* A Quadrant being foureſquare, proverbially ſignifieth a man that is conſtant and immutable.

*Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the Apoſtle, may procure honeſt and good things, not only before God, but before men alſo, and leſt by neglecting the famous renown of the Kingdom and Marqueſdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbours; having a ſtedfaſt hope, a pure and ſincere conſcience and intent, and a certain true faith in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, by the tenour of theſe we ſignifie and declare unto your Fatherhoods, and to all faithful Chriſtians, openly profeſſing both with heart and mouth, that whatſoever man, of what eſtate, preheminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion ſoever he be, which hath ſaid, or affirmed, either doth ſay or affirm, that in the ſaid Kingdom of* Boheme, *and Marqueſdom of* Moravia, *hereſies have ſprung up which have infected us and other faithful Chriſtians, as is aforeſaid (the only perſon of our moſt noble Prince and Lord,* Sigiſmund *King of* Romans, *and of* Hungary, *&c. our Lord and heir ſucceſſour, being ſet apart, whom we truſt and believe, not to be guilty in the premiſſes) all and every ſuch man (as is aforeſaid) doth lye falſely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty Traytor and betrayer of the ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom, and moſt trayterous unto us, and moſt pernicious heretick, the ſon of all malice and wickedneſs, yea, and of the Devil himſelf,* Joh. 8. *who is a lyar, and the father of all lyes.*

*Notwithſtanding, we for this preſent committing the foreſaid injuries unto God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will alſo abundantly reward the workers of iniquity, will proſecute them more amply before him, whom God* Deut. 38. Pſal. 30.

*ſhall appoint in the Apoſtolick See, to govern his holy Church, as the only and undoubted Paſtor. Unto whom, God willing, we exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in thoſe things which are lawful, honeſt, and agreeable to reaſon and the Law of God will make our requeſt and petition, that ſpeedy remedy may be provided for us, our ſaid Kingdom and Marqueſdom upon the premiſſes, according to the Law of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Inſtitutions of the holy Fathers. The premiſſes notwithſtanding, we ſetting apart all fear and mens Ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintain and defend the Law of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the devout, humble and conſtant Preachers thereof, even to the ſhedding of our Bloud.*

These Noblemen offered their obedience to the Pope, no further than was lawful, honeſt and agreeable to reaſon and the law of God. Mark this, and learn, you Noblemen.

Dated at *Sternberg*, in the year of our Lord 1415. upon St. *Wenceſlaus* day, Martyr of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Round about the ſaid Letters there were fifty four Seals hanging, and their Names ſubſcribed, whoſe Seals they were. The Names of which Noblemen I thought it good here to annex withal, partly for the more credit of that which hath been ſaid, partly alſo for examples ſake, to the intent that our Noblemen and Gentlemen in this our Realm of *England*, now living in this clear light of the Goſpel, may by their example underſtand, that if they joyn themſelves with the Goſpel of Jeſus, zealouſly, and as they ſhould do, yet are they neither the firſt, nor the moſt that ſo have done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remain in the ſtory to their ſhame, or elſe to their inſtruction, ſeeing ſo many noble and worthy Gentlemen, within the ſmall Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to be ſo forward in thoſe ſo dark days, and among ſo many enemies two hundred years ago, to take part with Chriſt; and yet our Gentlemen here in ſuch long continuance of time, being ſo diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeal to them to be compared, but will ſtill take part, contrary both to Chriſt, and to the example of theſe Nobles, whoſe Names they may ſee and read here following:

1. *Alſſokabat de Wiſcowitz.*
2. *Ulricus de Lhota.*
3. *Joan. de Kſtmicz.*
4. *Joſſko de Szzitoiwcz.*
5. *Pærdus Zwiranowicz.*
6. *Joan. de Zivla.*
7. *Joan. de Reychenberg.*
8. *Wildo Skitzyny.*
9. *Diliko de Bieſa.*
10. *Kos de Doloylatz.*
11. *Joan. de Simuſin.*
12. *Dobeſſimus de Tiſſa.*
13. *Drazko de Aradeck.*
14. *Steph. de Hmdorkat.*
15. *Joan. Dern de Gabonecz.*
16. *Barſo dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.*
17. *Joan. Hmrſdorfar.*
18. *Pſateska de Wilklek.*
19. *Petrus Mog de Szzitowicy.*
20. *N. Studenica.*
21. *N. Briſchell.*
22. *N. de Cromaſſona.*
23. *Aranniſick Donant de Polonia.*
24. *Joan. Donant de Polonia.*
25. *Joan. de Czizzow.*
26. *Wenceſlaus de N.*
27. *N. de N.*
28. *N. N.*
29. *Joſſeck de N.*
30. *Henricus de N.*
31. *Waczlas de kuck.*

This Nobleman did accompany *John Hus* and with certain Horſemen conduct him to *Conſtance*.

32. *Henr. de Zrenowicz.*
33. *Baczko de Convald.*
34. *Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.*
35. *Czenko de Moſſnow.*
36. *N.*
37. *Zibilutz de Clezam.*
38. *Joannes de Paterſwald.*
39. *Parſifal de Namyeſcz.*
40. *Zodoni de Zwietzick.*
41. *Raczeck Zawskalp.*
42. *Jon de Toſſawicz.*
43. *Diwa de Spiſſnia.*
44. *Steffko de Draczdw.*
45. *Iſſko de Draczdw.*
46. *Odich. de Hlud.*
47. *Wosfart de Paulowicz.*
48. *Pirebbor de Tyrezenicz.*
49. *Rynard de Tyrczewicz.*
50. *Bobunko de Wratiſdow.*
51. *Ulricus de Racdraw.*
52. *Deſſaw de Nali.*
53. *Bonesb de Frabrenicz.*
54. *Eybl de Roiſſowan.*

After theſe things thus declared and diſcourſed, concerning the Hiſtory of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, the order of place and Country next would require, conſequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after, and upon the death of theſe Men in the Country of *Boheme*: but the order of time calleth me back, firſt to other matters here of our own Country, which paſſed in the mean time with us in *England*. Which things being taken by the way, and finiſhed, we will (Chriſt willing) afterward return to the tractation hereof, to proſecute the troubles and conflicts of the *Bohemians*, with other things beſide, pertaining to the later end of the Council of *Conſtance*, and chooſing of Pope *Martin*, as the order of years and time ſhall require. KING Hen. 5.

Ye heard before, how after the death of *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſucceeded *Henry Chicheſley*, in the year of our Lord one thouſand four hundred and fourteen, and ſate twenty five years. In whoſe time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in *England*; of whom many were compelled to abjure, ſome were burned, divers were driven to Exile. Whereof partly now to intreat, as we find them in Regiſters and Hiſtories recorded, we will firſt begin with *John Claydon* Coriar, of *London*, and *Richard Turming*, whom *Robert Fabian* doth falſly affirm to be burned in the year wherein Sir *Roger Acton* and Maſter *Brown* ſuffered, who indeed ſuffered not before the ſecond year of *Henry Chicheſley* being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which was in the year of our Lord, one thouſand four hundred and thirteen. The Hiſtory of which *John Claydon* in the Regiſters is thus declared.

## *The Story of* John Claydon *Coriar, and of* Richard Turming *Baker.*

The Hiſtory of J. Claydon Coriar of London, and Richard Turming Baker. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

THE ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* one thouſand four hundred and fifteen, did perſonally appear *John Claydon* Coriar of *London* (arreſted by the Mayor of the ſaid City for the ſuſpicion of Hereſie) before *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in Saint *Paul*'s Church; which *John* (it being objected to him by the Archbiſhop, that in the City of *London*, and other places of the Province of *Canterbury*, he was ſuſpected by divers godly and learned Men for Hereſie, and to be contrary to the Catholick Faith, and Determination of the Church) did openly confeſs, and denied not, but that he had been for the ſpace of twenty years ſuſpected both about the City of *London*, and alſo in the Province of *Canterbury*, and eſpecially of the common ſort, for *Lollardy* and Hereſie, and to be contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the Church of *Rome*, and defamed of the ſame all the time aforeſaid. J. Claydon examined.

Inſomuch, that in the time of Maſter *Robert Braybrook* Biſhop of *London* deceaſed, he was for the ſpace of two years, committed to the Priſon of *Conwey* for the foreſaid defamation and ſuſpicion, and for the ſame cauſe alſo he was in Priſon in the *Fleet* for three years. Out of which Priſon he (in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth) was brought before the Lord *John Scarle* then Chancellor to the King, and there did abjure all hereſie and error. And the ſaid *John Claydon* being asked of the ſaid Archbiſhop whether he did abjure the Hereſie of which he was ſuſpect before any other? did confeſs, that in a Convocation at *London* in *Paul*'s Church before *Thomas Arundel* late Archbiſhop deceaſed, he did abjure all ſuch Doctrine, which they called Hereſie and Error, contrary to the Catholick Faith and Determination of the Church, and that he had not only left ſuch Articles and Opinions, wherein he was defamed, but alſo did abſtain from all company that were ſuſpected of ſuch Opinions, ſo that he ſhould neither give aid, help, counſel, nor favour unto them. J. Claydon firſt impriſoned by Robert Braybrook Biſhop of London. J. Claydon before abjured.

And moreover, the ſaid *John* was asked by the ſaid Archbiſhop, whether ever he had in his houſe ſince his Abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in *Engliſh*. Whereunto he confeſſed, that he would not deny, but that he had in his houſe, and in his keeping many *Engliſh* books, for he was arreſted by the Mayor of the City of *London* for ſuch books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the Mayors keeping. Upon the which the Mayor did

*Engliſh* Books

KING 2 Hen. 5. The judgment of the Mayor of London.

did openly confeſs, that he had ſuch Books in his keeping which in his judgment were the worſt, and the moſt perverſe that ever he did read or ſee, and one Book that was well bound in red Leather, of parchment, written in a good *Engliſh* hand; and among the other Books found with the ſaid *John Claydon*, the Mayor gave up the ſaid Book before the Archbiſhop. Whereupon the ſaid *John Claydon*, being asked of the Archbiſhop if he knew that Book, did openly confeſs that he knew it very well, becauſe he cauſed it to be written of his own coſts and charges, for he ſpent much mony thereupon ſince his Abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it. He did anſwer, one called *John Grime*.

Claydon beſtowed much mony upon Monks.

And further, being required what the ſaid *John Grime* was, he anſwered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the ſame Book, he did confeſs, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one *John Fullar*. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that Book to be Catholick, profitable, good and true? He anſwered, that many things which he had heard in the ſame Book, were both profitable, good and healthful to his ſoul; and as he ſaid, he had great affection to the ſaid Book, for a Sermon preached at *Horſaldowne*, that was written in the ſaid Book. And being further asked, whether, ſince the time of his ſaid Abjuration, he did commune with one *Richard Baker* of the City aforeſaid; he did anſwer, yea: for the ſaid *Richard Baker* did come often unto his houſe to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew the ſaid *Richard* to be ſuſpected, and defamed of Hereſie, he did anſwer again, that he knew well that the ſaid *Richard* was ſuſpected and defamed of many Men and Women in the City of *London*, as one whom they thought to be an Heretick.

J. Claydon could not read.

Richard Turming Baker.

This Two ming behike was then in Priſon.

Which confeſſion being made, he did cauſe the ſaid Books to be delivered to Maſter *Robert Gilbert*, Doctor of Divinity; to *William Lindewood* Doctor of both Laws, and other Clerks to be examined, and in the mean time, *David Beard*, *Alexander Philip*, and *Balthaſar Mero*, were taken for witneſſes againſt him, and were committed to be examined to Maſter *John Eſcourt* General Examiner of *Canterbury*. This done, the Archbiſhop continued his Seſſion till *Munday* next in the ſame place. Which *Munday* being come, which was the 20*th* of the ſaid Month, the ſaid Maſter *Eſcourt* openly and publickly exhibited the witneſſes, being openly read before the Archbiſhop, and other Biſhops; which being read, then after that were read divers tractations, found in the houſe of the ſaid *John Claydon*: out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for Hereſies and Errors, and eſpecially out of the Book aforeſaid, which Book the ſaid *John Claydon* confeſſed by his own coſts to be written and bound, which Book was intituled, *The Lanthorn of Light*. In the which, and in the other examined, were theſe Articles under written contained:

Wil. Lindewood Doctor of both Laws.

An *Engliſh* Book, intituled, *The Lanthorn of Light*.

1. Firſt, Upon the Text of the Goſpel, how the enemy did ſow the Tares, there is ſaid thus; That wicked Antichriſt the Pope hath ſowed among the Laws of Chriſt his *Popiſh* and corrupt Decrees, which are of no authority, ſtrength, nor value.

2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſpeaking indifferently, are the Seats of the Beaſt Antichriſt, when he ſitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of Errors and Hereſies.

3. That the Biſhops Licence, for a Man to preach the Word of God, is the true Character of the Beaſt, *i.* Antichriſt, and therefore ſimple and faithful Prieſts may preach when they will againſt the prohibition of that Antichriſt, and without Licence.

The head and tail of Antichriſt.

4. That the Court of *Rome* is the chief Head of Antichriſt, and the Biſhops be the body; and the new Sects, that is, the Monks, Canons and Friers, brought in not by Chriſt, but damnably by the Pope, be the venomous and peſtiferous Tail of Antichriſt.

This is true ſpeaking of the inviſible Church.

5. That no Reprobate is a Member of the Church, but only ſuch as be elected and predeſtinate to Salvation; ſeeing the Church is no other thing but the Congregation of faithful ſouls, which do and will keep their Faith conſtantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Chriſt did never plant private Religions in the Church, but whilſt he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth that private Religions be unprofitable branches in the Church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the material Churches ſhould not be decked with Gold, Silver and Precious Stones ſumptuouſly, but the followers of the humility of Jeſus Chriſt ought to worſhip their Lord God humbly in mean and ſimple houſes, and not in great buildings, as the Churches be now adays.

8. That there be two chief cauſes of the Perſecution of the Chriſtians: one is, the Prieſts unlawful keeping of temporal and ſuperfluous goods; the other is, the unſatiable begging of the Friers, with their high buildings. Two cauſes of perſecution noted.

9. That Alms is not given vertuouſly nor lawfully, except it be given with theſe four conditions: firſt, unleſs it be given to the honour of God: ſecondly, unleſs it be given of goods juſtly gotten: thirdly, unleſs it be given to ſuch a perſon as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charity: and fourthly, unleſs it be given to ſuch as have need, and do not diſſemble. Four conditions in giving Alms.

10. That the often ſinging in the Church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for Prieſts to occupy themſelves with ſinging in the Church, but with the ſtudy of the Law of Chriſt, and preaching his Word.

11. That *Judas* did receive the Body of Chriſt in Bread, and his Bloud in Wine. In the which it doth plainly appear, that after Conſecration of Bread and Wine made, the ſame Bread and Wine that was before, doth truly remain on the Altar. That Bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

12. That all Eccleſiaſtical Suffrages do profit all vertuous and godly perſons indifferently.

13. That the Popes and the Biſhops Indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

14. That the Laity is not bound to obey the Prelates, whatſoever they command, unleſs the Prelates do watch to give God a juſt account of the ſouls of them.

15. That Images are not to be ſought to by Pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Chriſtians to bow their Knees to them, neither to kiſs them, nor to give them any manner of Reverence.

For the which Articles, the Archbiſhop with other Biſhops, and divers learned communing together, firſt condemned the Books as heretical, and burned them in fire: and then becauſe they thought the ſaid *John Claydon* to be forſworn and faln into Hereſie, the Archbiſhop did proceed to his definitive ſentence againſt the ſaid *John*, perſonally appearing before him in judgment (his Confeſſions being read and depoſed againſt him) after this manner: The books of *J. Claydon* burned.

IN *the Name of God*, Amen. *We* Henry *by the grace of God Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, in a certain cauſe of heretical pravity, and of relapſe into the ſame, whereupon* John Claydon *Layman of the Province of* Canterbury, *was detected, accuſed and denounced, and in the ſaid our Province of* Canterbury *publickly defamed (as by publick fame and common report notoriouſly to us hath been known) firſt, ſitting in Judgment-ſeat, and obſerving all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the ſentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Chriſt being invocated and only ſet before our eyes, foraſmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited and confeſſed before us, alſo by divers ſigns and evidences we have found the ſaid* John Claydon *to have been, and to be publickly and notoriouſly relapſed again into his former Hereſie, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deſerts of the ſaid cauſe, being of us diligently ſearched, weighed and pondered before, to the intent that the ſaid* John Claydon *ſhall not infect other with his ſcab, by the conſent and aſſent of our reverend brethren* Richard *Biſhop of* London, John *Biſhop of* Coventry *and* Lichfield, *and* Stephen *Biſhop of Saint* Davids, *and of other Doctors, as well of Divinity as of both Laws, and alſo of other diſcreet and learned men aſſiſting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce and declare the ſaid* The ſentences and condemnation of *J. Claydon*.

John

John Claydon *to be relapsed again into his Heresie, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents.*

*J. Claydon committed to the secular power. The Law de comburendo, insufficient.*

Thus *John Claydon*, receiving his Judgment and Condemnation of the Archbishop, was committed to the Secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal Magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burn any such man for Religion condemned of the Prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, *Quo jure, quaqua injuria*, *John Claydon* notwithstanding, by the temporal Magistrates not long after, was had to *Smithfield*, where meekly he was made a Burnt Offering unto the Lord, *Anno* 1415.

*The death and Martyrdom of J. Claydon.*

*Robert Fabian*, and other Chronologers which follow him, add also, that *Richard Turming* Baker, of whom mention is made before in the Examination of *John Claydon*, was likewise the same time burned with him in *Smithfield*. Albeit in the Register I find no sentence of Condemnation given against the said *Turning*, neither yet in the Story of Saint *Albans*, is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of *John Claydon* aforesaid; wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the Reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said *Turming* this is certain, that he was accused to the Bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and ban[illegible] What afterward was done with him, I refer it unto [illegible] Authors.

{KING 1 Hen. 5.}

*J. Claydon, Rich. Turming Martyrs.*

*The Burning of John Claidon and Richard Turming.*

{Ann. 1416}

The next year after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of *John Hus*, being burnt at *Constance*, which was *Anno* 1416. the Prelates of *England* seeing the daily encrease of the Gospel, and fearing the ruine of their Papal Kingdom, were busily occupied with all their counsel and diligence to maintain the same. Wherefore to make their state and Kingdom sure, by Statutes, Laws, Constitutions, and terrour of punishment, as *Thomas Arundel*, and other Prelates had done before, so the forenamed *Henry Chicheſley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Convocation holden at *London*, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough been made before) against the poor *Lollards*; the Copy and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the Bishop of *London*, and to other his Suffragans, by them to be put in straight execution, containing in words as followeth:

*Ex Regist. Chicheſley 217.*

'HEnry by the Grace of God Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Legate of the chief Seat; To our Reverend Brother in the Lord, *Richard*, by the Grace of God, Bishop of *London*, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately in our last Convocation in S. *Paul's* Church in *London*, being kept by you and other our Brethren and Clergy of our Province, we do remember to have made this Order underwritten, by your consents: When as among many other our cares, this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those Hereticks, which like Foxes, lurk and hide themselves in the Lords Vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet, and from the feet of our fellow brethren; in this the said Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy, we have ordained, that our fellow Brethren, our Suffragans and Archdeacons of our Province of *Canterbury*, by themselves, their Officials or Commissaries in their Jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their Country, twice every year at the least, do diligently inquire of such persons as are suspect of Heresie; and that in every such their Archdeaconries in every Parish, wherein is reported any Hereticks to inhabite, they cause three or more of the honestest men, and best reported of, to take their Oath upon the holy Evangelist, that if they shall know or understand any frequenting either in privy Conventicles, or else differing in life or manners, from the common conversation of other Catholick Men, or else that hold any either Heresies or Errors, or else that have any suspected Books in the *English* Tongue, or that do receive any such persons suspect of Heresies and Errors into their Houses, or that be favourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make Certificates of those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspect, unto the said our Suffragans or Archdeacons, or to their Commissaries, so soon, and with as much speed as possibly they can; And that the said Archdeacon, and every of their Commissaries aforesaid, do declare the Names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the Dioceſs and places, and secretly under their Seals do send over unto us the same: and that the same Dioceſans effectually direct forth lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discern, define and execute the same.

*Twice every year to enquire for Lollards.*

*Against privy Conventicles.*

*To differ from the common sort in life and manners, against the Popes law.*

*Against English Books.*

*You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your dusty Pulpits.*

'And

KING Hen. 5

'And if perhaps, they leave not ſuch perſons convict 'unto the Secular Court, yet notwithſtanding, let them com- 'mit them unto the perpetual or temporal Priſons, as the 'quality of the cauſe ſhall require, until the next Convo- 'cation of the Prelates and Clergy of our Province of *Can- 'terbury*, there perſonally to remain; and that in the ſame 'Priſons they cauſe them to be kept according as the law 'requireth: And that of all and ſingular the things afore- 'ſaid, that is, what inquiſition they have made, and what 'they have found, and how in the proceſs they have beha- 'ved themſelves, and what perſons ſo convict they have 'cauſed to be put in ſafe keeping, with what diligence or 'negligence of the Commiſſaries aforeſaid, with all and all 'manner of other circumſtances premiſed, and thereunto in 'any wiſe appertaining, and eſpecially of the Abjurations, if 'in the mean time they ſhall chance to abjure any Hereſies, 'that then in the next Convocation of the Prelates and 'Clergy under the form aforeſaid, they cauſe the ſame di- 'ſtinctly and apertly to be certified to us and our ſucceſſors; 'and that they deliver effectually to the Official of our 'Court the ſame proceſs to remain with them, or elſe in the 'Regiſter of our Court of *Canterbury*, ſo that every one, to 'whom ſuch things appertain, for the further execution of 'the ſame proceſs, may have recourſe unto the ſame Offici- 'al with all effect.

'We therefore command, that as touching the conſtitu- 'tion brought unto your City and Dioceſan, you cauſe the 'ſame in convenient place and time to be publiſhed, and 'that in all points you both obſerve the ſame your ſelves, 'and cauſe it alſo of others to be diligently obſerved: com- 'manding furthermore, all and ſingular our fellow Brethren 'and Suffragans, that they in like wiſe cauſe the ſame to be 'publiſhed throughout all their Cities and Dioceſs, and both 'diligently obſerve the ſame themſelves, and alſo cauſe all 'others to do the ſame; and what thing ſoever you ſhall do 'in the premiſſes, that you certifie us betwixt this and the 'Feaſt of St. *Peter ad vincula* next coming, that you duly 'certifie us of theſe things, by your Letters Patents, contain- 'ing the ſame effect, ſealed with your Seals. Dated at our 'Houſe in *London*, the firſt day of *July*, *Anno* 1416.

¶ During the time of this Convocation in the year a- boveſaid, two Prieſts were preſented and brought before the Biſhops, noted and defamed for Hereticks, one named *John Barton*, unto whom it was objected by *Philip* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that he had been excommunicated about ſix or ſeven years before, upon Articles concerning Religion, and yet neither would appear, being cited, nor would ſeek to be reconciled again to the Church. Which things being ſo proved againſt him, he was committed to the cuſtody of the foreſaid *Philip* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and ſo to be holden in Priſon, till he ſhould hear further what ſhould be done.

The trouble of *John Barton* and *Robert Chapel* in cauſe of religion.

This *Philip* ſeemeth to be *Philip Repington* afore mentioned in the ſtory of *Wickliff*.

The other was *Robert Chapel*, otherwiſe named *Holbech*, Chaplain ſometimes to the Lord *Cobham*; unto whom likewiſe it was objected, that he being under the ſentence of Excommunication about three or four years, yet notwithſtanding, to the contempt of the Keyes, did continue ſaying Maſs, and preaching, and ſought not to be reconciled; *Chapel* denying that he did know any ſuch Excommunication given out againſt him. Then was the Copy of his Excommunication firſt made by the Biſhop of *Roff.* afterward denounced by the Biſhop of *London* at *Pauls-Croſs*, brought and read before him; and ſo that done, that Seſſion brake up for that time, which was about the later end of *May*, *Anno* 1416.

The 12*th* day of the Month of *July* next following, the ſaid *Chapel* appeared again before the Archbiſhop and the Prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the Biſhops Licence in divers places, as at *Cobham*, at *Cowling*, and at *Shorn*; at length, he confeſſing and ſubmitting himſelf, deſired pardon. Which although it was not at the firſt granted unto him, yet at the laſt the Biſhop of *Roff.* putting in his hands the Decree of the Canon Law; *1. q. 7. Cap. Quoties, &c.* and cauſing him to read the ſame, made him to abjure all his former Articles and Opinions as Heretical and Schiſmatical, never to hold the ſame again, according to the contents of the foreſaid Canon. Whereupon the ſaid *Robert*, being abſolved by the authority of the Archbiſhop (ſave only that he ſhould not intermeddle with ſaying Maſs before he had been diſpenſed from the Pope himſelf for irregularity) was injoyned by the Archbiſhop himſelf for his Penance, ſtanding at *Paul's* to publiſh theſe Articles following unto the people, inſtead of his confeſſion given him to be read.

*Articles obtruded to R. Chapel to confeſs.*

*Imprimis*, I confeſs that Biſhops, Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons, having no other poſſeſſion to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain Lands and Poſſeſſions temporal, to diſpenſe and diſpoſe the ſame and the Rents thereof, to the behoof of themſelves, or of their Church where they dwell, according as ſeemeth good to them.

2. *Item*, I confeſs, That it were very unlawful, yea rather, unjuſt, that temporal men upon any occaſion, whatſoever it be, ſhould take away temporal Lands and Poſſeſſions from the Church, either univerſal or particular, to which they are given, the conſideration of the abuſe of mortal Prelates, Prieſts, or other Miniſters in the Church converſant (which are mixt together good with bad) abuſing the ſame, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

3. *Item*, I confeſs, That Peregrinations to the Relicks of Saints, and to holy places, are not prohibited; nor to be contemned of any Catholick, but are available to remiſſion of ſins, and approved of holy Fathers, and worthy to be commended.

*Mark well this Catholick Doctrine of the Popes Church concerning remiſſion of ſins.*

4. *Item*, I confeſs, That to worſhip the Images of Chriſt or of any other Saints, being ſet up in the Church, or in any other place, is not forbidden; neither is any cauſe inductive of Idolatry, being ſo uſed as the holy Fathers do will them to be worſhipped; but rather ſuch Images do profit much to the health of Chriſtians, becauſe they do put us in remembrance of the merits of thoſe Saints whom they repreſent, and the ſight of them doth move and ſtir up the people to prayers and devotion.

*Mark how this Doctrine joyneth with Gods Commandment, and with his Word.*

5. *Item*, I confeſs, That Auricular Confeſſion uſed in the Church is neceſſary for a ſinner to the ſalvation of his ſoul, and neceſſary to be done of ſuch a Prieſt, as is ordained by the Church to hear the confeſſion of the ſinner, and to enjoyn him Penance for the ſame; without which confeſſion (if it may be had) there is no remiſſion of ſins to him that is in ſin mortal.

*Ergo, by this Doctrine the juſt man liveth not by his faith, but by his Confeſſion Auricular.*

6. *Item*, I confeſs and firmly do hold, that although the Prieſt be in mortal ſin, yet may he make the Body of Chriſt, and miniſter other Sacraments and Sacramentals; which nevertheleſs are profitable to all the faithful, whoſoever receive them in faith and devotion of the Church.

*How can theſe Prieſts be ſervants of Chriſt, which be makers of Chriſt.*

7. *Item*, I confeſs, That Biſhops in their own Dioceſſes may forbid, decree, or ordain upon reaſonable cauſes, that Prieſts ſhould not preach, without their ſpecial Licence, the Word of God, and that thoſe that do againſt the ſame, ſhould ſuffer the Eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

8. *Item*, I confeſs, That private Religions, as well of Monks, Canons and other, as alſo of the Begging Friers, being allowed by the Church of *Rome*, are profitable to the Univerſal Church, and in no means contrary to Gods Law, but rather founded and authoriſed thereon.

*Private religions profitable, if ye could tell wherefore.*

9. *Item*, I promiſe and ſwear upon theſe holy Evangeliſts, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, nor by any means teach any thing contrary unto the premiſſes either openly or privately.

After the ſetting out of the Conſtitution aforeſaid, in the days of the abovenamed *Henry Chicheſley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, great Inquiſition hereupon followed in *England*, and many good men, whoſe hearts began to be won to the Goſpel, were brought to much vexation, and cauſed outwardly to abjure.

*Strait Inquiſition in England.*

Thus, while Chriſt had the inward hearts of men; yet the Catholick Antichriſt would needs poſſeſs their outward bodies, and make them ſing after his ſong. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, beſides the other aforeſaid, was alſo *John Taylor* of the Pariſh of St. *Michaels* at *Quern*: *William James*, Maſter of Art and Phyſician, who had long remained in Priſon, and at length, after Abjuration, was licenſed with his Keeper to practiſe his Phyſick.

*Chriſt had the hearts of men, they had their bodies.*

*A brief ſum of ſuch as abjured, under Henry Chicheſley.*

*J. Taylor.*

*Will. James.*

Alſo *John Dwarf*, ſo named fore his low ſtature, which was ſent by the Duke of *Bedford* to the foreſaid *Chicheſley*, and

*J. Dwarfe.*

and other Biſhops, to be examined before them or the Convocation; there he at length revolting from his Doctrine, recanted and did penance.

*J. Fourdelay.* In like manner *John Fourdelay* of *Lincolnſhire*, well commended in the Regiſters for his learning, accuſed by the Prieſts of *Lincoln* for a certain Book, which he contrary to the former Decree of the Biſhops, did conceal, and did not exhibite unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure. After whom was brought likewiſe before the Biſhops, one *Katharine Dertford*, a Spinſter, who being accuſed and examined upon theſe 3 Articles concerning the Sacrament of the Popes Altar, Adoration of Images, and of Pilgrimage, anſwered, that ſhe was not able, being unlearned, to anſwer to ſuch high matters, neither had ſhe any further skill, but only her Creed and Ten Commandments; and ſo was ſhe committed to the Vicar-General of the Biſhop of *Wint.* (for that ſhe was of the ſame Dioceſs) to be kept, and further to be examined of the ſame. *Ex Regiſt. H. Chicheſley.*

*J. Fourdelay abjureth.*

*Robert Parſon of Heggeley examined.* At the ſame ſitting was alſo brought before the ſaid Archbiſhop and his fellow Biſhops, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Parſon of *Heggeley* in *Lincolnſhire*, named Mr. *Rob.* who being long kept in the Tower, at length, by the Kings Writ, was brought and examined the ſame time upon the like Articles, to wit, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, Peregrination, Adoration of Images, and whether it was lawful for ſpiritual men to enjoy temporal Lordſhips, *&c.* To the which Articles he anſwered (ſaith the Regiſter) doubly and mockingly, ſave only in the Sacrament he ſeemed ſomething more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore, being committed to the cuſtody and examination of *Richard* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in the end he was alſo induced to ſubmit himſelf.

*W. Henry of Tenterden examined.* The ſame likewiſe did *W. Henry* of *Tenterden*, being ſuſpected and arreſted for company keeping with them whom the Biſhops called *Lollards*, and for having ſuſpected Books.

*A book of the new lavv. J. Galle. Rob. Monke. Bart. Cornmonger. N. Hoper. Tho. Granter,* troubled for their Doctrine. Beſides theſe, divers other there were alſo which in the ſame Convocation were convented, and revoked their Opinions, as *J. Galle* a Prieſt of *London*, for having a Book in *Engliſh*, intituled, *A Book of the new Law. Item, Richard Monk*, Vicar of *Cheſham* in *Lincolnſhire*, who ſubmitted himſelf likewiſe. In this race and number followed moreover, *Bartholomew Cornmonger*, *Nic. Hoper* ſervant to the Lord *Cobham*, *Thomas Granter* with othermore, mentioned in the foreſaid Regiſter.

Among the reſt which were at this time troubled for their Faith, was one *Radulph Mungin* Prieſt, who for the ſame Doctrine was arreſted and ſent by the Lord Chantellor of *England*, to the foreſaid Archbiſhop, and by him committed to *David Price*, Vicar-General to the Biſhop of *London*: Where after he had indured four Months in Priſon, he was by the ſaid *David* preſented to the Convocation, againſt whom divers Articles were objected.

*A Subſidy gathered by the Pope to fight againſt the faithful of Bohemia.* But for the better explaining of the matter, firſt here is to be noted, that touching the time of this Convocation Provincial, Pope *Martin* had ſent down to the Clergy of *England*, for a Subſidy to be gathered of the Church, to maintain the Popes War againſt the *Lollards* (ſo the *Papiſts* did term them) of *Bohemia*. Alſo another Subſidy was demanded to perſecute one *Peter Clerk* Maſter of Art of *Oxford*, who flying out of *England*, was at the Council of *Baſil*; diſputing on the *Bohemians* ſide. And thirdly, another Subſidy was alſo required to perſecute *William Ruſſel*, Warden of the *Gray Friers* in *London*, who the ſame time was fled from *England* to *Rome*, to maintain his opinion before the Pope, and there eſcaped out of Priſon, *&c.* of whom more largely hereafter (Chriſt willing) we ſhall entreat. In the mean time mark here the pretty ſhifts of the Pope to hook in the *Engliſh* money, by all manner of pretences poſſible.

*Romiſh ſleights to get the Engliſh money.*

*Articles objected againſt Ralph Mungin.* Thus *Ralph Mungin*, the foreſaid Examinate, appearing before the Biſhops in the Convocation, it was articulated againſt him, firſt that he ſhould affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Chriſtian to fight and make War againſt the Hereticks of *Bohemia*.

*Item*, It was to him objected, that he did hold and ſay, that it was not lawful for any man to have propriety of Goods, but the ſame to be common; which he expreſly denied that ever he ſo ſaid or affirmed. Whereby we have to obſerve, how the crafty malice of theſe adverſaries uſeth falſly to collect and furniſe of men, what they never ſpake, whereby to oppreſs them wrongfully whom by plain truth they cannot expugn.

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Moreover, they objected againſt him, that he ſhould keep company with Maſter *Clerk* aforeſaid, and alſo that he diſperſed in the City of *London* certain Books of *John Wickliff* and of *Peter Clerk*, namely the Book *Trialogus*, and the Goſpels of *John Wickliff*, *&c.* He was charged moreover, to have ſpoken againſt the Popes Indulgences affirming that the Pope had no more powr to give Indulgences than he had.

*Trialogus.* *The Goſpels tranſlated by J. Wickl.*

Upon theſe and other ſuch Articles objected, the ſaid *Mungin*, being asked if he would revoke, anſwered, that it ſeemed to him not juſt or meet ſo to do, which did not know himſelf guilty of any Hereſie. Thus he being reſpited for the time, was committed to Priſon till the next ſitting; who then being called divers and ſundry times afterward before the Biſhops, after long Inquiſition and ſtrict Examination made, alſo Depoſitions brought in againſt him ſo much as they could ſearch out, he notwithſtanding ſtill denied, as before, to recant. Wherefore the foreſaid *Henry* the Archbiſhop, proceeding to his ſentence definitive, condemned him to perpetual Priſon.

*Ralph Mungin condemned to perpetual Priſon.*

After whoſe condemnation, the *Sunday* next following the Recantation of *Thomas Granter*, and of *Richard Monk* Prieſts above mentioned, were openly ſide at *Pauls Croſs*; the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* the ſame time preached at the ſaid Croſs. The tenor of whoſe Recantation, with his Articles in the ſame expreſſed, hereunder followeth:

*Tho. Granter. Rich. Monk.*

*IN the Name of God. Before you my Lord of* Canterbury, *and all you my Lords here being preſent, and afore you all here gathered at this time,* I Thomas Granter, *Prieſt unworthy, dwelling in the City of* London, *feeling and underſtanding that afore this time, I affirmed open Errors and Hereſies, ſaying, believing and affirming within this City, that he that Chriſtian men calleth Pope, is not very Pope, nor Gods Vicary in earth, but I ſaid he was Antichriſt. Alſo I ſaid, believed and affirmed, that after the Sacramental words ſaid by a Prieſt in the Maſs there remaineth material bread and Wine and is not turned into Chriſts Body and his Bloud. Alſo I ſaid and affirmed, that it was not to do in no wiſe, to go on Pilgrimage, but it was better, I ſaid, to abide at home, and beat the ſtools with their heels; for it was, I ſaid, but tree and ſtone that they ſoughten. Alſo I ſaid and affirmed, that I held no Scripture Catholick nor holy, but only that is contained in the Bible. For the Legends and lives of Saints, I held hem nought, and the Miracles written of hem I held untrue. Becauſe of which Errors and Hereſies I was tofore Mr.* Dave Price *Vicar-general of my Lord of* London, *and ſince tofore you my Lord of* Canterbury *and your brethren in your Council Provincial, and by you fully informed, which ſo ſaid, mine affirming, believing and teaching been open Errors and Hereſies, and contrarious to the determination of the Church of* Rome. *Wherefore I willing to follow and ſewe the Doctrine of Holy Church, and depart fro all manner Errors and Hereſies, and turn with good will and heart to the one Head of the Church, conſidering that holy Church ſhitteth ner cloſeth not hor boſom to him that will turn again, ne God will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ben turned and live: with a pure heart I confeſs, deteſt, and deſpiſe my ſaid Errors and Hereſies, and the ſaid Opinions I confeſs, as Hereſies and Errours to the Faith of the Church of* Rome, *and to all univerſall holy Church impugnant. And therefore theſe ſaid Opinions in ſpecial, and all other Errors and Hereſies, Doctrines and Opinions, ayen the Faith of the Church, and the Determinations of the Church of* Rome, *I abjure and forſwear heretofore you all, and ſwear by theſe holy Goſpels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I ſhall never hold, teach, ye preach Error, ne Errors, Hereſie, ne Hereſies, nor falſe Doctrine againſt the Faith of holy Church, and determination of the Church of* Rome, *ner none ſuch thing I ſhall obſtinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching ſuch manner things by me or any other perſon, openly or privily I ſhall defend, I ſhall never after this time be receiver, fautor, counſellor or defendor of Hereticks, or of any perſon ſuſpect of Hereſie, ner I ſhall trow to him, nor wittingly fellaſhip with him, ner yeve him counſel, favour, gift,*

*The Recantation of Tho. Granter. Note the Doctrine and Opinions in thoſe days, where the Goſpel took place.*

*One Head, that is, the unity of the Church.*

*Men flee to the Church of Rome.*

*ne*

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*ne comfort. And if I know any Hereticks, or of Hereſie, or of ſuch falſe Opinions any perſon ſuſpect, or any man or woman making or holding privy Conventicles, or Aſſemblies, or any divers or ſingular Opinions from the common Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counſellers or defenſers, or any that have ſuſpect books or quiers of ſuch Errors and Hereſies; I ſhall let you my Lord of* Canterbury, *or your Officers in your abſence, or the Dioceſans and Ordinaries of ſuch men, have ſoon and ready knowing, So help me God and holy deme, and theſe holy Evangeliſts by me bodily touched.*

After this Recantation at the Croſs thus publiſhed, and his ſubmiſſion made, the ſaid *Granter* then was by the advice of the Prelates put to ſeven years priſonment, under the cuſtody and charge of the Biſhop of *London*.

The affliction and trouble in Kent, under Chicheſley.

After this followed in like manner the Recantation of *Richard Monk*. Alſo of *Edmund Frith* who was before Butler to Sir *John Oldcaſtle*.

Beſides theſe above remembred, many and divers there be in the ſaid Regiſter recorded, who likewiſe for their Faith and Religion were greatly vexed and troubled, eſpecially in the Dioceſs of *Kent*, in the Towns of *Romney*, *Tenterden*, *Woodchurch*, *Crambrook*, *Stophelherſt*, *Benenden*, *Halden*, *Rolvenyden*, and others, whereas whole Houſholds, both Man and Wife, were driven to forſake their Houſes and Towns for danger of Perſecution; as ſufficiently appeareth in the proces of the Archbiſhop *Chicheſley* againſt the ſaid perſons, and in the Certificate of *Burbath* his Official, wherein are named the perſons following:

Perſons perſecuted in Kent.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *W. White Prieſt.* | 9. *W. Chiveling.* |
| 2. *Th. Greneſted Prieſt.* | 10. *John Tame.* |
| 3. *Bartho. Cornmonger.* | 11. *John Fowlin.* |
| 4. *John Wadnon.* | 12. *William Somer.* |
| 5. *Joan his Wife.* | 13. *Marian his Wife.* |
| 6. *Tho. Everden.* | 14. *John Abraham.* |
| 7. *William Everden.* | 15. *Robert Munden.* |
| 8. *Stephen Robin.* | 16. *Laurence Coka.* |

Theſe being cited up together by the Biſhop, would not appear. Whereupon great Inquiſition being made for them by his Officers, they were conſtrained to fly their Houſes and Towns, and ſhift for themſelves as covertly as they might. When *Burbath* and other Officers had ſent to the Archbiſhop, that they could not be found, then he directed down order that Citations ſhould be ſet up for them on every Church-door, through all Towns where they did inhabite, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But notwithſtanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the Archbiſhop, ſitting in his Tribunal Seat, proceedeth to the ſentence of Excommunication againſt them. What afterward happened to them in the Regiſter doth not appear; but like it is, at length they were forced to ſubmit themſelves.

*The deſcription of the cruell Martyrdome of Sir John Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham.*

The ſecond apprehenſion of the Lo. Cobham.

¶ Concerning Sir *John Oldcaſtle* the Lord *Cobham*, and of his firſt Apprehenſion with his whole Story and Life, ſufficiently hath been expreſſed before, how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned falſly of Hereſie, eſcaped afterward out of the Tower, and was in *Wales* about the ſpace of four years. In the which mean time, a great ſum of mony was proclaimed by the King, to him that could take the ſaid Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, either quick or dead. About the end of which four years being expired, the Lord *Powis*, whether for love or greedineſs of the mony, or whether for hatred of the true and ſincere Doctrine of Chriſt, ſeeking all manner of ways how to play the part of *Judas*, at length obtained his bloudy purpoſe, and brought the Lord *Cobham* bound up to *London*; which was about the year of our Lord 1417. and about the Month of *December*. At which time there was a Parliament aſſembled in *London*, for the relief of Mony the ſame time to be ſent to the King, whom the Biſhops had ſent out (as ye heard before) to fight in *France*. The Records of which Parliament do thus ſay: That on *Tueſday* the fourteenth day of *December*, and the nine and twentieth day of the ſaid Parliament, Sir *John Oldcaſtle* of *Cowling*, in the County of *Kent*, Knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the Kings-Bench, and Excommunicated before by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for Hereſie, was brought before the Lords, and having heard his ſaid Convictions, anſwered not thereto in his Excuſe. Upon which Record and Proceſs it was adjudged, that he ſhould be taken as a Traitor to the King and the Realm; that he ſhould be carried to the Tower of *London*, and from thence down through *London*, unto the new Gallows in Saint *Giles* without *Temple-Bar*, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

The Lord Powis playeth Judas.

As touching the pretenſed Treaſon of this Lord *Cobham*, falſly aſcribed unto him in his Indictment, riſing upon wrong ſuggeſtion and falſe ſurmiſe, and aggravated by rigour

Treaſon falſly ſurmiſed.

rigour of words, rather than upon any ground of due probation, ſufficiently hath been diſcourſed before in my defence of the ſaid Lord *Cobham*, againſt *Alanus Copus*. Where again, it is to be noted, as I ſaid before, and by this it appeareth, that the Lord *Cobham* was never executed by force of the Indictment or Outlawry, becauſe if he had, he ſhould then have been brought to the Bar in the Kings-Bench, and there the Judges ſhould have demanded of him, what he could have ſaid, why he ſhould not have died; and then not ſhewing ſufficient cauſe for the diſcharge or delay of execution, the Judges ſhould have awarded and given the Judgment of Treaſon; which being not ſo, it is clear he was not executed upon the Indictment. Beſides, to prove that he was not executed upon the Indictment and the Outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, becauſe it was neither an execution of a Traitor, nor was the whole puniſhment thereof pronounced by the Judge, as by due order of Law was requiſite.

*Vide ſupra.*

Finally, as I ſaid before, here I repeat again, that albeit the ſaid Lord *Cobham* was attainted of Treaſon by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons aſſented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in ſuch ſort (as if indeed he were no Traitor) that any man may not by ſearch of the truth, utter and ſet forth ſincerely and juſtly the very true and certain cauſe whereupon his execution did follow. Which ſeemeth by all circumſtance and firm arguments, to riſe principally of his Religion, which firſt brought him in hatred of the Biſhops; the Biſhops brought him in hatred of the King; the hatred of the King brought him to his Death and Martyrdom. And thus much for the Death and Execution of this worthy Servant of Chriſt the Lord *Cobham*.

*Judas ſeeketh for his reward.*

Moreover, in the Records above mentioned, it followeth, how in the ſaid Parliament, after the Martyrdom of this valiant Knight, motion then was made, that the Lord *Powis* might be thanked and rewarded, according to the Proclamation made for his great travel taken in the apprehenſion of Sir *John Oldcaſtle* Knight, Heretick. Thus ſtand the words of the Record. Where two things are to be noted: Firſt, how Sir *John* here in the Record is called not Traitor, but Heretick only. Secondly, mark how this Brother of *Judas* here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent bloud. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and *quid vultis mihi dare* in this world, will have an heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unleſs he repented, *&c.*

*An. 5. Hen. 5. Act 17.*

Furthermore, in the ſaid Parliament, Act 17. it was Enacted, *That the Church and all Eſtates ſhould enjoy all their Liberties, which were not repealed, or repealable by the common Law*; meaning belike, the excluding of the Juriſdiction of the Popes foreign power, which hath always, by the common Law been excluded out of this Realm.

*An. 5. Hen. 5. Act 17.*

In the ſame Parliament alſo, a grievous complaint was made (by the Biſhops no doubt) againſt Inſurrections. In the end they ſuſpected that they were the *Lollards*, Hereticks and Traitors, with a requeſt that Commiſſions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto anſwer was made, that the Statutes therefore made ſhould be executed, *&c.* Thus the Clergy, *Tanquam leones rugientes*, ceaſed not to roar after Chriſtian bloud; and whoſoever was elſe in fault, ſtill the Clergy cried, *Crucifie Chriſt, and deliver us Barabbas*: for then all horrible facts and miſchiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor *Lollards*.

*All the blame laid to the Lollards.*

And now from our *Engliſh* matters, to return again to the ſtory of the *Bohemians*, from whence we have a little digreſſed: When as the News of the barbarous cruelty exerciſed at *Conſtance* againſt *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were noiſed in *Boheme*, the Nobles and Gentlemen of *Moravia* and *Boheme*, ſuch as favoured the cauſe of *John Hus*, gathering themſelves together in the zeal of Chriſt; firſt ſent their Letter unto the Council; expoſtulating with them for the injury done to thoſe godly Men, as is before expreſſed. For the which Letter they were all cited up to the Council. Unto this Letter *Sigiſmund* the Emperor maketh anſwer again in the name of the whole Council; firſt, excuſing himſelf of *John Hus* his death, which, he ſaid, was againſt his ſafe conduct, and againſt his will: Inſomuch that he roſe in anger from the Council, and departed out of *Conſtance*, as is before remembred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themſelves peaceably unto the order of the Catholick Church of *Rome*, *&c.*

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Alſo the Council hearing or fearing ſome ſtir to riſe among the *Bohemians*, did make Laws and Articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of 14.

*Articles decreed by the Council of Conſtance againſt the Bohemians.*

FIrſt, That the King of *Bohemia* ſhall be ſworn to give obedience, and to defend the liberties of the Church of *Rome*.

That all Maſters, Doctoes and Prieſts ſhall be ſworn to abjure the Doctrine of *Wickliff* and *Hus*, in that Council condemned.

That all they which being cited would not appear, ſhould alſo be ſworn to abjure; and they which would not appear, contemning the cenſure of the Keys, ſhould have proceſs againſt them, and be puniſhed.

That all ſuch Lay-men as had defended the cauſe of *John Wickliff* and *John Hus*, ſhould ſwear to defend them no more, and to approve the doings of that Council, and the condemnation of *John Hus*.

That all ſuch ſecular men as had ſpoiled the Clergy, ſhould be ſworn to reſtitution.

That Prieſts being expelled from their Benefices, ſhould be reſtored again.

That all prophaners of Churches ſhould be puniſhed after the Canonical Sanctions.

That ſuch as had been promoters in the Council againſt *John Hus*, ſhould be permitted ſafely to return into *Boheme* again, and to enjoy their Benefices.

That the relicks and treaſure taken out of the Church of *Prague*, ſhould be reſtored fully again.

That the Univerſity of *Prague* ſhould be reſtored again and reformed, and that they which had been the diſturbers thereof ſhould be really puniſhed.

*The favourers of J. Hus in Boheme.*

That the principal Hereticks and Doctors of that Sect ſhould be ſent up to the See Apoſtolick, namely, *Johannes Jeſſenetz*, *Jacobellus de Miſna*, *Simon de Tyſna*, *Simon de Rochinzano*, *Chriſtianus de Brachatitz*, *Joannes Cardinalis*, *Zdenko de Loben*, The Provoſt of *Alhallows*, *Zaiſlaus de Suiertitz*, and *Michael de Czisko*.

That all ſecular men, which communicated under both kinds, ſhould abjure that Hereſie, and ſwear to ſtop the ſame hereafter.

*This Suffragan was a good man, and held with Hus.*

That they which were ordained Prieſts by the Suffragan of the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, taken by the Lord *Zenco*, ſhould not be diſpenſed with, but ſent up to the See Apoſtolick.

*Wickliff's Books, tranſlated by J. Hus and Jacobellus into the Bohemian ſpeech.*

That the Treatiſes of *John Wickliff*, tranſlated into the *Bohemian* Tongue by *John Hus* and *Jacobellus*, ſhould be brought to the Ordinary.

That the Treatiſes of *John Hus*, condemned in the Council, ſhould alſo be brought to the Ordinary.

That all the Tractations of *Jecobellus De utraque ſpecie de Antichriſto* (wherein he calleth the Pope Antichrift) *Et de remanentia panis poſt conſecrationem*, ſhould likewiſe be brought and burned.

That all Songs and Ballads made to the prejudice of the Council, and of the Catholick perſons of both States, ſhould be forbid to be ſung in Cities, Towns and Villages, under great and exceam puniſhment.

That none ſhould preach the Word without the Licence of the Ordinary, or of the Parſon of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, having Juriſdiction, ſhould not be ſtopped in their Juriſdiction, by the ſecular power, under pain of Excommunication.

That all and ſingular perſons ſhall be commanded to obedience, under pain of Excommunication; and that whoſoever knoweth any perſon to favour any *Wickleviſts*, or their Doctrine, or that keepeth company with ſuſpect perſons, he ſhall preſent the ſame to his Dioceſans or his Officials.

That the confederacy of the Seculars made between themſelves, or any of the Spiritualty, to the prejudice of the foreſaid Council, and of the Apoſtolick See and Church of *Rome*, in the favour of *John Hus*, *Jerome* of *Prague*, and other in the ſaid Council condemned, ſhall be diſſolved.

*Conſilium malignantium.*

That the Rites and Ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion, touching Gods ſervice, Images, and worſhipping of Relicks ſhall be obſerved, and tranſgreſſors of the ſame be puniſhed.

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That all and ſingular, either ſpiritual or ſecular that ſhall preach, teach, hold, or maintain the opinions and articles of *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hierom*, in this Council condemned, and convicted of the ſame, ſhall be holden for Hereticks, and falling in relapſe ſhall be burned.

That all ſecular Perſons being moniſhed and charged by the Ordinaries, ſhall be bound to give their aid and furtherance unto them touching the premiſſes.

The *Bohemians*, notwithſtanding theſe cruel Articles, ſtemming the vain devices of theſe Prelates and Fathers of the Council, ceaſed not to proceed in their league and purpoſe begun, joyning themſelves more ſtrongly together.

In this mean time it happened, that during this Council of *Conſtance*, after the deſpoiling of Pope *John*, and ſpoyling of his goods, which came to 75 thouſand pounds of Gold and Silver, as is reported in the Story of Saint *Albanes*; Pope *Martine* upon the day of Saint *Martine*, was elected. Concerning whoſe election great preparation was made before of the Council, ſo that beſide the Cardinals, five other Biſhops of every Nation ſhould enter into the Conclave, who there together ſhould be kept with thin Diet, till they had founded a Pope. At laſt, when they were together, they agreed upon this Man, and not tarrying for choſing the door, like mad men, for haſte they brake open an hole in the wall, crying out, *Habemus Papam Martinum*, We have a *Martine* Pope. The Emperor hearing thereof, with the like haſte came apace, and falling down kiſſed the new Popes feet. Then went they all to the Church together, and ſung *Te Deum*.

*Ex Vit. Alban.*

The election of Pope *Martine.*

The Emperor kiſſeth the Popes feet.

Pope *Martine.*

The next day following, this *Martine* was made Prieſt (which before was but a Cardinal Deacon) and the next after was conſecrate Biſhop, and ſang his firſt Maſs, whereat was preſent 140. mitred Biſhops. After this the next morrow, the new holy Pope ordained a general proceſſion, where a certain Clerk was appointed to ſtand with Flax, and fire; who ſetting the Flax on fire, thus ſaid, *Ecce Pater ſancte, ſic tranſit gloria mundi. i.* Behold holy Father, thus vadeth the Tranſitory glory of this World. Which done, the ſame day the holy Father was brought up unto an high Scaffold (ſaith the Story) I will not ſay to an high Mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the World, &c. there to be crowned for a triple King. This done, the ſame day after Dinner, the new crowned Pope was with great Triumph brought through the midſt of the City of *Conſtance*, where all the Biſhops and Abbots followed with their Miters. The Popes Horſe was all Trapt with red Skarlet down to the ground. The Cardinals Horſes were all in white Silk; the Emperor on the right ſide, and Prince Elector on the left, (playing both the Popes Footmen) went on foot, leading the Popes Horſe by the Bridle.

The Coronation of Pope *Martine.*

*Meretrix equitans ſuper beſtiam. Apocalyp.*

The Pope on Horſeback, the Emperor on foot.

Why then doth the Pope keep ſtill the old Jews ceremonies, if all things be made new?

As this Pageant thus with the great Giant proceeded, and came to the Market place, there the *Jews* (according to the manner) offered to him their Law and Ceremonies. Which the Pope receiving, caſt behind him ſaying, *Recedant vetera, nova fiunt omnia. i.* Let old things paſs, all things be made new, &c. *Ex hiſt. S. Alb. ex paralip. Urſperg.*

ANNO 1417.

This was *Anno*, 1417.

Thus the Pope, being now confirmed in his Kingdom, firſt beginneth to write his Letters to the *Bohemians*, wherein partly he moveth them to Catholick Obedience, partly he diſſembleth with them, ſaigning that if it were not for the Emperors requeſt, he would enter proceſs againſt them. Thirdly and finally he threatneth to attempt the uttermoſt againſt them, and with all force to invade them, as well with the Apoſtolick, as alſo with the ſecular Arm, if they did ſtill perſiſt, as they began.

Albeit theſe new threats of the new Biſhop did nothing move the conſtant hearts of the *Bohemians*, whom the inward zeal of Chriſts Word had before inflamed.

And although it had been to be wiſhed, ſuch bloodſhed and wars not to have followed; yet to ſay the truth, how could theſe *Rabines* greatly blame them herein, whom their bloudy Tyranny had before provoked ſo unjuſtly, if now with their gloſing Letters they could not ſo eaſily appeaſe them again?

Wherefore theſe foreſaid *Bohemians*, partly for the love of *John Huſs* and *Jerome*, their Country-men, partly for the hatred of their maglignant papiſtry, aſſembling together, firſt agreed to celebrate a ſolemn Memorial of the death of *John Hus* and *Jerome*, decreeing the ſame to be holden and celebrated yearly. And afterward, by means of their Friends they obtained certain Churches of the King, wherein they might freely Preach and Miniſter the Sacraments unto the Congregation. This done, they ſuppreſſed divers Monaſteries, Phariſaical Temples, and Idolatrous Fanes, beginning firſt with the great Monaſtery of the Black-Friers, eight Miles from *Prague*, driving away the wicked and vicious Prieſts and Monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better Order. And thus their number more and more increaſing under the ſafe conduct of a certain Noble Man named *Nicholas*, they went again unto the King, requiring to have more and ampler Churches granted unto them. The King ſeemed at the firſt willingly and gently to give ear unto the ſaid *Nicholas* intreating for the people, and commanded them to come again the next day.

A yearly memorial of *J. Hus* and *Jerome* kept among the *Bohemians.*

When the people were departed, the King turning himſelf to the Noble Man *Nicholas*, which tarried ſtill behind, ſaid; *Thou haſt begun a Web to put me out of my Kingdom, but I will make a Rope of it, wherewithal I will hang thee.* Whereupon he immediately departed out of the Kings preſence, and the King himſelf went into the Caſtle of *Viſſegrade*: within a while after, into a new Caſtle, which he himſelf had builded five ſtones caſts from thence, ſending Embaſſadors to his Brother to require aid.

K. *Wenceſlaw* threateneth *Nicholas.*

Theſe Proteſtants being Aſſembled in the Town of *Prague*, holding their Conventions, the King ſent forth his Chamberlain with three hundred Horſemen to run upon them; but he having reſpect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the King, all that were about him being amazed, utterly deteſted the fact: but the Kings Cupbearer ſtanding by, ſaid, *I knew before that theſe things would thus come to paſs.* Whom the King in a rage taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with his Dagger would have ſlain him; but being letted by ſuch as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the King being taken with a Palſie fell ſick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of ſuch whom he had appointed to be put to death, inceſſantly calling for aid of his Brother, and other his Friends, he departed this life before the Princes which he had ſent unto, were come with aid, when he had Reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of ſeven and fifty years.

The death of King *Wenceſlaus.*

The marvelous work of Gods judgment to be noted, in defending his people.

## *The Story of* Ziſca.

IMmediately after the death of *Wenceſlaus*, there was a certain Nobleman named *Ziſca*, born at *Troſnovia*, which from his youth upward was brought up in the Kings Court, and had loſt one of his eyes in a Battel, whereas he had valiantly born himſelf. This man being ſore grieved for the death of *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, minding to revenge the injuries which the Council had done, greatly to the diſhonor of the Kingdom of *Boheme*, upon their complices and adherents; he gathered together a number of Men of War, and ſubverted the Monaſteries and Idolatrous Temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the Images and Idols, driving away the Prieſts and Monks, which he ſaid were kept in their Cloyſters, like Swine in their ſties to be fatted. After this his Army being increaſed, having gathered together about Forty thouſand Men, he attempted to take the Caſtle of *Viſſegrade*, which was but ſlenderly warded. From thence the ſaid *Ziſca*, under the conduct of *Coranda*, went ſpeedily unto *Pelzina*, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the Town into his power, fortifying the ſame very ſtrongly, and thoſe which tarried behind, took the Caſtle of *Viſſegrade*.

Out of Enea Silvius.

*Ziſca* getteth *Pelzina.*

Then the Queen *Sophia*, being very careful, ſent Letters and Meſſengers unto the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and other Nobles adjoyned unto her, requiring aid and help: But the Emperor made preparation againſt the *Turk*, which had then lately won certain Caſtles of him. Whereupon the Queen ſeeing all aid ſo far off, together with *Zenko Warterberge*, gathered an Hoſt with the Kings treaſure, and fortified the Caſtle of *Prague*, and the leſſer City

The Queen ſendeth for *Sigiſmund* the Emperor.

which joyneth unto the Caſtle, making Gates and Towers of wood upon the Bridge, over the River *Multain*, to ſtop that the Proteſtants ſhould have no paſſage that way. Then it happened that at the *Iſle* of S. *Benedict* one *Peter Steremberge* fought an equal or indifferent battel with them.

In the mean time, the number of the Proteſtants being increaſed in *Prague*, they fought for the Bridge. In which battel many were ſlain on both parts, but at the length the *Huſſities* wan the Bridge and the nether part of leſſer *Prague*, the Queens part flying into the upper part thereof: where they turning again fiercely renewed the battel, and fought continually day and night by the ſpace of five days. Many were ſlain on both parts, and goodly buildings were raced, and the Council Houſe, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

*The Emperors Ambaſſadors agree with the Citizens of Prague.*

During the time of this troublous eſtate, the Embaſſadors of the Emperor *Sigiſmund* were come: which taking upon them the rule and governance of the Realm, made a Truce or League with the City of *Prague* under this condition, that the Caſtle of *Viſſegrade* being rendred, it ſhould be lawful for them to ſend Embaſſadors to the Emperor *Sigiſmund* to intreat as touching their Eſtate, and that *Ziſca* ſhould render *Pilzina* and *Pieſta* with the other Forts which he had taken. Theſe conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign Proteſtants departed out of the City, and the Senate of the City, began to govren again according to their accuſtomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the Papiſts which were gone out of the Town, durſt not return again, but ſtill looked for the Emperor, by whoſe preſence they thought they ſhould have been ſafe. But this their hope was fruſtrate by means of certain Letters which were ſent from the Emperor, wherein it was written, that he would ſhortly come and Rule the Kingdom, even after the ſame order and manner as his Father *Charles* had done before him. Whereupon the Proteſtants underſtood that their Sect and Religion ſhould be utterly baniſhed, which was not begun during the Reign of the ſaid *Charles*.

About *Chriſtmas* the Emperor *Sigiſmund* came to *Brunna*, a City of *Moravia*, and there he pardoned the Citizens of *Prague*, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the City, and receive his Rulers and Magiſtrates. Whereunto the whole City obeyed, and the Magiſtrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto Heaven, rejoyced at the coming of the new King. But the Emperor turned another way, and went unto *Uratiſlavia*, the head City of *Sleſia*, where a little before the Communalty of the City had ſlain, in an inſurrection, the Magiſtrates, which his Brother *Wenceſlaus* had ſet in authority; the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof when they were reported at *Prague*, the Citizens being feared by the example of the *Uratiſlavians*, diſtruſting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and having obtained *Cencho*, on their part, which had the government of the Caſtle of *Prague*, they ſent Letters into all the Realm, that no man ſhould ſuffer the Emperor to enter, which was an enemy unto *Boheme*, and ſought nothing elſe but to deſtroy the Kingdom: which alſo bound the ancient City of the *Prutenians* under order by pledges, and put the Marqueſs of *Brandenburge*, from the *Bohemian* Crown: and had not only ſuffered *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague* to be burned at the Council of *Conſtance*, but alſo procured the ſame, and with all his endeavour did impugn the Doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whileſt theſe things were thus done *Ziſca* having given over *Pelzina* by compoſition, was twice aſſaulted by his Enemies, but through policy he was always Victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his Enemies were on Horſeback, and his Souldiers on Foot, neither could there be any battel fought but on foot. Whereupon when his Enemies were allighted from their Horſes, *Ziſca* commanded the Women which cuſtomably followed the Hoſt, to caſt their kerchieffs upon the ground, wherein the Horſemen being intangled by their Spurs, were ſlain before they could unlooſe their feet.

*The City of Prague fell from the Emperor.*

*The complaint of the City of Prague againſt Sigiſmund.*

*The policy of Ziſca.*

After this, he went unto *Auſca*, a Town ſituate upon the River *Lucinitius*, out of which Town, *Procopius* and *Ulricius*, two Brethren Papiſts, had caſt out many Proteſtants. This Town *Ziſca* took by force of Arms the firſt night of *Lent*, raced it, and ſet it on fire. He alſo took the Caſtle of *Litius*, which was a Mile off, whither *Ulricius* was fled, and put *Ulricius* and all his Family to the Sword ſaving one only.

KING *Hen.* 5.

*The City of Thabor builded.*

Then foraſmuch as he had no walled or fenced Town to inhabite, he choſe out a certain place upon the ſame River, which was fenced by nature, about eight Miles from the City of *Auſca*. This place he compaſſed in with walls, and commanded every man to build them Houſes, where they had pitched their Tents, and named this City *Thabor*, and the Inhabitants his Companions *Thaborites*, because their City by all like, was builded upon the top of ſome Hill or Mount. This City, albeit it was fenced with high Rocks and Cleaves, yet was it compaſſed with a wall and vaumure, and the River of *Lucinitius* fenceth a great part of the Town; the reſt is compaſſed in with a great Brook, the which running ſtraight into the River *Lucinitius*, is ſtopped by a great Rock, and driven back towards the right hand all the length of the City, and at the further end it joyneth with the great River. The way unto it by land is ſcarce thirty foot broad, for it is almoſt an Iſland. In this place there was a deep ditch caſt, and a triple wall made, of ſuch thickneſs, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of Towers and Forts ſet in their convenient and meet places. *Ziſca* was the firſt that builded the Caſtle, and thoſe that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the *Thaborites* had no Horſemen amongſt them, until ſuch time as *Nicholas*, Maſter of the Mint (whom the Emperor had ſent into *Bohemia* with a thouſand Horſemen to ſet things in order, and to withſtand the *Thaborites*, lodging all night in a Village named *Vogize*) was ſurpriſed by *Ziſca* coming upon him ſuddenly in the night, taking away all his Horſe and Armour, and ſetting fire upon the Village. Then *Ziſca* taught his Souldiers to mount on Horſeback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to caſt a ring, ſo that after this he never led Army without his wings of Horſemen.

*Sigiſmund getteth the Caſtle of Prague.*

In this mean time *Sigiſmundus* the Emperor gathering together the Nobles of *Sleſia*, entred into *Boheme*, and went into *Grecium*, and from thence with a great Army unto *Cuthna*, alluring *Cencho* with many great and large promiſes to render up the Caſtle of *Prague* unto him, and there placed him to annoy the Town. This *Cencho*, infamed with double Treaſon, returned home. The Citizens of *Prague* ſent for *Ziſca*, who ſpeeding himſelf thither with the *Thaborites*, received the City under his governance. In the *Bohemians* Hoſt there were but only two Barons, *Hilco*, *Cruſina* of *Lituburge*, and *Hilco Waldeſtene*, with a few other Nobles. All the reſidue were of the Common-people. They went about firſt to ſubdue the Caſtle, which was by nature very ſtrongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with Famine: Whereupon all the paſſages were ſtopped that no Victuals ſhould be carried in. But the Emperor opened the paſſages by dint of Sword, and when he had given unto them which were beſieged all things neceſſary, having ſent for aid out of the Empire, he determined ſhortly after to beſiege the City. There were in the Emperors Camp the Dukes of *Saxon*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburge* and his Son in Law of *Auſtrich*. The City was aſſaulted by the ſpace of ſix weeks. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* was Crowned in the Metropolitan Houſe in the Caſtle, *Conradus* the Archbiſhop ſolemniſing the ceremonies of the Coronation. The City was ſtraitly beſieged. In the mean time the Captains *Roſenſes* and *Chragery*, which had taken the Tents of the *Thaborites*, being overcome in battel by *Nicholas Hus*, whom *Ziſca* had ſent with part of his power, for that purpoſe, were driven out of their Tents, and *Grecium* the Queens City was alſo taken.

*Ziſca conquereth the City of Prague.*

*Prague beſieged of Sigiſmund.*

There is alſo above the Town of *Prague* a high Hill, which is called *Videchoh*. On this Hill had *Ziſca* ſtrongly planted a garriſon, that his enemies ſhould not poſſeſs it, with whom the Marqueſs of *Miſniah* skirmiſhing, loſt a great part of his Souldiers. For when as the *Miſnians* had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner, which was broken and ſteep, and fiercely ſet upon, when as they could no longer withſtand the violent force of their Enemies, ſome of them were ſlain,

*The Marqueſs of Miſnia overcome in the skirmiſh.*

and

*KING Hen. 5.*

and some falling headlong from the Hill, were destroyed. Whereupon the Emperor *Sigismund* raising his siege, departed into *Cuthna*, and *Zisca* with his company departed unto *Thabor*, and subdued many places; amongst which he subverted a Town pertaining to the Captain of *Visgrade*.

*Sigismund the Emperor raiseth his siege.*

During this time the Castle of *Visgrade* was strongly besieged, where, when other Victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse flesh. Last of all, except the Emperor did aid them by a certain day, they promised to yield it up, but under this condition, that if the Emperor did come, they within the Castle should be no more molested.

*Emperor fighting with Zisca, and is overthrown.*

The Emperor was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entring into a strait underneath the Castle, was suddenly set upon by the Souldiers of *Prague*, where he had a great overthrow, and so leaving his purpose unperformed, returned back again. There were slain in that conflict fourteen Noblemen of the *Moravians*, and of the *Hungarians*, and other a great number. The Castle was delivered up unto them. Whilest these things were in doing, *Zisca* took *Boslaus* a Captain, which was surnamed *Cigneus*, by force, in a very strong Town of his, and brought him unto his Religion. Who a few years after, leading the Protestants host in *Austria*, was wounded before *Rhetium*, and died. There were in the Territory of *Pelzina* many Monasteries, of the which *Zisca* subverted and burned five. And forsomuch as the Monastery of Saint *Clare* was the strongest, there he pitched himself.

*The Abbies of Pelzina subverted.*

Thither also came the Emperor with his Army: But when *Zisca* brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed and left *Boheme*. Then *Zisca* went with his Army unto *Pelzina*; But forasmuch as he saw the City so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to *Committavia* a famous City, the which he took by force, burning all the Priests therein.

*Zisca putteth the Emperor to flight.*

Afterward, when as he lay before the Town of *Raby*, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, having but that one before to see withall. From thence he was carried to *Prague* by Physitians, where he being cured of his wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight, and for all that he would not forsake his Army, but still took the charge of them.

*Zisca loseth his other eye in battel.*

*Zisca, albeit he lost his eyes, yet would not forsake his Army.*

After this the Garrisons of *Prague* went unto *Varona*, where there was a great Garrison of the Emperors, and took it by force, many being slain of either part. They also took the Town of *Broda* in *Germany*, and slew the Garrison, and afterward took *Cuthna* and many other Cities by composition. Further, when as they led their Army unto a Town called *Pons*, which is inhabited of the *Misnians*, the *Saxons* meeting them by the way, because they durst not joyn battel, they returned back. After all this, the Emperor appointed the Princes Electors a day, that at *Bartholomewtide* they should with their Army invade the *West* part of *Boheme*, and he with an Host of *Hungarians* would enter into the *East* part. There came unto his aid the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the County *Palatine* of *Rhein*, the Dukes of *Saxon*, the Marquess of *Brandenburge*, and many other Bishops out of *Almaine*; all the rest sent their aids. They encamped before the Town of *Sozious*, a strong and well fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The Country was spoyled and wasted round about, and the siege continued until the feast of S. *Galle*. Then it was broken up, because the Emperor was not come at his day appointed: but he having gathered together a great Army of the *Hungarians*, and *West Moravians*, about *Christmas* entred into *Boheme*; and took certain Towns by force, and *Cuthna* was yielded unto him. But when *Zisca* (although he was blind) came towards him, and set upon him, he being afraid, and many of his Nobles slain, fled. But first he burned *Cuthna*, which the *Thaborites*, by means of the Silver-Mines, called *The Powch of Antichrist*. *Zisca* pursuing the Emperor a days journey, got great and rich spoil, and taking the Town of *Broda* by force, set it on fire; the which afterward almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The Emperor passed by a Bridge over the River of *Iglaria*. And *Piso* a *Florentine*, which had brought fifteen thousand Horsemen out of *Hungary* to these Wars, passed over the Ice; the which by the multitude and number of his Horsemen being broke, devoured and destroyed a great number. *Zisca* having obtained this Victory, would not suffer any Image or Idol to be in the Churches, neither thought it to be born withal, that Priests should minister with Copes or Vestements: for the which cause he was much the more envied amongst the States of *Boheme*.

*Zisca takes divers Towns.*

*The Saxons retire.*

*The Emperor with his power entreth again into Boheme.*

*The Emperor afraid of Zisca flieth.*

*The power of Antichrist.*

*A noble Victory of Zisca.*

*Zisca destroyeth Images and Idols in Churches.*

And the Consuls of *Prague*, being agrieved at the Insolency of *John Premonstratensis*, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction into the Council House, as though they would confer with them as touching the Common-wealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own house, thinking the City had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their servants being not circumspect enough, washing down the Court or Yard, washed out also the Blood of those that were slain, thorow the Sinks or Chanels; the which being once seen, the people understood what was done. By and by there was a tumult; the Council-house was straightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal Citizens, which were thought to be the Authors thereof, were slain, and divers houses spoyled.

*Joannes Premonstratensis.*

*The Martyrdom of certain godly Bohemians falsly circumvented and killed with the Sword.*

*Privy murther at length come out.*

About the same time the Castle of *Purgel*, wherein the Emperor had left a small Garrison (whither also many Papists with their Wives and Children were fled) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire went unto *Pelzina*. After this divers of the *Bohemian* Captains, and the Senate of *Prague*, sent Ambassadors to *Vitold* Duke of *Lituania*, and made him their King. This did *Zisca* and his adherents gainsay. This *Vitold* sent *Sigismund Coributus* with two thousand Horsemen into *Boheme*, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of *Prague*. At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a Castle situate upon a Hill, which was called *Charles* Stone.

Here *Sigismundus* had left for a Garrison four Centurions of Souldiers. The Tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six Months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great Slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two thousand Vessels, Tubs, or Baskets, filled with dead carcases and other excrements, were cast in amongst those which were besieged: which thing did so infect them with stench, that their Teeth did either fall out, or were all loose. Notwithstanding they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of *Prague*, to fasten their Teeth again.

*Stench very hurtful for the Teeth.*

In the mean time *Frederick* the Elder, Prince of *Brandenburg*, entring into *Boheme* with a great Power, caused them of *Prague* to raise the Siege. And *Vitoldus* at the request of *Uladislaus* King of *Pole*, which had talked with the Emperor in the Borders of *Hungary*, called *Coributus* his Uncle, with his whole Army, out of *Boheme*, Whereupon the Emperor supposed that the *Protestants* being destitute of foreign Aid, would the sooner do his Commandment: but he was far deceived therein; for they leading their Armies out of *Boheme*, subdued the Borderers thereupon adjoyning. It is also reported that *Zisca* went into *Austrich*, and when as the Husbandmen of the Country had carried away a great number of their Cattel by water into an Isle of the River called *Danubius*, and by chance had left certain Calves and Swine in their Villages behind them: *Zisca* drave them unto the River side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roar out and cry, untill that the Cattel feeding in the Island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the Cattel on the other side the water, for the desire of their like did swim over the River; by the means whereof he got and drave away a great booty.

*Another War-like policy of Zisca. Stratagems.*

About the same time the Emperor *Sigismundus* gave unto his Son in law *Albert* Duke of *Austrich*, the Country of *Moravia*, because it should not want a Ruler. At the same time also *Ericius* King of *Denmark*, and *Peter Infant*, Brother to the King of *Portugal* and Father of *James*, Cardinal of Saint *Eustachius*, came unto the Emperor, being both very expert men in the affairs of War, which did augment the Emperors Host with their Aid and Power. Whereupon they straightway pitched their Camp before *Lutemperge*, a Town of *Moravia*,

and continued the ſiege by the ſpace of three Months. There was at that time a certain Knight at *Prague* ſurnamed *Aqua*, which was very Rich and of great Authority. This man, forſomuch as he had no Child of his own, adopted unto him his Siſters Son, named *Procopius*; whom when he was of mean nature and age, he carried with him into *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, and unto *Jeruſalem*, and at his return cauſed him to be made Prieſt. This man when the Goſpel began to flouriſh in *Boheme*, took part with *Ziſca*; and forſamuch as he was ſtrong and valiant, and alſo painful, he was greatly eſteemed.

*Procopius Magnus.*

This *Procopius* for his valiant Acts was afterward called *Procopius Magnus*, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the Province of *Moravia*, and the defence of the *Lutemperges*, who receiving a great power by force (mauger all the whole power which lay in the ſiege) carried Victuals into the Town which was beſieged, and ſo did fruſtrate the Emperors ſiege: The Emperor before this, had delivered unto the Marqueſſes of *Miſnia* the Bridge and Town of *Aſca*, upon the River of *Albis*, that they ſhould fortifie them with their Garriſons. Whereupon *Ziſca* beſieged *Auſca*; and *Frederick* the Marqueſs of *Miſnia*, with his Brother the *Lantzgrave* of *Turing*, gathering together a great Army out of *Saxonia*, *Turing*, *Miſnia*, and both the *Luſaces*, determined to reſcue and aid thoſe which were beſieged.

*The valiant courage of Procopius.*

There was a great battel fought before the City, and the Victory depended long uncertain; but at laſt it fell on the Portenants part. There were ſlain in the battel the *Burgraves* of *Miſnia* or *Chyrpogenſes*, the Barons of *Glychen* and many other Nobles, beſides nine thouſand common Souldiers, and the Town of *Auſca* was taken and utterly raced.

*The victory of Protestants.*

At the laſt, diſſention riſing between *Ziſca* and them of *Prague*, they of *Prague* prepared an Army againſt him, wherewith he perceiving himſelf overmatched, fled unto the River of *Albis*, and was almoſt taken, but that he had paſſage thorow the Town of *Poggiebras*; but they of *Prague*, purſuing the tail of the battel, ſlew many of his *Thaborites*. At the length they came unto certain Hills, where *Ziſca* going into the valley, knowing the ſtraits of the place, that his Enemies could not ſpread their Army, he commanded his Standard to ſtand ſtill, and exhorting and encouraging his Souldiers he gave them battel.

*The battel between the City of Prague and Ziſca.*

This battel was very fierce and cruel; but *Ziſca* having the upper hand, ſlew three Thouſand of them of *Prague*, and put the reſt to flight, and ſtraightways took the City of *Cathna* by force (which they of *Prague* had repaired) and ſet it on fire: then with all ſpeed he went with his Army to beſiege *Prague*, and incamped within a bow ſhot of the Town. There were many both in the City, and alſo in his Hoſt, which grudged ſore at that ſiege; ſome accuſing *Ziſca*, otherſome them of *Prague*. There were great tumults in the Camp, the Souldiers ſaying that it was not reaſonable, that the City ſhould be ſuppreſſed, which was both the head of the Kingdom, and did not diſſent from them in opinion, ſaying, that the *Bohemians* power would ſoon decay, if their enemies ſhould know that they were divided within themſelves; alſo that they had ſufficient wars againſt the Emperor, and that it was but a fooliſh device to move wars amongſt themſelves. This talk came unto the ear of *Ziſca*, who calling together his Army, ſtanding upon a place to be heard ſpake in theſe words.

*The noble victory of Ziſca.*

*Ziſca beſiegeth Prague.*

*A notable Oration of Ziſca to his Souldiers.*

*BRethren, be ye not aggrieved againſt me, neither accuſe him which hath ſought your health and ſafegard. The victories which ye have obtained under my conduct are yet freſh in memory, neither have I brought you at any time unto any place, from whence you have not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your ſake have loſt my ſight, and dwell in darkneſs. Nothing have I gotten by all theſe fortunate battels, but only a vain name. For you have I fought, and for you have I vanquiſhed; neither do I repent me of my Travels, neither is my blindneſs grievous unto me, but only that I cannot provide for you according to my accuſtomed manner: neither do I perſecute them of Prague for mine own cauſe, for it is your bloud that they thirſt and ſeek for, and not for mine. It were but ſmall pleaſure for them to deſtroy me, being now an old man and blind, it is your valiantneſs and ſtout ſtomachs which they fear. Either muſt you or they periſh; who whileſt they ſeem to lie in waite for me, do ſeek after your lives. You muſt rather fear civil War than foreign, and civil ſedition ought firſt to be avoided. We will ſubdue Prague, and baniſh the ſeditious Citizens before the Emperor ſhall have any news of this ſedition. And then having but a few of his faction left, we may with the leſs fear look for it, better than if theſe doubtful Citizens of Prague were ſtill in our Camp. But becauſe ye ſhall accuſe me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If it pleaſe you to ſuffer them of Prague to live in quietneſs, I will not be againſt it, ſo that there be no Treaſon wrought. If you determine to have War, I am alſo ready. Look which part you will incline unto, Ziſca will be your aid and helper.*

KING *Hen. 5.*

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Souldiers minds were changed, and wholly determined to make Wars, ſo that they ran by and by to take up their Armor and Weapons, to run unto the Walls, to provoke their Enemies to fight for the Gates of the City. *Ziſca* in the mean time prepared all things ready for the aſſault. There is a little from *Pelzina* a certain Village named *Rochezana*. In this place there was a Child born of poor and baſe Parentage, whoſe name was *John*; he came unto [illegible], and got his living there by begging, and learned Grammar and Logick. When he came to Mans ſtate, he became the Schoolmaſter of a Noble Mans Child; and forſomuch as he was of an excellent Wit and ready Tongue, he was received into the College of the Poor: and laſt of all, being made Prieſt, he began to Preach the Word of God to the Citizens of *Prague*, and was named *Joannes de Rochezana*, by the name of the Town where he was born. This Man grew to be of great name and authority in the Town of *Prague*. Whereupon when as *Ziſca* beſieged *Prague*, he by the conſent of the Citizens went out into the Camp and reconciled *Ziſca* again unto the City.

*The hearts of the Souldiers altered by the Oration of Ziſca.*

*Peace between Ziſca and Prague, by the means of John de Rochezana.*

When as the Emperor perceived that all things came to paſs according unto *Ziſca* his will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole State of *Boheme* did depend, he ſought privy means to reconcile and get *Ziſca* into his favour, promiſing him the Governance of the wole Kingdom, the guiding of all his Hoſts and Armies, and great yearly revenewes if he would proclaim him King, and cauſe the Cities to be ſworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when as *Ziſca* for the perſormance of the covenants went unto the Emperor, being in his journey at the Caſtle of *Miſcovia*, he was ſtricken with ſickneſs and died.

*The Emperor glad to be reconcilled with Ziſca.*

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being ſick, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the skin to be pulled off from his Carcaſe, and the fleſh to be caſt unto the Fowls and Beaſts, and that a Drum ſhould be made of his skin, which they ſhould uſe in their battels; affirming, that as ſoon as their enemies ſhould hear the ſound of that Drum, they would not abide but take their flight. The *Thaborites* deſpiſing all other Images, yet ſet up the Picture of *Ziſca* over the Gates of the City.

*The death of Ziſca.*

*The words of Ziſca at his death.*

## *The Epitaph of* John Ziſca, *the valiant Captain of the* Bohemians.

*The Epitaph of Ziſca.*

*JOhn Ziſca*, not inferiour to an Emperor, or Captain in warlick policy, a ſevere puniſher of the pride and avarice of the Clergy, and a defender of my Country, do lie here. That which *Appius Claudius* by giving good Counſel, and M. *Furius Camillus* by valiantneſs did for the *Romans*; the ſame I being blind have done for my *Bohemians*. I never ſlacked opportunity of battel, neither did fortune at any time fail me. I being blind did foreſee all opportunity of well ordering or doing my buſineſs. Eleven times in joyning battel I went Victor out of the field. I ſeemed to have worthily defended the cauſe of the miſerable and hungry againſt the delicate, fat, and gluttonous Prieſts, and for that cauſe to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not let it, without doubt I had deſerved to be numbred amongſt the moſt famous men. Notwithſtanding my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in deſpite of the Pope.

*Ziſca eleven times victor in the field.*

IOANNES

[KING Hen. 5.] ΙΩΑΝΝΕΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ βωμικὸς τῆς αἱρετικερδοῦς ἱερέων ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ ὐ θείω ζηλῳ.

¶ John Ziſca *a* Bohemian, *enemy to all wicked and covetous Prieſts, but with a godly zeal.*

And thus have you the acts and doings of this worthy *Ziſca*, and other *Bohemians*, which for the more credit we have drawn out of *Æneas Sylvius*, only his railing terms excepted which we have here ſuppreſſed.

All this while the Emperor with the whole power of the *Germans*, were not ſo buſie on the one ſide, but *Martin* the Pope was as much occupied on the other ſide: who about the ſame time directed down a terrible Bull, full of all Poiſon, to all Biſhops and Archbiſhops, againſt all ſuch as took any part or ſide with *Wickliff*, *John Hus*, *Jerom*, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copy of which Bull, which I found in an old written Monument, I wiſh the Reader thoroughly to peruſe, wherein he ſhall ſee the Pope to pour out at once all his Poiſon.

## The Bull of *Pope* Martin *directed forth againſt the Followers of* John Wickliff *of* England, *of* John Hus *of* Boheme, *and* Jerom *of* Prague.

Pope Martins bloudy Bull to all Biſhops and Archbiſhops.

MArtin, Biſhop, the ſervant of Gods Servants, to our Reverend Brethren the Archbiſhops of *Salzeburgen*, *Gueznen*, and *Pragen*, and to the Biſhops of *Olumucen*, *Luthomuſlen*, *Bambergen*, *Miſnen*, *Patavien*, *Uratiſlavien*, *Ratiſponen*, *Cracovian*, *Poſnamen*, and *Nitrien*, and alſo to our beloved Children the Inquiſitors appointed of the Prelates above recited, or where elſe ſoever, unto whom theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction. Amongſt all other paſtoral cares wherewith we are oppreſſed, this chiefly and ſpecially doth inforce us, that Hereticks with their falſe Doctrine and Errors, being utterly expulſed from amongſt the company of Chriſtian men, and rooted out (ſo far forth as God will make us able to do) the Right and Catholick Faith may remain ſound and undefiled; and that all Chriſtian people, immoveable and inviolate, may ſtand and abide in the ſincerity of the ſame Faith, the whole veil of obſcurity being removed. But lately in divers places of the World, but eſpecially in *Bohemia*, and the Dukedom of *Moravia*, and in the Straits adjoyning thereunto, certain Arch-hereticks have riſen and ſprung up, not againſt one only, but againſt divers and ſundry Documents of the Catholick Faith, being Land-lopers, Schiſmaticks, and ſeditious Perſons, fraught with deviliſh Pride, and wolviſh Madneſs, deceived by the ſubtilty of *Satan*, and from one evil Vanity brought to a worſe. Who although they roſe up and ſprang in divers parts of the World, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit together, to wit, *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Bohemia*, and *Jerom* of *Prague* of damnable memory, who drew with them no ſmall number to miſerable ruine and infidelity. For when as thoſe and ſuch like peſtiferous Perſons did in the beginning of their poiſoned Doctrine obſtinately ſow and ſpread abroad perverſe and falſe opinions, the Prelates who had the regiment and execution of the judicial Power, like dumb Dogs not able to Bark, neither yet revenging ſpeedily with the Apoſtle all ſuch diſobedience, nor regarding corporally to caſt out of the Lords houſe (as they were injoyned by the Canons) thoſe ſubtil and peſtilent Arch-hereticks, and their wolviſh fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but ſuffering their falſe and pernitious Doctrine negligently, by their over-long delays, to grow and wax ſtrong; a great multitude of people inſtead of true Doctrine received thoſe things, which they did long, falſly, pernitiouſly and damnably ſow among them, and giving credit unto them, fell from the right Faith, and are intangled (the more pity) in the foul Errors of *Paganiſm*.

All theſe Errors and Hereſies be, for that they ſpeak againſt the pride of Prelates and their exceſſive dignities.

All the Pagans, with the Pope, that like not his ſuperſtitious and idolatrous traditions.

Inſomuch, that theſe Arch-hereticks, and ſuch as ſpring of them, have infected the Catholick flock of Chriſt in divers climates of the World, and parts bordering upon the ſame, and have cauſed them to putrifie in the filthy Dunghil of their lies. Wherefore the general Synod of *Conſtance* was compelled with Saint *Auguſtine* to exclaim againſt ſo great and ruinous a Plague of faithful Men, and of the ſound and true Faith it ſelf, ſaying; What ſhall the ſoveraign Medicine of the Church do, with motherly love ſeeking the health of her Sheep, chafing as it were, amongſt a company of Men frantick, and having the diſeaſe of the Lethargy? What ſhall ſhe deſiſt and leave off her good purpoſe? No, not ſo. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be ſharp to both theſe ſorts, which are the grievous Enemies of her womb. For the Phyſitian is ſharp unto the man diſtraught and raging in his frenzie, and yet he is a Father to his own rude and unmannerly Son, in binding the one, in beating the other, by ſhewing therein his great love unto them both. But if they be negligent, and ſuffer them to periſh (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) this Manſuetude is rather to be ſuppoſed falſe cruelty.

A great difference between a loving Mother, and the frantick Whore of *Babylon*.

And therefore the foreſaid Synod, to the glory of Almighty God, and preſervation of his Catholick Faith, and augmenting of Chriſtian Religion, and for the ſalvation of Mens ſouls, hath corporally rejected and caſt forth of the houſhold of God, the foreſaid *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerom*; who amongſt other things did believe, preach, teach, and maintain of the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Sacraments of the Church, and Articles of the Faith, contrary to that the Holy Church of *Rome* believeth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, and have preſumed obſtinately to preach, teach, hold and believe many other moe, to the damnation of themſelves and of others; and the ſaid Synod hath ſeparated the ſame, as obſtinate and malapert Hereticks from the Communion of the faithful people, and hath declared them to be ſpiritually thrown forth. And many other things both wholeſome and profitable hath the ſame Council, as touching the premiſſes, Stabliſhed and Decreed, whereby they, which by the means of thoſe Arch-hereticks, and by their falſe Doctrine, have ſpiritually departed from the Lords Houſe, may by the Canonical Rules be reduced to the ſtraight path of truth and verity.

And moreover (as we to our great grief do hear) not only in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and Dukedom of *Moravia*, and other places above recited, but alſo in certain parts and provinces near adjoyning and bordering upon the ſame, there be many other of the ſectaries and followers of the foreſaid Arch-hereticks and Heretical opinions; caſting behind their backs as well the fear of God, as the ſhame of the world, neither receiving Fruit of converſion and repentance by the miſerable deſtruction of the foreſaid *John Hus* and *Jerom*, but as men drowned in the Dungeon of their ſins, ceaſe not to blaſpheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain (whoſe minds the Fathers of lies hath damnably blinded) and do read and Study the foreſaid Books or Works, containing Hereſies and Errors, being lately by the foreſaid Synod condemned to be burned; alſo to the peril of themſelves and many other ſimple men, and againſt the Statutes, Decrees, and Ordinances in the Synod aforeſaid, and the Canonical Sanctions, do preſume to preach and teach the ſame, to the great peril of ſouls, and derogation of the Catholick Faith, and ſlander of many other beſides: We therefore conſidering, that Error, where it is not reſiſted, ſeemeth to be allowed and liked; and having a deſire to reſiſt ſuch evil and pernitious Errors, and utterly root them out from amongſt the company of faithful Chriſtians, eſpecially from the aforerecited places of *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and other Straits and Ilands joyning and bordering upon the ſame, leſt they ſhould ſtretch out and enlarge their limits; we will and command your diſcretions by our Letters Apoſtolical, the holy Council of *Conſtance* approving and allowing the ſame, that you that are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other of the Clergy, and every one of you by himſelf, or by any other or others, being grave and fit perſons to have ſpiritual juriſdiction, do ſee that all and ſingular perſons, of what Diginity, Office, Preeminence, State, or Condition ſoever they be, and by what name ſoever they are known, which ſhall preſume otherwiſe to teach, preach, or obſerve, touching the moſt high and excellent, the moſt wholeſome and ſuperadmirable Sacrament of the Bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, or elſe of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, Confeſſion of ſins, Penance for ſins, and extream Unction, or elſe of any other Sacraments of the Church, and the Articles of the Faith, than that which the right Holy and Univerſal Church of *Rome* doth hold, teach, preach, and obſerve; or elſe that ſhall perſume obſtinately by any ways or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and

We fools thought their life to be madneſs, and their end without honour. *Sapient.* 5.

*Et os ejus ſicut os Leonis.* And his mouth is like the mouth of a Lion. *Apoc.* 13.

teach the Articles, Books, or Doctrine of the foreſaid Arch-hereticks, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, being by the foreſaid Synod of *Conſtance* with their Authors (as is ſaid) damned and condemned, or dare preſume publickly or privily to allow or commend in any wiſe the death and end of the ſaid Arch-hereticks, or of any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or ſupportation of the foreſaid Errors, as alſo their believers and adherents; that then as before, you ſee and cauſe them, and every of them to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed, and that you judge and give ſentence upon them as Hereticks, and that as arrant Hereticks you leave them to the ſecular Court or power. Let the receivers alſo and favourers and defenders of ſuch moſt peſtiferous Perſons, notwithſtanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their Errors, but haply ſhall receive or entertain ſuch peſtiferous Perſons becauſe of carnal affection, or Friendly love, beſides the puniſhment due unto them by both Laws, over and above the ſame puniſhment by competent Judges, be ſo afflicted, and for ſo hainous Acts of theirs, with ſo ſevere pain and puniſhment excruciated, that the ſame may be to other in like caſe offending an example of terror; that at the leaſt, thoſe whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from ſuch evil doing, yet the ſeverity of this our diſcipline may force and conſtrain.

*Draconis lex ſanguine ſcripta.* *The Popes Religion hath left all ſenſe of humanity.*

As touching the third ſort, which ſhall be any manner of ways infected with this damnable Sect, and ſhall after competent admonition repent and amend themſelves of ſuch Errors and Sects aforeſaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy Mother the Church, and fully acknowledge and confeſs the Catholick Faith towards them let the ſeverity of juſtice, as the quality of the fact ſhall require, be ſomewhat tempered with a taſte of mercy.

*Et vidi beſtiam & reges terræ & exercituum eorum pugnantes cum illo qui ſedebat in equo, & exercitu ejus.* Apoc. 19. *Et data eſt illi poteſtas in omnem tribum, & populum, & linguam & gentem*, I. e. And power is given him over all Tribes, and People, and Tongues, and Nations, &c. Apoc. 13.

And furthermore we will and command, that by this our authority Apoſtolical ye exhort and admoniſh all the profeſſors of the Catholick Faith, as Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Knights, and other Magiſtrates, Rectors, Conſuls, Proconſuls, Shires, Countries, and Univerſities of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Villages, their Lands and other places, and all other executing Temporal Juriſdiction, according to the form and exigence of the Law, that they expel out of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Villages and Lands, and other places, all and all manner of ſuch Hereticks, according to the effect and tenour of the Council of *Lateran*, beginning, *Sicut ait Eccleſia, &c.* that thoſe whom publickly and manifeſtly by the evidence of their deeds ſhall be known to be ſuch as like ſick and ſcabbed Sheep infect the Lords Flock, they expel and baniſh till ſuch time as from us, or you, or elſe other Eccleſiaſtical Judges or Inquiſitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of *Rome*, they ſhall receive other Order and countermand; and that they ſuffer no ſuch within their Shires and Circuits, to preach or to keep either houſe or family, either yet to uſe any handy-craft or occupations, or other trades of Merchandiſe, or elſe to ſolace themſelves any ways, or frequent the company of Chriſtian men.

And furthermore, if ſuch publick and known Hereticks ſhall chance to die, (although not ſo denounced by the Church) yet in this ſo great a Crime let him and them want Chriſtian burial, and let no Offerings or Oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and ſubſtance alſo from the time of his death, according to the canonical Sanctions being confiſcate, let no ſuch enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, having power and authority in this behalf, Sentence upon that his or their crime of Hereſie be declared, and promulgate; and let ſuch Owners as be found ſuſpect or noted with any ſuch ſuſpition of Hereſie, before a competent and Eccleſiaſtical Judge, according to the conſideration and exigence of that ſuſpition, and according to the quality of the perſon, by the arbitrement of ſuch a Judge, ſhew and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, as beſeemeth in that behalf. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuſe to take his Oath by damnable obſtinacy to make ſuch purgation; then let him be condemned as an Heretick. But ſuch as through negligence or through ſlothfulneſs ſhall omit to ſhew their ſaid Innocency, and to make ſuch purgation, let him be Excommunicate, and ſo long put out from the company of Chriſtian men, till that they ſhall make condign ſatisfaction; ſo that if by the ſpace of one whole year they ſhall remain in ſuch Excommunication, then let them as Hereticks be condemned.

{KING Hen. 8.}

And further, if any ſhall be found culpable in any point of the foreſaid peſtiferous Doctrine of the Arch-hereticks aforeſaid, or in any Article thereof, whether it be by the report of the Seditious, or elſe well-diſpoſed; let them yet be puniſhed according to the Canons. If only through infamy and ſuſpition of the foreſaid Articles, or any of them, any man ſhall be found ſuſpect, and in his purgation canonical for this thing being interdicted, ſhall fail; let him be accounted as a man convict, and as a convict perſon by the Canons let him be puniſhed.

Note the tenderneſs of this living Chuſch Rome.

And furthermore, we invocating and putting in execution the Canon of our Predeceſſor of happy Memory, Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, which beginneth thus, *Ut inquiſitionis negotium, &c.* In exhorting-wiſe require, and alſo command all Temporal Potentates, Lords and Judges afore recited, by whatſoever Dignities, Offices and Names they are known, that as they deſire to be had, eſteemed, and counted for the Faithful members and children of the Church, and do rejoyce in the peace of Chriſt, ſo in likewiſe for defence of the ſame Faith, they will obey, intend, give their aid and favourable help to you that are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſtical men, Inquiſitors of all heretical pravity, and other Judges and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons by you hereunto, as aforeſaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy Mother the Church) for the ſearching out, taking, and ſafe cuſtody of all the aforeſaid Hereticks, their Believers, their Favourers, their Receivers, and their Defenders, whenſoever they ſhall be thereunto of them required.

*Et faciet omnes pusillos, & magnos, & divites, & pauperes, & ſervos, accipere characterem in manu ſua dextra.* I. e. And he ſhall make both little and great, rich and poor, free and bond to take his character in their right hand, &c. Apoc. 13.

And that they bring and cauſe to be brought (all delay ſet apart) the foreſaid peſtiferous perſons ſo ſeeking to deſtroy others with them, into ſuch ſafe keeping and priſons, as by you the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Clergy and Inquiſitors aforeſaid, are to be appointed or elſe unto ſuch other place or places, as either you or they ſhall command within any of their Dominions, Governments and Rectories, where they by Catholick men; that is, by you the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, the Clergy and Inquiſitors, or any other that ſhall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in ſafe keeping, putting them in fetters, ſhackles, bolts, and manacles of Iron under moſt ſtraight cuſtody for eſcaping away, till ſuch time as all that buſineſs, which belongeth unto them, be by the judgment of the Church finiſhed and determined, and that of ſuch Hereſie, by a competent Eccleſiaſtical Judge (which firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the foreſaid holy Church of *Rome*) they be condemned.

Satan raiſeth his chains.

The reſidue let the foreſaid Temporal Lords, Rectors, Judges, or other their Officers and Purſevants take amongſt them with condign deaths, without any delay to puniſh. But fearing leſt to the prejudice and ſlander of the foreſaid Catholick Faith and Religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein ſhould be circumvented, or that any ſubtil and crafty men ſhould under the veil of frivolous excuſe cloke and diſſemble in this matter; and that as touching the convincing or apprehending of the foreſaid Hereticks, their Receivers and Defenders, Favourers, Believers, and Adherents; and alſo of ſuch as are ſuſpect of Hereſie, and with ſuch like perverſe Doctrine in any wiſe ſpotted, we might give more perfect inſtruction; Therefore as well to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and parts near adjoyning to the ſame, as all other where this ſuperſtitious Doctrine began to ſpread, we have thought it good to ſend the Articles hereunder written concerning the Sect of thoſe Arch-Hereticks, for the better direction of the foreſaid Catholick Faith.

Touching which Articles, by vertue of holy Obedience, we charge and command you and all other Archbiſhops and Biſhops, all manner of Commiſſaries and Inquiſitors, that every of them within the Dioceſs and Limits of their Juriſdiction; and alſo in the foreſaid Kingdom, and Dukedom, and places near adjoyning, although the ſame places be beyond the ſame their Juriſdiction, in the favour of the

Catholick

KING Hen. 5.

Catholick Faith, do give moſt diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of thoſe Errors, Archheſeſies, and moſt peſtiferous Sect aforeſaid; and alſo that they compel all defamed perſons and ſuſpect of ſo peſtiferous a Contagion, whether it be under the penalty of the Crime confeſſed, or of Excommunication, ſuſpenſion or interdict, or any other formidable pain canonical or legal, when and whereſoever it ſhall ſeem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an Oath corporally taken, either upon the holy *Evangeliſts*, or upon the Reſiques of Saints, or upon the Image of the Crucifix, according to the obſervances of certain places, and according to the Interrogatories, to make convenient anſwer to every Article therein written. For we intend againſt all and ſingular Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, or Inquiſitors, which ſhall ſhew themſelves negligent and remiſs in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and purging their Territories, Dioceſs, and places to them appointed, of ſuch evil and wicked men, to proceed and cauſe to be proceeded unto the deprivation and depoſition of their Pontifical Dignities, and ſhall ſubſtitute ſuch other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the ſaid heretical pravity, and proceed to further pains againſt ſuch by the Laws limited, and to other yet more grievous (if need require) we our ſelves will proceed and cauſe to be proceeded, according as the party his Fact, and filthineſs of his Crime committed, ſhall deſerve. The tenor of thoſe Articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writing are in words as follow.

The old manner of the Popiſh Oath.

## *The Articles of* John Hus *to be enquired upon.*

1. THere is one only univerſal Church, which is the Univerſity of the Predeſtinate, as ſhall after be declared.

2. The univerſal Church is only one; as there is one Univerſity of thoſe that are Predeſtinate.

3. *Paul* was never a member of the Devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the Church Malignant.

Speaking of the invisible Church, the Article is true.

4. The Reprobate are not parts of the Church, for that no part of the ſame finally falleth from her, becauſe that the charity of Predeſtination, which bindeth the ſame Church together, never faileth.

5. The two Natures (that is) the Divinity and the Humanity, be one Chriſt.

This Article ſeemeth to be gathered out of the words of *Jerome* of *Prague*.

6. The Reprobate, although he be ſometime in grace according to preſent juſtice, yet is he never a part of the holy Church; and the Predeſtinate is ever a member of the Church, although ſometime he fall from grace *adventitia*, but not from grace of Predeſtination; ever taking the Church for the convocation of the predeſtinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to preſent juſtice. And after this ſort the Church is an Article of our belief.

7. *Peter* is not, nor ever was the head of the holy Catholick Church.

8. Prieſts living viciouſly do defile the authority of Prieſthood, and ſo, as unfaithful Children, do unfaithfully believe of the ſeven Sacraments, of the Keys of the Church, of Offices, of Cenſures, of Ceremonies, of the worſhipping of Reliques, Indulgences, Orders, and other holy things of the Church.

The Papal Dignity touched.

9. The Papal Dignity came and grew from the Emperor; and his Government and Inſtitution ſprang from the Emperors Government.

10. No man can reaſonably affirm either of himſelf or other, that he is the Head of any particular Church, or that the Biſhop of *Rome* is the Head of the Church of *Rome*.

11. A man ought not to believe, that he which is Biſhop of *Rome* is the head of every particular Church, unleſs God have predeſtinate him.

12. None is the Vicar of Chriſt, or elſe of *Peter*, unleſs he follow him in manners and conditions, ſeeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwiſe apt to receive of God this Power procuratory. For unto the Office of a Vicegerent of Chriſt is required the conformity of Manners, and the authority of the Inſtitutor.

13. The Pope is not the manifeſt and true Succeſſor of *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, if he live in manners contrary to *Peter*; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the Vicar of *Judas Iſcariot*. And likewiſe the Cardinals be not the true and manifeſt Succeſſors of the College of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt, unleſs they live according to the manner of the Apoſtles, keeping the Commandments and Councils of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

14. The Doctors alledging that a man, which will not be amended by the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, is to be delivered to the Secular Powers, do follow in this point the Biſhops, *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, that delivered Chriſt to the Secular Power (ſaying, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man*) becauſe he would not obey them in all things; and that ſuch be greater Homicides than *Pilate*.

15. The Eccleſiaſtical Obedience is ſuch an Obedience as the Prieſts of the Church have found out, beſides the expreſs authority of the Scripture. The immediate diviſion of humane works, is, that they be either vertuous or vitious; And if a man be vitious, and doth any thing, then doth he it vitiouſly, and if he be vertuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it vertuouſly. For like as Vice, which is called a great offence or mortal ſin, doth ſtain all the doings of a vitious man; ſo Vertue doth quicken all the doings of a vertuous man.

16. A Prieſt of God living after his Law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a deſire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithſtanding any Excommunication pretended of the Pope. And further, if the Pope, or any other Magiſtrate doth forbid a Prieſt ſo diſpoſed to preach, he ought not to be obedient unto him. For every one that taketh upon him the Order of Prieſthood, receiveth in charge the Office of a Preacher; and of that burden ought he well to diſcharge himſelf, any Excommunication againſt him pretended in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

17. By the Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical, as of Excommunication, ſuſpending and interdict, the Clergy to their own advancement cauſe the Lay-people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to *Antichriſt*. And it is an evident ſign that ſuch Cenſures proceed from *Antichriſt*, which in their Proceſs they call *Fulminationes*; that is, their Thunderbolts wherewith the Clergy principally proceedeth againſt thoſe that declare the wickedneſs of *Antichriſt*, who ſo greatly for his own commodity hath abuſed them.

18. If the Pope be evil, eſpecially if he be a Reprobate, then is he with *Judas* a very Devil, a Thief, and the Son of Perdition, and is not the head of the holy Church Militant, nor any member of the ſame.

19. The grace of Predeſtination is the band wherewith the body of the Church and every member of the ſame is indiſſolubly joyned to their head Chriſt.

20. The Pope or Prelate, that is evil and a Reprobate, is a Paſtor in name, and not in deed, yea he is a Thief and a Robber in very deed.

*John Hus* expoundeth this Article with this diſtinct. *Non ratione meriti, ſed ratione officii.*

21. The Pope ought not to be called the moſt holy one for his Office-ſake, for then ought a King to be called by his Office the moſt holy One; and the Hangman, with other ſuch Officers alſo, were to be called holy; yea, the Devil himſelf ought to be called holy, for as much as he is Gods Officer.

*John Hus* declareth his mind touching this Article ſufficiently before.

22. If the Pope live contrary unto Chriſt, although he climb up by the right and lawful Election, according to the common cuſtom of men; yet notwithſtanding ſhould he otherwiſe climb than by Chriſt; yea, though we admit that he ſhould enter by the Election principally made by God. For *Judas Iſcariot* was lawfully elect of God Chriſt Jeſus to his Biſhoprick, and yet came not he the ſame way he ought to do unto the Sheepfold.

23. The condemnation of forty five Articles of *John Wickliff* by the Doctors made is unreaſonable, wicked and naught, and the cauſe by them alledged is fained; that is, that none of them are Catholick, but every one of them heretical, erroneous, or ſlanderous.

Election maketh not the Succeſſor of Peter, but imitation.

24. Not for that the Electors or the moſt part of them have conſented together with lively voice, according to the cuſtom of men upon the perſon of any, therefore that perſon is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifeſt Succeſſor and Vicar of *Peter* the Apoſtle, or

of

of any other the Apoſtles in the Eccleſiaſtical Office. Wherefore, whether the Electors have either well or evil made their Election, it behoveth us to believe the ſame by the works of him that is elected. For in that that every one worketh more meritoriouſly to the profit of the Church, he hath ſo much the more greater authority from God.

One head of the univerſal Church, beſide Chriſt, hath no foundation in all Scripture.

25. There is not ſo much as one ſpark of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the Church in Spiritual Cauſes, which ſhould always be converſant in the Church Militant; for Chriſt without any ſuch monſtrous heads, by his true Diſciples ſparſed through the whole world, could better a great deal Rule his Church.

26. The Apoſtles and faithful Prieſts of God have right worthily, in all things neceſſary to ſalvation, governed the Church before the Popes Office took place, and ſo might they do again, by like poſſibily until Chriſt came to Judgment, if the Office ſhould fail.

*Let every one that is ſuſpected in the foreſaid Articles, or elſe otherwiſe found with the aſſertion of them, be examined in manner and form as followeth.*

The form and manner of the Popes Inquiſition.

IN *primis*, Whether he knew *John Wickliff* of *Englund*, *John Hus* of *Bohemia*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them; whether that during the lives of them, or any of them, they had either been converſant with them, or found any friendſhip at their hands?

2. *Item*, Whether he knowing them, or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them; eſteeming and affirming the ſame their participation to be no ſin?

Hereſie to pray for *John Wickliff* or *John Hus*, &c.

3. *Item*, Whether that after their deaths, he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or privily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either Saints, or elſe to be ſaved?

4. *Item*, Whether he thought them, or any of them to be Saints, or whether that ever he ſpake ſuch words, and whether ever he did exhibite any worſhip unto them as unto Saints?

5. *Item*, Whether he believe, hold and affirm, that every general Council, as alſo the Council of *Conſtance*, doth repreſent the univerſal Church?

Hereſie not to believe the Council of *Conſtance*

6. *Item*, Whether he doth believe, that that which the holy Council of *Conſtance*, repreſenting the univerſal Church, hath and doth allow in the favour of the Faith, and ſalvation of Souls, is to be approved and allowed of all the faithful Chriſtians; and that whatſoever the ſame Council hath condemned, and doth condemn to be contrary both to Faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not?

7. *Item*, Whether he believeth that the condemnations of *John Hus*, *John Wickliff*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, made as well upon their perſons, as their Books and Doctrine, by the holy general Council of *Conſtance*, be rightly and juſtly made, and of every good Catholick man are ſo to be holden and affirmed, or not?

8. *Item*, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Bohemia*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were Hereticks or not, and for Hereticks to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their Books and Doctrines were and be perverſe or not; for the which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy ſacred Council of *Conſtance* for Hereticks?

9. *Item*, Whether he have in his cuſtody any Treatiſes, ſmall Works, Epiſtles, or other writings in what Language or Tongue ſoever, ſet forth and tranſlated by any of theſe Hereticks, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome*, or any other of their falſe Diſciples and Followers, that he may deliver them to the Ordinaries of that place, or his Commiſſary, or to the Inquiſitors upon his Oath. And if he ſay that he hath no ſuch writing about him, but that they are in ſome other place, that then you ſwear him to bring the ſame before his Ordinary, or other aforenamed, within a certain time to him prefixed?

10 *Item*, Whether he knoweth any that hath the Treatiſes, Works, Epiſtles, or any other writings of the aforeſaid *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome*, in whatſoever Tongue they are made or tranſlated, and that he detect and manifeſt the ſame, for the purgation of their Faith and execution of Juſtice. KING 1 Hen. 5. 1.

11. *Item*, Eſpecially let the learned be examined whether he believeth that the Sentence of the holy Council of *Conſtance* upon the forty five Articles of *John Wickliff*, and the thirty Articles of *John Hus* be not Catholick; which ſaith that ſome of them are notorious and hereticał, ſome erroneous, otherſome blaſphemous, ſome ſlanderous, ſome raſh and ſeditious, ſome offenſive to godly ears?

12. *Item*, Whether he believeth and affirmeth that in no caſe it is lawful for a man to ſwear?

13. *Item*, Whether he believeth, that at the Commandment of a Judge or any other it is lawful to take an Oath to tell the truth in any convenient cauſe, although it be but purging of infamy, or not?

14. *Item*, Whether he believeth that Perjury wittingly committed, upon what cauſe ſoever, whether it be for the ſafeguard of his own life, or of any other mans life, yea although it be in the cauſe and defence of the Faith, be a ſin or not?

15. *Item*, Whether a man contemning purpoſely the Rites of the Church, and the Ceremonies of Exorciſm, of Catechiſm, and the conſecration of the water of Baptiſm be in deadly ſin or not?

16. *Item*, Whether he believe, that after the conſecration of the Prieſt, in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the figure of Bread and Wine be no material Bread and Wine; but in all points the ſame very Chriſt which was crucified upon the Croſs, and ſitteth upon the right hand of the Father?

17. *Item*, Whether he believe, that after the conſecration made by the Prieſt, under the only form of Bread, and beſides the form of Wine, be the very Fleſh of Chriſt and his Blood, his Soul and his Deity, and ſo whole Chriſt as he is; and in like wiſe, under the form of Wine, without the form of Bread, be the very Fleſh of Chriſt and his very Blood, his Soul and Deity, and ſo whole Chriſt, and the ſame body abſolutely under every one of thoſe kinds ſingularly?

Hereſie to miniſter in both kinds.

18. *Item*, Whether he doth believe, that the cuſtom of houſeling of the Lay-people under the form of Bread only, obſerved of the univerſal Church, and allowed by the only Council of *Conſtance*, be to be uſed, and not without the Authority of the Church at mens pleaſures to be altered, and that they that obſtinately affirm the contrary to this are to be puniſhed as Hereticks, or not?

19. *Item*, Whether he believe that thoſe which contemn the receiving of the Sacraments of confirmation, or extream Unction; or elſe the ſolemnization of Matrimony, commit deadly ſin or not?

20. *Item*, Whether he believe that a Chriſtian man, over and beſides the contrition of heart, being licenſed of a convenient Prieſt, is bound to confeſs himſelf only to a Prieſt, and not to any Lay-man, be he never ſo devout or good, upon the neceſſity of Salvation?

21. *Item*, Whether he believe, that in the caſes before put, a Prieſt may abſolve a Sinner confeſſing himſelf, and being contrite, from all ſins, and enjoyn him penance for the ſame?

22. *Item*, Whether he believe, that an evil Prieſt, with due manner and form, with the intention of doing, doth verily conſecrate, doth verily abſolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily diſpoſe all other Sacraments even as the Church doth?

23. *Item*, Whether he believe that S. *Peter* was the Vicar of Chriſt, having power to bind and to looſe upon the Earth?

24. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope being canonically elect, which for the time ſhall be, by that name expreſly be the Succeſſor of *Peter* or not, having ſupream Authority in the Church of God?

25. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Authority or Juriſdiction of the Pope, an Archbiſhop or a Biſhop, in binding or looſing, be more than the authority of a ſimple Prieſt or not, although he have charge of Souls?

Hereſie to deny the Popes Indulgences.

26. *Item*, Whether he believe, that the Pope may upon a juſt and good cauſe give Indulgences and remiſſion of Sins to all Chriſtian men, being verily contrite and con-

KING *Hen.* 5. confeſſed, eſpecially to thoſe rhat go on Pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds?

27. *Item*, Whether he believe, that by ſuch grant the Pilgrims that viſit thoſe Churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remiſſion of ſins or not?

28. *Item*, Whether he believe that all Biſhops may grant unto their Subjects, according as the holy Canons do limit, ſuch Indulgences, or not?

Hereſie not to worſhip Images. 29. *Item*, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Chriſtians to worſhip Images and the Reliques of Saints, or not?

30. *Item*, Whether he believe that thoſe Religions, which the Church hath allowed, were lawfully and reaſonably brought in of the holy Fathers, or not?

31. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope, or any other Prelate for the time being, or their Vicars, may excommunicate their ſubject Eccleſiaſtical or Secular for diſobedience or contumacy; ſo that ſuch an one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate, or not?

32. *Item*, Whether he believe, that for the diſobedience and contumacy of perſons excommunicate, increaſing, the Prelates or their Vicars in ſpiritual things have power to aggravate and to reaggravate, to put upon men the interdict, and to call for the Secular Arm; and that the ſame Secular Arm or Power ought to be obedient to the Cenſures, by their Inferiors called for?

33. *Item*, Whether he believe that the Pope and other Prelates, or elſe their Vicars, have power in ſpiritual things to excommunicate Prieſts, and Lay-men that are ſtubborn and diſobedient, from their Office, Benefice, or entrance into the Church, and from the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments of the Church, alſo to ſuſpend them?

Theſe Popes will be ſure to loſe nothing. 34. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, without committing ſin, to have any Poſſeſſions and Temporal goods; and whether he believe that it is not lawful for Lay-men to take away the ſame from them by their authority; but rather that ſuch takers away and incroachers upon Eccleſiaſtical goods are to be puniſhed as Committers of Sacriledge, yea, although ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Perſons live naughtily that have ſuch goods?

Wealthy wickedneſs maintained. 35. *Item*, Whether any ſuch taking away or encroaching upon any Prieſt raſhly or violently made, although the Prieſt be an evil Liver, be Sacriledge, or not?

36. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful for Lay-men of whether Sex ſoever, that is, men and women, to preach the Word of God, or not?

How Pope neither preacheth himſelf, nor yet will ſuffer other good Prieſts to preach. 37. *Item*, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all Prieſts freely to preach the Word of God whereſoever, whenſoever, and to whomſoever it ſhall pleaſe them, although they be not ſent at all?

38. *Item*, Whether he believe that all mortal ſins, and eſpecially ſuch as be manifeſt and publick, are to be corrected and to be extirpate, or not?

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, That if any by ſecret information, by you or any other to be received, ſhall be found either infamed or ſuſpected of any kind of the peſtiferous Sect, Hereſie, and Doctrine of the moſt peſtilent men, *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, the Arch-hereticks aforeſaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the foreſaid damned men whilſt they lived on the Earth, their falſe Followers and Diſciples, or any that believeth their Errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongſt the number of Catholick men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongſt the number of the Saints, either by their preaching, worſhipping, or other ways, wherein they deſerve to be ſuſpected; that then they by you or ſome of you may be cited perſonally to appear before you or ſome of you, without either Proctor or Doctor to anſwer for them, an Oath being openly taken by them as is aforeſaid, to ſpeak the plain and meer verity of the Articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as caſe and circumſtance ſhall require, according to your diſcretion, as you or any of you ſhall ſee expedient to proceed againſt them, or any of them, according to *theſe preſents*, or otherwiſe Canonically, as you ſhall think good.

Alſo that you do publiſh ſolemnly, and cauſe to be publiſhed theſe preſent Letters, omitting the Articles and Interrogatories herein contained, in the Cities and other places of your Dioceſs, where conveniently you may, under our Authority, and there to denounce and cauſe to be denounced all and ſingular ſuch Hereticks, with their Abettors and Favourers of their Hereſies and Errors; of what ſex or kind ſoever, that do hold and defend the ſaid Errors, or do participate any manner of way with Hereticks, privily or apertly; of what ſtate, dignity, or condition ſoever he or they be, Patriarch, Archbiſhop, King, Queen, Duke, or of what other dignity either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular he be; alſo with their Advocates and Procurators whoſoever, which are Believers, Followers, Favourers, Defenders, or Receivers of ſuch Hereticks, or ſuſpected to be Believers, Followers, Fautors, Defenders, or Receivers of them, to be excommunicate every *Sunday* and Feſtival day, in the preſence of the people. *Pope ſpirat minus & cadet.*

Furthermore, that you diligently cauſe to be enquired, by the ſaid our authority, upon all and ſingular ſuch perſons both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach ſuch Errors, or that be Favourers, Receivers and Defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, ſtate, preheminence, degree, order, or condition ſoever. And ſuch as you ſhall find in the ſaid your Inquiſition, either by their own confeſſion, or by any other mean to be defamed, or otherwiſe infected with the ſpot of ſuch Hereſie or Error, you through the ſentence of Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Interdict, and privation of their Dignities, Parſonages, Offices, or other Benefices of the Church, and Fees which they hold of any Church, Monaſtery, and other Eccleſiaſtical Places, alſo of Honors and ſecular Dignities and degrees of Sciences, or other faculties, as alſo by other pains and cenſures of the Church, or by ways and means whatſoever elſe ſhall ſeem to you expedient, by taking and impriſoning their Bodies, and other corporal Puniſhments wherewith Hereticks are puniſhed, or are wont, and are commanded by Canonical Sanctions to be uſed; and if they be Clerks, by degradation, do correct and puniſh, and cauſe them to be corrected and puniſhed with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do riſe up ſtoutly and couragiouſly againſt ſuch Hereticks, and the goods as well of them, as of the Lay-men, according to the Canonical Sanction made againſt Hereticks and their Followers, under the which we will and command them and their partakers to be ſubject. And alſo ſuch perſons as ſhall be infamed of the Hereſies or Errors aforeſaid, or any of the premiſſes, ſhall be bound to purge themſelves at your arbitrement: but the other, which either by Witneſſes, or by their own confeſſions, or other allegations or probations, ſhall be convicted of the foreſaid Hereſies or Articles, or of any the premiſſes, they ſhall be compelled to revoke and abjure publickly and ſolemnly the ſaid Articles and Errors, and to ſuffer condign penance and puniſhment, yea even to perpetual impriſonment (if need be) for the ſame. See here the Dragon caſting out whole floods to ſwallow up the Saints.

And to the intent that they ſhall not nouriſh any kind of Hereſies hereafter, either in word, deed, or geſture, or ſhall induce other either to word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly to believe the ſame, they ſhall be forced to put in ſufficient Surety. Who, if it ſo chance that they will not publickly and ſolemnly renounce and abjure their Articles and Errors, and take at your hands condign Penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal puniſhment according to your diſcretion, neither will be contented to put in ſufficient ſurety that they will not hereafter hold or nouriſh theſe Errors and Hereſies, neither will induce other by word or deed privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour to believe the ſame, that then you ſhall proceed againſt them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you ſee it ſo expedient, as againſt Hereticks, and as infected with Hereſie, by our authority, according to the Canonical Sanctions ſummarily, and ſimply and plainly, *Sine ſtrepitu & figura judicii*, and of Office, all Appelation or Appellations whatſoever ceaſing, and that you puniſh the ſame, according to the Sanctions and Traditions Canonical, yea if need be, in leaving and committing them to the ſecular power; and againſt ſuch as be Superiors or learned Doctors, laying the Cenſures of Eccleſiaſtical Excommunication, all Appellation ſet aſide, alſo invocating, if need ſhall require, aid of the ſecular arm; The Conſtitution as well of our Predeceſſor

Pope *Martin* the Fifth contrary to Pope *Boniface* the Eighth.

Pope *Martin* undoeth the Acts and Edicts of all other Popes

Predeceſſor Pope *Boniface* the Eighth of bleſſed memory, wherein is decreed that no man without his City or Dioceſs (except in certain caſes) or in places being one days journey diſtant from thence where he inhabiteth, ſhall be called into judgment, and that no man do preſume to depute Judges from the See Apoſtolick, without the City and Dioceſs where they are deputed to proceed againſt any; and do preſume to commit their authority to any other perſon or perſons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one days journey from out his Dioceſs where he dwelleth, or at moſt two days journey, if it be in a general Council; as alſo all other Conſtitutions of any Biſhop of *Rome*, touching as well Judges delegate, as perſons not be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or elſe any other Edict, indulge, priviledge, or exemption general or ſpecial, granted from the Apoſtolick See, for any perſon or perſons not to be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compaſs of certain limits, or elſe whatſoever thing otherwiſe may hinder, ſtop, or impeach your juriſdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Dat. Conſtant.* the firſt year of our Popedom.

¶ This bloody and abominable Commiſſion of Pope *Martin*, which I have copied out of a certain old *Monument*, remaining in the hands of Maſter *Hackluyt*, Student in the *Temple*, ſeemeth to be directed and given out to the publick deſtruction of all faithful Chriſtian men, about the later end and breaking up of the Council of *Conſtance*. *Anno* 1418. By the which the prudent Reader hath this to note and conſider, what labour, what policy, what counſel, and what Laws have been ſet, what ways have been taken, what ſeverity hath been ſhewed, how mens power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conſpired together from time to time, continually by all manner of means to ſubvert and ſupplant the Word and Way of the Lord; and yet notwithſtanding man hath not prevailed, but all his force and deviſed policies hath been overthrown, diſpatched, and with the counſel of *Achitophel* and *Ammon*, have been brought to naught, and contrary to the fury of the World the Goſpel of Chriſt hath ſtill increaſed. Neither yet for all this will the Pope ceaſe to ſpurn and rebel ſtill againſt the Kingdom of Chriſt and his Goſpel, againſt which neither he, nor yet the Gates of Hell ſhall ever prevail. The Lord of Hoſts be merciful to his poor perſecuted Flock. *Amen.*

Note how *Antichriſt* rageth and riſeth againſt Chriſt

Mans power and counſel too weak againſt Chriſt

Againſt this peſtilent Bull and Inquiſition of Pope *Martin* the great *Antichriſt*, I thought good here to adjoyn and annex another contrary writing of the *Bohemians*, bearing the name and ſubſcription of *Procopius*, *Conradus*, and other Captains of the *Bohemians*; which ſeemeth not long after the death of *Ziſca* to be written againſt the peſtiferous See of *Rome*, the tenour whereof here followeth.

## *A fruitful and Chriſtian Exhortation of the* Bohemians *to Kings and Princes, to ſtir them up to the zeal of the Goſpel.*

An exhortation of the *Bohemians.*

THe Almighty God the Father, by his welbeloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, may in his holy Spirit open the underſtanding both of you and of all Chriſtians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his Doctrine of Righteouſneſs, and may make you to continue therein ſurely eſtabliſhed to the end. This we deſire of you for your ſalvation, all ye honourable, wiſe, and honeſt Noblemen, and all the Communalty, yea Rich and Poor, hear and conſider with diligent heed the words of this preſent Letter, which is ſent unto you from the Country of the *Bohemians*. It is manifeſt and well known to you and many other Cities, Kings, Princes, and Lords, that now a certain number of years there hath been great diſcord betwixt us and you; and there have been ſome which have moved you by Letters, and provoked you to make War againſt us, and to deſtroy us. And as well on your part as ours many men, as well noble as unnoble, have fooliſhly loſt their lives. Yet never hitherto have ye in any part underſtood our Faith by our own confeſſion, neither whether we be able to prove the ſame out of the Scriptures, yea or no; and yet in the mean time Kings, Princes, Lords and Cities have ſuſtained great damage. And hereof we greatly marvel that you do ſo much truſt and believe the Pope and his Prieſts, which give you drink full of poiſon, and ſuch comforts as no man can underſtand, in that they ſay that they will give you forgiveneſs of all your ſins, and great grace and pardon, to this end that you ſhould War upon us and deſtroy us; whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great Lyes, and a great ſeducing of the Body and Soul of all them that believe them, and put their truſt in them.

The Pope and all his Prieſts herein deal with you as the Devil would have done with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Of whom *Luke* writeth in his fourth Chapter, That he brought him upon an high hill, and ſhewed unto him in the twinkling of an eye, all the Kingdoms that are in the compaſs of the earth, and ſaid unto him, *I will give thee, &c.* So the Devil deceiveth the Pope, and all the Prieſts with the riches of the World, and worldly power; And they think they can give grace and pardon when they will; and they themſelves ſhall never find favour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, becauſe of their great deceiving of Chriſtendom. And how can they give that to others, which they themſelves have not? For did the Devil, who was rich in promiſing, and poor in giving. And like as the Devil is not aſhamed to tell a lye, ſo all they are not aſhamed to [illegible] which ſhall never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures, becauſe for no cauſe they ſtir up Kings, Princes, Lords, and Citizens to make War againſt us, not to the end that the Chriſtian Faith ſhould thereby be defended, but becauſe they fear that their ſecret Vices and Hereſies ſhall be diſcloſed and made manifeſt. For if they had a true cauſe, and a godly love to the Chriſtian Faith, they would then take the Books of the holy Scripture, and would come unto us, and overcome us with the Weapons of Gods Word, and that is our chief deſire. For ſo did the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who came to the *Pagans* and *Jews*, and brought them from their Infidelity to the true Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and this they did in the Spirit of meekneſs, as the Apoſtle *Paul* writeth in the ſixth Chapter of the *Galatians*, *Brethren, if any man be grieved, &c.* So ought they alſo to do, if they perceived that they were juſt and we unjuſt. And if we would not abide Inſtruction, then they might take to them Kings, Princes, Lords, and Imperial Cities, and reſiſt us according to the Commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the ſubtil defence of all the Biſhops and Prieſts, that they ſay that Maſter *Hus* and *Hierome*, which were burnt at *Conſtance*, were overcome of the holy Father the Pope, and of the whole Council. For ye muſt underſtand that they were not overcome by the Holy Ghoſt, but unjuſtly, with wrongful violence, which God may yet hereafter grievouſly puniſh in all them that gave their counſel and aid thereto. And they ſay it ought not to be ſuffered, that we ſhould be heard in confeſſing our Faith. How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, ſince Chriſt heard the Devil, as it is written in the fourth Chapter of *Matthew*? And they are not better than Chriſt, nor we worſe than the Devil. If they be juſt and have the truth with them (as they ſay they have) and we be unrighteous, why do they fear, ſince the truth ought not be afraid of falſehood, as *Eſdras* writeth in his ſecond Book, the third Chapter? *Zorobabel* declared that truth is of all things the moſt mighty, and overcometh all things. For Chriſt is the truth, *Joh.* 14. *I am the way, the truth, &c.* And the Devil is the Father of lyes, *Joh.* 8. *He is a Lyar from the beginning, and never abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him.* Therefore, if the Pope and his Prieſts have the truth, let them overcome us with the Word of God. But if they have lyes, then they cannot long abide in their preſumption. Wherefore, we exhort and beſeech all the Imperial Cities, all Kings, Princes, Noblemen, Rich and Poor, for Gods ſake, and for his righteouſneſs, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there may be ſome means made, how we may commune with you ſafely and friendly, at ſome ſuch place as ſhall be fit both for you and us, and bring with you your Biſhops and Teachers, and let them and our Teachers fight together with the Word of God, and let us hear them, and let not the one overcome the other by violence or falſe ſubtilty, but only by the Word of

The Pope ſeduceth the World with fair promiſes things which he cannot nor will perform.

The Devil and the Pope rich in promiſing, and poor in giving.

Falſe pretences of the Papiſts. M. *Hus* and *Hierome* by wrongful violence put to death.

Chriſt heard the Devil, but the Pope will not hear men confeſs their Faith.

*Eſd.* 3. *Joh.* 14. *Joh.* 8.

A juſt and godly requeſt of the *Bohemians.*

KING Hen. 8. of God. And if your Biſhops and Teachers have better proofs of their Faith out of the holy Scripture, than we, and our Faith be found untrue, we will receive penance and ſatisfaction, according to the Goſpel. But if your Biſhops and Teachers be overcome of ours by the holy Scripture, then do ye repent and hearken to us, and hold with us. And if your Biſhops and Teachers will ceaſe from their Spiritual Pride, and repent and make ſatisfaction; then we will help you according to our power, and will compel them, either to joyn with us, or elſe we will expel them out of *Chriſtendom*. And if your Biſhops and Teachers will ſay, that it is not lawful for Lay-men to hear ſuch reaſoning, or to be preſent at it; that may you underſtand to tend to no other end, but that they fear they ſhould be overcome and put to ſhame in the ſight of you. For if they knew that they ſhould overcome therein, out of doubt they would deſire that every man ſhould hear it, and thereby their glory ſhould become the greater, and their fame and praiſes ſhould be encreaſed upon the earth. And if your Biſhops and Teachers counſel you to come to the hearing with us, then do it whether they will or no, and ſuffer not your ſelves at any time to be ſo fooliſhly ſeduced with their fooliſh Pardons, but tarry at home in your houſes with your Wives and Children. And let the Pope of *Rome* come to us with all his Cardinals and Biſhops, and with all his Prieſts, with his own perſon and power, to war with us, and let themſelves deſerve the abſolution of Sins, Grace and Pardon, which they preach to you (for they have great need of forgiveneſs of Sins, Grace and Pardon,) and by the Grace of God we will give them Pardon enough as they ſhall need. But their ſubtil excuſe is this, they ſay that it belongeth not to Prieſts to fight with bodily Weapons: and true it is that belongeth not to them; but it belongeth as little to them to ſtir up, to counſel, and to fortifie others thereto. For *Paul* ſaith in the firſt to the *Romans*, and in the fifth to the *Galathians*, *That all that do ſuch things are worthy of everlaſting death.*

Wherefore the Popes Clergy will have no reference to me.

The Popes pretenced excuſe detected. *Rom.* 1.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing than to fight againſt us, then will we take the Lord to our help and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the Excommunication or Curſe of the Pope, or his Cardinals, or of the Biſhops, becauſe we know that the Pope is not God, as he maketh himſelf, that he can curſe and excommunicate when he will, or bleſs when he will; who hath now theſe many years curſed and excommunicated us, and yet notwithſtanding God and his gracious bleſſing hath been our help.

Experience of Gods bleſſing where the Pope hath curſed.

Objection. But peradventure ye will ſay, that though we ſee that Biſhops and Prieſts be evil and wicked, yet we cannot lack them; for who ſhould baptize our Children, who ſhould hear Confeſſions, and miniſter the holy Sacraments? and then alſo we ſhould be within the Excommunication of the Pope, and of his Biſhops. Welbeloved, ye need to take no care for theſe matters. The excommunicating of the Pope hurteth you nothing. Fear ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will provide for thoſe things well enough. If ye would baniſh evil Biſhops and Prieſts, ye ſhould have good Prieſts which ſhould baptize your Children, hear Confeſſions, and miniſter the holy Myſteries, becauſe when the Devil is baniſhed, then place is made for the Holy Ghoſt: So when ill Biſhops and Prieſts ſhall be baniſhed, then place ſhall be made for good Prieſts and Biſhops.

Anſwer. Alſo, your Biſhops and Prieſts ſay, That we are Miſcreants and Hereticks, and that we believe not on Purgatory, upon the Virgin *Mary*, nor upon the Saints; wherein they ſay ill, for we will prove by the holy Scripture, that we know better by Gods Grace how we ought to believe upon Purgatory, and upon *Mary* the Mother of our Lord, and upon his welbeloved Saints, than they can tell us. Alſo they ſay, That we will not be obedient unto the Pope. Truly when he ſhall become holy and juſt, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in all things, and not before. They ſay alſo, That we deſtroy Gods holy Service, in that we deſtroy Monaſteries, baniſhing thence the wicked Monks and Nuns. Truly we did it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reverend Service of God, but after that we well perceived and conſidered their life and works, then we perceived that they were falſe lowly Hypocrites, and wicked Builders on high, and Sellers of Pardons and Maſſes for the dead, and ſuch as devoured in themſelves the ſins of the people. And whereas they ſaid that they riſe at midnight when other men ſleep, and pray for the ſins of the people: foraſmuch as their ſelling of their Prayers and Maſſes for the dead for Gifts, is no better than Hypocriſie and Hereſie; therefore if we do ſpeak againſt them and deſtroy their Monaſteries, we do not therein deſtroy the Service of God, but rather the Service of the Devil, and the Schools of Hereticks. And if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently deſtroy them as we do. For Chriſt our Lord did not ordain any ſuch Order, and therefore it muſt needs come to paſs that ſhortly it ſhall be deſtroyed, as our Lord ſaith in the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 15. *Every plant which my Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted up.* We deſire you alſo that ye would diligently conſider the Articles here written, wherein your Biſhops and Prieſts are guilty.

The Popes falſe Accuſation anſwered. *Mat.* 15.

The firſt Article is, That when your Biſhops will ordain Prieſts, they do it not except he that is to be made Prieſt have ſufficient living, either Inheritance left him of his Parents, or of Benefices: whereas notwithſtanding, Chriſt would that Prieſts ſhould be poor, foraſmuch as it is enough for the Scholar to be as his Maſter is, and for the Servant to be as his Lord is; and the Biſhops will that they ſhould be rich upon Earth, which is unjuſt before the Lord.

The abuſe of Popiſh Religion in making Prieſts, &c. dinals, &c.

The ſecond Article is, That Biſhops take money of ſuch as are to be ordained; but Saint *Peter* did therefore ſharply rebuke *Simon Magus*, when he would have given him money, as it is written in the eighth of the *Acts*. *Acts* 8.

The Third Article is, That they that come to be Prieſts enter into their Prieſthood, not for Gods Service-ſake, becauſe they mean to preach and increaſe it among the Chriſtian people, *ſo as the people may be edified and made* better, but rather for an idle life, and that they may eat well and drink well, and that they may be honoured and reverenced upon Earth. For every one waiteth upon his Prieſt as a Thief and a Robber, as *John* writeth in his tenth Chapter.

The abuſe of Popiſh Religion in taking Orders.

The fourth Article is, Of Excommunication, which the Pope and all his Prieſts take to themſelves, and therewith fetter and bind all Chriſtian people as they will, and they think that whoſoever they Excommunicate or Curſe, he is accurſed and excommunicate before God. And we will prove by the holy Scripture, that they themſelves are excommunicate and accurſed before God, becauſe they keep not the Commandment of the love of God, whereof the Apoſtle writeth in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, the ſixteenth Chapter. If any man loveth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he is excommunicate in the day of the coming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are ready bound and excommunicate before God and his Saints; and therefore why fear ye their Excommunication?

Popiſh Excommunication abuſed. 1 *Cor.* 16

The fifth Article is, That they take Gifts to pray for the dead, and to ſay Maſs for their Souls. This is a wickedneſs and Hereſie before the Lord, and all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby Prieſts become Merchants of Prayers and of Maſſes; and herewith is all the Church of *Rome* poiſoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead, and ſay Maſs for their Souls, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, foraſmuch as they ought to take no Gifts, neither little nor great. And every one that taketh Rewards to this end, to redeem Souls out of Purgatory, do therewithall caſt their own Souls down into Hell. And they that give any thing to that end, do altogether loſe that which they give: And with ſuch deviliſh ſubtilty the Pope with all his Prieſts have deceived, ſpoiled, and diſherited Kings, Princes, Lords and Knights, and good Houſholders and many other, of their lawful Inheritances, becauſe their Anceſtors and Progenitors gave it to Colleges, Monaſteries, and Churches, that they might make Memorials of them, and to ſing or ſay Prayers or Maſſes for their Souls, that they might be redeemed out of Purgatory. And with ſuch goods, Biſhops, Canons, and Monaſteries have made themſelves ſo rich, that now they fall at variance with Cities and Princes: and whereas they ſhould procure peace betwixt Cities and Rulers, there they are the firſt that begin War; and as long as they have ſuch goods, they will never ceaſe to be at ſtrife with Lords

The Popes Church polluted with buying and ſelling their prayers and maſſes, and all their doings for money.

Fear of Purgatory hath robbed almoſt all the whole World.

So long as Prieſts be rich, they will never be true Teachers.

Lords and Cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they do as a Dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, ſo long he holdeth his peace, and cannot bark; Even ſo, as long as they have this bone of pleaſant riches, it will never be well in the World. Wherefore all Kings, Princes, and Imperial Cities ſhould do a great Work of godlineſs and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the Dog is when the bone is taken from him.

The ſubtilty of the Devil in making the Church rich

And therefore ye noble Men, Kings, Princes, Lords, Imperial Cities, and all the Communalty, both rich and poor, if ye have been aſleep, yet now awaken and open your eyes, and behold the ſubtilty of the Devil, how he hath blinded the Church of *Rome*, and take again that which is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memorial for your Souls, then do as the *Wiſeman* ſaith,

Eccl. 19. *Eccleſ. 19. Lay up Alms, &c.*

Popiſh Prieſts with their long and ſumptuous Gownsmore like to the *Phariſees* than Chriſt.

The ſixth Article is, that they are full of pride and of high mind, which is manifeſtly known by their long, coſtly, and ſuperfluous Garments, wherein they walk very unlike to Chriſt our Lord, who had a Garment without a ſeam, and to the welbeloved *John Baptiſt*, who had a Garment of Camels hair; and they will be honoured and worſhipped, and they preach and ſay, That Prieſthood ought to be honoured, and ſo it ought indeed to be; but there are none that do ſo much ſlander and abaſe it, as they themſelves, with their evil Works, gay Apparel, and with their evil words, wherein they paſs all other men. Saint *Paul*

1 Tim. 3. ſaith in the firſt to *Timothy*, the third Chapter, *Let the Elders that govern well be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labour in the Word and Doctrine of the Lord.* Conſider, that he ſaith, *They that govern well.*

Honour in well governing.

The Popes Church poiſoned with covetouſneſs.

The ſeventh Article is, That they are covetous from the higheſt to the loweſt, and for covetouſneſs they preach many fooliſh deeds and manifeſt lies, and ſell the holy Sacraments, which is a great Hereſie; for God com-

1 Tim. 1. manded that they ſhould give freely. Saint *Paul* writeth in the firſt to *Timothy*, *Covetouſneſs is the root of all miſchief, whereunto many have been given, and therefore they are ſeparated from the Faith, and have denied the Truth.*

The Popes Church poiſoned much with whoredom.

The eighth Article is, That they commonly are called *Notorious Whoremongers.* This is manifeſtly ſeen in their Concubines and Children, which walk openly in all mens ſight, and make many mens Wives Whores, or corrupt their Daughters being Virgins, and make them Prieſts Harlots and Ribalds.

The Popes Church and Monaſteries commonly poiſoned with deviliſh envy.

The ninth Article is, That they are full of deviliſh envy, and eſpecially in all Monaſteries they have great envy and hatred amongſt themſelves, becauſe when any thing is given or diſpoſed to one Monaſtery or College, then there are others that hate it, and envy at it, and would more gladly have it themſelves; Like as among Dogs, when any thing is given to the one and not to the other, which the other ſeeing envieth his fellow, and the other likewiſe will rather devour all himſelf, than give any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great ſin of Envy, giving nothing unto them; And it were better that their Poſſeſſions were taken from them, and that they ſhould do that which the Lord ſpake to his Diſciples, ſaying, *Go ye and preach the Goſpel to all men.*

The Popes Church poiſoned with idleneſs and belly-cheer.

The tenth Article is, That they are idle, and chiefly the Biſhops, Canons, and other Prelates, which will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miſeries of *Chriſtendom*, whereto they have bound themſelves, and they eat the bread thereof in idleneſs, becauſe when other men watch and labour to maintain themſelves and their little Ones, then are they with their Lemmons, or elſe they walk in ſome City carrying Hawks on their fiſts, or elſe they ſit at the good Wine with their Concubines, and there they ſing and play the *Lucians*, and eat of the beſt; and therefore all that willingly bring and give to them, ſhall be made Partners of that Curſe which is given them of God, becauſe they eat their bread unjuſtly, whereof Saint *Paul* writeth in the ſecond to the *Theſſalonians*, the third Chapter, *He that laboureth not, let him not eat.*

The eleventh Article, That they are notorious Lyars, becauſe, to the end that they may pleaſe men, they tell many tales and lyes which in the holy Scripture have no foundation nor proof. Of ſuch writeth *John* in the *Apocal.* 21.

{KING} *Hen.* 5.

The Popes Church infamous with notorious lies.

The twelfth Article is, That they do not rightly give or miniſter to the people the Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and they give it not as God hath inſtituted it and commanded. This is a great and deviliſh ſin, and too great malapertneſs. Herein we would overcome them, with the teſtimonies of the *Evangeliſts*; I ſay, we would overcome the Pope, and all his Prieſts with the Authorities of *Mark*, *Luke*, and *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. and we would ſuffer, that Kings, Princes, Lords, and all that are willing to hear, ſhould hear it.

The Popes Church eſteemeth in diminiſhing one part of the Sacrament.

The thirteenth Article is, That they ſit in Spiritual Judgment, and then many times they judge according to favour, and not according to the righteouſneſs of God, that they take Bribes, giving Sentence for him, which in Gods ſight hath the wrongful Cauſe. Woe be to ſuch Sentences, as it is written in *Eſay* 5. *Woe be to you that, &c.*

The Popes Church charged with carnality.

The fourteenth Article is, That they ſit hearing Confeſſions, and when there come to them Uſurers, Raveners, and Thieves, they take Bribes of them of their ill-gotten Goods, to ſpare them; and they willingly ſuffer them in Cities and Towns. And likewiſe of Adulterers and other notorious Whoremongers and Whores, and they neither let or ſtay them in their great ſins, to the end that the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which ſaith, *Gifts and the love of money do draw to Hell, and do blind the eyes of Judges.*

He meaneth of claiming Tythes by meer neceſſity of the old Law, and not by the poſitive Law of Princes.

The fifteenth Article is, That they receive Tythes of men, and will of Right have them, and preach and ſay that men are bound to give them Tythes; and therein they ſay falſly. For they cannot prove by the *New Teſtament*, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt commanded it, and his Diſciples warned no man to do ſo, neither did themſelves receive them. But although in the *Old Teſtament* it were commanded to give Tythes, yet it cannot thereby be proved, that Chriſtian-men are bound thereto; For this Precept of the *Old Teſtament* had an end in the firſt year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, like as the Precept of Circumciſion. Wherefore, beloved, conſider and ſee how your Biſhops ſeduce you and ſhut your eyes with things that have no proof. Chriſt ſaith in the eleventh of *Luke*, *Give Alms of thoſe things that remain*; but he ſaid not, Give the Tenth of the Goods which ye poſſeſs, but give Alms. But when they hear the Word, they may ſay as the Lawyer ſaid to Chriſt, *Maſter, when thou ſayeſt ſo, thou giveſt offence*, Luke 11.

The Pope, Church charged with uſury.

The ſixteenth Article is, That they in many places lend money or goods to have Treaſure or Uſury, and they have in Cities and Towns yearly Payments and perpetual Revenues, as great Princes and Lords. Wherein they do againſt the Goſpel, which ſaith, *Do not ye poſſeſs Gold nor Silver.* And whereas they lend for gain and uſury, againſt that ſpeaketh the Lord, *Deuteronomy* the four and twentieth, *Lend not to uſury to thy Brother, &c.* Yea, honeſt, diſcreet, and welbeloved Lords, all the aforeſaid Articles we will prove againſt the Pope, all his Prieſts, with many Teſtimonies of the holy Scripture, which for brevities ſake we have not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly theſe four Articles, for which we ſtrive, and deſire to defend them to the death.

The firſt Article is, That all publick and cuſtomable mortal ſins ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all Prieſts and Lay-men, according to the commandment of the holy Scripture.

He meaneth the immoderate riches and temporal poſſeſſions.

The ſecond Article is, That Riches ought to be taken from the Pope and all his Prieſts, from the higheſt to the loweſt, and they ought to be made poor, as the Diſciples of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were; who had nothing of their own, neither Poſſeſſions in this World, neither worldy Power.

Men appointed to preach, may preach though the Pope forbid them.

The third Article is, That the Word of God ought to be free for every man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places whither they ſhall come, without reſiſtance of any man, or without any inhibition of either Spiritual or Earthly Power, openly or manifeſtly.

TL.

{KING Hen. 5.} When the Pope holdeth his council, let men look into their Wives and Daughters where the Council is kept.

The fourth Article is, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be delivered to every Christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Evangelists have written. We have also understood that there shall be a Council in *Basil*. Wherefore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keep their Wives, their Daughters, and their Virgins from Bishops, Priests, and Monks. And do not think that there is made any holy Assembly of Bishops and Priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendom, but only to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies with the cloak of hypocrisie, and let, and hinder the righteousness of God, which is much contrary to them; and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an Holy Assembly, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heed that it be not done as some did at *Constance*, who took many of Bishops and Prelates, and suffered them to sleep with their Wives. Ye well beloved and honest Lords, if ye find any thing in these foresaid Articles or words written somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or contemn you, but to the end that ye should diligently consider and devise, how Christendom is ill kept and led by the Priests of this present Age. Our Lord Jesus Christ keep you both in body and Soul, *Amen*. In the year of our Lord, 1430.

Several Captains of the Hussites. *Procopius, Smahors, Conradus, Samssmolich, Captains of* Bohemia.

Now to prosecute the wars of the *Bohemians* again. After *Zisca* was dead, whereof we did entreat before, there was great fear, sorrow, and lamentation in the Army, the Souldiers accusing fortune which gave over such an invincible Captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was a division in the Host, the one part choosing *Procopius Magnus* to be their Captain, the other part saying, that there was none could be found worthy to succeed *Zisca*; whereupon they choosing out certain to serve the wars, named themselves *Orphans*.

The Army of *Zisca* divided.

Thus the *Thaborites* being divided into two Armies, the one part retained their old and accustomed name, and the other, by means of the death of their Captain, named themselves *Orphans*. And albeit that often times there was dissention between them, yet whensoever any forrain power came towards them, they joyned their powers together in one Camp, and defended themselves. They seldom went unto any fenced towns, except it were to buy necessaries, but lived with their Wives and Children in their Camp and Tents. They had amongst them many Carres, the which they used as a Bulwork; For whensoever they went unto battel, they made two wings of them, which closed in the Footmen. The wings of the Horsemen were one the outside, and when as they saw their time to joyn battel, the Waggon-men which led the wings going forth unto the Emperors Standard, and compassing in such part of their enemies as they would, did close themselves in together, whereby the enemies being incloſed, so that they could not be rescued, they were partly by the Footmen, and partly by the men that were in the Carres, with their Darts slain. The Horsemen fought without the Fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the Carres opening themselves received them as it were into a fenced City; and by this means they got many Victories, forsomuch as their enemies were ignorant of their policies.

The order and Policy that the Army of *Zisca* used in War after his decease.

These two Armies went forth, the one into *Slesia*, and the other into *Moravia*, and returned again with great prey, before their enemies knew of their coming. After this they besieged the Town of *Swetly* in *Austrich*, where the *Thaborites* and the *Orphans* two nights continually assaulted the Walls without ceasing; but *Albert* Duke of *Austrich* coming with his Host to aid the Citizens, they fought by the space of almost four hours, the valiantest warriers being slain on both parts. At the length the battel was broken off, and the *Thaborites* lost their Carres, and *Albert* was put out of his Camp and Tents. Within a while after, *Procopius Magnus* came again and incloſed the City of *Rhetium* in *Austrig* with a notable Siege. They of *Prague* were in his Army, and *Boslaus Cygneus* of whom we spake before, was slain there with a Dart, and the City of *Rhetium* was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The Burgrave of *Malderburge*, Lord of the Town was also taken and carried unto *Prague*, where also he dyed in prison.

*Procopius Magnus.*

*Sigismond* the Emperor which burned *Hus* and *Jerom* before, now is fain to intreat for his Kingdom.

These things thus done, the Emperor sent for the Nobles of *Bohemia*, which went unto him unto a Town of *Hungary*, called *Posonium* in the borders of *Austria*, upon the banks of the River of *Danubius*; but they would not enter into the Town, but remained without the Town in their Tents; whither as the Emperour going out unto them, communed much with them. as touching his right and title, and the recovering of his Fathers Kingdom, promising if there were any cause, which did alienate the *Bohemians* minds from him, that he would take away all the occasion thereof: They made answer, that he had made war upon them without a cause, and that he had suffered their Countrimen, contrary to his promise, to be burnt at *Constance* not being heard, and the Kingdom to be contumeliously interdicted, and the Nobles of *Bohemia* to be condemned by the Church of *Rome* as Hereticks; and that he should think the force and power of the *Bohemians* not to be so small, but that they would provide for their own honour. Whereunto the Emperor answered very gently, and offered them a General Council, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they would submit themselves to the judgment of the universal Church: but the *Bohemians* which were become valiant Victors in Arms, would not be overcome with words; and so nothing being finally concluded, the Emperor returned home.

The death of *John Hus* and *Hierom* revenged.

Then Pope *Martin* perceiving the Gospel to encrease daily more and more, sent the Cardinal of *Winchester* an Englishman, born of a Noble House into *Germany* to move them unto war against the *Bohemians*. Whereunto the Emperor also did assist him.

The Cardinal of *Winchester* sent into *Germany* to raise war against the *Bohemians*.

There were three Armies provided. In the first Army were the Dukes of *Saxony* and the lower Cities.

Three Armies sent against the *Bohemians*.

The second Army, which was gathered of the *Franconians*, was under the conduct of the Marquiss of *Brandenburg*.

The third Army was led by *Otho* the Archbishop of *Trevers*, whom the *Rhenenses*, the *Bavarians*, and the Imperial Cities of *Swevia* followed. These armies entring into *Bohemia* in three several parts. after they were passed the Wood, they joyned together and pitched before *Misna*. This Town a certain learned and eloquent Protestant, named *Prichicho*, the night before had wonn from the Papists; wherefore the Army was determined first to recover that City, before they would go any further. But when as news came unto the Host, how the Protestants had gathered an Army, and came with all speed towards them; they fled before they saw their enemies, and went unto *Tacovia*, leaving behind them their warlike Engins with a great prey. The Cardinal was not yet come into the Camp, but meeting them in their flight at *Tacovia*, he marvelled at the coward y flight of so many Noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turn again unto their enemies, which, he said, were farr weaker than they. Which thing when he had long travelled about in vain, he was fain to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entred the Wood, when as the *Bohemians* coming upon them, set upon the rereward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearful than before, neither did they leave flying before the *Bohemians* left following. Then all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquished *Tacovia*; and having obtained great store of warlike Engins, they destroyed *Misna*. And when they would have returned home by *Franconia*, they had great sums of money sent unto them, that they should not waste or destroy the Countries of *Bamberge* and *Noremberge*; whereby the Host of the *Bohemians* was greatly enriched.

God restoreth his people newly converted.

The Popes Army flieth like Captain like Souldier.

*Sigismundus* the Emperor, having news of these things, went straight unto *Noremberge*, and gathered there new aid and help. Also Pope *Martin* sent *Julian* the Cardinal of Saint *Angel* into *Germany* with his Ambassage; to make War against the *Bohemians*, and that he should in the Council of *Basil*, which doth now shortly draw on, be President in the Popes name. He entring into *Germany* went straight to *Noremberge* to the Emperor, where many of the Nobles of *Germany* were assembled.

{Anno 1431.} The Pope raiseth War the second time against the *Bohemians*.

A new war raiſed by the Pope againſt the Bohemians.

There was a new expedition decreed againſt the *Bohemians*, againſt the eighth of the Kalends of *July*, and *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Brandenburge* appointed General of that War, which ſhould follow the Cardinal. He entred into *Bohemia* by the way that leadeth unto *Thopa*, and *Albertus* Prince of *Auſtrich* was appointed to bring his Army thorow *Moravia*.

In this expedition was *Albert* and *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria*, and *Frederick* Dukes of *Saxony*, *John* and *Albert* Princes of *Brandenburge*, with their Father which was General of thoſe Wars. Alſo the Biſhops of *Hyperbolis*, *Bamberge* and *Eyſten*. Alſo the Company of the *Swevians*, which they called the Company of S. *George*, and the Magiſtrates of the Imperial Cities, the Biſhop of *Mentz*, *Trevers*, and *Colen* ſent their aids, and with them the Chieftains of their Provinces. It is ſaid that the number of their Horſemen were above forty thouſand, but their Footmen were not full ſo many, for the *Germans* for the moſt part do uſe to fight their battels on horſeback.

The number of the Popes Army againſt the Bohemians.

Alſo *Rhenatus* Prince of *Lorrain* promiſed to come to theſe Wars; but being letted by his Civil Wars, forſomuch as he went about to vanquiſh the Earl of *Vandome*, he could not keep his promiſe, and the County Palatine of *Rheine*, which did aid and ſuccour the Earl of *Vandome*, could not go againſt the *Bohemians*. The Cardinal ſtaying for them deferred his journy until the Calends of *Auguſt*. In the mean time *Albert* leading his Army out of *Auſtria*, underſtanding that the Cardinal was not preſent at the day appointed, and ſeeing himſelf unable to encounter with the *Bohemian* power, he returned back again. After this the Cardinal entred into *Bohemia* with a huge Army, and deſtroyed many of the Proteſtants towns, killing Men, Women and Children, ſparing neither Old nor Young; notwithſtanding this his Tyranny was exerciſed in the uttermoſt borders of *Bohemia*, for his Captains feared to enter farr into the Land. The *Bohemians*, aſſoon as they had heard tell that their enemy was come, made ready and gathered their Hoſt with all ſpeed, and laid ſiege to a Tower called *Stiltverge*, and brought it under ſubjection.

Cardinal *Julian* with a main hoſt entreth *Bohemia*. The cruel ſlaughter done by the Cardinal.

God ſtriketh a fear into the Popes Army.

In the mean ſeaſon there fell ſuch a marvellous ſudden fear amongſt the Papiſts throughout the whole Camp, that they began moſt ſhamefully to run away before any enemy came in ſight. The Cardinal *Julianus* marvelled at this moſt ſudden fear, and what ſhould move ſo great an Army to flee, went about unto the Captains, exhorting them to put on Armour, to order their battels, and couragiouſly to abide their enemies, ſaying, they did not fight for the glory of their Kingdom, or for the poſſeſſion of Lands, but for their lives, and honour, and Religion of Chriſt, and for the ſalvation of ſouls. How ignominious a thing is it (ſaith he) for the *Germans* to flee in battel, whoſe courage and valiantneſs all the world doth extoll? It were much better to dye, than to give place to any enemies before they were ſeen; for they can by no means live in ſafety within the walls, which give place unto their enemy in the field: for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walls, and except they would even preſently defend their liberty with the ſword, they ſhould ſhortly be in greater bondage, more miſerable than any death. But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldneſs: for the Enſigns were ſnatched up, and as though there had been no Captain in the Hoſt, every man run headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his Captain, but caſting away their Armor with ſpeedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The Cardinal alſo, although it were againſt his will, was forced to do the like.

Rather for the Religion of Antichriſt. The Cardinal ſeldom loved to preach rather in the Camp than in the Church.

The Cardinals Army ran away for fear.

Thus the Proteſtants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and couragious, purſued them through the Woods, and had a great prey and ſpoil of them. Notwithſtanding, *Albertus* when he heard tell that the Cardinal was entred into *Bohemia*, with all ſpeed came again out of *Auſtrich* with his Army, and beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Prezorabia*: but when he underſtood how the Cardinal was fled, he left off his purpoſe, and returned through *Moravia*, which was not yet ſubject unto him and deſtroyed above fifty Towns with Fire and Sword; took many of their Cities by force, and ſpoiled them, committing great murther and ſlaughter, and ſo afflicted them

Great ſlaughter in Bohemia by Duke *Albert*

that they took upon them his yoke, and promiſed to be ſubject and obedient to him under this condition, that as touching Religion he would be bound to do that which the Council of *Baſil* ſhould determine.

{KING} {*Hen.* 5.}

Then was there an Ambaſſage ſent out of *Bohemia* unto *Baſil*, where *Sigiſmund* held the Council, who during the time of the Wars had kept himſelf at *Noremberge*. When as he ſhould take his journy unto *Rome* to be Crowned Emperor, he wrote letters unto the Nobles of *Bohemia*, wherein was contained, how that he was a *Bohemian* born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to *Rome* for none other cauſe but to be Crowned, the which his honour ſhould alſo be a renown to the *Bohemians*, whom to advance it hath been always his ſpecial care.

The Council of *Baſil*.

A Letter of the Emperors to the *Bohemians*.

Alſo, how that through his endeavour the Counſel was begun at *Baſil*, exhorting all ſuch as were deſirous to be heard as touching Religion, that they ſhould come thither, and that they would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy Mother the Church; that the Council would lovingly and gently hear their reaſons; that they ſhould only endeavour themſelves to agree with the Synod as touching Religion, and reſerve and keep a quiet and peaceable Kingdom for him, againſt his return: Neither ſhould the *Bohemians* think to refuſe his Regiment, whoſe Brother, Father, and Uncle had reigned over them, and that he would reign over them after no other manor ſort, than other Chriſtian Kings uſed to do.

The Council of *Baſil* alſo wrote their letter to the *Bohemians*, that they ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors which ſhould ſhew a reaſon of their Faith, promiſing ſafe conduct to go and come, and free liberty to ſpeak what they would. The *Bohemians* in this point were of two opinions; for the Proteſtants, and almoſt all the common people ſaid, it was not good to go, alledging the examples of *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, which going unto *Conſtance*, under the ſafe conduct of the Emperor, were there openly burned. But the Nobility following the mind of *Maynardus*, Prince of the new houſe, ſaid, that they ought to go unto the Council, and that they are not to be ſuffered which had invented thoſe new and ſtrange opinions of Faith, and new kind of Religion, except they would render account of their doings and ſayings before the univerſal Church, and defend thoſe things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion took place, and an ambaſſage of three hundred Horſe was ſent unto *Baſil*. The chief whereof were *William Coſca* a valiant Knight, and *Procopius*, ſurnamed *Magnus*, a man of worthy fame for his manifold Victories, *John Rhochezana* preacher of *Prague*, *Nicholas Galecus*, Miniſter of the *Thaborites*, and one *Peter* an Engliſhman, of excellent prompt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the Town, and many out of the Synod and Council, attending before the gates to ſee the coming of this valiant and famous people; otherſome gathered together in great number into the ſtreets where they ſhould paſs through. The Matrons, Maids and Children filled the Windows and Houſes to behold and ſee, and to marvel at their ſtrange kind of apparel, and ſtout couragious countenances, ſaying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them: notwithſtanding all men beheld *Procopius*, ſaying, this is he which hath overthrown the Papiſts in ſo many battels, which hath ſubverted ſo many Towns, and ſlain ſo many Men, whom both his enemies, and alſo his own ſouldiers do fear and reverence; alſo, that he was a bold, valiant and invincible Captain, which could not be overcome with any terror, labour or travail.

The *Bohemians* ſent for by the Council.

Safe conduct given to the *Bohemians* to come to the Council.

A doubt among the *Bohemians* whether to go to the Council of *Baſil* or no.

This *Maynardus* was after a great backfriend to the faithful *Bohemians*.

Three hundred Horſemen of the *Bohemians* ſent Ambaſſage to the Council.

This Engliſhman was *Peter Pain*.

The receiving of the *Bohemians* at *Baſil*.

*Procopius* famous among the *Germans*.

The Oration of Cardinal *Julian*.

Theſe Bohemian Ambaſſadors were gently received. The next day after, Cardinal *Julianus*, ſending for them unto the Council houſe, made a gentle, long and eloquent Oration unto them, exhorting them to unity and peace, ſaying, that the Church was the Spouſe of our Saviour Chriſt, and the Mother of all faithful, that it hath the Keys of binding and looſing, and alſo that it is white and fair without ſpot or wrinkle, and cannot err in thoſe points that are neceſſary to ſalvation, and that he which doth contemn the ſame Church is to be counted as a prophane Ethnick, and Publican, neither can this Church be repreſented better by any means than in this Council. He exhorted them alſo to receive the decrees of the Council, and to give no leſs credit to the Council than unto the Goſpel, by whoſe authority

KING Hen. 5.

thority the Scriptures themſelves are received and allowed. Alſo that the *Bohemians*, which call themſelves the Children of the Church, ought to hear the voice of their Mother, which is never unmindful of her Children; how that now of late they have lived apart from their Mother; alledging ſaid life) that is no new or ſtrange thing, for there have been many in times paſt which have forſaken their Mother, and yet ſeeking after Salvation have returned to her again; That in the time of *Noah*'s flood, as many as were without the Ark periſhed; that the Lords Paſſover was to be eaten in one Houſe; that there is no Salvation to be ſought for out of the Church, and that this is the Garden and famous Fountain of Water, whereof whoſoever ſhall drink, ſhall not thirſt everlaſtingly; That the *Bohemians* have done as they ought, in that they have ſought the Fountains of this Water at the Council and have determined now at length to give ear unto their Mother. Now all hatred ought to ceaſe, all Armor and Weapon is to be laid apart, and all occaſion of War utterly to be rejected. For the Fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatſoever there they would ſay in their own cauſe or quarrel, requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counſels and determinations of the ſacred Synode; whereunto not only the *Bohemians*, but alſo all other faithful Chriſtians, ought to conſent and agree, if they will be partakers of Eternal life.

The *Bohemians* anſwer to the Cardinals Oration.

This Oration of the Cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the Fathers. Whereunto the *Bohemians* anſwered in few words. That they neither had contemned the Church nor the Council; that the ſentence given at *Conſtance*, againſt thoſe which were unheard, doth diminiſh nothing of the Chriſtian Religion; that the Authority of the Fathers hath always remained amongſt them inviolate; and that whatſoever thing the *Bohemians* have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and Goſpel; and that they are now come to manifeſt their innocency before the whole Church, and to require open Audience, where the Laity may alſo be preſent. Their requeſt was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did diſagree from the Church of *Rome*, they propounded four Articles.

The Articles wherein the *Bohemians* diſſented from the Church of *Rome*.

*Firſt*, They affirmed, That all ſuch as would be ſaved, ought of neceſſity to receive the Communion of the laſt Supper under both kinds of Bread and Wine.

The ſecond Article. They affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the Clergy by the Law of God.

The third Article. That the preaching of the Word of God is free for all Men, and in all places.

The fourth Article. As touching open crimes and offences which are in no wiſe to be ſuffered for the avoiding of greater evil.

Theſe were the only propoſitions which they propounded before the Council in the name of the whole Realm. Then another Ambaſſador affirmed, That he had heard of the *Bohemians* divers and ſundry things offenſive to Chriſtian ears, amongſt the which this was one point, That they ſhould preach that the invention of the order of begging Friers was Diabolical.

Then *Procopius* riſing up, ſaid, Neither is it untrue; for if neither *Moſes*, neither before him the Patriarchs, neither after him the Prophets, neither in the New Law Chriſt and his Apoſtles did Inſtitute the Order of begging Friers: Who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the Devil, and a work of darkneſs?

This anſwer of *Procopius* was derided of them all. And Cardinal *Julianus* went about to prove, That not only the Decrees of the Patriarchs and Prophets, and thoſe things which Chriſt and his Apoſtles had Inſtituted, were of God, but alſo that all ſuch Decrees as the Church ſhould Ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghoſt, be the works of God. Albeit as he ſaid, the Order of begging Friers might ſeem to be taken out of ſome part of the Goſpel. The *Bohemians* choſe out four Divines which ſhould declare their Articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewiſe on the contrary part there were four appointed by the Council. This Diſputation continued fifty days, where many things were alledged on either part, whereof, as place ſhall ſerve, more hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall be ſaid, when we come to the time of that Council.

Certain appointed by the *Bohemians* and the Council to Diſpute.

In the mean ſeaſon, while the *Bohemians* were thus in long conflicts with *Sigiſmund* the Emperor and the Pope, fighting for their Religion, unto whom, notwithſtanding all the fulneſs of the Popes power was bent againſt them, God of his goodneſs had given ſuch noble victories, as is above-expreſſed, and ever did proſper them ſo long as they could agree among themſelves; as theſe things (I ſay) were doing in *Bohemia*, King *Henry* the fifth fighting likewiſe in *France*, albeit for no like matter of Religion, fell ſick at *Bloys* and died, after he had Reigned nine years, five months, three weeks and odd days from his Coronation. This King in life, and in all his doings, was ſo devout and ſerviceable to the Pope and his Chaplains, that he was called of many, The Prince of Prieſts: who left behind him a Son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by Queen *Katherine*, Daughter to the *French* King, married to him about two or three years before. The name of which Prince, ſucceeding after his Father, was *Henry* the ſixth, left under the Government and Protection of his Uncle, named *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*.

The Death of King *Henry* the fifth, called Prince of Prieſts for favouring the Pope.

*The names of the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *in this Fifth Book Contained.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54 | *Simon Iſlepe.* | 17 |
| 56 | *Simon Langham.* | 2 |
| 57 | *William Witleſey.* | 5 |
| 58 | *Simon Sudbury.* | 6 |
| 59 | *William Courtney.* | 15 |
| 60 | *Thomas Arundel.* | 18 |
| 61 | *Henry Chicheſly.* | 29 |

# The End of the Fifth Book of Martyrs.

{KING Hen.6.}

# THE Sixth Part or Section;

## PERTAINING

## To the laſt Three Hundred Years.

### A Preface to the Reader.

*ACcording to the Five ſundry diverſities and alterations of the Church, ſo have I divided hitherto the order of this preſent Church-Story into Five principal parts, every part containing 300 years. So that now coming to the laſt 300 years; that is, to the laſt times of the Church, counting from the time of* Wickliff: *Foraſmuch as in the compaſs of the ſaid laſt 300 years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the marvellous reformation of the ſame through the wondrous Operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one Book: I have therefore diſpoſed the ſaid later 300 years into divers Books; beginning now with the Sixth Book at the Reign of King* Henry *the Sixth. In which Book, beſide the grievous and ſundry Perſecutions raiſed up by Antichriſt, to be noted, herein is alſo to be obſerved, That whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common People, that this Religion now generally uſed hath ſprung up and riſen but of late, even by the ſpace (as many do think) of 20 or 30 years, it may now manifeſtly appear, not only by the* Acts and Monuments *heretofore paſſed out alſo by the Hiſtories hereafter following, how this profeſſion of Chriſts Religion hath been ſpread abroad in* England *of Old and Ancient time, not only for the ſpace of theſe* 200 *late years, from the time of* Wickliff, *but hath continually from time to time ſparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never ſo perfectly burſt out, as they have done within theſe Hundred years and more; As by theſe Hiſtories here collected and gathered out of Regiſters, eſpecially of the Dioceſs of* Norwich, *ſhall manifeſtly appear: wherein may be ſeen what Men, and how many both Men and Women within the ſaid Dioceſs of* Norwich *have been, which have defended the ſame cauſe of Doctrine which now is received by us in the Church. Which Perſons although then they were not ſo ſtrongly armed in their cauſe and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they Warriers in Chriſts Church, and fought to their power in the ſame cauſe. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the beſt, good Reader, and refer the cauſe thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.*

King *Henry the ſixth.*

{Ann. 1422}

THIS young Prince being under the Age of one Year, after the Death of his Father, ſucceeded in his Reign and Kingdom of *England*, *An.* 1422, and in the Eighth Year was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*: and the ſecond Year after was Crowned alſo at *Paris*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Cardinal, being preſent at them both, and Reigned 38 Years, and then was depoſed by *Edward* the 4th, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in his time. In the firſt Year of his Reign was burned the conſtant Witneſs-bearer and *Teſtis* of Chriſts Doctrine, *William Tailor* a Prieſt, under *Henry Chicheſley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

*Ex ſcala mundi. Ex Regiſt. Cant.*

Of this *William Tailor* I read, That in the days of *Thomas Arundel* he was firſt apprehended, and abjured. Afterward in the days of *Henry Chicheſley*, about the Year of our Lord 1421, which was a Year before his burning, the ſaid *William Tailor* appeared again in the Convocation before the Archbiſhop, being brought by the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, being complained of to have taught at *Briſtow* theſe Articles following:

*William Tailor* the firſt time apprehended.

*William Tailor* again appeareth before the Archbiſhop.

Three Articles firſt objected to *William Tailor.*

*Firſt*, That whoſoever hangeth any Scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the Devil.

*Secondly*, That no human perſon is to be worſhipped, but only God is to be adored.

*Thirdly*, That the Saints are not to be worſhipped nor invocated.

Upon theſe Articles the ſaid *William Tailor* being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the ſame, eſpecially upon the ſecond and third Articles, only in way of reaſoning, and for argument ſake. And to juſtify his Opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his boſom a Paper or Libel written, wherein were contained certain Articles, with the Teſtimonies of the Doctors alledged, and exhibited the ſame unto the Archbiſhop. Who then being bid to ſtand aſide, the Archbiſhop conſulting together with the Biſhops and other Prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Maſter *John Caſtle*, and *John Rikinghale*, the two Vice-Chancellors of *Oxford*, and *Cambride*, and to *John Langdon* Monk of *Canterbury*. Who adviſing with themſelves, and with other Divines, about the Articles and Allegations, on the Monday following preſented the ſaid Articles of *William Tailor* to the Archbiſhops and Prelates, as Erroneous and Heretical. Whereupon *William Tailor*, being called before them, in concluſion was contented to revoke the ſame, and for his Penance was by them condemned to perpetual Priſon.

Notwithſtanding, through favour, they were contented that he ſhould be releaſed from his carceral indurance, in caſe he would put in ſufficient ſurety in the Kings *Chancery*, and ſwear that he ſhall never hold nor favour any ſuch Opinions hereafter. And thus the ſaid *William Tailor*, appointed to appear the next Wedneſday at *Lambeth* before the Archbiſhop, to take his Abſolution from his long Excommunication during the time from *Thomas Arundel*, appeared again before him: where he laying aſide his ſunlouſe, that is, his Cloak, his Cap, and ſtripped unto his Doublet, kneeled at the feet of the Archbiſhop. Who then ſtanding up, and having a Rod in his hand, began the Pſalm *Miſerere*, &c. His Chaplains anſwering the ſecond Verſe. After that was ſaid the Collect, *Deus cui proprium*, &c. with certain other prayers. And ſo taking an Oath of him, the Archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to whom power and authority was permitted to releaſe him, upon the conditons aforeſaid. And thus was *William Tailor* for that time Abſolved, being enjoyned notwithſtanding to appear at the next Convocation, whenſoever it ſhould be, before the ſaid Archbiſhop or his Succeſſor that ſhould follow him.

The form of Canonical Abſolution in the Church uſed againſt them that were Excommunicate.

In the mean time, while *William Tailor* was thus in the cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, there paſſed certain writings between him and one *Thomas Smith* Prieſt at *Briſtow*, in the which writings *William Tailor* replied againſt the ſaid *Thomas*, concering the queſtion of worſhipping of Saints. Upon the occaſion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *William Tailor* began a new to be troubled, and was brought again before the publick Convocation of the Clergy by the ſaid Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to anſwer unto his writings. This was *Anno* 1432, the 11th day of February.

Unto

{KING Hen. 6.}

Unto the which Convocation the ſaid *William* being preſented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not deny to be of his own hand writing.

The Opinion of *William Tailor* concerning worſhipping of Saints.

The tenor and effect of whoſe writing only tended to prove, That every petition and prayer for any Supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no Creature. Albeit in this his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any reſpect to pray to Saints (and bringeth for the ſame *Thomas Aquin*) but only in reſpect of that worſhip, which is called *Cultus latriæ*; And further ſo proſecuteth his mind herein, that he ſeemeth little or nothing to differ from the ſuperſtition of the Papiſts, as moſt plainly appeareth by his own words, ſaying, *Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut ſanctorum ſuffragia tam beatorum quam viantium, tam vivis, quam mortuis ad hoc diſpoſitis, quantum poſſunt, ſuffragari, vel proficere; quia hoc eſt elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex conſona ratione*, &c. And moreover he inſerteth the example of *Moſes*, who prayed unto God, alledging the merits of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, which were dead, *&c.* And furthermore, paſſing from the teſtimony of *Moſes*, and alledging the example of *Stephen*, ſaith, *Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus ſuis, quam tunc exauditus eſt pro lapidatoribus.* And at length he cometh to this concluſion, proving by St. *Auſtin*, in this manner, *Ne igitur, cum impiis & idololatris in veteri teſtamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, ſatium eſt quod faciamus ſecundum conſilium Apoſtoli ſic dicentis, Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ ejus, ut miſericordiam conſequamur, & gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno*, &c. That is, And therefore, leſt we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the *Old Teſtament*, and never come to the center, it is wholſome and good counſel, that we follow the mind of the Apoſtle, ſaying, Let us reſort with boldneſs unto the Throne of his Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help, *&c.*

*Cultus latriæ*, that is, worſhip which is only due to God.

*Aug. ſuper Pſal. 21.*

Thus much out of the foreſaid writing of *William Tailor*, I have excerped, to the intent that the indifferent Reader, uſing his judgment herein, may ſee how little matter was in this, wherefore he ſhould be condemned by the Papiſts. And yet notwithſtanding the ſame writing, being delivered by the Archbiſhop to the four orders of Friers of *London* to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in theſe points:

Four Articles by the four Orders of Friers laid againſt *William Tailor*.

1. That every prayer which is a petition of ſome Supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

2. *Item*, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

3. *Item*, To pray to any Creature is to commit Idolatry.

4. Alſo, another Opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth; ſo that although all theſe Opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a number, every Order of the four ſorts of Friers, thought to find out ſome matter to offer up to the Archbiſhop againſt him, leſt one Order ſhould ſeem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or elſe perchance leſt any of them ſhould ſeem to favour the party, in bringing nothing againſt him, as the reſt had done.

When the Saturday was come, which was 20th day of *February*, upon the which day the four Orders were appointed to declare their cenſure upon the Articles in the *Chapter-houſe* of *Paul's*, firſt appeareth Frier *Tille*, for the black Friers, then Frier *Winchelſey*, then Frier *Low*, after Frier *Aſhwel*, each Frier for his Order ſeverally bringing his Hereſie, as is above-ſpecified.

Thus the verdict of theſe four Orders being given up to the Archbiſhop, and ſeverally each Order coming in with his Hereſie, which was the twentieth day of *February*; hereupon cometh down a Writ from the King, directed to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, *De hæretico comburendo*, dated the firſt day of *March*, the firſt year of his Reign. The Copy whereof remaineth in the Records of the *Tower*, beginning thus: *Rex Majori & Vice-comitibus.* Whereupon the ſaid *William Tailor*, condemned as a relapſe, firſt was degraded, and after to be burned, and ſo was committed to the Secular Power Power; who then being had to *Smithfield*, the firſt day of *March*, with Chriſtian conſtancy, after long Impriſonment, there did conſummate his Martyrdom, 1422.

*William Tailor* degraded. *William Tailor* Martyr burned in *Smithfield*.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of *John Hus* before, for the Papiſts uſe but one form for all men. Firſt, Degrading them from Prieſthood, by taking from them the Chalice and Patine. From Deaconſhip, by taking from them the Goſpel-Book and Tunicle. From ſub-Deaconſhip, by taking from them the Epiſtle-Book and Tunicle. From Acoluteſhip, by taking from them the Cruet and Candleſtick. From an Exorciſt, by taking away the Book of Exorciſms or Gradual. From the Sextonſhip, by taking away the Church-Door-Key and Surplice. And likewiſe from Benet, in taking away the Surpliſe, and firſt Tonſure, *&c.* All which they orderly accompliſhed upon this godly Martyr, before his burning.

The Popes manner of degradation.

*The burning of William Tailor Prieſt.*

*The diſpling of John Florence.*

## John Florence *a Turner.*

*John Florence a Turner.*

JOhn *Florence* a Turner, dwelling in *Shelton*, in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, was attached for that he held and taught theſe Hereſies here under-written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the Church of *Rome*.

*Imprimis*, That the Pope and Cardinals have no power to make or conſtitute any Laws.

*Item*, That there is no day to be kept Holy, but only the Sunday which God hath hallowed.

*Item*, That Men ought to faſt no other time, but of the *Quatuor temporum*.

*Item*, That Images are not to be worſhipped, neither that the people ought to ſet up any Lights before them in the Churches, neither to go on Pilgrimage, neither to Offer for the Dead, or with Women that are Purified.

He meaneth they ſhould not claim ſuch riches by any exaction.

*Item*, That Curates ſhould not take the Tithes of their Pariſhioners, but that ſuch Tithes ſhould be divided amongſt the poor Pariſhioners.

*Item*, That all ſuch as Swear by their life or power, ſhall be damned, except they repent.

Upon Wedneſday being the ſecond day of *Auguſt* in the year of our Lord 1424, the ſaid *John Florence* perſonally appeared before *William Bernam*, Chancellor to *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, where he proceeding againſt him, objected the firſt Article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals; to which Article the ſaid *John Florence* anſwered in this manner: If the Pope lived uprightly as *Peter* lived, he hath power to make Laws; otherwiſe I believe he hath no power. But being afterward threatned by the Judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and ſubmitted himſelf to the correction of the Church, and was Abjured, taking an Oath that from that time forward he ſhould not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any Error or Hereſie contrary to the determination of the Church of *Rome*, neither maintain, help, or aid any that ſhall teach or hold any ſuch Errors or Hereſies, either privily or apertly; and for his offence in this behalf done he was enjoyned this Penance following:

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The manner of this diſciplining was with a white Rod thrice laid upon the head of the Penitentiary.

Three Sundays in a Solemn Proceſſion, in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, he ſhould be diſciplined before all the people. The like alſo ſhould be done about his Pariſh-Church of *Shelton*, three other ſeveral Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a publick Penitentiary, his body being covered with a Canvas-ſhirt, and Canvas-breeches, carrying in his hand a Taper of a pound weight; and that done he was diſmiſſed.

## Richard Belward *of* Eriſam *in the Dioceſs of* Norwich.

*Richard Belward* of *Eriſam* in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, was accuſed for holding and teaching theſe Errors and Opinions here under written, contrary to the determination of the Church of *Rome*.

He meaneth the wicked Biſhops of that time, whoſe curſes God did bleſs.

*Imprimis*, That Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters and Ordinaries have no power to Excommunicate, neither can Excommunicate. And albeit that a Biſhop do Excommunicate any Man, God doth abſolve him.

This proveth Sir *J. Oldcaſtle* to be no Traytor.

*Item*, That he held the erronious Opinions and Concluſions that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* held when he was in Priſon, and affirmed that Sir *John Oldcaſtle* was a true Catholick Man, and falſly condemned and put to death without any reaſonable cauſe.

*Item*, That ſuch as go on Pilgrimage, offering to Images made of Wood and Stone, are Excommunicate, becauſe they ought to offer to the quick, and not to the dead; and that the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; that is to ſay, the Curates do ſell God upon *Eaſter*-day, when as they receive Offerings of ſuch as ſhould Communicate, before they do Miniſter the Sacrament unto them.

*Item*, That he counſelled divers Women, that they ſhould not Offer in the Church for the dead, neither with Women that were purified.

The words of the Regiſter.

*Item*, That he blamed divers of his Neighbours that refuſed his Doctrine, ſaying unto them, Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the Doctrine of my Sect; for your Neighbours which are of my Sect are able to confound and vanquiſh all other that are of your Sect. {KING Hen. 6.}

*Item*, That the Saints which are in Heaven ought in no caſe to be prayed unto, but only God.

*Item*, That the ſaid *Richard* keepeth Schools of *Lollardy* in the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the Town of *Dichingham*, and a certain Parchment-maker bringeth him all the Books containing that Doctrine from *London*.

The fifth day of *July* 1424, the ſaid *Richard Belward*, was brought before *John* Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſitting in place of Judgment, where the foreſaid Articles were objected againſt the ſaid *Richard*, which he there denied; whereupon the Biſhop appointed him another day to purge himſelf, the Monday next after the Feaſt of St. *Margaret*: upon which day, being the 24th of *July*, in the year aforeſaid, he appeared again before the Biſhop, and brought with him nine of his Neighbours to purge him upon thoſe Articles, and there did ſolemnly purge himſelf. And afterward, forſomuch as the ſaid Biſhop ſuſpected the ſaid *Richard Belward* greatly of *Lollardy*, he commanded him there preſently to Swear upon the Evangeliſts, That from that day forward he ſhould not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any Error or Hereſie, contrary to the Church of *Rome*, neither aid, aſſiſt, favour or maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of perſon or perſons, that ſhould hold or maintain the ſaid Errors or Hereſies. In the preſence of Maſter *William Bernam*, *John Wadden*, *Robert Serle*, and *J. Berne* Eſquire, and other of his Neighbours which came unto his purgation.

*John Goddeſel of Dichingham.*

In like manner *John Goddeſel* of *Dichingham* Parchment-maker, was detected and accuſed upon the ſame Articles, and thereupon brought before the Biſhop, where he denying them, purged himſelf by his Neighbours, as *Richard Belward* before had done, being Sworn alſo in like manner as he was, and ſo was diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, until the year of our Lord 1428, when he was again apprehended, accuſed and abjured, as ſhall be more at large declared in the Hiſtory when we come to that year. Sir *Hugh Pie* alſo, Chaplain of *Ludney* in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, was likewiſe accuſed and brought before the Biſhop of *Norwich* the fifth day of *July*, *Anno* 1424, for holding of theſe Opinions following:

Sir *Hugh Pie* Prieſt.

That the people ought not to go on Pilgrimage.

*Item*, That the people ought not to give Alms, but only unto ſuch as beg at their doors.

Image of the Croſs not to be worſhipped.

*Item*, That the Image of the Croſs and other Images are not to be worſhipped. And that the ſaid *Hugh* had caſt the Croſs of *Bromehold* into the fire to be burned, which he took from one *John Welgate* of *Ludney*. Which Articles, as is aforeſaid, being objected againſt him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himſelf by the witneſs of three Lay-men, and three Prieſts. That ſo done, he was Sworn as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1428, King *Henry* the 6th ſent down moſt cruel Letters of Commiſſion unto *John Exeter* and *Jacolet Germain*, Keeper of the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, for the apprehending of Sir *William White* Prieſt, and others ſuſpected of Hereſies, the tenor whereof hereafter enſueth.

## The Copy of the Kings Letters directed to *John Exeter* and *Jacolet Germain*, Keeper of the Caſtle of *Colcheſter*, for the apprehending of Sir *William White* Prieſt, and other (as they called them) *Lollards*.

A Letter of the King.

HEnry *by the grace of God King of* England *and of* France, *Lord of* Ireland, *to his well-beloved* John Exeter, *and* Jacolet Germain, *Keeper of the Caſtle of* Colcheſter, *health:*

*We ſhall underſtand that we fully truſting unto your fidelity and circumſpections, have appointed you joyntly and ſeverally to take and Arreſt* William White *Prieſt, and* Thomas, *late Chaplain of* Setling, *in the County of* Norfolk, *and* William Northampton *Prieſt, and all other whatſoever they be that are ſuſpect of Hereſie or* Lollardy, *whereſoever they may be found within the Liberties or without, and ſtraightway being ſo taken, to ſend them unto our next*

*Goal*

KING Hen. 6. *Goal or Priſon, until ſuch time as we ſhall have taken other order for their delivery: And therefore we ſtraightly command you, that ye diligently attend about the Premiſes, and fulfil the ſame in form aforeſaid. Alſo we charge and commend all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other our faithful Officers, by the tenor of theſe Preſents, That they do aſſiſt, aid and counſel you and every of you, in the execution of the Premiſes, as it ſhall be comely for them. In witneſs whereof we have cauſed theſe our Letters Patents to be made.* Witneſs my ſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth of *July*, the ſixth of our Reign.

By vertue of which Commiſſion we find in old Monuments, that within ſhort ſpace after *John Exeter*, which was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, attached ſix perſons in the Town of *Bungay* in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, and committed them to *William Day*, and *William Roe*, Conſtables of the Town of *Bungay*, to be ſent within ten days following, under ſafe cuſtody, unto the Caſtle of *Norwich*. Whoſe names through the Antiquity of the Monument were ſo defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the Book to be read, which were theſe:

¶ John Waddon *of* Tenterton, *in the County of* Kent, Bartholomew, *Monk of* Erſham, *in the County of* Norfolk, Cornleader, *a married Man*, William Scuts.

Theſe three were in the cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, at his Caſtle of *Fremingham*.

Beſide theſe, we alſo find in the ſaid old Monuments within the Dioceſs of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, ſpecially in the Towns of *Beckles*, *Erſham*, and *Ludney*, a great number both of Men and Women to have been vexed and caſt into Priſon, and after their Abjuration brought to open ſhame in Churches and Markets, by the Biſhop of the ſaid Dioceſs, called *William*, and his Chancellor *William Bernham*, *John Exeter* being the Regiſter therein; ſo that within the ſpace of three or four years; that is, from the year 1428, unto the year 1431, about the number of 120 Men and Women were examined, and ſuſtained great vexation for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; of whom ſome were only taken upon ſuſpition, for eating of Meats prohibited upon *Vigile*-days, who, upon their purgation made, eſcaped more eaſily away, and with leſs puniſhment, whoſe name here follow ſubſcribed.

*William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *William Bernham* his Chancellor.

¶ The names of them that were taken and Examined upon ſuſpition of Hereſie.

A Catalogue of good Men and Women troubled for ſuſpition of Hereſie.

*Robert Skirving* of *Harlſtone*.
*William Skirving*.
*John Terry* of *Erſham*.
*John Abtre* of *Erſham*.
*John Middleton* of *Halvergate*.
*John Wayde* of *Erſham*.
*Richard Clark* of *Sething*.
*Thomas White* of *Bedingham*.
Maſter *Robert Beet* of *Berry*.
*Richard Page* of *Clipſly*.

The other were more cruelly handled, and ſome of them were put to death and burned, among whom we do ſpecially find mention made of theſe three:

Father *Abraham* of *Colcheſter*.
*William White*, Prieſt.
*John Waddon*, Prieſt.

¶ The reſidue, for a great number of good Men and Women were forced to Abjure, ſuſtaining ſuch cruel Penance as pleaſed then the ſaid Biſhop and his Chancellor to lay upon them. The names of which, both Men and Women, here follow together in this Brief *Catalogue* to be ſeen:

*John Beverley*.
*John Wardon*.
*John Baker*.
*John Middleton*.
*John Kynget*.
*Margery Backſter*.
*John Skilley*.
*John Godbold*.
*Thomas Albeck*.
*John Pierce*.
*Nicholas Canon* of *Eye*.
*Thomas Pie*.
*John Mendham*.
*John Middleton*.
*Thomas Chatris*.
*Thomas Wade*.
*William Tailor*.
*John Cupper*, Vicar of *Tunſtal*.
Sir *Hugh Pie*, Prieſt.
*Bartholomew Tatcher*.
*Thomas James*.
*John Fouling*.
*Bertram Cornmonger*.
*Thomas Swerden*.
*Alanus Andrew*.
*William Wright*.
*William Everden*.
*William Tailor*.
*Avis* the Wife of *Thomas Moon*, and her Daughter.
*Richard Fletcher* of *Becklcs*.
*Nicholas Belward*.
*Thomas Grenemere*.
*John Clark*.
*William Bate*.
*William Scherming*.
*William Osbourne*.
*John Rene* of *Beckles*.
*Baldwin Cooper* of *Beckles*.
*John Pet*.
*M. Moons* ſervant.
*Rob. Brigs*.
*John Finch*.
*John Wropham*.
*Thomas Moon*.
*Iſabel Chaplain* of *Martham*.
*William Marſh* of *Erſham*.
*John Goodwin* of *Erſham*.
*Henry Latchcold* of *Erſham*.
*Henry Broode* of *Erſham*.
*Rich. Horne* of *Erſham*.
*John Belward*, Sen. of *Erſham*.
*John Belward*, Jun. of *Erſham*.
*John Spire* of *Bungay*.
*Rob. Cole* of *Turming*.
The herd of *Shepemedow*.
*Iſabel Davy* of *Coſtes*.
*Sibyl*, Wife of *John Godeſel* of *Dicham*.
*John Pyry* of *Bartham*.
*John Baker*.
*Margery Wright*.
*Thomas Burrel* and his Wife.
*John Pert*.
*Edmund Archer*.
The Clerk of *Ludney*.
*Richard Clark* of *Sething*.
*Katherine* the wife of *Will. Wright*.
*William Collin* of *Southereke*.
*Richard King* of *Windham*.
*Thomas Plowman*.
*John Fellis*.
*Thomas Love* of *Rokeland*.
*Richard Knobbing* of *Beckles*.
*Richard Grace* of *Beckles*.
*John Eldon* of *Beckles*.
*William Hardy*.
*William Bate*.
*John Weſton*.
*Katherine Hobs*.
*John Daw*.
*Robert Grigs* of *Martham*.
*William Calis*, Prieſt.
*Thomas Pert*, Prieſt.
*Katherine Davy*.
*Jacob Bodhome*, and *Margaret* his Wife.
*John Manning* of *Marton*.
*John Culling* of *Beemſter*.
*Richard Fletcher* of *Beckles* and *Matild* his Wife.
*John Eldon* of *Beckles*.
*Robert Canel*, Prieſt.
*Nicholas Drey*.
*William Hardy* of *Mundham*.
*John Poleyne*.

Theſe fore-named Perſons and Soldiers of Chriſt, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of thoſe days, although they were conſtrained to relent and abjure; that is, to proteſt otherwiſe with their Tongues than their hearts did think, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity (being as yet but new trained Soldiers in Gods field) yet for their good will they bare unto the truth, although with their Tongues they durſt not expreſs it, we have thought good that their names ſhould not be ſuppreſſed, as well for other ſundry cauſes, as ſpecially for this; either to ſtop the mouths of malignant adverſaries, or to anſwer to their ignorance, who following rather blind affection, than the true knowledge of Times and Antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accuſing the True Doctrine of the Word of God for novelty, and carping the teachers thereof for new broched Brethren. Who, if they did as well foreſee times paſſed, as they be unwilling to follow times now preſent, they ſhould underſtand as well by theſe Stories as other before, how this Doctrine of the Grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually ſought to burſt out, and in ſome places hath prevailed; although in moſt places,

places, through tyranny and the malice of Men, Chriſts proceedings have been ſuppreſſed and kept under from riſing, ſo much as Mens power and ſtrength joyned with craft and ſubtilty could labour to keep down the ſame; as here by theſe good Men of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* may well appear. For if the knowledge and the good towardneſs of thoſe good Men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been reſtrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of Prelates, it had well appeared how old this Doctrine would have been, which now they contemn and reject for the newneſs thereof: neither needed *Bonner* to have asked of *Thomas Hawks*, and ſuch other, where their Church was forty years ago, in as much as for forty years ago, and more, within the countrey of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, was then found ſuch plenty of the ſame Profeſſion and like Doctrine which we now profeſs. And thus much for the number and names of theſe perſons.

*Bonner might ſee the Church here in this age more than forty years before he was born*

Now as touching their Articles which they did maintain and defend: Firſt, this is to be conſidered, as I find it in the Regiſters, ſuch ſociety and agreement of Doctrine to be amongſt them, that almoſt in their Aſſertions and Articles there was no difference. The Doctrine of the one was the Doctrine of all the other: what their Articles were, partly it is ſhewed in the Leaf before; and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning theſe Articles, that many of them either were falſly objected againſt them, or not truly reported of the Notaries, according as the common manner is of theſe Adverſaries, where the matter is good, there to make Hereſie, and of a little occaſion to ſtir up great matter of ſlander, as they did before by the Articles of *John Wickliff* and *John Hus*, and others moe: So in like manner it ſeemeth they did in the Articles of theſe Men, either miſtaking that which they ſaid, or miſunderſtanding that which they meant, eſpecially in theſe two Articles concerning Baptiſm and paying of Tithes. For whereas they ſpeaking againſt the ceremonial and ſuperfluous Traditions then uſed in Baptiſm, as Salt, Oil, Spittle, Taper, Light, Chriſomes, exorciſing of the Water, with ſuch other, accounted them as no materſal thing in the Holy Inſtitution of Baptiſm, the Notaries ſlanderouſly depraving this their aſſertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, ſo gave out the Article, as though they ſhould hold, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm uſed in the Church by Water is but a light matter and of ſmall effect.

*These Men are falſly ſlandered about Baptiſm.*

Again, In ſpeaking againſt the Chriſtening the Midwives uſe in private Houſes, againſt the Opinion of ſuch as think ſuch Children to be damned which depart before they come to their Baptiſm, they are falſly reported, as though they ſhould ſay, That Chriſtian people be ſufficiently Baptized in the Blood of Chriſt, and need no Water, and that Infants be ſufficiently Baptiſed, if their Parents be Baptiſed before them. Which thing is ſo contrary to the manifeſt Word, That it is not to be thought any to be ſo ignorant of the Goſpel, that ever would or did affirm the ſame.

Moreover, they thought or ſaid peradventure, That in certain caſes Tithes might be withholden from wicked Prieſts ſometime, and be conferred to better uſes, to the behoof of the poor: Therefore they are falſly ſlandered, as ſaying and affirming, That no Tithes were to be given to the Miniſters and Curates of the Churches.

*The Papiſts are but quarrel pickers.*

And likewiſe for Matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it conſiſted only in the mutual conſent betwixt the Man and the Woman, needing no other Solemnizing in the publick Church, and all becauſe (as it is like) they denied it to be a Sacrament. Other Articles were objected againſt them, as theſe which hereafter follow:

*Articles.*

That Auricular Confeſſion is not to be made unto a Prieſt, but unto God only; becauſe no Prieſt hath any power to Abſolve a ſinner from his ſin.

*Item*, That no Prieſt hath power to make the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that, after the Sacramental words, there remaineth pure material Bread as before.

*Item*, That every true Chriſtian-man is a Prieſt to God.

*Item*, That no Man is bound under pain of damnation unto *Lent*, or any other days prohibited by the Church of *Rome*. {KING Hen. 6.}

*Item*, That the Pope is Antichriſt, and his Prelates the Diſciples of Antichriſt, and the Pope hath no power to bind and looſe upon Earth.

*Item*, That it is lawful for every Chriſtian to do any bodily work (ſin only except) upon Holy-days.

*Item*, That it is lawful for Prieſts to have Wives.

*Item*, That Excommunications and Eccleſiaſtical cenſures given out by the Prelates, are not to be regarded.

*In caſe of neceſſity urgent they meant.*

*Item*, It is not lawful to Swear in private caſes.

*Item*, That Men ought not to go on Pilgrimage.

*Item*, That there is no honour to be given to the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady or any other Saint.

*Item*, That the holy water, hallowed in the Church by the Prieſt, is not holier or of more vertue than other running or Well-water, becauſe the Lord bleſſed all Waters in their firſt creation.

*Item*, That the death of *Thomas Becket* was neither Holy nor Meritorious. *The death of Thomas Becket.*

*Item*, That the relicts, as dead Mens Bones, ought not to be worſhipped or digged out of their Graves, or ſet up in Shrines.

*Item*, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

*Item*, That Men ought not to pray to any Saint, but only to God.

*Item*, That the Bells and Ringing in the Church was Ordained for no other purpoſe, but to fill the Prieſts purſes.

*Item*, That it is no ſin to withſtand the Eccleſiaſtical Precepts.

*Item*, That the Catholick Church is only the Congregation of Elect. *In this Article is meant, that the wicked be in the Church, but not of the Church.*

Theſe were the Articles which were generally objected againſt them all, wherein they did ſo agree in one uniform Faith, that whatſoever one did hold, all the other did maintain, and hold the ſame. By the which their conſent and Doctrine it appeareth, That they all received it of ſome one Inſtructer, who was *William White*; which being a Scholar and follower of *John Wickliff*, reſorted afterward into this Country of *Norfolk*, there inſtructed theſe Men in the Light of the Goſpel. And now, as we have declared the names and Articles of theſe good Men, ſo it remaineth ſomewhat to ſpeak of their troubles, how they were handled; beginning firſt with *William White*.

## *William White*, Preiſt.

THIS *William White*, being a follower of *John Wickliff*, and a Prieſt, not after the common ſort of Prieſts, but rather to be reputed amongſt the number of them, of whom the wiſe Man ſpeaketh, * *He was as the morning ſtar in the midſt of a cloud*, &c. This Man was well learned, upright and a well-ſpoken Prieſt. He gave over his Prieſthood and Benefice, and took unto him a godly young Woman to his Wife, named *Joan*; notwithſtanding he did not therefore ceaſe to leave from his former Office and Duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praiſe of the Spouſe of Chriſt, by reading, writing, preaching. The principal points of his Doctrine were theſe, which he was forced to recant at *Canterbury*.

*Will. White Martyr.* {Ann. 1428} *Ex Waldenſ. Ecc. 18.*

That Men ſhould ſeek for the forgiveneſs of their ſins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the Pope, and his Holineſs, is nothing elſe but a Deviliſh eſtate and heavy yoke of Antichriſt, and therefore he is an Enemy unto Chriſts Truth.

That Men ought not to worſhip Images, or other Idolatrous Paintings.

That Men ought not to worſhip the holy Men which are dead.

*The Romiſh Church aptly reſembled to the curſed Fig-tree.*

That the *Romiſh* Church is the Fig-tree which the Lord Chriſt hath accurſed, becauſe it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That ſuch as wear Couls, or be Anointed or Shorn, are the lance-Knights and Soldiers of *Lucifer*; and that they all, becauſe their Lamps are not burning, ſhall be ſhut out, when as the Lord ſhall come.

Upon

{KING Hen.6.}

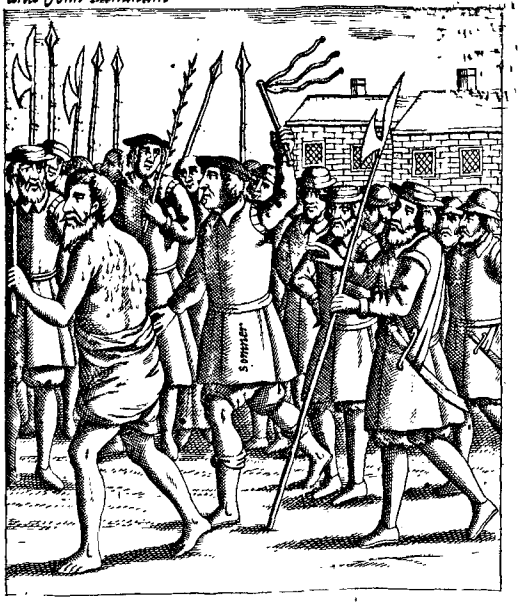
Upon which Articles he being attached at *Canterbury* under the Archbiſhop *Henry Chicheſly*, in the Year of our Lord 1424, there for a certain ſpace, ſtoutly and manly witneſſed the truth which he had preached: but like as there he loſt his courage and ſtrength, ſo afterward he became again much more ſtouter and ſtronger in Jeſus Chriſt, and confeſſed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into *Norfolk* with his ſaid Wife *Joan*, and there occupying himſelf buſily in teaching, and converting the people unto the True Doctrine of Chriſt, at the laſt, by the means of the Kings Letters ſent down for that intent and purpoſe, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before *William* Biſhop of *Norwich*, by whom he was convict, and condemned of thirty Articles, and there was burned in *Norwich*, in the month of *September*, *An.* 1424.

This *William White* and his Wife had his moſt abode with one *Thomas Moon* of *Ludney*. This Man was of ſo devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and deſired him to pray for them; inſomuch that one *Margaret Wright* confeſſed, That if any Saints were to be prayed to, ſhe would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come unto the Stake, thinking to open his mouth to ſpeak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the Biſhops ſervants ſtruck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep ſilence. And thus this good Man, receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the great dolour and grief of all the good Men of *Norfolk*. Whoſe ſaid Wife *Joan*, following her Husbands footſteps according to her power, teaching and ſowing abroad the ſame Doctrine, confirmed many Men in Gods Truth; wherefore ſhe ſuffered much trouble and puniſhment the ſame Year at the hands of the ſaid Biſhop.

The Biſhops man ſmiteth him on the mouth exhorting the people.

*The Burning of William White*

*The deſcription of the penance of Thomas Pye and John Mendham*



Father Abraham, John Waddon, Prieſt, Martyrs and burned.

About the ſame time alſo was burned father *Abraham* of *Colcheſter*, and *John Waddon* Prieſt, for the like Articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what Depoſitions came in againſt them, and what was the order and manner of the Penance enjoyned them, here it might be ſet out at large: But for avoiding of prolixity, it ſhall be ſufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better underſtanding may be given to the Reader, after what manner and order all the other were intreated.

*Firſt*, Amongſt them which were Arreſted and cauſed to Abjure in this Year aforeſaid ſpecified, 1428, was *Thomas Pie*, and *John Mendham* of *Aldborough*, who, being convict upon divers of the Articles before-mentioned, were injoyned Penance to be done in their own Pariſh-Church, as by the Biſhop's Letter directed to the Dean of *Rhodenhall*, and the Pariſh-Prieſt of *Aldborough*, doth more at large appear, the Tenor whereof here enſueth:

## The Copy of the Biſhop of *Norwich* his Letter.

A Letter of the Biſhop of Norwich.

William *by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of* Norwich, *to our well-beloved Sons in Chriſt, the Dean of* Rhodenhall *of our Dioceſs, and to the Pariſh-Prieſt of the Pariſh-Church of* Alborough *of the ſame our Dioceſs, Health, Grace and Benediction. Foraſmuch as we, according to our Office, Lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the Souls of* Thomas Pie *and* John Mendham *of* Aldborough *of the Dioceſs aforeſaid, becauſe they have holden, believed and affirmed divers and many Errors and Hereſies, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of* Rome, *and the Univerſal Church and Catholick Faith, have enjoyned the ſaid* Thomas *and* John, *appearing before us perſonally, and confeſſing before us judicially that they have holden, believed and affirmed divers and many Errors and Hereſies, this Penance he hereunder written, for their offences to be done and fulfilled in manner, form and time hereunder-written, according as Juſtice doth require; that is to ſay, ſix juſtigations or diſciplinings about the Pariſh-Church of* Aldborough *aforeſaid, before a ſolemn Proceſſion ſix ſeveral Sundays, and three diſciplinings about the Market-place of* Hereſtone *of our ſaid Dioceſs three principal Market-days, bare necked, head, legs and feet, their bodies being covered only with their ſhirts and breeches, either of them carrying a Taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the Church, as about the Market-place, in every of the foreſaid appointed days; which Tapers, the laſt Sunday after the Penance finiſhed, we will that the ſaid* John *and* Thomas *do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high Altar of the Pariſh-Church of* Aldborough *at the time of the Offertory of the high Maſs the ſame day, and that either of them, going about the Market-place aforeſaid, ſhall make four ſeveral pauſes and ſtays, and at every of thoſe ſame pauſes humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three diſciplinings: Therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you and either of you, joyntly and ſeverally by vertue of*

The manner of the Popes Penance.

*your*

*your obedience, that every Sunday and Market-day, after the receit of our preſent commandment, you do effectually admoniſh and bring forth the ſaid* Thomas Pie *and* John Mendham *to begin and accompliſh their ſaid Penance, and ſo ſucceſſively to finiſh the ſame in manner and form aforeappointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments in this behalf, and begin and finiſh their ſaid Penance effectually, you or one of you ſhall cite them peremptorily, that they or either of them appear before us, or our Commiſſary, in the Chappel of our Palace at* Norwich, *the twelfth day after the Citation ſo made, if it be a Court day, or elſe the next Court day following, to declare if they or any of them have any cauſe why they ſhould not be Excommunicate for their manifeſt offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of Law, and further to receive ſuch puniſhment, as Juſtice ſhall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the Premiſes, whether the ſaid* Thomas *and* John *have obeyed your Admonitions, and performed the ſame Penance or no, we will that you or one of you, which have received our ſaid commandment for the execution thereof, do diſtinctly certify us between this and the laſt day of* November *next coming.* Dated at our Palace of *Norwich* under our Commiſſaries Seal, the 8th day of *October*, *Anno* 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the moſt part, the order of their whole Penance: howbeit ſome were oftentimes more cruelly handled; and after their Penance they were baniſhed out of the Dioceſs, and other ſome more ſtraitly uſed by longer Impriſonment, whereof we will briefly rehearſe one or two for example.

## *John Beverly* alias *Battild.*

*John Beverly.*

*John Beverly* alias *Battild*, a labourer, was attached by the Vicar of *Southereke*, the Pariſh-Prieſt of *Waterden*, and a Lawyer, and ſo delivered unto Maſter *William Barnham* the Biſhops Commiſſary, who ſent him to the Caſtle of *Norwich* there to be kept in Irons: where afterward he being brought before the Commiſſary, and having nothing proved againſt him, he took an Oath, that every year afterward he ſhould confeſs his ſins once a year to his Curate, and receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, as other Chriſtians did; and for his offence was enjoyned that the Friday and Saturday next after he ſhould faſt on Bread and Water, and upon the Saturday to be * whipped from the Palace of *Norwich*, going round about by *Tomelands*, and by St. *Michaels* Church, by *Cottlerew*, and about the Market, having in his hand a Wax-Candle of two pence, to offer to the Image of the Trinity after he had done his Penance. And forſomuch as he confeſſed that he had eaten fleſh upon *Eaſter*-day, and was not ſhriven in all *Lent*, nor received upon *Eaſter*-day, the Judge enjoyned him that he ſhould faſt Tueſday, Wedneſday and Friday in *Whitſon*-week, having but one meal a day of fiſh and other white Meats, and after this Penance ſo done he ſhould depart out of the Dioceſs, and never come there any more.

* *Altas*, fuſtigated.

## *John Skilley* of *Flixon*, Miller.

*John Skilley. The Penance of J. Skilley.*

*John Skilley* of *Flixon*, Miller, being apprehended and brought before the Biſhop of *Norwich* the 14th day of *March*, 1428, for holding and maintaining the Articles above-written, was thereupon convict and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration ſolemnly made (which here to avoid tedioufneſs we omit) he had a moſt ſharp ſentence of Penance pronounced againſt him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: That forſomuch as the ſaid *Skilley* was convict by his own confeſſion, for holding and maintaining the Articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly Men into his Houſe, as Sir *William White* Prieſt, and *John Wadden*, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable Hereticks, and had now abjured the ſame, being firſt abſolved from the ſentence of Excommunication which he had incurred by means of his Opinions, he was injoyned for Penance ſeven years Impriſonment in the Monaſtery of *Langly*, in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*. And for ſo much as in times paſt he uſed upon the Fridays to eat fleſh, he was enjoyned to faſt on Bread and Water every Friday by the ſpace of that ſeven years to come; and that by the ſpace of two years next immediately after the ſeven years expired, every Wedneſday in the beginning of *Lent*, and every *Maundy*-Thurſday, he ſhould appear before the Biſhop or his Succeſſor, or Commiſſary for the time being, in the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, together with the other Penitentiaries, to do open Penance for his offences.

KING *Hen. 6.*

Beſides theſe there were divers other of the ſame company, which the ſame year were forced to like Abjuration and Penance. And ſo to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there enſueth a great number in the ſame Regiſter, which were examined, and did Penance in like ſort, to the number of 16 or 17. In the number of whom was *John Baker*, otherwiſe called *Uſher Toaſtal*, who for having a Book with the *Pater-Noſter*, the *Ave* and *Creed* in *Engliſh*, and for certain other Articles of faſting, Confeſſion, and Invocation, contrary to the determination of the *Romiſh* Church, after much vexation for the ſame, was cauſed to abjure and ſuſtain fifth Penance, as the other before him had done.

## *The Story of* Margery Backſter.

*Margery Backſter.*

A Nother was *Margery Backſter*, Wife of *William Backſter Wright* in *Martham*, the ſame year accuſed; againſt whom one *Joan*, Wife of *Cliffland* was brought in by the Biſhop, and compelled to depoſe, and was made to bring in, in form following:

A Woman brought in for witneſs in the Popes Court.

*Firſt*, That the ſaid *Margery Backſter* did inform this Deponent, That ſhe ſhould in no caſe Swear, ſaying to her in *Engliſh*, Dame beware of the Bee, for every Bee will ſting, and therefore take heed you Swear not, neither by God, neither by our Lady, neither by any other Saint; and if ye do contrary, the Bee will ſting your Tongue and venom your Soul.

The Bee will ſting.

*Item*, This Deponent being demanded by the ſaid *Margery*, what ſhe did every day at Church; ſhe anſwered, That ſhe kneeled down and ſaid five *Pater-Noſters*, in worſhip of the Crucifix, and as many *Ave Maries* in worſhip of our Lady. Whom *Margery* rebuked, ſaying, You do evil to kneel or pray to ſuch Images in the Churches, for God dwelleth not in ſuch Churches, neither ſhall come down out of Heaven, and will give you no more reward for ſuch prayer, than a Candle lighted, and ſet under the cover of the Font, will give light by night to thoſe which are in the Church; ſaying moreover in *Engliſh*, Lewd Wrights of Stocks hew and form ſuch Croſſes and Images, and after that, lewd Painters gleer them with Colours. And if you deſire ſo much to ſee the true Croſs of Chriſt, I will ſhew it you at home in your own Houſe. Which this Deponent being deſirous to ſee, the ſaid *Margery*, ſtretching out her Arms abroad, ſaid to this Deponent, This is the true Croſs of Chriſt, and this Croſs thou oughteſt and maiſt every day behold and worſhip in thine own Houſe, and therefore it is but vain to run to the Church to worſhip dead Croſſes and Images.

Againſt Images.

*Item*, This Deponent, being demanded by the ſaid *Margery* how ſhe believed touching the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaid, That ſhe believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration, to be the very Body of Chriſt in form of Bread. To whom *Margery* ſaid, Your belief is naught. For if every ſuch Sacrament were God, and the very Body of Chriſt, there ſhould be an infinite number of gods, becauſe that a Thouſand Prieſts and more do every day make a Thouſand ſuch gods, and afterward eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily ſtinking under the Hedges, where you may find a great many ſuch gods if you will ſeek for them. And therefore know for certainty, That by the grace of God it ſhall never be my god, becauſe it is falſly and deceitfully ordained by the Prieſts in the Church, to induce the ſimple people to Idolatry; for it is only material Bread.

The Sacrament is not God.

Moreover, The ſaid *Margery* ſaid to this Deponent, That *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whom the people called St. *Thomas*, was a falſe Traitor, and damned in Hell, becauſe he injuriouſly endowed the Churches with poſſeſſions, and raiſed up many Hereſies in the Church, which ſeduce the ſimple people; and therefore if God be bleſſed, the ſaid *Thomas* is accurſed; and thoſe falſe Prieſts that

The Becket a Traitor.

The Becket ſlain, not before the Altar, but in his flying.

ſay

{KING Hen. 6.} ſay that he ſuffered his death patiently before the Altar, do lie; For as a cowardly Traitor he was ſlain in the Church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, the Deponent ſaith, that the ſaid *Margery* told her that the curſed Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhop, and Biſhops, and ſpecially the Biſhop of *Norwich* and others that ſupport and maintain Hereſies and Idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, ſhall ſhortly have the very ſame or worſe miſchief fall upon them, than that curſed man *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had. For they falſely and curſedly deceive the people with their falſe Mammetries and Laws, to extort money from the ſimple folk to ſuſtain their pride, riot and idleneſs. And know aſſuredly that the vengeance of God will ſpeedily come upon them, for they have moſt cruelly ſlain the children of God, Father *Abraham*, and *W. White*, a true preacher of the Law of God, and *John Wadden*, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the ſaid *Caiaphas*, the Biſhop of *Norwich* and his Miniſters, which are members of the Devil, before this time, if the Pope had not ſent over theſe falſe pardons unto thoſe parties, which the ſaid *Caiaphas* had falſly obtained, to induce the people to make proceſſion for the ſtate of them and of the Church. Which pardons brought the ſimple people to curſed Idolatry.

Father Abingham, William White, John Wadden.

*Item*, The ſaid *Margery* ſaid to this Deponent, that every faithful Man and Woman is not bound to faſt in Lent, or other days appointed for faſting by the Church, and that every man may lawfully eat fleſh and all other meats upon the ſaid days and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon *Thurſday* at night on the faſting days, than to go to the Market to bring themſelves in debt to buy fiſh; and that Pope *Silveſter* made the Lent.

Againſt the Popes faſting days.

*Item*, The ſaid *Margery* ſaid to this Deponent, that *William White* was falſly condemned for an Heretick, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where ſhe ſaw that when he would have opened his mouth to ſpeak unto the people to inſtruct them, a Devil, one of Biſhop *Caiaphas* ſervants ſtruck him on the lips, and ſtopped his mouth; that he could in no caſe declare the will of God.

William White willing to ſpeak at the ſtake, was ſtrucken on the mouth.

*Item*, This Deponent ſaith, that the ſaid *Margery* taught her that ſhe ſhould not go on Pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of *Walſingham*, nor to any other Saint or place.

Alſo this Deponent ſaith, that the ſaid *Margery* deſired her that ſhe and *Joan* her Maid would come ſecretly in the night to her Chamber, and there ſhe ſhould hear her Husband read the Law of Chriſt unto them; which Law was written in a book that her Husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her Husband is well learned in the Chriſtian verity.

Alſo that the ſame *Margery* had talked with a Woman named *Joan Weſt*, and that the ſaid Woman is in a good way of Salvation.

Alſo that the ſaid *Margery* ſaid to this Deponent, *Joan*, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to diſcloſe this that I have ſaid unto you; and this Deponent ſwear that ſhe would never diſcloſe it, without the ſaid *Margery* gave her occaſion. Then ſaid *Margery* unto this Deponent; If thou do accuſe me unto the Biſhop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain Frier a Carmelite of *Yarmouth*, which was the beſt learned Frier in all the Country. Then this Deponent deſired to know what ſhe had done to the Frier. Unto whom *Margery* anſwered, that ſhe had talked with the ſaid Frier, rebuking him becauſe he did begg, ſaying; that it was no Alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the Plough, and ſo he ſhould pleaſe God more, than following the life of ſome of thoſe Friers. Then the Frier required of the ſaid *Margery*, whether ſhe could teach him or tell him any thing elſe. Then the ſaid *Margery* (as ſhe affirmed to this Deponent) declared to this Frier the Goſpel in Engliſh, and then the Frier departed from her. After this the ſaid Frier accuſed the ſaid *Margery* of Hereſie; and ſhe underſtanding that the Frier had accuſed her, accuſed the Frier again, that he would have known her carnally; and becauſe ſhe would not conſent unto him, the Frier had accuſed her of Hereſie. And moreover ſhe ſaid, that her Husband would have killed the Frier therefore; and ſo the Frier for fear held his peace, and went his way for ſhame.

This *Margery* alſo ſaid, that ſhe had oftentimes been fainedly confeſſed to the Dean of the Fields, becauſe he ſhould think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the ſaid *Margery* oftentimes money. Then this Deponent asked her whether ſhe had confeſſed her ſins to a Prieſt or not. And ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had never offended any Prieſt, and therefore ſhe would never confeſs her ſelf to any Prieſt, neither obey him, becauſe they have no power to abſolve any man from their ſins, for that they offend daily more grievouſly than other men; and therefore that men ought to confeſs themſelves only unto God, and to no Prieſt.

Againſt auricular confeſſion.

*Item*, That the ſaid *Margery* ſaid to this Deponent, that the people did worſhip Devils which fell from Heaven with *Lucifer*, which Devils in their Fall to the Earth, entred into the Images which ſtand in the Churches, and have long lurked and dwelled in them; ſo that the people, worſhipping thoſe Images commit Idolatry.

Againſt Image worſhip.

*Item*, She ſaid more to this Deponent, that holy Bread and holy Water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the Bells are to be caſt out of the Church, and that they are excommunicated which firſt ordained them.

Moreover, that ſhe ſhould not be burned, although ſhe were convict of Lollardy, for that ſhe had a Charter of ſalvation in her body.

Alſo the ſaid Deponent ſaith, that *Agnes Berthem* her ſervant, being ſent to the houſe of the ſaid *Margery* the *Saturday* after *Aſhwedneſday*, the ſaid *Margery* not being within, found a braſs Pot ſtanding over the fire, with a piece of Bacon and Oatmeal ſeething in it, as the ſaid *Agnes* reported to this Deponent.

There were alſo, beſides this Deponent, divers other ſworn and examined upon the ſaid *Margery*, as *John Grimley* and *Agnes Berthem*, ſervants to *William Cliſland*, which all together confirmed the former Depoſitions.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning *Margery Backſter*, which we have gatheted out of the old Monuments and Regiſters. But what became of her after this her accuſation, becauſe we find no mention made in the ſaid Regiſters, we are not able to declare.

The ſame year alſo were the like Depoſitions made by one *William Wright* againſt divers good men, as here followeth.

*Firſt*, This Deponent ſaith, that *William Taylor* told *John Piry* of *Ludney*, in the houſe of *John Bungay* of *Beghton*, in the preſence of *John Bungay*, *Robert Grigges*, *Wright* of *Martham*, and *John Uſher*, that all the good men of *Martham* which were favourers and helpers to that good man *William White*, are evil troubled now adays, and that the ſaid *William White* was a good and holy Doctor; and that the beſt Doctor after him was *William Everden*, which wrought with the ſaid *William Taylor* of *Ludney*, by the ſpace of one month, and that the firſt *Sunday* of the ſame month, the ſaid *William Everden* did ſit all day upon the table at work, ſaying to the ſaid *William Taylor*, that he would not go to Church to ſhew himſelf a Scribe or a Phariſee; and the ſecond *Sunday* he put on gentlemans apparel, and went to *Norwich* to harken how the Biſhop and his Miniſters uſed the poor Chriſtians there in priſon.

John Piry John Bungay Robert Grigges John Uſher. W. Everden.

Alſo the ſaid *William Wright* depoſed, that *William Taylor* of *Ludney* was one of the Sect, and went to *London* with Sir *Hugh Pie*, and had converſation oftentimes with Sir *William White*, having often conference upon the *Lollards* Doctrine.

W. Taylor of Ludney

*Item*, That *Aniſe*, Wife of *Thomas Moon*, is of the ſame Sect, and favoured them, and receiveth them often, and alſo the Daughter of *Thomas Moon* is partly of the ſame Sect, and can read Engliſh.

The Wife and Daughter of Tho. Moon.

*Item*, That *Richard Fletcher* of *Beckles* is a moſt perfect Doctor in that Sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a Book of the new Law in Engliſh, which was Sir *Hugh Pies'* firſt.

Richard Fletcher.

*Item*, That *Nicholas Belward*, ſon of *John Belward*, dwelling in the Parith of *Southelam*, is one of the ſame Sect, and hath a new Teſtament which he bought at *London* for four Marks and forty pence, and taught the ſaid *William Wright* and *Margery* his Wife, and wrought with them continually by the ſpace of one year, and ſtudied diligently upon the ſaid New Teſtament.

Nicholas Belward. A New Teſtament there coſt four marks and forty pence.

*Item*,

*Tho. Gremner.* *Item*, That *Thomas Gremner*, Turner of *Dychingham*, is perfect in that Sect and Law.

*John Clark.* *John Clark* the Younger of *Bergh* had the Bedding and Apparel of *William Everden* in his cuſtody, after the return of *William White* from *Bergh*, and is of the ſame Sect.

*W. Bate.* *Item*, *William Bate*, Tailor of *Sething* and his Wife, and his Son, which can read Engliſh very well, are of the ſame Sect.

*W. Skirving.* *Item*, *William Skirving* of *Sething* received *Joan* the Wife of *William White* into his houſe, being brought thither by *William Everden*, after their departure from *Martham*.

*W. Osbourn. John Reve. Bawdwin Cooper. John Pert.* *Item*, *Will. Osbourn* of *Sething*, *John Reve* Glover, and *Bawdwin Cooper* of *Beckles*, are of the ſame Sect.

*Item*, *John Pert*, late ſervant of *Thomas Moon*, is of the ſame Sect, and can read well, and did read in the preſence of *William White*, and was the firſt that brought Sir *Hugh Pie* into the company of the *Lollards*, which aſſembled oftentimes together at the houſe of the ſaid *Thomas Moon*, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

*Sir Hugh Pie Prieſt.* *Item*, Sir *Hugh Pie* bequeathed to *Alice*, ſervant to *William White*, a new Teſtament, which they then called the Book of the new Law, and was in the cuſtody of *Oſwald Godfrey* of *Colcheſter*.

*John Perker.* *John Perker*, Mercer of a Village by *Ipſwich*, is a famous Doctor of that Sect. Alſo he ſaid, that Father *Abraham* of *Colcheſter* is a good man.

*A prophecy.* *Item*, The ſaid *William Wright* depoſeth, that it is read in the Propheſies amongſt the *Lollards*, that the Sect of the *Lollards* ſhall be in a manner deſtroyed; notwithſtanding at the length the *Lollards* ſhall prevail and have the victory againſt all their enemies.

Alſo he ſaid, that *Tucke* knoweth all of that Sect in *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and *Eſſex*.

Beſides theſe, there were many other the ſame year troubled, whoſe names being before expreſſed in the table of *Norfolk*-men, here for brevities ſake we omit further to intreat of, paſſing over to the next year following, which was 1430. *Ex Regiſt. Norw.*

*ex Regiſt. Norw.*

*John Burrel.* JOhn *Burrel*, ſervant to *Thomas Moon* of *Ludney*, in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, was apprehended and arreſted for Hereſie the *9th* day of *September*, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Mr. *William Bernham* the Biſhops Commiſſary, upon the Articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following objected againſt him.

*Imprimis*, That the Catholick Church is the ſoul of every good Chriſtian man.

*Lent faſt, fiſh-days.* *Item*, That no man is bound to faſt the Lent or other faſting days appointed by the Church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the Prieſts; and that every man may eat fleſh or fiſh upon the ſame days indifferently, according to his own will, and every *Friday* is a free day to eat both fleſh and fiſh indifferently.

*Pilgrimage to the poor.* *Item*, That Pilgrimage ought not to be made but only unto the poor.

*Maſſes for the dead unprofitable.* *Item*, That it is not lawful to ſwear, but in caſe of life and death.

*Item*, That Maſſes and Prayers for the dead are but vain; for the ſouls of the dead are either in Heaven or Hell: and there is none other place of Purgatory but this World. Upon the which Articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and ſuffered like penance as the other before had done.

KING *Hen. 6.*

*Tho. More of Ludney.*

THomas *Moon* of *Ludney* was apprehended and attached for ſuſpition of Hereſie, againſt whom were objected by the Biſhop the Articles before written, but ſpecially this Article, that he had familiarity and communication with divers Hereticks, and had received, comforted, ſupported, and maintained divers of them, as Sir *William White*, Sir *Hugh Pie*, *Tho. Pet*, and *Will. Callis* Prieſts, with many more; upon the which Articles he being convict before the Biſhop was forced to abjure, and received the like penance, in like manner as before.

*Will. White, Hugh Pie, Tho. Pet, Will. Callis, Prieſts perſecuted. Robert Grigger of Martham.*

In like manner, *Robert Grigges* of *Martham* was brought before the Biſhop the 17th day of *February*, in the year aforeſaid, for holding and affirming the foreſaid Articles, but ſpecially theſe hereafter following.

*Articles.*

That the Sacrament of confirmation, miniſtred by the Biſhop did avail nothing to Salvation.

That it was no ſin to withſtand the Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*.

That holy Bread and holy Water were but trifles, and that the bread and water were the worſe for the conjurations and characters which the Prieſts made over them.

Upon which Articles he being convict, was forced to abjure, and received Penance in manner and form as the other had done before him.

*John Finch of Colcheſter.* The like alſo (albeit ſomewhat more ſharp) happened unto *John Finch* of *Colcheſter*, the 20 day of *September*, who albeit he was of the Dioceſs of *London*, being ſuſpect of Hereſie, was attached in *Ipſwich* in the Dioceſs of *Norwich*, and brought before the Biſhop there, before whom he being convict of the like Articles, as all the other before him, was enjoyned Penance, three diſciplinings in ſolemn proceſſion about the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, three ſeveral Sundays, and three diſciplinings about the Market-place of *Norwich* three princpal Market-days, his head and neck and feet being bare, and his body covered only with a ſhort ſhirt or veſture, having in his hand a Taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he ſhould offer to the Trinity; and that for the ſpace of three years after, every *Aſhwedneſday* and *Maunday-Thurſday*, he ſhould appear in the Cathedral Church at *Norwich*, before the Biſhop or his Vicegerent, to do open penance amongſt the other Penitentiaries for his offences.

*Popiſh penance.*

There were, beſides theſe men which we have here rehearſed, divers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and alſo for that their Articles and puniſhments were all one, we have thought good at this time to paſs over, eſpecially forſomuch as their names be before recited in the Catalogue.

*Richard Hoveden Martyr.*

ABout the ſame time, even the ſame year 1430, ſhortly after the ſolemn Coronation of King *Henry* the ſixth, a certain man named *Richard Hoveden*, a Wooll-winder, and Citizen of *London*, received alſo the Crown of Martyrdom. Which man when he could by no perſwaſions be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of *Wickliff*, he was by the Rulers of the Church condemned for Hereſie: and as *Fabian* writeth, burned hard by the *Tower* of *London*.

KING *Hen. 6.*

*The burning of Richard Houeden.*

*The burning of Thomas Rhedonenſis.*

## *Nicolas Canon* of Eye.

*Nicolas Canon of Eye.* *Ann.* 1431.

NOW to proceed in our ſtory of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one *Nicolas Canon* of *Eye* was brought before the Biſhop of *Norwich* for ſuſpition of Herelie, with certain witneſſes ſworn to depoſe againſt him touching his manners and converſation, which witneſſes appointing one *William Chriſtopher* to ſpeak in the name of them all, he depoſed in manner and form following.

Firſt, that on *Eaſter*-day when all the Pariſhioners went about the Church of *Eye* ſolemnly in Proceſſion, as the manner was, the ſaid *Nicolas Canon*, as it were mocking and deriding the other Pariſhioners, went about the Church the contrary way, and met the Proceſſion.

Depoſitions

This Article he confeſſed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in ſo doing.

*Item*, The ſaid *Nicolas* asked of Maſter *John Colman* of *Eye* this queſtion, Maſter *Colman*, what think you of the Sacrament of the Altar? To whom the ſaid *Colman* anſwered, *Nicolas*, I think that the Sacrament of the Altar is very God and very man, the very fleſh and very blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt under the form of Bread and Wine. Unto whom *Nicolas* in deriſion ſaid, Truly, if the Sacrament of the Altar be very God and very man, and the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, then may very God and very man be put in a ſmall room; as when it is in the Prieſts mouth, that receiveth it at Maſs. And why may not we ſimple men as well eat fleſh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the Prieſt to eat the fleſh, and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently? The which Article the ſaid *Nicolas* denied that he ſpake unto Maſter *Colman*, but unto a Monk of *Hockeſney*, and furthermore he thought he had ſpoken well in that behalf.

If the Sacrament be very fleſh, then the Prieſts eat fleſh on Friday.

*Item*, That on *Corpus Chriſti* day at the Elevation of his Maſs, when all the Pariſhioners and other ſtrangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the Sacrament, the ſaid *Nicolas* went behind a Pillar of the Church, and turning his face from the High Altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the Sacrament.

This Article he alſo acknowledging affirmed that he believed himſelf to do well in ſo doing.

*Item*, When his Mother would have the ſaid *Nicolas* to lift up his right hand, and to croſs himſelf from the craſts and aſſaults of the Devil, forſomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his Mother took up his right hand and croſſed him, ſaying, *In nomine patris, filii, & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen.* Which ſo ended, the ſaid *Nicolas* immediately deriding his Mothers bleſſing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and bleſſed him otherwiſe, as his adverſaries report of him. This Article the ſaid *Nicolas* acknowledged to be true.

*Item*, That upon *Alhallows*-day, in the time of Elevation of High Maſs, when as many of the Pariſhioners of *Eye* lighted many Torches, and carried them up to the High Altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the Sacrament, the ſaid *Nicolas* carrying a Torch went up hard to the High Altar, and ſtanding behind the Prieſts back ſaying Maſs, at the time of the Elevation he ſtood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the Prieſt, and his face toward the people, and would do no reverence unto the Sacrament. This Article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which Articles the Biſhops Commiſſary cauſed to be copied out word for word, and to be ſent unto Maſter *William Worſted*, Prior of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, and to other Doctors of Divinity of the Order of Begging-Friers, that they might deliberate upon them, and ſhew their minds between that and Thurſday next following. Upon which Thurſday, being the laſt of *November* the year aboveſaid, the ſaid *Nicolas* was again examined before Maſter *Barnam* and divers other, upon two other Articles which he had confeſſed unto *J. Excetor* Notary, and *Thomas Geruſten* Bachelor of Divinity, and others. Whereof the firſt Article was this, That the ſaid *Nicolas Canon* being of perfect mind and remembrance, confeſſed that he doubted whether in the Sacrament of the Altar were the very Body of Chriſt or no. This Article he confeſſed before the Commiſſary to be true.

*Nicolas Canon* turned his back to the Sacrament.

*Another examination of Nicolas Canon.*

*Item*, That he being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confeſs his ſins to a Prieſt. This Article he alſo confeſſed that he doubted upon.

Articles objected.

Now remaineth to declare what theſe Doctors aforeſaid concluded upon the Articles; whoſe anſwer unto the ſame was this.

Firſt of all, as touching the firſt Article, they ſaid that the Article in the ſame terms as it was propounded, is not ſimply an Hereſie, but an error.

*Item*, As touching the ſecond Article, the Doctors agree as in the firſt.

The judgment of the Prior and Doctors upon his Articles.

*Item*, As touching the third Article, they affirm that it is an Hereſie.

Unto the fourth Article, they anſwered as unto the firſt and ſecond.

*Item*, The Doctors affirm the fifth Article to be an Hereſie.

An hereſie to doubt whether the Sacrament be the perfect Body of Chriſt, or no.

*Item*, As touching the ſixth Article, the Doctors conclude, that if the ſaid *Nicolas*, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the Sacrament of the Altar were the very perfect Body of Chriſt or no, then the Article is ſimply an Hereſie.

*Nic. Cannon* declared an Heretick.

Whereupon the ſaid Commiſſary declared and pronounced the ſaid *Nicolas* upon the determination of the ſaid Doctors, to be an Heretick, and thereupon forced the ſaid *Nicolas* to abjure all the ſaid Articles. That done he enjoyned the ſaid *Nicolas* penance for his offences, three Diſciplinings about the Cloiſter of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, before a ſolemn Proceſſion, bare headed and bare foot, carrying a Taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforeſaid, like a meer Penitentiary: the which his penance the Judg commanded ſhould be reſpited until the coming of the Biſhop into his Dioceſs, and that in the mean time he ſhould be kept in priſon, to the end that he ſhould not infect the flock with his venom and poyſon of Errors and Hereſies.

Penance enjoyned to *Nic. Canon.*

Thus have we briefly diſcourſed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* by the ſpace of thoſe four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly for every year, certain notable examples ſufficient for the declaration of all the reſt, forſomuch as their opinions being nothing different their penance and punithment did alſo nothing differ, otherwiſe than by thoſe particular examples may be plainly ſeen,

## *Thomas Bagley* Prieſt.

*Thomas Bagley* Prieſt, Martyr.

AND now to proceed as we have begun with our former Stories, generally we find in *Fabians* Chronicles, that in the ſame year of our Lord 1431. *Thomas Bagley* a Prieſt, Vicar of *Monenden* beſide *Malden*, being a valiant Diſciple, and adherent of *Wickliff*, was condemned by the Biſhops of Hereſie at *London*, about the middeſt of *Lent*, and was degraded and burned in *Smithfield*.

## *Paul Craw* a *Bohemian.*

*Paul Craw*, Martyr.

THE ſame year alſo was *Paul Craw* a *Bohemian* taken at Saint *Andrews* by the Biſhop *Henry*, and delivered over to the Secular power to be burnt for holding contrary opinions unto the Church of *Rome* touching the Sacrament of the Lords-Supper, the worſhipping of Saints, Auricular confeſſion, with other of *Wickliffs* opinions.

*Ex Hector. Boetio.*

## *The Story of* Thomas Rhedon, *a* French *man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in* Italy *for the profeſſion of Chriſt.*

*Thomas Rhedonenſis* Martyr. *Ex Antonino 3. part. Hiſt fol.* 165

WE have declared before how this cruel ſtorm of perſecution which firſt began with us in *England* after it had long raged here againſt many good and godly men, brake out and paſſed into *Boheme*, and after within a ſhort time, the fire of this perſecution increaſing by little and little, invaded *Scotland*, and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entred *Italy*, and ſuffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and ſlaughter of moſt good and godly men. It happened about this time that one *Thomas Rhedon*, a Frier of that Sect, which taketh his name of the Mount *Carmelus*, by chance came with the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors into *Italy*. This man although he was of that ſort and Sect, which inſtead of Chriſtians are called *Carmelites*, yet was he of a far other Religion, and underſtood the Word of God, judging that God ought not to be worſhipped neither in that Mount, nor at *Jeruſalem* only, but in ſpirit and truth. This man being a true

*Thomas Rhedonenſis* cometh into *Italy.*

*Carmelite*, and ſavouring with his whole heart that new ſweet Muſte of Jeſus Chriſt, with earneſt ſtudy and deſire ſeeking after a Chriſtian integrity of life, prepared himſelf firſt to go into *Italy*, truſting that he ſhould find there, or elſe in no place, ſome by whoſe good life and living he might be edified and inſtructed. For where ought more abundance of vertue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all Religion? And how could it otherwiſe be, but that whereas ſo great holineſs is profeſſed, whereupon all mens eyes are bent as upon a Stage, whereas Saint *Peters* ſeat is, and is thought to be the Ruler and Governour of all the Church, all things ſhould flouriſh and abound worthy of ſo great expectation in that place? This holy man having theſe things before his eyes, and conſidering the ſame with himſelf, forſook his own Country and City, and went unto *Rome*, conceiving a firm and ſure hope that by the example of ſo many notable and worthy men, he ſhould greatly profit in godlineſs and learning: but the ſucceſs of the matter did utterly fruſtrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatſoever he ſaw was nothing elſe but meer diſſimulation and hypocriſie. Inſtead of gold he found nothing but coals; and to ſay the truth he found nothing elſe there but gold and ſilver. Inſtead of heavenly gifts there reigned amongſt them the pomp and pride of the world: In place of godlineſs, riot: Inſtead of learning and ſtudy, ſlothfulneſs and ſuperſtition. Tyranny and haughtineſs of mind had poſſeſſed the place of Apoſtolick ſimplicity: that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly underſtood. Finally, all things were turned arſieverſie, all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation whereſoever he went. But nothing ſo much offended this good mans mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example of humility ſhould eſpecially commend and praiſe to the whole world. And albeit that he ſaw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the Apoſtles, yet theſe things did ſo much paſs all meaſure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue in ſo great abuſe and corruption of the Church, ſeeing ſuch ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their Palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of ſervants, in their horſe and armour, and finally in all things pertaining unto them. Which things how much they did vary from the preſcript rule of the Goſpel, ſo much the more was this good man forced to ſpeak; albeit he did well underſtand how little he ſhould prevail by ſpeaking: for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the Books of *Wickliff* and divers other were not wanting. The famous teſtimonies of *John Huss*, and of *Hierome* of *Prague*, and their blood ſhed for the ſame, was yet preſent before their eyes: at whoſe moſt effectual exhortations, they were ſo little corrected and amended, that they ſeemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man, but that in ſo neceſſary and wholeſome an office he would ſpend his life if need ſhould be. So by this means he which came to be a ſcholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens lives and manners, had now contrariwiſe ſet before them his life to be marked and followed. For he lived ſo amongſt them, that his life might be a rule unto them all, and ſo taught, as he might alſo be their Schoolmaſter. For even as *Paul* had foreſhewed unto ſuch as deſired to live godly in Chriſt, that they ſhould ſuffer perſecution, ſuch like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of Godlineſs, which they ſhould follow: they again ſet upon his head the diadem of Martyrdom. He ſhewed them the way to ſalvation; and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travels, they with moſt extream ignominy perſecuted him even unto the fire. For when as by continual Preachings he had gotten great envy and hatred, the Rulers began to conſult together by what means they might circumvent this mans life. Here they had recourſe to their accuſtomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and continual cuſtom amongſt the Prelates of the Church, that if any man did diſpleaſe them, or that his talk be not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hindrance to their lucre and gain, by and by they frame out Articles of ſome Hereſie, which they charge

{KING Hen. 6.}

The Golden City of *Rome.*

All things corrupt at *Rome.*

The wickedneſs and pride that reigneth at *Rome.*

The corruption of *Rome* will admit no reformation

Piety rewarded with perſecution.

Hereſie made where none is.

{KING Hen. 6.}

charge him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the Boar with his Tusks, the Hedghog with his Prickles, the Lion is feared for his Claws, the Dog for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his Horns, neither doth he use lack his Hoofs to strike withal: even so this is the only armour of the Bishops, to strangle a man with Heresie, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition; which thing may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, beside a great number of other. Who when as now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered; what did they? straightways flie unto their old policies, and as they had done with *Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him with suspition, they seek to intangle him with questions, they examin him in judgment, they compile Articles against him, and lay Heresie unto his charge, they condemn him as an Heretick, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godliness: this was the peaceable Order of those *Carmelites*. Whose Religion was to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding they did bear in their hearts malice, rancor, vengeance, poyson, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by Law, that none of these Clergy-men should fight with sword in the streets? when as in judgment and accusations (whereas it is not lawful for a man to oppress his Brother) there is no murtherer which hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his Brothers soul than they. They shed no blood themselves, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliver them over unto others to be slain. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the Ministers of the cruel fact? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

Popery armed with policy, defended with tyranny.

His Articles

The Articles which they falsly gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, *Jews*, *Turks*, and Moors shall be converted unto Christ in the later days.

That abominations are used at *Rome*.

That the unjust Excommunication of the Pope is not to be feared: and those which do not observe the same do not sin or offend.

*Ex Antonin. 3 part. Hist. fol. 165.*

But yet there lacked a Minister for these Articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at *Rome*, where all things are to be sold, even mens souls. For this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet than *William* of *Rowne*, Cardinal of Saint *Martins* in the Mount, Vice-chancellor of the Court of *Rome*. *Eugenius* at that time was Pope, who had a little before succeeded Pope *Martin* above mentioned. Before the which *Eugenius* this godly *Rhedonensis* the *Frenchman* was brought, and from thence sent unto prison. And again after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the Judges. The Wolf sat in judgment, the Lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring: But here need not many words. This good *Thomas* not being able to resist the malice of these mighty Potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convict and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he had taken of Priesthood. For it is counted an unlawful thing, that a Priest should be punished with prophane punishment, when as notwithstanding it is lawful enough for Priests to put any Lay-man to death, be he never so guiltless.

*Vit. Cardinalit. Rhotomagensis his persecutor.*

*Thomas Rhedonensis brought before Pope Eugenius.*

How religiously and earnestly do they foresee that the Majesty of the Priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt? But how little care have they that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless? Wherefore before that he should come unto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and manner of this Popish degrading is partly before touched in the story of *William Taylor*.

*Thomas degraded.*

After that it had pleased the Bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they deprived him of his life also, and burned him four years after that he came to *Rome*. In the year of our Lord, 1436.

*Thomas Rhedonensis a Frenchman, burned at Rome.*

And thus through the cruelty of these most tyrannous Prelates, this blessed Martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loss of this body for a greater gain of salvation before the just judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted but that he liveth eternally under the Altar with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soon for some of them, whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

As this *Thomas* aforesaid suffered at *Rome*, so were divers others in other places about *Germany* executed neer about the same time, after the burning of *John Hus*, and *Henry Grundfelder* Priest, of *Ratisbone*, Ann. 1420, also *Henry Radtgeber* Priest, in the same City, *Ann.* 1423. *John Draendorfe* of Noble birth, and a Priest, was burned at *Wormes*, *Anno* 1424. *Peter Thoraw* at *Spire*, Anno 1426. *Matthew Hager* also suffered at *Berlin* in *Germany*, not long after. *Ex Bălei Centur. sept.*

*Henry Grundfelder* Priest, *Henry Radtgeber* Priest, *John Draendorfe* Priest, *Peter Thoraw*, *Matth. Hager*, Martyrs.

After the death of Pope *Martin*, who reigned fourteen years, succeeded *Eugenius* the Fourth of that name, about the year of our Lord 1431. Of whom *Antonius* thus writeth, that he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the *Romans* may declare: also the Battels between the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*.

Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth.

This Pope began first to celebrate the Council of *Basil*, which Council *Martin* his Predecessor had before intended according to the institution of the Council of *Constance*. Notwithstanding the said *Eugenius* perceiving afterward this Council of *Basil* not to favour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward laboured by all subtil practise to dissolve and interrupt the said Council, and from *Basil* to translate it first to *Ferraria*, then to *Florentia*, more near to his own See of *Rome*. Concerning the which Council of *Basil*, forsomuch as we have begun here to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principal matters thereof shall seem sufficient or necessary to be known.

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*Here followeth the order and manner of the Council of* Basil, *touching the principal matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged here in this present Book; the rest whereof we have referred unto our former Edition, wherein the full discourse of the whole Disputation is to be seen more at large for such as have list and leisure to see more thereof.*

The Council of *Basil*. *Ex Æneâ Sylvio. Ex Cochleo in Hist. Hus. sit. Et ex paralipom. Abbat. Ursperg.*

IN the Thirty ninth Session of the Council of *Constance*, (as is before mentioned) it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such General Councils as should hereafter follow: The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth year after the said Council of *Constance*: The second to be holden the 7th year after that, and so orderly all other to follow successively from ten year to ten year. Wherefore according to this Decree, followed a General Council five years after the Council of *Constance*, celebrate and holden at *Sene*, under Pope *Martin*, Anno 1424, but it soon broke up. After the which Council the term of seven years being expired, another Council was holden at *Basil*, in the year of our Lord 1431. The which Council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other Council beforetime celebrate and holden in the Church. This Council continued almost the space of seventeen years: wherein it was concluded, as before in the Council of *Constance*, that the General Councils were above the Pope, and both of these two Councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto the General Council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of this present Council.

Whereas Pope *Martin* the Fifth had appointed *Julian*, Cardinal and Deacon of Saint *Angel*, his Legate, to celebrate and hold a General Council at *Basil*, for the reformation of the Church, and rooting out of Heresies, within

The death of Pope *Martin.* Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth.

ſhort ſpace after Pope *Martin* died, in whoſe ſeat *Eugenius* the Fourth ſucceeded, who confirmed unto the ſaid Cardinal *Julian* the ſame authority which his Predeceſſor before had given him. Unto this Council of *Baſil* being begun, came the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, who during his life time, with his preſence and authority, did protect and defend the ſaid Synod. After the Emperors death, Pope *Eugenius* altering his former mind and purpoſe, would tranſport the Council unto *Bononie*, and thereby hindred the ſucceſs of the Council of *Baſil*. And firſt he held a contrary Council at *Ferraria*, and afterward at *Florence*. For after the death of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, there were no Princes nor Noblemen that had any care or regard of the Council. *Eugenius* the Pope pretended cauſes, as touching the *Greeks* which ſhould come unto the Council, and the uniting of the Church unto the Weſt Church, the which *Greeks* would in no wiſe paſs the *Alpes*; alſo as touching his own incommodity, that he could not come unto *Baſil*, being ſo long a journey, and that all his men might have eaſie acceſs unto *Bononia*, and that amongſt the *Germans* (which in their own Country are ſo intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal *Julian*, and the Fathers of the Council unto *Bononia*, under great penalty. They again cited the Pope that either he ſhould come himſelf unto the Council, or ſend Ambaſſadors under the like penalty. For this cauſe the Ambaſſadors of *Albert* King of the *Romans*, and of the other Princes of *Germany*, aſſembled together firſt at *Norenberge*; and when as they could determine nothing there, they aſſembled again at *Franckford* to appeaſe the diſſenſion between the Council and the Pope: for it was thought that the Electors of the Empire might beſt aſſemble and meet in that place, in the mean time the Emperors Ambaſſadors, and the Ambaſſadors of the Electors went into *Baſil*, and having conference with the Ambaſſadors of the other Princes which were there, they did earneſtly exhort the Fathers of the Council, that they would embrace and receive the unity which they would offer. The requeſt of the Princes was, that the Fathers would tranſport the Council, and go unto another place; the which only thing Pope *Eugenius* ſeemed always to ſeek and deſire, that thereby he might either divide the Fathers of the Council, or take away their liberty.

Pope *Eugenius* ſeeketh to diſſolve the Council of *Baſil*.

Diſſention beween the Council of *Baſil*, and Pope *Eugenius*.

The Prelates of the Council refuſed the Popes requeſt.

Notwithſtanding this ſacred Synod thought good neither to deny the Princes requeſt, nor to grant that which Pope *Eugenius* required. During this doubt, the Emperors Ambaſſadors, the Biſhops of *Patavia* and *Auguſta*, (being much required and ſtirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant Baron called *Conrade Weinſperge*, by the Kings commandment to be Protector and defender of the Council, and the Fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceived the Emperors mind to be alienate from the Pope, ſo the Fathers of the Council underſtood his good will towards them, forſomuch as he would not have ſent them a Protector, if he had not judged it a lawful Council; neither again would he have judged it a Council in *Baſil*, if he had given credit to Pope *Eugenius*. But by means of a great Peſtilence which began to grow, the aſſembly that ſhould have been holden at *Frankford* was tranſported unto *Mentz*. The Ambaſſadors of the Princes alſo thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the Pope again unto the Council.

The Princes aſſembled at *Mentz*, to make unity between the Council and the Pope.

The aſſembly was very famous, for there were preſent the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, *Collen*, and *Trevers*, Electors of the Sacred Empire, and all the Ambaſſadors of the other Electors. Notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop of *Collen* was the chief favourer of the Council in this aſſembly, who with all his labour and diligence went about to bring the matter unto a good end. *Rabanus* the Archbiſhop of *Trevers* ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat more rough. The ſacred Synod alſo thought good to ſend thither their Ambaſſadors, and appointed out the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, the Biſhop of *Vicene*, and the Biſhop of *Argon*: Divines, *John Segovius*, and *Thomas de Corcellis*, with divers others. There was no man there preſent which would name himſelf the Ambaſſador of *Eugenius*: Albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the Council, and alſo out of *Florence*, the which albeit they had ſworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more *Eugenius* than the Council. But the chief *Hercules* of all the *Eugenians* was *Nicolas Cuſanus*, a man ſingularly well learned, and of great experience. After divers conſultations had, the Electors of the Empire, and the Ambaſſadors of the other Princes of *Germany*, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole Nation and Country, that the Decrees of the Council of *Baſil* ſhould be received and obſerved.

Whileſt theſe things were thus debated at *Mentz*, there ſprang a certain very doubtful Queſtion amongſt the Divines which remained at *Baſil*, whether *Eugenius* might be called an Heretick, which had ſo rebelliouſly contemned the commandments of the Church. Hereupon they gathered themſelves together, diſputing long amongſt themſelves, ſome affirming, and otherſome holding the Negative part. Upon this their diſputation there aroſe three ſeveral opinions, ſome affirming that he was an Heretick, otherſome, not only an Heretick, but alſo a relapſe: The third ſort would neither grant him to be an Heretick nor a relapſe. Amongſt theſe Divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority, was the Biſhop of *Ebrun*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Caſtile*, and a certain *Scotiſh* Abbot: which as two moſt valiant Champions, ſubdued all their enemies, ſo that all the reſt did either conſent unto their arguments, or gave place unto them, and ſo their determination took place, and *Eugenius* was pronounced both an Heretick and relapſe. Eight Concluſions were there determined and allowed amongſt the Divines, which they called verities, the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Chriſtendom.

Three opinions touching the Pope.

The Ambaſſadours return from *Mentz*.

When the Ambaſſadors of the Council were returned from *Mentz*, and that certain report was made of the allowing of their Decrees, the Fathers of the Council thought good to diſcuſs the Concluſions of the Divines more at large. Whereupon by the commandment of the Deputies all the Maſters, and Doctors, and Clergy were called together, with all the reſidue of the Prelates, into the Chapter-houſe of the great Church, there openly to diſpute and diſcuſs *Eugenius* hereſie. The which thing ſo grieved the Biſhop of *Millain*, fearing leſt this diſputation would work the deprivation of *Eugenius*, the which, as he ſaid, he had always letted for fear of a Schiſm. Wherefore he ceaſed not by all manner of ways to labour, to ſtop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were abſent by his Letters, and encouraging thoſe that were preſent by his words, to the defence of *Eugenius*. But at the laſt there was a great aſſembly in the Chapter-houſe, ſome coming thither to diſpute, and otherſome to hear. This diſputation continued ſix days, both forenoon and afternoon, amongſt whom Cardinal *Lodovicus*, Archbiſhop *Arelatenſis* was appointed as Judg and Arbiter of the whole diſputation; who beſides many other notable vertues, was both valiant and conſtant. *Nicholas Amici* which was alſo a Protector of the Faith, a famous man amongſt the Divines of *Paris*, demanded of every man what their opinion was. *John Deinleſiſt*, publick Notary, wrote every mans ſentence and judgment. The Concluſions of the Divines, which were the ground and foundation of their diſputation, were theſe here following.

The Popes hereſie diſcuſſed.

The Biſhop of *Millain* taketh *Eugenius* part for fear of Schiſm.

Concluſions of the Diſputation.

1. It is a verity of the Catholick Faith, that the Sacred General Council hath power over the Pope, or any other Prelate.

2. The Pope cannot by his own authority, either diſſolve, tranſport, or prorogue the General Council being lawfully congregate, without the whole conſent of the Council: and this is of like verity.

3. He which doth obſtinately reſiſt theſe verities, is to be counted an Heretick.

4. Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth hath reſiſted theſe verities, whereas at the firſt, by the fulneſs of his Apoſtolick power, he attempted to diſſolve or to tranſport the Council of *Baſil*.

5. *Eugenius* being admoniſhed by the Sacred Council, did recant the errors repugnant to theſe verities.

6. The diſſolution or tranſlation of the Council, attempted the ſecond time by *Eugenius*, is againſt the aforeſaid verities, and containeth an inexcuſable error touching the Faith.

7. *Eugenius*, in going about to diſſolve and tranſport the Council again, is fallen into his before revoked errors.

8. *Eugenius*

{KING Hen.6.}

8. *Eugenius* being warned by the Synod that he ſhould revoke the diſſolution of tranſlation the ſecond time attempted, after that his contumacy was declared, perſevering in his rebellion, and erecting a Council at *Ferraria*, ſhewed himſelf thereby obſtinate.

These were the Concluſions which were read in the Chapter-houſe before the Fathers of the Council. Upon the which when they were deſired to ſpeak their minds, they all in a manner confirmed and allowed them. Notwithſtanding, *Panormitane* Archbiſhop diſputed much againſt them. Likewiſe did the Biſhop of *Burgen*, the King of *Arragons* Almoner. Yet did they not gain-ſay the three firſt Concluſions, but only thoſe wherein Pope *Eugenius* was touched. This *Panormitane*, as he was ſubtil, ſo did he ſubtilly diſpute againſt the laſt Concluſions, endeavouring himſelf to declare that *Eugenius* was not relapſed, and had great contention with the Biſhop of *Argens*, *John Segovius*, and *Francis de Fuxe*, Divines. He divided the Articles of the Faith into three ſorts: ſtraitly, as in the Creed: largely, as in the Declarations made by the Church: moſt largely of all, as in thoſe things which riſe of the premiſſes: affirming that *Eugenius* did by no means violate his faith in his firſt diſſolution that he made, becauſe it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the Church, that the Pope cannot diſſolve the Councils; and that it ſeemeth not unto him to riſe of the determinations before made, but rather of the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*. And further, that this as a caſe omitted is reſerved for the Pope to be diſcuſſed, forſomuch as in the Chapter beginning *Frequens*, it appeareth that the place where the Council ſhould be kept ought to be choſen by the Pope, the Council allowing the ſame, and nothing is thereof at all ſpoken. And if peradventure *Eugenius* had offended in the firſt diſſolution, notwithſtanding he ought to be holden excuſed, becauſe he did it by the Council of the Cardinals, repreſenting the Church of *Rome*; whoſe authority he ſaid to be ſuch, that the judgment thereof ſhould be preferred before all the world. Neither had there been any ſacred Council found to have proceeded againſt *Eugenius* as an Heretick; and that is an evident ſign that the Council hath not thought him to have warved from the faith, neither to have any occaſion that he ſhould be called Heretick for his errors revoked; and that he himſelf hath read the whole Text, that the Pope did not revoke the diſſolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence: Alſo that the laſt diſſolution hath no ſuch cauſe in it, forſomuch as likewiſe he had done it by the Council of the Cardinals, and for the uniting of the *Greeks*, that he might not be compelled in a criminal cauſe to anſwer by his Procurator, when as he being letted by ſickneſs, could not come perſonally, *ſcil.* forаſmuch as in the firſt diſſolution *Eugenius* hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be perſwaded that he can be called a relapſe, forſomuch as he neither in the firſt, neither yet in the ſecond diſſolution did violate his faith.

This Oration of *Panormitane* was more praiſed than allowed of men. Notwithſtanding this effect it wrought, that afterward this word *relapſe* was taken out of the Concluſions, and inſtead thereof this word prolapſe put in. Neither durſt *Panormitane* himſelf altogether excuſe *Eugenius* of Hereſie, but defended more the firſt diſſolution, than the ſecond, yet departed he not without anſwer, for *John Segovius* an expert Divine, riſing up, anſwered him reverently, as was comely for ſuch a Prelate. He ſaid, He granted that which *Panormitane* had ſpoken touching the diviſion of the Articles of the Faith into three points, becauſe it made for this purpoſe. For if thoſe things are to be holden for Articles of Faith, ſaid he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifeſt that the Concluſions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church, that is to ſay, of the Council of *Conſtance*; for if therein the Pope be made ſubject unto the General Council, who is it that will ſay that the Pope hath power over the Council which is above him; or that *Eugenius* ought to remain Pope, becauſe he could not diſſolve the Council which is above him, without the conſent thereof? The which article undoubtedly he hath violate and broken. And if any man will ſay that in the firſt diſſolution this article was not violate, becauſe there was no declaration made thereof, let him which ſo thinketh thus, underſtand, That the Biſhop of *Rome* ought not only to know the plain and manifeſt, but alſo the ſecret and hidden things of the Faith; for he being the Vicar of Chriſt, and the Head of all other, ought to inſtruct and teach all men. But if ſo be he will not, then he ſhall be convicted for being dead, becauſe he continued long in the diſſolution after the declaration of the Council, neither did conſent unto the determination of the Church; and therefore if peradventure he did not err in the Faith in diſſolving of the Council, yet did he err in perſevering in the ſame, as it manifeſtly appeareth by the ſaying of *Clement* oftentimes alledged by *Panormitane*, wherein it is ſaid, That he which liveth rebelliouſly, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the Devil than of Chriſt, and rather an Infidel than a true believer; ſo that *Eugenius* by diſobeying the Church may worthily be called an Infidel. Neither is it true that the Pope hath not offended in the Faith; forſomuch as well in that anſwer which beginneth *Cogitanti*, as alſo in the anſwer which beginneth *Sperant*, made unto the Popes Ambaſſadors, theſe words are manifeſt; this Article concerning Faith, and we had rather die than through cowardlineſs to give place. By the which ſaying it is evident the Synod to have ſufficiently admoniſhed the Pope that he did againſt the Faith, and therefore it ſeemed that afterward, when as *Eugenius* revoked the diſſolution, he alſo revoked the error of faith contained in the ſame. There are alſo divers offences ſprung and riſen through the error of faith: for ſome ſay that the Pope is under the Council, other-ſome deny it, and this diverſity of Doctrine bringeth offence. Alſo it is expreſſly againſt the authority of the Council, that the Pope did revoke the aſſertions made in their name.

And albeit in ſuch revocations the ſtile and order of judgments is not obſerved, notwithſtanding it doth ſuffice in ſuch caſe when as the Council doth proceed againſt the Pope, in which caſe only the truth is to be obſerved, neither is the Council ſubject unto any poſitive Law, that it ought to obſerve any terms or judicial orders. Alſo he ſaid that he utterly contemned that ſingular Gloſs which did prefer the Pope before all the world, ſo that it might well be called ſingular, which decreed ſo fooliſh and fond things, and unworthy to be followed of any man; and that he did much marvel at *Panormitane*, and other Doctors of thoſe days, which whileſt they went about to extoll the authority of the Gloſſes, do abaſe the ſame by adding a ſingularity thereto; for that Gloſs is ſingular which is alone. But who would not more eſteem a Gloſs conſtantly written and agreeable in all places, than that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may ſeem to be an error; and that as touching the verity and truth? Saint *Hierome* a grave and ancient Doctor, is contrary to this Gloſs, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is above the City it ſelf, that is to ſay, *Rome*.

*Segovius* could ſcarcely finiſh this his Oration without interruption; for *Panormitane* oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this, and now that reaſon. Whereupon the Biſhop of *Argen* riſing up, a man not only eloquent, but alſo of a ſtout courage, troubled *Panormitane* in his reaſons and arguments, and put him from his purpoſe; yet they proceeded ſo far, that they paſſed the manner of diſputation, and did not abſtain from opprobrious taunts.

When the Biſhop of *Argen* chanced to ſay that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be the Miniſter of the Church, *Panormitane* could not ſuffer that: inſomuch that he ſo forgot himſelf that day, and his knowledg (which otherwiſe was great) did ſo fail him, that he was not aſhamed to ſay and affirm, that the Pope was Lord over the Church. Whom *Segovius* anſwered, Mark (ſaith he) O *Panormitane*, what thou ſayeſt; for this is the moſt honourable title of the Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein he calleth himſelf the *Servant of the Servants of God*. Which is gathered upon this point, when as Chriſt ſaid unto his Diſciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greateſt, you know he anſwered them, *The Princes of the people have rule and dominion over them, but amongſt you it is not ſo*, &c. Wherein he doth utterly prohibit Lordſhip and Dominion; and *Peter* which was the firſt Vicar of Chriſt ſaid, *Feed the flock of Chriſt which is committed*

*Panormitane ſpeaketh againſt for the Pope.*

*Articles of faith divided into three ſorts.*

*Panormitane preferreth the judgment of the Cardinals of Rome before all the world.*

*The Pope pretendeth the uniting of the Greeks, when he meaneth another thing.*

*The Pope no relapſe, but prolapſe.*

*John Segovius anſwereth Panormitane.*

*The Pope neglecting to do good, is a member not of Chriſt, but of the Devil.*

*Councils bound to no poſitive Law.*

*Panormitane appointeth the Pope Lord of the Church.*

*The Pope and the Clergy deſire Dominion contrary to the Scriptures.*

*unto you, provifling for them not by compalſion, but willingly*; and immediately after he ſaid, *not as Lords over the Clergy*. For if Chriſt the Son of God came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter and to ſerve, how then can his Vicar have any Dominion, or be called Lord, as you *Panormitane* will affirm? forſomuch as his Diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the Servant above his Lord. And the Lord himſelf ſaith, *Be ye not called Maſters, forſomuch as your only Maſter is Chriſt, and he which is the greateſt among you ſhall be your ſervant. Panormitane* being ſomewhat diſquieted with this anſwer, the Council brake up and departed.

The French Kings Embaſſador.

The next day there was a General Congregation, and they returned all again unto the Chapter-houſe after Dinner, where the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, the Kings Orator, being required to ſpeak his mind, after he had by divers and ſundry reaſons, proved *Eugenius* to be an Heretick, he bitterly complained, deteſting the negligence and ignavy of thoſe that had preferred ſuch a Man unto the Papacy, and ſo moved all their hearts which were preſent, that they all together with him did bewail the calamities of the Univerſal Church.

The Biſhop of *Burgen.*

Then the Biſhop of *Burgen*, the Embaſſador of *Spain*, divided the Concluſions into two parts, ſome he called general, and otherſome perſonal, diſputing very excellently as touching the three firſt Concluſions, affirming, that he did in no point doubt of them, but only, that the addition, which made mention of the faith, ſeemed to be doubtful unto him. But upon this point he ſtayed much, to prove that the Council was above the Pope. The which, after he had ſufficiently proved both by Gods law, and mans law, he taught it alſo by phyſical reaſon, alledging *Ariſtotle* for witneſs. He ſaid, *That in every well ordered Kingdom it ought eſpecially to be deſired, that the whole Realm ſhould be of more authority than the King*, which if it happened contrary, *it were not to be called a Kingdom, but a Tyranny: ſo likewiſe doth he think of the Church, that it ought to be of more authority than the Prince thereof, that is to ſay, the Pope.* The which his Oration he uttered ſo eloquently, learnedly and truly, that all men depended upon him, and deſired rather to have him continue his Oration, than to have an end thereof.

The Council above the Pope.

The force of truth which appeared alſo in *Eneas* himſelf the Writer hereof, although afterward when he was Pope, he denied the ſame.

But when as he entred into the other Concluſions, he ſeemed to have forgotten himſelf, and to be no more the ſame man that he was; for neither was there the ſame eloquence in his words, neither gravity in Oration, or chearfulneſs of countenance; ſo that if he could have ſeen himſelf, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himſelf. Every man might well ſee and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which miniſtred Copy of matter unto him, ſo long as he ſpake in the defence thereof.

Note what it is for a man to labour againſt his knowledge.

But when as he began once to ſpeak againſt her, the took away even his natural eloquence from him. Notwithſtanding *Panormitane*, and the Biſhop of *Burgen*, ſhewed this example of modeſty, that albeit they would not confeſs or grant the laſt Concluſions to be verities of Faith: yet they would not that any man ſhould follow or lean unto their opinion, which were but mean Divines: but rather unto the Opinions of the Divines. But the King of *Arragon's* Almoner, being a ſubtil and crafty man, did not directly diſpute upon the Concluſions, but picking out here and there certain Arguments, ſought to let and hinder the Council. Againſt whom an Abbot of *Scotland*, a man of an excellent wit, diſputed very much; and *Thomas de Corcellis*, a famous Divine, alledged much againſt him out of the Decrees of the ſacred Council, and with a certain modeſt ſhamefaſtneſs, always beholding the ground, did very largely diſpute in the defence of the Concluſions.

The Concluſions of the Diſputation.

But now to avoid tedioufneſs, I will only proceed to declare Arguments whereby the Concluſions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to intreat of the five laſt Concluſions, which concern the perſon of *Eugenius*, but only upon the three firſt, whereunto I will adjoyn certain probable Arguments, gathered out of the diſputation of the Fathers. In the firſt Concluſion is the greateſt force, and firſt to be diſcuſſed; touching the which, two things are to be required and examined. The one, *Whether the General Council have authority over the Pope.* The other, *Whether the Catholick Faith commandeth it to be believed.*

The firſt Concluſion.

As touching that the Pope is ſubject to the General Council, it is excellently well proved by the reaſon before alledged by the Biſhop of *Burgen*. For the Pope is in the Church, as a King in his Kingdom; and for a King to be of more authority than his Kingdom, it were too abſurd: *Ergo*, neither ought the Pope to be above the Church. For like as oftentimes Kings which do wickedly govern the Commonwealth, and exerciſe cruelty, are deprived of their Kingdoms; even ſo, it is not to be doubted, but that the Biſhops of *Rome* may be diſpoſed by the Church, that is to ſay, by the General Councils.

KING *Hen. 6.*

A King is not of more authority than is his Kingdom.

Neither do I herein allow them which attribute ſo ample and large authority unto Kings, that they will not have them bound under any Laws; for ſuch as ſo do ſay, be but flatterers, which do talk otherwiſe than they think. For albeit that they do ſay, that the moderation of the Law is alway in the Princes power; that do I thus underſtand, that when as reaſon ſhall perſwade, he ought to digreſs from the rigour of the Law; for he is called a King, which careth and provideth for the Commonwealth, taketh pleaſure in the commodity and profit of his Subjects, and in all his doings hath reſpect to the commodity of thoſe over whom he ruleth; which if he do not, he is not to be counted a King but a Tyrant, whoſe property it is, only to ſeek his own profit; for in this point a King differeth from a Tyrant, that the one ſeeketh the commodity and profit of thoſe whom he ruleth, and the other only his own. The which to make more manifeſt, the cauſe is alſo to be alledged wherefore Kings were ordained.

These kind of flatterers are now in our days.

What a King is.

The Inſtitution of Kings.

At the beginning (as *Cicero* in his Offices ſaith) it is certain, that there was a certain time when as the People lived without Kings. But afterward, when Lands and Poſſeſſions began to be divided according to the cuſtom of every Nation, then were Kings ordained for no other cauſe, but only to exerciſe juſtice. For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppreſſed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to ſome good and vertuous man, which ſhould defend the poor from injury, and ordain Laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet under the rule of Kings, the poor were oftentimes oppreſſed, Laws were ordained and inſtituted, the which ſhould judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich; whereby we do underſtand and know, not only the People, but alſo the King to be ſubject to the Laws. For if we do ſee a King to contemn and deſpiſe the Laws, violently rob and ſpoil his Subjects, deflour Virgins, diſhoneſt Matrons, and do all things licentiouſly and temerariouſly; do not the Nobles of the Kingdom aſſemble together, depoſing him from his Kingdom, ſet up another in his place, which ſhall ſwear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the Laws? Verily as reaſon doth perſwade, even ſo doth the uſe thereof alſo teach us. It ſeemeth alſo agreeable unto reaſon, that the ſame ſhould be done in the Church, that is to ſay, in the Council, which is done in any Kingdom. And ſo is this ſufficiently apparent, which we have before ſaid, that the Pope is ſubject unto the Council.

The Pope ought to be ſubject unto the Council.

But now to paſs unto the Arguments of Divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do intreat upon, are the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in divers places, but eſpecially where as he ſpeaketh unto *Peter*, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, & portæ inferni non prævalebunt adverſus eam*; that is, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* Upon which words it ſeemeth good to begin this Diſputation, forſomuch as ſome were wont to alledge theſe words, to extol the authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. But (as it ſhall by and by appear) the words of Chriſt had another ſenſe and meaning than divers of them do think; for he ſaith, *And the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* Verily this is a great promiſe, and theſe words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there have been ſpoken, than that the gates of Hell ſhould not prevail againſt the Church? Theſe gates of Hell, as *Sf. Jerome* ſaith, do ſignifie ſins. Wherefore, if ſins cannot prevail againſt the Church, neither can any malign ſpirits prevail againſt the ſame, which have no power at all over Mankind, but only through ſin. And for that cauſe, whereas it is ſaid in *Job*, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign ſpirit, thereby it followeth, that the power of the Church is above all other power.

This place *Tu es Petrus* expounded.

Sins are the gates of Hell.

We

{KING} *Hen. 6* Against the *Papists* opinion, that the Pope cannot err.

We may also upon the same saying, reason after another sort; forsomuch as the gates of Hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the Pope, which is a mortal man, forsomuch as it is written, *Seven times in the day the just man doth offend.* If the Church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled Church? Neither let us give ear unto those which will not refer these words of Christ unto the Church, whereas he saith, *Oravi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat Fides tua*, that is to say, Peter *I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith should not fail thee.* For S. *Augustine* saith in the Exposition of the *Psalms*, Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the Apostle *Peter*, notwithstanding, they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the Church the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent. Whereupon in another place in the questions of the New and Old Testament, upon the words, *Rogavi pro te Petre, I have prayed for thee* Peter; what is doubted? Did he pray for *Peter*, and did he not pray for *James* and *John*, beside the rest? It is manifest, that under the name of *Peter* all others are contained. For in another place of S. *John*, he saith, *I pray for them whom thou hast given me, and I will that whereseever I am, they shall be also with me.* Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of *Peter* understand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forsomuch as within a while after, the Faith of *Peter* failed for a time, by the denial of Christ, but the Faith of the Church, whose person *Peter* did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

The interpretation of this place, *Oravi pro te Petre*, is meant of the Church.

Bishops of *Rome* are Heretick. He meaneth *Silvester* the second.

As touching the Bishops of *Rome*, if time would suffer us, we could release many examples, how that they either have been Hereticks, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant, how that *Marcellinus* at the Emperors commandment, did sacrifice unto Idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attain unto the Papacy by devilish fraud and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimony of *Paul* unto the *Hebrews* shall suffice us at this time, who saith, *that every Bishop is compassed in with infirmity*, that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the Church remaineth always without sin; for in *Matthew* he saith, *I am with you even unto the end of the World.* The which words were not only spoken to the Apostles (for they continued not unto the end of the world) but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signifie that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy Church, consisting amongst his Apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

The Church is without sin, and the Pope is a sinner.

And again in another place, *I* (saith he) *will pray, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you.* The which words being spoke unto the Disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so consequently unto the Church. And if the spirit of truth be continually in the Church, no man can deny but that the Church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the Spouse of the Church, who seeth not but that the Church is undefiled? *For the Husband and the Wife* (as the Apostle saith) *are two in one flesh*, and (as he doth also add) *no man hateth his own flesh*; thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the Church, forsomuch as she is his Spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself; *Ergo*, the Church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated for sinners, the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apostle, to confess that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also by writing unto *Timothy*, affirmeth the Church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon in this Song to the Spouse it is said, *My friend thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee.* These words peradventure, may abash some, that I do go about to prove the Church to be without sin. For when as the Church doth contain all Men which are called Christians, which also do agree and come together in one belief of Faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I do fear lest some men will think, that I do affirm all men to be without sin; which is so far from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the Church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselves; for the Church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subject unto humane fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable Sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, which affirm that the Virgin *Mary* only persevered in Faith at the Lords Passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith might be so debilitate and weakned, that it should return to one only old Woman, whose opinion, or rather madness, St. *Paul* seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the *Romans*, *Do ye not know* (saith he) *what the Scripture writeth of* Helias, *how incessantly he called upon God against the Children of Israel, (saying) O Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and digged down thine Altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul: But what answer received he of God? I have left unto my self yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal.* What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of them which think the Church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men, who affirm, that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father, *O holy Father, save them in thy Name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy Name: I have kept them that thou gavest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the Son of perdition. And I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the World, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.*

The Church one flesh with Christ.

The Church is without sin, not by nature, but only by imputation.

The Church without sin, how to be understood.

The error of those which says that only the Virgin *Mary* did persevere constant at the time of Christs Passion.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his Disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, and he so praying, without doubt is heard; for he saith in another place, *I know that thou hearest me.* But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swarved at the time of his Passion? As for example, by what means did Christ hanging upon the Cross, commend his dearly beloved Mother unto *John*, if so be he were either then swarved, or should by and by after have swarved from the Faith? Moreover, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and say, *truly this is the Son of God?* The *Jews* also which at that time were far distant from *Jerusalem*, might both be called faithful, and also saved by their faith; seeing that (as the Apostle saith) men are bound unto the Gospel, after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is a great number of good men in the Church, and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the Church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the Church is compared unto a Net which is cast into the Sea, and gathered together all kind of Fishes.

The Church comprehendeth both the evil and good. Mat. 20.

And again, it is compared unto a King, which made a Marriage for his Son, and sent forth his Servants to call those which were bidden unto the Wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore their opinion is erroneous, which affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the Church; the which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the Church were. But forsomuch as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithful in the Church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the Church, to be called most holy;

This saying of *Ecclesiastes* is not so to be translated, and also ferveth to another sense than is here meant.

holy; which is ſo often done, that we are commanded to ſing in our Creed, *unam ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam*, that is to ſay, *one holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church*; the which Article the Synod of *Conſtantinople* added unto the reſt; wherefore if the Church be holy, it is alſo without ſin. But to return to our former purpoſe, this word *Sanctum*, which ſignifieth holy (as *Macrobius* alledging *Trebatius*, affirmeth) is ſometimes taken for religious, and ſometimes for clean and uncorrupt. And after the ſame manner, we call the Church holy, as the Apoſtle *Peter* calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epiſtle of *Clement*.

To this end alſo tendeth that which is ſpoken by Saint *Paul*, *That Chriſt is the Head of the Church*; for if the Church ſhould wholly ſin, ſhe ſhould not agree with her Head Chriſt, who is in no point defiled. This alſo Chriſt himſelf would ſignifie unto us in *Matthew*, when he commendeth the Houſe which was builded upon the ſtrong Rock, againſt the which, neither the Winds, neither the Storms could prevail. *Is the houſe of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *which is the Church, builded upon the Rock, which Rock* (as the Apoſtle declareth) *is Chriſt*. Who then is ſo unſhamefaſt, that he will affirm the Church, which is founded upon Chriſt, to be ſubject to ſin? And will not rather cry out with the Prophet, and ſay, *Domine, dilexi decorum domus tuæ*; that is to ſay, *O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy houſe?* Hereupon wrote *John Chryſoſtome* this Golden Sentence, *The Church never ceaſeth to be aſſaulted, never ceaſeth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Chriſt it hath always the upper hand, and overcame. And albeit that others do ly in wait for it, or that the flouds do beat againſt it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the Rock is not ſhaken.* Saint *Hilary* alſo ſaith, *That it is the property of the Church to vanquiſh when it is hurt, to underſtand when it is reproved, to be in ſafety when it is forſaken, and to obtain victory when as it ſeemeth almoſt overcome.* Thus by many reaſons and teſtimonies, it is proved that the Church doth not err; which is not ſpoken or affirmed of the Biſhops of *Rome*, ſo that this reaſon doth make the Pope ſubject unto the Church; for it is convenient, that the leſs perfect be ſubject unto the more perfect. There be alſo many other teſtimonies and reaſons, whereof we will now ſomewhat more intreat.

Chriſt is the Rock whereupon the Church is builded.

*If authority be ſought for*, ſaith Saint *Jerome* (for I willingly occupy my ſelf in his ſentences, as in a moſt fertile field) *the World is greater than a City*. What then I pray you *Jerome?* Is the Pope mighty becauſe he is Head of the Church of *Rome?* His authority is great, notwithſtanding the Univerſal Church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one City, but alſo the whole World. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Church be the Mother of all faithful, then ſhe hath the Biſhop of *Rome* for her ſon; *otherwiſe*, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *he can never have God for his Father, which will not acknowledge the Church for his Mother*. The which thing *Anacletus* underſtanding, called the Univerſal Church his Mother, as the Writers of the Canons do know. And *Calixtus* ſaith, As a Son he came to do the will of his Father, ſo we do the will of our Mother, which is the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the Son is inferiour to the Mother, ſo much the Church is ſuperiour or above the Biſhop of *Rome*.

He proveth by authority the Pope to be under the Councel.

If the Church be the Mother, the Pope muſt be her Son.

Alſo we have ſaid before, that the Church was the Spouſe of Chriſt, and the Pope we know to be a Vicar; but no man doth ſo ordain a Vicar, that he maketh his Spouſe ſubject unto him, but that the Spouſe is always thought to be of more authority than the Vicar; forſomuch as ſhe is one body with her Husband, but the Vicar is not ſo. Neither will I here paſs over the words of St. *Paul* unto the *Romans*, *Let every ſoul* (ſaith he) *be ſubject unto the higher powers*. Neither doth he herein except the Pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it ſeemeth neceſſary that he ſhould be ſubject to the Church. Neither let him think himſelf hereby exempt, becauſe it was ſaid unto *Peter* by Chriſt, *Whatſoever thou bindeſt, &c.* In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he repreſented the Perſon of the Church, for we find it ſpoken afterward unto them, *Quodcunque ligaveritis ſuper terram, ligatum erit in cœlis*, that is, *Whatſoever ye ſhall bind upon earth, ſhall be alſo bound in Heaven*. And furthermore, if all power be given of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle writeth unto the *Corinthians*, it is given for the edifying of the Church, and not for the deſtruction thereof; why then may not the Church correct the Pope, if he abuſe the Keys, and bring all things unto ruine?

The Church being the Spouſe, the Pope can not be the Head thereof, but he muſt alſo be the Head of Chriſt, forſomuch as Chriſt and his Spouſe be both one.

*The expoſition of this place, Quodcunque ligaveritis.

Add hereunto alſo another Argument. A Man in this life is leſſer than the Angels, for we read in *Matthew* of *John Baptiſt*, that *he which is leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he*. Notwithſtanding Chriſt ſaith in another place, *that amongſt the children of women, there was not a greater than John Baptiſt*. But to proceed, Men are forced, by the example of *Zacharias*, to give credit unto Angels, leſt through their misbelief they be ſtricken blind as he was. What more? the Biſhop of *Rome* is a Man: *Ergo*, he is leſs than the Angels, and is bound to give credit to the Angels. But the Angels learn of the Church, and do reverently accord unto her Doctrine, as the Apoſtle writeth unto the *Epheſians*; *Ergo*, the Pope is bound to do the ſame, who is leſs than the Angels, and leſs than the Church, whoſe authority is ſuch, that worthily it is compared by Saint *Auguſtine* unto the Sun; that like as the Sun by his light doth ſurmount all other lights, ſo the Church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon Saint *Auguſtine* writeth thus, *I would not believe the Goſpel*, ſaith he, *if the authority of the Church did not move me thereunto*: the which is not in any place found to be ſpoken of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who repreſenting the Church, and being Miniſter thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Maſter. Notwithſtanding, the words of our Saviour Chriſt, do ſpecially prove the Biſhop of *Rome* to be ſubject to the Church, as we will hereafter declare. For he ſending *Peter* to preach unto the Church, ſaid, Go, *and ſay unto the Church*. To the confirmation of whoſe authority, theſe words do alſo pertain, *He that heareth you, heareth me*. The which words are not only ſpoken unto the Apoſtles, but alſo unto their ſucceſſors, and unto the whole Church.

The Church, and not the Pope compared to the Sun.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the Pope do not hearken and give ear unto the Church, he doth not give ear unto Chriſt, and conſequently he is to be counted as an *Ethnick* and *Publican*. For as Saint *Auguſtine* affirmeth, when as the Church doth excommunicate, he which is ſo excommunicate, is bound in Heaven, and when the Church looſeth he is looſed. Likewiſe, if he be an Heretick which taketh away the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*, as the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* do determine, how much more is he to be counted an Heretick which taketh away the authority from the Univerſal Church, wherein the Church of *Rome* and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave Authors) that the Pope is ſubject unto the Univerſal Church. But this is called into queſtion, whether he ought alſo to be judged of the General Council. For there are ſome, which (whether it be for deſire of vain glory, or that through their flattery they look for ſome great reward) have begun to teach new and ſtrange Doctrines, and to exempt the Biſhop of *Rome* from the Juriſdiction of the General Council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this preſent Schiſm, but alſo all other Schiſms, even unto this day have had their original. For as in times paſt the greedy deſire and ambition of the Papacy, brought in that peſtiferous Beaſt, which through *Arrius* then firſt crept into the Church; even ſo they do eſpecially nouriſh and maintain this preſent Hereſie which are not aſhamed to beg. Of the which number, ſome cry out and ſay, the works of the Subjects ought to be judged by the Pope, but the Pope to be reſerved only unto the Judgment of God. Others ſaid, that no man ought to judge the high and principal Seat, and that it could be judged either by the Emperor, either by the Clergy, either by any King or People. Other affirm, that the Lord hath reſerved to himſelf the depoſitions of the chief Biſhop. Others are not aſhamed to affirm, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, although he carry ſouls in never ſo great number unto Hell, yet he is not ſubject unto any correction or rebuke.

The Pope if he do hearken to the Church, is an *Ethnick* and *Publican*.

It is to be feared leſt the Church hath had many ſuch Popes.

Whether the Pope is to be judged by the General Council, &c.

Theſe are the Canons and the School Divines, and beggin g Friers.

Diverſity of judgments touching the Biſhop of *Rome*.

KING *Hen.6.*

And becauſe theſe their words are eaſily reſolved, they run ſtraightway unto the Goſpel, and interpret the words of Chriſt; not according to the ſenſe and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, but according to their own will and diſpoſition. They do greatly eſteem and regard this which was ſpoken unto Peter, *Tu vocaberis Cephas*; that is, *Thou ſhalt be called Cephas*: by the which word they make him the Head of the Church. Alſo, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon the earth, &c. I have prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith ſhould not fail.* And again, *Feed my Sheep*; *Caſt thy Net into the deep*; *Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou ſhalt be a fiſher of men:* Alſo that Chriſt commanded *Peter*, as the Prince of the Apoſtles, to pay Toll for them both; and that *Peter* drew the Net unto the Land full of great Fiſhes; and that only *Peter* drew out his ſword for the defence of Chriſt. All which places theſe men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the Expoſitions of the Fathers; the which if (as reaſon were) they would conſider, they ſhould manifeſtly perceive, by the authorities aforeſaid, that the Pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in Council, but when they are ſeparate and divided.

*Howſoolishly the Church of Rome doth wreſt the Scriptures, neglecting the expoſitions of the Fathers.*

But theſe things being paſſed over, forſomuch as anſwer ſhall appear by that which hereafter ſhall follow, we will now declare what was reaſoned of by the learned men upon this queſtion. But firſt we would have it known, that all men, which are of any name or eſtimation, do agree, that the Pope is ſubject to the Council, and for the proof thereof they repeat (in a manner) all thoſe things which were before ſpoken of the Church; for they ſuppoſe all that which is ſpoken of the Church, to ſerve for the General Council. And firſt of all they alledge this ſaying of the Goſpel, *Dic Eccleſiæ, Tell it unto the Church.* In the which place it is convenient to underſtand, that Chriſt ſpake unto *Peter*, inſtructing him what he ſhould do as touching the correction of his brother. He ſaith, *If thy brother offend or ſin againſt thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou haſt won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all truth may ſtand: if then he will not give ear unto thee,* Dic Eccleſiæ, *Tell it unto the Church.*

*Thoſe things were ſpoken of the Church, ſerve alſo for the General Council.*

What ſhall we underſtand by the Church in that place? Shall we ſay that it is the multitude of the faithful diſperſed throughout the whole World? *My yoke is pleaſant*, ſaith the Lord, *and my burden is light.* But how is it light, if Chriſt command us to do that which is impoſſible to be done? For how could *Peter* ſpeak unto the Church which was diſperſed, or to ſeek out every Chriſtian ſcattered in every Town or City? But the meaning of theſe words is far otherwiſe, and they muſt be otherwiſe interpreted; for which cauſe, it is neceſſary that we remember the double perſon which *Peter* repreſented, as the perſon of the high Biſhop, and a private man. The ſenſe and meaning of his words are evident and plain enough of themſelves, that they need no ſupplyment or alteration. We muſt firſt mark and ſee what this word *Eccleſia* ſignifieth, the which we do find to be but only twice ſpoken of by Chriſt; once in this place, and again when as he ſaid unto *Peter*, *Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam*; that is, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church.* Wherefore the Church ſignifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. *Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it unto the Church*, that is to ſay, *Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful*; the which, forſomuch as they are not accuſtomed to come together but in a General Council, this interpretation ſhall ſeem very good, *Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it unto the Church*, that is to ſay, *Dic generali Concilio, tell it unto the General Council.*

*Peter repreſenteth a double perſon.*

*Chriſt nameth the Church but twice in the Goſpel.*

*What the Church is.*

*The interpretation of this place Dic Eccleſiæ.*

In this caſe I would gladly hear if there be any man which doth think theſe words to be more properly expreſſed in any Prelate, than in the Council, when as they muſt put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we ſhall from henceforth find no firm or ſtable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at this Interpretation, let him ſearch the old Writers, and he ſhall find that this is no new or ſtrange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy Fathers and old Doctors, which have firſt given light unto the Church, as Pope *Gregory* witneſſeth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holineſs of his life, and his ſingular learning) whoſe words are theſe, written in his Regiſter unto the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; *And we* (ſaid he) *againſt whom ſo great an offence is committed through temerarious boldneſs, do obſerve and keep that which the truth doth command us, ſaying,* Si peccaverit in te frater, that is, *If thy brother do offend againſt thee, &c.* And afterward he addeth more, *If my rebukes and corrections be deſpiſed, it remaineth that I do ſeek help of the Church.* The which words do manifeſtly declare the Church here to be taken for the General Council. Neither did *Gregory* ſay, that he would ſeek help of the Church that is diſperſed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to ſay, the General Council; for that which is diſperſed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Alſo Pope *Nicholas* reproving *Lotharius* the King for adultery, ſaid, *If thou doſt not amend the ſame, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy Church.*

*The Church taken for the General Council.*

In the which ſaying, Pope *Nicholas* did not ſay, that he would go throughout the World to certifie every one, man by man; but that he would call the Church together, that is to ſay, the General Council, and there would publiſh and declare the offence of *Lotharius*, that he which had contemned the Popes commandments, ſhould fear the reverence of the General Council. I could recite an infinite number of witneſſes for that purpoſe, the which all tend unto one end; but this one teſtimony of the Council of *Conſtance*, ſhall ſuffice for them all; wherein it is ſaid, that not only the Pope in the correction of his Brother, is remitted unto the Council, when as he cannot correct him of himſelf; but alſo when as any thing is done as touching the correction of the Pope himſelf, the matter ought to be referred to the Council. Whereby it appeareth our interpretation to be moſt true, which doth expound the Church to be in the General Council. Hereupon in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, the Congregations which were then holden were called the Church. Alſo in the Council of *Nice*, and in other Councils, when as many ſhould be excommunicated, always in manner this ſentence was adjoyned, *Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apoſtolica Eccleſia*, i. *The Catholick and Apoſtolick Church doth excommunicate this man.* And hereupon that Title is given unto the Councils, whereby we do ſay, that the General Council doth repreſent the Univerſal Church. Wherefore the Laws and Decrees of the Council are called the Laws of the Church, for that the Church doth not ſet forth any Laws in any other place, but in the General Council; except we will call the Popes Conſtitutions the Laws of the Church, which cannot be properly ſaid but of the Council; whereas, albeit all theſe which are of the Church do not aſſemble and come together, yet the moſt part of them are accuſtomed to be there preſent, and in thoſe which come, the whole power of the Church doth conſiſt. Whereupon we read in the *Acts of the Apoſtles, It pleaſed the Apoſtles and Elders with all the Church.* For albeit that all the faithful were not there preſent (becauſe a great number of them remained at *Antioch*) yet notwithſtanding it was called the whole Church, becauſe the whole power of the Church conſiſted in the Council. Thus for this preſent it is ſufficient that we underſtand by the Church the General Council.

*The Council of Conſtance decreeth the Pope to be under the Council.*

*The Acts of the Apoſtles*

*The Council of Nice.*

*The title of the Councils*

*The Conſtitutions of the Biſhops of Rome, are not the laws of the Church.*

And now to return unto our purpoſe, let us hear what our Saviour ſaith unto *Peter*, *If thy brother do offend againſt thee*, unto this Text following, *Tell it unto the Church*; and let us underſtand the Council by the Church. Who is greater in this place, he which is ſent unto the Council, or the Council whereunto *Peter* was ſent? The verity doth remit the Biſhop of *Rome* unto the General Council. And why ſo? verily becauſe the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould not diſdain to acknowledge ſome power in earth to be above them, the which they ſhould conſult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon *Peter* is alſo called by another name, *Simon*; the which, as *Rabanus* in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the *Hebrew* Tongue, obedience, that all men might underſtand obedience to be neceſſary even in the Biſhop of *Rome*.

*By the Church the Council is underſtood.*

*Simons obedience neceſſary in the Biſhops of Rome.*

The authority of the Council of *Conſtance* might ſuffice us in this point; but we think it good to ſtay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adverſaries; which while they go about to maintain the unſatiable

KING 1 Hen. 6. The full judgment of the Church is not to be found but in the General Council.

To appeal to be made from the Council to the Pope.

Gal. 2. Peter constrained to obey the General Council.

The favourers and maintainers of the Pope go about to maintain and prefer the pleasure and profit of one before a common commodity.

satiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth, before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stir up. Against the which, besides many other, *Zacharias* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive. Who in the great and sacred Synod of *Chalcedon*, when as the sentence of the Bishop of *Rome* was objected unto him, that the Canon of Pope *Nicholas* and other Patriarchs was above the Council, he replied against it. And *Zosimus* the Pope saith thus, as touching the Decrees of the General Council, *The authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the Fathers.* Neither doth he here speak of the Decrees of the Fathers which are dispersed abroad in Cities or Wilderness, for they do not bind the Pope; but of them which are made and published by the Fathers in the General Council. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of Pope *Leo*, the most eloquent of all the Bishops of *Rome*, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto *Anatholius*, *That the Decrees of the Council of* Nice *are in no part to be violate and broken*; thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the high Patriarch.

The Pope can abide no General Councils.

The authority also of *Damasus* upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto *Arelius* the Archbishop, as *Isidorus* declareth in the Book of Councils, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the Synod is this, *That they which are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either frowardly do any thing, either presume to do any thing, or willingly consent unto those which would do any thing contrary and against the sacred Canons, they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost.* Of the which blasphemy whether *Gabriel*, which calleth himself *Eugenius*, be presently partaker, let them judge which have heard him say, *That it is so far from his office and duty to obey the General Councils, that*, he saith, *he doth then best merit and deserve, when as he contemneth the Decrees of the Council.* *Damasus* addeth yet moreover, *For this purpose*, saith he, *the rulers of the sacred Canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be known and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no mans, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid) we do transgress against any of the Decrees of the holy Fathers.* Notwithstanding we daily see in all the Popes Bulls and Letters, these words, *Non obstante*, that is to say *notwithstanding*, which no other necessity hath brought in, than only unsatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

*Non obstante* in the Popes Bulls.

The Council to be above the Pope.

But now to return again unto *Damasus*, mention is made in the Epistles of *Ambrose* Bishop of *Millain*, of a certain Epistle, which is said to be written by *Damasus*, unto the Judges deputed by the Council of *Capua*, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter which hath been before the Council. By the which saying, he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirm and say, the Bishop of *Rome* to be above the Council. The which, if it were true, *Damasus* might have taken into his hands the cause of *Bonosius* the Bishop to determine, which was before begun by the Council; but forsomuch as the Council is above the Pope, *Damasus* knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon *Hilarius* also acknowledging the Synod to be above him, would have his Decrees confirmed by the Council. Also the famous Doctor Saint *Augustine* in his Epistle which he did write unto *Glorius* and *Eleusius*, and *Felix* the *Grammarian*, declareth the case. *Cecilianus* the Bishop was accused by *Donatus*, with others. *Melchiades* the Pope with certain other Bishops, absolved *Cecilian*, and confirmed him in his Bishoprick. They being moved with those doings, made a Schism in the parts of *Africa*, S. *Augustine* reproveth them, which having another remedy against the sentence of the Pope, did raise a Schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner: *Behold, let us think those Bishops which gave judgment at* Rome, *not to have been good Judges, there remained yet the judgment of the Universal Church, where the cause might have bin pleaded even with the Judges themselves, so that if they were convict not to have given just judgment, their sentence might be broken.*

Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the Pope alone, but also the Pope with his Bishops joyned with him, might be made frustrate by the Council; for the full judgment of the Universal Church is not found elsewhere but in the General Council. Let not any man doubt, in that S. *Augustine* seemeth here only to speak of Bishops, for if the Text of his Epistle be read over, he shall find the Bishop of *Rome* to be comprehended amongst the other Bishops. It was also prohibited by the Councils of *Africa*, that the Bishops of *Rome* should not receive or hear the Appeals of any which did appeal from the Council; which altogether declare the superiority of the Council. And this appeareth more plainly in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where *Peter* is rebuked by the Congregation of the Apostles, because he went in to *Cornelius* a Heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the Congregation; and yet it was said unto him as well as others, *Ite & baptizate, &c. Go and baptise.* But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose, which St. *Paul* writeth unto the *Galatians*, where he saith, *he resisted* Peter *even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the Gospel.* Which words, if they be well understood, signifie none other thing by the verity of the Gospel, than the Canon of the Council decreed amongst the Apostles; for the Disciples being gathered together, have so determined it. Whereupon S. *Paul* doth shew, that *Peter* ought to have obeyed the General Council.

Acts 31.

The Decree of the council of *Constance*.

The Pope bound under the obedience of the General Council.

But now to finish this Disputation, we will here adjoyn the determination of the Council of *Constance*, the which Council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared by a solemn Decree, *That all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were Popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred General Councils.* And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, *in such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the head as in the members*, notwithstanding this amplificative clause, which is adjoyned, is to be noted, *Et in pertinentibus ad ea*, that is to say, *with all the appurtenants.* The which addition is so large that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his Apostles, *Go ye forth and teach all people.* He did not say in three points only, *but teach them to observe and keep all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* And in another place he saith, not this or that, but *whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.* which all together are alledged for the authority of the Church and General Councils. For the preferment whereof these things also come in place, *He that heareth you, heareth me.* And again *It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God.* Also, *Where two or three be gathered in my name, &c.* Again, *Whatsoever ye shall ask, &c. O holy Father, save them whom thou hast given me, &c. And I will be with them even unto the end of the World.* Also out of St. *Paul* these places are gathered, *We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made us apt Ministers of the New Testament, &c. And he appointed some Apostles, and some Prophets, &c.* In all which places, both Christ and the Apostles spake of the authority of many, which all together are alledged for the authority of the Universal Church.

Divers places of Scripture alledged out of the Gospels and Apostles, for authority of the Church and General Councils above the Pope.

But forsomuch as that Church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain any thing; therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the Church doth consist in the General Councils where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the Primitive Church, that hard and weighty matters were not intreated upon, but only in the General Councils and Congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward. For when as the Churches were divided, General Councils were holden. And in the Council of *Nice* we do find the Heresie of *Arrius* condemned. In the Council of *Constantinople* the Heresie of *Macedonius*. In the Council of *Ephesus* the Heresie of *Nestorius*. In the Council of *Chalcedon* the Heresies of *Eutyches* were also condemned: forsomuch as they thought the judgment of the Bishop of *Rome* not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the Council to be of greater force than the sentence of the Pope, forsomuch as he might err as a Man; but the Council wherein so many Men were gathered together,

Weighty matters intreated but only in General Councils.

The Pope not sufficient of himself to convince or judge Hereticks.

The Pope may err.

KING *Hen.6.*

ther, being guided with the holy Ghoſt, could not err. Alſo it is a very excellent ſaying of *Martianus* the Emperor, which ſerveth for that purpoſe, whoſe words are theſe: *Truly he is to be counted a wicked and ſacrilegious perſon, which, after the ſentence of ſo many good and holy men will ſtick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of meer madneſs, at the noon-time and fair day light, to ſeek for a feigned light, for he which having found the truth ſeeketh to diſcuſs any thing further, ſeeketh but after vanities and lies.*

Whether the Pope may be depoſed by the Council or not.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the Biſhop of *Rome* is under the Council. Notwithſtanding ſome do yet ſtill doubt, whether he may alſo be depoſed by the Council or not: For albeit it be proved, that he is under the Council, yet for all that will they not grant, that he may be alſo depoſed by the Council. Wherefore, it ſhall be no digreſſing at all from our purpoſe, ſomewhat to ſay upon that matter: and firſt of all, to ſpeak of theſe Railers, which are yet ſo earneſt for the defence of the Biſhop of *Rome*, which being vanquiſhed in one Battel ſtill renue another, and contend rather of obſtinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before ſpoken, as touching the preheminence of the Biſhop of *Rome*, or the Patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words than eloquent, they ſtay much of this point, where Chriſt ſaid unto *Peter*, *Tibi dabo claves Regni Cœlorum*; *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon Earth ſhall be bound in Heaven*; as though by thoſe words he ſhould be made Head over the other. And again they do amplifie it by this, *Paſce ove meas, Feed my ſheep*, which they do not find to be ſpoken to any other of the Apoſtles. And becauſe it is ſaid, that *Peter* was the chief and the mouth of the Apoſtles, therefore they judge it well ſpoken, that no man ſhall judge the chief and principal See; being all of this opinion with *Boniface*, which ſaid, that the Pope ought to be judged for no cauſe, except he be perceived or known to ſwarve from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him headlong into Hell, there to be perpetually tormented; as though he could open the Kingdom of Heaven to others, if any other could ſhut it againſt him; that he could feed other, if he himſelf lacked paſture.

The places *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum*, *Paſce ove meas*, make nothing for the Popes ſupremacy.

The Popes ſupremacy confuted.

But we count theſe as things of no force or difficulty. For Saint *Auguſtine* in the Sermon of the *Nativity of* Peter *and* Paul, ſaith in this wiſe, *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, before his Paſſion, choſe his Diſciples, (as ye do know) whom he called brethren. Amongſt thoſe* Peter *alone almoſt in every place, repreſented the perſon of the Church, And therefore it was ſaid unto him*, Tibi dabo claves Regni Cœlorum, *that is to ſay*, Unto thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. *Theſe Keys did he not receive as one man, but as one he received them for the Church.* And in another place, where he writeth of the Chriſtian Agony, he ſaith, *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given unto the Church, when as they were given unto* Peter. And when as it was ſpoken unto him, *Amas me? Paſce oves meas*, that is to ſay, *Loveſt thou me? Feed my Sheep*; it was ſpoken unto them all. And Saint *Ambroſe* in the beginning of his Paſtoral, ſaith, *Which ſheep and which flock the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint* Peter *took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we altogether with him.* By which words the foundation and principal arguments of thoſe flatterers are utterly ſubverted and overthrown. For if *Peter* repreſented the perſon of the Church, we ought not to aſcribe the force of theſe words unto *Peter*, but unto the Church. Neither do I ſee how that can ſtand which *Boniface* doth affirm, for it is far diſtant from the truth, except it be underſtood otherwiſe than it is ſpoken.

*Peter* repreſenteth the perſon of the Church, and not of the Pope.

The Keys given to the Church, and not to one man.

Pope *Boniface* erreth.

But it may peradventure ſeem a great thing unto ſome, that it is ſaid the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the Head of the Militant Church. For as in the body of man, Phyſicians never give counſel to cut off the Head for any manner of ſickneſs and diſeaſe, although it be never ſo full of Ulcers, or infected: ſo in this Myſtical Body of the Church, the Head ought always to be kept; and albeit it be never ſo wicked, yet it is to be ſuffered and born withal. But now convert this Argument, If it were poſſible in the body of man, when one Head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we ſee it may be done in the Church; ſhould not Heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diſeaſes? Moreover, if we will thus reaſon, that the Head of the Church ſhould be, in reſpect of his body, as the Head of Man in reſpect of the body of Man; then doth it neceſſarily follow, that the head being dead, the body muſt alſo die, as is manifeſt in the body of man. So ſhould it grow into an abſurdity to confeſs, that the Pope being dead, the Church alſo ſhould be dead; the which how far it diſſenteth from the truth, it is moſt manifeſt. Therefore whatſoever other men ſay, I am not of opinion with them, which affirm the Biſhop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church, except peradventure, they do make him the miniſterial Head; for we do read that Chriſt is the Head of the Church, and not the Pope; and that he is the true Head, immutable, perpetual, and everlaſting, and the Church is his body, whereof the Pope himſelf is alſo a member, and the Vicar of Chriſt, not to the deſtruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the ſame body of Chriſt. Wherefore if he be found a damnable deſtroyer of the Church, he may be depoſed and caſt out, becauſe he doth not that he was ordained to do; and we ought, as Pope *Leo* ſaith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the Goſpel; that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it ſhould be cut off from the body. For the Lord ſaith in another place, *every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, ſhall be cut down and caſt into the fire.* And in another place alſo it is ſaid unto us, *Take away all evil and wickedneſs from among you.* It is very juſt and true which is written in the Epiſtle of *Clement*, unto *James* the brother of our Lord, *that he which will be ſaved, ought to be ſeparate from them which will not be ſaved.*

They dote which ſay that the Pope cannot be depoſed for any other cauſe than for hereſie.

But for the more manifeſt declaration hereof, we muſt have recourſe to that which is ſpoken by the Lord in the Goſpel of *John*, *I am the true Vine*, ſaith the Lord, *and my Father is the Husbandman, but ye are the branches; every branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off.* Theſe words were ſpoken unto the Apoſtles, amongſt whom alſo *Peter* was preſent, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Alſo ſaint *Jerome* upon theſe words of *Matthew*, *Unſavoury ſalt is profitable for nothing, but to be caſt forth and troden of ſwine.* Whereupon in the perſon of *Peter* and *Paul* he ſaith thus, *It is no eaſie matter to ſtand in the place of* Peter *and* Paul, *and to keep the Chair of them which reign with Chriſt. This unſavoury ſalt, that is to ſay, a fooliſh Prelate, unſavoury in preaching, and fooliſh in offending, is good for nothing but to be caſt forth, that is to ſay, depoſed, and to be troden of ſwine, that is, of wicked ſpirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty Prelates, as their own flock and herd.* Behold this teſtimony of *Jerome* is plain and evident, *Let him be caſt out*, ſaith he.

Fruitleſs branches are to be cut off.

If the Pope be unſavoury ſalt, he is to be caſt away.

He expoundeth and ſpeaketh it of the Prelate which uſurpeth the place of *Peter*, and ſo conſequently of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who being unſavoury in preaching, and fooliſh in offending, ought to be depoſed (as *Jerome* affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither as ſome do dream, is he to be depoſed for Hereſie only. *Iſidorus* in the Book of Councils, rehearſeth a certain Epiſtle of *Clement* the Succeſſor of *Peter*, written unto *James* the Apoſtle, where the ſaid *Clement*, referring the words of *Peter* unto himſelf, ſaith thus, *If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou ſhalt both deceive thy ſelf, and thoſe which ſhall give ear unto thee; for thou canſt not fully diſtribute unto every man thoſe things which pertain unto ſalvation; whereby it ſhall come to paſs, that thou, as a man for not teaching thoſe things which pertain unto ſalvation, ſhalt be depoſed, and thy diſciples ſhall periſh through ignorance.* Notwithſtanding in another place, in ſtead of this word *depoſed*, it is found, *thou ſhalt be puniſhed*; which two words, if they be well underſtood, do not much differ, for depoſition is oftentimes uſed in the place of puniſhment. But peradventure ſome will here object, that this Epiſtle is not to be judged *Clement's*, becauſe it is ſaid to be written unto *James*, who as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory affirmeth, was dead before that *Peter* was put to death. But *Clement* might think that *James* was alive, when as he wrote; which were far diſtant aſunder, and Meſſengers of the Chriſtians came not often unto *Rome*. Moreover, there is mention made of this Epiſtle in divers places of the Decretals, as moſt true, and therefore

A note for all naughty Prelates.

The words of Peter to *Clement*.

The Epiſtle of *Clement* to *James* doubted.

The Biſhop of *Rome* unproperly called the Head of the Church.

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it ſhall be nothing from the purpoſe to rehearſe other ſayings out of the ſame Epiſtle; where he ſaith, *That he which liveth rebelliouſly, and refuſeth both to learn and to do good, is rather a member of the Devil than of Chriſt, and doth ſhew himſelf rather to be an Infidel than a faithful Chriſtian.* Upon which words, the Gloſs which *Panormitane* calleth ſingular, and is much allowed, ſaith, That if the crime or offence of the Biſhop of *Rome* be notorious, whereby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accuſed thereof. If then he may be accuſed, *Ergo*, alſo he may be puniſhed, and according to the exigent of the fault depoſed; otherwiſe he ſhould be accuſed in vain.

The Pope may and ought to be both accuſed and puniſhed for ill doing.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adverſaries, but that the Pope may be depoſed. Notwithſtanding it is not yet evident whether he may be depoſed by the Council or no, which we now take in hand to diſcourſe. And firſt of all the adverſaries will grant this unto us; that the Biſhop of *Rome* may be depoſed by the Church, forſomuch as the Pope being the Vicar of the Church, no man doubteth but that a Lord may put out his Vicar at his will and pleaſure: neither is it to be doubted but that the Pope is more truly called the Vicar of the Church than of Chriſt. But if the Church may depoſe the Pope, *Ergo*, the Council alſo may do the ſame. Alſo the Gloſs, which *Panormitane* in his writing doth ſo greatly commend, hath this ſentence, *That the General Council is judge over the Pope in all caſes.* Likewiſe the moſt ſacred Synod of *Conſtantinople*, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the Biſhops of *Rome* to be under the judgment of the Council; and the Council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or queſtion that doth ariſe concerning the Biſhop of *Rome*. Neither let any man doubt thereof, becauſe this word depoſition is not mentioned; for it is ſaid *of every doubtful matter or queſtion*; for if the Synod do judge of every doubt, *Ergo*, it ſhall alſo judge whether the Pope ſhall be depoſed or not; for that may alſo come in doubt. And becauſe we will not ſeek examples far off, *John* 23. whom all the World did reverence, was depoſed of his Papacy by the Council of *Conſtance*. Neither yet was he condemned for any Hereſie; but becauſe he did offend the Church by his manifold crimes, the ſacred Synod thought good to depoſe him; and ever ſince continually the Church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might ceaſe, which affirm, that the Pope cannot be depoſed, but only for Hereſie.

Whether the Pope may be depoſed by the Council or no.

The Pope is rather to be called the Vicar of the Church, than of Chriſt.

Pope *John* 23d. depoſed, and yet for no Hereſie.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the General Councils to be of no effect, except the Pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they ſaid, that *Dioſcorus* did rebuke *Paſchaſius* the Biſhop of *Cicil*, and Legate of Pope *Leo*, becauſe that he did enterpriſe, without the authority of the Apoſtolick See, to call a Council at *Epheſus*. They alſo alledge another teſtimony of the Synod of *Chalcedon*; where, when mention was made of the Council of *Epheſus*, all the Biſhops cried out, ſaying, *We ought not to call it a Council, becauſe it was neither gathered by the Apoſtolick authority, neither rightly kept.* By the which authorities, they which ſay that the Councils cannot be holden without the conſent of the Pope, do think themſelves marvelouſly armed. Whoſe ſentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they deſire, it ſhall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the Church. For what remedy ſhall we find, if that a wicked Pope do diſturb the whole Church, deſtroy ſouls, ſeduce the people by his evil example, if finally he preach contrary unto the Faith, and fill the People full of Hereſies, ſhall we provide no ſtay or ſtop for him? Shall we ſuffer all things to run to ruine and decay with him? Who would think that the Biſhop of *Rome* would congregate a Council for his own correction or depoſition? for as Men are prone unto ſin, ſo would they alſo ſin without puniſhment. But when as I do peruſe ancient Hiſtories, and the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, I do not find this order, that Councils ſhould be gathered only at the will of the Pope; for the firſt Council of all, after that *Matthias* was ſubſtitute in the place of *Judas*, was not congregate at the commandment of *Peter*, but at the commandment of Chriſt, who commanded the Apoſtles that they ſhould not depart from *Jeruſalem*, but look for the promiſe of the Father.

Whether Councils may be congregated without the authority of the Pope.

They err that ſay the Pope ought only to appoint the Councils. Mark wherefore the Popes will have no General Councils.

The firſt Council of the Apoſtles

The ſecond Council, as touching the election of the Deacons, *Peter* alone did not congregate, but the Twelve Apoſtles, for it is written, *The twelve Apoſtles calling together the multitude, &c.*

KING *Hen.* 6. The ſecond Council of the Apoſtles

The third Council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumciſion and other ceremonies of the Law, was gathered together by a general Inſpiration: for it is written, *The Apoſtles and Elders came together, &c.*

The third Council of the Apoſtles

The fourth Council, where certain things contained in the Law are permitted, ſeemeth to be gathered by *James*, and ſo diſcourſing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive Church, whereby it ſhould appear that the authority of congregating of Councils ſhould pertain only unto Biſhops of *Rome*. Neither afterwards in the time of *Conſtantinus Magnus*, and other Emperors, was the conſent of the Biſhops of *Rome* greatly required to the congregating of Councils; and therefore it is written thus of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, *The ſacred and univerſal Synod gathered together at* Chalcedon, *the chief City of the Province of* Bethulia, *according unto the grace of God, and the ſanctions of the moſt godly and Chriſtian Emperor. Valentinian* and *Martian* do not make any mention of the Biſhop of *Rome*, although his conſent were there.

The fourth Council of the Apoſtles

General Councils ſix times paſt congregated by Emperors, and not by Popes.

Wherefore, if the Pope would reſiſt, and would have no Council congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church do judge it neceſſary to have a Council, the Council may be congregate whether the Pope will or no. The Council holden at *Piſa*, was not congregate by the authority and conſent of any Pope, when as *Gregory* did condemn it, and *Benedict* curſed it. The ſame alſo may be ſaid of the Council of *Conſtance*, which was aſſembled by the authority of Pope *John*, who in reſpect of the *Spaniards* was no true Pope. And if the Council of *Piſa* were no true Council, Pope *John* was no true Pope; whereupon his conſent to the congregation of the Council of *Conſtance* was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the Pope hath once given his conſent, if it ſhould be called back, the Council ſhould then ceaſe, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his conſent. And of neceſſity he muſt be obedient unto the Council whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part: and if he ſeparate himſelf from the conſent of the greater part, and depart from the Unity of the Church, he maketh himſelf a Schiſmatick.

If the greater part of the Church do conſent, a Council may be holden whether the Pope will or no.

How the Pope is a Schiſmatick.

Now, to come unto the ſecond concluſion; if it be true, as it is indeed, that the Pope is under the Council, how can the Pope then diſſolve, alter and tranſport the Council, againſt the will of the ſame? For with what countenance can we ſay, that the inferiour hath power over the ſuperiour? How can the Synod correct the Pope, if the Pope may diſſolve the Synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, covetous, a ſower of war and diſcord, and a moſt mortal enemy unto the Church and the name of Chriſt, how can the Council reprove him, if he have authority to diſſolve the Council? For aſſoon as ever that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall underſtand that in the Council they do intreat or talk of his correction or puniſhment, ſtraightways he will ſeek remedy by diſſolving the Council. For as *Macrobius* ſaith, he that hath liberty to do more than is fit or neceſſary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If ſo be that the Biſhop of *Rome* may exempt himſelf from correction by diſſolving or tranſporting the Council, it followeth that the Council is not above him. Therefore we muſt either deny that which is aforeſaid, that the Pope is under the Council, or elſe deny that the Pope hath power to diſſolve the Council, contrary to the will and determination of the Council.

The Pope cannot diſſolve a General Council againſt the will of the ſame.

The ſaying of *Macrobius*.

And as this firſt concluſion is moſt true, ſo are all other concluſions falſe, which ſeem to impugn the ſame. Wherefore the ſecond concluſion of the Divines is alſo manifeſt, albeit that ſome do admit it in certain caſes, and in other ſome exclude it again. For if we do admit, that for certain cauſes the Pope may diſſolve the Council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to ſay, to make the Pope Judge of the Council, it were clean contrary unto the firſt concluſion.

Whether the Pope in certain caſes may diſſolve the Councils.

Now it is proved that the Council is above the Pope, and cannot be diſſolved by the Pope without conſent thereof. Now we muſt further ſee, whether it be an Article

{KING Hen. 6.} of our Faith to believe it: which matter hath reſpect unto the third Concluſion. For there have been many, which albeit they did confeſs theſe two Concluſions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the Catholick Faith or no. Therefore this ſecond part muſt be confirmed. And we muſt ſee whether it be an Article of Faith that the Pope be under the Council. Which being proved, it ſhall alſo appear to be an Article of Faith, that the Pope cannot Diſſolve the Council without the conſent thereof. Which conſequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. Firſt of all therefore we muſt inquire what Faith is, that we may thereby the better underſtand what pertaineth thereunto.

The definition of Faith.

Faith, as the Divines do define it, is a firm and ſtedfaſt cleaving unto things, believed by the Authority of him that ſpeaketh; If then we believe, as is aforeſaid, that the Pope of *Rome* is under the Council, ſome authority doth move us thereunto: ſo is it the Faith of him which believeth it. But the Queſtion is not whether it be an Article of Faith only, but whether it be an Article of the Catholick Faith. Wherefore we muſt again enquire what the Catholick Faith is. This word *Catholick* is a Greek word, and ſignifieth *Univerſal*. The Catholick Faith, that is to ſay, the Univerſal Faith, is not ſo called becauſe that every man holdeth it, but becauſe every man ought to believe it. For all men do not believe that God is Incarnate, but every Man ought ſo to believe. And albeit that many be againſt this Faith, yet doth it not ceaſe to be Univerſal. For what writeth the Apoſtle unto the *Romans*? *If ſome of them have not believed, doth their misbelief make the Faith of God Vain? God forbid. Verily God is true, but every man is a lyar.* Therefore to believe that the Pope is under the Council, is a point of the Catholick Faith, although ſome think the contrary: for we are bound to believe it, forſomuch as it is taken out of the Goſpel. For we are not bound only to believe thoſe things which are noted to us in the *Creed*, but alſo all thoſe things which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one jot. And thoſe things which we alledge for the ſuperiority of the general Council are gathered out of the ſayings of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*: *Ergo*, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that theſe things are taken out of the Goſpel, the Council of *Conſtance* doth witneſs, the which groundeth his authority upon theſe words, *Die Eccleſiæ*, that is to ſay, Tell it unto the Church. And where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c. And, Whatſoever ye ſhall bind, &c. with other ſuch like texts.

*Rom.* 3 Catholick what it is.

The definition of the Catholick Faith.

The Council of *Conſtance* *Vide ſupra.*

Whereupon ta Pope *Martin* the fourth being yet in *Conſtance*, under the licence of the Council, ſent out his Bulls, which do reckon up the Articles, whereupon they ought to be examined which had faln into any Hereſie; amongſt the which Articles he putteth this Article; Whether he doth believe the ſacred general Council to have power immediately from God, and that the Ordinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Chriſtians; which if any Man would deny, he ſhould be counted an Heretick. Wherefore, when as the ſacred Synod of *Conſtance* doth ſet forth this verity, as touching the ſuperiority of the general Council, what ſhould let, but that we alſo ſhould confeſs the ſame to be a verity of the Catholick Faith? For the Catholick Church being Congregate at *Conſtance* received that Faith, that is to ſay, believed it by the authority of him which ſpake it, that is, Chriſt and his Saints.

The words of the Council of *Chalcedon*, whereby he is declared an Heretick that holdeth any opinion contrary to the Council.

To this purpoſe alſo ſerve very well the words of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, written in this manner: It is not lawful for him that is condemned by the whole Synod to nominate any Biſhop. The determination pleaſeth all men. This is the Faith of the Fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is an Heretick. And again, it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect and choſen Synod.

Mark the manifeſt witneſs of this moſt ſacred Synod, which ſaid, that he is an Heretick, which holdeth any opinion contrary unto the Council: But he is no Heretick, except he refuſe the Catholick Faith: *Ergo*, it was the Catholick Faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal from the ſacred Council. But how was the ſame any point of the Catholick Faith? Verily forſomuch as the ſacred Synod, peruſing over the Holy Scriptures, hath received this Concluſion out of the words of Chriſt and other Holy Fathers. And like as the Synod of *Chalcedon* took their Concluſions out of the Holy Scriptures, ſo did the Council of *Conſtance*, this we now reaſon upon. And like as the one is an Article of the Catholick Faith, ſo is the other alſo. And he which holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is an Heretick.

Furthermore they ſeem unto me to dream and dote, which confeſſing them to be verities, will not confeſs them to be verities of Faith. For if they be verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of Grammar, much leſs of Logick; and from Aſtronomy and Phyſick they are far diſtant. Neither is there, any other Man but a Divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of neceſſity, if he do believe Chriſt, or his Apoſtles. Therefore this is a verity of the Catholick Faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he which obſtinately reſiſteth againſt the ſame, is to be judged an Heretick, as the third Concluſion doth affirm. Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he ſhould be called an Heretick, which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the general Council, which is confirmed by ſo many Teſtimonies and Authorities. Alſo *Panormitane* alledgeth Saint *Jerome*, ſaying, He which underſtandeth the Scripture otherwiſe than the conſent of the Holy Ghoſt doth require, albeit he do not depart from the Church, may be called an Heretick.

*Panormitane* is noted, and very well nipped by his own ſuppoſition.

Whereupon it followeth, that he which upon the words of Chriſt, ſaying unto *Peter*, *Die Eccleſiæ. i.* Tell it unto the Church, doth not underſtand by the Church the general Council, underſtandeth it otherwiſe than the ſenſe of the Holy Ghoſt doth require, and thereby may be noted as an Heretick. And to prove that the ſenſe of the Holy Ghoſt is otherwiſe than he doth judge it, the Council of *Conſtance* doth declare: The which interpreting thoſe words, *Die Eccleſiæ. i.* Tell it unto the Church, ſpoken by the Holy Ghoſt, underſtandeth them to be ſpoken of the general Council. By theſe and many other weightier reaſons the three aforeſaid Concluſions ſeemed true unto the Divines, and through them they alſo allowed the reſidue.

Tell the Church, that is to ſay, the general Council.

Now have we ſufficiently ſaid, as touching that which was before promiſed: neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of theſe three firſt Concluſions. Now to return again unto our Story, it is our purpoſe to declare thoſe things which happened after the Concluſions of the Divines; for there are many things worthy of remembrance, which alſo may happily be profitable unto the poſterity.

When the diſputation was ended, and a final Concluſion of theſe matters even at hand, the Archbiſhop of *Millain* and *Panormitane* with the reſidue of their fellow Ambaſſadors of the King of *Arragon*, and Duke of *Millain*, armed themſelves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withſtand it with ſtout and valiant ſtomachs.

The Biſhop of Burgen.

And firſt of all, as ſoon as the Congregation was aſſembled together, the Biſhop of *Burgen* exhorted them to defer the Concluſion, and to tarry for the Ambaſſadors of other Provinces, which would return from *Mentz*.

*Panormitane's Oration.*

After him *Panormitane*, with a grave and *Rhetorical* Oration, ſpake (in a manner) as followeth.

I have (ſaid he) had a Commandment by the Prophet, to cry without ceaſing. Which Prophet ſaid; Cry out, ceaſe not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before he ought to have cryed, this matter ſpecially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when as the ſtate of the Univerſal Church is intreated upon either to be preſerved, or utterly overthrown: and that he hath cryed ſo much in this manner, that he doubted not but the ſaying of *David* was fulfilled in him, where he ſaith, *Laboravi clamans, raucæ ſunt factæ fauces meæ*; I have laboured, crying out, that my jaws are become hoarſe.

Notwithſtanding that he would, both now, and as often as need ſhould require, without ceaſing ſtill cry out, and ſpecially now in this moſt difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the ſacred Council gently to hear both

him, and the Ambaſſadors of other Princes: Adding moreover four things to be conſidered in all requeſts made of any man. The which he alſo required the Fathers now preſently to mark and conſider: Who it is that maketh the requeſt. What is required. Why it ſhould be required. And what effect would come by the requeſt either granted or denied. As touching the firſt point he ſaid; The moſt noble Kings and excellent Princes with their Prelates to be of great power: and then he reckoned up the King of *Caſtile*, the King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Millain*, and the Biſhops of the ſame Princes, rehearſing alſo the merits and good deeds of the ſaid Kings, and alſo of the Duke of *Millain*. But when as he came to make mention of the Prelates, he could not refrain himſelf, but began to wax ſomewhat hot, ſaying, that the greateſt number of Prelates were on his part. For if the Biſhops and Abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greateſt part of them would have this preſent matter deferred: and forſomuch as the whole power of the Council doth conſiſt in the Biſhops, it is not to be ſuffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that ſhould be concluded, which pleaſed the greater part of the inferiors. For the Keys (ſaid he) were given to the Apoſtles, and to their ſucceſſors which are the Biſhops: alſo that there are three kinds of Synods, Epiſcopal, Provincial, and General, and none of all theſe without Biſhops. Wherefore the manner and order of the preſent Council ſeemed undecent, whereas things were not weighed according as men excel in Dignity, but by moſt voyces: Notwithſtanding, according to the moſt famous Epiſtle of *Clement*, the Biſhops were the pillars and keys of Heaven, and the Inferiors had no determining voice, but only a conſultative voice with them: wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of Faith ſhould be determined without the Biſhops; in which matter not only the Biſhops, but alſo the ſecular Princes ought to be admitted. And forſomuch as they in the name of their Princes, deſired to be admitted to the examination of this preſent matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was that they ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed.

Four things to be conſidered in every requeſt.

*Panormitane* would have dignity to be conſidered in Council, and not voices.

After many things ſpoken to this end and effect, he paſſed over to the ſecond part of his Oration, declaring what it was that he required; not Gold, nor Silver, neither precious Stones, neither Provinces nor Kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but that only the delay of the ſacred Council was required, and that the Fathers would ſtay in the proceſs againſt the Pope, and in the concluſion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither ſhould the delay be long, but only until the return of the Ambaſſadors from *Mentz*, whom he knew well would return very ſhortly. That this was but a ſmall matter, and needed but ſmall intreaty, becauſe there was no danger in it. And alſo it ſhould ſeem injurious, not to tarry for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes which were then at *Mentz*, when as they were not abſent for their own private Commodity, but about the affairs of the Commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had deſired, that during their abſence there ſhould be nothing renewed concerning the matters of *Eugenius*.

*Panormitane* ſeemeth to delay the proceſs againſt the Pope.

Then immediately adjoyning the third part of his Oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private Commodity of any one Man, but for a Common-wealth; not to cauſe any trouble or unquietneſs, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might paſs with peace and quietneſs, that the matter might be ſo much the more firm and ſtable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the conſent of many. And ſo he proceeded to the laſt part of his argument, requiring the Fathers that they would conſider, and weigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they ſhould grant or deny this requeſt. For (ſaith he) if ye ſhall deny this ſmall petition of the Princes, they all will be agrieved therewith, and take this repulſe in ill part. They will ſay, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your Decrees. In vain ſhall ye make Laws, except the Princes do execute them, and all your Decrees ſhall be but vain: yet would I think this to be born withal, if I did not fear greater matters, to enſue. What if they ſhould joyn themſelves with *Eugenius*, who deſireth to ſpoil you, not only of your livings, but alſo of your lives? Alas! what ſlaughter and murther do the eyes of my mind behold and ſee? Would God my opinion were but vain! But if you do grant and conſent unto my petitions, they will think themſelves bound unto you; they will receive and imbrace your Decrees; and whatſoever you ſhall require of them ſhall be obtained. They will forſake your adverſary, they will ſpeak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praiſe, you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly ſubmit themſelves; and *then* ſhall follow that moſt excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the Church. And thus he required the matter to be reſpited on all parts. At the laſt he ſaid, that except the Ambaſſadors of the Princes were heard, he had a proteſtation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

The third part of *Panormitanes* Oration.

Perſwaſions of *Panormitane*.

When *Panomitane* had made an end of his Oration, *Lodovitus* the Protonotary of *Rome* roſe up, a Man of ſuch ſingular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous Men aforetime. Inſomuch that he had always in memory whatſoever he had heard or read, and never forgat any thing that he had ſeen. This man, firſt commending *Panormitane*, ſaid, that he came but the day before from the Baths, and that it ſeemed unto him a ſtrange thing which was now brought in queſtion; wherein he deſired to hear other mens minds, and alſo to be heard of others, and that thoſe Prelates which were at *Mentz* ſhould be tarried for, to be preſent at the diſcuſſing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their Princes, which Prelates were men of great eſtimation, and the Orators of moſt mighty Princes.

The praiſe of *Lodovicus* the Protonotary.

He allowed alſo the ſaying of *Panormitane*, touching the voices of the Inferiors, that it ſeemeth not to be againſt the truth, that only Biſhops ſhould have a deciding or determining voice in Councils. And albeit that ſome in this diſputation do think that which is written in the 15. Chap. of the *Acts* to be their force or defence; notwithſtanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any effect, albeit it was ſaid, it ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt and to us; whereas both the Apoſtles and the Elders were gathered together: whereby it appeared that the others had a deciding voice with the Apoſtles. For he ſaid, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were more to be marvelled at, than to be followed; and that it doth not appear there, that the Apoſtles called the Elders of Duty, but that it is only declared that they were there preſent; whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it ſeemed unto him, that the inferiors in the Council of *Baſil* were admitted to determine with the Biſhops, but of grace and favor only, becauſe the Biſhops may communicate the authority unto others. He alledged for Teſtimony the Biſhop of *Concen*, a Man of great Authority, who would not ſuffer any incorporation, or fellowſhip of the meaner ſort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himſelf, which as yet was not made Biſhop, to have any deciding voice in the Council. Wherefore forſomuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the Biſhops ſpake againſt it, he required the Council that they would of neceſſity ſtay and tarry for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes coming from *Mentz*.

Biſhops only to have determining voice in Councils.

His Oration was ſomuch the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and ſpecially in that point, that he ſaid the Apoſtles were not to be followed; for that all men did impugn as a blaſphemy. But here a Man may marvel, that a Man of ſuch ſuch excellency alledged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the Man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly ſpeak in this matter, and deſired nothing ſomuch, as not to obtain that which he intreated for. After him many other ſpake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and defer the concluſion of theſe matters.

It is no marvel why he alledged no more or better matter; for of naughty leather no man can make a good ſhooe. And note here how God withdraweth his gifts, when men diſſemble and cloke the truth.

THen *Lodovicus* the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, a Man of marvelous conſtancy, and born for the governance of the general Councils, gathering together the words of all the Orators, ſpake in this wiſe: *Moſt reverend Fathers, this is now no new or ſtrange buſineſs, nor begun to day or yeſterday. For it is now many weeks ago ſince the*

Con-

{KING Hen. 6.} *Concluſions were diſputed upon amongſt the Divines, and ſent into* Mentz, *and to all other parts of the world. After this they were diſputed upon ſix days continually, and fully diſcuſſed, and after that not without great delay approved by the Deputies; and as the truth ſeeketh no corners, ſo all things were done publickly and openly. Neither can any Man pretend ignorance, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned. For we called all that were preſent at* Baſil, *and exhorted all the reſt to be preſent. And forſomuch as mention is made of the moſt Noble King of* Caſtile; *who is it that is ignorant that the Kings Orators were there preſent? The Biſhop of* Burgen *and* Ebrun, *men of ſingular learning and eloquence, and you alſo* Panormitan *your ſelf, which here repreſent the perſon of the moſt famous King of* Arragon, *were twice preſent your ſelf in the Chapter-houſe, and diſputed twice moſt ſubtilly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What do you deſire any more? Alſo out of the Territory of the Duke of* Millain *there was preſent the Archbiſhop of* Millain, *who albeit he be no Ambaſſador, yet how famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignorant.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Archbiſhop being ſomewhat moved ſaid unto him, *My Lord Cardinal, you ſupply the room of a Preſident no better than I do the place of a Dukes Orator*, and began to taunt him with many words. But the Cardinal, (as he was a Man moſt patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any means) ſaid, *This is it that I even now deſired. For if the Archbiſhop be an Ambaſſador, then hath the Duke no cauſe to complain, which had his Orator preſent at the diſcuſſing of thoſe matters.*

Truth ſeeketh no corners.

The patience and Anſwer of Arelatenſis.

I paſs over other Princes, becauſe they do not complain. Notwithſtanding, the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, had there the Biſhop of *Lions*, a grave and ſober Man, his Ambaſſador at the diſputation. As for other Princes, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhould be tarried for, which knowing the Council to be congregate for ſuch matters as pertain unto Faith, do not think it abſurd that the doubtful matters of Faith ſhould be declared in the Council; Whereupon if they had been willing to come, they would have been preſent ere this.

Why this matter ſhould need ſo much diſcuſſing as ſome will have, I do not underſtand. For if I be well remembred, *Panormitan* and alſo *Ludovicus* have oftentimes affirmed in this place even the very ſame thing which the Concluſions ſignifie. And if any of them now will go about to gainſay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto *Didimus*. To whom, when as on a time he repugned againſt a certain Hiſtory as vain and frivolous; his own Book was delivered unto him, wherein the ſame was written: So likewiſe theſe two Men (meaning *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Beſides this, there are Synodal Epiſtles and Decrees of this Council, which are full of ſuch Concluſions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raiſed? What is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath ſo often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (ſay they) the Princes and Ambaſſadors are abſent, which are Biſhops, by whoſe preſence the decrees ſhould be of more authority. Well, they are not only abſent which are gone to *Mentz*, but almoſt an infinite number of others, diſperſed throughout the whole World; whom if we ſhould tarry to look for, nothing at any time ſhould be decreed. They are all called unto the Council; they might have come if they would. To thoſe that are preſent power is given, and they ought to debate theſe matters. If any man will ſay, that they which are abſent are about the affairs of the Common-wealth; truly we ſent them not thither, but they went rather againſt the will of the Council, than with the conſent thereof.

*Didimus* reprehended that which was in his own Book found.

He meaneth *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary.

And admit that they had been ſent by the Council, yet were not our power ſo much reſtrained but that we might reform the Church, for otherwiſe there ſhould never any thing be done in the Council: forſomuch as always ſome are ſent out by the Council, and ſome are always to be looked and tarried for, and therefore we muſt either do nothing at all, or ſeild out no Prelates from the Council. Whereas he ſaid that Prelates, and eſpecially Biſhops are contemned, that is moſt far from the truth, for they have the chief and firſt places. They ſpeak firſt, and give their voices firſt of all unto all things: and if ſo be they do ſpeak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors without any gainſaying did ſoon follow their mind.

Neither peradventure ſhall it be found untrue, that there was never any Synod, which did more amplifie the power and authority of Biſhops, than this. For what have the Biſhops been in our days, but only ſhadows? Might they not well have been called Sheepherds without the Sheep? What had they more than their Miter and their Staff, when as they could determine nothing over their Subjects? Verily in the Primitive Church the Biſhops had the greateſt power and authority: but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common ſort of Prieſts only in their habit and revenews. But we have reſtored them again to their old State: we have reduced the collation of benefices again unto them; we have reſtored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again the cauſes of the Subjects to be heard into their hands, and have made them Biſhops which were none before. What cauſe is there then, that the Biſhops ſhould ſay they are contemned of the Council? Or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them? But *Panormitan* ſaith, that forſomuch as moſt Biſhops are on his part, and few againſt him, the Concluſion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors: but let *Panormitan* remember himſelf, that this is no new kind of proceeding.

Mark O ye Biſhops, the Council of *Baſil* contendeth for you, and ye will not underſtand it.

This order of Proceeding, the Council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time ſince. And this order, *Panormitan*, in times paſt hath pleaſed you well enough, when as the multitude did follow your mind. But now, becauſe they do not follow your mind, they do diſpleaſe you. But the Decrees of the Council are not ſo mutable, as the Wills of men. Know ye moreover that the very ſame Biſhops which do conſent with you in word, do not conſent with you in mind, neither ſpeak the ſame ſecretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their Country, that except they would follow your mind they ſhould diſpleaſe the King. They fear the power of the Prince, and to be ſpoyled of their temporalties; neither have they free liberty to ſpeak as is requiſite in Councils. Albeit if they were true Biſhops, and true Paſtors of ſouls, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their Sheep, neither be afraid to ſhed their bloud for their Mother the Church.

This was a true Cardinal: out of whoſe mouth the verity did ſpeak, which feared not the threatnings of Princes, neither ſought any worldly glory or dignity.

But at this preſent (the more is the pity) it is too rare to find a Prelate in this world, which doth not preſer his temporalties before his ſpiritualties; with the love whereof they are ſo withdrawn, that they ſtudy rather to pleaſe Princes than God; and confeſs God in corners, but Princes they will openly confeſs. Of whom the Lord ſpeaketh in his Goſpel, Every one, ſaith he, that confeſſeth me before Men, I will confeſs him before my Father which is in Heaven. And contrariwiſe, the Lord will not confeſs him before his Father, which is afraid to confeſs the Lord before men. Neither is it true which *Panormitan* ſaith, moſt Biſhops to be on his part; for here are many Biſhops Proctors whom he doth not reckon, becauſe they are not of his opinion. Neither is the Dignity of the Fathers to be reſpected in the Council, as he ſaith, but only reaſon: nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth: neither will I for my part prefer a lye of any Biſhop, be he never ſo rich, before a verity or truth of a poor Prieſt. Neither ought a Biſhop to diſdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent Prieſt ſhould be preferred before his. For wiſdom dwelleth oftner under a bare and ragged Cloak, than in rich Ornaments and Apparel.

Mark what worldly pomp dignity and wealth had brought the Prelates to in thoſe days.

Note here the great godlineſs and moſt Chriſtian ſaying of this good Biſhop.

Truth many times dwelleth under the ragged cloke.

Wherefore I pray you my Lord Biſhops, do not ſo much contemn your Inferiors; for the firſt which dyed for Chriſt, the which alſo opened unto all other the way of Martyrdom, was no Biſhop but only a *Levite*. As for that which *Ludovicus* and *Panormitan* do alledge touching the voices of Biſhops, I know not where they have it. Whereforſt I deſire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old Councils, we ſhall find that the Inferiors were always preſent with the Biſhops. And albeit that *Ludovicus*

*Steven* the firſt Martyr.

do forbid us the examples of the Apostles, I stay my self most upon their doings. For what is more comly for us to follow, than the Doctrine and Customs of the Primitive Church? It is said therefore in the 15. Chap. of the *Acts of the Apostles*, *It seemed good unto the holy Ghost, and to us.* The which words *(to us)* is referred unto them which are before named the Apostles and the Elders. Neither this word, *(it seemed good)* signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth that other beside the Bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said Acts, when as the Apostles should intreat upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the Twelve called together the multitude.

Note the sincerity of this good Bishop, which stayed himself upon the examples of the Primitive Church, and not upon customs and Popes.

Here *Ludovicus* saith, that it doth not appear that the Apostles called other of necessity: But I say unto him, how knowest thou that they did not say unto them of necessity? But forsomuch as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibite us to follow the Apostles. For seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our Inferiors. And therefore in all Councils which were celebrate and holden afterwards, we find that Priests were also present: as in the Council of *Nice*, which of all other was most famous, *Athanasius* being then but only a Priest, whithstood the *Arrians* and infringed their arguments, albeit there were also other Priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twenty two Bishops, yet it is not denyed but that the Inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

*Athanasius* being but a Priest and no Bishop, vanquished an Archbishop.

In the Synod of *Chalcedon* (which was counted one of the four principal Synods) it is said that there were there present 600 Priests; the which name is common both unto Bishops and Priests. In other Councils the name both of Bishops and Priests is omitted, and mention made only of Fathers, which hath the same signification that this word *Elders* hath in the *Acts of the Apostles*. We have also a Testimony of the Ecclesiastical History, how that there was a Council gathered at *Rome* of sixty Bishops, and as many Priests and Deacons against the *Novatians*, which called themselves *Cathary*. Also, when *Paul* the Bishop of *Antioch* in the time of *Galiene* the Emperor, Preached that Christ was a Man of common nature, the Council assembled against him in *Antioch*; whereunto there came Bishops out of *Cesarea*, *Cappadocia*, out of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and from *Jerusalem*, many other Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and it is said, that for that cause the Council was often holden.

The name of Priests or Elders common both to Bishops and Priests.

*Paul* Bishop of *Antioch.*

And at the last in the same place, under *Aurelius* the Emperor, *Paul* was condemned of all Christian Churches which were under Heaven: neither was there any man which did more confound the said *Paul*, than *Malchion* a Priest of *Antioch*, which taught *Rhetorcik* in *Antioch*. But to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident Testimonies for the defence of Inferiors. For the chief and principal amongst all the Divines, St. *Austen* upon the words of *Matthew*, where Christ saith to *Peter*, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, saith, That by those words the judicial Power was given not only unto *Peter*, but also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church, the Bishops and Priests. If then Priests have a judicial Power in the Church, what should let that they have not also a determining voice in the Councils. The famous Doctor Saint *Jerom* doth also agree with Saint *Austen*, whose words are these upon the Epistle of *Paul* unto *Titus*. Before that difference was made in Religion by the instigation of the Divel, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of *Paul*, I of *Apollo*, and I of *Cephas*, the Churches were governed by the common consent and Council of the Priests; for a Priest is, the very same that a Bishop is. Wherefore all Bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power than Priests, rather by custom than by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the Church together. And this we do also gather out of *Paul* unto *Titus*, which maketh so much concordance between Bishops and Priests, that oftentimes he calleth Priests, Bishops; whereby it doth evidently appear, that Priests are not to be excluded from the conventions of Bishops and determinations of matters. Albeit, as Saint *Jerom* writeth that Bishops only by custom are preferred before Priests, it may be that a contrary custom may take away that custom. For if Priests ought to rule the Church together with the Bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the Church.

*Paul* the Heretick condemned.

St. *Augustines* mind upon this sentence. *Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum.*

Bishops are of greater power than Priests, rather by custom than by dispensation of truth.

KING *Hen. 6.*

Bishops and Priests ought to rule the Church together.

Wherefore the Testimony of Saint *Paul* is evident; for (as he writing unto the *Ephesians* saith) If Christ instituted his Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, and Teachers to the work of the ministery, for the edifying of his Church, until such time as we should meet him, for this purpose, that there should be no doubt in the diversity of doctrine; who doubteth then, but that the governance of the Church is committed unto others together with the Apostles? Let these our Champions now hold their peace, and seem to be no wiser than they ought to be. The memorial of the Council of *Constance* is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I my self also which was neither Cardinal nor Bishop, but only a Doctor, where I did see without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the Inferiors to be admitted with the Bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great Council, which also followed the examples of the Council of *Pisa*, and the great Council at *Lateran*, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Priests did joyntly judge together with the Bishops.

Moreover, if Abbots, as we do see it observed in all Councils, having a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ; why should not Priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his Apostles? Hereupon also, if only Bishops should have a determining voice, nothing should be done but what pleased the *Italian* Nation, the which alone doth exceed all other Nations, or at the least is equal with them, in number of Bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the Inferiors should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

Note that Abbots were not instituted by Christ.

*Italy* surmounteth all other Nations in number of Bishops.

Behold you do see the zeal, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimity of these Inferiors. Where should the Council now be, if only Bishops and Cardinals should have their voice? Where should the Authority of the Councils be? Where should the Catholick Faith be? Where should the Decrees and Reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of *Eugenius*, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these Inferiors, whom ye now contemn, had withstood him. These are they which have contemned the privation made by *Eugenius*. These I say, are they which have not regarded his threatnings, spoil and persecution. These are they which being taken, imprisoned and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the Council; yea, even these are they, who albeit they were by *Eugenius* delivered over a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred Council, and feared not to suffer War, Famine, and most cruel Pestilence: and finally, what thing is it, that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the Council? You might have heard this Inferior sort, even in the midst of their Tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and say, *Albeit that all Men become obedient unto that Subverter of the Church* Eugenius, *and that every Man do depart from the verity of the Faith and constitutions of the Fathers, consenting unto the Commandments of* Eugenius, *yet we and our Brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy Fathers, the which indeed they have done.* Neither could they be feared with threatnings or discouraged with any spoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their most blessed purpose. And (to speak somewhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

Note the terrible persecution of those days, and the great constancy of the godly, for the truths sake.

O zeal of Faith, worthy the crown of Martyrdom?

As for the Bishops, whom *Panormitan* alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and even they which are here present are not able by vertue to overcome iniquity, they fear the Tertene power, and commit offence with their hast. Have ye not heard how they all said, they would consent unto the Kings will and pleasure? But the Inferiors are they which have had truth, right.

*Eccles. 4.*

The Bishops fear the earthly power, but no God.

KING Hen. 6.

righteouſneſs, and God himſelf before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for ſhewing themſelves ſuch Men unto the Church of God. But why do I defend the cauſe of theſe inferiors? When as ſome will alſo exclude thoſe Biſhops which are but Biſhops by name and title, and have no poſſeſſion of the Church, from our company, not underſtanding that whileſt they go about to put back thoſe men, they do condemn *Peter*, and the other Apoſtles, who (as it is evident) were long without any great flock; neither was *Rome* unto *Peter*, nor *Jeruſalem* unto *James*, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a ſmall flock believed in Chriſt.

The Biſhops of the Primitive Church what they were.

For, I pray you, what is that we ſhould enquire of theſe Biſhops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenews: but Money maketh not a Biſhop, and as the Lord ſaith, *Beati pauperes ſpiritu*, that is, Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit. Neither was their any rich Biſhops in the Primitive Church, neither did the ancient Church reject *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Millain*, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vercelles*, or *Hilary* Biſhop of *Pictavia*, although they were never ſo poor, and baniſhed without a flock. But if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment, than the rich: becauſe that riches bring fear, and their poverty cauſeth liberty. For the poor Men do not fear Tyranny as our rich Men do, which being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleneſs and ſloath, will rather deny Chriſt, than lack their accuſtomed pleaſures; * whom not their flock, but their revenews make Biſhops, delighting ſo much in Riches, that they judge all poor Men unhappy. But, as *Cicero* ſaith; Nothing can happen better unto a wiſe Man, than mediocrity of ſubſtance. Whereupon it is written in the Goſpel; *It is eaſier for a Camel to paſs thorow a needles eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Poor men more meet to give judgment than rich: for riches, wealth, and dignity, bring fear: but poverty cauſeth liberty.

* The Biſhops in this age of the Church, what they are.

But now to return to a more full Declaration of *Panormitans* words, I determine to paſs over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his Oration, that is, *Qui petant, & cur petant*, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cauſe they make their petition. We grant that they are great Men, and Men of power, and (as he doth affirm) that they have deſerved good of the Church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a ſincere affection. But whether it be a ſmall matter that is required, or that the ſame effects would riſe thereupon which he ſpake of; it is now to be enquired. A delay (ſaith he) is required; a delay for a few days. A ſmall matter; a matter of no importance, a matter eaſie to be granted. Notwithſtanding, let *Panormitan* here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of Faith. The verities are already declared; they be already diſcuſſed and determined. If now there ſhould be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftentimes the delay of one Moment, is the loſs of a whole Year; hereof we have many examples. *Hannibal* when he had obtained his Victory at *Cannas*, if he had gone ſtraight unto *Rome*, by all Mens judgments he had taken the City. But forſomuch as he did defer it until the next day, the *Romans* having recovered their force again, he was ſhut out, and deſerved to hear this Opprobry:

In matters of Faith and Religion, there ought to be no delays.

*Vincere ſcis Hanibal, uti victoria neſcis.*

*Hannibal thou knoweſt Victory to get,*
*But how to uſe it thou know'ſt not yet.*

Likewiſe the *French*-men, after they had taken *Rome* and beſieged the *Capitol*, whileſt that they greedily ſought to have great ſums of Money, and delayed the time in making of their Truce, *Camillus* coming upon them did moſt ſhamefully drive them out again. But what need I to rehearſe old Stories, when as our own examples are ſufficient for us? Ye know your ſelves how often theſe delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the Eighth year that you have ſpent in delays; and you have ſeen, that always of one delay another hath ſprung and riſen. Wherefore I do require that *Panormitan* ſhould conſider, that the Concluſion being this day diſturbed, we know not whether it will be broughtt to paſs hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may riſe. Neither doth *Panormitan* ſay, that this delay being obtained, he would afterward conſent with his Fellows unto the Concluſions; for he denyeth that he hath any Commandment thereunto: and (which is more to be conſidered) he ſaith that the Ambaſſadors at their return from *Mentz* may bring ſuch news, whereby theſe Concluſions may be omitted; as though any thing were more excellent than the truth.

The Eighth year of the Council of *Baſil*. How fruitfully they fought delays.

The which thing doth manifeſtly declare, that they do not ſeek delays for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugn the Concluſions the more ſtrongly. Neither do I agree with *Panormitan*, as touching the effects which he ſaid ſhould riſe either of the denial, or granting of the requeſts; For I ſee no cauſe why the Princes ſhould greatly require and delay. There are no Letters of any Prince come unto us as touching ſuch requeſt, neither is there any Man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of Faith ſhould be determined. But this is a moſt pernicious Concluſion which *Panormitan* hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of thoſe moſt godly Princes; where he ſaith, if we do pleaſe them, they will take our part. If contrariwiſe, they will decline unto *Eugenius*, and wholly reliſt and rebel againſt us. This is a marvelous word, and a wonderful Concluſion, altogether unworthy to be ſpoken of ſuch a Man. The Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* are, that all manner of Men, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they be, are bound to the Ordinances and Decrees of the general Councils. But *Panormitans* words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the Princes obedient unto the Council, but the Council to be obedient unto the Princes.

The decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*.

Alas, moſt Reverend Fathers, Alas, what times and days, what manners and conditions are theſe? Into what miſery are we now brought? How ſhall we at any time bring to paſs, that the Pope being Chriſts Vicar, and (as they ſay) another Chriſt in Earth, ſhould be ſubject unto the Council of the Chriſtians, if the Council it ſelf ought to obey worldly Princes? But I pray you look for no ſuch things at the Princes hands. Do not believe that they will forſake their Mother the Church. Do not think them ſo far alienate from the truth, that they would have juſtice ſuppreſſed.

If theſe things ſeem ſo untolerable, what ſhall we ſay, when as they make the Pope a God?

The Concluſions, whereupon the controverſie is, are moſt true, moſt holy, moſt allowable. If the Princes do refuſe them, they do not reſiſt againſt us, but againſt the Holy Scriptures, yea, and againſt Chriſt, himſelf; which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comly for *Panormitan* ſo to ſay. *Panormitan* (by your licence be it ſpoken) you have uttered moſt cruel words, neither do you ſeem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the Fathers: for you have rehearſed great perils and dangers, except we ſubmit our ſelves unto the Princes.

But you moſt Reverend Fathers, ſhall not be afraid of them that kill the body, the ſoul they cannot kill; neither ſhall ye forſake the truth, although you ſhould ſhed your blood for the ſame. Neither ought we to be any whit more ſlack in the quarrel of our Mother Church, and the Catholick Faith, than thoſe moſt holy Martyrs, which have eſtabliſhed the Church with their blood. For why ſhould it be any grievous matter unto us to ſuffer for Chriſt, which for our ſakes hath ſuffered ſo cruel and grievous death? Who when he was an immortal God, void of all Paſſions, took upon him the ſhape of a mortal Man, and feared not for our redemption to ſuffer torments upon the Croſs. Set before your eyes the Prince of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Paul*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *Bartholomew*, and (not to ſpeak only of Biſhops) mark what *Stephen*, *Laurence*, *Sebaſtian* and *Fabian* did. Some were Hanged, ſome Beheaded, ſome Stoned to death, other ſome Burned, and others Tormented with moſt cruel and grievous Torments ſuffered for Chriſts ſake. I pray you for Gods ſake let us follow the example of theſe Men. If we will be Biſhops and ſucceed in honour, let us not fear Martyrdom. Alas, what effeminate hearts have we? Alas, what faint hearted people are we? They in times paſt by the contempt of death converted the whole World, which was full of Gentility and Idolatry and we through our ſluggiſhneſs and deſire of life, do bring the Chriſtian Religion out

They which teach this Doctrine, are Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: but bleſſed are thoſe Hereticks, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

A Chriſtian exhortation to conſtancy and Martyrdom.

This came ſo to paſs twenty three years after, when Chriſtendom loſt *Conſtantinople*, and all the Eaſt parts unto the *Turks*.

out of the whole World into one corner; and I fear greatly, leſt the little alſo which is left, we ſhall loſe through our cowardlineſs, if that by following *Panormitans* mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the Church unto the Princes. But now play the ſtout and valiant men in this time of Tribulation, and fear not to ſuffer death for the Church, which *Curtius* feared not to do for the City of *Rome*: which *Mencotheus* for *Thebes*, and *Codrus* for *Athens*, willingly took upon them.

Examples of good men dying for their Country.

Not only the Martyrs, but alſo the *Gentiles* might move and ſtir us to caſt off all the fear of death. What is to be ſaid of *Theremeus* the *Athenian*? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleaſant countenance, did he drink the poiſon? What ſay you unto *Socrates* that moſt excellent Philoſopher? did he either weep or ſigh when he ſupped up the poiſon? They hoped for that which we are moſt certain of: Not by dying to die, but to change this preſent life for a better.

Truly we ought to be aſhamed, being admoniſhed by ſo many Examples, inſtructed with ſo great Learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Chriſt, ſo greatly to fear death.

*Cato* writeth not of one or two men, but of whole Legions, which have chearfully and couragiouſly gone unto thoſe places, from whence they knew they ſhould not return. With like courage did the *Lacedemonians* give themſelves to death at *Thermopylæ*, of whom *Symonides* writeth thus:

*Dic hoſpes, Spartanos te hic vidiſſe tacentes,*
*Dum ſanctis Patriæ legibus obſequimur.*

*Report thou ſtranger, the* Spartans *here to lie,*
*Whiles that their Countrey Laws they obeyed willingly.*

The noble *Lacedemoniant.*

Neither judge the contrary, but that the *Lacedemonians* went even of purpoſe unto death; unto whom their Captain *Leonidas* ſaid, O ye Lacedemonians, *go forward couragiouſly, for this day we ſhall ſup together with the infernal gods.* But I, moſt reverend Fathers, do not invite you unto the Infernals, as he did his *Lacedemonians*, but unto the celeſtial and everlaſting joys of Paradiſe, if that you can ſuffer death for the truths ſake, and patiently abide the threatnings of theſe Princes, if there be any threatnings at all. I call you unto that eternal Glory, where there is no alteration of State, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good and perpetual things do abound: where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man ſtealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man baniſheth, no man murdereth; and finally no man dieth. Where all men are bleſſed and happy, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like eſtate; and that all men have, every man hath, and that every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well conſider, we ſhall truly anſwer *Panormitan*, as *Theodorus Cyrenenſis* is ſaid to have anſwered *Lyſimachus* the King, when he threatned to hang him; who ſaid, *I pray you threaten theſe horrible things unto your Courtiers: as for* Theodorus, *it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground, or under the ground.* So likewiſe let us anſwer unto the Princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their Torments.

The bleſſed ſtate of the life to come.

The worthy anſwer of *Theodorus the Cyrenenſis.*

What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too ſhort a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of Vertue. And if the death which a man ſuffereth in the quarrel of his Country, ſeemeth not only to be glorious amongſt the *Rhetoricians*, but alſo happy and bleſſed: what ſhall we ſay for theſe deaths which are ſuſtained for the Country of all Countries, the Church? Truly moſt reverend Fathers, it is too much that our Adverſaries do perſwade themſelves of you, for they judge you fearful, ſluggiſh and faint-hearted; and therefore they do object Princes unto you, becauſe they think that you will not ſuffer hunger, thirſt, exile in the quarrel and defence of the Church. But I think you will eſteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining of everlaſting life, to do the ſame which Ship-men do for the obtaining of tranſitory riches, to put themſelves in danger of the Sea and Wind, and ſuffer moſt cruel ſtorms.

No death to be feared for Chriſts Church.

Example of Mariners and Hunters.

The Hunters lie abroad in the nights in the Snow, in the Hills and Woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but ſome wild Beaſt of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to do whoſe Reward ſhall be Paradiſe? I am aſhamed of your ignavy, when as I read that Women alſo even young Maidens have violently obtained Heaven through their Martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This River of *Rheine*, which runneth along by the City, in times paſt hath carried eleven thouſand Virgins unto Martyrdom. In *India* (as *Cicero* writeth) when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who ſhould be burned with him; and ſhe whom he loved beſt having vanquiſhed the other (all the reſt joyfully following her) was caſt into the fire with the dead Karcaſs of her Husband, and burnt. The other which were overcome, departed full of heavineſs and ſorrow, wiſhing rather to have died than live.

Exampl. of the eleven thouſand Virgins.

The which courage we now taking upon us for Chriſts ſake, will anſwer *Panormitan* even as the *Lacedemonians* anſwered *Philip*, who when as by his Letters he threatned them, that he would ſtop all that which they went about, they asked him, *Whether he would alſo let them to die.* Therefore, as you are excellent men, ſo uſe your vertue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that Power is given of the Lord, and ſtrength from the moſt High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts, unto whom ye ſhould be careful to render a good account, judging rightly and keeping the law of righteouſneſs, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the Ambaſſadors of *Eugenius* do openly preach and declare a new Doctrine, extolling the Biſhop of *Rome* above the univerſal Church, to the end that ignorant Souls be not ſnared, ye ſhall not ceaſe or leave to publiſh the three firſt Concluſions, following the example of the Apoſtle *Paul*, which would in no point give place unto *Peter* when he walked not according to the Goſpel. As for the other matters which do reſpect the only perſon of *Eugenius* (becauſe *Panormitan* and the other Ambaſſadors of the Princes ſhall not ſay that we do paſs our bounds) ye ſhall defer them for this preſent.

When as Cardinal *Arelatenſis* had made an end of this Oration, there was a great noiſe, crying out and brawling every where. The Preſidents Commandments were not regarded, neither was the accuſtomed order obſerved; for ſometimes they ſpake unto *Panormitan*, ſometime unto *Ludovicus*; no man was ſuffered to ſpeak, but in haſte the Biſhops brawled with Biſhops, and the Inferiors with their Fellows. All was full of contention and debate; which even as *Ludovicus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia* perceived, a man of no leſs courage and ſtomach, than of nobility and birth, being alſo a Duke, for the zeal that he bare unto the univerſal Church, turning himſelf unto *Panormitan* and *Ludovicus* the Protonotary, he ſaid, *Do not think the matter ſhall ſo paſs, you know not yet the manners of the* Germans, *for if you go forward on this faſhion, it will not be lawful for you to depart out of this Country with whole heads.* With which words *Panormitan*, *Ludovicus*, and the Archbiſhop of *Millain* being ſtricken (as it were with Lightning from Heaven,) roſe up, and ſaid, *Is our liberty thus taken from us? What meaneth it that the Patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads ſhould be broken?* And turning themſelves unto *John* Earl of *Dierſtein*, which then ſupplied the Protectors place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the Council, and preſerve all men in their liberty, or no?

*Lewis* Patriarch of *Aquileia* Duke of Deak in Swevia.

The Earl of *Dierſtein.*

The Citizens alſo and Senators were preſent to provide and foreſee that no offence ſhould riſe; for the Citizens obſerved always this order, that they would be preſent in all Affairs, which they ſuppoſed would breed diſſenſion, foreſeeing ſpecially that no tumults ſhould riſe, otherwiſe than with words. They uſed always ſuch a marvelous foreſight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cauſe againſt them, to complain for violating their promiſe. Wherefore if at any time any Citizens have deſerved well at the hands of the Church, ſurely this praiſe is to be given unto the *Baſilians*. Theſe men together with *John* Earl of *Dierſtein*, being preſent in the Aſſembly of the Fathers, gave a ſign of preſervation of their liberty. The Earl (albeit he was moved at the ſtrange-

The praiſe of the Citizens of *Baſil.*

{KING Hen.6.} ſtrangeneſs of the matter, (for he would not have thought ſo great contentions could have riſen amongſt wiſe men) anſwered by his Interpreter, *That they all ſhould be of good chear. For the Emperors ſafe Conduct ſhould be obſerved and kept even to the uttermoſt: neither ſhould the Patriarch nor any other once violate the liberty, or take away the aſſurance granted by the Emperor.* Notwithſtanding he deſired the Patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not to ſpeak any more in ſuch ſort. But that famous Father, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed his whole mind unto *John Bacheiſtein*, Auditor of the Chamber, a man both grave and eloquent to be declared. Who affirmed that the Patriarchs mind was not to threaten any man, or diſturb the liberty of the Council, but to move the Fathers unto conſtancy, that they ſhould be mindful of the Reformation which they had promiſed unto the whole World, and not to ſay one thing to day, and another to morrow; for if they would ſo do, it were to be feared, leſt the Laity ſeeing themſelves deluded, and deſpairing of Reformation, ſhould riſe againſt the Clergy.

Therefore he moniſheth the Fathers to foreſee and provide for the peril, that they ſhould not depart from the Council, nothing being determined or done; and finally he deſired pardon, if in his words he had offended either againſt the Council, *Panormitan*, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly ſaid, *That Humility is the ſiſter of Nobility:* both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet for all this could not the humility of the Patriach ſtop or ſtay their noiſe or cries: for as often as mention was made of reading the *Concordatum*, great noiſe and rumors were ſtill made to ſtop the ſame. Then *Amodeus* Archbiſhop of *Lions*, and Primate of all *France*, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with the zeal of Faith, which he ſaw there to be ſtopt and ſuppreſſed, ſaid, *Moſt reverend Fathers, I have now a great occaſion to ſpeak: for it is now ſeven years or more, that I have been amongſt you, yet have I never ſeen the matter at that point which it is now at, moſt like unto a Miracle; for even preſently I do behold moſt wonderful ſigns of Miracles: for it is no ſmall matter that the Lame do walk, the Dumb do ſpeak, and that poor men preach the Goſpel. Whereupon I pray you cometh this ſudden Change? How happeneth it that thoſe which lie lurking at home, are now ſuddenly ſtart up? Who hath given hearing to the Deaf, and ſpeech to the Dumb? Who hath taught the poor men to preach the Goſpel? I do ſee here a new ſort of Prelates come in, which unto this preſent have kept ſilence, and now begin to ſpeak. Is not this like to a Miracle? I would to God they came to defend the Truth, and not to impugn Juſtice.*

*But this is more to be marveled at than any Miracle, that I do ſee the beſt learned men of all impugn our Concluſions which are moſt certain and true: And they which now reprove them, in times paſt allowed them. You are not ignorant how that* Ludovicus *the Protonotary preached theſe Verities at* Lovaine *and at* Collen, *and brought them from thence confirmed with the authorities of the Univerſities. Wherefore albeit that he be now changed, yet is the Truth in no point altered. And therefore I deſire you and beſeech you all, that ye will not give ear unto theſe men, which albeit they are moſt excellently learned, yet have they no conſtancy in them, which doth adorn all other Vertues.*

When he had ended his Oration, *Ludovicus* the Protonotary riſing up, ſaid, *It is moſt true that I brought thoſe Verities, but you do call them Verities of Faith, which addition ſeemeth very doubtful unto me.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, Cardinal *Arelatenſis* required that the *Concordatum* of the twelve men ſhould be read, and many whiſpered him in the ear, that he ſhould go forward, and not alter his purpoſe.

Then *Panormitan*, as ſoon as the *Concordatum* began to be read, riſing up with his Companions and other *Aragons*, cried out with a loud Voice, ſaying, *You Fathers do contemn our Requeſts, you contemn Kings and Princes, and deſpiſe Prelates; but take heed leſt whilſt that ye deſpiſe all men, you be not deſpiſed of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greateſt part of Prelates, we make the Council, and it is our part to conclude: and I in the name of all other Prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed.* With this word there ſprang ſuch a noiſe and rumor in the Council, as is accuſtomed to be in battel, with the ſound of Trumpets, and noiſe of Horſemen when two Armies joyn: Some curſing that which *Panormitan* went about, other ſome allowing the ſame: So that diverſity of minds made divers contentions.

Then *Nicholas Amici*, a Divine of *Paris*, according unto his Office, ſaid, *Panormitan, I appeal from this your Concluſion, to the Judgment of the Council here preſent; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done, as I am ready to prove, if it ſhall ſeem good. The contrary part ſeemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it ſeen how they could conclude amongſt ſo great Cries and Uproars.* Notwithſtanding, amongſt all this troublous noiſe, *John Segovius*, a ſingular Divine of the Univerſity of *Salamantine*, lacked not audience; for the whole Council was deſirous to hear him: wherefore all men as ſoon as he roſe up kept ſilence, and he perceiving that they were deſirous to hear him ſpeak, began in this ſort:

*Moſt reverend Fathers, the zeal and love of the Houſe of God forceth me now to ſpeak: and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have ſeen thoſe things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I ſhould not have heard thoſe words which have been ſpoken. Who is it that is ſo ſtony or hard-hearted, which can abſtain from tears, when as the authority of the Church is ſo ſpoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the Council, and that there is no place given unto the verity? O ſweet Jeſus, why haſt thou forſaken thy Spouſe? Behold and look upon thy people, and help us if our Requeſts are juſt.*

*We come hither to provide for the neceſſity of the Church, we require nothing for our ſelves, and our deſire is only that truth might appear. We truſted now to have concluded upon the Verities which were ſometimes allowed in the ſacred Deputations; The Orators of the Princes are preſent, and require the Concluſions to be deferred. But we be not unmindful of thoſe things which* Ambroſe *wrote unto* Valentinian *the Emperor in this manner. If we ſhall intreat upon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times paſt, who is it that will deny but that in caſe of Faith (I ſay in caſe of Faith) the Biſhops ought to judge upon Chriſtian Emperors, and not Emperors upon Biſhops? Neither do we admit their Petition but upon moſt urgent cauſes. Notwithſtanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilſt that they did ſpeak even ſo long as they would.*

*But now if any of our part would ſpeak, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honeſty is this? what modeſty or gravity? is it lawful ſo to do in the Council? where is the Decree of the Council of* Tholouſe *now become? (where are our Decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but alſo ſmall bablings and talk?) They ſay, it is becauſe we contemn them; but they are they, which not only contemn the Council, but alſo reſiſt the ſame. The Patriarch ſpake but one ſmall word againſt them, and that of no evil intent or purpoſe, and by and by they complained that their liberty was broken: but they, when as they do enforce the Council, when as they forbid the Preſident to ſpeak, and will not ſuffer the Ordinances to be read, do not judge that they do any thing contrary to the liberty of the Council. They ſay, they are the Council themſelves, and yet they intreat the Council. Theſe things do not I underſtand; for if they be the Council, why do they intreat themſelves? If they be not the Council, why do they not ſuffer the Council to ſpeak? Why do they not look for an anſwer of him to whom they make their Petitions?*

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is alſo too much, to ſuffer ſuch exceſs even in the face of the Church. But this doth moſt of all grieve me, and this do I moſt marvel at, that *Panormitan*, a man of ſingular wit and Doctrine, did conclude without any diſcuſſing or deciding of the Deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eyes had beheld and ſeen, I would ſcarcely believe,

Humility ſiſter to nobility.

*Amodeus* Archbiſhop of *Lions.* {Anno 1438.}

Biſhops that lie at home, have tongues here to ſpeak for the Pope.

Mark how they are turned back which ſometime favoured the truth, and are now become lyars and flatterers.

Conſtancy lacked in divers of this Council

Panormitan ſpake like himſelf.

Nicholas Amici a Divine of Paris.

The Oration of Segovius.

*Ambroſ. ad Valentinianum.*

How far and wherein Biſhops ought to judge upon Emperors.

He excuſeth the Patriarch.

He meaneth Panormitan, which did conclude without the examination of 12 men.

believe, if any other man ſhould report it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I may ſufficiently credit my ſelf, the matter ſeemeth ſo terrible: for I do not ſee by what authority his concluſion doth ſtand, except it be by the Authority of his King, *Who*, he ſaith, *will have it ſo.* But you moſt reverend Fathers, take heed that ye bring in no ſuch cuſtom; for ſo it ſhall come to paſs, that in all matters, a few froward Prelates ſhall have one to conclude for them.

And albeit *Panormitan* hath proved (as he thinketh) by ſtrong reaſons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet notwithſtanding, I do require you moſt reverend Fathers to follow the example of the Apoſtle, who (as *Arelatenſis* hath very well declared) would not give one hours reſpite unto *Peter*, when he ſwarved from the truth of the Goſpel. The Faith is ſpeedily to be relieved and holpen; neither doth any thing ſuſtain more danger by delays, than Faith doth. For Hereſies except they be rooted out at the firſt, when they are once grown, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I deſire you ſpeedily to help and aid, Hoiſe up your Sails, and lanch out your Oars. What ſhould we tarry looking for either the Prelates or the Princes? You are now in conflict: I only deſire that you would haſten unto the Victory. Regard not the threatnings of thoſe Princes, neither the opprobries of thoſe contumelious perſons: *For you are bleſſed*, ſaith the Lord, *when as men curſe you and perſecute you, ſpeaking all evil againſt you, making lyes and ſlanders upon you for my ſake; rejoyce and be glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven.* What is it I pray you that the Princes do ſo much object againſt us? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the Furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of thoſe Princes? I beſeech you moſt reverend Fathers and loving Brethren, have no leſs hope in Jeſus Chriſt, than *Sidrach*, *Miſach*, and *Abednego* had, which feared not that old King *Nabuchodonoſor*: and let the people know, *That the moſt High ruleth over the Kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaſeth.* God beholdeth all things from above; He is (I ſay) in the midſt amongſt us; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and ſhew your ſelves as a ſtrong wall for the Church of God; ſuffer not the Faith to periſh under your hands. The Almighty God is preſent with you. He is preſent that will defend you. Fear not them which ſeek only to kill the body. Do juſtice and equity, and be aſſured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the Backbiter and Slanderer. Again I ſay unto you, ſhew your ſelves valiant and ſtout, defend your Mother the Church. And unto thee, O thou Preſident, I ſay, that thou oughteſt rather to pleaſe God than man; for if thou depart thence without a final concluſion, know aſſuredly that thou ſhalt render account in the ſtrait Judgment of God. And thus without any more words he ſate down in his place.

Paul would give to Peter no reſpite when he ſwarved awry.

Mark the great conſtancy and Chriſtian zeal of this man.

An exhortation to conſtancy.

In the mean time many grave and ancient men had exhorted *Panormitan* that he ſhould give over his concluſion. The Biſhop of *Burgen* was very inſtant and earneſt with him, that he ſhould make unity and concord amongſt the Fathers, and went about to make an unity with all men. But neither the Fathers of the Council were determined to depart without a concluſion; neither was *Panormitan* minded to alter his intent and purpoſe. All things were diſturbed, neither did the Prelates ſit in their Seats, as they were accuſtomed, but as every mans affection led him. Some went to the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, ſome unto *Panormitan*, and exhorted them, as if they had been Princes or Rulers of Armies. Then *Arelatenſis* knowing the matter to be in danger; and that there was no ready way to make a concluſion, thought to uſe ſome policy to appeaſe the tumult.

The Biſhop of Burgen ſeeketh concord.

*Moſt reverend Fathers*, ſaid he, *we have received now Letters out of* France, *which declare unto me marvelous things; that there are incredible news ſprung up there, which if you will give me willing Audience, I will declare unto you.* By this means there was a ſudden ſilence throughout the whole Council, and by this marvelous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he ſaw he had free liberty to ſpeak, without either Fable or Hiſtory of any Letters ſent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and as it is requiſite in an Orator, came by little and little to the principal Point, ſaying, *That* Eugenius *his Meſſengers filled all* France, *preaching a new Doctrine, and extolling the Authority of the Biſhop of* Rome *above the General-Council: againſt whom, except ſpeedy remedy were found, it would come to paſs that many would give credit unto them, and therefore the ſacred Council ought of neceſſity to provide remedy, and of neceſſity to conclude upon the Verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the* Eugenians *might be repreſſed; which Verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the Fathers intent to conclude upon them all, but only the three firſt: even as I alſo* (ſaith he) *here do conclude in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

How men be ready to hear news.

Note the godly policy of the Cardinal.

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The concluſion of the Council.

When he had finiſhed his Oration, with a chearful and merry countenance riſing up, he departed. Some of them kiſſed him, and ſome of them kiſſed the skirts of his Garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wiſdom, that being a *Frenchman* born, had that day vanquiſhed the *Italians*, which were men of great policy. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, than by the Cardinals own power. The other of the contrary Faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his Lodging. They went not together, neither ſaluted one another, ſo that their countenances declared unto every man that they were overcome. Something more alſo is reported of *Panormitan*, that when he came to his Lodging, and was gone unto his Chamber, he complained with himſelf upon his King, which had compelled him to ſtrive againſt the truth, and put both his Soul and good name in danger of loſing; and that in the midſt of his tears and complaints he fell aſleep, and did eat no meat until late in the evening, for very ſorrow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither unwillingly impugned the truth.

The Holy Ghoſt working againſt the Pope.

The ſorrow of Panormitan for impugning the Truth.

After this there was great conſultation amongſt the *Eugenians*, what were beſt to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leave the Council, otherſome thought it meeter to tarry, and withall endeavour to reſiſt that nothing ſhould further be done againſt the *Eugenians*; and this opinion remained amongſt them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of *April*, the Archbiſhop of *Lions* and the Biſhop of *Burgen*, calling together the Prelates in the Chapter-houſe of the great Church, began many things as touching peace. The Biſhop of *Burgen* perſwaded that there ſhould be Deputations appointed that day, unto whom the Archbiſhop of *Lions* ſhould give power to make an agreement. Unto whom anſwer was made, as they thought very roughly, but as other judged, gently, but notwithſtanding juſtly and truly: For they ſaid, *There could be no unity of Concord made before the Adverſaries confeſſed their fault, and asked pardon therefore.*

The Biſhop of Lions and Burgen.

The juſt anſwer of the Council.

The day following the ſaid Biſhop of *Burgen*, with the other *Lombards* and *Cathelans*, went unto the *Germans*, and from thence unto the Senate of the City, ſpeaking much as touching the prohibiting of Schiſms. The *Germans* referred themſelves to thoſe things which the Deputation ſhould determine. The Senate of the City (as they were great men in wiſdom, which would do nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) anſwered, *That the matter pertained not unto them, but unto the Council: the Fathers whereof were moſt wiſe men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the Chriſtian Faith; and if there were any danger toward, it ſhould be declared unto the Council, and not to the Senate. For they believe that the Elders of the Council, if they were premonished, would foreſee that there ſhould no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the City, it was their duty only to defend the Fathers and to preſerve the promiſe of the City.* With this anſwer the Biſhop of *Burgen* departed.

The anſwer of them both.

In the mean time the Fathers of the Council had drawn out a form of a Decree upon the former Concluſions, and had approved the ſame in the ſacred Deputations. By this time the Princes Orators were returned from the Aſſembly at *Mentz*, and holding a Council amongſt themſelves they had determined to let the Decree. The ninth day of *May*, there was a general Convocation holden, whereunto all men reſorted, either part putting forth himſelf unto the conflict.

The form of the Decrete is written and approved.

The Princes Ambaſſadors were called by the Biſhop of *Lubeck* and *Conrade de Winſperge* the Protector into the

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the Quire, and there kept where they intreated of a Unity, and by what means it might be had, and there they tarried longer than ſome thought to do; the which matter gave occaſion to bring things well to paſs, beyond all expectation. The only form of the Decree was appointed to be concluded that day; whereupon, as ſoon as Cardinal *Arelatenſis* perceived the Congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with ſilence, he thought good not to delay it for fear of tumult, but commanded by and by the publick *Concordances* to be read, wherein this was alſo contained, that the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* might appoint a Seſſion whenſoever he would. Which being read, he being deſired by the Promoters, concluded according as the manner and cuſtom is. The Ambaſſadors of the Princes being yet in the Quire, as ſoon as they underſtood how the matter paſſed, being very much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all things to the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, which of purpoſe had kept them in the Quire, and protracted the time. Whereupon they entring into the Congregation, filled the Church full of complaints.

The policy of the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*.

Firſt of all, the Orator of *Lubeck* complained both in his own name and the name of the Proctor, as touching the concluſion, and required that the Council would revoke the ſame. If that might be granted, he promiſed to intreat a Peace, and to be a Proctor between the Council and the Ambaſſadors of the Princes. But the Archbiſhop of *Turnon* ſaid, *That it ſeemed unto him, every man to have free liberty to ſpeak againſt that Law which ſhould be promulgate, until the Seſſion, when the Canons ſhould be conſecrated and receive their force: when as the Biſhops in their Pontificalibus, after the reading of the Decree in the Seſſion, ſhould anſwer that it pleaſed them: otherwiſe the demand which was made by the Promoters in the Seſſion, to be but vain: And for that the Concluſions were not yet allowed in the Seſſion, therefore he ſaid that he might without rebuke ſpeak ſomewhat as touching the ſame; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in ſuch a ſhort time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithſtanding that he being an Archbiſhop, ought to have known the matter, that at his return home, he might inform the King, and alſo inſtruct thoſe which were under him. And that he and his Fellows, before any Seſſion ſhould be, would both hear and be heard of others. Neither doth it ſeem good unto him that the Seſſion ſhould be holden, before report were made of thoſe things which the Ambaſſadors of the Princes had done at* Mentz, *which would peradventure be ſuch as might alter and change the minds of the Fathers.*

The Biſhop of *Turnon*.

Then the Biſhop of *Concen*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Caſtile*, which was alſo lately returned from *Mentz*, a man of great underſtanding, but lacking utterance, grievouſly complained that the Prelates were contemned. *Neither had it been* (ſaid he) *any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expences went to* Mentz, *not for their pleaſure, but of neceſſity.* And afterward as it were ſmiling, he ſaid, *How mad am I, that would have the Prelates to be tarried for, until they return from* Mentz, *when as they are not tarried for, whilſt they came out of the Quire of the Church? Do therefore as ye liſt. If there riſe any offence or miſchief hereupon, neither are we the Ambaſſadors of* Caſtile *to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our moſt noble King.*

The Biſhop of *Concen* ſpeaketh.

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed againſt the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*: but eſpecially the Biſhop of *Millain* railed moſt cruelly upon him, ſaying, *That he foſtered and maintained a rabble of Sophiſters and School-Maſters, and that he had concluded in matters of Faith with them; calling him alſo another* Catiline, *unto whom all deſperate and naughty perſons had refuge, that he was their Prince, and ruled the Church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the Ambaſſadors of the moſt noble Princes, or to the moſt famous Prelates in this moſt weighty matter.* *Albiganenſis* a Biſhop, and a man of great Nobility, deſcended of the Emperors blood, albeit he had never alienate his mind before from the Council, yet leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſſent from other Ambaſſadors of the Princes, he made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the Prelates. After this it came unto *Panormitan* to ſpeak, who as he had a greater vehemency in ſpeaking, ſo alſo he did declare a more angry ſtomach and mind: for in the beginning of his Oration he ſeemeth not to go about according to the Precept of the Orators, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he ſaid, *That our Saviour ſhewed four ſigns in the Goſpel, whereby we ſhould know the good from the reprobate; for he which is of God* (ſaith he) *heareth the words of God, but ye hear not the words of God, becauſe ye are not of God.* And again, *He that doth evil hateth the light.* And in another place alſo, *By their fruits ye ſhall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.*

Mark what the truth muſt ſuffer.

O marvelous deſpite and contumely in a Biſhop! for if *Arelatenſis* had kept Whores or Concubines, he would have praiſed him: but to maintain learned men was a great offence.

The Fathers of the Council ſlandered by *Panormitan*.

Four ſigns to know the good from the bad.

All which ſayings he wreſted againſt the Fathers of the Council, becauſe they would not hear the words of God; that is to ſay, the words of peace which the Ambaſſadors had ſpoken: becauſe they fled from the light in the abſence of the Ambaſſadors, privily concluding; and becauſe in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy-day, but had concluded thereupon; alſo becauſe they had the upper-hand in the foreſaid concluſion, not by reaſon, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he ſaid, *That the Fathers themſelves ſhould mediate and conſider how that, if their fruits were not good, they alſo themſelves were not good; and that he did ſee another Council at hand, where he feared leſt theſe Concluſions ſhould be revoked, as the fruit of an evil Tree: and therefore they ought not ſo ſuddenly to proceed in ſo weighty matters: and that he would be yet more fully heard before the Seſſion, as well in his own name, becauſe he was an Archbiſhop, as in the name of his Prince, which reigned not over one Kingdom alone, but over many.* Alſo he ſaid, *That he heretofore by his words, deeds and writings, hath extolled the authority of the Council; and that he feared, leſt by theſe means the authority thereof ſhould be ſubverted.* At the laſt he required pardon if he had offended the Fathers of the Council, forſomuch as very ſorrow and grief forced him to ſpeak ſo.

Look if it be not ſpoken of them in the Goſpel, where mention is made of the Beaſt which is fallen into the ditch.

What is it that ambition will not do?

The Abbot of *Virgiliacenſis* would have made anſwer to thoſe things which *Panormitan* had touched, concerning his deputation: But *Aretalenſis* thought good that all the contrary part ſhould ſpeak firſt, among whom, laſt of all *Ludovicus* the Protonotary, the *Homer* of Lawyers, roſe up. And albeit that he ſpake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And whiles he went about to ſeem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He ſaid, *That the Council ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of Faith againſt the Prelates, leſt any offence ſhould follow; for that ſome would ſay it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Chriſt choſe twelve Apoſtles and ſeventy Diſciples, notwithſtanding in the ſetting forth of the Creed only the Apoſtles were preſent, thereby (as it were) giving example that the matters of Faith did pertain only unto the Apoſtles, and ſo conſequently unto Biſhops. Neither that they ought haſtily to proceed in matters of Faith, which ought to be clearly diſtinct, forſomuch as* Peter *affirmeth the trial of Faith to be much more precious than Gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the Biſhops be contemned, which are called the Pillars and Keys of Heaven, the Faith cannot ſeem to be well proved or examined.* But at length he confeſſed that the Inferiors might determine with the Biſhops, but denied that the leaſt part of the Biſhops with the moſt part of the Inferiors might determine any thing. From thence he paſſing to the matter of Faith, ſaid, *That thoſe Verities whereupon queſtion was now had, are Articles of Faith, if they were Verities of Faith. And forſomuch as every man ſhould be bound to believe thoſe, therefore he would be better inſtructed and taught in that matter which he ſhould believe as an Article of Faith. Neither ſhould it be comely for the Council to deny him his requeſt; which according to the rule of the Apoſtle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man which ſhall require it, touching the Faith which it holdeth.*

Abbot of *Virgiliacenſis*.

*Ludovicus* the Protonotary in labouring to ſeem learned, forgot to be good.

The Apoſtles principally gathered the Creed.

After every man had made an end of ſpeaking, the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* calling his Spirits together, made an Oration, wherein he anſwered now the one, and now the other. And firſt of all he commended the deſires of the Imperial Ambaſſadors, which offered to intreat a Peace and Unity; but neither neceſſity, nor honeſty (he ſaid) would ſuffer thoſe things which are concluded to be revoked. He anſwered alſo, That the Petition of the Ambaſſadors

The Oration of the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* to the Imperial Ambaſſadors.

To the Ambassadors of France.

baſſadors of *France* is moſt juſt, in that they required to be inſtructed touching the Faith; and that the Council would grant their requeſt, and ſend unto them certain Divines, which ſhould inſtruct them at home at their Lodgings, but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought into queſtion, that the Seſſion was only holden, rather to beautifie the matter, than to confirm the ſame. And as touching that which the Biſhop of *Concen* ſo greatly complaineth of, he doth not much marvel: for he could not know the proceſs of the matter, when he was abſent; who being better inſtructed, he ſuppoſed would ſpeak no more any ſuch words, forſomuch as a juſt man would require no unjuſt thing. Alſo that his proteſtation had no evil ſenſe or meaning, in that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his King, if any offence ſhould riſe upon the Concluſions. Notwithſtanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil ſhould ſpring of good Works. But unto the Biſhop of *Millain*, he would anſwer nothing, becauſe he ſaw him ſo moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying of more grievous and hainous words. As for *Panormitan* he reſerved unto the laſt. But unto *Ludovicus* the *Protonotary*, which deſired to be inſtructed, he ſaid, *He willed him to be ſatisfied with the words which were ſpoken unto the Biſhop of Turnon.*

To the Biſhop of *Concen.*

To *Ludovicus* the *Protonotary.*

Notwithſtanding, he left not this untouched which *Ludovicus* had ſpoken concerning the Apoſtles Creed. For albeit that in the ſetting forth of the Creed the Apoſtles be only named, yet it doth not follow (ſaith he) that they only were preſent at the ſetting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes, that Princes are commended and praiſed as chief authors and doers of things, when as notwithſtanding they have other helpers; as it appeareth in battels, which although they are fought with the force of all the Souldiers, yet the Victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in theſe our days they do aſcribe all things which the Army doth either fortunately or wiſely, unto *Nicholas Picenius*, that moſt valiant Captain, which hath obtained ſo many famous Victories; albeit that oftentimes other have been the Inventers of the Policy, and Workers of the Feat. And therefore *Ludovicus* ought to know and underſtand, that they are not only Articles of Faith, which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the Councils as touching the Faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be ſome Articles of the Creed which we now uſe in the Church, that were not put to by the Apoſtles, but afterward by general Councils; as that part wherein mention is made of the Holy Ghoſt, which the Council of *Lions* did add; in which Council alſo it is not to be doubted, but that the Inferiors did judge together with the Biſhops. But for ſo much as he had ſufficiently declared that matter in the Congregation before paſſed, he would ſtay no longer thereupon. But coming unto *Panormitan*, he rehearſed his words, *Qui ex Deo eſt, verba Dei audit, He that is of God, heareth Gods Word*; which is very well taken out of the Goſpel, but not well applied unto the Council (ſaid he;) for he firmly believed, that his Predeceſſors have judged the Holy Ghoſt to be in the midſt of the Councils, and therefore the words of the Councils to be the words of the Holy Ghoſt, which if any man do reject, he denieth himſelf to be of God. Neither doth the Council hate the light, which doth all things publickly and openly, whoſe Congregations are evident unto all men, neither doth it, as the Conventicles of the Adverſaries, admit ſome, and exclude otherſome. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be intreated of for two months ago, and firſt the concluſions were largely diſputed upon in the Divinity Schools, and afterward ſent unto *Mentz* and other places of the world.

Nicholas Picenius an Italian.

Articles of the Creed not all put in by the Apoſtles, but ſome by the Councils.

The Article of the Holy Ghoſt put in by the Council of *Lions.*

*Panormitan* wounded with his own darts.

After all this the Fathers were called into the Chapter-houſe of the great Church, to the number of an hundred and twenty; amongſt whom *Panormitan*, which now complaineth, was alſo preſent, and according to his manner did learnedly and ſubtilly diſpute, and had liberty to ſpeak what he would. Likewiſe in the Diſputations every man ſpake his mind freely, and in the diſputation where *Panormitan* was, the matter was three days diſcuſſed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general Congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly and alſo without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did ſit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that; neither is it any new or ſtrange thing, foraſmuch as they have often their Seſſion upon Feſtival-days, when as the matter hath had haſte, and ſpecially that the matter of Faith hath no holy days. And further he ſaid, That he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the Congregation, as *Panormitan* hath reported, but publickly and openly at the requeſt of the Promoters. Neither hath any man any juſt cauſe to complain upon him, for ſo much as when he was made Preſident, he was ſworn that always when three or four of the deputations did agree, he ſhould conclude thereupon. And for ſo much as he had already concluded, in divers cauſes touching the Pope, he ſaw no cauſe why he ſhould not conclude in the matter of Faith, for that he was a Cardinal, and did wear his red Hat for this purpoſe, that he ſhould ſhed his blood in the defence of the Faith. Neither hath he done any thing now againſt the Pope, for that omitting the five Concluſions touching *Eugenius*, he had concluded but only the general Concluſions: which except he had done, the Fathers ſhould have had juſt cauſe to complain againſt him (in that they truſting in his fidelity and faithfulneſs, had choſen him Preſident) if by him they ſhould now be forſaken in this moſt neceſſary cauſe of Faith. And turning himſelf unto the people, he deſired the Fathers to be of good comfort, for ſo much as he would never forſake them, yea although he ſhould ſuffer death: for he had given his Faith and Fidelity unto the Council, which he ſhould obſerve and keep: neither ſhould any mans flattery or threatnings put him from his purpoſe: that he would be always ready to do whatſoever the Council ſhould command him, and never leave the commandments of the Deputies by any means unperformed.

*Arelatenſis* concluded not but at the requeſt of the Promoters.

Theſe four deputations were four form of chooſen men which did diſcuſs and determine thoſe things which the Fathers did conclude upon.

Verily this is no *Babinical* Cardinal, but of the immaculate Spouſe, Jeſus Chriſt.

He ſpeaketh to the whole Council.

As touching that *Panormitan* had extolled the authority of the Council, he ſaid, *That he was greatly to be thanked.* But yet he ought to underſtand and know the authority of the Council to be ſuch as cannot be augmented or increaſed by any mans praiſe or commendation, or be diminiſhed by any opprobry or ſlander. Theſe things thus premiſed, he commanded the form of the Decree to be read. Then *Panormitan* and thoſe which took his part, would needs have a certain Proteſtation to be firſt read. There was great contention on every ſide. Notwithſtanding at the laſt *Arelatenſis* prevailed, and the form of the Decree was read unto this word *Decernimus*; that is to ſay, We decree. Then *Panormitan* riſing up would not ſuffer it to heard any further: And the Biſhop of *Catavia* cried out ſaying, *That it was uncomely that* Arelatenſis, *with a few other Biſhops by name, ſhould conclude the matter.* The like did alſo all thoſe which favoured *Panormitan.* The Cardinal of *Taraconia* alſo (which until that time had holden his peace) did grievouſly rebuke his Partakers, that as men being aſleep or in a dream, they did not read the Proteſtation, and commanded by and by one of his Familiars to read it. But like as the Adverſaries before did perturb the reading of the *Concordances*, ſo would not the Fathers of the Council now give place to the reading of the Proteſtation. Which when *Albiganenſis* did conſider, he commanded the Writing to be brought unto him, and as he began to ſpeak, ſuddenly *Arelatenſis* roſe up, with a great number of the Fathers to depart: Which thing pleaſed the Cardinal of *Taraconia* and *Panormitan* very well, for that they hoped that they alone with their Adherents, ſhould remain in the Church. They exhorted *Arelatenſis* to revoke the concluſion and to make another.

Every man may determine of Faith, having the Scripture on his part.

Contention in the Council about reading of the proteſtation.

There was in that Congregation in his place *George* the *Protonotary* of *Bardaxina*, ſitting ſomewhat beneath his Uncle, the Cardinal of *Taraconia*, a man but young of age, but grave in wiſdom, and noble in humanity: who as ſoon as he ſaw the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* riſe, he determined alſo to depart, and when as his Uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he ſaid, *God forbid further that I ſhould tarry in your Congregation, or do any thing contrary to the Oath which I have taken.* By which words he declared his excellent Vertue and Nobility, and admoniſhed our men which remained, of thoſe things they had to do. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghoſt, and words more neceſſary than could be thought. For if he had not ſpoken that word, the Fathers of the Council had peradventure departed, and gone their way; and the

How God worketh by occaſion.

{KING Hen.6.} the other remaining in the Church had made another conclusion which they would have affirmed to have been of force, becauſe they would ſay the laſt concluſion was to be received. But many being warned by the words of the *Protonotary*, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other Councils before, called back again the multitude which were departing, and cried upon the Cardinal and the Patriarch to ſit down again, and that they ſhould not leave the Church void and quiet for their Adverſaries. Whereupon ſuddenly all the whole multitude ſate down, and the Gates were ſhut again. In the mean time *Matthæus Albiganenſis* a Biſhop, read the proteſtation to none elſe but to himſelf alone, for it could nor be heard for noiſe; which being ended, the *Lombards* and the *Cathelanes* confirmed the Proteſtation. When the Cardinal of *Terraconia* ſaid, That he did agree to that diſſenſion, they marvelled at that ſaying. And when ſome ſmiled and laughed at him: *What ſaid he, ye Fools do ye mock me? do not the Ambaſſadors of my King diſſent from you? What do you marvel then if I do ſay I conſent unto their diſſentions?* And with theſe words he and almoſt all the *Aragons*, *Lombards* and *Cathelanes* departed; all the other tarried ſtill. And albeit it was ſomewhat late (for it was paſt Two at Afternoon) *Arelatenſis* ſeeing the Congregation quiet, commanded the affairs of private perſons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded alſo the publick affairs to be read, and willed the concluſions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the Congregation, the Ambaſſadors of the Empire of *France*, talking together of their affairs. Notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Turnon* heard mention made of the concluſions, and turning himſelf to the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, ſaid, *Loe, the matters of Faith are now in hand again, let us go hence I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not ſaid, to diſſent from the other Ambaſſadors.* To whom the Biſhop of *Lubeck* anſwered, *Tarry Father, tarry here, are not the Concluſions moſt true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?* Theſe words were not heard of many, for they ſpake them ſoftly between themſelves. Notwithſtanding I heard it, for I ſitting at their feet, did diligently obſerve what they ſaid. *Arelatenſis*, after all things were read, which he thought neceſſary, at the requeſt of the Deputies concluded, and ſo making an end, diſmiſſed the Congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty *Arelatenſis* concluded, forſomuch as neither the matter, nor the form could be concluded without diſſention: * and the concluſions were miraculous, and paſt all mens hope, but were obtained by the induſtry of *Arelatenſis*, or rather by the ſpecial Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

After this it was determined between the *Lombards* and *Aragons* to abſtain from the Deputations for a certain time, which they did not long obſerve, notwithſtanding the Deputations were holden very quietly for a certain ſpace, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of *May*; during which time, all means poſſible were ſought to ſet a concord between the Fathers, but would not be. Then *Nicholas Amici* Promoter of the Faith, was called into the Congregation, and briefly rehearſed thoſe things which were done the days before, and declared how that *Arelatenſis* might point a Seſſion. Wherefore forſomuch as delay in matters of Faith was dangerous; he required that a Seſſion ſhould be appointed againſt the morrow after, requiring the Cardinal for his Dignities-ſake, in that he was called *the Principal of the Church*, and the other Biſhops, that (as they had promiſed in their Conſecration) they would not now ſhrink from the Church in theſe weighty Affairs, and ſuffer the Faith to be oppreſſed; but the other Inferiors he required, upon their Oath which they had taken, to ſhew themſelves faithful and conſtant herein. Then again there fell a great contention upon theſe words; for *Arelatenſis*, as he was required, did appoint a Seſſion, and exhorted all men to be there preſent in their Robes. The Biſhop of *Lubeck* riſing up made a proteſtation in his own name, and alſo in the name of his Protector, *That he would not conſent that there ſhould be any Seſſion, if it ſhould in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz.* *Gregorius Miles* alſo, his Fellow-Ambaſſor, conſented to this proteſtation. When as the Protector of the Council, appointed by the Emperor, underſtood himſelf to be named by the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, he marvelled a while what the matter ſhould be. But being certified by an Interpreter, he anſwered, *That he would in no caſe conſent unto the Proteſtation of the Biſhop of* Lubeck, *and that he did not know any thing of their doings at* Mentz; *alſo that he was ſent by the Emperor to the ſacred Council, and hath his Charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto.* After whom the Biſhop of *Concenſe*, according to his accuſtomed manner, made his proteſtation, and after him alſo followed *Panormitan*. Whoſe words before I will repeat, I deſire that no man would marvel that I make mention ſo often of *Panormitan*; for it is neceſſary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

It hapned in theſe matters, even as it doth in Warlike affairs: for as there, ſuch as are moſt valiant and ſtrong, and do moſt worthy Feats, obtain moſt fame, as in the battel of *Troy*, *Achilles* and *Hector*: ſo in theſe Spiritual Wars and Contentions, thoſe which moſt excel in Learning and Eloquence, and do more than other, ſhould be moſt renowned and named: for on the one part *Panormitan* was Prince and Captain; on the other, *Arelatenſis*: but his own will made not the one Captain, but only neceſſity, for it behoved him to obey his Prince. Notwithſtanding he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he reſiſt willingly againſt it; for I have ſeen him oftentimes in his Library complain of his Prince, that he followed other mens counſel. When as his time came to ſpeak, he ſaid, *That he did not a little marvel why the Protector of the Faith ſhould require the Prelates to have a Seſſion, which was nothing pertaining to his Office, and that he ought not to uſurp the Preſidents place.* And again, *He complained touching the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did preſently touch the ſtate of the Apoſtolick See, and for that cauſe the See ought to be heard before any Seſſion be holden. Neither is it to be regarded* (ſaid he) *that the Council of* Conſtance *ſeemeth to have decreed, that it ſhould now be ſpoken of, forſomuch as Pope* John *was not heard at* Conſtance, *neither any man elſe, to ſpeak for the See*; by which words he ſeemed both to contemn and bring in doubt all the Decrees of that moſt great and ſacred Synod of *Conſtance*: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, ſaying, *That the Synod of* Conſtance *is holy, and the Authority thereof ought to be inviolate.* But he, being ſtill inſtant, with a ſtout and haughty courage affirmed, *That the matter could not be finiſhed without the Ambaſſadors of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of Faith.* And again, *that the Ambaſſadors themſelves cannot conſent, for ſo much as in the Colloquie holden at* Mentz *they had promiſed, during the Treaty of Peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the Pope ſhould either do againſt the Council, or the Council againſt the Pope; and that he doubted not but that the three firſt Concluſions declared* Eugenius *an Heretick, inſomuch that it was evident that* Eugenius *did vehemently reſiſt the two firſt. And therefore forſomuch as the Seſſion was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before that Seſſion to ſpeak what he will, he deſired and required them moſt inſtantly that there might be no Seſſion as yet holden.* Unto whom *Arelatenſis* anſwered, *That it was not to be doubted but that the Promoter of the Faith by his Office might call the Prelates to determine a matter of Faith, and ſpecially forſomuch as the deputation of the Faith and the whole Council had ſo given him in Commandment.*

As touching the Prelates, he ſaith, That albeit without all doubt Biſhops have chief Authority, yet notwithſtanding it is accuſtomed in Councils not to make any concluſion in the name of the Biſhops, but in the name of the whole Council: and the univerſal Church hath decreed certain Laws in this Council which ſhould remain inviolate. Neither let the Biſhops think the preſence of the Inferiors grievous unto them, when as oftentimes under a bare and torn Coat, wiſdom lieth hid, and under rich Veſtures and Ornaments fooliſh lurketh. Biſhops ought alſo to be mindful of the ſaying of *Domitius*, which (as S. *Jerome* reporteth) ſaid, *Why ſhould I eſteem thee as a Prince, if thou doſt not regard me as a Senator?* For the Biſhops ought to eſteem Prieſts as Prieſts, if they will have reverence done unto them as Biſhops. Neither ought

*Albiganenſis* readeth the proteſtation, but none could hear him.

The affairs of the Council are read.

*Aeneas Sylvius* being preſent collected this. *Arelatenſis* concluded here, as he did alſo before, not without the conſent of the Deputies, according to the order of the Council.

* *Aeneas*, you did not ſo praiſe this Council after you were Biſhop your ſelf.

The Biſhop of *Lubeck*.

*Conrade Winſ-heim.*

*Panormitan* the *Achilles* of the *Eugenians* and *Arelatenſis* the Hector of the Council.

The Papiſts extol that which maketh for their purpoſe, but the contrary they contemn, whether it be Scripture or prophane

*Arelatenſis* anſwer to *Panormitan*. This deputation of Faith, was the company of choſen men which did determine matters of Faith.

S. *Jerome* unto *Nepotianus de vitâ clericali*. Mark how politick, and ſincerely he doth confute his Adverſaries.

ought

ought the Princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, forſomuch as the Church is not congregated in the name of the Princes, but in the name of Chriſt, which hath not received his Power from Princes, but immediately from God: to the defence whereof he ſhould perceive the Inferiors to be no leſs encouraged than the Biſhops, for that he did well underſtand and know, that they would not only ſpend their Temporal goods, but alſo their lives for the defence thereof. As for ſome Biſhops, rather than they will loſe any part of their Temporalties, they will ſell the liberty of the Church unto the Princes, and make them Judges and Lords over the Council. As touching the Acts at *Mentz*, he doth not regard them, forſomuch (as it is ſaid) they counted without their Hoſt: for he ſaith, *He doth not underſtand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the Pope, nor the Council.* The one or the other they muſt needs be obedient unto; for there is no third Tribunal whereunto any Obedience is due in theſe matters which concern the faith and ſalvation of Souls. And finally, that the Church would not ſuffer that their affairs and matters of Faith ſhould be determined by the Judgment of Princes: for the Holy Ghoſt is not ſubject unto Princes, but Princes unto him: and upon this concluſion he would not fear either the loſs of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas *Panormitane* doth now ſhew himſelf ſo great a Defender of *Eugenius*; he ſaith, *That he doth not a little marvel at it, for that in times paſt no man hath more publiſhed* Eugenius *his Errors, than he: by whoſe ſpecial labour and counſel, both a decree monitory, and alſo the ſuſpenſion was admitted and ſet out againſt* Eugenius. And now, whereupon this ſudden change ſhould come, he ſaith, *That he was utterly ignorant, forſomuch as neither* Eugenius *had altered his life, neither could the Church continue in ſuch a Schiſm.* Wherefore he deſired *Panormitane* diligently to conſider, whether he ſpake according to his conſcience or not: *For* (ſaith he) *the Concluſions which now ſhall be decreed, are moſt general:* neither is there any mention in them of the Pope: and moreover the verity of Faith is contained in them: againſt the which if *Eugenius* did contend, it were more meet that the Pope ſhould be corrected, than the verity omitted. And thus he maketh an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the Seſſion. The Protector alſo deſired the ſacred Council, that none ſhould be ſuffered to bring any weapon to the Seſſion; forſomuch as he was ready to obſerve the ſafe conduct of the Emperor, and together with the Senate of the City, to prohibite all quarrels for doing of injury.

No man hath heretofore more than *Panormitane* publiſhed the errors of *Eugenius*: whom he now ſo greatly defendeth.

The Seſſion proclaimed.

When the ſixteenth day of *May* was come, all they whom the Seſſion contented and pleaſed, aſſembled at the hour. The Ambaſſadors alſo of the Princes were come together into the Quire of the Church, to attempt further what they could do; and ſending the Biſhop of *Lubeck* and *Concenſe*, and the Dean of *Turnon*, an excellent learned man, they offered themſelves to be preſent at the Seſſion, if that the depoſition of *Eugenius* might yet be deferred four months. Who when they had received a gentle anſwer of *Arelatenſis* and the other Principals, returning again unto the Ambaſſadors, they would only have the firſt Concluſion decreed, and thereupon ſent again unto *Aretalenſis*: unto whom anſwer was made, *That the chief force did conſiſt in the two other Concluſions, and that the Council would ſpecially determine upon them.* If the Ambaſſadors would not be preſent, they ſhould underſtand, that the Concord was broken by them, which would not obſerve that which they had offered. With which anſwer they departed, and the Seſſion began to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of *Aragon* preſent at it, neither out of *Spain*, nor out of *Italy*, only the Biſhop of *Groſſetane*, and the Abbot of *Dona*, which for their conſtancy and ſtedfaſt good will toward the Univerſal Church, could not be changed from their purpoſe: but of Doctors and other Inferiors, there were a great number of *Aragons*, and almoſt all the Inferiors of *Spain* and *Italy* (for the Inferiors feared not the Princes, as the Biſhops did) and then the worthy ſtoutneſs of the *Aragons* and *Catholanes* appeared in the inferior ſort, which would not ſhrink away in the neceſſity of the Church. Of the two other Nations there were only preſent twenty Biſhops. The reſidue lurked in their Lodgings, profeſſing the Faith in their hearts, but not in their mouths. *Arelatenſis* conſidering afore what would come to paſs, cauſed prayers to be made, and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentation, that he would ſend them his holy Spirit to aid and aſſiſt them, he were greatly comforted and encouraged. This Congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many Biſhops preſent, yet all the Seats were filled with the Biſhops Proctors, Archdeacons, Preſidents, Priors, Prieſts and Doctors of both Laws, which I judged to be about the number of 400 or more: amongſt whom there was no noiſe, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profeſſion of the Faith, and there appeared a full and whole conſent of them all to defend the Church. The Biſhop of *Maſſilia* a noble man, read the Decree, which was attentively hearkned unto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, *Te Deum laudamus* was ſung with great joy and gladneſs, and ſo the Seſſion diſſolved, which was in number the thirty third Seſſion, and amongſt all the firſt the moſt quiet and peaceable.

{KING Hen. 6.}

Prayers made with tears.

Among 400 Doctors that were preſent, there was not one ill word.

The day following, being the 22*th* of *May*, the Princes Ambaſſadors without all mens expectation came unto the general Congregation, by that their doing at the leaſt giving their aſſent unto the Seſſion before paſſed. In celebrating whereof, if the Fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the Princes and Ambaſſadors to have holden the Council with thoſe Fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorſe of conſcience, and even now to deteſt and abhor that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the Ambaſſors of the Empire and *France*. For the Biſhop of *Lubeck* ſaid, *That the cauſe of his abſence was, for that he was appointed by the Emperors Commandment to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be preſent at any buſineſs, whereby he ſhould be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace ſhould be intreated.* Notwithſtanding, he did much commend the Seſſion before holden, and believed the Decree therein promulgate to be moſt good and holy, and the Verities therein contained to be undoubted; and ſaid, *That he would ſtick thereunto both now and ever, even to the death.* But the Biſhop of *Turnon*, a man both learned and eloquent, ſpeaking for him and his Fellows, ſaid, *That he heard how that they were evil ſpoken of amongſt ſome, in that they had not honoured their King in that moſt ſacred Seſſion, whom it becometh ſpecially to exalt and defend the Faith; which alſo for that cauſe above all other Kings was named* moſt Chriſtian: *notwithſtanding,* he ſaid, *that they had a lawful excuſe, in that it was convenient that they, which were ſent to intreat peace, ſhould do nothing whereby their Ambaſſage ſhould be ſtopped or letted. Alſo there are two kinds of Injuſtice* (ſaid he) *whereby either things are done that ſhould not be done, or things that ſhould be done are not done.* The firſt doth not always bind, becauſe it is convenient to have reſpect of time, place, and perſon. But the laſt doth always bind, wherein he ſaid they were not culpable. But as touching the firſt point, they might ſeem unto ſome to have erred, becauſe they were not preſent at the Seſſion: but yet in this point they had ſufficient to anſwer, forſomuch as if they had been preſent at that Seſſion, they ſhould have been unmeet to have entreated any peace with *Eugenius.* And therefore albeit they were wanting at ſo holy a buſineſs, in that point they followed the example of *Paul*, which albeit he deſired to be *diſſolved and to be with Chriſt*, yet for the further profit and advancement of the Church, it was deferred. So likewiſe he ſaid, *That they had now done; for that they were not abſent becauſe they doubted of the Concluſions (which they judged to be moſt true and holy, and whereunto they would ſtick even unto the death) but becauſe they would not be unmeet for the Treaty of Peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their own Perſons, they had fulfilled* (ſaid he) *by their Servants and Houſhold, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that Seſſion.* I would that I had been then in the place of ſome great Prelate; ſurely they ſhould not have gone unpuniſhed, which thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treaty of peace? Or if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as a great Offender, which conſenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What ſhall we need any further teſti-

The 22*th* Seſſion.

The Ambaſſadors conſent to the former Seſſion.

Two kinds of Injuſtice.

*Aeneas*, you ſhould have uſed ſuch ſeverity when you were Pope. Behold, the Princes Ambaſſadors declare *Eugenius* an enemy unto the truth.

In all *Italy* there were ſcarcely two Prelates found which fought the commodity of the Univerſal Church, in *Spain* there was none.

{KING Hen. 6.}

testimony? For now the Embassadors of the Princes have declared *Eugenius* to be an enemy unto the truth. But to pass over these things, it is sufficient that *Eugenius* wrote afterward unto the King of *France*, that he did understand the Bishop of *Tournon* to become his enemy.

*Arelatensis* commendeth the Embassadors.

After that the Bishop of *Tournon* had made an end, Cardinal *Arelatensis* gave thanks unto God, which had so defended his Church, and after great Storms and Clouds had sent fair and clear weather; and commending the good will of the Emperor and the King of *France* toward the Church, he also praised the Bishop of *Lubeck* and *Tournon*, for that oftentimes in the Council, and also of late at *Mentz*, they had defended the authority of the Council. But specially he commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestred themselves from the faith of the Church.

This Council was gathered to take away the ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, that they should not think they might do all things according to their own pleasure; and further to revoke them from the care of temporal things unto spiritual things, which now they regarded not.

Afterward he, entring into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at *Pysis* and at *Constance*, and never saw a more quiet or devout Session than this; affirming that this Decree was most necessary, to repress the ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, which exalting themselves above the Universal Church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleasure, and that no one man from henceforth should transport the Council from one place to another, as *Eugenius* attempted to do, now to *Bononia*, now to *Florentia*, then again to *Bononia*, after to *Ferraria*, and after that again to *Florentia*; and that hereafter the Bishops should withdraw their minds from the carefulness of temporal goods, which (as he himself did see) had no mind at all on spiritual matters; and therefore by how much this Session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the Embassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the Fathers. These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the Congregation was dissolved.

The Council doth deliberate upon the Popes Election.

Now after that *Gabriel Condulmarius* was deposed from the Bishoprick of *Rome*, the principal Fathers of the Council, being called together in the Chapter-house of the great Church, consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new Bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the Election should be done with speed, shewed how dangerous a thing it was for such a Congregation to be without a Head; also what a pestilentous sickness was in all the City, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this Plague came first by strangers unto the poor of the City, and so infected the rich, and now was come unto the Fathers of the Council; amplifying moreover, and encreasing the tenor thereof, and making the thing worse than it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the Decree (said they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided, that there should be delay of sixty days after the See is void; for that is to be understood when as the See is void, at such time as there is no Council holden; neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the Princes being perswaded by *Gabriel*, should resist; unto whom the Deposition of *Gabriel*, and the Election of some other, is to be certified all under one message. The other, which thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the Council did lack no Head, forsomuch as Christ was the Head thereof; neither did lack a Ruler, forsomuch as it was governed by the Presidents and other Officers; and that no mention should be made of any Pestilence in such case, seeing that unto stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or fear them which contend for the Christian Faith. As for that Pestilence which doth now increase and grow in the City, forsomuch as judgment is now given, it is to be hoped that it will assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of Justice. Also, that in so doubtful a matter, they ought rather to use the Princes against their will, than to neglect them; and that it is not to be feared, but that in this case God will help those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds as there were men) yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to chuse the Bishop by and by, but most honest to defer it.

60 days must be delayed after the See is void.

Note the Christian zeal of these men, which would refuse no danger for Gods cause.

Hereupon *John Segovius*, a man of excellent learning, said, *Most Reverend Fathers, I am diversly drawn by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a speedy election it seemeth good, to speak after mans judgment; but to delay it for two Months, to speak after Gods judgment, it seemeth much better. I do judge that not only the words, but also the meaning of our Decree ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather dangerous honesty, than secure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty.* This opinion of delay took place among the Fathers, and they determined to stay for the space of two Months.

Dangerous honesty preferred before secure utility.

In the mean time Messengers were sent unto the Princes, to declare the Deposition of *Eugenius* by the Synod, and publish it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt Air was nothing at all purged, but the Mortality daily increasing, many died and were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the Fathers. Neither were they sufficiently advised what they might do; for they thought it not to be without danger, either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding, they thought it good to tarry, and also they caused others to tarry; that since they had overcome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they would not seem to shrink for the persecution of any Plague or Sickness. But forsomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politickly provided, that the Council should not seem to be dissolved for any mans departure. And for the more establishment of the matter, there were certain things read before the Fathers, which they called *De stabilimento*, whose authority continued long time after. When as the Dog-days were come, and that all Herbs withered with heat, the Pestilence daily increased more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the Coarses hourly carried through the Streets, when on every side there was weeping, wailing and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place, but Matrons bewailing their Husbands, and the Husbands their Wives. Men and Women went through the Streets, and durst not speak one to another. Some tarried at home, and othersome that went abroad, had Perfumes to smell unto, to preserve them against the Plague.

A great Pestilence in *Basil.*

The Common People died without number; and like as in the cold Autumn the Leafs of the Trees do fall; even so did the Youth of the City consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should have met a man merry in the Street now, and within ten hours heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead Coarses was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the Church-Yards were digged up, and filled with dead Coarses, and great holes made in the Parish Churches, where a great number of Coarses being thrust in together, they covered them over with earth. For which cause the Fathers were so afraid, that there appeared no bloud in their faces; and specially the sudden death of *Ludovicus* the Prothonotary did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both Laws, whom the same envious and raging sickness took away in a few hours. By and by, after died *Ludovicus* the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adversity, neither could he see the day of the Popes Election which he had long wished for. Notwithstanding, he took partly a consolation, in that he had seen *Gabriel* deposed before his death. This mans death was grievous unto all the Fathers; for now they said, that two Pillars of the Council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the Prothonotary and the Patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the Council.

*Ludovicus* the Prothonotary died of the Plague.

About the same time also died the King of *Arragon's* Almoner in *Switzerland*, a man of excellent learning, being Bishop of *Ebron*. The Abbot of *Vergilia* died at *Spire*, and *John* the Bishop of *Lubeck*, between *Vienna* and *Buda*.

The exhortation of those which died.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When as they perceived the hour of their death approach, calling unto them certain grave and wise men, said, *All you that be here present, pray to God that he will convert such as knowledge Gabriel for high Bishop, for in that state they cannot be saved*; and professing themselves, that they would die in the Faith of the Council of *Basil*, they departed in the Lord. In *Boheme* also departed the Bishop of *Constance*, which was Embassador for the Council. There was great

The Bishop of *Constance* dieth.

fear and trembling throughout all the Council. There had been alſo in the Council, by a long time, the Abbot of *Dona*, of the Dioceſs of *Cumana*, a man poor unto the World, but rich unto God, whom neither flattering nor threatning could turn away from his good purpoſe and intent, chuſing rather to beg in the truth of the Fathers, than to abound in riches with the falſe flattering adverſaries.

The Abbot *Dona*, a true Abbot.

Whereupon, after the Lords were departed which gave him his living, he remaining ſtill, was ſtricken with the Plague and died. Likewiſe a great number of the Regiſters and Doctors died; and ſuch as fell into that Diſeaſe, few or none eſcaped. One amongſt all the reſt, *Æneas Sylvius*, being ſtricken with this Diſeaſe, by Gods help eſcaped. This man lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in deſpair of him; notwithſtanding it pleaſed God to grant him longer life. When as the Peſtilence was moſt fervent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great intreaty made unto Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, that he would go to ſome other Town or Village near hand; for theſe were the words of all his friends and houſhold, *What do you moſt reverend Father? At the leaſt void this Wane of the Moon and ſave your ſelf; who being ſafe, all we ſhall alſo be ſafe; if you dy, we all periſh. If the Plague oppreſs you, unto whom ſhall we fly? Who ſhall rule us? Or who ſhall be the guide of this moſt faithful flock? The infection hath already invaded your Chamber. Your Secretary and Chamberlain are already dead. Conſider the great danger, and ſave both your ſelf and us.* But neither the intreaty of his Houſhold, neither the coarſes of thoſe which were dead could move him, willing rather to preſerve the Council with peril of his life, than to ſave his life with peril of the Council; for he did know, that if he ſhould depart, few would have tarried behind, and that deceit ſhould have been wrought in his abſence.

*Æneas* the author hereof eſcaped death hardly.

The invincible conſtancy and fortitude of the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*.

Wherefore, like as in Wars the Soldiers fear no danger, when as they ſee their Captain in the midſt of their enemies: ſo the Fathers of the Council were aſhamed to fly from this Peſtilence, ſeeing their Preſident to remain with them in the midſt of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly ſubvert the opinion of them, which babbled abroad, that the Fathers tarried in *Baſil*, to ſeek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth which men would change for their lives; for that all ſuch as do ſerve the World, do prefer it before all other things. But theſe our Fathers, ſhewing themſelves an invincible ſtrong Wall for the Houſe of God, vanquiſhing all the crafty deceits which *Gabriel* uſed, and overcoming all difficulties, which this moſt cruel and peſtiferous year brought upon them, at the length all deſire of life alſo being ſet apart, they have overcome all dangers, and have not doubted with moſt conſtant minds to defend the verity of the Council, even unto this preſent.

The time of the Decree being paſſed, after the Depoſition of *Gabriel*, it ſeemed good unto the Fathers, to proceed to the Election of another Biſhop. And firſt of all, they nominated thoſe that together with the Cardinals, ſhould elect the Pope. The firſt and principal of the Electors, was the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, a man of invincible conſtancy, and incomparable wiſdom; unto whoſe vertue I may juſtly aſcribe whatſoever was done in the Council; for without him, the Prelates had not perſevered in their purpoſe, neither could the ſhadow of any Prince have ſo defended them. This man came not to the Election by any favour or denomination, but by his own proper right. The reſt of the Electors were choſen out of the *Italian*, *French*, *German* and *Spaniſh* Nations and their Cells and Chambers appointed to them by lots, without reſpect of dignity or perſon, and as the lots fell, ſo were they placed; whereby it chanced a Doctor to have the higheſt place, and a Biſhop the laſt. Wherein the diſtribution of lots was very ſtrange, or rather a divine diſpenſation, reproving the devices of man, whereas the Prelates had determined to have the beſt Chambers appointed for themſelves, and had earneſtly contended before to have their Chambers appointed according to their dignity.

The commendation of *Arelatenſis*.

The next day after there was a Seſſion holden, wherein *Marcus* a famous Divine, made an Oration unto the Electors, wherein he reckoned up the manifold crimes of *Gabriel*, which was depoſed. He endeavoured to perſwade the Electors to chuſe ſuch a man, which ſhould in all points be contrary unto *Gabriel*, and eſchew all his vices; that as he, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtful unto all men, ſo he which ſhould be choſen, ſhould ſhew himſelf acceptable unto all men, through juſtice; and as *Gabriel* was covetous and full of rapine, ſo this man ſhould ſhew himſelf continent.

The counſel of *Marcus*.

There was ſo great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the Streets, any man could paſs. There was preſent *John* Earl of *Dierſtein*, who ſupplied the place of the Emperors Protector; alſo the Senators of the City, with many other Noblemen, to behold the ſame, whereof you ſhall hear (Chriſt willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in Armour, to take care that there ſhould be no uproar made. The Electors received the Communion together, and afterwards they received their Oath; and the Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, opening the Book of Decrees, read the form of the Oath in the audience of all men, and firſt of all, he taking the Oath himſelf, began in this manner:

The godly Oath of *Arelatenſis*.

*Moſt reverend Fathers, I promiſe, ſwear and vow, before my Lord Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe moſt bleſſed Body I unworthy ſinner have received, unto whom in the laſt Judgment, I ſhall give an account of all my deeds) that in this buſineſs of Election, whereunto now by the will of the Council we are ſent, I will ſeek nothing elſe, but the only ſalvation of the Chriſtian People, and the profit of the Univerſal Church. This ſhall be my whole care and ſtudy, that the authority of the General Councils be not contemned, that the Catholick Faith be not impugned, and that the Fathers which remain in the Council be not oppreſſed. This will I ſeek for; this ſhall be my care; unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend my ſelf; neither will I reſpect any thing in this point, either for mine own cauſe, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the Church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart will I take mine Oath before the Council.*

His words were lively and fearful. After him all the other Electors in their order, did ſwear and take their Oath. Then they went with great ſolemnity unto the Conclave, where they remained ſeven days. The manner of their Election was in this ſort. Before the Cardinals Seat was ſet a Deſk, whereupon there ſtood a Baſon of Silver, into the which Baſon all the Electors did caſt their Schedules; which the Cardinal receiving, read one by one, and four other of the Electors wrote as he read them.

The othe Electors take their Oath.

The tenor of the Schedules was in this manner: *I* George *Biſhop of* Vicene, *do chuſe ſuch a man, or ſuch a man, for Biſhop of* Rome, and peradventure named one or two; every one of the Electors ſubſcribed his name unto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his own, and ſay nay, if it were contrary to that which was ſpoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The firſt ſcrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the Papacy; yet none had ſufficient voices, for that day there were 17 of divers Nations nominate. Notwithſtanding, *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, a man of ſingular vertue, ſurmounted them all; for in the firſt ſcrutiny he had the voice of 16 Electors, which judged him worthy to govern the Church.

*Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*.

After this, there was a diligent inquiſition had in the Council touching thoſe which were named of the Electors, and as every mans opinion ſerved him, he did either praiſe or diſcommend thoſe which were nominate. Notwithſtanding, there was ſuch report made of *Amedeus*, that in the next ſcrutiny, which was holden in the Nones of *November*, the ſaid *Amedeus* had 21 Voices, and likewiſe in the 3d and 4th ſcrutiny, 21 Voices. And forſomuch as there was none found in all the ſcrutiny to have 2 parts, all the other Schedules were burnt. And forſomuch as there lacked but only one Voice to the Election of the high Biſhop, they fell unto prayer, deſiring God that he would vouchſafe to direct their minds to an unity and conſord, worthily to elect and chuſe him which ſhould take the charge over the flock of God. Forſomuch as *Amedeus* ſeemed to be nearer unto the Papacy than all other, there was great communication had amongſt them touching his life and diſpoſition. Some ſaid that a Lay-man ought not ſo ſuddenly to be choſen; for it would ſeem a ſtrange thing, for a ſecular Prince to be called unto the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; which would alſo too much derogate from the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate,

A ſcrutiny is a privy election by voices.

Prayer for unity and concord.

as

KING *Hen.6.* as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Otherſome ſaid, *that a man which was married and had children, was unmeet for ſuch a charge.* Otherſome againſt affirmed, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be a Doctor of Law, and an excellet learned man.

When theſe words were ſpoken, otherſome riſing up, ſpake far otherwiſe; that albeit *Amedeus* was no Doctor, yet was he learned and wiſe, forſomuch as all his whole youth he had beſtowed in learning and ſtudy, and had ſought not the name, but even the ground of Learning. Then ſaid another, if ye be deſirous to be inſtructed further of this Princes life, I pray you give ear unto me, which do know him throughly. Truly this man from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiouſly than ſecularly, being always obedient to his Parents and Maſters, and being always indued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonneſs; neither hath there at any time been any child of the Houſe of *Savoy*, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardneſs; whereby all thoſe which did behold and know this man, judged and foreſaw ſome great matter in him; neither were they deceived. For if ye deſire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been; firſt, know ye this, that this man hath reigned, ſince his Fathers deceaſe, about forty years.

Let lying *Eugenius* be aſhamed of his falſe invective againſt *Amedeus*.

During whoſe time, Juſtice, the Lady and Queen of all other Vertues, hath always flouriſhed: For he, hearing his Subjects himſelf, would never ſuffer the poor to be oppreſſed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the Fatherleſs, the advocate of the Widows, and protector of the Poor. There was no Rapine or Robbery in all his Territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burthenous to his Subjects, or importune againſt ſtrangers throughout all his Country; there were no grievous exactions of Mony throughout all his Dominion. He thought himſelf rich enough, if the Inhabitants of his Dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it was the point of a good Shepherd to ſhear his Sheep, and not to devour them. In this alſo was his chief ſtudy and care, that his Subjects might live in peace, and ſuch as bordered upon him, might have no occaſion of grudge.

By which policies he did not only quietly govern his Fathers Dominion, but alſo augmented the ſame by others, which willingly ſubmitted themſelves unto him. He never made War upon any, but reſiſting againſt ſuch as made War upon him, he ſtudied rather to make peace, than to ſeek any revenge, deſiring rather to overcome his enemies with benefits, than with the Sword. He married only one Wife, which was a Noble Virgin, and of ſingular beauty and chaſtity. He would have all his Family to keep their hands and eyes chaſt and continent, and throughout all his houſe, honeſty and integrity of manners was obſerved. When as his Wife had changed her life, and that he perceived his Dutchy to be eſtabliſhed, and that it ſhould come without any controverſie unto his Poſterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious, and dedicate unto God, and ſhewed what will and affection he had long born in his heart. For he contemning the pomp and ſtate of this World, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a Wilderneſs; where building a goodly Abby, he addicted himſelf wholly to the ſervice of God, and taking his Croſs upon him, followed Chriſt. In which place he being converſant by the ſpace of many years, ſhewed forth great examples of holineſs, wearing no other garments but ſuch as could withſtand the cold, neither uſing any kind of dainty fare, but only to reſiſt hunger, watching and praying the moſt part of the Night. Wherefore this Prince is not newly come unto the Church (as ſome do ſuppoſe) but being a Chriſtian, born of Progenitors, a thouſand years and more, being Chriſtians, doth now ſerve God in a Monaſtery.

Commendation of *Amedeus* Pope elect.

But as touching that alſo which is ſpoken concerning a Wife, I do not regard it; when as not he only which hath had a Wife, but he alſo which hath a Wife may be elect and choſen Pope. For why do the Doctors diſpute, whether a married man choſen Pope, ought to perform his duty towards his Wife, but only becauſe a married man might be received and choſen? For as you know well enough, there were many Popes that had Wives; and *Peter* alſo was not without a Wife. But what do we ſtand about this? For peradventure, it had been better that more Prieſts had been married; for many ſhould be ſaved through Marriage, which are now damned through their ſingle life. But hereof we will (ſaith he) ſpeak in another place. But this ſeemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any anſwer, which is objected touching his children; for what can children (ſpecially being of great age) be impediment or let unto the Father being a Biſhop? Doth not the Scripture ſay, *Wo be unto him that is alone; for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again?* This cannot be imputed unto the Prince? for he hath two ſons, both comely and wiſe, Whereof the one is Prince of *Piemont*, the other Earl of the *Gevennians*: theſe men will rule the Country of *Savoy* in the abſence of their Father, and will help him if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a Biſhop of *Rome* to have valiant children, which may help their Father againſt Tyrants? O moſt reverend Fathers, the more I do behold the ſtorm of this moſt perverſe and froward time, the more I do conſider the vexations and troubles which the Church is now tormented withal; I do ſo much the more think it profitable, yea and neceſſary, that this man ſhould be choſen Prince and Head; I will think that God hath ſhewed his mercy upon us, if I may ſee him have the governance over this Boat; I pray you conſider into what ſtraits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and toſſed? What Prince is it that is obedient unto this Council? For ſome will not confeſs, that the Council *is* here, neither receive our Decrees: Otherſome confeſs it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at *Florence*. For albeit that by their words and Letters, they do not deny that the Church is here, yet do they procure Promotions at the hands of *Gabriel* which is depoſed. This is the ſtate of the Church with theſe ſtorms and tempeſts the Ship is ſhaken and bruiſed; wicked children have riſen up againſt their Mother, which being unmindful of their Mothers labours and kindneſs towards them, deſpiſe her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuſe a bare man, which ſhall rather be derided of our Princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have reſpect only unto vertue, *for* (as the Satyrical Poet writeth) *vertue is praiſed, but is coldly followed.* A poor man ſpeaketh, and they ask what he is? Truly vertue is good, but for our purpoſe it muſt be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man; you muſt chuſe a Governour which may rule the Ship not only by counſel, but by power alſo. The wind is great; wherefore except the counſel be good, and the power ſtrong, the Ship ſhall be broken and all put in danger. The memorial is yet freſh before our eyes, that the Princes do neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantneſs ſhewed in this point, in that you fearing no peril or danger, either of life or goods, have ſo long contended for the truth of Chriſt? But the moſt mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will reſiſt this their pride. I have often conſented unto their opinion, which ſaid it was expedient that the Temporal Dominions ſhould be divided from the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate; for I did think that the Prieſts ſhould thereby be made more apt to the divine Miniſtry, and ſecular Princes more obedient to the Clergy. But forſomuch as at this preſent the Churches of the World are poſſeſſed, partly by *Eugenius*, and partly by other Tyrants, we muſt provide that we chuſe ſuch a one, which may recover again the Patrimony of the Church, and in whom the office of Chriſts Vicar may not be contemned; through the ſhield of whoſe power their contumacy may be ſuppreſſed, which contemn both verity and reaſon. Whereunto no man ſeemeth unto me more apt or meet, than *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, which holdeth the chief part of his poſſeſſions in *Italy*, and the other in *France*; unto whom all Chriſtian Princes are allied either by conſanguinity, or joyned by amity and friendſhip, and whoſe vertue, how famous it is, I have already declared. Why do we then ſtay or doubt to chuſe him, than whom *Gabriel* feareth no man more. Let him therefore periſh with the ſword wherewithal he hath ſtricken. There is no man which can more pacifie the Church than he. Do ye require devotion in a Biſhop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? Now ye underſtand by his former life what manner of

To have a Wife is no let for a good man to be elected Pope. Popes have been married.

Read the firſt Epiſtle of *Iren.* you ſhall ſee that the Apoſtles had Wives, and *Baptiſta Mantuanus* maketh mention, how that *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Pictavia* had a Wife. Eccleſ. 4.

Schiſm in the Church.

Good it were that temporal Dominions were divided from the Church.

man is he. If ye ſeek for Juſtice, his people are a witneſs thereof; ſo that whether you ſeek for vertue or power, all are here preſent before you. Whereupon do ye ſtay? Go to I pray you, chuſe this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preſerve the authority of the Church. Have ye not heard theſe troubles of the Church to have been afore ſpoken of, and that the time now preſent ſhould be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there ſhould a Pope be choſen which ſhould comfort *Sion*, and ſet all things in peace? And who I pray you ſhould he be that could fulfil theſe things except we chuſe this man? Believe me, theſe ſayings muſt be fulfilled, and I truſt that God will move your minds thereunto. Notwithſtanding, do whatſoever you ſhall think moſt good and holy.

*Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy* choſen Pope.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the greateſt number of the Electors ſeemed to conſent unto him, and his words took ſuch effect, that in the next ſcrutiny the matter was finiſhed and ended, and when the ſcrutiny was opened, it was found that *Amedeus*, the moſt devout Duke of *Savoy*, according to the Decree of the Council, was choſen Pope. Wherefore ſuddenly, there was great joy and gladneſs amongſt them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the Cardinal *Arelatenſis* publiſhed unto them the name of the elect Biſhop. After this all the Prelates in their Robes, *Pontificalibus* and Miters, and all the Clergy of the City coming unto the Conclave, the Electors being likewiſe adorned, they brought him unto the great Church, where after great thanks given unto God, and the Election again declared unto the people, a Hymn being ſung for joy, the Congregation was diſſolved.

Pope *Felix* the fifth.

This *Amedeus* aforeſaid, was a man of reverent age, of comely ſtature, of grave and diſcreet behaviour; alſo before married. Who thus being elect for Pope about *November*, was called *Felix* the Fifth, and was crowned in the City of *Baſil*, in the Month of *July*. There was preſent at his Coronation, *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*; *Philip* Earl *Gebenenſ. Lewis* Marqueſs of *Salutz*; The Marqueſs of *Rotelen*: *Conrade* of *Winſperg* Chamberlain of the Empire: The Earl of *Dierſtein*: The Embaſſadors of the Cities of *Strasbourgh*, *Bern*, *Friburgh*, *Solatorn*, with a great multitude of other beſide, to the view of 50000 perſons. At this Coronation, the Popes two Sons did ſerve and miniſter to their Father. *Lewis* Cardinal of *Hoſtia* did ſet on his Head the Pontifical Diadem, which was eſteemed at thirty thouſand Crowns. It were long here to recite the whole order and ſolemnity of the Proceſſion, or the Popes riding about the City. Firſt proceeded the Pope under his Canopy of Cloth of Gold, having on his Head a Triple-Crown, and bleſſing the people as he went. By him went the Marqueſs of *Rotelen*, and *Conrade* of *Winſperg*, leading his Horſe by the Bridle. The Proceſſion finiſhed, they went to dinner, which laſted four full hours, being exceſſively ſumptuous; where the Popes two Sons were Butlers to his Cup; the Marqueſs of *Salutz* was the Steward, &c.

The number of people at the Coronation of Pope *Felix*. The Popes two Sons ſerving at the Coronation. The valuation of the Popes Crown. The Popes dinner and ſervice.

*Volat. lib.* 3.

Of this *Felix* thus writeth *Volaterane* in his third Book, *That he being deſired of certain of the Embaſſadors, if he had any Dogs or Hounds to ſhew them; he willed them the next day to repair unto him, and he would ſhew unto them ſuch as he had. When the Embaſſadors according to the appointment were come, he ſheweth unto them a great number of poor People and Beggars ſitting at his Tables at meat, declaring that thoſe were his Hounds, which he every day uſed to feed, hunting with them (he truſted) for the glory of Heaven to come.*

A note for our Gentlemen and Lords, to learn how to hunt and what Dogs to keep.

And thus you have heard the ſtate of this Council hitherto, which Council endured a long ſeaſon, the ſpace of 17 years.

The death of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor. *Albert* the 2d Emperor. Anno 1438. The death of *Albertus*.

About the ſixth year of the Council, *Sigiſmund* the Emperor died, leaving but one Daughter to ſucceed him in his Kingdoms, whom he had married to *Albert* the ſecond Duke of *Auſtrich*, which firſt ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Hungary* and *Boheme*, being a ſore adverſary to the *Bohemians*, and afterward was made Emperor, *Anno* 1438, and reigned Emperor but two years, leaving his Wife, which was *Sigiſmund* his Daughter, great with Child. After which *Albert* ſucceeded his Brother *Frederick*, the third Duke of *Auſtrich*, in the Empire, &c. Whereof more (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

In the mean time *Eugenius* hearing of the death of *Sigiſmund* above recited, began to work the diſſolution of the Council of *Baſil*, and to transfer it to *Ferraria*, pretending the coming of the *Grecians*. Notwithſtanding, the Council of *Baſil*, through the diſpoſition of God, and the worthineſs of Cardinal *Arelatenſis*, conſtantly endured. Albeit in the ſaid Council were many ſtops and practices to impeach the ſame, beſide the ſore Plague of Peſtilence which fell in the City, during the ſaid Council. In the which Plague time, beſides the death of many worthy men, *Æneas Sylvius* alſo himſelf, the Writer and Compiler of the whole Hiſtory of that Council, ſitting at the feet of the Biſhops of *Turnon* and *Lubeck*, lay ſick three days of the ſame ſore, as is above touched, and never thought to eſcape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, deſiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that ſtuck to *Eugenius* as Pope, againſt that Council, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated again for the better marking. *Arelatenſis* being moſt inſtantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be intreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the Church, than of his own life.

KING Hen. 6. The Plague at *Baſil* in the time of the Council.

*Æneas Sylvius* ſick of the Plague in *Baſil*.

The conſtant zeal of *Arelatenſis* to the truth.

Beſide theſe ſo great difficulties and obſtacles to ſtay and hinder this Council, ſtrange it was to behold the mutation of mens minds. Of whom ſuch as firſt ſeemed to favour the Council, after did impugn it; and ſuch as before were againſt it, in the end ſhewed themſelves moſt friends unto the ſame. The chief Cardinals and Prelates, the more they had to loſe, the ſooner they ſlipt away, or elſe lurked in Houſes or Towns near, and abſented themſelves for fear; ſo that the ſtay of the Council moſt reſted upon their Proctors, Doctors, Archdeacons, Deans, Provoſts, Priors, and ſuch other of the inferiour ſort. Whereof *Æneas Sylvius*, in his 183 Epiſtle, maketh this relation, where one *Caſpar Schlick*, the Emperors Chancellor, writeth to Cardinal *Julian* in theſe words, *Thoſe Cardinals* (ſaith he) *which ſo long time magnified ſo highly the authority of the Church, and of General Councils, ſeeming as though they were ready to ſpend their lives for the ſame, now at the ſight of one Letter from their King (wherein yet no death was threatned, but only loſs of their promotions) ſlipt away from* Baſil. And in the ſame Epiſtle, deridingly commendeth them, as wiſe men, that had rather loſe their faith than their flock. *Albeit* (ſaith he) *they departed not far away, but remained about* Solatorn, *waiting for other commandments from their Prince.* Whereby it may appear how they did ſhrink away not willingly; *but the Burſe* (quoth he) *bindeth faſter than true honour,*

*Æneas Sylvius, epiſt.* 183.

The wealthy Prelates ſlide away from the Council. Wealthy Prelates afraid of truth. *Fidem quam plebe, carere malunt.* Promotions choke the Clergy.

*Quid enim ſalvis infamia nummis?* that is to ſay, *What matter maketh the name of a Man, ſo his Mony be ſafe?* Hæc Æneas.

Moreover, in one of the Seſſions of the ſaid Council, the worthy Cardinal *Arelatenſis* is ſaid thus to have reported, *that Chriſt was ſold for thirty pence; but I* (ſaid he) *was ſold much more dear: For* Gabriel, *otherwiſe called* Eugenius *Pope, offered threeſcore thouſand Crowns, who ſo would take me, and preſent me unto him.* And they that took the ſaid Cardinal, afterward excuſed their fact by another colour, pretending the cauſe, for that the Cardinals Brother, what time the *Armiakes* waſted *Alſatia*, had brought great damage to the Inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (ſaid they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a *Frenchman*, whereſoever they might take him. At length by the Biſhop of *Strasbourgh*, *Rupert*, and the ſaid City, the matter was taken up, and he reſcued. Wherein no doubt appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the peſtilent danger of the Pope his adverſary, *Ex Paralip. Abbat. Urſper.*

60000 Crowns offered by Pope *Eugenius*, for the betraying of *Arelatenſis*.

*Arelatenſis* taken and reſcued. Gods defence toward his ſervants. *Ex Paralip. Abb. Urſper.*

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this foreſaid Council, until the election of *Amedeus*, called Pope *Felix* the Fifth, before we proſecute the reſt that remaineth thereof to be ſpoken, the order and courſe of times requireth to intermix withal the reſidue pertaining to the matters concluded between this Council and the *Bohemians*, declaring the whole circumſtances of the Embaſſage, their Articles, Diſputations and Anſwers, which they had firſt in the ſaid Council, then in their own Country with the Councils Embaſſadors; alſo with their Petitions and Anſwers unto the ſame.

Touching the ſtory of the *Bohemians*, how they being ſent for, came up to the Council of *Baſil*, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before

KING *Hen. 6.*

The ſtory of the *Bohemians* profecuted.

before hath been expreſſed. Now as leiſure ſerveth from other matters, to return again unto the ſame, it remaineth to proſecute the reſt that lacketh, ſo far as both brevity may be obſerved, and yet the Reader not defrauded of ſuch things, principally worthy in the ſame to be noted and known.

The *Bohemians* then (as is before declared) having always the upper hand, albeit they were accuſed by the new Biſhop *Eugenius*, yet it was thought good that they ſhould be called unto *Baſil*, where the Council was appointed. Whereupon Cardinal *Julian* ſent thither before *John Pulkmiar* Doctor of the Law, and *John de Raguſio*, a Divine. Who coming unto *Baſil* in the Month of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1431. called by their Letters unto the Council, *John* Abbot of *Muldrun*, and *Johen Gelhuſius*, Monk of the ſame Cloiſter; which men for dexterſty of their wit and experience, and knowledge of Countries, were very meet and neceſſary for Embaſſages.

The *Bohemians* invited to come to the Council.

Within a few days after, *Julianus* alſo came thither, as he had promiſed, and immediately ſent out *John Gelhuſius*, and *Hammon Offenbourgh*, a Senator of *Baſil*, firſt unto the Emperor *Sigiſmund* being at *Feldirch*, and afterward unto *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtrich*, for the appeaſing of the Wars between him and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. This was done, to the intent that peace being had, not only the Eccleſiaſtical Prelates, but alſo the Merchants might have ſafe acceſs unto *Baſil*, and ſo bring in all things neceſſary for ſuſtentation.

They going on this Embaſſage, received Letters from the Synod, to be delivered unto the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, whereby the *Bohemians* and *Moravians* were called unto the Council. Theſe Letters he by and by cauſed to be carried unto *Boheme*. But forſomuch as he himſelf went into *Italy*, to receive the Imperial Crown of the Biſhop, he left *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, as his Deputy, to be Protector unto the Council. Furthermore, when as the Synod underſtood that our men would take a peace with the *Bohemians*, after their moſt ſhameful flight, they ſent *John Niderus* a Divine, and *John Gelhuſius*, to comfort the people which joyned upon *Boheme*, and earneſtly to move the *Moravians* and *Bohemians*, which were before called, to come unto the Council.

They departing from *Baſil*, about the end of *October*, took their journey toward *Mnacum*, a Town of *Bavaria*; where, after they had ſaluted *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, and his Brother *Erneſtus*, and *Albert* the Son of *Erneſtus*, and had declared the Commiſſion of their Embaſſage, and had ſhewed unto Duke *William*, how that as ſoon as he ſhould come unto *Baſil*, the protection of the Council ſhould be committed unto him by the Emperor; they exhorted *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, the Senate of *Noremberg*, and other Princes and Lords, partly by the Letters of the Council, and partly by words of mouth, that they ſhould by no means take any Truce with the *Bohemians*, for that it might be hurtful unto the Church, and ſaid they ſhould have aid out of hand. They deſired them alſo in the name of the Council, *That if the* Bohemians *would ſend their Embaſſadors unto* Baſil, *they would guide them, every man through his Country in ſafety*; which they promiſed to do. It is incredible how all men rejoyced that the *Bohemians* were ſent for.

After this, when as they counſelled with the Senate of *Noremberg*, touching the ſending of the Councils Letters unto *Boheme*, it ſeemed beſt firſt of all to inquire of the Rulers of *Egra*, whether the *Bohemians* had made any anſwer to the former Letters of the Council which they had ſent. The Rulers of *Egra*, being advertiſed by theſe Letters, ſent him which carried the Councils Letters into *Boheme*, unto *Noremberg*. He reported how reverently the Council of the greater City of *Prague* received the Letters, and how he was rewarded.

The *Bohemians* laboured to come to the Council.

Whereupon they conceived great hope of the good ſucceſs of the Embaſſage. Therefore the Embaſſadors uſing the counſel of the Senate of *Noremberg*, and divers others, ſent the meſſenger back again unto *Egra*, with their own private Letters, and with Letters of the Council; for there was no better mean to ſend the Letters to *Boheme*. Much travel was taken by them of *Egra*, *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, in this matter; for that they were very deſirous that peace might be had amongſt Chriſtians. The Copy of thoſe Letters, whereby the Synod did call the *Bohemians* unto the Council, and other Letters exhortatory of the Embaſſadors, and the *Bohemians* anſwer unto the ſame, for brevities cauſe we have here pretermitted. The *Bohemians* not in all points truſting unto the Embaſſadors, required by their Letters that the Councils Embaſſadors, with the other Princes, would come unto *Egra*, where their Embaſſadors ſhould alſo be preſent, to intreat upon the ſafe conduct, and other matters.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the Sunday after *Eaſter*, which was the twenty ſeventh day of *April*. Then came the Embaſſadors of the Council unto *Egra*, with the noble Princes *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, with other Nobles, almoſt to the number of 252 Horſe. But none of the *Bohemians* were preſent, becauſe the Inhabitants of *Pilſana*, and the Lord *Swambergius* had not ſent their ſafe conduct. When they underſtood this by their Letters, they brought it to paſs, that the Embaſſadors of the *Bohemians*, *Nicolaus Humpelzius*, Secretary of the greater City of *Prague*, and *Matthew Clumpezane*, Preſident of *Pieſta*, ſhould be brought forth by them of *Egra*, and the *Elenbogenſes*, and ſo they came unto *Egra* with nineteen Horſe, the 8th day of *May*. The next day after *Henry Tocgye* received the *Bohemian* Embaſſadors before the Marqueſs with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Goſpel for his Theme, *Pax vobis*, i. *Peace be with you*. Then they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cauſe of ſo many great ſlaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there were ſome hope that they ſhould be heard.

The Embaſſadors of the *Bohemians*, and of the Council, meet together at *Egra*.

After this they conferred as touching the ſafe conduct. The *Bohemians* required pledges, and that not of the common ſort, but Princes and Nobles. Which thing, foraſmuch as it did not content the Embaſſadors, and that the matter ſhould ſo be put off, the common People of *Egra* began to cry out, *That it was long of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, that a concord was not made with the* Bohemians. Then *Frederick* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and *John* Duke of *Bavaria*, bound themſelves of their own good wills. The like alſo did *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, at the requeſt of the Council. Likewiſe alſo did the Council and the Emperor *Sigiſmund*. Furthermore, promiſe was made, *That all the Princes and Cities ſhould do the like, through whoſe dominion they ſhould come, and the City of* Baſil *alſo*. The copy of which ſafe conduct was afterward ſent unto *Prague*. This alſo was required by the *Bohemians*, *That if it were poſſible the Emperor ſhould be preſent at the Council.*

The *Bohemians* require Pledges.

Princes bound to the *Bohemians*.

The *Bohemians* require the Emperor to be preſent at the Council.

This convention at *Egra*, continued 21 days. But the *Bohemians*, albeit they heard the Councils Embaſſadors make great promiſes, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they choſe out two Embaſſadors, *Nicholas Humgolizius*, and *John Zaczenſes*, which ſhould go to *Baſil*, and diligently enquire out all things. Theſe men, *Conrade* Biſhop of *Ratiſbone*, and *Conrade Seglaver* Dean of *Eſtein* brought into *Cattelſpurg*, where the Marqueſs dwelt, being ſent out by the Synod a little before, to enquire whether the *Bohemian* Embaſſadors would come or not. When they were come to *Biberack*, one being overcurious, inquired of one of the *Bohemian* Embaſſadors, of what County he was. He anſwered that he was a *Zaczenſian*. *There* (ſaid he) *are moſt execrable hereticks and naughty men, &c.* Who for that ſlanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was ſtraightway carried to Priſon, and there ſhould have ſuffered more puniſhment, if the *Bohemian* Embaſſadors, and the Abbot of *Ebera*, had not intreated for him. When they came unto *Baſil*, they were honourably received with Wine and Fiſh. They tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of *October* they came unto the Synod, which was aſſembled at the Friers *Auguſtines*.

The *Bohemians* ſend two Embaſſadors to the Council.

Goodjuſtice upon a ſlanderous traitor.

The gentleneſs of the *Bohemian* Embaſſadors.

Theſe Embaſſadors, when as they were returned home with the Charter of the Synod, and declared thoſe things which they had ſeen, and that the matter was earneſtly handled without fraud or deceit; there were Embaſſadors choſen to be ſent unto the Council, both for the Kingdom of *Boheme*, and the Marqueſdom of *Moravia*, which coming unto *Tuſca*, were brought from thence

The Embaſſadors of the *Bohemians* return home.

principal verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the ſaid three Articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, ſimple and perfect unity touching the liberty of the Communion under both kinds which you deſire and require, which alſo you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy Church; we have authority from the General Council, by certain means to intreat and conclude with you, truſting that you will ſhew your ſelves as you will continue.

*The Bohemians take a deliberation of the 4th Article.*

Theſe things thus declared, after the *Bohemians* had taken deliberation, they ſaid, *That they would give no anſwer unto the premiſes, before they underſtood what ſhould be offered them as touching the Communion.* Wherefore it ſhall be neceſſary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following.

*A Declaration of the Council touching the 4th Article of the Communion.*

In the Name of God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, upon the Sacrament of whoſe moſt bleſſed laſt Supper we ſhall intreat, that he which hath inſtituted this moſt bleſſed Sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchſafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the ſaid Lord Jeſus our Head, and that he will ſubvert all the ſubtilties of the Devil, which through his envious craftineſs hath made the Sacrament of peace and unity, an occaſion of war and diſcord; that whilſt Chriſtians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the Communion. Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* in his Sermon upon Infants, in the Decrees *De conſecrat. diſtinct.* 2. *Quia paſſus*, ſaith thus; *So the Lord Jeſus Chriſt certified us, and willed that we ſhould appertain unto him, and conſecrate the myſtery of our peace and unity upon the Table. He that receiveth the myſtery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a myſtery for himſelf, but a teſtimony againſt himſelf.* This we thought good above all things to be premiſed, that the general cuſtom of the Church, which your Fathers and you alſo in times paſt have obſerved, hath a long time had and ſtill uſeth, that they which do not conſecrate, communicate only under the kind of Bread. Which cuſtom being lawfully brought in by the Church and holy Fathers, and now a long time obſerved, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleaſure, without the authority of the Church. Therefore to change the cuſtom of the Church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy Church, is altogether unlawful. For holy Church upon reaſonable occaſions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate under both kinds. And every Communion, which being attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, ſhould be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy Church, ſhall be lawful, if other things let it not; becauſe (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.*

*Conſecrat. diſt. 2. quia paſſus.*

*This is to ſet up the Church above the Scripture.*

*The holy Communion requireth amendment of life.*

Whereupon St. *Iſidore* of the ſecond *Diſtinct.* upon the Conſecration writeth thus, *They which live wickedly, and ceaſe not daily to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleanſed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleanſing of their ſins.* And St. *Auguſtine* in the ſame diſtinction ſaith, *Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are ſalvation, but unto the evil damnation.* There are beſides this many other authorities. The Apoſtle *Judas* was amongſt them which did firſt communicate, but forſomuch as he received unworthily, having that ſin of Treaſon in his heart, did profit him nothing, but the Devil by and by exerciſed the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reaſon, Which of you is it, that if you ſhould receive your Lord into your houſe, would not with all diligence and care ſtudy to make clean and adorn his houſe, that he may receive the Lord honeſtly? much more he that ſhall receive the Lord and Saviour into the houſe of his ſoul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his ſoul, to cleanſe it by the Sacrament of Penance, with ſorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely and truly confeſſing his ſins, and receiving due Satisfaction and Penance, to adorn and deck the ſame with the purple or rich aray of devotion, that the heart being ſo purged and adorned with fervent deſire, he may come to that moſt holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the World unto him.

*Holy things nothing profit the wicked.*

*The reverent receiving of the Sacraments.*

Wherefore the moſt ſacred Synod admoniſheth, exhorteth and commandeth, that all Prieſts ſhould diligently exhort and admoniſh the people, and that they ſhould uſe all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that moſt bleſſed Sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, leſt that which is received for the ſalvation of the ſoul, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof. {KING Hen. 6.}

*Receiving under one kind, for avoiding two perils.*

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To do that God commandeth, is obedience, and no ſin, though it be extraordinary.

The Iſraelites did ſteal from the Egyptians without ſin.

Sampſon killed himſelf without ſin.

Of extraordinary commandment no general Laws to be made.

Here in this Propoſition, you have the words of St. *Auſtin* for anſwer. But let every man well foreſee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumſtances, and let him prove the ſpirits whether they be of God. But in ſuch caſes there are no Laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there ſhould eaſily occaſion riſe to make ſedition, and for the inferiors to riſe againſt the ſuperiors. For when any man had ſtolen, any thing, or killed any man, he would ſay that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifeſt proof thereof, he ſhould be puniſhed.

Objection.

Again, they ſaid that there were certain caſes wherein the laity had power over the Clergy. It was anſwered, that there were certain caſes in the law, wherein the laity had power over the Clergy, and oftentimes over Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals would not enter the Conclave to elect a new Pope, the King, Prince, or other Lord or Secular power may compell them: but in theſe caſes he is now no private perſon, but uſeth his juriſdiction by the authority of the Law. The like is to be underſtood of all other caſes expreſſed in the Law.

Anſwer. The Laity hath power over the Clergy, and wherein. The Pope will be judged by his own Laws.

Objection.

They ſaid further, That no common Law hath any right or juſtice, except Gods Law do allow the ſame.

Anſwer.

It was anſwered, That no common Law hath right or juſtice, if it be againſt the Law of God; becauſe the Law of God is the rule of all other Laws. But there is great cunning and knowledg in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule; for oftentimes it ſeemeth that there is diverſity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, becauſe the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

Objection.

As touching the Article of preaching the Word of God, it was moved that oftentimes ſome Prelates through their own envy and malice, without any reaſonable cauſe, do inhibit a good and meet Preacher that preacheth Catholickly and well.

Anſwer. Abuſe of Prelates in inhibiting true Preachers.

Anſwer was made; How that they underſtood well enough that the abuſe of certain Prelates, which did inordinately behave themſelves, gave a great occaſion of thoſe troubles. Alſo that they never heard of any ſuch complaints in thoſe parts, but that the Prelates do favour good Preachers, and ſtir them up to preach, by intreaty, favour, and promotion. In all ſuch caſes there are remedies already provided by the Law; for when any man is ſo prohibited to uſe his right, he hath remedy to appeal: and if he do truſt his appeal to be juſt, he may uſe his right, all violence both of the Spiritual and Secular power ſet apart; for the end of the matter ſhall declare if he had juſt cauſe to appeal. Then ſhall it be declared that the ſuperior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the Plaintiff juſtly in doing, and the ſuperior for his unjuſt prohibition ſhall be puniſhed. But if he be juſtly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do contemn the juſt commandment of his ſuperior, he is worthy to be puniſhed with condign puniſhment.

Remedy of Appeal.

Objection.

Where it was moved concerning the third Article, whether it were lawful for the Eccleſiaſtical Prelates to exerciſe in their proper perſon, the Acts of Secular dominion: Hereunto it was anſwered, that if by this word, Acts of Secular dominion, are underſtood Acts which a Secular Lord may do or exerciſe, then it is to be ſaid, that a Prelate may lawfully exerciſe ſome ſuch Acts in his proper perſon, as to ſell, pawn, or pledg, to infeoffe by manner and form ordained by Law: but there are ſome Acts which it is not lawful for them to exerciſe in their proper perſon, but ought to have afterward a Vicegerent or Proctor to do the ſame; whereupon there is prohibition made in the Law in the Rubrick, *Ne Clerus vel Monachus ſeculáribus negotiis ſe immiſceat, & in aliis rebus.*

Anſwer. Acts of Secular dominion to be exerciſed of the Clergy, after a double reſpect, *vel per ſe, vel per alium.*

It was alſo moved, whether that coactive power, which Juriſdiction. ought to be exerciſed by a Steward, *&c.* be in the hands of an Eccleſiaſtical Prelate.

Anſwer. Coactive power, whether it belongeth to the Clergy, and how.

Whereupon *John Polomair* anſwered, That this Queſtion preſuppoſeth another; whereof there are divers opinions amongſt the Doctors, in whoſe power the dominion of the Church ſhould be: and furthermore, whether the actions be in the perſon of the Tutor or Proctor, or if they be not in their perſon, notwithſtanding by the conſtitution of any Actor or Proctor (whoſe exerciſing of thoſe actions do give authority unto the Actor or Proctor) they be; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to ſpeak at this preſent. But forſomuch as he was urged to ſay his opinion, he ſaid, that to ſuch as had either leiſure or pleaſure in diſputation, and would argue againſt him, he would be contented to give the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of Church-matters ſhould be in the power of Chriſt: and the Prelates with the other Clergy, are but Canonical adminiſtrators in manner of Tutors; but they have more power and adminiſtration than Tutors, and by conſtituting a Steward or Vicegerent, *&c.* their conſtitution being duly made, the Steward or Vicegerent hath the ſame coactive power and exerciſe of juriſdiction.

Alſo as touching the fourth Article, for the declaration of the firſt Concluſion, it is agreed that theſe words, *Juſte requiſita, i.e.* juſtly gotten, alledged therein, determine all things contained in the ſame.

The Goods of the Church in whoſe poſſeſſion they be properly.

Alſo as touching the ſecond Concluſion, whereas the Sacred Canons and holy Doctors ſpeak thus, The Goods of the Church, the ſubſtance of the Church, and the poſſeſſions of the Church, and divers other opinions there be amongſt the Doctors, in whoſe power the rule thereof ſhould be, as it is noted in the Gloſſ. *Cap. expedit xii. Quæſt. 1.* they do not intend to conſtrain any man to any of thoſe opinions; neither to exclude any of them, but that every man ſhould have liberty probably to maintain which of them he thinketh beſt.

12 q. 1. *cap. Expedit.*

The Clergy be adminiſtrators, not Lords of the Temporalties of the Church.

Moreover the *Bohemians* ſaid, that they did believe that the Clergy are but adminiſtrators of the Temporalties of the Church, and not Lords thereof, according to the manner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures, holy Doctors and Canons. Alſo the *Bohemians* ſaid, that in all occaſions which ſhall hereafter riſe, they would wholly ſtand to the determination of the Judg agreed upon in *Egra*, with one conſent. In this manner did the Ambaſſadors make anſwer unto the *Bohemians*. At the laſt, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by ſetting to their hands. The *Bohemians* promiſed to receive the peace and unity of the Church, and the declaration of the three Articles. This was done in the year of our Lord 1438. About the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambaſſadors of that Council, and of *Boheme*, that whatſoever remained ſhould be determined and agreed upon, firſt at *Ratisbona*, afterward at *Bruna* in the Dioceſs of *Olymutes*; then at *Alba* in *Hungary*, before the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, but the matter could not be ended in any place.

The agreement between the *Bohemians* and the Council. {Anno 1438.}

At the laſt the concord was confirmed by writing with their Seals at *Inglavia*, a City of *Moravia*, the fifth day of *July*, in the preſence of the Emperor.

## ¶ *Certain Petitions which the* Bohemians *put up laſt of all in the Sacred Council of* Baſil, *Anno* 1438, *in the Month of* November.

Certain Petitions of the *Bohemians* put up to the Council. {Ann. 1438}

UNto the moſt reverend Fathers in Chriſt, and our moſt gracious Lords: We the Ambaſſadors of the Kingdom of *Boheme* do moſt humbly and heartily require you that for the perpetual preſervation of peace and concord, and for the firm preſervation of all things contained in the compoſition, you will vouchſafe of your Clemency to give and grant unto us all and ſingular our requeſts here underwritten, with effectual execution of the ſame.

Firſt, And above all things we deſire and require you, for the extirpation of divers diſſentions and controverſies which ill

principal verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the ſaid three Articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, ſimple and perfect unity touching the liberty of the Communion under both kinds which you deſire and require, which alſo you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy Church; we have authority from the General Council, by certain means to intreat and conclude with you, truſting that you will ſhew your ſelves as you will continue.

The *Bohemians* take a deliberation of the 4th Article.

These things thus declared, after the *Bohemians* had taken deliberation, they ſaid, *That they would give no anſwer unto the premiſes, before they underſtood what ſhould be offered them as touching the Communion.* Wherefore it ſhall be neceſſary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following.

A Declaration of the Council touching the 4th Article of the Communion.

In the Name of God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, upon the Sacrament of whoſe moſt bleſſed laſt Supper we ſhall intreat, that he which hath inſtituted this moſt bleſſed Sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchſafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the ſaid Lord Jeſus our Head, and that he will ſubvert all the ſubtilties of the Devil, which through his envious craftineſs hath made the Sacrament of peace and unity, an occaſion of war and diſcord; that whilſt Chriſtians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the Communion. Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* in his Sermon upon Infants, in the Decrees *De conſecrat. diſtinct.* 2. *Quia paſſus*, ſaith thus, *So the Lord Jeſus Chriſt certified us, and willed that we ſhould appertain unto him, and conſecrate the myſtery of our peace and unity upon the Table. He that receiveth the myſtery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a myſtery for himſelf, but a teſtimony againſt himſelf.* This we thought good above all things to be premiſed, that the general cuſtom of the Church, which your Fathers and you alſo in times paſt have obſerved, hath a long time had and ſtill uſeth, that they which do not conſecrate, communicate only under the kind of Bread. Which cuſtom being lawfully brought in by the Church and holy Fathers, and now a long time obſerved, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleaſure, without the authority of the Church. Therefore to change the cuſtom of the Church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy Church, is altogether unlawful. For holy Church upon reaſonable occaſions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate under both kinds. And every Communion, which being attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, ſhould be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy Church, ſhall be lawful, if other things let it not; becauſe (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.*

*Conſecrat. diſt. 2. quia paſſus.*

This is to ſet up the Church above the Scripture.

The holy Communion requireth amendment of life.

Whereupon St. *Iſidore* of the ſecond *Diſtinct.* upon the Conſecration writeth thus, *They which live wickedly, and ceaſe not daily to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleanſed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleanſing of their ſins.* And St. *Auguſtine* in the ſame diſtinction ſaith, *Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are ſalvation, but unto the evil damnation.* There are beſides this many other authorities. The Apoſtle *Judas* was amongſt them which did firſt communicate, but forſomuch as he received unworthily, having that ſin of Treaſon in his heart, did profit him nothing, but the Devil by and by exerciſed the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reaſon, Which of you is it, that if you ſhould receive your Lord into your Houſe, would not with all diligence and care ſtudy to make clean and adorn his houſe, that he may receive the Lord honeſtly? much more he that ſhall receive the Lord and Saviour into the houſe of his ſoul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his ſoul, to cleanſe it by the Sacrament of Penance, with ſorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely and truly confeſſing his ſins, and receiving due Satisfaction and Penance, to adorn and deck the ſame with the purple or rich aray of devotion, that the heart being ſo purged and adorned with fervent deſire, he may come to that moſt holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the World unto him.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reverent receiving of the Sacraments.

Wherefore the moſt ſacred Synod admoniſheth, exhorteth and commandeth, that all Prieſts ſhould diligently exhort and admoniſh the people, and that they ſhould uſe all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that moſt bleſſed Sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, leſt that which is received for the ſalvation of the ſoul, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

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Receiving under one kind, for avoiding two perils.

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Cauſes why to miniſter under one kind.

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Doubts or queſtions of the *Bohemians.*

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Anſwer.

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{KING Hen. 6.}

To do that God commandeth, is obedience, and no sin, though it be extraordinary.

The Egyptians did steal from the Egyptians and without sin.

Samyson killed himself without sin.

there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawle or quarrel. They alledged also other Texts of St. *Ambrose* and St. *Hierome* agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the Law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, *Thou shalt not steal.* And notwithstanding by the Commandment of God the Children of *Israel* carried away the Goods of the *Egyptians*, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same Law it is plainly written, *Thou shalt do no murther.* Whereupon St. *Augustine* in his first Book *De Civitate Dei*, proveth that it is not lawful for any man to kill himself; and when as he maketh example of *Sampson*, he answereth with these words: When as God commandeth and doth affirm himself to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God?

Of extraordinary commandment no general Laws to be made.

Here in this Proposition you have the words of St. *Austin* for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him prove the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no Laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily occasion rise to make sedition, and for the inferiors to rise against the superiors. For when any man had stolen any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifest proof thereof, he should be punished.

Objection. Answer. The Laity hath power over the Clergy, and wherein. The Pope will be judged by his own Laws.

Again, they said that there were certain cases wherein the laity had power over the Clergy. It was answered, that there were certain cases in the law, wherein the laity had power over the Clergy, and oftentimes over Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals would not enter the Conclave to elect a new Pope, the King, Prince, or other Lord or Secular power may compell them: but in these cases he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the Law. The like is to be understood of all other cases expressed in the Law.

Objection.

They said further, That no common Law hath any right or justice, except Gods Law do allow the same.

Answer.

It was answered, That no common Law hath right or justice, if it be against the Law of God; because the Law of God is the rule of all other Laws. But there is great cunning and knowledg in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule; for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diversity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

Objection.

As touching the Article of preaching the Word of God, it was moved that oftentimes some Prelates through their own envy and malice, without any reasonable cause, do inhibit a good and meet Preacher that preacheth Catholickly and well.

Answer. Abuse of Prelates in inhibiting true Preachers.

Answer was made; How that they understood well enough that the abuse of certain Prelates, which did inordinately behave themselves, gave a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they never heard of any such complaints in those parts, but that the Prelates do favour good Preachers, and stir them up to preach, by intreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there are remedies already provided by the Law; for when any man is so prohibited to use his right, he hath remedy to appeal: and if he do trust his appeal to be just, he may use his right, all violence both of the Spiritual and Secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare if he had just cause to appeal. Then shall it be declared that the superior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the Plaintiff justly in doing, and the superior for his unjust prohibition shall be punished. But if he be justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do contemn the just commandment of his superior, he is worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Remedy of Appeal.

Objection.

Where it was moved concerning the third Article, whether it were lawful for the Ecclesiastical Prelates to exercise in their proper person, the Acts of Secular dominion: Hereunto it was answered, that if by this word, Acts of Secular dominion, are understood Acts which a Secular Lord may do or exercise, then it is to be said, that a Prelate may lawfully exercise some such Acts in his proper person, as to sell, pawn, or pledg, to infeoffe by manner and form ordained by Law: but there are some Acts which it is not lawful for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to have afterward a Vicegerent or Proctor to do the same; whereupon there is prohibition made in the Law in the Rubrick, *Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotiis se immisceat, & in aliis rebus.*

Answer. Acts of Secular dominion to be exercised of the Clergy, after a double respect, *vel per se, vel per alium.*

It was also moved, whether that coactive power, which Jurisdiction. ought to be exercised by a Steward, *&c.* be in the hands of an Ecclesiastical Prelate.

Answer.

Whereupon *John Polomair* answered, That this Question presupposeth another; whereof there are divers opinions amongst the Doctors, in whose power the dominion of the Church should be: and furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the Tutor or Proctor, or if they be not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitution of any Actor or Proctor (whose exercising of those actions do give authority unto the Actor or Proctor) they be; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forsomuch as he was urged to say his opinion, he said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would be contented to give the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of Church-matters should be in the power of Christ: and the Prelates with the other Clergy, are but Canonical administrators in manner of Tutors; but they have more power and administration than Tutors, and by constituting a Steward or Vicegerent, *&c.* their constitution being duly made, the Steward or Vicegerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Coactive power, whether in the Clergy, and how.

Also as touching the fourth Article, for the declaration of the first Conclusion, it is agreed that these words, *Juste requisita, i.e.* justly gotten alledged therein, determine all things contained in the same.

Also as touching the second Conclusion, whereas the Sacred Canons and holy Doctors speak thus, The Goods of the Church, the substance of the Church, and the possessions of the Church, and divers other opinions there be amongst the Doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be, as it is noted in the Gloss. *Cap. expedit xii. Quæst.* 1. they do not intend to constrain any man to any of those opinions; neither to exclude any of them, but that every man should have liberty probably to maintain which of them he thinketh best.

The Goods of the Church in whose possession they be properly.

12 q. 1. cap. Expedit.

Moreover the *Bohemians* said, that they did believe that the Clergy are but administrators of the Temporalties of the Church, and not Lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy Doctors and Canons. Also the *Bohemians* said, that in all occasions which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the Judg agreed upon in *Egra*, with one consent. In this manner did the Ambassadors make answer unto the *Bohemians*. At the last, after much communication had to and from, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The *Bohemians* promised to receive the peace and unity of the Church, and the declaration of the three Articles. This was done in the year of our Lord 1438. About the Feast of St. *Martin*, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambassadors of that Council, and of *Boheme*, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at *Ratisbona*, afterward at *Bruna* in the Dioces of *Olymutes*; then at *Alba* in *Hungary*, before the Emperor *Sigismund*, but the matter could not be ended in any place.

The Clergy be administrators, not Lords of the Temporalties of the Church.

The agreement between the *Bohemians* and the Council. {Anno 1438.}

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing with their Seals at *Inglavia*, a City of *Moravia*, the fifth day of *July*, in the presence of the Emperor.

## ¶ *Certain Petitions which the* Bohemians *put up last of all in the Sacred Council of* Basil, *Anno* 1438, *in the Month of* November.

Certain Petitions of the *Bohemians* put up to the Council. {Ann. 1438}

UNto the most reverend Fathers in Christ, and our most gracious Lords: We the Ambassadors of the Kingdom of *Boheme* do most humbly and heartily require you that for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your Clemency to give and grant unto us all and singular our requests here underwritten, with effectual execution of the same.

First, And above all things we desire and require you, for the extirpation of divers dissentions and controversies which

will undoubtedly follow amongſt our people under the diverſity of the Communion, and for the aboliſhing of infinite evils which we are not able to expreſs as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchſafe of your goodneſs and liberality to give, grant and command, unto our Kingdom of *Boheme*, and Marqueſdom of *Moravia*, one uniform order of the Communion unto all men, under both kinds, that is to ſay, unto the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, the Biſhop of *Luthonus*, *Olimutz*, and other Prelates of the Kingdom and Marqueſdom, having charge of Souls, and to their Vicars, and alſo to their flocks and ſubjects, and that according to thoſe things which are contained in the Bull of the Ambaſſadors, and in the compoſitions made in the name of the whole Council, written in the Chapter, *Pro firmitate*, where it is thus ſaid, *And all other things ſhall be done, which ſhall be meet and neceſſary for the preſervation of the peace and unity.* For this done, by your benefit the whole Kingdom ſhall be comforted above meaſure, and eſtabliſhed in brotherly love; whereby an uniform ſubjection and obedience ſhall be perpetually attributed unto the holy Church.

The Communion in both kinds to be generally granted.

*Item*, We require and deſire (as before) that for the avoiding of all falſe ſuſpition and doubtfulneſs of many, which ſuppoſe that the Sacred Council hath granted the ſaid Communion under both kinds unto us but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholſome, but as the libel of divorcement; that you will vouchſafe, according to this Chapter alledged in the Compoſitions: *Firſt they ſaid, that it was not the intent of the Sacred Council, &c.* wholſomely and ſpeedily to provide for our ſafety, and with your grant in this behalf, and with the Bulls of your Letters, to confirm that Chapter together with the other pertaining to the office of your Ambaſſadors.

*Item*, We beſeech you (as before) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the Diſcipline of all the Clergy, and for the final defence and obſervation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in Spiritualties, ye will vouchſafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful Paſtor, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, which ſhall ſeem unto us moſt meet and acceptable for our Kingdom, to execute thoſe offices and duties.

To have a good and lawful Paſtor and Biſhop.

*Item*, We require you (as aforeſaid) that your Fatherly reverences will vouchſafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the Kingdom and Marqueſdom, to declare and ſhew our innocency, in that they have communicated, do, and hereafter ſhall communicate under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the Letters of the Sacred Council, in manner and form moſt apt and meet for ſuch declaration, unto all Princes, as well Secular as Spiritual, Cities and Communalties, according to the Compoſitions, and as the Lords the Ambaſſadors are bound unto us to do.

Free Communion under both kinds to be permitted to all Princes.

*Item*, We deſire you that in the diſcuſſing of the matter for the Communion under both kinds, and of the Commandment thereof given unto all faithful, ye will not proceed otherwiſe than according to the *Concordatum* agreed upon in *Egra*: that is to ſay, according to the Law of God, the order of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, the General Councils, and the minds of the holy Doctors, truly grounded upon the Law of God.

*Item*, We deſire that your Fatherly reverences, conſidering the great affection of our people, will give us the deſired liberty to communicate unto the younger ſort the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this uſe of Communicating ſhould be taken away, which our Kingdom being godly, moved by the writings of moſt great and holy Doctors, and brought in by example, hath received as Catholick, and exerciſed now a long time; verily it ſhould raiſe up an intolerable offence amongſt the people, and their minds would be grievouſly vexed and troubled.

The Goſpels and Epiſtles to be read in the vulgar tongue. The Scriptures read in the *Slavons* tongue of old time.

*Item*, We require you (as before) that for like cauſes your Fatherly reverences would vouchſafe to permit, at the leaſt the Goſpels, Epiſtles, and Creed, to be ſung and read in the Church in our Vulgar Tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our *Slavon* language it hath been uſed of old in the Church, and likewiſe in our Kingdom.

Incorporations to be granted to Univerſities an unlawful requeſt.

*Item*, We require you in the name of the ſaid Kingdom, and of the famous Univerſity of *Prague*, that your Fatherly reverences would vouchſafe to ſhew ſuch diligence and care toward the deſired reformation of that Univerſity, that according to the manner and form of other Univerſities reformed by the Church, Prebends and Collations of certain Benefices of Cathedral and Pariſh-Churches may be annexed and incorporate unto the ſaid Univerſity, that thereby it may be increaſed and preferred.

A requeſt for neceſſary reformation and diſcipline.

*Item*, We deſire you (as before) as heartily as we may, and alſo (ſaving always your Fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former Compoſitions we moſt inſtantly admoniſh you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and ſtudy, your reverences will watch and ſeek for that long deſired and moſt neceſſary reformation of the Church and Chriſtian Religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publick evils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you have often promiſed to do in our Kingdom, in the Compoſitions, and as our fourth Article, touching the avoiding of all publick evils doth exact and require.

There were certain anſwers provided by the Council to theſe Petitions of the *Bohemians*, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back, for what purpoſe and intent we know not. Wherefore becauſe we thought them not greatly neceſſary for this place, and alſo to avoid prolixity, we have judged it meet at this preſent to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiouſly the chief and principal matters intreated and done in this famous Council of *Baſil*. And here (to conclude withal) we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people (which judg many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be; and thereupon have eſtabliſhed a great part of their opinions) how that toward the latter end of this Council, that is to ſay, in the 37*th* Seſſion of the ſame, holden the 17 of *September*, in the year of our Lord 1439, the Feaſt of the Conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly. In like caſe alſo in the 44*th* Seſſion of the ſame Council, holden the firſt day of *July*, Ann. 1441, it was ordained that the Feaſt of the Viſitation of our Lady ſhould be celebrate and holden yearly in the Month of *July*. We have alſo thought it good before we do end this ſtory, to annex hereunto certain Decrees, profitably and wholſomely ordained in the ſaid Council, againſt the inordinate giving of the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Livings by the Pope, with certain other Conſtitutions alſo, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the Church.

The Conception of our Lady brought in to the Church.

The Viſitation of our Lady brought in.

During the time that the General Council at *Baſil* was ſo diligent and careful about the reformation of the Church, this one thing ſeemed good unto them to be proſecuted and followed with an earneſt care and diligence, that thorough every Church apt and meet Miniſters might be appointed, which might ſhine in vertue and knowledg, to the glory of Chriſt, and the healthful edifying of the Chriſtian people: whereunto the multitude of expectative graces hath been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers diſorders, and many dangers upon the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate. For hereby oftentimes ſcarcely apt or meet Miniſters have been appointed for the Churches, which are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void Benefices (as the old Laws do witneſs) doth give occaſion to deſire another mans death, which is greatly prejudicial unto ſalvation: beſides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongſt the ſervants of God; rancor and malice nouriſhed; the ambition and greedy deſire of Pluralities of Benefices maintained; and the riches and ſubſtance of Kingdoms and Provinces marvellouſly conſumed. Poor men ſuffer innumerable vexations by running unto the Court of *Rome*. They are oftentimes ſpoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues; and having ſpent their Patrimony and ſubſtance left them by their parents, they are conſtrained to live in extream poverty. Many do challenge Benefices, which without any juſt title (yea ſuch indeed as ought not to have them) obtain and get the ſame; ſuch I ſay, as have moſt craft and ſubtilty to deceive their neighbour, or have greateſt ſubſtance to contend in the Law. It happeneth oftentimes that under the intrication of theſe prerogatives, antelations, and ſuch other as do aſſociate theſe expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Alſo oftentimes the Miniſtry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, whiles that by the troubles of thoſe contentions, and divers diſcourſes, running to and fro by means of thoſe graces, they are vexed and troubled; the Eccleſiaſti-

Vowſons and gifts of Benefices before they were void, debarred by the Councils which Vowſons here are called *Expectative Graces*.

Inconveniences that riſe by Vowſons of Benefices.

cal

KING *Hen. 6.*

cal order is confounded, whiles that every mans authority and juriſdiction is not preſerved; and the Biſhops of *Rome* alſo, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the publick utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confuſion unto the Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to the great prejudice and hinderance of Gods true worſhip, and publick ſalvation.

No controverſies to be brought to *Rome* beyond four days journey from thence.

In the ſame Council alſo divers other Conſtitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certain abuſes and diſorders brought in, eſpecially by the Biſhop of *Rome*, as touching cauſes not to be brought up and tranſlated to the Court of *Rome*: Wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controverſies ſhould be brought from other Countries to be pleaded at *Rome*, which were beyond four days journey diſtant from the ſaid Court of *Rome*, a few principal matters only excepted. Alſo that no

No frivolous Appeal to be made to the Pope Againſt the ſuperfluous number of Cardinals.

frivolous Appeals ſhould be made to the Pope hereafter. It was moreover in the ſame Council decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, that they ſhould not exceed the number of four and twenty, beſides them that were already, and that they ſhould be freely taken out of all Countries, and that they ſhould not be of kin to the Biſhop of *Rome*, or to the Cardinals, nor yet blemiſhed

Againſt the Pope's firſt-fruits.

with any ſpot or crime. Alſo for Annates or firſt fruits, or half fruits, it was there provided that no ſuch Annates or confirmation of Elections, or collation of Benefices, ſhould be paid or reſerved any more to the Pope, for the firſt years voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the *French* King *Charles* the Seventh, with the full conſent of all his Prelates, in his High Court of Parliament in *Bitures*, and

*Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum 7.*

there called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; *Ann.* 1438. whereupon great utility enſued afterward to the Kingdom of *France*. Albeit in proceſs of time divers Friers there were which wrote againſt the ſame. *Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.*

Amongſt many Decrees of the ſaid Council of *Baſil*, in the Nineteenth Seſſion there was alſo a Decree made touching the converting of *Jews*, and young Novices in Religion, unto the Chriſtian Faith.

An Act made for the Converſion of the *Jews*.

Alſo that all Ordinaries ſhould yearly at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the Holy Scriptures, in ſuch places where *Jews* and other Infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholick Faith, that they acknowledging their error might forſake the ſame; unto the which preaching the ſaid Miniſters ſhould compel them to reſort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the ſaid Dioceſans and Preachers ſhould behave themſelves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Chriſt, not only by the declaring of the verity, but alſo in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

An Act for ſtudying the *Hebrew*, *Latin*, and *Chaldee*.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the Preachers might be the better inſtructed in the Tongues, it was alſo in the ſame Council provided and commanded, that the conſtitution made before in the Council of *Vienna* for learning the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabick* and *Greek* Tongues, ſhould by all means be obſerved and kept, and ordinary ſtipends provided for them that ſhould teach the ſame tongues.

Againſt Prieſts that kept Concubines.

Another Decree moreover in the twentieth Seſſion was Enacted, that whoſoever was known or publickly noted to be a keeper of Concubines, ſhould be ſequeſtred from all fruits of his Benefices for the ſpace of three months, which fruits ſhould be converted by the Ordinary to the reparations, or ſome other utility of the Church; and if he did not ſo amend, it was by the Synod decreed, that he ſhould be clearly depoſed from all his Benefices.

Furthermore the ſaid Synod did greatly inveigh againſt them, which having the juriſdiction of the Church, did not ſhame to ſuffer ſuch Whoremaſters, for bribes and money, ſtill to continue in their filthineſs, *&c.*

By theſe Decrees of the Council above ſpecified, it is to be ſeen, what corruption had been then frequented in the Church of God, through the Biſhop and Court of *Rome*. For the more expreſs declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one *Martin Meyre*, writing to *Æneas Sylvius*, touching and noting the ſaid corruptions; the tenour of whoſe Epiſtle here enſueth.

## Unto the Reverend Father, the Lord *Æneas*, Cardinal of *Scene*; *Martin Meyre*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Mentz*, wiſheth health.

An Epiſtle of *Martin Meyre* to *Æneas Sylvius*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, the *Latin* whereof is extant in the former Edition of this Book *Ex Orib. Gran.*

*I Have underſtood by certain of my friends Letters, that you are created Cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received ſo worthy rewards for your vertues. I rejoyce alſo for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto ſuch a dignity wherein he may in time to come both help me and my friends: But this is a grief unto me, that you have happed upon thoſe days, which ſeem to be troubleſome unto the Apoſtolick See. For there are many complaints made unto my Lord the Archbiſhop upon the Pope, that he will neither keep the Decrees of the Council of* Conſtance, *neither of* Baſil, *neither yet thinketh himſelf bound to the Covenants of his Predeceſſors, and ſeemeth utterly to contemn our Nation, and to ſeek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the Election of Prelates is every where rejected; Benefices and Dignities, of what ſort ſoever they be, are reſerved for the Cardinals, and chief Notaries; and you your ſelf have obtained the reſervation of three Provinces of* Germany, *under ſuch a form as hath not been accuſtomed or heard of. Vowſons or gifts of Benefices are granted without number; yearly ſtipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The Regiments of Churches are not committed unto ſuch as beſt deſerve them, but unto ſuch as offer moſt money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to ſcrape and gather together money. Tythes are commanded to be exacted without the conſent of our Prelates, for the* Turkiſh *war; and thoſe matters which were accuſtomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the Apoſtolick See of* Rome. *A thouſand ways are invented and deviſed, how the See of* Rome *may, by ſubtilty and craft, extort and get gold and treaſure from us, even as it were of the* Turks *or Barbarians; whereby our Nation, which was ſometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the* Roman *Empire, and was once the Lady and Queen of all the world, now being brought unto poverty, is made a hand-maid, and become tributary, and being now in extream miſery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our Nobles, being (as it were) wakened out of their ſleep, have begun to conſider and deviſe with themſelves, by what means they might withſtand this calamity, and utterly ſhake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themſelves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no ſmall loſs unto the Court of* Rome, *if the Princes of* Germany *bring to paſs that which they have deviſed. Wherefore as much as I do rejoice of your late obtained dignity, ſo much alſo am I moved and grieved that theſe things happen in your days. But peradventure Gods determination is otherwiſe, and his Will ſhall ſurely take place. You in the mean time be of goood cheer, and deviſe according to your wiſdom, by what means the vehemency of theſe floods may be ſtayed. Thus fare ye well.*

The corruption of the Church of *Rome* detected.

From *Haſthaffenberge* the laſt day of *Auguſt*.

Concerning the authority of this General Council of *Baſil*, what is to be eſteemed of it by the acts and fruits thereof may be underſtood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the firſt beginning, ſo long as the Pope agreed and conſented unto it. But after the Pope began to draw back, many other followed, eſpecially of the richer ſort of Prelates, which had any thing to loſe; whereof ſufficiently hath been ſaid by *Arelatenſis* the Cardinal before. In the number of thoſe unconſtant Prelates, beſides many other, was firſt Cardinal *Julian*, the firſt Collector of this Council, and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by his fervent and vehement Letter, written to Pope *Eugenius* in defence of this Council, may well appear. Wherein he moſt earneſtly doth expoſtulate with the foreſaid Pope *Eugenius*, for ſeeking to diſſolve the Council,

The authority of the Council of *Baſil* expended.

The Epiſtle of Cardinal *Julian* to the Pope, for the commendation of the Council of *Baſil*.

cil, and declareth in the ſame many cauſes, why he ſhould rather rejoyce, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the Council and the *Bohemians*, and ſo exhorteth him with manifold perſwaſions to reſort to the Council himſelf, and not to ſeek the diſſolution of the ſame. The copy and tenour of whoſe Epiſtle to the Pope, if any be diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame, we thought here good to ſet down to be ſeen.

### *The Copy of an Epiſtle, which* Julian *Cardinal of St.* Angen, *and the Popes Ambaſſador into* Germany, *wrote marvellous boldly and freely unto* Eugenius *Biſhop of* Rome, *for that he went about to diſſolve the Council of* Baſil.

Moſt bleſſed Father, after the devout kiſſes of your bleſſed feet.

'NOW ſhall the whole world underſtand and know, whether that your Holineſs have in you the bowels of fatherly love and charity, and the zeal of the Houſe of God, whether you be ſent to make peace or diſcord, to congregate or diſperſe, or whether you be that good ſhepherd which giveth his life for his ſheep. Behold the door beginneth now to be opened, whereby the loſt ſheep may return again unto their own Fold; now is there good hope even at hand of the reconciliation of the *Bohemians*. If that your Holineſs, as it is your duty, do help and further the ſame, you ſhall obtain great glory both in Heaven and Earth. But if peradventure you go about to let the ſame (which is not to be feared at your hands) all men will reprove you of impiety; Heaven and Earth will conſpire againſt you, all men will forſake you. For how is he to be followed, which with one word may reſtore peace and quietneſs to the Church, and refuſeth to do it? But I conceive a better hope in you, how that your Holineſs without any excuſe, will, with your whole heart and mind, favour this moſt Sacred Council, and give thanks unto Almighty God for his great goodneſs, that this Congregation hath not departed. Behold the Ambaſſadors of this Sacred Council are returned with great joy and gladneſs from *Egra*, reporting how that, through the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, they have firmly concluded with the Ambaſſadors of the *Bohemians*, that is to ſay, of the *Pragues*, *Orphants* and *Thaborites*, amongſt whom were alſo preſent the Captains of their enemies, and ſpecially *Procopius*: That a ſolemn Ambaſſade of all the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould come unto the Council of *Baſil*: After that a ſafe Conduct is ſent unto them by the ſaid Council in form conditioned, which ſhall be done with ſpeed, this Sacred Congregation is marvelloufly exhilerate and joyful. For thoſe our Ambaſſadors affirm, that all things were handled with ſuch charity at *Egra*, and that they did ſee ſuch things amongſt the *Bohemians*, that not without cauſe, they do conceive great hope of their reconciliation.

The Ambaſſadors of the Council are returned from *Egra*.

'And at laſt gently embracing one another, even with tears of gladneſs, they departed from *Egra*; the *Bohemians* requiring our Ambaſſadors, that the matter might be ended with all expedition. They report alſo, that many things happened in that Treaty, which if any man heard, and did not weep for joy, he might well think himſelf to be but ſmally affectioned unto Chriſt. As for three of the four Articles, they ſeem not to make any great difficulty upon. As touching the fourth, that is, of the Communion under both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the judgment of the Council. Who is it then that dare counſel your Holineſs to perſevere any longer in the purpoſe of diſſolution? for if the Council had not been appointed at all, for ſo great hope and neceſſity; it ought to have been appointed in this place. How worthy praiſe and commendation ſhould your Holineſs do, if that you would leave *Italy* and all other affairs, and come hither in your own perſon; although you ſhould need to be carried in a Wagon or Litter; The keeping and defence of the Temporal Patrimony of the Church may well be diſpoſed and done by Legates and Vicars. This is the true Patrimony of the Church, to win ſouls. For the Church is not an heap of ſtones and walls. Chriſt hath not made you a keeper of Caſtles and Forts, but a Paſtor of ſouls. Therefore you ſhould do that in your own perſon which is moſt neceſſary and acceptable unto Chriſt, and all other things by your ſubſtitutes. For ſo did the Apoſtles, which to the intent they might the more freely attend to the preaching of the Word of God, did inſtitute ſeven to ſerve the Tables, and for the miniſtration of other inferior things. I hear that by the Grace of God your Holineſs doth daily recover and amend; and if ſo be, as it is ſaid, you do viſit ſome Churches on foot, ye may alſo come hither on Horſeback; for you cannot go unto any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, than to go unto the place where innumerable benefits and goodneſs may ſpring. Let your Holineſs underſtand and conſider wherein Chriſt, whoſe Vicar you are, and Saint *Peter* whoſe Succeſſor you are, and the Apoſtles and holy Biſhops did exerciſe and occupy themſelves, and as you do ſucceed them in office, ſo ſucceed them in manners. But if peradventure your Holineſs cannot come hither, I do counſel you, that for ſo great a benefit you would ſend the more part of the reverend Lords, Cardinals of the Court of *Rome*, and command all other Prelates to come hither. Do not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

[KING Hen. 6.] What the Churches is.

'Your Holineſs may believe me, that only charity moveth me to counſel you in this ſort, be ye not ſeparate from your members, nouriſh your children as the Hen doth her Chickens under her wings. And if ſo be that you will do nothing elſe, yet ſpeak this only word, *Placet*, that is to ſay, that it pleaſeth you that the Council of *Baſil* ſhould go forward. For a few days paſt there came news hither, for the which your Holineſs ought altogether to ceaſe from your diſſolution. The reverend Father the Archbiſhop of *Lions* hath written unto the Council, and unto me alſo, how that the Prelates of *France* have aſſembled together in the City of *Bituria*, and there after long and exact examination have concluded, that the Council is lawfully congregate in this place. And that it is neceſſary that it ſhould be holden and celebrate here at this preſent; and how the Prelates of *France* ſhould come unto it: he alſo directed hither the cauſe which moved them ſo to conclude, the copy whereof I ſuppoſe is ſent unto your Holineſs by ſome other. Whereupon then doth your Holineſs ſtay? You have gone about as much as in you lay, by your Meſſengers, Letters, and divers means to draw back the Prelates, and have laboured with all your endeavour to diſſolve the Council; yet notwithſtanding, as you do ſee, it is increaſed day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more are all mens minds inflamed to the contrary. Is not this then to reſiſt the will of God? Why do ye provoke the Church to anger? Why do ye ſtir up the Chriſtian people? Vouchſafe I pray you ſo to do, that ye may get the love and favour of the people, and not the hatred; for all Nations are greatly offended when they hear theſe your doings. Suffer not your Holineſs to be ſeduced by any man, which peradventure ſhall inculcate fear unto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted; or that do perſwade you this to be no lawful Council. I know I ſhould offend your Holineſs if I ſhould go about to prove the contrary; but it is better that I do offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds; for a Phyſician layeth a burning coroſive unto the diſeaſe, and healeth the ſore: For the medicine cannot profit except it be ſharp and bitter in taſte. Under this hope and confidence I will not fear to declare the truth; that it being known, your Holineſs may the better provide both for your ſelf and the Church. It dependeth upon the Council of *Conſtance*, whether this Council be lawful or not. If that were a true Council, ſo is this alſo. No man ſeemeth to doubt whether that Council were lawful, and likewiſe whatſoever was there decreed to be lawful: for if any man will ſay, that the Decrees of that Council are not of force, he muſt needs grant that the deprivation of Pope *John*, which was done by the force

*Eugenius* provoketh the Church.

A ſtrong argument againſt *Eugenius*.

KING Hen. 6.

'force of thoſe decrees, was of no effect. If that depri-
'vation were not of effect; neither was the election of
'Pope *Martin* of any force, which was done he being
'yet alive. If *Martin* were no true Pope, neither is your
'Holineſs, which was choſen by the Cardinal that he
'made; wherefore it ſtandeth no man more upon to
'defend the decrees of that Council, than your Holi-
'neſs, for if any decree of that Council be called into
'doubt; by like means may all the reſt of the decrees
'be revoked. And by like means ſhall the decrees of
'any other Council be of no force and effect: for by
'like reaſon, as the faith of one Council is weakned, all
'the reſt ſhall alſo be weakned, according to Saint *Au-*
'*guſtine* ſaying in the *9. Diſtinct. cap. Si ad ſcripturas.*
'Then, ſaith he, both the Faith and all other Sacraments
'ſhall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt
'made of the force and power of any Council lawfully
'congregate. There was a decree made in the Council
'of *Conſtance*, intituled *Frequens*. Whereby it was
'ordained, that the firſt Council after that ſhould be
'holden within five years, and another within ſeven
'years after that again. The Council of *Conſtance*
'being ended, and the five years paſſed, the Council of
'*Papia* or *Scene* was holden, after which ſeven years
'being alſo run over, this Council is begun to be cele-
'brate. To what end then is it expreſſed in the Bull of the
'diſſolution, amongſt other cauſes, that the ſeventh year
'is already paſt? When as of neceſſity it ought to be paſ-
'ſed before the Council can be celebrate. For theſe
'words, from ſeven year or five year, ſignifie accor-
'to the Law, that all parts of time ſhould be paſſed,
'and the laſt day looked for. Wherefore it behoved that
'ſeven years to be fully compleat, before this Council of
'*Baſil* ſhould begin. Like as five years were fully ex-
'pired, before that the Council of *Papia* did begin. But
'peradventure ſome man will ſay, that it ought to have
'begun the firſt day after the ſeventh year was expired.
'For otherwiſe the term of the Council is paſſed. But
'hereunto we may anſwer, that it is not contained in
'the Chapter *Frequens*, that except it were holden the
'firſt day, it ſhould not be holden at all, neither can it
'be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it
'is only required that it ſhould be holden after ſeven
'years expired, but whether it be the ſecond or third day,
'or the third or four month after the ſeventh year, it
'doth ſatisfie the Chapter *Frequens*. For when the firſt day
'is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to ce-
'lebrate the Council, but not afore; but it is not pro-
'hibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, *In*
'*quinquennium*, that is to ſay, againſt five years, next fol-
'lowing, which is alledged in the Chapter *Frequens*, and
'ſeemeth to be repeated alſo for the ſeven years; for it
'is not underſtood that it is neceſſary to be holden the
'firſt day preciſely after the ſeveneth year, but becauſe it
'ſhould not be underſtood of other ſeven years to come.
'For in ſpeaking ſimply of ſeven years, it is underſtood
'of ſeven years next enſuing. Admit alſo that in the
'Chapter *Frequens*, any of theſe words had been joyned
'with immediately following, as by and by, out of hand,
'immediately, or ſtraightways after, or ſuch other words:
'yet ought they to be underſtood with a certain mo-
'deration, and diſtance of time, that was ſoon as might
'be convenient; as theſe words are expounded by the
'Lawyers and Doctors, for they are inlarged and reſtrain-
'ed according to the Subject and divers circumſtances of
'the matters and affairs. For it is not by any means like-
'ly that it was the mind of thoſe which made the decree,
'that conſidering the long journey and hard preparation of
'ſuch affairs, and alſo the manifold impediments which
'may happen, that they would reſtrain ſo preciſe a time,
'even at the firſt day, that if it were not then celebrated,
'it ſhould not be holden at all, for by ſuch ſubtil means it
'ſhould alſo be holden even in the firſt moment and very
'inſtant after the ſame year.

'But forſomuch as words are civilly to be under-
'ſtood, this ſenſe or underſtanding is too far diſa-
'greeable. For if any man will ſay, then it is com-
'manded to be prorogued, that is alſo forbidden in
'the Chapter *Frequens*. He that doth ſo argue, doth not
'underſtand himſelf, nor the force of the words. It is
'not prorogued if it be begun the ſecond or third
'month, but it is rather a continuation or execution of
'that which is in their power. For if it were a prora-
'gation, then forſomuch as a prorogation doth favour
'of the nature of the firſt delay, it could not be
'begun before the time prorogued; but this happeneth
'not in our caſe: for albeit it were not begun in the
'firſt month, but in the ſecond or third: it is not there-
'by concluded that it could not be begun in the firſt:
'but if there had been any prorogation made till the
'ſecond month, then it could not have been begun
'in the firſt, as for example, I promiſe to give an
'hundred pounds after *Eaſter*; afore *Eaſter* it cannot
'be required, but by and by after *Eaſter* it may be
'required; and albeit that I be not urged for it, not-
'withſtanding I do not ceaſe to be bound; and if ſo
'be I be demanded it in the ſecond or third month
'after, it is not thereby underſtood that there is any
'prorogation made; Neither doth it follow, but that
'it might have been demanded in the beginning,
'which could not have been done if that there had
'been any prorogation made. Alſo it is the nature
'of prorogation to be made before the firſt day or term
'or day be paſſed. For otherwiſe it is no prorogati-
'on, but a new appointment. And albeit it may be
'ſaid, that then it may be long delayed; it is an-
'ſwered, that in this point we muſt ſtand unto the
'judgement of the Church, which conſidering divers
'circumſtances would think the time meet. For the
'liberty of celebrating of Councils was inſtitute for
'the profit and favour of the Church. What if it
'ſhould happen that when the time cometh, in the
'place where a Council ſhould be kept there be a
'great Plague, or ſome Siege, which ſhould continue
'by the ſpace of three or four months, and the Pope
'in the mean time doth not change the place accord-
'ing to the form of the Chapter *Frequens*, and that
'through ſuch impediments the Prelates did not come
'the firſt day unto the place, or if any were com-
'ing and were taken by the way, which if they had
'not been taken, had been preſent at the firſt day in
'the place appointed; is it therefore to be ſaid that
'the power of the Council is paſt? Or that the im-
'pediment ceaſing, and the Prelates coming thither,
'the Council cannot be holden? That truly were
'greatly abſurd and too much prejudicial to the Church
'of God: but in this our caſe, the cauſe is proba-
'ble why that the Prelates did defer to come at the
'beginning of the time appointed; for ſo much as
'when the time drew near, Pope *Martin* dyed the
'twentieth of *February*. For which cauſe the Prelates
'might well doubt upon ſome impediment of the Coun-
'cil. Alſo they tarried looking that ſome ſhould
'come thither in the name of the Pope, becauſe they
'would not tarry in that place in vain without a
'Preſident. As for the Legate which was appointed
'for the Council, whoſe preſence all men tarried for
'before he would prepare himſelf for that journey, he
'came not at the time appointed unto the Council, but
'went unto *Norenberge*, to perſecute the *Bohemians*;
'according to the commandment of Pope *Martin*,
'which had enjoyned him to go firſt thither before he went
'to *Baſil*.

The cauſe of the long delay of the Prelates.

'And the ſame Legate being oftentimes required at
'*Norenberge*, that he ſhould go to *Baſil* to hold the
'Council, he anſwered, that he would not go before he
'had the conſent of the new Biſhop. This was the
'cauſe of the Prelates delays, neither is it greatly to be
'imputed unto the Prelates, which ſuſpected that Pope
'*Martin* would not have holden the Council, and fear-
'ed to bring themſelves in trouble; and good cauſe had
'they ſo to fear, through thoſe things which happned in
'the Council of *Scene*. For there were many things
'ſpoken which cauſed great ſuſpition. It was reported
'unto me that many had ſaid, I came unto *Germany* to
'diſturb the Council.

The Coun-cil of *Scene*

'Alſo this was Pope *Martins* mind and intent, that
'albeit the Council was not begun at the beginning
'of *March*, notwithſtanding the authority of holding the
'Council ſhould not be void. For he, when as the time of
'the Council approached, willed me that I ſhould firſt go
'unto *Bohemia*, before I went unto the Council; whereof

'alſo mention is made in the Bull of the Conſiſtory diſ-
'ſolution.

'But what need we any other proof, than by your Holineſs Letters? In which your Letters dated the ſecond 'of the Kalends of *June*, and delivered unto me long 'after the time, by the ſpace of three months, you 'do commend me, that my buſineſs being done in '*Bohemia*, I ſhould take my way to *Baſil* to hold the 'Council, and there to foreſee unto all things as it was 'enjoyned me, and ordained in the Council of *Con-* '*ſtance*. The ſame alſo ye repeat in the Bull of 'the diſſolution brought unto me by the Lord *Paren-* '*tine*, the words are theſe; Unto your circumſpection. 'Since your going into *Germany* no Prelates have aſ-'ſembled in *Baſil* for the celebrating of the Council: 'We gave you in commandment that in the mean time 'you ſhould be diligent about the expedition againſt 'the *Bohemian* Hereticks, which is committed to 'your charge, and afterward you ſhall come unto *Baſil*, 'the place appointed for the Council, and there rule 'in Our place in the name of the Church. What is 'more evident than this? If any thing were doubt-'ful, by the tenour of theſe Letters it were evidently taken 'away. If any man would ſay, that neither Pope *Mar-* '*tin* nor *Eugenius* could confirm the Council by writ-'ing of ſuch Letters, becauſe there was a prorogation 'which is prohibited by the Chapter *Frequens*: It 'is anſwered, that there is no prorogation, but execuți-'on of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is 'not neceſſary to hold the Council preciſely even at the 'beginning. Alſo it is no prorogation. For a prorога-'tion is made before the term is expired and not after; for 'after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. 'And if any man will ſay that there can be no new indi-'ction made, then may this be objected; How could the 'Council of *Bononia* be newly appointed? If they will 'anſwer, that the appointment of the Council of *Bo-* '*nonia* was of force, becauſe the Council of *Baſil* was 'diſſolved by your Holineſs, then I have my intent. For 'if it were diſſolved; *Ergo*, it was a Council be-'fore, becauſe it preſuppoſeth the habit. If it were a 'Council before, then, as hereafter ſhall be proved, it 'could not be diſſolved without the conſent of the Coun-'cil; what can be more anſwered hereunto? For the 'greater declaration and evidence of the matter, the Ab-'bot of *Virgilia*, even upon the ſame day of the time ap-'pointed or afore, gathering together the Prelates of the 'great Church, and many other Prelates and Notable 'men, made a ſolemn proteſtation, how the time was 'come to celebrate and hold the Council, and that he was 'come unto *Baſil* for the ſame purpoſe, requiring them 'that they would confer and intreat together upon mat-'ters touching the Council, and hereupon there is a pub-'lick inſtrument or teſtimonial.

'Within a month after the Ambaſſadors of the Uni-'verſity of *Paris* came thither, and began to entreat 'of matters touching the Council, writing alſo unto 'the Emperor, and to the other Princes of *Germany*, 'that they ſhould ſend unto the Council; which Letters I 'my ſelf did ſee; neither doth the ſmall number of men 'let; for whereas authority is, a great number is not re-'quired, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, where as two 'or three are gathered together in my name, I am in 'the midſt of them. Upon the which authority the 'Councils are grounded. Now therefore your Holineſs 'doth manifeſtly ſee the ſaid objection to be but frivolous. 'For to what end ſhould any diſſolution be made, if it 'had not been a Council? Wherefore it is not to be 'doubted but that it was a lawful Council, and cano-'nically congregate. And peradventure it is ſcarſly found 'where any Council hath been confirmed by ſo many 'authorities as this, that is to ſay, by the two Councils 'before paſſed, of *Conſtance* and of *Scene*, and confirm-'ed by two Biſhops of *Rome*.

'Beſides this, I have heard that ſome do report at '*Rome*, that I could not call the Prelates unto the Coun-'cil, becauſe that clauſe was not added in the Bull of 'Pope *Martin*. I greatly marvel why this ſhould be 'objected, ſpecially ſeeing that not I alone have cal-'led them, but I together with the reſt which are here 'aſſembled in the Council. It is a marvellous matter; 'Pope *Martin* gave me authority by the advice of the 'Council to root out Hereſies, to pacifie Kingdoms, 'to reform the manners of every ſtate of Chriſten-'dom, and yet they will ſay that I cannot cite them. 'Power is given me to judge and to condemn, and 'have I not alſo power to cite? The Law doth ſay, un-'to whom any power or juriſdiction is committed, all 'things ſeem to be committed unto him, without 'the which he cannot exerciſe his juriſdiction; for 'how could all the premiſes be done, if the Prelates or 'others ſhould not come hither? Alſo why is it ſaid 'in the Chapter, *Ego enim de jurejurando*, I will come 'unto the Synod if I be called, if he cannot be cal-'led? By whom then is it preſuppoſed that he ſhould 'be called, but only by the Council, or by him which 'ruleth the Council? Alſo the whole eighteenth di-'ſtinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the 'Biſhops being called unto the Council, if they come 'not, they may be Excommunicate and Suſpended. Let 'theſe men read the Book of Councils of Saint *Iſidore*, 'and they ſhall find how that in many Councils the Pre-'lates have been called by the Synod. Now remain-'eth, that we ſhould declare, whether the diſſolution be 'of force or no. Wherein I do again fear to move your 'Holineſs unto anger. But charity forceth me thereunto; 'for peradventure your Holineſs doth think the diſſoluti-'on to be effectual, and therefore do perſevere in it; 'whereby for ſo much as many offences may ariſe, my 'Conſcience doth move me not to hold my peace. Firſt of 'all the chapter, *Frequens*, declareth that it is of no force; for 'if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is 'a ſmall matter, much more is diſſolution, which is a 'greater matter, for it is a greater matter to take away 'than to deferr: For by proroging a thing is but 'deferred, and by diſſolving it is utterly taken away. 'Alſo theſe men ſay, that the ſaid conſtitution in the chap-'ter, *Frequens*, may be made void, forſomuch as ſoon as 'the Council is begun, it may be diſſolved without any 'thing done, as it is ſaid that it was done at *Senes*; and now 'they ſay alſo that your Holineſs hath been perverſly inform-'ed touching the diſſolution. They ſay alſo, that the ſaid 'diſſolution doth manifeſtly tend to the ſubverſion of faith, 'the ruin of the Church, and the trouble of the Chriſtian 'people. Therefore it cannot be done, neither obeyed.

'They ſay moreover, that the ſaid diſſolution could not 'be made by means of a certain decree of the Council of '*Conſtance* in that behalf provided; That in ſuch matters as 'appertain unto Faith, the extirpation of ſin, and reforma-'tion of the Church in the head and in the members, all 'men of what eſtate or condition ſoever they be, yea the 'Pope himſelf ſhould be bound to obey the ſtatutes, pre-'cepts and ordinances of every general Council; and ex-'cept they did obey, it had power to puniſh them. Mark 'how that theſe things, to have power to determine upon 'any man, to command him and puniſh him if he be not 'obedient, are ſigns of ſuperiority, in thoſe matters which 'he doth decree, command or puniſh; and to be bound 'to obedience, to be ſubject and obey the ſame, are ſigns of 'inferiority in the ſaid caſes. *Ergo* in the foreſaid caſes, 'ſeeing that the Pope, as they ſay, is under the Council, 'which alſo hath been; in that for one of the ſaid three 'caſes the Council did deprive *John*, and for the other '*Benedict*, neither could the Pope diſſolve the Council, in 'that he is inferiour unto the Council, he cannot bind or 'compel the ſuperiour; As in the Chapter *Cum inferior*, 'otherwiſe it ſhould contain in it a contradiction, that he 'is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, becauſe he 'may diſſolve; for how ſhould he be obedient unto the 'ordinance and decree of the Council, if he may annihi-'late and take away the ſame ordinance and decree? 'This Council is congregate for the rooting out of 'Hereſies, for the making of peace, and reformation of 'manners; and in the firſt Seſſion it did ordain, that 'their whole intent and reſpect ſhould be thereunto, and 'that he which ſhould procure to let the Council, to pro-'rogue or alter it, ſhould be puniſhed, and have proceſs 'againſt him as againſt a common diſturber of the peace, '*&c.* If it may be diſſolved, it is evident that they do 'not obey the ſaid ordinance; whereby this alſo muſt of 'neceſſity be granted, that if it may be diſſolved, the de-'cree of the Council of *Conſtance* is of no force.

{KING Hen. 6.}

This

KING Hen.6.

'This is also proved by another reason.No man doubteth 'but if any controversie of Heresie should be moved against 'any Bishop of *Rome*, that he could not dissolve the Coun-'cil : For if he might dissolve the Council, he could not 'be judged, which were contrary to the Chapter *Si Pap.* '40. *Ergo*, like as it is in Heresie, so is it in the two other 'cases. For these three were pacified by the Council of '*Constance*: for thus speaketh the Council, as it is in the 'Chapter, *Si Papa in illo uno.* And as I have before said, 'the Council of *Constance* allowed this decree, through 'the which they deprived *Peter de Luna*, for making of a 'Schism, and Pope *John* for the deformity of his life.

'And albeit there be certain Laws that say, The prin-'cipal seat cannot be judged of any man ; and again, no 'man judgeth the chief seat ; and, no man saith unto 'himself, why doest thou so ? There are to be undestood 'in the three cases ; first, that there was proviso made 'for the faith in the Chapter *Si Papa* ; and in the 'other two points, by the decree of *Constance* Other-'wise it should be understood, without any exception, 'that the first seat, *&c.* and then the Chapter *Si Pa-'pa* 40 *distinct.* and the said decree of *Constance* should 'be false. If the Chapter *Si Papa* had added causes of 'Heresies, no man would have doubted upon these two 'cases, touching the said sentence ; so likewise no man 'ought to doubt of the decree of the Council, that it 'was made by the authority of the Pope, and represent-'eth the universal Church. And if any man would say, 'that in all Councils the authority of the Pope is excep-'ted : I answer, that is true, when as the person of the 'Pope is not specially included. But if he be specially in-'cluded, he cannot be excepted, because it should favour 'of contradiction. Most blessed Father, God is my wit-'ness that I have spoken these things with great anguish 'and sorrow of mind ; but I am forced so to speak, that 'your Holiness may cease from the said dissolution, lest 'there might happen infinite evils in the Church of God. 'If your Holiness did see my pure mind, my upright 'Conscience, and entire affection towards you, whereby 'I am moved to write those things, even for very love 'you would embrace and kiss me, and without doubt 'love me as your own Son. I have often said, and now 'do say and protest before God and man, that you will 'be the cause of Schism, and infinite mischiefs, if you do 'not alter and change your mind and purpose. Almighty 'God preserve your Holiness in the prosperity of a vertuous 'man. Unto whose feet I do most humbly recommend 'me. From *Basil* the 5th day of *June*.

Thus endeth the Epistle of Cardinal *Julian*, written unto Pope *Eugenius*. Wherein, forsomuch as mention is made how that the *Bohemians* had promised to send their Ambassadors unto the Council, and, as before is partly touched in the *Bohemian* story, of their coming into *Basil* and propounding of certain Articles, wherein they dissented from the Pope ; we do not think it any thing differing from our purpose, to annex a brief epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their Ambassage, their Articles, disputations and answers which they had at the said Council of *Basil*, with their petitions and answers unto the same. Faithfuly translated out of Latine by *F. W.*

In like manner *Æneas Sylvius* also, with his own hand writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this Council, but also bestowed his labour and travel in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding the same *Sylvius* afterward being made Pope, with his new honour, did alter and change his old sentence. The Epistle of which *Æneas* touching the commendation of the said Council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought here following, for the more satisfying of the Readers mind, to insert.

## *An Epistle of* Æneas Sylvius *to the Rector of the University of* Colen.

*TO a Christian man which will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of Faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate : And if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the Gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire ; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be* Paul *or* Peter, *if he walk not directly to the truth of the Gospel. Which thing I am glad and so are we all, to hear that your University hath done in this Council of* Basil. *For a certain Treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness of such, which do deny the Bishop of* Rome, *and the consistory of his judgement, to be subject unto the general Council ; and that the supream tribunal seat of judgment standeth in the Church, and in no one Bishop. Such men as deny this, you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery Eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you. These be the words of* Sylvius.

An Epistle of *Æneas Sylvius*, in defence of the Council of *Basil*.

The Tribunal seat standeth not in one Bishop.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the foresaid Council, this is to be noted, that during the life *Sigismund* the Emperor no man resisted this Council. Also, continuing the time of *Charles* the Seventh, the French King, the said Council of *Basil* was fully and wholly received through all *France*. But after the death of *Sigismund*, when *Eugenius* was deposed, and *Felix* Duke of *Savoy* was elected Pope, great discords arose, and much practise was wrought, but especially on *Eugenius* part ; who being now excommunicated by the Council of *Basil*, to make his part more strong made eighteen new Cardinals. Then he sent his *Orators* unto the *Germans*, labouring by all perswasions to dissolve the Council of *Basil*. The *Germans* at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with *Felix* and the Council of *Basil* ; othersome, with *Eugenius* and the Council of *Ferraria* ; and some were Neuters. After this, the French King being dead, which was *Charles* the Seventh, about the year of our Lord 1444, the Pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of *Rome*, to excite ( as is supposed ) the *Dauphin* of *France* by force of Arms to dissipate that Council collected against him. Who, leading an Army of fifteen thousand men into *Alsatia*, did cruelly waste and spoil the Country ; after that, laid Siege unto *Basil*, to expel and drive out the Prelates of the Council. But the *Helvetians*, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the *Frenchmen*, and put them to Sword and Flight ; like as the *Lacedemonias* only with three hundred did suppress and scatter all the mighty Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylæ*.

The authority of the Council of *Basil* maintained by the Emperor and the French King, so long as they lived.

The practise of Pope *Eugenius*, to undo the Council of *Basil*.

The Pope stirreth up War.

The *Dauphin* driven away by a few *Germans*.

Although *Basil* was by the valiantness of the *Helvetians* thus defended, yet not withstanding the Council, through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the Princes Ambassadors, which shrunk away and would not tarry. So that at length *Eugenius* brought to pass, partly through the help of *Frederick* ( being not yet Emperor, but labouring for the Empire ) partly by his Orators( in the number of whom was *Æneas Sylvius* above mentioned amongst the *Germans* ) that they were content to give over both the Council of *Basil*, and their neutrality.

The dissolution of the Council of *Basil*.

This *Frederick* of *Austrich* being not yet Emperor, but towards the Empire, brought also to pass, that *Felix*, which was chosen of the Council of *Basil* to be Pope, was contented to renounce and resign his Papacy to *Nicholas* the Fifth, successor to *Eugenius*, of the which *Nicholas* the said *Frederick* was confirmed at *Rome* to be Emperor, and there Crowned, *An.* 1451.

*Frederick* of *Austrich* Crowned Emperor, great Grandfather to this *Ferdenando*.

{KING Hen. 6}

As these things were doing at *Basil*, in the mean season Pope *Eugenius* brought to pass in his convocation at *Florence*, that the Emperor and the Patriach of *Constantinople*, with the rest of the *Grecians* there present, were perswaded to receive the sentence of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost; also to receive the Communion in unleavened Bread, to admit Purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish Bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding the other Churches of *Grecia* would in no wise assent at their coming home; insomuch that with a publick execration they did condemn afterward all those Legats which had consented to these Articles, that none of them should be buried in Christian burial: which was, *An.* 1439. *Ex Casp. Peucer.*

The Legates of the *Greeks* condescend first to the Popes Law.

And thus endeth the story, both of the Council of *Basil*, and of the Council of *Florence*, also of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and of the Schism between Pope *Eugenius* and Pope *Felix*, and also of the *Bohemians*. The which *Bohemians*, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults aboveſaid, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new City of *Prague*, partly also through the discord of the messengers and Captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterward, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their Religion, not by Sword, but by argument and disputation, that the Bishop of *Rome* could never yet to this day remove the *Thaborites* and City of *Prague* from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which in the beginning of the Council was enjoyned their Priests to observe, as testifieth *Cochleus, lib.* 8. *hist. Hus.* With whom also recordeth *Antoninus*, who in 3. *part. hist.* saith; That the Doctrine of the *Bohemians*, which he termeth by the name of *Zizania*, did take so deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterward neither by Fire nor Sword it could be extinct. *Anton.* 3. *part. hist. tit.* 22. *cap.* 10.

The Greek Churches refuse the Popes doctrine.

The Inconveniency of discord.

*Ex Cochleo lib.* 8. *hist. Huſſit.*

*Ex Antonin.* 3. *part. tit.* 22. *cap.* 10.

Concerning the which *Bohemians*, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they in their own defence, and in the quarel of *John Hus*, and *Hierom* of *Prague*, provoked by their Catholick adversaries to War, fighting under *Zisca* their Captain, had eleven battels with the Popes side, and ever went away victors. *Ex Paral. Abb. Ursp. in Epitaphio Joan. Zisc.* Moreover in the History of *Peucer* it is testified that Pope *Martain* the fifth, sending for the Bishop of *Winchester* then Cardinal, had levied three main Armies, intending to over-run all the *Bohemians*; one Army of the *Saxons* under the Prince Elector: the second of the *Francones*, under the Marquis of *Brandenburge*; the third of *Renates*, *Bavarians* and *Suechers*, under *Octo* Archbishop of *Trevers*. With these, *Sigismund* also the Emperor, and Cardinal *Julian* the Popes Legate (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) joyned all their force. Who joyning together five times (saith the story) with five sundry battles, assailed and invaded the *Bohemians*; at every which battel, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their Tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given. *Ex Casp. Peuc. lib.* 5. whereby it may appear that the holy Angels of God do fight for them which embrace the sincere doctrine of Christs Gospel.

*Ex hist. Casp. Peucer. lib.* 5.

Marvelous fear fallen upon the Popes Army. God's holy Angels pitch their tents about them that fear him, *Psa.* 34.

Thus the *Bohemians*, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of *Zisca*, and also of *Procopius*, till at length, through discord growing between them and their Captains *Procopious* and *Mainardus*, they were subdued unto their enemies.

The cruel deceit and wicked fact of *Mainardus* against the Souldiers of *Bohemia.*

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of *Mainardus*, who after the death of *Procopius*, Thinking to purge the Realm of *Bohemia* of those chief and principal Souldiers, which had been long expert and trained up in Wars, found means for a Proclamation made, as though he would War against other Countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all them which were disposed to take wages, into certain Barns or Hovels prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest by that means under subjection to the Emperor during his life time; which, after that continued not long. *Ex Æn. Sylv.* The which Souldiers if they had fought so much for the Catholik liberties of the Pope and his Church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the Pope had not dignified them all for holy Martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of *Mainardus* is worthy of all men to be detested.

Certain thousands of the *Bohemian* Souldiers burnt. *Ex Æneas Sylv. lib. de hist. Bohem. cap.* 15.

During this business among the Bishops beyond the Sea, in the mean time our Bishops here also in *England* were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the Country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the Clergy do draw with them a meere insensible untowardness in Gods religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all men which will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in *England* is more burning and slaying for Religion and for all other matters; more bloodshed among us, than in any other Land or Nation in *Christendom* besides. After the burning of *Richard Hoveden*, of *Nicholas Canon*, and of *Thomas Bagley* Priest, above recorded, whom the Bishops condemned to death, *An.* 1431. not long after about the year of our Lord, 1439. which was the eighteenth of the reign of K. *Henry* the sixth, they had another poor man by the back named *Richard Wiche* Priest, mentioned both in *Robert Fabian*, and also in another old English Chronicle borrowed of one *Perminger*. What his opinions were they do not express. This they record, that this *Richard Wiche* first was degraded, then burnt at *Tower-hill* for Heresie. Some do affirm, that he before his death revolted; but that seemeth by his burning not to be true.

England noted of cruelty.

Burning and slaying in *England.*

{Anno 1439.} Rich. Wiche Priest, Martyr. *Ex Fabia. par.* 7. *Ex antiqua alia Chronic.*

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophesying) that the Postern of the *Tower* should sink; which also afterward came as he saith to pass, wherefore of the people he was counted for an holy man; insomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their Oblations and prayers, and areared a great heap of stones, and set up a Cross there by night: so that by this means a great clamor ran upon the Church-men, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumor, the King gave commandment to punish such as went thither on Pilgrimage. The copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

Rich. Wiche after his death taken for a Saint.

Rex Vicecomitibus London & Midd. salutem. *Albeit* Richard Wiche *late Clerk, who heretofore long sithence hertically did hold, teach, and publickly preach certain Heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our Realm of* England, *and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did before a Judge in that behalf sufficiently abjure all Heresie generally, and afterward, as a Dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publickly preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a Relapse. And again, being impeached, for the same before the reverend Father in God* Robert *Bishop of* Lond. *his lawful Ordinary, was called forth to judgement, and being before him, did judiciously confess his errors and heresies: For the which cause the Reverend Father, upon mature deliberation by him the said Reverend Father first had with the advice of the learned in the Law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said* Richard, *did by his sentence definitive pronounce and adjudge him so be a Relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all Priestly* Ornaments, *and deprived him of all Priestly function and privilege (according to justice) and last of all turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by our Princely commandment and Warrant, did according to the Law of our Realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said* Richard *to ashes, being a Relapse convict, and degraded as a notorious Traitor, not only against God, but also against us, and our Crown and dignity; All which notwithstanding, certain our Subjects (as we have been sundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising of all likelihood not only Sedition, but also Idolatry within*

KING (Hen. 6.) *in our Realm, are not afraid publickly to affirm, that the ſaid* Richard *was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay rather they do moſt ſhamefully with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died a good, juſt, and an holy Man, and that he doth many miracles (whereas indeed no ſuch miracles be done by him.) Which diſordinate perſons we may well, and upon probable cauſes, repute and deem culpable not only of heretical pravity, but alſo of High treaſon, and as Rebels to our perſon, Majeſty, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our Realm, as withal breakers and Tranſpaſſers againſt the ſacred Canons of the Church, who dare ſo preſumptuouſly adventure to worſhip the ſaid* Richard *as a Saint, whereas it is not lawful to worſhip any manner of perſon, be he never ſo holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the Biſhop of* Rome: *We therefore being very careful for the good preſervation of our peace, and deſirous to aboliſh from out of all the coaſts of the ſame all manner of Idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certain places within your liberties, where you ſhall think moſt convenient, you cauſe forthwith Proclamations to be made on our behalf, ſtraightly charging that no perſon from henceforth preſume to reſort to the place where the ſaid* Richard *was executed under colour of a Pilgrim, or for any other cauſe of devotion whatſoever, nor ſend any offering thither, nor worſhip him hereafter openly or ſecretly, or adjudge, eſteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwiſe juſtified or innocent, than ſuch as the ſaid Reverend Father by his definitive ſentence hath pronounced him to be, upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for an Heretick or a favourer of Hereticks and to receive condigne puniſhment provided for Hereticks. And that you arreſt all and every perſon whom ye ſhall find to do any thing contrary to this our Proclamation, and the ſame ſo arreſted commit to our Priſon, there to remain until we ſhall think good to ſend countermand for their deliverance. Witneſs the King at his Manor of* Eſtampſted, *the fifteenth day of* July, *in the eighteenth year of his reign.*

Per ipſum Regem.

Like Writs and to the ſame effect were directed to all the Sheriffs through all the Realm, bearing all one and the ſame date. By the vertue of which Letter, the Mayor and Sheriffs did uſe ſuch diligence, that ſhortly after, that concourſe and ſeeking of the people was left off.

*Ex Regiſt. Henr. Chicheſley.*

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of *June*, in the ſame year about *November*, a convocation was called by *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, wherein was propounded among the Clergy, to conſult with themſelves what way were beſt to be taken for the removing away the Law of *Premuniri facias*; for ſo were the hearts then of the temporality ſet againſt the Eccleſiaſtical ſort, that where any vantage might be given them by the Law, they did nothing ſpare; by reaſon whereof the Church-men at that time were greatly moleſted by the ſaid Law of *Premuniri*, and by the Kings Writs, and other Indictments, to their no ſmall annoiance. By long conſultation and good adviſement, at laſt this way was taken, that a petition or ſupplication ſhould be drawn and preſented to the King, for the aboliſhing of the aforeſaid Law of *Premuniri facias*, and alſo for the reſtraining of other Brieſs, Writs, and Indictments, which ſeemed then to lye heavy upon the Clergy. This Bill or Supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and of *York*, unto the King, ſtanding in need the ſame time of a Subſidy to be collected of the Clergy; This anſwer was given to their Supplication, on the Kings behalf: That forſomuch as the time of *Chriſtmas* then drew near, whereby he had as yet no ſufficient leiſure to adviſe upon the matter, he would take therein a farther pauſe. In the mean time, as one tendring their quiet, he would ſend to all his Officers and Miniſters within his Realm, that no ſuch Brief of *Premuniri* ſhould paſs againſt them or any of them, from the ſaid time of *Chriſtmas* till the next Parliament, *Anno* 1439. *Ex Regiſt. Capt.*

The Biſhops conſult to aboliſh the Law of *Premuniri facias.*

The Kings anſwer to the Bill of the Clergy, touching the Law of *Premuniri.*

In my former Edition of *Acts and Moniments*, ſo haſtily raked up at that preſent, in ſuch ſhortneſs of time, as in the ſaid Book thou mayeſt ſee (gentle Reader) declared and ſignified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a ſhort note made of one *Eleanor Cobham*, Dutcheſs of *Glouceſter*, and of Sir *Roger Only* Knight (Prieſt, it ſhould have been Printed,) which two perſons, about the year of our Lord 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to Death, the other to perpetual Priſon. Of this little ſhort matter Mr. *Cope* the Popes ſcout, lying in privy waight to ſpie faults in all mens works whereſoever any may appear, taketh Pepper in the Noſe, and falleth again unto his old barking againſt me, for placing theſe foreſaid perſons in my Book of *Martyrs*; but eſpecially he thinketh to have great vantage againſt me, for that in the ſame ſtory I do joyn withall, one *Margaret Jourdeman*, the Witch of *Eye*, condemned alſo with them the ſame time, and burned for practiſing the Kings death by an Image of Wax, *&c.* To anſwer hereunto.

A brief anſwer to *Cope* concerning Lady *Eleanor Cobham.*

First, I ſay (as I before ſaid) that I profeſs no ſuch title to write of Martyrs, but in general to write of *Acts and Monuments* paſſed in the Church and Realm of *England*. Wherein, why ſhould I be reſtrained from the free walk of a ſtory writer, more than other that have gone before me?

To the third Objection.

*Secondly*, Touching my condemnation of Sir *Roger Only*, and the Lady *Eleanor*; if Mr. *Alane* be therewith offended; I anſwer, that I commended them for favouring and favouring of the truth of Chriſts doctrine: for the fact, if any ſuch were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine one head, without ſome ſufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well believe *John Bale*, as Mr. *Alane* believe Mr. *Fabian*? Eſpecially ſeeing I do know, and was privy, that the ſaid *John* in recogniſing his Centuries, followed altogether the Hiſtory of *Leland de Catalogo virorum illuſtrium*; which Book being borrowed of Mr. *Cheek*, I my ſelf did ſee in the hands of the foreſaid *John Bale*, what time we were both together, dwelling in the Houſe of the Noble Lady Dutcheſs of *Richmond*. Wherefore if he think me ſo lewd to ſpeak without mine Authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine Authors not to be believed, then let this *Nomothetes*, or jolly *Dictator*, come forth and preſcribe us a Law, what Authors he would have us to take, and what to refuſe. For elſe why is it not as free for me to credit *John Bale*, and *Leland*, as for him to credit *Robert Fabian*, and *Edward Hall*; eſpecially ſeeing they had ſeen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge, and ſo did never theſe?

*Thirdly*, For the name of *Roger Only*; if *Cope* deny that there was any ſuch name in ſtories mentioned, but that there was one called *Roger Bolinbroke*, &c. hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of *England* deceived him, or elſe that he, going no farther but to *Fabian* and *Hall*, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect Sicophant. And admit the ſaid name of *Only* could not be found in thoſe writers, yet were it not unpoſſible for a man to have two names, eſpecially if he were a religious man, to bear the name of the Town where he was born, beſides his own proper ſirname. But now, what if I (Mr. *Cope*) can avouch and bring forth to you the name of *Roger Only* out of ſufficient Record, which you ſeem not to have yet read? Have ye not then done well and properly (I think you) ſo bitterly to flee in my face, and bark ſo eagerly all this while at Moon-ſhine in the water, having no more cauſe almoſt againſt me, than againſt the man in the Moon? And now leſt you ſhould think me ſo unprovided of unjuſt authority for my defence, as I ſee you unprovided of modeſty and patience, write you to your prompter or ſuborner (whereſoever he lurketh here in *England*) to ſend you over unto *Lovane* the book of *John Harding* a Chronicler, more ancient than either *Fabian* or *Hall*, printed in the houſe of *Richard Grafton*, *Anno* 1543. Where turn to the *fol.* 223. *fac. b. lin.* 19. and there you ſhall find and read theſe words.

*Again, the Church and the King curſedly,*
*By help of one Maſter* Roger Only, *&c.*

By the which words you muſt neceſſarily confeſs *Roger Only* to be the name of the man, or elſe muſt ye needs deny the Author. For otherwiſe, that Maſter *Roger Bolinbroke* was the only helper to the Dutcheſs in that fact.

*vid. Centur. 8. Bal. cap. 4.*

by no wiſe it can ſtand with the ſtory of theſe Authors, which ſay, that four other beſides him were condemned for the ſame crime, *&c.* And moreover, though the ſaid Sir *Roger Only* was no Knight (as I have ſaid in my former Edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the Teſtimony of them that have ſeen his works, but that he was a Prieſt, which you will grant to be a Knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Mr. *Roger Only*.

To the fourth objection.

*Fourthly*, As concerning *Margaret Jourdeman*, whom ye call the Witch of *Eye*, ye offer me herein great wrong, to ſay that I make her a Martyr, which was a Witch; when as I here profeſs, confeſs and aſcertain both you, and all Engliſh men, both preſent, and all poſterity hereafter to come, that this *Margaret Jourdeman* I never ſpake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your book your ſelf. So far is it off, that I either with my will, or againſt my will, made any Martyr of her.

M. *Cope* raileth without a cauſe.

Furthermore, I profeſs and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any juſt or congrue occaſion in my Book ſo to judge, much leſs to rail on me. For where in expreſs words I do ſpeak of the Mother of the Lady *Young*, what occaſion have you thereby to ſlander me and my Book with *Margaret Jourdeman*? Which *Margaret* whether ſhe was a Witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But becauſe I couple her in the ſame ſtory, you ſay. To this I ſay, becauſe ſhe was the Mother of a Lady, I thought to joyn her with another Lady in the ſame ſtory, as in one Pew together, although in one cauſe I will not ſay. And yet notwithſtanding I do ſo couple the ſaid Mother with the Dutcheſs, in ſuch diſtinct difference of years, that you Maſter *Cope* might eaſily have underſtood, or beſide you, no man elſe would have thought the contrary but *Margaret Jourdeman* was neither here in my Book, nor yet in my *Memento*. For the words of my ſtory are plain, where the condemnation of the Lady *Eleanor*, and of the Mother of Lady *Young*, being referred to the year of our Lord, 1441. I do alſo in the ſame ſtory (through the occaſion of that Lady) infer mention of the Mother of the Lady *Young*, declaring in expreſs words, that ſhe followed certain years after, and in the end of that Chapter do name alſo the year of her burning to be 1490 which was fifty years after the death of *Only*, and *Margaret Jourdeman*; by the computation of which years it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady *Youngs* Mother.

The former Edition, p. 371.

But Mr. *Cope*, continuing ſtill in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my Calender the ſaid Lady *Youngs* Mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after death of *Roger Only*, which day pertaineth properly to *Margaret Jourdeman*, which was burned the ſame day in *Smithfield*, and not to the Ladies Mother, *&c.*

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he which had the diſpoſing of the Catalogue, did place them ſo in months, as he ſaw them joyned in Chapters, not peruſing peradventure nor adviſing the Chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my ſtory, which ſufficiently doth clear it ſelf in diſtinguiſhing them rightly in names and alſo in years, as is afore declared.

The fifth Objection.

*Fifthly* and laſtly, Having thus ſufficiently anſwered to your circumſtances of perſons, names, and times (Maſter *Cope*) I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the Lady Dutcheſs, and to the reſt; with this proteſtation before premiſed unto the Reader, that if the fact be true, and ſo done as is reported in the Hiſtories of *Fabian*, *Hall*, and *Harding*, I deſire the Reader then ſo to take me, as though I did not deal here withal, nor ſpeak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and diſpuncted the ſame. But for ſo much as the deed and offence laid and given forth againſt theſe parties, may be a matter made, and of evil will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore I do but only move a queſtion by way of Hiſtory, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the queſtion, whether it is to be judged true, or ſuſpected rather to be falſe and forged, and ſo having briefly propounded certain conjectural ſuſpitions or ſuppoſals concerning that matter, I will paſs it over, neither medling in the one nor on the other.

The ſtory of the Lady *Eleanor* and *Roger Only* here pretermitted.

A queſtion whether *Eleanor* the Dutcheſs was cauſe of treaſon againſt the King.

The firſt conjecture, why it may be poſſible that this act of Treaſon, laid to the charge of the Dutcheſs and *Roger Only*, againſt the King, may be untrue, is this; that the ſaid *Only* (otherwiſe named *Bolingbroke*) took it upon his death, that they never intended any ſuch thing as they were condemned for.

KING 6 *Hen. 6.* Certain conjectures of the crime not to be true.

1. Conjecture.

The ſecond conjecture; for that the Lady *Eleanor*, and *Only* ſeemed then to favour and favour of that Religion ſet forth by *Wickliff*; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the Clergy. Furthermore what hatred and practiſes of Papiſts can do, it is not unknown.

2. Conjecture.

The third conjecture; for that the ſaid Maſter *Roger Only*, falſly noted and accuſed of Necromancy, wrote a Book in purgation of himſelf, intituled, *De Innocentia ſua*. Alſo another Book intituled, *Contra vulgi ſuperſtitiones*, recorded in *Centur. 8. Bal. cap. 4.* Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote profeſſedly againſt the ſuperſtitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of Necromancy himſelf.

3. Conjecture.

The fourth conjecture; becauſe this accuſation againſt the Dutcheſs of *Glouceſter*, Duke *Humfries* Wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled between the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and Duke *Humfrey* her Husband.

4. Conjecture.

Another conjecture may be hereof, for that if the Dutcheſs had intended any ſuch hainous Treaſon againſt the Kings life, as by burning of a Wax Candle to conſume him, it is not like (neither was there any ſuch need) that ſhe would have made ſo many privy to ſuch a pernitious Counſel, as the Witch *Eye*, Maſter *Roger Bolingbroke*, Maſter *Thomas Southwell*, and *John Hume*.

5. Conjecture.

*Sixthly*, It is not to be ſuppoſed, if any ſuch high Treaſon had been wrought or pretended againſt the Kings perſon by theſe, that either the Dutcheſs ſhould ſo eſcape with bearing a Taper and baniſhment; or that *John Hume* ſhould be pardoned his life; the fact being ſo hainous, that neither any durſt ask this pardon, nor if it had been asked, had it been like to be granted.

6. Conjecture.

To theſe we may alſo add another ſuppoſal, riſing upon the words and form of their accuſation, as it ſtandeth in *Harding*, *Polychronicon*, and other moe, wherein they were accuſed for working Sorcery and Inchantments againſt the Church and the King. Now what Sorcery can be wrought againſt the Church, that is, the whole multitude of Chriſtians, let the Reader judge; and by the truth of this conſider alſo the truth of the other, which was againſt the King. Furthermore, if by this Church is meant the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, as like it is; then it may be conjectured, that all this matter roſe of that Cardinal, who was then a mortal enemy to the Houſe of *Glouceſter*, &c.

7. Conjecture.

*Eightbly*, And that all this was done and wrought by the ſaid Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, the Witch of *Eye* maketh the matter the more ſuſpicious, ſeeing that Town of *Eye*, as *Fabian* witneſſeth, was near beſide *Wincheſter*, and See of that Biſhop.

8. Conjecture.

Moreover, forſomuch as *Polidore Virgil*, among other ſtory Authors, being a man as may be ſuppoſed, rather favouring the Cardinals part than the Dukes, made no mention at all touching this Treaſon, his ſilence therefore may miniſter matter not only to muſe, but alſo to conjecture, that he had found ſomething which made him to miſtruſt the matter. Otherwiſe it is unlike that he would have ſo mewed up the matter, and paſſed it over without ſome mention.

9. Conjecture.

Finally, and briefly, the frequent practiſes and examples of other times may make this alſo more doubtful, conſidering how may ſubtil pretences after the like ſort have been ſought, and wrongful accuſations brought againſt many innocent perſons. For (not to repeat the like forgeries againſt the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Roger Acton*, &c.) why may not this accuſation of the Dutcheſs and *Only* be as falſe, as that in the time of King *Edward* the fifth, which was laid to the charge of the Queen and *Shores* Wife by the Protector, for enchanting and bewitching of his withered Arm? Which to be falſe all the world doth know, and but a quarel made, only to oppreſs the life of the Lord *Haſtings*; and the Lord *Stanly*, &c. And thus may'eſt thou ſee, gende Reader, according to the Wiſe mans ſaying, *Nihil novum eſſe ſub ſole; Nihilque dictum, quod non ſit dictum prius*, &c.

10. Conjecture.

Al-

KING *Hen.6.*

Although theſe with many moe conjectures may be alledged in ſome part of defence of this Dutcheſs, and of her Chaplains and Prieſts, yet becauſe it may not be unpoſſible again the matter laid againſt them to be true, I leave it therefore at large as I find it; ſaying as I ſaid before, That if it be true which the Stories ſay in this matter, think I beſeech thee gentle Reader, that I have ſaid nothing hereof. Only, becauſe the matter may be diſputable, and not unpoſſible to be falſe, I have but moved thereof a queſtion, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. *Cope* be ſo highly offended with me, becauſe in my firſt Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, I durſt name the Lady *Eleanor Cobham*, and *Roger* only; let him take this for a ſhort anſwer, becauſe my leaſure ſerveth not to make long brawls with him, That if I had thought no imperfections to have paſſed in my former Edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the ſecond time, whereby to ſponge away ſuch motes, as I thought would ſeem great ſtumbling blocks in ſuch Mens walks, which walk with no charity to edifie, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admoniſhing what they ſee amiſs in others, neither tarrying while other Men reform themſelves, and finally finding quarrels where no great cauſe is juſtly given. And here an end with Maſter *Cope* for this time.

*A brief anſwer to Maſter Cope's cavillation, concerning Duke Humphrys Wife*

Forſomuch as in the Proceſs before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the Cardinal, called the rich Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, and the good Duke *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Uncle and Protector of the Realm, order of Story now requireth to open ſome part of that matter more at large. Wherein this firſt is to be underſtood, that long before great flames of grudge and diſcord did burſt out between theſe two. For as the noble heart of the Duke could not abide the proud doings of the Cardinal, ſo much againſt the Cardinals in like manner ſore envied and diſdained at the rule of the Duke of *Gloceſter*. Notwithſtanding that, by the means of the Duke of *Bedford*, the braſting out between them was before appeaſed and cured: yet not ſo, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred, as ſparkles under the embers, did ſtill remain: ſo that the Cardinal, joyning with the Archbiſhop of *York*, attempted many things of their own preſumption, contrary to the conſent, not only of the King (being then under age) but alſo of the Protector and Governor of the Realm. Wherewith the Duke (like a true hearted Prince) being not without juſt cauſe offended, declared in writing to the King certain complaints contained in 21 Articles, wherein the Cardinal and Archbiſhop had tranſgreſſed both againſt the King and his Laws. The tenor whereof more at large is in other Stories expreſſed, the brief abſtract thereof followeth in a ſhort Summary here to be ſeen.

*The contention between the Cardinal of Wincheſter and Duke Humphry, Lord Protector.*

Anno 1440

*Ex Polychron.*

## *Certain Points or Articles objected by Duke* Humphry *againſt the Cardinal of* Wincheſter.

*Wincheſter preſumeth to be Cardinal againſt the mind of the King.*

First, complained to his Sovereign Prince his right redoubted Lord Duke *Humphry*, his Uncle and Protector of the Realm, That the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the days of his Father King *Henry* the fifth, took upon him the ſtate of a Cardinal, being denied by the King, ſaying, That he had as lief ſet his own Crown beſide him, as to ſee him wear a Cardinals Hat; and that in Parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a Biſhop among the Spiritual perſons, preſumed above his order; which the ſaid Duke deſired to be redreſſed.

*Wincheſter ſued the Law of præmuniri.*

2. *Item*, Whereas he being made a Cardinal was voided of his Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, he procured from *Rome* the Popes Bull, unknowing to the King, whereby he took again his Biſhoprick, contrary to the Common Law of this Realm, incurring thereby the caſe of proviſion, and forfeiting all his Goods to the King, by the Law of *Præmuniri facias*.

*Wincheſter intruded himſelf to be the Kings Governor.*

3. *Item*, He complained that the ſaid Cardinal, with the Archbiſhop of *York*, intruded themſelves to have the governance of the King, and the doing under the King of Temporal matters, excluding the Kings Uncle, and other Temporal Lords of the Kings kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

*The Cardinal defraudeth the King of his Jewels.*

4. *Item*, Whereas the King had borrowed of the Cardinal four thouſand pounds, upon certain Jewels, and afterward had his mony ready at the day to quit his Jewels; the Cardinal cauſed the Treaſurer to convert that mony to the Payment of another Army, to keep the Jewels ſtill to his own uſe and gain.

*The Cardinal deſvereth the King of Scots upon his own Authority.*

5. *Item*, He being then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Chancellor of *England*, delivered the King of *Scots* upon his own Authority, contrary to the Act of Parliament, Wedding his Niece afterward to the ſaid King. Alſo, where the ſaid King of *Scots* ſhould have paid to the King Forty thouſand pounds, the Cardinal procured Ten thouſand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the reſt very ſlenderly paid.

*The Cardinal playeth the Merchant.*

6. *Item*, The ſaid Cardinal, for lending notable ſums to the King, had the profit of the Port of *Hampton*, where he ſetting his ſervants to be the Cuſtomers, Wool and other Marchandiſe was, under that cloke, exported, not ſo much to his ſingular vantage, being the chief Merchant, as to the great prejudice of the King, and detriment to his ſubjects.

7. *Item*, The Cardinal in lending out great ſums to the King, yet ſo deferred and delaied the Loan thereof, that coming out of ſeaſon the ſame did the King little pleaſure, but rather hinderance.

*The Cardinal a defrauder of the King.*

8. *Item*, Where Jewels and Plate were priſed at Eleven thouſand pounds in weight of the ſaid Cardinal forfeited to the King; the Cardinal for Loan of a little piece, got him a reſtorement thereof, to the Kings great dammage, who better might have ſpared the Commons, if the ſum had remained to him clear.

9. *Item*, Where the King's Father had given *Elizabeth Bewchampe* Three hundred Marks of Livelood, with this condition, If ſhe Wedded within a year; the Cardinal, notwithſtanding ſhe was Married two or three years after, yet gave her the ſame, to the Kings great hurt, and diminiſhing of his Inheritance.

*The Cardinal taketh upon him like a King.*

10. *Item*, The Cardinal, having no Authority nor Intereſt in the Crown, preſumed notwithſtanding to call before him, like a King, to the Kings high derogation.

11. *Item*, That the Cardinal ſued a Pardon from *Rome*, to be freed from all Diſms, due to the King by the Church of *Wincheſter*, giving thereby example to the Clergy to withdraw their Diſms likewiſe, and lay all the charge only upon the Temporalty and poor Commons.

12, 13. *Item*, By the procuring of the ſaid Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *York*, great Goods of the Kings were loſt and diſpended upon needleſs Ambaſſades, firſt to *Arras*, then to *Calice*.

14. *Item*, It was laid to the charge of the ſaid Cardinal and Archbiſhop, That by their means, going to *Calice*, the two Enemies of the King, the Duke of *Orleance* and Duke of *Burgoin*, were deduced together in accord and alliance; who being at War before between themſelves, and now confederate together again, joyned both together againſt the Kings Towns and Countries over the Sea, to the great danger of *Normandy*, and deſtruction of the Kings people.

*The Cardinal Traitor to the Crown.*

15. *Item*, By the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Cardinal, perſuations were moved openly in the Kings preſence, with allurements and inducements, that the King ſhould leave his right, his title, and honour of his Crown, in nominating him King of *France*, during certain years, and that he ſhould utterly abſtain, and be content only in writing with *Rex Angliæ*, to the great note and infamy of the King, and all his Progenitors.

16, 17. *Item*, Through the ſleight and ſubtilty of the ſaid Cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the King and certain adverſaries of *France*; alſo the deliverance of the Duke of *Orleance* was appointed in ſuch ſort, as thereby great diſworſhip and inconvenience was like to fall, rather of the Kings ſide, than of the other.

*The Cardinal a purchaſer of the Kings Lands.*

18 *Item*, That the Cardinal had purchaſed great Lands and Liveloods of the King, the Duke being on the other ſide the Sea occupied in Wars, which redounded little to the worſhip and profit of the King; and moreover he had the King bound, to make him as ſure Eſtate of all thoſe Lands by *Eaſter* next, as could be deviſed by any learned Counſel, or elſe the ſaid Cardinal to have, and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, the Lands of the Duchy of

*Lancaſter*

*Lancaſter* in *Norfolk* to the value of ſeven or eight hundred Marks by the year.

Perverſe counſel of the Cardinal.

19. *Item*, Where the Duke the Kings Uncle had often offered his ſervice for the defence of the Realm of *France*, and the Dutchy of *Normandy*; the Cardinal ever labour-ed to the contrary, in preferring other, after his ſingular affection; whereby a great part of *Normandy* hath been loſt.

The Cardinal a deceiver of the King, and a briber

20. *Item*, Seeing the Cardinal was riſen to ſuch Riches and Treaſure, which could grow to him, neither by his Church, nor by Inheritance (which he then had) it was of neceſſity to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the King and his Subjects, in ſelling Offices, Preferments, Liveloods, Captainſhips, both here, and in the Realm of *France*, and in *Normandy*; ſo that what hath been there loſt, he hath been the greateſt cauſer thereof.

The Cardinal purchaſeth a Pardon againſt his *Præmuniri.*

21. Furthermore, when the ſaid Cardinal had forfeited all his Goods by the Statute of Proviſion, he having the rule of the King, and of other matters of the Realm, purchaſed from the Pope a Charter of Pardon, not only to the defeating of the Laws of the Realm, but alſo to the defrauding of the King, who otherwiſe might and ſhould have had wherewith to ſuſtain his Wars, without any Tallage of his poor people, *&c.*

Prelates hold one with another.

When the King heard theſe accuſations, he committed the hearing thereof to his Council, whereof the moſt part were Spiritual perſons. So, what for fear, and what for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing ſaid thereunto, and a fair countenance was made to the Duke, as though no diſpleaſure had been taken, nor malice born in theſe Spiritual ſtomachs. But ſhortly after, the ſmoke hereof not able to keep in any longer within the Spiritual breaſts of theſe charitable Church-men, braſt out in flames of miſchief. For upon the neck of this matter, as witneſſeth *Fabian*, *Polychronicon*, and *Hall* which followeth *Polychronicon*, firſt enſued the condemnation of Lady Eleanor the Dutcheſs and her Chaplains, as ye have heard before. Whereby it may appear, the ſaid Dutcheſs more of malice than of any juſt cauſe thus to have been troubled. Alſo within ſix years after followed the lamentable deſtruction of the Duke himſelf, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Malice burſt out.

Paul's Steeple ſet on fire by Lightning.

About which time, or not long after, *Anno* 1443, the Steeple of *Pauls* was ſet on fire by Lightning, and at laſt by diligent labour of helpers the fire was quenched.

Ann. 1445 The death of *Henry Chicheſly*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The building of *Alſon* College and *Barnard* College of *Oxford*.

And after the condemnation of Lady *Eleanor* the Dutcheſs aforeſaid, within few years, *Anno* 1445, followed the death of *Henry Chicheſly* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by whom ſhe was condemned in St. *Stephen*'s Chappel at *Wincheſter*, for Penance to bear a Taper through *Cheapſide* three ſundry times, and afterward Out-lawed to the *Iſle of Man*, under the cuſtody of Sir *John Standly*, Knight. This *Henry Chicheſly* builded in his time two Colleges in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the one called *Alſolne College*, the other named *Barnard College*.

Ann. 1447 The ſtory and death of *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*.

Proceeding now to the year, wherein ſuffered *Humphry* that good Duke of *Gloceſter*, which was the year of our Lord 1447, firſt we will begin in few words to intreat of his life and converſation, then of the manner and cauſe of his death. As touching the offſpring and deſcent of this Duke, firſt, he was the Son of *Henry* the fourth, Brother to King *Henry* the fifth, and Uncle to King *Henry* the ſixth, aſſigned to be the Governor and Protector of his perſon. Of manners he ſeemed meek and gentle, loving the Common-wealth, a ſupporter of the poor Commons, of wit and wiſdom, diſcreet and ſtudious, well affected to Religion, and a friend to verity, and no leſs Enemy to pride and ambition, eſpecially in haughty Prelates, which was his undoing in this preſent evil World.

Duke *Humphry* commended for his learning.

And which is ſeldom and rare in ſuch Princes of that calling, he was both learned himſelf, and no leſs given to ſtudy, and alſo a ſingular favourer and Patron to them which were ſtudious and learned. And that my commendation of him may have the more credit I will produce the Teſtimony of learned writers, who living in his time, not only do commend his famous knowledge, and ripeneſs of learning in him, but alſo commit and ſubmit their works to his Judgment to be examined. Of which writers, one is *Petrus de Monte*, writing, *De virtutum & vitiorum differentia*; who in his Epiſtle Dedicatory beginning with the ſingular commendation of this Duke, and afterward ſpeaking *De optimarum artium, librorumq; ſcientiarum peritia*, ſaith thus: *Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque ſtudio incumbis, adeò ut nihil tibi ſine librorum lectione jucundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur*, &c. And in further proceſs of his work, thus he further declareth, ſaying, *Delectaris autem non una tantum arte aut ſcientia, quanquam & id quidem eſſet ſatis; verum fere omnibus, earumque codices magna quadam aviditate legiſti*, &c. Beſides this *Petrus de Monte*, let us hear alſo the judgment of another writer of the ſame age, named *Lapiſcaſtellius*, who likewiſe Dedicating to the ſaid Duke *Humphry*, his Book intituled *Comparatio ſtudiorum & rei militaris*, Amongſt divers other words commendatory, hath theſe which follow, *Ad te potiſſimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, & ſapientiſſimum judicem fore exiſtimo, qui ut ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Bajocenſi Epiſcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidiſſimo, accepi, ita in his humanitatis ſtudiis invigilaret, ut nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus ſit*, &c. Many other arguments and places may be brought to declare what is to be eſteemed of the learning and ſtudious wit of this noble Prince.

Furthermore, As the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, ſo was the diſcreet Wiſdom and ſingular Prudence in him no leſs to be conſidered; as for the more manifeſt proof thereof I thought here good, amongſt many other his godly doings, to recite one example reported as well by the Pen of Sir *Thomas Moor*, as alſo by M. *William Tindal*, the true Apoſtle of theſe our later days, to the intent to ſee and note, not only the crafty working of falſe Miracles in the Clergy, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this high and mighty Prince, the foreſaid Duke *Humphry*, may give us the better to underſtand what Man he was. The ſtory lieth thus:

KING *Hen. 6.*

*Lapiſcaſtellius De comparatione ſtudiorum & rei militaris ad D. Humfridum.*

A falſe miracle eſpied.

In the young days of this King *Henry* the ſixth, being yet under the governance of this Duke *Humphry* his Protector, there came to St. *Albans* a certain begger with his Wife, and there was walking about the Town begging, five or ſix days before the Kings coming thither, ſaying, That he was born blind, and never ſaw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he ſhould come out of *Barwick* where he ſaid he had ever dwelled, to ſeek St. *Alban*, and that he had been at his Shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and ſeek him at ſome other place; for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince he came, That St. *Albans* body ſhould be at *Colen*; and indeed ſuch a contention hath there been. But of truth, as I am ſurely informed, he lieth here, at St. *Albans*, ſaving ſome relicks of him, which they there ſhew Shrined. But to tell you forth my tale, when the King was come, and the Town full, ſuddenly this blind Man at St. *Albans* Shrine, had his ſight again, and a miracle ſolemnly Rung, and *Te Deum* Sung, ſo that nothing was talked of in all the Town, but this miracle. So hapned it then, that Duke *Humphry* of *Gloceſter*, a Man alſo no leſs wiſe than well learned, having great joy to ſee ſuch a miracle, called the poor Man unto him; and firſt ſhewing himſelf joyous of Gods glory ſo ſhewed in the getting of his ſight, and exhorting him to meekneſs, and to nó aſcribing of any part of the worſhip to himſelf, nor to be proud of the peoples praiſe, which would call him a good and godly man thereby; at laſt, he looked well upon his Eyes, and asked whether he could ſee nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his Wife as himſelf affirmed falſly no, then he looked adviſedly upon his Eys again, and ſaid, I believe you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot ſee well yet. Yea Sir, quoth he, I thank God and his holy Martyr, I can ſee now as well as any Man. You can (quoth the Duke) What colour is my Gown? Then anon the begger told him. What colour (quoth he) is this Mans Gown? He told him alſo, and ſo forth, without any ſticking he told him the names of all the colours that could be ſhewed him. And when the Duke ſaw that, he bad him walk Traitor, and made him to be ſet openly in the ſtocks: for though he could have ſeen ſuddenly by miracle the difference between divers colours, yet could he not by the ſight ſo ſuddenly tell the names of all theſe colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the Men that he ſhould ſuddenly ſee.

Diſſimulation well punished.

*Petrus de Monte, de virtutum & vitiorum differentia, ad D. Humfridum.*

By

KING *Hen.6.*

By this may it be ſeen how Duke *Humphry* had not only an head to diſcern and diſſever truth from forged and faind Hypocriſie, but ſtudy alſo, and diligence likewiſe was in him to reform that which was amiſs.

*Commendation of Duke Humphry. The good Duke of Gloceſter.*

And thus much hitherto for the noble Proweſs and Vertues, joyned with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, ſhining in this princely Duke. For the which as he was both loved of the poor Commons, and well ſpoken of of all Men, and no leſs deſerving the ſame, being called The good Duke of *Gloceſter*; ſo neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that Houſe, which is but a vain and frivolous obſervation of *Polydore* and *Hall* which followeth him, bringing in the examples of *Hugh Spenſer*, of *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Son of King *Edward* the third, of this Duke *Humphry*, and after of King *Richard* the third, Duke likewiſe of *Gloceſter*: or whether it was, That the nature of true vertue is ſuch, that as the flame ever beareth the ſmoke, and the body his ſhadow, ſo the brightneſs of vertue never blazeth, but hath ſome diſdain or envy waiting upon it; or elſe whether it was rather for ſome divorcement from his Wife, or for ſome other vice or treſpaſs done (as ſeemeth moſt like truth) which God as well in Dukes Houſes correcteth, as in other inferior perſons, eſpecially where he loveth. But howſoever the cauſe is to us unknown, this good Duke of *Gloceſter*, albeit being both the Kings ſole Uncle, and having ſo many well-willers through the whole Realm, yet lacked not his Satan, lacked not his ſecret maligners. Of whom ſpecially was *Henry Beuford* Cardinal, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Chancellor of *England*; who, of long time diſdaining and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, firſt had diſpoſed and appointed himſelf to remove the Kings Perſon from *Eltham* unto *Windſor* out of the Dukes hands, and there to put in ſuch Governors as him lifted. After that, intending the Dukes Death, he ſet Men of Arms and Archers at the end of *London-bridge*, and fore-barring the Highway with a draw-chain, ſet Men in Chambers, Cellers and Windows with Bows and Arrows, and other Weapons, to the purpoſed deſtruction both of the Duke and his retinue, if God had not ſo diſpoſed to turn his journy another way. Beſide other manifold injuries and moleſtations, the ambitious Cardinal, ſeeking by all means to be Pope, procured ſuch trouble againſt him, that great diviſion was thereby in the whole Realm; inſomuch that all the Shops within the City of *London* were ſhut in, for fear of the favourers of theſe two great Perſonages; for each part had aſſembled no ſmall number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Quinber*, called the Prince of *Portingale*, rode ſeven times in one day between thoſe two adverſaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diviſion within the Realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet Cardinal.

*Polyd. Hiſt. lib.23. Hall in 25. Hen.6.*

*The enemies of the Duke of Gloceſter.*

*The malicious working of the Cardinal againſt the Duke of Gloceſter.*

Over and beſide this Cardinal afore-mentioned, an other capital enemy to the ſaid Duke was *William de la Pole*, firſt Earl, then Marqueſs, at laſt Duke of *Suffolk*, a Man very ill reported of in Stories, to be not only the Organ and Inſtrument of this good Mans death, but alſo to be the annoyance of the Common-wealth, and ruin of the Realm. For by him and his only device was firſt concluded the unprofitable and unhonorable Marriage between the King and Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Duke of *Angeou*; whereas the King had concluded and contracted a Marriage before with the Daughter of the Earl of *Arminick*, upon conditions ſo much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a Prince to Marry a Wife with Riches and Friends, than to take a Maid with nothing, and diſ-inherit himſelf and his Realm of old Rights, and ancient Inheritance; which ſo came to paſs. And all this the good Duke did well foreſee, and declared no leſs; but his Counſel would not be taken. Whereupon followed firſt the giving away the Dutchy of *Angeou*, and the City of *Maine*, with the whole Country of *Maine*, to *Reiner* Duke of *Angeou* and Father of the Damſel, called then King of *Sicile*, and of *Jeruſalem*, having thereof no penny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

*William de la Pool, Duke of Suffolk, the cauſe of the Duke of Gloceſter's death.*

*The unprofitable marriage between King Henry the ſixth and Queen Margaret.*

*Queen Margaret mortal enemy to the Duke of Gloceſter.*

Another ſore Enemy and mortal Plague to this Duke was the Queen her ſelf, lately before Married to the King. Who being of haughty ſtomach, and all ſet upon glory, of wit and wilineſs, lacking nothing, and perceiving her Husband to be ſimple of wit, and eaſie to be ruled, took upon her to Rule and Govern both the King and Kingdom. And becauſe the Advice and Counſel of *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſomewhat a ſtay that her Authority and Regiment could not ſo fully proceed; and partly becauſe the ſaid Duke before did diſagree from that Marriage, this manly Woman and couragious Queen ceaſed not by all imaginations and practiſes poſſible to ſet forward his deſtruction, having alſo for her helper herein the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c.

*The malice of a Woman.*

Theſe being his principal Enemies and mortal Foes, fearing leſt ſome commotion might ariſe, if ſuch a Prince ſo near the Kings blood, and ſo dear to the people, and of all Men ſo beloved, ſhould be openly executed and put to death, they deviſed how to trap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided. For the more ſpeedy furtherance whereof a Parliament was Summoned to be kept at *Bury*, *Anno* 1447, far from the Citizens of *London*, as *William Tindal* in his Book of practiſe writeth, where reſorted all the Peers of the Realm, and amongſt them the Duke of *Gloceſter*, thinking no harm to any Man, and leſs to himſelf. Who on the ſecond day of the Seſſion was by the Lord *Beamond*, High Conſtable then of *England*, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham* and other, arreſted, apprehended, and put in Ward, and upon the ſame all his ſervants diſcharged and put from him, of whom 32 of the principal, being alſo under Arreſt, were diſperſed into divers Priſons, to the great murmuring and grievance of the people. After this Arreſt thus done, and the Duke put into Ward, the night after (ſaid *Hall*, ſix nights after ſaith *Fabian* and *Polychron.*) he was found dead in his Bed, the 24th of *February*, and his body ſhewed to the Lords and Commons, as though he had been taken naturally with ſome ſuddain Diſeaſe. And although no wound in his Body could be ſeen, yet to all indifferent Perſons it might well be judged, that he died of no natural pang, but of ſome violent hand. Some ſuſpected him to be ſtrangled, ſome that a whole Spit was privily forced into his Body; ſome affirm that he was ſtifled between two Feather-beds. After the death of this Duke, and his Body being interred at St. *Albans*, after he had politickly by the ſpace of 25 years governed this Realm, five of his Houſhold, to wit, one Knight, three Eſquires, and a Yeoman, were Arraigned, and Convict to be Hanged, Drawn and Quartered. Who being Hanged and cut down half alive, the Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, there preſent, ſhewed the Charter of the Kings Pardon, and ſo they were delivered. Notwithſtanding, all this could not appeaſe the grudge of the people, ſaying, That the ſaving of the ſervants was no amends for the murthering of the Maſter.

*A ſnare to catch the Innocent.*

*Anno 1447 A Parliament at Bury.*

*The cruel death or Martyrdom of the good Duke of Gloceſter.*

In this cruel Fact of theſe perſons, which did ſo conſpire and conſent to the death of this noble Man, and which thought thereby to work their own ſafety, the marvellous works of Gods Judgment appeareth herein to be noted, who as in all other like cruel policies of Man, ſo in this alſo turned all their policies clean contrary. So that where the Queen thought moſt to preſerve her Husband in honour, and her ſelf in State, thereby both ſhe loſt her Husband, her Husband loſt his Realm, the Realm loſt *Angeou*, *Normandy*, the Dutchy of *Aquitane*, with all her parts beyond the Sea, *Calice* only except, as in the ſequel of the matter, whoſo will read the Stories, ſhall right well underſtand.

*The judgment of God upon them which perſecuted the Duke of Gloceſter.*

The next year following, it followed alſo that the Cardinal, who was the principal Artificer and Ringleader of all this miſchief, was ſuffered of God no longer to live. Of whoſe wicked conditions, being more largely ſet forth in *Edward Hall*, I omit here to ſpeak. What he himſelf ſpake on his death-bed for example to other, I thought not beſt to pretermit. Who hearing that he ſhould die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudged, wherefore he ſhould die having ſo much Riches, ſaying, That if the whole Realm would ſave his life, he was able either by Policy to get it, or by Riches to buy it; adding and ſaying moreover. Fie (quoth he) will not Death be hired? Will money do nothing? When my Nephew of *Bedford* died, I thought my ſelf half up the wheel, but when I ſaw mine other *Nephew* of *Gloceſter* deceaſed,

*Anno 1448 The death of the Cardinal and manner of the ſame.*

*The words of the Cardinal of Wincheſter at his death.*

then

then I thought my ſelf able to be equal with with Kings, and ſo thought to encreaſe my Treaſure, in hope to have worn the Triple Crown, *&c. Ex Edovar. Hallo.* And thus is the rich Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with all his Pomp and Riches, gone; with the which Riches he was able, not only to build Schools, Colleges, and Univerſities, but alſo was able to ſuſtain the Kings Armies in War (as is ſpecified in Stories) without any Taxing of the Commons.

*William Wanflet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford* builded.

In whoſe ſeat next ſucceeded *William Wanflet*, preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, who though he had leſs ſubſtance, yet having a mind more godly diſpoſed, did found and erect the College of *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford*. For the which Foundation as there have been and be yet many Students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, ſo I muſt needs confeſs my ſelf to be one, except I will be unkind.

Gods puniſhment upon the Marqueſs of *Suffolk*.

Among the other miſchievous adverſaries which ſought and wrought the death of *Humphry* Duke *Gloceſter*, next to the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* (who as is ſaid, died the next year following) was *William de la Pole*, Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, who alſo lived not long after, nor long eſcaped unpuniſhed. For although he was highly exalted, by the means of the Queen, (whoſe Marriage he only procured) unto the favour of the King, and was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole ſway in the Realm, whoſe acts and facts his vain glorious head cauſed alſo by the aſſent of the Commons to be Recorded, and ſubſtantially to be Regiſtred in the Rolls of the Parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his Poſterity for ever; yet notwithſtanding, the hand of Gods Judgment ſtill hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his Triumphant Victory. For within three years after the death and ruin of the Cardinal, the voices of the whole Commons of *England* were utterly turned againſt him, accuſing him in the Parliament at the *Black-Friers* for delivery of the Dutchy of *Angeou*, and the Earldom of *Maine*; alſo for the death of the noble Prince *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*. They imputed moreover to him the loſs of all *Normandy*, laying unto him, That he was a ſwallower up and conſumer of the Kings Treaſure, the expeller of all good and vertuous Counſellors from the King, and advancer of vitious perſons, apparent adverſaries to the publick wealth; ſo that he was called in every Mans mouth, A Traitor, a Murtherer, and a Robber of the Kings Treaſure.

The vain glory of mans heart forgeting himſelf in honour. The Commons unconſtant. The Duke of *Suffolk* accuſed by the Commons.

The Queen, albeit ſhe tenderly loved the Duke, yet to appeaſe the exclamation of the Commons, was forced to commit him to the *Tower*, where he, with as much pleaſure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired, he was delivered and reſtored again unto his old place, and former favour with the King; whereat the people more grudged than before. It hapned by the occaſion of a commotion then beginning amongſt the rude people, by one whom they called *Blewbeard*, that the Parliament was for that time adjourned to *Leiceſter*, the Queen thinking by force and rigour of Law to repreſs there the malice and evil-will conceived againſt the Duke. But at that place few of the Nobility would appear. Wherefore it was again rejourned unto *London*, and kept at *Weſtminſter*, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the King and Queen, and with them the Duke of *Suffolk* as chief Counſellor. The Commons, not forgetting the old grudge, renewed again their former Articles and Accuſations againſt the ſaid Duke, againſt the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and Sir *James Finies*, Lord *Say*, and other. When the King perceived that no gloſſing nor diſſimulation would ſerve to appeaſe the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make ſome quiet pacification, firſt, he ſequeſtred from him the Lord *Say*, Treaſurer of *England*, and other the Dukes adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of *Suffolk* for term of five years, ſuppoſing by that ſpace the furious rage of the people would aſſwage. But the hand of God would not ſuffer the guiltleſs blood of *Humfry* Duke of *Gloceſter* to be unrevenged, or the flagitious perſon further to continue. For when he was ſhipped in *Suffolk*, intending to be tranſported into *France*, he was encountred with a Ship of War belonging to the *Tower*; whereby he was taken, and brought into *Dover*-rode, and there on the one ſide of a Ship-boat, one ſtruck off his head; which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

The Duke of *Suffolk* again accuſed.

Example of Gods judgment and of blood revenged. The Duke of *Suffolk* beheaded.

And thus have ye heard the full ſtory and diſcourſe of Duke *Humphry*, and of all his adverſaries; alſo of Gods condign puniſhment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the ſaid ſtory of the foreſaid Duke, and of the proud Cardinal his enemy, I will here by the way annex a certain inſtrument, by the King and advice of his Council, made againſt the ſaid Cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this Realm as Legate from the Pope, contrary to the old Laws and cuſtoms of this Realm, as by the words of the ſaid inſtrument here in Latine may well appear.

Publicum inſtrumentum nomine Regis.

*IN Dei nomine*, Amen. *Per præſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod Anno Dom.* 1428 *Indictione ſeptima pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris, & D. noſtri D. Martini, &c.*

*Ego Richardus Candry, procurator & nomine procuratorio Chriſtianiſſimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & domini Hiberniæ, domini mei ſupremi, de conſenſu pariter & adviſamento Illuſtris & potentis Principis Humfredi Ducis Gloceſtriæ, Comitis Pembrochiæ, protectoris & defenſoris regni Angliæ & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, & cæterorum dominorum meorum de conſilio ſuæ Regiæ celſitudinis ac conſilium ejuſdem facientium & hac vice repræſentantium, dico, allego, & in his ſcriptis propono, quod dictus Chriſtianiſſimus Princeps, dominus meus ſupremus, ſuique inclytiſſimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ Reges fuerunt & ſunt, tam ſpeciali privilegio, quam conſuetudine laudabili legitimeque præſcripta, necnon a tempore & per tempus (cujus contrarii memoria hominum non exiſtit) pacifice & inconcuſſe obſervata, ſufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum ſuum Angliæ, aut alias ſuas terras & dominia, niſi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore exiſtentis vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionem, invitationem, ſeu rogatum: Fueruntque & ſunt dicti Chriſtianiſſimus Princeps dominus meus ſupremus ac ſui inclyti progenitores, hujuſmodi Reges Angliæ, in poſſeſſione quaſi juris & facti privilegii, & conſuetudinis prædictorum, abſque interruptione quacunque, toto & omni tempore ſupradicto, pacifice & quiete Romanis pontificibus, per totum tempus ſupradictum, præmiſſa omnia & ſingula audientibus, tolerantibus, & iiſdem conſentientibus tam tacite quam expreſſe, ac extra omnem & omnimodam poſſeſſionem, quaſi juris & facti, Legatum hujuſmodi (ut præfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias ſuas terras & dominia mittendi, niſi ad vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionem & rogatum Regis Angliæ pro tempore exiſtentis. Et quia reverendiſſ. in Chriſto Patri, & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia, &c. Sancti Euſebii presbyter, Cardinalis ſanctæ ſedis Romanæ, Legatum ſe affirmans, more legati, inſigniis Apoſtolicæ dignitatis utens, abſque vocatione, petitione, requiſitione, invitatione, aut rogatu Chriſtianiſſimi domini noſtri Regis prædicti, inclytum regnum Angliæ de facto eſt ingreſſus, protector igitur palam, & publice in his ſcriptis nomine & vice quibus ſupra ac omnium ipſius Domini noſtri Regis ſubditorum, quod non fuit, aut eſt intentionis præfati Chriſtianiſſ. Principis, domini mei ſupremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de conſilio, in derogationem legum, jurium, conſuetudinum, libertatum & privilegiorum dicti D. noſtri Regis ac regni, ingreſſum hujuſmodi dicti reverendiſſ. patris, ut legati in Angliam, authoritate ratificare, vel approbare, ſeu ipſum ut Legatum ſedis Apoſtolicæ in Angliam, contra leges, jura, conſuetudines, libertates & privilegia prædicta quoviſmodo admittere ſeu recognoſcere; aut exercitio legationis, ſeu hujuſmodi, aliquibuſque per ipſum ut Legatum ſedis Apoſt. actis, ſeu agendis, attentatis, ſeu attentandis adverſus præmiſſa, legis jura, conſuetudines, libertates, & privilegia, in aliquo conſentire, ſed diſſentire; ſicque diſſentit dictus dominus noſter Rex, atque diſſentiunt dicti domini mei de conſcito, per præſentes, &c.*

*The ſum and effect whereof in Engliſh in this, That in the year of our Lord* 1428, *as the King with Duke* Humphry *Lord Protector, and the reſt of the Council, were in the Dukes houſe in the Pariſh of S.* Bennets *by* Pauls-Wharf, *one* Richard Candray *Procurator, in the Kings name and behalf, did proteſt and denounce by this publick inſtrument, that*

As inſtruments by the K. againſt the admitting the Popes Legate.

KING Hen. 6. *that whereas the King and all his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of* England, *have been heretofore poſſeſſed time out of mind, with ſpecial priviledge and cuſtom uſed and obſerved in this Realm from time to time, that no Legate from the Apoſtolick See ſhould enter into this Land or any of the Kings Dominions, without the Calling, Petition, Requeſt, Invitement or Deſire of the King; and forſomuch as* Henry *Biſhop of* Winchester, *and Cardinal of St.* Euſebius, *hath preſumed ſo to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither called, ſent for, required, nor deſired by the King; therefore the ſaid* Richard Candrai *in the Kings name doth proteſt by this Inſtrument, that it proceedeth not with the Kings mind or intent, by the advice of his Council, to admit, approve, or ratifie the coming of the ſaid Legate in any wiſe, in derogation of the Rights, Cuſtoms and Laws of this his Realm; or to Recogniſe, or aſſent to any exerciſe of this his Authority Legatine, or to any Acts, Attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this reſpect, contrary to the foreſaid Laws, Rights, Cuſtoms and Liberties of this Realm, by theſe Preſents,* &c.

And thus much as an Appendix, annexed to the ſtory of Duke *Humphry*, and the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, extract out of an old written Volume, remaining in the hands of Maſter *William Bowyer*.

## *The Benefit and Invention of* PRINTING.

Ann. 1450 The Art of Printing Invented. *Ex Typographia per Matthæum Judicem.*

IN following the courſe and order of years, we find this foreſaid year of our Lord 1450, to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous inventing of Printing. *Nauclerius*, and *Wymſelingus* following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. *In Paralip. Abbatis Urſp.* it is Recorded this faculty to be found, *An.* 1446. *Aventinus* and *Zieglerus* do ſay, *Anno*, 1450. The firſt Inventor thereof (as moſt agree) is thought to be a *German*, dwelling firſt in *Argentine*, afterward Citizen of *Mentz*, named *J. Fauſtus*, a Goldſmith. The occaſion of this Invention firſt was by Engraving the Letters of the Alphabet in Metal; who then laying black Ink upon the Metal gave the form of Letters in Paper. The Man being induſtrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole ſentences, as it did in Letters. Which when he perceived to come well to paſs, he made certain other of his counſel, one *J. Guttemberg* and *P. Schafferd*, binding them by their Oath to keep ſilence for a ſeaſon. After ten years *John Guttemberg*, compartner with *Fauſtus*, began then firſt to broach the matter at *Strausbrough*. The Art, being yet but rude, in proceſs of time was ſet forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, *J. Mentel*, *J. Prus*, *Adolphus Ruſchius*, were great helpers. *Ulricus Han*, in *Latin* called *Gallus*, firſt brought it to *Rome*. Whereof the Epigram was made:

*Carmen Ant. Campari.*

*Anſer Tarpeii cuſtos, vigilando quod alis*
*Conſtrepores, Gallus decidit, ultor adeſt*
*Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poſcantur in uſum,*
*Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.*

Printing came of God.

Notwithſtanding, what Man ſoever was the Inſtrument, without all doubt God himſelf was the ordainer and diſpoſer thereof, no otherwiſe, than he was of the gift of Tongues, and that for a ſingular purpoſe. And

Printing likened to the Gift of Tongues.

well may this gift of Printing be reſembled to the gift of Tongues: for like as God then ſpake with many Tongues, and yet all that would not turn the *Jews*; ſo now, when the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh to the adverſaries in innumerable ſorts of Books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the Goſpel.

Now to conſider to what end and purpoſe the Lord hath given this gift of Printing to the Earth, and to what great utility and neceſſity it ſerveth, it is not hard to judge, who ſo wiſely perpendeth both the time of the ſending, and the ſequel which thereof enſueth.

The time conſidered when Printing was found.

And firſt, touching the time of this faculty given to the uſe of Man, this is to be marked, that when as the Biſhop of *Rome* with all the whole and full conſent of the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Priors, Lawyers, Doctors, Provoſts, Deans, Archdeacons, aſſembled together in the Council of *Conſtance*, had condemned poor *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* to death for Hereſie, notwithſtanding they were no Hereticks, and after they had ſubdued the *Bohemians* and all the whole World under the Supreme Authority of the *Romiſh* See; and had made all Chriſtian people obediencies and vaſſals unto the ſame, having (as one would ſay) all the World at their will, ſo that the matter now was paſt, not only the power of all Men, but the hope alſo of any Man to be recovered: in this very time ſo dangerous and deſperate, where Mans power could do no more, there the bleſſed Wiſdom and Omnipotent Power of the Lord began to work for his Church, not with Sword and Target to ſubdue his exalted adverſary, but with Printing, Writing and Reading to convince darkneſs by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So, that, by this means of Printing, the ſecret Operation of God hath heaped upon that proud Kingdom a double confuſion. For whereas the Biſhop of *Rome* had burned *J. Hus* before, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, who neither denied his Tranſubſtantiation, nor his Supremacy, nor yet his Popiſh Maſs, but ſaid Maſs, and heard Maſs themſelves, neither ſpake againſt his Purgatory, nor any other great matter of his Popiſh Doctrine, but only exclaimed againſt his exceſſive and pompous Pride, his unchriſtian or rather antichriſtian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickedneſs only of life to be touched, but made it Hereſie, or at leaſt matter of Death, whatſoever was ſpoken againſt his deteſtable converſation and manners, God of his ſecret Judgment, ſeeing time to help his Church, hath found a way by this faculty of Printing, not only to confound his life and converſation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but alſo to caſt down the foundation of his ſtanding, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his Doctrine, Laws and Inſtitutions moſt deteſtable in ſuch ſort, that though his life were never ſo pure, yet his Doctrine ſtanding as it doth, no Man is ſo blind but he may ſee, that either the Pope is Antichriſt, or elſe that Antichriſt is near Couſin to the Pope; And all this doth and will hereafter more and more appear by Printing.

Double confuſion upon the Pope by Printing.

The fruit and profit of Printing.

The reaſon whereof is this: for that hereby Tongues are known, Knowledge groweth, Judgment encreaſeth, Books are diſperſed, the Scripture is ſeen, the Doctors be read, Stories be opened, Times compared, Truth diſcerned, Falſhood detected, and with Finger pointed, and all (as I ſaid) through the benefit of Printing. Wherefore I ſuppoſe, that either the Pope muſt aboliſh Printing, or he muſt ſeek a new World to reign over: for elſe, as this World ſtandeth, Printing doubtleſs will aboliſh him. But the Pope, and all his College of Cardinals, muſt this underſtand, That through the Light of Printing the World beginneth now to have Eyes to ſee, and Heads to judge: He cannot walk ſo inviſible in a Net, but he will be ſpied. And although through might he ſtopped the mouth of *John Hus* before, and of *Jerome*, that they might not preach, thinking to make his Kingdom ſure: yet, in ſtead of *John Hus* and others, God hath opened the Preſs to preach, whoſe voice the Pope is never able to ſtop with all the puiſſance of his Triple Crown. By this Printing, as by the Gift of Tongues, and as by the ſingular Organ of the Holy Ghoſt, the Doctrine of the Goſpel ſoundeth to all Nations and Countries under Heaven, and what God revealeth to one Man, is diſperſed to many, and what is known in one Nation, is opened to all.

Good counſel to the Pope.

The firſt and beſt were for the Biſhop of *Rome*, by the benefit of Printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well underſtand that Printing is not ſet up for nought. To ſtrive againſt the ſtream it availeth not. What the Pope hath loſt, ſince Printing and the Preſs began to Preach, let him caſt his Counters. Firſt, When *Eraſmus* wrote, and *Frobenius* Printed, what a blow thereby was given to all Friers and Monks in the World? And who ſeeth not that the Pen of *Luther* following after *Eraſmus*, and ſet forward by writing, hath ſet the Triple Crown ſo awry on the Popes head, that it is like never to be ſet ſtraight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonſtration to lead, yet by this one argument of Printing, the Biſhop of *Rome* might underſtand the counſel and purpoſe of the Lord to work

againſt

against him, having provided such a way in Earth, that almost how many Printing Presses there be in the World, so many Block-houses there be against the high Castle of St. *Angel*; so that either the Pope must abolish Knowledge and Printing, or Printing at length will root him out. For if a Man wisely consider the hold and standing of the Pope, thus he may repute with himself, that as nothing made the Pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high Spire of his Papacy so much, as Reading, Preaching, Knowledge and Judgment; that is to say, The fruit of Printing; Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lords Blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, Tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of Men daily (no doubt) be instructed through the benefit of Printing. And though the Pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession: yet neither must he think, that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forsomuch as in those former days Books then were scarce, and also of such excessive Price, that few could attain to the Buying, fewer to the Reading and Studying thereof; which Books now by the means of this Art, are made easie unto all Men. Ye heard before, *pag.* 755, how *Nicholas Belward* bought a *New Testament* in those days for four Marks and forty Pence, whereas now the same Price will well serve forty persons with so many Books.

So preached the Vicar of *Croyden* in King *Henry* the eighth's days, at *Paul's* Cross; saying, That either we must root out Printing, or else Printing will root out us.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the Testimony of *Armachanus*, how for defect of Books and good Authors, both Universities were decaied and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging Friers, scraping all the wealth from other Priests, heaped up all Books that could be gotten, into their own Libraries; where either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good Books, when neither they which could have Books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few Prelates did abuse the blindness of those days to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God of his merciful Providence, seeing both what lacked in the Church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his Glory, gave the understanding of this excellent Art or Science of Printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the World. First, The price of all Books is diminished. Secondly, The speedy help of Reading more furthered. And Thirdly, The plenty of all good Authors enlarged; according as *Aprutinus* doth truly report:

Triple commodity by Printing.

*Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.* i.

*The Press in one day will do in Printing,*
*That none in one year can do in Writing.*

By reason whereof, as Printing of Books Ministred matter of Reading, so Reading brought Learning, Learning shewed Light, by the brightness whereof blind Ignorance was suppressed, Error detected, and finally Gods Glory with Truth of his Word advanced. This faculty of Printing was after the Invention of Guns the space of 130 years; which Invention was also found in *Germany*, *Anno* 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of Printing.

When Guns were first invented.

## *The lamentable losing of* Constantinople.

{Anno 1453} ANno 1453, *Constantinus Paleologus*, being Emperor of *Constantinople*, the 29th day of *May*, the great City of *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turk Mahometes*, after the Siege of 54 days; which Siege began in the beginning of *April*. Within the City, beside the Citizens, were but only 6000 rescuers of the *Greeks*. And 3000 of the *Venetians* and *Genues*. Against these, *Mahometes* brought an Army of 400 Thousand, collected out of the Countries and Places adjoyning near about, as out of *Grecia*, *Illyrica*, *Wallachia*, *Dardanis*, *Triballis*, *Bulganis*, out of *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Lydia*, *Cicilia*, and such other; which Places had the name yet of Christians. Thus one Neighbour for lucre sake helped to destroy another.

The losing of *Constantinople*.

{KING Hen.}

The City was compassed of the *Turks* both by the Sea and Land. *Mahometes* the *Turk* divided his Army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the City so beat the Walls and brake them down, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the City. But the valiantness of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose Duke was called *John Justinianus*, of *Genua*. But forsomuch as the assaults were great, and the number of the Christian Soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the Walls and at the Haven against such a multitude of the *Turks*, they were not able long to hold out. Beside the Armies which lay battering at the Walls, the *Turk* had upon the Sea his Navy of 250 Sail, lying upon the Haven of the City, reaching from the one side of the Havens mouth unto the other, as if a Bridge should be made from the one Bank to the other. Which Haven by the Citizens was barred with Iron Chains, whereby the *Turks* were kept out a certain space. Against which Navy 7 Ships there were of *Genua* within the Haven, and 3 of *Creta*, and certain of *Chio*, which stood against them. Also the Soldiers issuing out of the City, as occasion would serve, did manfully gainstand them, and with wilde fire set their Ships on fire, that a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the Chains being brast, and a way made, the *Turks* Navy entred the Haven, and assaulted the City; whereby the *Turk* began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardness to obtain the City. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, *Mahometes* the tyrant stood by upon an Hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the Walls and enter the Town; otherwise, if any reculled, he threatned to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his Soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the *Turks* Men, being sent by his commandment to slay them, and so they were justly served, and well payed their hire.

The tyranny of the *Turk* toward his own Men.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the City the *Turks* retique so consumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after by rage of War, it hapned *Justinian* the Duke above-named to be hurt; who notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by *Paleologus* the Emperor, not to leave his Power which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his Fort dis-furnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughty Duke hurt more with his false-heart than with force of Weapon, gave over and fled to *Chius*, where shortly after for sorrow, rather than for soreness of his wound, he died. Many of his Soldiers, seeing their Captain flee, followed after, leaving their Fort utterly destitute without defence. The *Turks*, understanding that vantage, soon brast into the City. The Emperor *Paleogolus* seeing no other way but to fly, making toward the Gate, either was slain, or else troden down with the multitude. In the which Gate Eight hundred dead Mens bodies were found and taken up.

The cowardness of Duke *Justinian*.

The City of *Constantinople* thus being got, the *Turks* sacking and ranging about the streets, houses, and corners, did put to the Sword most unmercifully whomsoever they found, both Aged and Young, Matrons, Virgins, Children and Infants, sparing none; the noble Matrons and Virgins were horribly ravished, the Goods of the City, the Treasuries in houses, the Ornaments in Churches were all sackt and spoiled, the Pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havock of the City lasted three days together, while the barbarous Souldiers murdered and rifled what them listed.

The Emperor of *Constantinople* slain.

*Constantinople* won of the *Turks*.

The bloody Victory of the *Turks*.

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days *Mahometes* the *Turk* entreth into the City, and first calling for the heads and Ancients of the City, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my Author) reported, that in the Feasts of the *Turks*, honest Matrons and Virgins, and such as were of the Kings stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their disport.

The horrible tyranny of the *Turks*.

And

{KING Hen.6.}

And this was the end of that Princely and famous City of *Conſtantinople*, beginning firſt by *Conſtantinus*, and ending alſo with *Conſtantinus*, which for the Princely Royalty thereof was named and ever honoured, from the time of the firſt *Conſtantine*, equally with the City of *Rome*, and called alſo by the name thereof *New Rome*, and alſo continued the ſpace of 1120. years. I pray God that *Old Rome* may learn of *New Rome*, to take heed and beware betime.

Conſtantinople called New Rome.

This terrible deſtruction of the City of *Conſtantinople*, the Queen of Cities, I thought here to deſcribe, not ſo much to ſet forth the Barbarous cruelty of theſe filthy Rake-hells and merciful Murderers; as ſpecially for this, that we being admoniſhed by the doleful ruine and miſery of theſe our even Chriſtened, may call to mind the plagues and miſeries deſerved, which ſeem to hang no leſs over our own heads, and thereby may learn betime to invocate and call more earneſtly upon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he for his Sons ſake will keep us, and preſerve his Church among us, and mitigate thoſe plagues and ſorrows, which we no leſs have deſerved, than theſe above minded have done before us. Chriſt grant it, Amen. *Ex Hiſt. Wittenbergica Peucer.*

A warning to all Chriſtendom by Conſtantinople.

## *The Hiſtory of* Reynol Pecock *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *afflicted and impriſoned for the Goſpel of Chriſt.*

The Story Reynold Pecock.

After the death of *Henry Chicheſley* before mentioned, next ſucceeded *John Stafford*, *Anno* 1445. who continued eight years. After him came *John Kemp*, *Anno* 2453. who ſate but three years. Then ſucceeded *Thomas Burſchere*. In the time of which Archbiſhop fell the trouble of *Reynold Pecock*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, afflicted by the Popes Prelates for his Faith and profeſſion of the Goſpel. Of this Biſhop, *Hall* alſo in his Chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment (as he termeth it) was given by the Fathers of the ſpiritualty againſt him. This man (ſaith he) began to move Queſtions not privately, but openly in the Univerſities, concerning the *Annates Peter-pence*, and other juriſdictions, and authorities pertaining to the See of *Rome*, and not only put forth the Queſtions, but declared his mind and opinion in the ſame; wherefore he was for this cauſe abjured at *Pauls* Croſs. Thus much of him writeth *Hall*. Of whom alſo recordeth *Polychronicon*, but in few words. This Biſhop, firſt of Saint *Aſaph*, then of *Chicheſter*, ſo long as Duke *Humfery* lived (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and ſafe, and alſo bold to diſpute and to write his mind, and wrote (as *Leland* recordeth) divers Books and Treatiſes. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye have heard) made away, this good Man lacking his back-ſtay, was open to his enemies, and matter ſoon found againſt him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accuſed by privy and malignant promoters unto the Archbiſhop, Letters firſt were directed down from the Archbiſhop, to cite all Men to appear that could ſay any thing againſt him. The form of which Citation here enſueth.

### The Copy of the Citation ſent by the Archbiſhop.

The Citation of the Archbiſhop: Thomas Bourcher, Firſt, Burchier.

THomas *by the permiſſion of God*, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all* England, *and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, to all and ſingular, Parſons, Vicars, Chaplains, Curates, and not Curates Clerks, and learned Men, whatſoever they be, conſtitute and ordained in any place throughout our Province of* Canterbury, *health, grace and benediction.*

*We have received a grievous complaint of our Reverend fellow Brother,* Reynold Pecock *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *containing in it, that albeit our ſaid Reverend fellow Brother, the Biſhop, delivered unto us, certain Books written by him in the* Engliſh *Tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, collected, reformed and allowed: notwithſtanding many (the examination and reformation of the ſaid Books depending and remaining before us undiſcuſſed) have openly Preached and taught at* Pauls *Croſs in* London, *and in divers other places of our Province of* Canterbury, *that our ſaid fellow Brother the Biſhop hath propounded, made and written, or cauſed to be written in the ſaid Books, certain Concluſion repugnant to the true Faith, and that he doth obſtinately hold and defend the ſame. By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the ſtate and good name and fame of the Lord* Reynold *the Biſhop, are grievouſly offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marvelouſly burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and ſeverally, and do command you, firmly enjoyning you, that openly and generally you do warn or cauſe to be warned, all and ſingular ſuch perſons, which will object any thing contrary and againſt the Concluſions of our ſaid Reverend fellow Brother the Biſhop, had or contained in his Books or Writings; that the twentieth day after ſuch monition or warning had, they do freely of their own accord appear before us and our Commiſſaries in this behalf appointed, whereſoever we ſhall then be in our City, Dioceſs, or Province of* Canterbury, *to ſpeak, propound or alledge, and affirm fully and ſufficiently in writing, whatſoever Heretical or Erroneous matter they will ſpeak, propound or object againſt the ſaid Concluſions contained in his ſaid Books; and both to ſatisfie and receive, whatſoever ſhall ſeem meet and right in this behalf by the holy inſtitution and ordinances.*

*And forſomuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and diſcuſſed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed; we charge you that by this our authority you inhibit and forbid all and every one ſo to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom alſo we by the Tenor of theſe preſents do likewiſe forbid, that during the examination of the Concluſions and Books aforeſaid, depending before us and our Commiſſaries undiſcuſſed, they do not preſume by any means, without advice and judgment, to preach, judge and affirm any thing to the prejudice or offence of the ſaid Lord* Reynold *the Biſhop: and if ſo be you do find any in this behalf gainſaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cauſe them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us our Commiſſaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their Citation, if it be a Court day, or elſe the next Court day following, whereſoever we ſhall then be, in our City, Dioceſs, or Province of* Canterbury, *to make further declaration by form of law of the cauſe of their diſobedience, and to receive ſuch puniſhment as juſtice and equity ſhall determine in their behalf; and that by our Letters you do duly certifie us or our Commiſſaries, what you have done in the Premiſſes at the day and place aforeſaid; or that he which hath ſo executed our Commandment, do ſo certifie us by his Letters. Dated at our Mannour of* Lambeth *the* 22d *day of* October, *Anno* 1457. *and in the fourth year of our Tranſlation.*

This Citation being directed, the Biſhop upon the ſummon thereof was brought, or rather came before the Judges and Biſhops unto *Lambeth*, where the foreſaid *Thomas* the Archbiſhop, with his Doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbiſhops Court. In which convention alſo the Duke of *Buckingham* was preſent, accompanied with the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, and of *Lincoln*. What were the opinions and Articles againſt him objected, after in his revocation ſhall be ſpecified. In his anſwering for himſelf, in ſuch a company of the Popes friends, albeit he could not prevail; notwithſtanding he ſtoutly defending himſelf, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning againſt power could have prevailed.

Pecock appeareth at Lambeth before the Archbiſhop.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travel extended themſelves, either to reduce him, or elſe to confound him. As here lacked no bluſtering words of terror and threatning, ſo alſo many fair flattering words and gentle perſwaſions were admixt withal. Briefly, to make a ſhort Narration of a long and buſie traverſe, here was no ſtone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to intreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrifie his mind, till at length, he being vanquiſhed and overcome by the Biſhops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation

Great labor to reduce Pecock from his opinions.

was put unto him by the Biſhops, which he ſhould declare before the people. The Copy of which his recantation here followeth.

### *The form and manner of the retractation of* Reynold Pecock.

The retractation of Biſhop Pecock.

IN the name of God, *Amen*. Before you the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord *Thomas* by the grace of God, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Legate of the Apoſtlick See, I *Reynold Pecock*, unworthy Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, do purely, willingly, ſimply, and abſolutely confeſs and acknowledge, that I in times paſt, that is to ſay, by the ſpace of theſe twenty years laſt paſt and more, have otherwiſe conceived, holden, taught and written, as touching the Sacraments, and the Articles of the Faith, than the Holy Church of *Rome*, and Univerſal Church; and alſo that I have made, written, publiſhed and ſet forth many and divers pernitious Doctrines, Books, Works, Writings, Hereſies, contrary and againſt the true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith, containing in them Errors contrary to the Catholick Faith, and eſpecially theſe Errors and Hereſies here under written.

*Ex Regiſt.*

His Articles.

1. Firſt of all, That we are not bound, by the neceſſity of Faith, to believe that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt after his death deſcended into Hell.

2. *Item*, That it is not neceſſary to ſalvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church.

3. *Item*, That it is not neceſſary to ſalvation to believe the Communion of Saints.

4. *Item*, That it is not neceſſary to ſalvation to affirm the body material in the Sacrament.

5. *Item*, That the Univerſal Church may err in matters which pertain unto Faith.

6. *Item*, That it is not neceſſary unto ſalvation to believe that which every general Council doth Univerſally ordain, approve, or determine, ſhould neceſſarily for the help of our Faith, and the ſalvation of ſouls, be approved and holden of all faithful Chriſtians.

Wherefore *I Reynold Pecock*, wretched ſinner, which have long walked in darkneſs, and now by the merciful diſpoſition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and reſtored unto the unity of our holy Mother the Church, renounce and forſake all Errors and Hereſies aforeſaid.

Notwithſtanding (godly Reader) it is not to be believed that *Pecock* did ſo give over theſe opinions, howſoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the Biſhops, that when they do ſubdue or overcome any Man, they carry him whither they liſt, as it were a young Steer by the noſe, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a Parret, that he ſhould ſpeak unto the people; not according to his own will, but after their luſt and fantaſie. Neither is it to be doubted but that this Biſhop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may eaſily be judged hereby, becauſe he was committed again to priſon, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppreſſed with privy and ſecret Tyranny, and there obtained the the crown of Martyrdom, or no.

The Articles of Reynold Pecock mentioned by Thomas Gaſcoigne. *Ex Tho. Gaſcoig. lib. de Doctrina Theolog. part. 3.*

The Dictionary of *Thomas Gaſcoigne* I have not in my hands at preſent. But if credit be to be given to ſuch as have to us alledged the Book, this we may find in the eighth Century of *John Ball*, Chapter nineteen, That the ſaid *Thomas Gaſcoigne* in his third part of his Dictionary, writing of *Reynold Pecock*, maketh declaration of his Articles, containing in them matters of ſore Hereſie. Firſt (ſaith he) *Reynold Pecock* at *Pauls* Croſs Preached openly, that the Office of a Chriſtian Prelate, chiefly above all other things, is to preach the Word of God. That Mans reaſon is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. That the uſe of the Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worſe than the uſe of the law of nature. That Biſhops which buy their admiſſions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, do ſin. That no Man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the Church of *Rome*. Alſo that the riches of Biſhops by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. *Item*, That the Apoſtles themſelves perſonally were not the makers of the *Creed*; and that in the ſame *Creed* once was not the Article, He went down to Hell. *Item*, That of the four ſenſes of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very firſt and proper ſenſe. Alſo, that he gave little eſtimation, in ſome points, to the authority of the old Doctors. *Item*, That he condemned the wilful begging of the Friers, as a thing idle and needleſs. This out of *Thomas Gaſcoigne*. *Leland* alſo, adding this moreover, ſaith, that he, not contented to follow the Catholick ſentence of the Church in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think ſoundly (as he judged it) of the Story *Euchariſt*.

KING Hen. 6

At length, for theſe and ſuch other Articles the ſaid *Reynold Pecock* was condemned for an Heretick, by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of *Roff*, *Lincoln*, and *Winche-ſter*, with other Divines moe. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was notwithſtanding detained ſtill in priſon. Where ſome ſay, that he was privily made away by death.

*R. Pecock* detained in priſon.

*Hall* addeth, that ſome ſay his opinions to be, that ſpiritual perſons by Gods law ought to have no temporal poſſeſſions. Other write, that he ſaid, that perſonal Tithes were not due by Gods Law. But whatſoever the cauſe was, he was cauſed at *Pauls* Croſs to abjure, and all his Books burnt, and he himſelf kept in his own houſe during his natural life. I marvel that *Polydore*, of his extremity of the Biſhops handling, and of his Articles, in his Hiſtory maketh no memorial. Belike it made but little for the honeſty of his great Maſter the Pope.

*Polydor* noted.

From perſecution and burning in *England* now out of the way to digreſs a little, to ſpeak of foraign matters of the Church of *Rome*; you remember before, in the later end of the Council of *Baſil*, how *Eugenius* was depoſed. Of whoſe conditions and martial affairs, how he made War againſt *Sfortia* a famous Captain of *Italy*, and what other Wars he raiſed beſide, not only in *Italy*, but alſo in *Germany*, againſt the City and Council of *Baſil*, I ſhall not need to make any long rehearſal. After his depoſition ye heard alſo how *Felix* Duke of *Savoy* was elected Pope. Whereupon another great Schiſm followed in the Church during all the life of *Eugenius*.

*Eugenius* warred againſt *Sforſtia* and divers others.

Pope *Felix*.

After his death, his next ſucceſſor was Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, who (as you before have heard) brought ſo to paſs with the Emperor *Frederick* the Third, that *Felix* was contented to renounce and reſign his Papacy to *Nicholas*, and was therefore of him afterward received to the room of Cardinal for his ſubmiſſion; and *Frederick* for his working was confirmed at *Rome* to be full Emperor and there Crowned, *An.* 1451. For Emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the Pope, are no Emperors, but only called Kings of *Romans*.

Pope *Nicholas* the 5th.

Emperors are but Kings of *Romans* before they be Crowned by the Pope.

This Pope *Nicholas* here mentioned, to get and gather great ſums of Money, appointed a Jubile in the year of our Lord 1450, at which time there reſorted a greater number of people unto *Rome*, than hath at any time before been ſeen. At which time we read in the Story of *Platina* that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourſe of people reſorting up to the mount *Vatican* to behold the Image of our Saviour, which there they had to ſhew to Pilgrims, the people being thick going too and fro between the Mount and the City, by chance a certain Mule of the Cardinals of Saint *Mark*, came by the way, by reaſon whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the Mule, there was ſuch a preaſe and throng upon that occaſion on the Bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of Men, and three Horſes were there ſtrangled, and on each ſide of the Bridge many beſides fell over into the Water, and were drowned.

*Ex Platina de vitis.*

The example of Idolatry puniſhed.

The fruit of Idolatry.

By means of which occaſion the Pope afterward cauſed the ſmall Houſes to be plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by Idolatry. *Ex Platin.*

In the time of this Pope one *Mat. Palmerius* wrote a Book *De Angelis*, for defending whereof he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at *Corna*, *An.* 1448. *Ex Tritemio.*

*Mat. Palmerius* a reputed Martyr.

After him ſucceeded *Calixtus* the Third, who amongſt divers other things ordained, both at Noon and at Even-ing the Bell to toll the Aves, as it was uſed in the Popiſh time,

Tolling of Aves.

KING Hen. 6. time, to help the Souldiers that fought againſt the *Turks*; for the which cauſe alſo he ordained the Feaſt of the Tranſiguration of the Lord, Solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences, as was *Corpus Chriſti* day.

S. *Edmund of Canterbury* Canonized. Alſo this Pope, proceeding contrary to the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, decreed that no Man ſhould appeal from the Pope to any Council. By whom alſo Saint *Edmund* of *Canterbury* with divers other, were made Saints.

Pope *Pius* the 2d. Next after this *Calixtus* ſucceeded *Pius Secundus*, otherwiſe called *Æneas Sylvius*, who wrote the two Books of Commentaries upon the Council of *Baſil* before mentioned. This *Æneas*, at the time of the writing of thoſe his Books, ſeemed to be a Man of an indifferent and tolerable Judgment and Doctrine, from the which he afterward being Pope ſeemed to decline and ſwarve, ſeeking by all means poſſible how to deface and aboliſh the Books which heretofore he had written.

Promotion choketh Religion.

### *Sentences attributed unto this* Pius.

The proverbs of *Pius*.

THe Divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by Faith, than by diſputation.

Chriſtian Faith is to be conſidered, not by what reaſon it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a covetous Man be ſatisfied with Money, nor a learned Man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poor Men in ſtead of Silver, to Noblemen in ſtead of Gold, and to Princes in ſtead of precious Stones.

An Artificial Oration moveth Fools, but not wiſe Men.

Suters in the law be as birds; the Court is the baite; the Judges be the Nets; and the Lawyers be the Fowlers.

Men are to be given to Dignities, and not Dignities to Men.

The Office of a Biſhop is heavy, but it is bleſſed to him that doth well bear it.

A Biſhop without learning may be likened to an Aſs.

An evil Phyſitian deſtroyeth bodies, but an unlearned Prieſt deſtroyeth ſouls.

Marriage of Prieſts allowed by *Æneas Sylvius*. Marriage was taken from Prieſts not without great reaſon; but with much greater reaſon it ought to be reſtored again.

The like ſentence to this he uttereth in his ſecond Book of the Council of *Baſil* before ſpecified, ſaying, Peradventure it were not the worſt, that the moſt part of Prieſts had their Wives; for many ſhould be ſaved in Prieſtly marriage, which now in unmarried Prieſthood are damned. The ſame *Pius* alſo, as *Celius* reporteth, diſſolved certain Orders of Nuns, of the Orders of Saint *Briget* and Saint *Clare*, bidding them to depart out, that they ſhould burn no more, not cover a Harlot under the Veſture of Religion.

This *Pius*, if he had brought ſo much piety and godlineſs as he brought learning unto his Popedom, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It ſhall not be impertinent here to touch, what the ſaid *Æneas*, called *Pius* the Pope, writeth touching the peace of the Church, unto *Gaſper Schlick*, the Emperors Chancellor, in his 54*th* Epiſtle.

Ex Epiſt. 54. *Pii. fecund. ad Gaſparum Schlick.*

*All Men do abhor and deteſt Schiſm. The way to remedy this evil* Charles *the* French *King hath ſhewed us both ſafe and brief, which is, that Princes or their Orators ſhould convent and aſſemble together in ſome common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongſt themſelves. To bring this to paſs, it were needful writings to be ſent again to all Kings and Princes, to ſend their Orators to* Strawesborow, *or to* Conſtance, *with their full authority, there to intreat of matters appertaining to the peace of the Church. Neither would it require ſo great expences; For aſmuch as we ſee the year before* 300 *Gilderns to be ſufficient.* Conſtantine *the Emperor beſtowed not much more in the Congregation of the Council of* Nice. *And this way could not be ſtopped; neither could the Pope or the Council withſtand it, or make excuſe, as though this might not eaſily be done without them. For why? The ſecular Princes may convent and aſſemble together, will they, nill they; and yet notwithſtanding unity may there be concluded; For he ſhall be an undoubted Pope, whom all Princes would obey. Neither do I ſee any of the Clergy ſo conſtant to death, which will ſuffer Martyrdom either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that Faith which our Princes hold; which if they would worſhip Idols, we would alſo do the ſame, and deny not only the Pope, but God alſo, if the ſecular Power ſtrain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all Faith is gone. Howſoever it be, let us all deſire and ſeek for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a Council, or by aſſembly of Princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we ſtand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a ſtone, ſo you give it me to aſſwage my hunger. Whether you call it a Council or a Conventicle, or an Aſſembly, or a Congregation or a Synagogue, that is no matter, ſo that Schiſm may be excluded, and peace eſtabliſhed.*

The Popes Clergy will not abide the fire, either for Prince or Pope.

Thus much out of the Epiſtle of *Pius*.

The breath of this peſtilent ſeat corrupteth all that ſit in it, whatſoever they were before.

By this it may appear, of what ſentence and mind this *Pius* was in the time of the Council of *Baſil*, before he was made Pope. But as our common proverb ſaith, honours change manners; ſo it happened with this *Pius*, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from what he was before. For when as before he preferred general Councils before the Pope, now being Pope, he did decree that no Man ſhould appeal from the high Biſhop of *Rome* to any general Council.

*Æneas Sylvius*, now puffed up with worldly pomp and glory, impugneth the truth which he did before both know and profeſs.

And likewiſe for Prieſts marriage, whereas before he thought it beſt to have their Wives reſtored, yet afterward he altered his mind otherwiſe, inſomuch that in his Book intreating of *Germany*, and there ſpeaking of the Noble City of *Auguſt*, by occaſion he inveighed againſt a certain Epiſtle of *Hulderick* once Biſhop of the ſaid City, written againſt the conſtitution of the ſingle life of Prieſts. Whereby it appeareth how the mind of this *Pius* was altered from that it was before. This Epiſtle of *Hulderick* is before expreſſed at large.

Diſcord between Pope *Pius* and the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

Here alſo might I touch ſomething concerning the diſcord betwixt this *Æneas Sylvius* and *Diotherus*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and what diſcord was ſtirred up in *Germany* upon the ſame between *Frederick* the *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Wittenberge*, with others; by the occaſion whereof, beſides the ſlaughter of many, the City of *Mentz*, which was free before, loſt her freedom and became ſervile.

The cauſes of the diſcord betwixt Pope *Pius* and *Diotherus* were theſe.

Firſt, Becauſe that *Diotherus* would not conſent unto him in the impoſition of certain Tallages and Taxes within his Country.

Secondly, For that *Diotherus* would not be bound unto him, requiring that the ſaid *Diotherus*, being Prince Elector, ſhould not call the other Electors together without his licence, that is, without the licence of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

And Thirdly, Becauſe *Diotherus* would not permit to the Popes Legates, to convocate his Clergy together after their own luſt. This Pope *Pius* began his See, about the year of our Lord 1458.

Anno 1458. *P. Paulus* 2. *Ex Stanilla. Ruthen. vide Cent. 8. Bal.*

After this *Pius Secundus* ſucceeded *Paulus Secundus*, a Pope wholly ſet upon his Belly and ambition, and not ſo much void of all learning, as the hater of learned Men. This *Paulus* had a Daughter begotten in fornication, becauſe he ſaw her to be had in reproach, for that ſhe was gotten in fornication, began (as the Stories report) to repent him of the Law of the ſingle life of Prieſts, and went about to reform the ſame, had not death prevented him. *Ex Staniſlao Rutheno.*

After this *Paulus* came *Sixtus* the Fourth, which builded up in *Rome* a Stews of both kinds, getting thereby no ſmall revenews and rents unto the Church of *Rome*. This Pope amongſt his other Acts reduced the year of Jubile from the fiftieth unto the twenty fifth. He alſo inſtituted the Feaſt of the conception, and the preſentation of *Mary* and of *Anna* her Mother, and *Joſeph*. Alſo he Canonized *Bonaventure* and Saint *Francis* for Saints.

The Feaſt of the conception and preſervation of our Lady. Beads brought in.

By this *Sixtus* alſo were Beads brought in, and inſtituted to make our Ladies *Pſalter*, through the occaſion of one *Alanus* and his Order, whom *Baptiſta* maketh mention of in this verſe, *Hi filo inſertis numerant ſua murmura Baccis.* That is, Theſe men putting their Beads upon a ſtring, number their Prayers. This *Sixtus* the Pope made two and thrity Cardinals in his time, of whom *Petrus Ruerius* was the firſt, who for that time that he was Cardinal, which was but two years, ſpent in luxurious Riot,

*Wesellus Groningensis* The Pope licenseth the whole family of a certain Cardinal to play the *Sodomites* three Months in the year.

wasted and consumed two hundred thousand Florens, and was left 60000. in debt. *Wesellus Groningensis*, in a certain Treatise of his *de indulgentiis papalibus*, writing of this Pope *Sixtus*, reporteth this, That at the request of the foresaid *Peter* Cardinal, and of *Hierom* his Brother, the said Pope *Sixtus* permitted and granted unto the whole Family of the Cardinal of Saint *Lucy*, in the three hot Months of Summer, *June*, *July*, and *August* (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leave and liberty to use Sodomitry, with this clause, *Fiat ut Petitur*, That is, Be it as it is asked.

Pope *Innocentius* the Eighth. Eight Men and six Women condemned of Heresie by Pope *Innocentius* the Eighth.

Next after this *Sixtus* came *Innocentius* the Eighth, as rude, and as far from all learning, as his Predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble Facts of this Pope this was one, that in the Town of *Polus apud Equicolos*, he caused eight Men and six Women, with the Lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for Hereticks, because that they said none of them was the Vicar of Christ which come after *Peter*, but they only which followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of Heresie, *George* the King of *Boheme*, and deprived him of his Dignity and also of his Kingdom, and procured his whole stock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his Kingdom to *Matthias* King of *Pannonia*

*George* King of *Boheme* condemned of Heresie.

Now from the Popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the Emperors incident to this time, which matters and grievances of the *Garmans*, and also other Princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the overthrow of this King *Henry* and his Seat, now following to be shewed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business in a short Narration, here is to be remembred, which partly before was signified, how after the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the King and his Realm. For after the giving away of *Angeou* and *Main*, to the *French-men*, by the unfortunate Marriage of Queen *Margaret* above mentioned, the said *French-men*, perceiving now by the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, the stay and pillar of this Common-wealth to be decayed, and seeing moreover the Hearts of the Nobility amongst themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into *Normandy*, and in short time they recovered the same, and also gat *Gascoine*, so that no more now remained to *England* of all the parts beyond the Sea, but only *Calis*. Neither yet did all the calamity of the Realm only rest in this: For the King now having lost his friendly Uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, which had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldned to set upon him; as appeared first by *Jack Cade* the *Kentish* Captain, who, encamping first on *Blackheath*, afterward aspired to *London*, and had the spoil thereof, the King being driven into *Warwickshire*. After the suppressing of *Cade*, ensued not long after the Duke of *York*, who, being accompanied with three Earls, set upon the King near to Saint *Albans*, where the King was taken in the field captive, and the Duke of *York* was by Parliament declared Protector, which was in the year of our Lord 1453. After this followed long division and mortal War between the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, continuing many years. At length about the year of our Lord 1459, the Duke of *York* was slain in Battel by the Queen near to the Town of *Wakefield*, and with him also his Son Earl of *Rutland*. By the which Queen also shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the Earl of *Warwick*, and Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom the keeping of the King was committed by the Duke of *York*, and so the Queen again delivered her Husband.

Mischiefs to *England* after the death of the Duke of *Glocester*. *Angeou*, *Main*, *Normandy* and *Gascoine*, recovered of the *Frenchmen*.

*Jake Cade.*

The Duke of *York* against Kiffs *Henry.*

{Anno 1459.}

After this Victory obtained, the *Northern* Men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob Churches, and religious Houses, and Villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their Lords and Captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the City of *London*, and to take the spoil thereof; and no doubt (saith my History) would have proceeded in their conceived greedy intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy. For as these michiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the Noble Prince *Edward* unto *London* with a mighty Army,

The *Northern* Men intended the subversion of *London*. *Ex historia manuscripta, cui titulus, Scala mundi.*

the seven and twentieth day of *February*, who was the Son and Heir to the Duke of *York* above mentioned, accompanyed with the Earl of *Warwick*, and divers more. King *Henry* in the mean time, with his Victory, went up to *York*; when as *Edward* being at *London*, caused there to be proclaimed certain Articles concerning his Title to the Crown of *England*, which was the second day of *March*.

{KING 1 Hen. 6.}

*London* rescued by Prince *Edward.*

Whereupon the next day following, the Lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said Articles were propounded, and also well approved. The fourth day of the said Month of *March*, after a solemn general procession (according to the blind superstition of those days) the Bishop of *Exceter* made a Sermon at *Pauls* Cross, wherein he commended and proved by manifold evidences, the Title of Prince *Edward* to be just and lawful, answering the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

{Ann. 1461.} The title of *Edward* to the Crown proved at *Pauls* Cross.

This matter being thus discussed, Prince *Edward*, accompanied with the Lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to *Westminster* Hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the Lords, as also by the voice of all the Commons, took his possession of the Crown, and was called King *Edward* the Fourth.

King *Edward* takes possession of the Crown.

These things thus accomplished at *London*, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of Money sufficiently being ministred of the people and Commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his Wars; he with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Fauconbridge*, in all speedy wise took his journey toward King *Henry*; who now being at *York*, and forsaken of the *Londoners*, had all his refuge only reposed in the *Northern* Men.

When King *Edward* with his Army had passed over the River of *Trent*, and was come near to *Ferebridge*, where also the Host of King *Henry* was not far off, upon *Palm-Sunday*, between *Ferebridge* and *Tadcaster*, both the Armies of the *Southern* and *Northern* Men joyned together in Battel. And although at the first beginning divers Horsemen of King *Edwards* side turned their backs, and spoiled the King of Carriage and Victuals; yet the couragious Prince with his Captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries. The which Battel on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, beside Men of name, 30000 of the poor Commons. Notwithstanding, the Conquest fell on King *Edwards* part, so that King *Henry* having lost all, was forced to flie into *Scotland*, where also he gave up to the *Scots* the Town of *Barwick*, after he had Reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

The fierce and cruel battel between King *Henry* the sixth, and King *Edward* the fourth.

King *Henry* the sixth conquered.

*Barwick* given to the *Scots*, by King *Henry* the sixth.

The claim and title of the Duke of *York*, and after him of *Edward* his Son, put up to the Lords and Commons, whereby they challenged the Crown to the House of *York*, is thus in the Story of *Scala mundi*, word for word, as hereunder is contained.

## The Title of the House of *York* to the Crown of *England.*

The Title of the house of *York.*

EDward *the Third*, *right King of* England, *had Issue*, *First*, *Prince* Edward. *Secondly*, William Hatfield. *Thirdly*, Lionel. *Fourthly*, John *of* Gaunt, *&c. Prince* Edward *had* Richard *the Second*, *which died without Issue.* William Hatfield *died without Issue.* Lionel *Duke of* Clarence *had Issue lawfully begot*, Philip, *his only Daughter and Heir*; *the which was lawfully coupled to* Edmund Mortimer, *Earl of* March, *and had Issue lawfully begot*, Roger Mortimer *Earl of* March, *and Heir*; *Which* Roger *had Issue*, Edmund *Earl of* March, Roger, Anne, *and* Alienor; Edmund *and* Alienor *died without Issue, and the said* Anne, *by lawful Matrimony was coupled unto* Richard *Earl of* Cambridge, *the Son of* Edmund *of* Langley, *who had Issue and lawfully bare* Richard Plantagenet *now Duke of* York; John *of* Gaunt *gat* Henry, *which unrightfully intreated King* Richard, *then being alive* Edmund Mortimer *Earl of* March, *Son of the said* Philip, *Daughter to* Lionel. *To the which* Richard *Duke of* York *and Son to* Anne, *Daughter to* Roger Mortimer

KING Edw. 4. timer *Earl of* March, *Son and Heir to the said* Philip, *Daughter and Heir to the said* Lionel, *the third Son of King* Edward *the Third, the right and dignity of the Crown, appertained and belonged, afore any Issue of the said* John *of* Gaunt. *Notwithstanding, the said Title of Dignity of the said* Richard *of* York, *the said* Richard *desiring the wealth, rest and prosperity of* England, *agreeth and consenteth that* Henry *the Sixth should be had and taken for King of* England *during his natural life, from this time without hurt of his title.*

*Whereupon the King understanding the said Title of the said Duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the Parliament, and by the authority of the same Parliament declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful and true, and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and repute th the said* Richard *of* York *very true and rightful Heir to the Crown of* England *and* France; *and that all other Statutes and Acts made by any of the late* Henries, *contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The King agreed and consented that the said Duke and his Heirs should after his natural life enjoy the Crown,* &c. *Also, that all sayings and doings against the Duke of* York, *shall be high Treason, and all Acts of Parliaments contrary to this principal Act be void and of none effect,* &c.

*Ex Scala mundi.*

And thus much for the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, who now lacked his Uncle and Protector, Duke of *Gloucester*, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

*Leaden-Hall builded.* In the time of this King was builded the House in *London* called *Leaden-Hall*, founded by one *Simon Eyre*, Maior once of the said City of *London*, *An.* 1445.

*The Standard in Cheap.* Also the Standard in *Cheap* builded by *John Wells An.* 1442. *The Conduit in Fleetstreet.* the Conduit in *Fleetstreet* by *William Eastfield*, *Anno* 1438. *Newgate builded.* *Item, Newgate* builded by the goods of *Richard Whittington*, *An.* 1422.

*The College of Eaton and the Kings College in Cambridge founded.* Moreover the said *Henry* the Sixth founded the College of *Eaton*, and another house, having then the title of St. *Nicholas*, in *Cambridge*, now called the Kings College. *Ex Scala mundi.*

In the Reign of this *Henry* the Sixth, it is not to be passed over in silence which we find noted in the Parliament Rolls, how that *Lewis* Archbishop of *Rhoan*, after the death of the late Bishop of *Ely*, had granted unto him by the Popes Bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said Bishoprick, by the name of the administrator of the said Bishoprick. *Lewis* the foresaid Archbishop sheweth his Bulls to the King, who utterly rejected his Bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in *France*, the King granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents, at the petition of the said *Lewis*, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were Bishop, touching profits, liberties and hability.

*The King rejecteth the Popes Bulls.*

*Ex vitupe cod. sui in stitium, Nomina custodum &c. Et ex Fabiano.* Neither again is here to be overpast a certain Tragical act done between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* of a false *Briton*, *Anno* 1427. which murdered a good Widow in her Bed (who had brought him up of Alms, without *Algat* in the Suburbs of *London*) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he took succour of Holy Church at St. *Georges* in *Southwark*; but at the last he took the Cross and forswore the Kings Land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and Women of the same Parish came out with Stones and Channel-dung, and there made an end of him in the High-street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the Constables and other Men also which had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

*Example of Gods rod and judgment.*

## *King* Edward *the Fourth.*

ANNO 1461. *King Edward the Fourth.* King *Edward*, after his Conquest and Victory atchieved against King *Henry*, returned again to *London*, where, upon Vigil of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, being on *Sunday*, he was Crowned King of *England*, and Reigned twenty two years, albeit not without great disquietness, and much perturbation in his Reign.

*Queen Margaret fled the Land.* Queen *Margaret*, hearing how her Husband was fled into *Scotland*, was also faign to flie the Land, and went to her Father Duke of *Angeou*; from whence the next year following she returned again to renew War against King *Edward*, with small succor and less luck. For being encountred by the Earl of *Warwick*, about *November* she was driven to the Seas again, and by tempest of weather she was driven into *Scotland*.

ANN. 1462. *K. Edward sitteth his own person in the Kings Bench judging.* In this year we read that King *Edward*, in the cause of a certain Widow for rape, sate in his own person in *Westminster-Hall* upon his own Bench, discussing her cause. *Ex Scala mundi.*

ANN. 1463. *King Henry the sixth again repulsed in the battel of Exham.* The year following, King *Henry*, issuing out of *Scotland* with a sufficient power of *Scots* and *Frenchmen*, came into the *North* Country to recover the Crown, unto whom the Lord *Radulph Percy*, and Lord *Radulph Gray* flying from King *Edward*, did adjoyn themselves: But the Lord so disposing, King *Henry* with his power was repulsed in battel at *Exham* by the Lord *Mountecute*, having then the rule of the *North*; where the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Ros*, with certain other were taken. The Lord *Radulph Percy* was slain, the residue fled, Albeit the History of *Scala mundi*, referreth this battel to the year 1464. the 15*th* day of *May*. In the which Month of *May* were beheaded the Duke of *Somerset*, Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Ros*, Lord *Philip Wentworth*, Lord *Thomas Hussy*, Lord *Tho. Findern*, beside Twenty one other belonging to the retinue and houshold of King *Henry* the Sixth. Queen *Margaret*, finding no resting place here in *England*, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own Country to drink that Drink, which she her self had brewed here in *England*.

*K. Henry 6th taken, arrested, and committed to the Tower.* And not long after, the next year, *An.* 1465. on the day of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, King *Henry* being found and known in a Wood by one *Cantlow* (as they say) was arrested by the Earl of *Warwick*, and at last, of a King made prisoner in the Tower of *London*.

ANNO. 1466. In this mean time, King *Edward* (after the motion of Marriage for him being made; and first the Lady *Margaret* Sister to *James* the fourth King of *Scots* thought upon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Henry* King of *Castile*, being intended; but she being under age, the Earl of *Warwick* turning then his legation and voyage to the *French* King *Lewes* the eleventh, to obtain Lady *Bona*, Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to *Carlot* the *French* Queen, and obtained the same) had cast favour unto one *Elizabeth Grey*, Widow of Sir *John Grey* Knight, slain before in the battel of St. *Albans*, Daughter to the Dutches of *Bedford*, and Lord *Rivers*, and first went about to have her to his Concubine. But she as being unworthy (as she said) to be the Wife of such an high Personage, so thinking her self to be too good to be his Concubine, in such sort wan the Kings heart, that incontinent before the return of the Earl of *Warwick*, he married her; at the which marriage were no mo than only the Dutches of *Bedford*, two Gentlewomen, the Priest and Clerk. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the King, much bloodshed to the Realm, undoing almost to all her Kindred, and finally confusion to King *Edwards* two Sons, which both were declared afterward to be Bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the King, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the King, and to put him beside his Cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spie a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two Brethren, to wit, the Marquess *Mountecute*, and the Archbishop of *York*, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove a far off the mind of the Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edwards* Brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his Daughter in Marriage.

*The King sudden marriage with Queen Elizabeth.*

*The first falling out between King Edward and the Earl of Warwick.*

*Conspiracy against King Edward.*

This matter being thus prepared against the King, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the *North* Country. Where the *Northern* Men in short space gathering themselves in an open Rebellion, and finding

Captains of their wicked purpoſe, came down from *York* toward *London*. Againſt whom was appointed by the King, *W.* Lord *Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Lord *Stafford*, and certain other Captains to encounter. The *Yorkſhire* men giving the Overthrow firſt to the Lord *Stafford*, then to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Company of *Welchmen* at *Banbury* Field, at laſt joyning together with the Army of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, in the dead of the night ſecretly ſtealing on the Kings Field at *Wolney* by *Warwick*, killed the Watch, and took the King Priſoner, who firſt being in the Caſtle of *Warwick*, then was conveyed by night to *Midleham* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, under the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *York*, where he having looſe keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas* of *Borough*, and other his Friends, was too good for his Keepers, and eſcaped the hands of his Enemies, and ſo came to *York*, where he was well received; from thence to *Lancaſter*, where he met with the Lord *Haſting* his Chamberlain, well accompanied, by whoſe help he came ſafe to *London*.

*King Edward taken Priſoner by the Earl of Warwick.*

After this tumult, when Reconciliation could not come to perfect Peace and Unity, although much labour was made by the Nobility, the Earl of *Warwick* raiſeth up a new War in *Lincolnſhire*, the Captain whereof was Sir *Robert Wells* Knight, who ſhortly after being taken in battel with his Father, and Sir *Thomas Duncock*, were beheaded, the reſidue caſting away their Coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the Field, called *Lofecoat-Field*.

*The Rebellion in Lincolnſhire repreſſed.*

The Earl of *Warwick* after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of *England*, *Anno* 1470. firſt to *Calice*, then to *Lewis* the *French* King, accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence*. The fame of the Earl of *Warwick* and of his famous Acts was at that time in great admiration above meaſure, and ſo highly favoured, that both in *England* and *France* all men were glad to behold his Perſonage. Wherefore the coming of this Earl, and of the Duke of *Clarence*, was not a little grateful to the *French* King, and no leſs opportune to Queen *Margaret*, King *Henries* Wife, and Prince *Edward* her Son, who alſo came to the *French* Court to meet and confer together touching their Affairs; where a League between them was concluded, and moreover a marriage between *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and *Anne* the ſecond Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick* was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the Earls part, beſide the large Offers and great Promiſes made by the *French* King, on the beſt manner to ſet forward their purpoſe, the Earl having alſo intelligence by Letters, that the hearts almoſt of all men went with him, and longed ſore for his preſence, ſo that there lacked now but only haſte with all ſpeed poſſible to return; he with the Duke of *Clarence*, well fortified with the *French* Navy, ſet forward toward *England*; for ſo was it between them before decreed, that they two ſhould prove the firſt venture, and then Queen *Margaret*, with Prince *Edward* her Son, ſhould follow after. The arrival of the Earl was not ſoon heard of at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*, but great concourſe of people by thouſands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him; who immediately made Proclamation in the name of King *Henry* the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear Armor, to prepare themſelves to fight againſt *Edward* Duke of *York*, Uſurper of the Crown. Here lacked no friends, ſtrength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for ſuch a matter.

*The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence flee into France.*

*The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence return into England.*

*The receiving of the Earl of Warwick into England.*

*King Henry again proclaimed King.*

When King *Edward* (who before not paſſing for the matter, nor ſeeking how either to have ſtopped his landing, or elſe ſtraightways to have encountred with him, before the gathering of his Friends, but paſſing forth the time in Hunting, in Hawking, in all Pleaſure and Dalliance) had knowledge what great reſort of multitudes inceſſantly more repaired and more daily about the Earl and the Duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late. Who truſting too much to his Friends, and Fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconſtant thing the people is, and eſpecially here of *England*, whoſe nature is never to be content long with the preſent ſtate, but always delighting in News, ſeeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which ſtandeth, or elſe pitying that which is fallen. Which inconſtant mutability of the light people, changing with the Wind, and wavering with the Reed, did well appear in the courſe of this Kings ſtory. For he, through the favour of the people when he was down, was exalted; now being exalted of the ſame was forſaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all Princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and ſtable; ſo there is no truſt nor aſſurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promiſes of his Word, only in Chriſt his Son, whoſe only Kingdom ſhall never have end, nor is ſubject to any mutation.

*The inconſtant levity of the people of England.*

Theſe things thus paſſing on in *England* on the Earls ſide againſt King *Edward*, he accompanied with the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, and the Lord *Haſtings*, who had married the Earl of *Warwicks* Siſter, and yet was never untrue to the King his Maſter; and the Lord *Scales*, Brother to the Queen, ſent abroad to all his truſty Friends for furniture of able Souldiers for defence of his perſon, to withſtand his Enemies. When little reſcue and few in effect would come, the King himſelf ſo deſtitute, departed to *Lincolnſhire*, where he perceiving his Enemies daily to increaſe upon him, and all the Countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and ſinging Songs crying, *King Henry, King Henry, a Warwick a Warwick*, and hearing moreover his Enemies the *Lancaſtrians* to be within half a days journey of him, was adviſed by his Friends to fly over the Sea to the Duke of *Burgoyne*, which not long before had married King *Edwards* Siſter.

*The conſtant heart and truth of the Lord Haſtings.*

*King Edward forſaken of his people in his need.*

*The weak ſtate of King Edward.*

Here might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, peradventure that King *Edward*, as he had in his hands the life of King *Henry*, of his Queen and Prince, ſo if he had diſpatched them out of the way, when as he might, he had not fallen into this miſery: but becauſe he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reaſon gave him, therefore that ſparing pity of his, turned now to his confuſion and ruine. And certes I ſuppoſe no leſs, but if the ſame caſe had faln in theſe our pitileſs days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almoſt forgotten, the occaſion of ſuch a time ſhould not be ſo neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly ſimplicity always in the end of things gaineth more than mans policy, forſomuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

*Whether godly ſimplicity, or mans policy be ſtronger.*

And ſo far is it off, that event and ſucceſs of things governed by mans adviſed policy, or unadviſed affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flouriſheth in man, than that which is caſt down in the Lord; as in the double caſe of both theſe Kings may well appear. And firſt let us conſider the caſe of King *Edward*, who, being ſo beſet and compaſſed with evils and diſtreſſes on every ſide, firſt was compelled to take the *Waſhes* between *Lincolnſhire* and *Linne* (which was no leſs dangerous to his life, than it was unſeemly for his ſtate.) Being come to *Linne*, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the Townſmen, if he had been known to his Enemies? And how could he be but known, if had tarried any ſpace? But though men and friends forſook him, yet the mercy of God, not forſaking the life of him which ſhewed mercy unto other, ſo provided, that at the ſame preſent there was an *Engliſh* Ship, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to their journey. Thus King *Edward* without proviſion, without bag or baggage, without cloth-ſack or mail, without ſtore of money, without raiment, ſave only apparel for War; alſo without all friends, except only his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Scales*, and Lord *Haſtings*; with a few other truſty friends, to the number of ſeven or eight hundred perſons, took Shipping toward *Holland*; at which time he was in no leſs jeopardy almoſt on the Sea, than he was on the Land. For certain *Eaſterlings* having many Ships of War, which lay roving the ſame time on the Sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the *Engliſh* Merchants as to the *French* Nation, ſpying the Kings Ship, with ſeven or eight gallant Ships, made Sail after the King and his Company. The Kings Ship was good of Saile, and gate ſome ground, albeit not much, of the *Eaſterlings*, that ſhe came to the Coaſt of *Holland* before *Alquemare*, and there caſt Anker; for otherwiſe, being an ebbing-water, they could not enter the Haven. The *Eaſterlings* with their great Ships approached as near as they could poſſibly come for the low water, purpoſing at the Flood to obtain their prey, and ſo were like to do, if the Lord had not there alſo pro-

*The double caſe of theſe two Kings conſidered.*

*King Edward taketh the Waſhes.*

*God provideth.*

*King Edward taketh Shipping.*

*King Edward near taken of the Eaſterlings.*

KING Edw 4

provided *Mounſieur de Grounture*, Governor for Duke *Charles* in *Holland*, at that ſeaſon to be perſonally preſent in the Town of *Alquemare*, who, hearing of the Jeopardy of the King being there at Anker, prohibited the *Eaſterlings*, on pain of death, to meddle with any *Engliſhmen*, which were the Dukes Friends and Allies.

God again providèth.

King *Edward* delivered from the *Eaſterlings*.

Thus King *Edward* well chaſtiſed of God for his wantonneſs, both by Sea and Land, but not utterly given over from his protection, eſcaping ſo many hard chances, was ſet on land with his company; who there well refreſhed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to *Hage*.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne, King Edwards Brother in law.

Duke *Charles*, at the hearing of the unproſperous caſe and condition of King *Edward* his Brother in law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himſelf, much caſting and doubting what he ſhould do. For being then in war with the *French* King, he could not well provoke the *Engliſh* Nation againſt him, without his manifeſt grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great ſhame and obloquie, leave the King his Brother in that neceſſity. Notwithſtanding, ſo he demeaned himſelf through fair ſpeech, pretending to the *Engliſhmen* to joyn part with the houſe of *Lancaſter*, being himſelf partly deſcended of the ſame Family by his Grandmothers ſide; that he both was his own Friend openly, and the Kings Friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tydings was ſpread in *England* of King *Edwards* flying, innumerable people of all hands reſorted to the Earl of *Warwick*, to take his part againſt King *Edward*, a few only except of his conſtant Friends which took Sanctuary. Amongſt whom was alſo *Elizabeth* his wife, who, deſperate almoſt of all comfort, took alſo Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe in great penury forſaken was delivered of a fair Son called *Edward*, which without all pomp was baptized like another poor womans Child, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, the Godmother was the Lady *Scroope*.

Queen Elizabeth taketh Sanctuary.

Prince Edward born in Sanctuary

To make the ſtory ſhort, the Earl of *Warwick* having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of *October* rode to the *Tower*, which was then delivered to him, and there took King *Henry* out of the Ward, and placed him in the Kings Lodging. The next and twentieth day of the ſame month, the Duke of *Clarence* accompanied with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Shrewſbury*, and the Lord *Stanley*, with a great company, brought him in a long Gown of *blew Velvet* through the high Streets of *London*, firſt to *Pauls* Church to offer, then to the Biſhops Palace of *London*, and there he reſumed again to the Crown Royal, *Anno* 1471. which he did not long enjoy.

King Henry the Sixth brought out of the Tower.

King Henry reſtored again to his Kingdom.

After this followed a Parliament, in the which King *Edward* with all his Partakers were judged Traytors. Queen *Margaret* with her Son Prince *Edward*, all this while was tarrying for a fair Wind, thinking long belike till ſhe came to an evil Bargain, as it proved after. For King *Edward* within ſix months after his departure out of *England* unto the Duke of *Burgoyne*, whether by Letters from his Friends ſollicitate, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made inſtant ſuit to Duke *Charles* his Brother, to reſcue him with ſuch Power as he would beſtow upon him; for he was fully reſolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time no longer.

King *Edward* returneth again into *England*.

The Duke camped in double fear in ſuch a dangerous caſe, notwithſtanding overcome by nature and affinity, ſecretly cauſed to be delivered to him 50000 *Florence*, and further cauſed four great Ships to be appointed for him in a Haven in *Zeland*, where it was free for all men to come. Alſo the ſame Duke had for him hired fourteen Ships of the *Eaſterlings* well appointed, taking bond of them to ſerve him truly till he were landed in *England*, and fifteen days after.

King Edward only with 3000 Souldiers cometh to Ravenſpur, Yenſport.

Thus King *Edward* being furniſhed but only with two thouſand men of War, with more luck than hope to ſpeed, ſped his Voyage into *England*, and landed at *Ravenſpur* in the Coaſt of *Yorkſhire*. Although there was no way for the King with ſuch a ſmall Company of Souldiers to do any good, yet, to uſe policy where ſtrength did lack, firſt he ſent forth certain light horſemen to prove the Country on every ſide, with perſwaſions, to ſee whether the *Uplandiſh* people would be ſtirred to take King *Edwards* part. Perceiving that it would not be, King *Edward* flieth to his ſhifts, diſſembling his purpoſe to be, not to claim the Crown and Kingdom, but only to claim the Dutchy of *York*, which was his own Title, and cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed. This being notified to the people, that he deſired no more but only his juſt Patrimony and lineal Inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compaſſion towards him, either to favour him or not to reſiſt him; and ſo journeying toward *York*, he came to *Beverley*. The Marquiſs *Mountacute*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, was then at *Pomfret*, to whom the Earl had ſent ſtraight charge, with all expedition to ſet upon him, or elſe to ſtop his paſſage; and likewiſe to the Citizens of *York* and all *Yorkſhire*, to ſhut their Gates and take Armor againſt him. King *Edward* being in theſe ſtraits, proceeded notwithſtanding near to *York* without reſiſtance, where he required of the Citizens to be admitted into their City. But ſo ſtood the caſe then, that they durſt not grant unto him, but on the contrary ſent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own ſafeguard. The deſolate King was here driven to a narrow ſtrait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the Country and loſs of his cauſe: neither could go further, for the preſent danger of the City. Wherefore uſing the ſame policy as before, with lovely words and gentle ſpeech he deſired the Meſſengers to declare unto the Citizens, that his coming was not to demand the Realm of *England*, or the Title of the ſame, but only the Dutchy of *York*, his old Inheritance; and therefore determined to ſet forward, neither with Army nor Weapon. The Meſſengers were not ſo ſoon within the Gates, but he was at the Gates in a manner as ſoon as they.

King Edward cometh to York.

King Edward repelled by the Citizens of York.

King Edward changeth his Title.

The gentle and fair words of King Edward.

The Citizens hearing his courteous Anſwer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the King, nor of the Realm, were ſomething mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the Walls, willing him to withdraw his Power to ſome other place, and they ſhould be the more ready to aid him, at leaſt he ſhould have no damage by them.

Notwithſtanding he again uſed ſuch lowly Language, and delivered ſo fair ſpeech unto them, intreating them ſo courteouſly, and ſaluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own Town; whereof he had the name and title, that at length the Citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly alſo enticed with fair and large promiſes, fell to this convention, that if he would ſwear to be true to King *Henry*, and gentle in entertaining his Citizens, they would receive him into the City.

Two conditions put to King Edward.

This being concluded, the next morning at the entring of the Gate, a Prieſt was ready to ſay Maſs, in the which after the receiving of the Sacrament the King received a ſolemn Oath to obſerve the two Articles afore agreed. By reaſon of which ſo raſhly made, and as ſhortly broken, and not long after puniſhed (as it may well be thought) in his poſterity, he obtained the City of *York*. Where he, in ſhort time forgetting his Oath, to make all ſure, ſet in Garriſons of armed Souldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no ſtir to be made againſt him, he thought to foreſlack no opportunity of time, and ſo made forward toward *London*, leaving by the way the Marquiſs *Mountacute*, which lay then with his Army at *Pomfret*, on the right hand, not fully four miles diſtant from his Camp: and ſo returning to the high-way again, he went forward without any ſtirring to the Town of *Nottingham*; where came to him Sir *William Parre*, Sir *Thomas* of *Borough*, Sir *Thomas Mountgomery*, and divers elſe of his aſſured Friends, with their Aids, which cauſed him by a Proclamation to ſtand to his own Title of King *Edward* the Fourth, ſaying, *That they would ſerve no man but a King:* At the ſame hereof being blown abroad as the Citizens of *York* were not a little offended (and that worthily) ſo from other Towns and Cities, Lords and Noble men began to fall unto him, thinking with themſelves that the Marquiſs *Mountacute* either favoured his Cauſe, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howſoever it was, King *Edward*, being now more fully furniſhed at all points, came to the Town of *Leiceſter*, and there hearing that the Earl of *Warwick*, accompanied with the Earl of *Oxford* were together at *Warwick* with a great Power, minding to ſet on the Earl, he removed from thence his Army, hoping to give him battel. The Duke of *Clarence* in

King Edward put to his Oath.

Victory got by perjury puniſhed at length in Poſterity.

King Edward ſafely cometh to Nottingham.

King Edwards Friends reſort unto him.

King Edward reſumeth the name of a King.

King Edward cometh to Leiceſter.

The diſſembling policie of King Edward.

in the mean time about *London* had levied a great Hoſt coming toward the Earl of *Warwick*, as he was by the Earl appointed. But when the Earl ſaw the Duke to linger the time, he began to ſuſpect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his Brethrens part. The King advancing forward his Hoſt, came to *Warwick*, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward *Coventry*, where the Earl was; unto whom the next day after he boldly offered battel. But the Earl, expecting the Duke of *Clarence* his coming, kept him within the Walls. All this made for the King. For he hearing that his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* was not far off, coming toward him with a great Army, raiſed his Camp, and made toward him, either to entreat or elſe to encounter with his Brother. When each Hoſt was in ſight of the other, Richard Duke of *Gloceſter*, Brother to them both, as Arbiter between them, firſt rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain. But hereby both the Brethren, laying all Army and weapon aſide, firſt lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joyned together. And that fraternal Amity by Proclamation alſo was ratified, and put out of all ſuſpition.

King *Edward* cometh to *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* flyeth to *Coventry*.

The Duke of *Clarence* cometh with a great Army.

Concord of Brethren.

The Earl of *Warwick* refuſeth to be reconciled.

Then was it agreed between the three Brethren to attempt the Earl of *Warwick*, if he likewiſe would be reconciled; but he crying out ſhame upon the Duke of *Clarence*, ſtood at utter defiance: From thence King *Edward* ſo ſtrongly furniſhed, and daily increaſing, taketh his way to *London*. Where, after it was known that the Duke of *Clarence* was come to his Brethren, much fear fell upon the *Londoners*, caſting with themſelves what was beſt to do. The ſuddenneſs of time permitted no long conſultation. There was at *London* the ſame time the Archbiſhop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, with other of King *Henries* Council, to whom the Earl had ſent in Commandment a little before, knowing the weakneſs of the City, that they ſhould keep the City from their Enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all poſſible ſpeed with a puiſſant Army, who, according to their commandment, defended the City with all their power, but yet to little purpoſe. For the Citizens conſulting with themſelves for their own moſt indemnity, having no Walls to defend them, thought beſt to take that way which ſeemed to them moſt ſure and ſafe, and therefore concluded to take part with King *Edward*. This was not ſo ſoon known abroad, but the Commonalty ran out by heaps to meet King *Edward*, and to ſalute him as their King. Whereupon the Duke of *Somerſet*, with other of King *Henries* Council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the ſudden change of the World, to ſhift for themſelves, fled away and left there King *Henry* alone. Who, the ſame day being cauſed by the Archbiſhop of *York* to ride about *London* like a King, was before night made Captive, and reduced again to the *Tower*.

King *Edward* cometh to *London*. *Londoners* take part with King *Edward*.

King *Henries* Counſellors fly away.

King *Henry* again taken and committed to priſon.

It was not long after theſe things thus done at *London*, but the coming of the Earl of *Warwick* was heard of; who, thinking to prevent miſchiefs with making ſpeed, came a little too late and miſſed of his purpoſe. In the Earls Army were *John* Duke of *Exceter*, *Edmund* Earl of *Somerſet*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, and Marqueſs *Mountacute*, the Earls Brother. The Earl had now paſſed a great part of his Journey, when he hearing news of the World ſo changed, and of the Captivity of King *Henry*, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind; wherefore he ſtayed with his Army at S. *Albans*, to ſee what way further to take. And forſomuch as there was no other remedy, but either he muſt yield, or one conflict muſt finiſh the matter, he removed to *Barnet* ten miles from S. *Albans*.

The Earl of *Warwick* cometh to *Barnet*.

Againſt him ſet forth King *Edward*, well appointed with a ſtrong Army of picked and able perſons, with Artillery, Engins and Inſtruments meet for the purpoſe; bringing with him alſo King *Henry*. On *Eaſter* even he came to *Barnet*, and there he embattelled himſelf. In the morning upon *Eaſter-day* the battel began, and fiercely continued almoſt till noon, with murder on each ſide, much doubtful till both parts were almoſt weary with fighting and murdering. King *Edward* then deſirous to ſee an end, off or on, with a great crew of new freſh Souldiers ſet upon his wearied enemies. Where the Earls men, enouraged with words of their Captain, ſtoutly fought, but they ſore wounded and wearied could not long hold out. The Earl, ruſhing into the midſt of his Enemies, ventured ſo far, that he could not be reſcued; where he was ſtricken down and ſlain, and there lay he. Marqueſs *Montacute* thinking to ſuccour his Brother, whom he ſaw to be in great jeopardy, was likewiſe overthrown and ſlain. After that *Richard Nevil*, Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother were gone, the reſt fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this Field ſlain, are judged about ten thouſand, as *Polydore Virgil* reciteth. *Fabian* numbreth of them that were ſlain but fifteen hundred. The Duke of *Somerſet* and Earl of *Oxford*, thinking to fly to *Scotland*, returned to *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke* in *Wales*. The Duke of *Exceſter*, hardly eſcaped to *Weſtminſter*, and there took Sanctuary. For the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, the King was not ſo glad, as he was ſorry for the Marqueſs of *Mountacute*, whom he took to be his Friend. The Corps of theſe two were brought to the Church of *Pauls*, where they lay open in two Coffins two days, and then were interred. *Ex Polyd. & aliis.*

The Earl of *Warwick* and his Brother ſlain.

In the narration of this Hiſtory *Polydore Virgil*, whom *Hall* followeth word for word, doth ſome deal differ from *Robert Fabian*. Neither do I doubt but both theſe had their Authors by whom they were directed. Notwithſtanding this I marvel, that *Polydore*, writing of ſo many things which he never ſaw, doth not vouchſafe, to cite unto us thoſe Writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel or rather lament, if it be true that I have heard, that he not only nameth no Author unto us, but alſo burned an heap of our *Engliſh* ſtories unknown, after the finiſhing of his, in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth. But now to our Text again.

Difference between *Polydore* and *Fabian*.

*Hall* follower of *Polydore*.

*Polydore* is ſaid to have burned a number of our *Engliſh* Writers.

All this while yet Queen *Margaret*, with young Prince *Edward* her Son, was ſcarce come over, being long let with contrary Winds; who at length in the month of *April* arrived at *Waymouth* in *Dorſetſhire*, and hearing the ſorrowful tydings of theſe things lately happened to her Husband, and to the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brother, and of the proſperous ſucceſs of King *Edward*, was ſo diſmayed, diſquieted, and pierced with ſorrow, ſeeing all things contrary to her expectation, ſo to frame againſt her, that ſhe feared and took on with her ſelf, lamenting her Husband, bewailing her Son, curſing her coming, and crying out of *Fortune*, as though *blind Fortune* were ſhe that governeth times and tides (rewarding juſt puniſhments to unjuſt deſervings of men) and not the ſecret Power and terrible Juſtice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that Queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her paſſion, (who rather ſhould have ſorrowed the dolorous death of Duke *Humfrey*, whom before ſhe neglected, but now ſhe lacked) that her ſenſes failed, her ſpirits were taken, her ſpeech decayed, and life almoſt gone, ſhe fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live. In this deſolate caſe Queen *Margaret* learning now to know her Friends from her Foes, when it was too late, fraught full of heavineſs, without ſolace or hope of remedy, ſhe with her Son and her Company departed for the next Refuge, to a Monaſtery of Monks called *Beauly* in *Hampſhire*, there to take Sanctuary and Priviledge of the Houſe.

The return of Queen *Margaret* into *England*.

Queen *Margaret* for ſorrow ſoundeth.

*Ex Polyd. lib. 14.*

Queen *Margaret* taketh Sanctuary.

Yet all hearts were not ſound nor ſubdued in *England*, eſpecially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, with Lord *John* his Brother, *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Wenlock* *John Longſcrother*, being Prior of the Knights of *Rodes* in Saint *Johns*. Theſe hearing of the Queens return, with ſpeed reſorted to her; by whom ſhe being ſomewhat quickned in her ſpirits, and animated to War, began to take ſome heart, and to follow their counſel; which was, in all the hot haſte, to renew War againſt King *Edward*, being now unprovided, by reaſon his Army was now diſperſed, and chiefeſt of his Souldiers waſted. Here great hope of Victory was ſhewed, great Promiſes made. Although the Queens mind was, being more careful for the young Prince than for her ſelf, to ſend him over into *France*, before ſome proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counſel of them, and partly cut off by ſhorneſs of time, which required haſte, ſhe began with all Expedition to gather their Power. Likewiſe *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke* poſted into *Wales* to do the ſame.

Queen *Margaret* moved by her friends to renew wars againſt King *Edward*.

The battel at *Barnet*.

King

KING *Edw.*4

King *Edward* having Intelligence of all theſe doings, firſt ſendeth out certain light Horſemen, to eſpy abroad through the Weſt parts what ways his Enemies did take. In the mean time he, uſing all celerity to meet them before they came to *London*, gathered a power, ſuch as he could make about *London*, and firſt cometh to *Abingdon*, from thence to *Marlbridge*, hearing that the Queen was at *Bathe*, thinking to encounter with them, before they diverted into *Wales* to the Earl of *Pembroke*, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the Queen, underſtanding the King to be ſo nigh, removeth from *Bathe* to *Briſtow*, ſending word in the mean while to the Citizens of *Gloceſter*, that they would grant her leave, ſafely to paſs by their City. Which when it could not be obtained, with her Army ſhe departed from *Briſtow* to *Tewkesbury*; where the Duke of *Somerſet*, knowing King *Edward* to be at hand at his very back, willed the Queen there to ſtay, and in no wiſe to fly backward, for certain doubts that might be caſt: Although this counſel was againſt the conſent of many other Captains, who thought it beſt rather to draw aſide, while the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Army were with them aſſociate; yet the mind of the Duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the Field pitched, the time of battel came, the King was looked for; who being within one mile of *Tewkesbury*, with like induſtry and policy, as his Enemies had done, diſpoſed his Army likewiſe in their array. The celerity of the King, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwiſe, if he had deferred till he had conjoyned with the Earl of *Pembroke*, had put the matter in great hazzard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

*King Edward* warreth againſt *Queen Margaret.*

*Queen Margaret* debarred from *Gloceſter.*

*The battel of Tewkesbury.*

*A great matter to take a thing in time.*

Of this battel *Hall* thus reporteth, adding more than *Polydore*, that the Duke of *Somerſet*, although he was ſtrongly intrenched, yet through the occaſion or policy of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which had the fore-ward of the Kings part, a little reculing back, followed the chaſe, ſuppoſing that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the middle-ward, would have followed hard at his back. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, whether for ſhame rather than of policy, eſpying his advantage, ſuddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was eſtſoons diſcomfited, and ſo much the more, becauſe they were ſeparated from their company. The Duke of *Somerſet* not a little agrieved, at this ſo unfortunate a caſe, returneth to the middle-ward, where he ſeeing the Lord *Wenlock* abiding ſtill, revileth him, and calleth him Traytor, and with his Ax ſtriketh the brains out of his head.

Thus much addeth *Hall* beſides *Polydore*; but ſheweth not his Author where he had it. *Polydore*, writing of this Conflict, writeth no more but this, that the Queens Army being overſet with the number and multitude of their Enemies, and ſhe having no freſh Souldiers to furniſh the Field, was at laſt overmatched, and for the moſt part ſlain or taken. In which battel were named to be ſlain, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Wenlock*, Lord *John* Duke of *Somerſet* his Brother, beſides other. Among them that were taken was Queen *Margaret*, found in her Chariot almoſt dead for ſorrow, Prince *Edward*, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, *John* Prior of Saint *Johns*, with twenty other Knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the Queen only and the young Prince excepted. Which Prince *Edward* being then brought to the Kings preſence, it was demanded of him how he durſt be ſo bold to ſtand in battel againſt him. To this *Edward Hall* addeth more, and ſaith, That after the Field was finiſhed the King made Proclamation, That whoſoever would bring Prince *Edward* to him, ſhould have Annuity of an hundred pound during his life, and the Princes life ſhould be ſaved. Whereupon Sir *Richard Creſtes*, not miſtruſting the Kings promiſe, brought forth his Priſoner, &c. And ſo the King demanding of the Prince (as is ſaid) how he durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter this Realm with his Banner diſplayed againſt him, he anſwered, ſaying, *That he came to recover his Fathers Kingdom and Inheritance, from his Grandfather and Father to him deſcending*; whereat (ſaid *Polydore*) the King with his hand diſdainfully thruſt him from him. Other ſay, that the King ſtruck him on the face with his Gauntlet.

*Queen Margaret taken in battel.*

*Prince Edward brought to the King.*

*The ſtout anſwer of the Prince to the King.*

At the ſpeaking of theſe words was preſent *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl Lord *William Haſtings*. Who upon the ſame uncourteouſly falling upon the Prince, did ſlay him. Queen *Margaret*, being brought Priſoner to *London*, was afterward ranſomed of her Father Duke of *Angeou*, for a great ſum of money which he borrowed of the *French* King, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the Title of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Naples*, *&c.* King *Edward* for theſe proſperous Wars rendred to God his hearty thanks, and cauſed publickly through his Realm ſolemn Proceſſions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much touching the Wars of King *Edward* the fourth, which was done, *Anno* 1471. *Ex Polyd. & aliis.*

*Prince Edward, Son to King Henry, ſlain.*

*Queen Margaret ranſomed for a great ſum of money.*

*Publick proceſſions for victory got.*

Anno 1471.

The ſame year, and about the ſame time, upon the *Aſcenſion*-even, King *Henry*, being Priſoner in the *Tower*, departed, after he had raigned in all thirty eight years, and ſix months. *Polydore* and *Hall* following him, affirm that he was ſlain with a Dagger by *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Brother, for the more quiet and ſafeguard of the King his Brother. In the Hiſtory, intituled, *Scala mundi*, I find theſe words, *Quod in turri, in vigilia aſcenſionis Dominicæ, ibidem feliciter moriens, per* Thameſiam *navicula uſque ad Abbatiam de* Cherteſey *deductus, ibi ſepultus eſt*; That is, *That King* Henry *being in the* Tower, *upon the* Aſcenſion-*even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by* Thames *in a Boat to the Abbey of* Cherteſey, *and there buried.*

*The death of King Henry the ſixth.*

*Ex Scala mundi.*

*King Henry buried at Cherteſey.*

*Polydore*, after he hath deſcribed the Vertues of this King, recordeth that King *Henry* the Seventh did afterward tranſlate the Corps of him from *Cherteſey* to *Windſor*, and addeth moreover, that by him certain Miracles were wrought. For the which cauſe the ſaid King *Henry* the Seventh (ſaith he) laboured with Pope *Julius*, to have him canonized for a Saint, but the death of the King was the let why that matter proceeded not. *Edward Hall*, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cauſe, why King *Henries* ſainting went not forward, to be this; For that the Fees of canonizing of a King were of ſo great a quantity at *Rome* (more than of another, Biſhop or Prelate) that the ſaid King thought it better to keep the money in his Cheſts, than with the impoveriſhing of the Realm to buy ſo dear and pay ſo much for a new Holy-day of S. *Henry* in the *Kalender*, *&c.* *Ex Hallo.* Which if it be true, it might be replied then to Pope *Julius*, that if Popes be higher than Kings in the Earth, and eſpecially in Heaven, why then is a Pope-Saint ſo cheap in the Market-place of *Rome*, and a King-Saint ſo dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all Markets and Burſes be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought; what reaſon is it, ſeeing the ſainting of a King beareth a bigger ſale than the ſainting of any Pope in Heaven, but that Kings ſhould be above Popes alſo upon the Earth? *Sed extra jocum*, as I do not doubt, but that King *Henry* was a good and a quiet Prince, if he had not otherwiſe been abuſed by ſome; ſo touching the ruine of his Houſe, I think not contrary, but it came not without the juſt appointment of the Lord, either for that the *Henries* of *Lancaſters* houſe were ſuch Enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the Lord *Cobham* and many other; or elſe for the unjuſt diſplacing of King *Richard* the Second; or elſe thirdly, for the cruel ſlaughter of *Humfrey* the good Duke of *Gloceſter* his Uncle; whereof ſufficiently hath been ſaid before.

*Polydores Miracles.*

*A King Saint, in dear ware in the Popes Market.*

*Ex Edw. Hallo.*

*The cauſe examined of Lancaſter Houſe.*

*Example of Gods juſt rod of correction.*

During the time of theſe doings, being about the year of our Lord, 1465. there was here in *England* a certain Frier *Carmelite*, who about the term of *Michael* the *Archangel* preached at *Pauls* in *London*, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, being here in this preſent World, was in poverty, and did beg. To whoſe Opinion and Doctrine the Provincial of that Order ſeemed alſo to incline, defending the ſame both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctors more and Brethren of the ſame Order; unto whom alſo adjoyned certain of the *Jacobites*; and ſtiffly did take their parts. On the contrary ſide, many Doctors and alſo Lawyers, both in their publick Lectures and preaching, to the uttermoſt of their cunning did withſtand their aſſertion, as being a thing moſt peſtiferous in the Church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the Defendant part was driven for a while to keep ſilence. Much like to thoſe times I might well reſemble theſe our days now preſent, with our tumultuous contention of Forms and Faſhions of Garments.

*A ſore Hereſie preached at Pauls Croſs.*

*Contention in the Church whether Chriſt was a Beggar or not.*

*Times compared.*

But

But I put my ſelf here in *Pythagoras* School, and keep ſilence with theſe Friers. In the ſtory moreover it followeth, that this beggerly queſtion of the begging-Friers, whether Chriſt did beg or no, went ſo far, that at length it came to the Popes ears, *Paulus* 2. who was no beggar ye may be ſure. After that the fame of this Doctrine mounting over the *Alpes*, came flying to the Court of *Rome*, which was about the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, the year next following, *Anno* 1465, it brought with it ſuch an evil ſmell to the fine Noſes there, that it was no need to bid them to ſtir; for begging to them was worſe than high Hereſie. Wherefore the holy Father Pope *Paulus* the Second to repreſs the ſparkles of this Doctrine, which otherwiſe perhaps might have ſet his whole Kitchin on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eſtſoons directeth down his Bull into *England*, inſinuating to the Prelates here, *Hæreſim illam peſtifere aſſerentem quod Chriſtus publice mendicavit, eſſe antiquitus a* Romanis *Pontificibus, cum ſuis conciliis damnatam, & eam pro damnata undique declarandam & conculcandam, &c.* That is, *that this Hereſie, which peſtiferouſly doth affirm that Chriſt did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the Biſhops of* Rome, *and his Councils, and that the ſame ought to be declared in all places for a damned Doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all mens feet, &c.* This was in the ſame year when Prince *Edward*, King *Edwards* Son was born in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, *Anno* 1465.

*Ex Hiſt. Sanctæ mundi, fol. ult.* The Popes determined ſolution, that Chriſt was no Beggar.

As touching the reſt of the doings and affairs of this King, (which had vanquiſhed hitherto in nine battels, himſelf being preſent) how afterward he, through the incitement of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne* his Brother in law, ventured into *France* with a puiſſant Army, and how the Duke failed him in his promiſe; alſo how Peace between theſe two Kings was at lengeh concluded in a ſolemn meeting of both the ſaid Kings together (which meeting is notified in ſtories, by a white Dove ſitting the ſame day of meeting upon the top of King *Edwards* Tent) alſo of the Marriage promiſed between the young *Dolphin* and *Elizabeth* King *Edwards* eldeſt Daughter, but afterward broken off on the *French* Kings part; moreover as touching the death of the Duke of *Burgoyne* ſlain in War, and of his Daughter *Mary*, Niece to King *Edward*, ſpoiled of her Lands and Poſſeſſions wrongfully by *Lewis* the *French* King, and married after to *Maximilian*; Furthermore, as touching the Expedition of King *Edward* into *Scotland*, by reaſon of King *James* breaking promiſe in marrying with *Cicely* the ſecond Daughter of King *Edward*, and of driving out his Brother, and how the matter was compoſed there, and of the recovery again of *Barwick*; of theſe (I ſay) and ſuch other things more, partly becauſe they are deſcribed ſufficiently in our common *Engliſh* ſtories, partly alſo becauſe they be matters not greatly pertaining to the Church, I omit to ſpeak, making of them a *Superſedeas*. Two things I find here, among many other, ſpecially to be remembred.

King *Edward* vanquiſhed nine battels, being himſelf preſent at them all. *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne* failed his promiſe with the King. Peace between the two Kings, bought with the *French* Kings money.

KING *Edw.* 4

Marriage between the *French* Kings Son and King *Edwards* Daughter, made and broken.

King *James* of *Scotland* goeth from his promiſe of marriage. *Barwick* recovered.

The firſt is concerning a godly and conſtant Servant of Chriſt, named *John Gooſe*, which in the time of this King was unjuſtly condemned and burnt at the *Tower-hill*, *Anno* 1473, in the month of *Auguſt*. Thus had *England* alſo his *John Hus* as well as *Boheme*. Wherein moreover this is to be noted, that ſince the time of King *Richard* the Second, there is no Reign of any King to be aſſigned hitherto, wherein ſome good man or other hath not ſuffered the pains of fire for the Religion and true teſtimony of Chriſt Jeſus. Of this ſaid *John Gooſe*, or *John Hus*, this moreover I find in another *Engliſh* Monument recorded, that the ſaid *John* being delivered to *Robert Beliſdon*, one of the Sheriffs, to ſee him burnt the Afternoon; the Sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his houſe, and there exhorted him to deny (ſaith the ſtory) his Errors. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, deſired the Sheriff to be content; for he was ſatisfied in his conſcience. Notwithſtanding this he deſired of the Sheriff, for Gods ſake to give him ſome meat, ſaying, *That he was very ſore hungred.* Then the Sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been toward no manner of danger, and ſaid to ſuch as ſtood about him, *I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I ſhall paſs a little ſharp ſhowre ere I go to Supper.* And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might ſhortly be led to the place where he ſhould yield up his ſpirit unto God. Ex *Polychron.*

Anno 1473.

*John Gooſe* Martyr.

*John Gooſe* in *Engliſh*, is as much as *John Hus* in the *Bohemian* Tongue.

*John Gooſe* taketh his dinner before he went to Martyrdom.

*The Burning of John Gooſe*

The unworthy death of the Duke of *Clarence.*

The ſecond thing herein to be noted, is the death of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the Kings ſecond Brother; of whom relation was made before, how he aſſiſted King *Edward* his Brother, againſt the Earl of *Warwick* at *Barnet* Field, and helped him to the Crown; and now after all theſe benefits was at length thus requited, that (for what cauſe it is uncertain) he was apprehended and caſt into the *Tower*, where he being adjudged for a Traytor, was privily drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey*. What the true cauſe was of his death it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers Conjectures and Imaginations there be diverſly put forth. Some partly imputed it to the Queens diſpleaſure.

The Duke of *Clarence* drowned in a Butt of *Malmſey.*

Other

KING *Edw.* 4

The cauſes of his death expended. The moſt chief that Satan worketh by falſe Propheſies.

Other ſuppoſe it came for taking part in the cauſe of his Servant, which was accuſed and condemned for poyſoning, Sorcery or Inchantment. Another fame there is, which ſurmiſeth the cauſe hereof to riſe upon the vain fear of a fooliſh Propheſie, coming no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times elſe happen among *Infidels* and *Gentiles*, where Chriſt is not known; where among high Princes and in Noble houſes much miſchief groweth, firſt murther and paricide, and thereby ruine of ancient Families, and alteration of Kingdoms. The effect of this Propheſie (as the fame goeth) was this, That after King *Edward*, ſhould one Reign whoſe name ſhould begin with G. And becauſe the name of the Duke of *Clarence*, being *George*, began with a G. therefore he began to be feared, and afterward privily (as is aforeſaid) was made away.

The Propheſie of G.

Propheſies not raſhly to be believed.

By theſe experiments and miſchievous ends of ſuch Propheſies, and alſo by the nature of them, it is ſoon to be ſeen from what Fountain or Author they proceed, that is (no doubt) from Satan, the ancient enemy of Mankind, and Prince of this World; againſt whoſe deceitful deluſions, Chriſtian men muſt be well inſtructed, neither to marvel greatly at them though they ſeem ſtrange, nor yet to believe them though they happen true. For Satan being the Prince of this World, in ſuch worldly things can foreſee what will follow, and can ſay truth for a miſchievous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dream of *Aſtiages*, ſeeing a Vine to grow out of his Daughter, which ſhould cover all *Aſia*, and fearing thereby that by his Nephew he ſhould loſe his Kingdom, proved true in the ſequel thereof; and yet notwithſtanding of Satan it came, and cauſed cruel murther to follow, firſt of the Shepherds Child, then of the Son of *Harpagus*, whom he ſet before his own Father to eat. *Ex Juſt. lib.* 1. Likewiſe *Cyrus* was prophetically admoniſhed by his dream, to take him for his Guide whom he firſt met the next morrow. In that alſo his dream fell true, and yet was not of God. In the ſame number are to be put all the blind Oracles of the Idolatrous *Gentiles*, which although they proceed of a lying Spirit, yet ſometime they hit truth to a miſchievous purpoſe. The like judgment alſo is to be given of *Merlines* Propheſies. The Sorcerers mentioned 1 *Reg.* 28. raiſing up *Samuel*, told *Saul* the truth, yet was it not of God. In the ſixteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, there was a Damoſel having the ſpirit of *Pytho*, who ſaid truth of *Paul* and *Silas*, calling them the Meſſengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong ſpirit. The unclean Spirits in giving teſtimony of Chriſt ſaid the truth, yet becauſe their teſtimony came not of God, Chriſt did not allow it.

Satan can ſay truth for a wicked end. Deviliſh Propheſies although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed

*Ex Juſt. lib.* 1. *Merlines Propheſies.* 1 *Reg.* 18. *Acts.* 16.

A Spirit of divination which could gheſs and foredeem things paſt, preſent and to come; which knowledge God many times permitteth to the Devil.

*Ex Paulo Diac.*

*Paulus Diaconus* recordeth of *Valence* the Emperor that he alſo had a blind Propheſie, not much unlike to this of King *Edward*, which was, that one ſhould ſucceed him in the Empire whoſe name ſhould begin with θ. o. and σ. Whereupon one *Theodorus*, truſting upon the Propheſie, began rebelliouſly to hope for the Crown, and for his labour felt the pains of a Traytor. Notwithſtanding the effect of the Propheſie followed; for after *Valence* ſucceeded *Theodoſius*. Wherefore Chriſtian Princes and Noble men, and all Chriſtis faithful people muſt beware and learn.

Three things to be noted concerning falſe Propheſies.

1. Firſt, That no man be inquiſitive or curious in ſearching to know what things be to come, or what ſhall happen, beſides thoſe things only which are promiſed and expreſſed in the Word.

2. Secondly, To underſtand what difference there is, and how to diſcern the Voice of God from the Voice of Satan.

3. Thirdly, How to reſiſt and avoid the danger of falſe and deviliſh Propheſies.

Many there be, which being not contented with things preſent, curiouſly occupy their wits to ſearch what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will alſo know what ſhall bechance them, how and when their end will come, how long Princes ſhall Reign, and who after ſhall ſucceed them, and for the ſame get unto them Soothſayers, Aſtrologers, Sorcerers, Conjurers, or Familiars. And theſe are not ſo much inquiſitive to ſearch or ask, but the Devil is as ready to anſwer them who either falſly doubleth with them to delude them, or elſe telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and ſorrow. Thus was Pope *Silveſter* the Sorcerer circumvented by the Devil, who told him, that he ſhould be at *Jeruſalem* before he died, and ſo it fell out. For as he was ſaying his Maſs at a Chappel in *Rome*, called *Jeruſalem*, there he fell ſick, and within three dayes after died: To King *Henry* the Fourth alſo it ſeemeth it was propheſied, that he ſhould not die before he went to *Jeruſalem*, who being brought to the Abbots Chamber of *Weſtminſter*, and hearing the name of the Chamber to be called *Jeruſalem*, knew his time to be come, and died. *Vide ſupra.* *Vide ſupra.*

By ſuch deceitful Propheſies it cannot be lamented enough to ſee what inconvenience both publickly and privately groweth to the life of men, either cauſing them falſly to truſt where they ſhould not, or elſe wickedly to perpetrate that they would not; as may appear both by this King, and alſo divers more. So was *Pompeius*, *Craſſus*, and *Cæſar* (as writeth *Cicero*) deceived by the falſe *Chaldees*, in declaring to them that they ſhould not die but in their beds, and with worſhip, and in their old age. Of ſuch a falſe truſt riſing upon falſe Propheſies, S. *Ambroſe* in his Book of *Exameron* writeth, ſpeaking of rain, which being in thoſe parts greatly deſired, was promiſed and propheſied of one certainly to fall upon ſuch a day, which was at the changing of the *new Moon*: but (ſaith S. *Ambroſe*) there fell no ſuch rain at all, till at the prayers of the Church the ſame was obtained; giving us to underſtand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the *Moon*, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator. *Ex Ambroſ. in Examer.*

False truſt by deviliſh Propheſies.

*Ambroſius in Examer.*

*Joan. Picus* Earl of *Mirandula*, in his excellent Books written againſt theſe vain Star-tellers and Aſtrologers, *lib.* 2. writeth of one *Ordelaphus* a Prince, to whom it was prognoſticated by a famous cunning man in that Science, called *Hieronymus Manfredus*, that he ſhould injoy long continuance of health, and proſperous life; who notwithſtanding the ſelf ſame year, and in the firſt year of his marriage, deceaſed: and after divers other examples added moreover upon the ſame, he inferreth alſo mention, and the name of a certain rich Matron in *Rome*, named *Conſtantia*, who in like manner departed the ſame year, in which ſhe received great promiſes by theſe Soothſayers and Aſtrologers, of a long and happy life, ſaying to her Huſband theſe words, *Behold* (ſaith ſhe) *how true be the Prognoſtications of theſe Sooth-tellers?* If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whoſe names I would in no caſe to be blemiſhed with any ſpot; I could recite the names of certain, eſpecially one, which taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecaſting of the ſucceſs and good ſpeed of his Journey, was notwithſtanding in the ſame Journey apprehended and brought where he would not, and after that never injoying good day, in ſhort time he departed. In *Baſil* this I my ſelf heard of one which knew and was converſant with the party, who having a curious delight in theſe Speculations of Chances and Events to come, by his Calculation noted a certain day which he miſtruſted ſhould be fatal unto him, by ſomething which at that day ſhould befal upon him. Whereupon he determined with himſelf all that day to keep him ſure and ſafe within his Chamber; where he reaching up his hand to take down a Book, the Book falling down upon his head, gave him his deaths wound, and ſhortly after he died upon the ſame. Of theſe and ſuch like examples the World is full, and yet the curiouſneſs of mens heads will not refrain, ſtill to pluck the Apple of this unlucky and forbidden Tree.

*Joan. Pic. Mirandul. contra Aſtr. l.* 1. *ca.* 9. Experience of falſe Propheſies.

This man by falſe diſſemblers was taken, betrayed, and brought into *England*.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

Beſide all this, what murther and paricide cometh by the fear of theſe Propheſies, in great bloods and noble houſes, I refer it unto them which read and well adviſe the ſtories, as well of our Kings here in *England*, as in other Kingdoms more both Chriſtened and *Turkiſh*, whereof another place ſhall ſerve as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to diſcourſe. To this pertaineth alſo the great inconvenience and hinderance that groweth by the fear of ſuch Propheſies in the vocation of men, forſomuch as many there be which fearing, ſome one danger, ſome another, leave their vocations undone, and follow unordinate ways. As if one having a blind Propheſie, that his deſtruction ſhould be on the day, would wake and do all his buſineſs by night and candle-light; and ſo forth

forth in other ſeveral caſes of men and women, as every one in his own conſcience knoweth his own caſe beſt.

The ſecond part how Propheſies are to be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in theſe Propheſies, is rightly to diſcern and underſtand, as near as we can, the difference between the Propheſies proceeding from God, and the falſe Propheſies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan ſometime playeth Gods Ape, and transformeth himſelf into an Angel of Light; bearing ſuch a reſemblance and colour of Truth and Religion, that a wiſe man is ſcarcely able to diſcern one from the other, and the moſt part is beguiled. Concerning Propheſies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be obſerved:

In the ſecond part three things to be conſidered.

1. Firſt, Whether they go ſimply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous: whereof the one ſeemeth to taſte of Gods Spirit, ſuch as be the Propheſies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwiſe, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of Gods Propheſies, as alſo of Miracles is commonly and ordinarily expired, yet if the Lord in theſe days now extraordinarily do ſhew any Propheſie, by the ſimpleneſs and plainneſs thereof it may partly be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in the Propheſies.

2. Secondly, This is to be expended, whether they be private, tending to this Family or that Family, or publick. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the Propheſies of God have no private interpretation, but general; forſomuch as the care of Gods holy Spirit is not reſtrained partially to one perſon more than to another, but generally and indifferently reſpecteth the whole Church of his Elect in Chriſt Jeſus his Son. Wherefore ſuch Propheſies as privately are touching the arms of houſes or names of men, riſing or falling of private and particular Families, are worthily to be ſuſpected.

The third thing to be conſidered in Propheſies.

3. The third note and ſpecial argument to deſcry the true Propheſies of God from the falſe Propheſies of Satan and his falſe Prophets, is this, to conſider the matter and the end thereof; that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or ſtate of this preſent World, or whether they tend to the ſpiritual inſtruction, admonition, or comfort of the publick Church.

The third part, how to avoid the danger of ſiniſter Propheſies.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what Propheſies be of God, and what not, that we be inſtructed next how to eſchew the fear and peril of all deviliſh Propheſies which make againſt us. Wherein two ſpecial remedies are to be marked of every Chriſtian man, whereby he may be ſafe and ſure againſt all danger of the enemy. The firſt is, that we ſet the name of Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God againſt them, through a true Faith in him, knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to diſſolve the Works of the Devil. And again, *This is the Victory* (ſaith the Scripture) *that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* Whatſoever then Satan worketh, or can work againſt us, be it never ſo forcible, Faith in Chriſt will vanquiſh it. Such a Majeſty is in our Faith, believing in the Name of the Son of God.

Two remedies againſt deviliſh Propheſies.

The firſt remedy.

The ſecond remedy againſt dangerous Propheſies.

The other remedy is faithful Prayer, which obtaineth in the Name of Chriſt all things with the Lord. So that wicked Fiend, which had killed before ſeven Husbands of *Tobias* Wife, could not hurt him entring his Matrimony with earneſt prayer; ſo no more ſhall any miniſter Propheſie prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth ſtrive againſt it. Neither am I ignorant, that againſt ſuch Temporal evils and puniſhments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth alſo in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where ſin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there alſo the operation of Satan is ſtrong againſt us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal Salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our Faith in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touching the two ſpecial remedies, whereby the operation of all deviliſh Propheſies may be avoided and defeated.

Mans policy can nothing do againſt the Devil.

Now many there be, which leaving theſe remedies aforeſaid, and the ſafe protection which the Lord hath ſet up in Chriſt, take other ways of their own, ſeeking by their own policy how to withſtand and eſcape ſuch Propheſies, either in eſchewing the place and time ſubtilly, or elſe cruelly by killing the party whom they fear; whereof cometh injury, murther, and paricide, with other miſchiefs in Common-wealths unſpeakable. To whom commonly it cometh ſo to paſs, that whereby they think moſt to ſave themſelves, by the ſame means they fall moſt into the ſnare, being ſubverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they truſting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, which only can diſſolve the operation of Satan, the Lord ſo turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think moſt ſurely to eſcape. Examples whereof we ſee not only in *Aſtyages* King of the *Medes* aforeſaid, and *Cyrus*; but in infinite other like events, which the trade of the World doth daily offer to our eyes. So Queen *Margaret* thought her then Cockſure, when Duke *Humfrey* was made away; when nothing elſe was her confuſion ſo much as the loſs and lack of that man.

KING *Edw.* 4. No power can withſtand Satan, but only Chriſt, and our faith in him.

So if King *Richard* the Second had not exerciſed ſuch cruelty upon his Uncle *Thomas*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, he had not received ſuch wrong by King *Henry* the Fourth as he did. Likewiſe this King *Edward* the Fourth, if he had ſuffered his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence* to have lived, his Houſe had not ſo gone to wrack by *Richard* his other Brother, as it did. What befel upon the Student of Aſtrology in the Univerſity of *Baſil* ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himſelf in his Chamber for fear of his Divination, had eſcaped the ſtroke that fell. Now in avoiding ſuch Prophetical events which he ſhould not have ſearched, he fell into that which he did fear. Theſe few examples for inſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to infer, not as though theſe were alone; but by theſe few to admoniſh the Reader of infinite other, which daily come in practiſe of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in private houſes, as in weals publick.

A brief rehearſal of the matter of Propheſies before paſſed.

Wherefore briefly to repeat what before ſimply hath been ſaid touching this matter, ſeeing that Satan through ſuch ſubtil Propheſies hath yet and doth daily practiſe ſo manifold miſchiefs in the World, ſetting Brother againſt Brother, Nephew againſt the Uncle, Houſe againſt Houſe, and Realm againſt Realm, gendring hatred where love was, and ſubverting privily the ſimplicity of our Chriſtian Faith; therefore the firſt and beſt thing is for godly men not to butie their brains about ſuch Phantaſies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in ſearching for them, either by Soothſayer, or by Conjuration, or by Familiar, or by Aſtrologer; knowing and conſidering this, that whoſoever ſhall be deſirous or ready to ſearch for them, the Devil is as ready to anſwer his curioſity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his Oracles by Idols and Prieſts of that time; ſo the ſame Devil, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftily can give now anſwer by Aſtrologers and Conjurers in theſe our days, and in ſo doing, both to ſay truth, and yet to deceive men when he hath ſaid. Wherefore, leaving off ſuch curioſity, let every Chriſtian man walk ſimply in his preſent vocation, referring hid things not in the word expreſſed, unto him which ſaith in his word, *Non eſt veſtrum ſcire tempora & momenta temporum, &c. It is not for you to know the times, and ſeaſons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own Power, &c.*

The Devil ready to anſwer, in matters of Divination.

Curioſity of Propheſies to be avoided.

Secondly, In this matter of Propheſies, requiſite it is (as is ſaid) for every Chriſtian man to learn, how to diſcern and diſtinguiſh the true Propheſies, which proceed of God, and the falſe Propheſies which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be diſcerned; ſo neceſſary it is that every good man do rightly underſtand the ſame, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and conſtant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, Becauſe it is not ſufficient that the deceitful Propheſies of the Devil be known, but alſo that they be reſiſted, I have alſo declared, by what means the operation of Satans Works and Propheſies are to be overcome; that is, not with ſtrength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that Enemy. Under Heaven there is nothing elſe that can prevail againſt his Works, but only the Name of the Lord Jeſus the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our Lips, or ſigned in our Foreheads with the outward Croſs, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a ſilent Faith, firmly and earneſtly

KING *Ed.* 4.

earneſtly truſting upon the promiſes of God, given and ſealed unto us in his Name. For ſo it hath pleaſed his Fatherly wiſdom to ſet him up, to be both our righteouſneſs before himſelf, and alſo to be our fortitude againſt the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no leſs price than he accepteth the works and worthineſs of the ſame his Son in whom we do believe.

The ſtrength of a Chriſtian mans faith in Chriſt.

Such is the ſtrength and effect of Faith both in Heaven, in Earth, and alſo in Hell. In Heaven to juſtifie, in Earth to [illegible], in Hell to conquer. And therefore when any ſuch propheſie, or any other thing is to us objected, which ſeemeth to tend againſt us, let us firſt conſider whether it ſavour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us ſeek our ſuccour, not in our ſelves where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor ſlay, nor change our vocation therefore, following unordinate ways; but let us run to our Caſtle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jeſus, remembring the true promiſe of the Pſalm, *Qui habitat in adjutorio altiſſimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur:* That is, Who ſo putteth his truſt in the ſuccour of the Lord, ſhall have the God of Heaven to be his Protector. And then ſhall it afterward follow in the ſame Pſalm, *Ipſe liberabit te a laqueo venantium, & a verbo aſpero:* That is, And he ſhall deliver him from the ſnare of the hunter, and from all evil words, and propheſies, be they never ſo ſharp or bitter againſt him, &c. And thus much by the occaſion of King *Edward*, of Propheſies.

Only Chriſt able to withſtand the power of Satan. *Pſal.* 90.

Now having long tarried at home in deſcribing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our ſtory more at large, to conſider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places alſo of Chriſts Church, as well here in *Europe* under the Pope, as in the Eaſt parts under the *Turk*, firſt deducing our ſtory from the time of *Sigiſmund*, where before we left. Which *Sigiſmund*, as it is above recorded, was a great doer in the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*. The Emperor had ever evil luck fighting againſt the *Turks*. Twice he warred againſt them, and in both the Battels was diſcomfited and put to flight; once about the City of *Myſia*, fighting againſt *Bajazetes* the Great *Turk*, Anno 1395, the ſecond time fighting againſt *Celebinus* the Son of *Bajazetes*, about the Town called *Columbacium*. But eſpecially after the Council of *Conſtance*, wherein were condemned and burned [illegible] two godly Martyrs, more unproſperous ſucceſs did then follow him, fighting againſt the *Bohemians* his own ſubjects, *Ann.* 1420, by whom he was repulſed in ſo many Battels, to his great diſhonour, during all the life of *Ziſca*, and of *Procopius*, as is afore more at large expreſſed; who was ſo beaten both of the *Turks*, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the *Turks* after. Then followed the Council of *Baſil*, after the beginning whereof within ſix years, this *Sigiſmundus* which was Emperor, King of *Hungary*, and King of *Boheme*, died in *Moravia*, Anno 1434.

*Sigiſmundus* Emperor. *Sigiſmundus* unproſperous in his wars.

*Sigiſmundus* over-come of the *Turks*.

*Sigiſmundus* [illegible] the [illegible] and

## ¶ *Albertus*, Emperor.

THIS *Sigiſmund* left behind him one only Daughter *Elizabeth*, who was married to *Albert* Duke of *Auſtrich*, by reaſon whereof he was advanced to the Empire, and ſo was both Duke of *Auſtrich*, Emperor, King of *Hungary*, and King alſo of *Boheme*. But this *Albert*, (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a diſquieter to the *Bohemians*, and eſpecially to the good men of *Thabor*, as he was preparing and ſetting forth againſt the *Turks*, in the mean time died, in the ſecond year of his Empire, *Ann.* 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who lying then in *Hungary*, and thinking her ſelf to be great with a Daughter, called to her the Princes and the Chiefrains of the Realms, declaring to them that ſhe was but a woman, and unſufficient to the Governance of ſuch a ſtate; and moreover how ſhe thought her ſelf to be with child of a Daughter; and therefore required them to provide among them ſuch a Prince and Governour, (reſerving the right of the Kingdom to her ſelf) as were fit and able under her, to have the Regiment of the Land committed. The *Turk* in the mean while, being elevated and incouraged with his proſperous victories againſt *Sigiſmundus* aforeſaid, began then more fiercely to invade *Hungary*, and thoſe parts of Chriſtendom. Wherefore the *Hungarians* making the more haſt, conſulted among themſelves to make Duke *Uladiſlaus*, Brother to *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*, their King.

*Albert* Duke of *Auſtrich*, Emperor, K. of *Hungary*, King of *Boheme*.

*Albertus* Emperor but two years.

*Elizabeth* Daughter to *Sigiſmund*, Wife to *Albert*, Emperor.

The *Turk* begineth to invade *Hungary*.

*Uladiſlaus* Brother to *Caſimirus* K. of *Polonia*, made King of *Hungary*.

But while this was in working between the *Hungarians* and *Uladiſlaus* the Duke, in the mean ſpace *Elizabeth* brought forth a Son called *Ladiſlaus*, who being the lawful heir of the Kingdom, the Queen called back again her former word, minding to reſerve the Kingdom for her Son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refuſeth Marriage with the ſaid *Uladiſlaus*, which ſhe had before pretended. But *Uladiſlaus* joyning with a great part of the *Hungarians*, perſiſting ſtill in the condition before granted, would not give over; by reaſon whereof great contention and diviſion kindling among the people of *Hungary*, *Amurathes* the Great *Turk* taking his advantage of their diſcord, and partly ſurprized with pride of his former ſucceſs againſt *Sigiſmund* aforeſaid, with his whole main and force invaded the Realm of *Hungary*; where *Huniades*, Sir-named *Vainoda*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, joyning with the new King *Uladiſlaus*, did both together ſet againſt the *Turk*, Ann. 1444, and there *Uladiſlaus* the new King of *Hungaria*, the fourth year of his Kingdom was ſlain. *Elizabeth* with her Son was fled in the mean while to *Frederick* the Emperor. Of *Huniades Vainoda* the Noble Captain, and of his Acts, and alſo of *Ladiſlaus* (Chriſt willing) more ſhall be ſaid hereafter, in his time and place.

*Elizabeth* Q. of *Hungary* brought to bed of a man-child.

*Ladiſlaus* Prince of *Hungary* born.

Diviſion and diſcord in *Hungary*.

The *Turk* warreth againſt *Hungary*.

*Huniades Vainoda*.

*Uladiſlaus* K. of *Hungary* ſlain in War.

## *Fredericus* the Third, Emperor.

AFter the deceaſe of *Albert* ſucceeded in the Empire, *Fredericus* the Third, Duke of *Auſtria*, Ann. 1440. By whom it was procured (as we have before ſignified) that Pope *Felix*, Elected by the Council of *Baſil*, did reſign his Popedom to Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth; upon this condition, that the ſaid Pope *Nicholas* ſhould ratifie the Acts decreed in the ſaid Council of *Baſil*. In the days of this Emperor much War and diſſention raged almoſt thorough all Chriſtian Realms, in *Auſtria*, *Hungaria*, *Polonia*, in *France*, in *Burgoine*, and alſo here in *England*, between King *Henry* the Sixth, and King *Edward* the Fourth, as ye have already heard; whereby it had been eaſie for the *Turk*, with little maſtery, to have over-run all the Chriſtian Realms in *Europe*, had not the Providence of our merciful Lord otherwiſe provided to keep *Amurathes* the *Turk* occupied in other civil Wars at home in the mean while. Unto this *Frederick* came *Elizabeth* (as is aforeſaid) with *Ladiſlaus* her Son; by whom he was nouriſhed and entertained a certain ſpace, till at length, after the death of *Uladiſlaus* aforeſaid, King of *Hungary*, (which was ſlain in Battel by the *Turks*) the men of *Auſtria*, through the inſtigation of *Ulricus Eizingerus*, and of *Ulricus* Earl of *Cilicia*, riſing up in armour, required of *Frederick* the Emperor, either to give them their young King, or elſe to ſtand to his own defence.

*Fredericus* the Third Emperor.

*Uladiſlaus* K. of *Hungary* ſlain in Battel by the *Turk*.

When *Frederick* heard this, neither would he render to them a ſudden anſwer, neither would they abide any longer delay; and ſo the matter growing to war, the new City was beſieged, where many were ſlain, and much harm done. At length the Emperors part being the weaker, the Emperor, through the intervention of certain Nobles of *Germany*, reſtored *Ladiſlaus* unto their hands, who being yet under age, committed his three Kingdoms to three Governours: whereof *John Huniades*, the worthy Captain above mentioned, had the ruling of *Hungary*: *George Pogiebracius* had *Boheme*: and *Ulricus* the Earl of *Cilicia* had *Auſtria*. Which *Ulrice* having the chief cuſtody of the King, bare the greateſt authority above the reſt; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almoſt of all the *Auſtrians*, and ſhortly after, by the means of *Eizingerus*, was excluded alſo from the King and the Court, but afterward reſtored again, and *Eizingerus* thruſt out. Such is the unſtable condition of them which be next in place about Princes. But this contention between them I overpaſs.

*John Huniades* Governour of *Hungary* under the K.

*G. Fogiebracius* Governour of *Boheme*.

*Ulricus* Governour of *Auſtria*.

Not long after, *Ladiſlaus* the young King went to *Boheme*, there to be Crowned, where *George Pogiebracius* (as is ſaid) had the Governance. But *Ladiſlaus* during all the time of his being there, though being much requeſted, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor hear the ſervice of them which did draw after the Doctrin of *Hus*. Inſomuch

*Ladiſlaus* a young Poſthumus King. *Ladiſlaus* could not abide the Doctrine of *Hus*.

that when a certain Prieſt, in the high Tower of *Prague*, was appointed and addreſſed, after the manner of Prieſts, to ſay ſervice before the King, being known to hold with *John Hus* and *Rochezana*, the King diſdaining at him, commanded him to give place and depart, or elſe he would ſend him down headlong from the rock of the Tower; and ſo the good Miniſter repulſed by the King, departed. Alſo another time the ſaid *Ladiſlaus* ſeeing the Sacrament carried by a Miniſter of that ſide, whom they called then *Huſſites*, would do thereunto no reverence. *Ex Æn. Sylv.*

At length the long abode of the King, although it was not very long, yet ſeemed to the godly diſpoſed to be longer than they wiſhed; and that was not to the King unknown, which made him to make the more haſte away; but before he departed, he thought firſt to viſit the noble City *Uratiſlavia* in *Schleſia*. In the which City the foreſaid King *Ladiſlaus* being there in the high Church at Service, many great Princes were about him. Among whom was alſo *George Pogiebracius*, who then ſtood neareſt to the King, unto whom one *Chilianus*, playing the Paraſite about the King (as the faſhion is of ſuch as fegin themſelves fools, to make other men as very fools as they) ſpake in this wiſe as followeth, With what countenance you do behold this our Service I ſee right well, but your heart I do not ſee. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion ſeem unto you decent and comely? Do you not ſee how many and how great Princes, yea, the King himſelf, do follow one order and uniformity? And why do you then follow rather your Preacher *Rochezana* than theſe? Do you think a few *Bohemians* to be more wiſe than all the Church of Chriſt beſides? Why then do you not forſake that rude and ruſtical people, and joyn to theſe Nobles, as you are a Nobleman your ſelf?

*Chilianus a Paraſite about King Ladiſlaus.*

*The words of a Popiſh Paraſite to Pogiebracius*

Unto whom thus *Pogiebracius* ſagely again doth anſwer, If you ſpeak theſe words of your ſelf (ſaith he) you are not the man whom you feign your ſelf to be; and ſo to you I anſwer, as not to a Fool. But if you ſpeak this by the ſuggeſtion of others, then muſt I ſatisfie them. Hear therefore, *As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, every man hath a conſcience of his own to follow. As for us we uſe ſuch Ceremonies, as we truſt pleaſe God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will our ſelves. The mind of man, being perſwaded with great reaſons, is captivated, will he, nill he; and as nature is inſtructed and taught, ſo is ſhe drawn, in ſome one way, and in ſome another. As for my ſelf, I am fully perſwaded in the Religion of my Preachers. If I ſhould follow thy Religion, I might perchance deceive men, going contrary to mine own conſcience, but I cannot deceive God, who ſeeth the hearts of all; Neither ſhall it become me to frame my ſelf to thy diſpoſition. That which is meet for a Jeſter, is not likewiſe convenient for a Nobleman. And theſe words either take to thy ſelf, as ſpoken to thee, if thou be a wiſe man; or elſe I refer them to thoſe which ſet thee on work.* Ex Æneas Sylv. in Hiſt. Bohem.

*An anſwer proceeding of a Heavenly wiſdom.*

After the King was returned from the *Bohemians* again to *Auſtria*, the *Hungarians* likewiſe made their petitions to the King, that he would alſo come unto them. The Governour of *Hungary* (as ye before have heard) was *Johannes Huniades*, whoſe victorious acts againſt the *Turks* are famous. Againſt this *Huniades*, wicked *Ulricus* Earl of *Cilicia* did all he could with the King to bring him to deſtruction, and therefore cauſed the King to ſend for him up to *Vienna*, and there privily to work his death. But *Huniades* having thereof intelligence, offereth himſelf within *Hungary* to ſerve his Prince to all affairs: Out of the land where he was, it was neither beſt (ſaid he) for the King, nor ſafeſt for himſelf to come. The Earl being ſo diſappointed, came down with certain Nobles of the Court to the borders of *Hungary*, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to *Vienna*, or there to diſpatch him. *Huniades* without in the fields ſaid he would commune with him, within the Town he would not be brought. After that another train alſo was laid for him, that under pretence of the Kings ſafe conduct he ſhould meet the King in the broad fields of *Vienna*. But *Huniades* ſuſpecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he neither ſeeing the King to come, nor the Earl to have any ſafe conduct for him, was moved (and not without cauſe) againſt the Earl, declaring how it was in his power there to ſlay him, which went about to ſeek his blood, but for the reverence of the King he would ſpare him and let him go.

*Ulricus ſeeketh the death of Huniades.*

*Huniades ſpareth his enemy.*



Not long after this, the *Turk* with a great power of fighting men, to the number of an hundred and fifteen thouſand, arrived in *Hungary*, where he laid ſiege to the City *Alba*. But through the merciful hand of God, *John Huniades*, and *Capiſtranus* a certain *Minorite*, with a ſmall Garriſon of Chriſtian Souldiers gave him the repulſe, and put him to flight with all his mighty hoſt: Whereof more (Chriſt willing) hereafter. *Ex Hiſt. Bohemic.* [illegible] *Huniades* ſhortly after this victory deceaſed. Of whoſe death when the King and the Earl did underſtand, they came the more boldly into *Hungary*, where he being received by *Ladiſlaus Huniades* Son into the Town of *Alba* there viewed the place where the *Turks* before had pitched their Tents. When this *Ladiſlaus* heard that the King was coming firſt toward the Town, obediently he opened to him the Gates. Four thouſand only of armed Soldiers he debarred from entring the City.

*Alba beſieged of the Turk.*

*The power of God by the means of Huniades and Capiſtranus againſt the Turk.*

*K. Ladiſlaus cometh into Hungary.*

*Ladiſlaus Huniades Son.*

In the mean time while the King was there reſident in the City, the Earl with other Nobles did [illegible] Council, requiring alſo *Ladiſlaus* to reſort unto them; who firſt doubting with himſelf what he might do, at length putteth on a privy coat of Mail, and cometh to them. Whether the Earl firſt began with him, or he with the Earl, it is not known. The opinion of ſome is, that *Ulricus* firſt called him Traytor, for ſhutting the Gates againſt the Kings Soldiers. Howſoever the occaſion began, this is undoubted, that *Ulricus* taking his ſword from his Page let fly at his head. To break the blow, ſome putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The *Hungarians* hearing a noiſe and tumult within the Chamber, brake it open upon them, and there incontinent ſlew *Ulrick* the Earl, wounding and cutting him almoſt all to pieces. The King hearing thereof, although he was not a little diſcontented thereat in his mind: yet ſeeing there was then no other remedy, diſſembled his grief for a time.

*Debate between Ulricus and Ladiſlaus Huniades Son.*

*Ulricus Earl of Cilicia ſlain.*

From thence the King took his journey again to *Buda*, accompanied with the foreſaid *Ladiſlaus*; who paſſing by the Town where the Wife of *Huniades* was mourning for the death of her Husband, ſeemed with many fair words to comfort her, and after he had there ſufficiently repaſted himſelf, with ſuch pretence of diſſembled love, and fained favour, that they were without all ſuſpition and fear; from thence he ſet forward in his journey, taking with him the two Sons of *Huniades*, *Ladiſlaus* and *Matthias*, who were right ready to wait upon him. The King being come to *Buda* (whether of his own head, or by ſiniſter counſel ſet on) when he had them at a vantage, cauſed both the Sons of *Huniades*, to wit, *Ladiſlaus* and *Matthias*, to be apprehended. And firſt was brought forth *Ladiſlaus* the elder Son to the place of Execution, there to be Beheaded, where meekly he ſuffered, being charged with no other crime but this, publiſhed by the voice of the Cryer, ſaying, *Thus are they to be chaſtned, which are rebels againſt their Lord.* *Peucerus* writing of his death addeth this moreover, That after the Hangman had three blows at his neck, yet notwithſtanding the ſaid *Ladiſlaus*, having his hands bound behind him, after the third ſtroke roſe upright upon his feet, and looking up to Heaven called upon the Lord, and proteſted his innocency in that behalf; and ſo laying down his neck again, at the fourth blow was diſpatched: *Matthias* the other Brother was led captive with the King into *Auſtria*. The reſt of the captives brake the priſon and eſcaped.

*The cruel diſſimulation of Ladiſlaus the King.*

*The two Sons of Huniades, Ladiſlaus and Matthias.*

*Ladiſlaus Huniades Son innocently put to death.*

*A miraculous token at the death of Ladiſlaus.*

*Ex Peucer. Chron. lib. 5.*

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon *Ladiſlaus*, the King being about the age of twenty and two years, that talk was made of the Kings marriage with *Magdalen* Daughter to the *French* King. The place of the Marriage was appointed at *Prague*, where great preparation was for the matter. At the firſt entrance of the King into the City of *Prague*, *Rochezana* with a company of Miniſters, ſuch as were favourers of *John Hus*, and of ſincere Religion, came with all ſolemnity to receive the King, making there his Oration to gratulate the Kings moſt joyful and proſperous acceſs into the ſame his own Realm and Country of *Boheme*. Unto which *Rochezana*, after he had ended his Oration, ſcarce would the King open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cheerful countenance unto his Company, but fiercely

*Preparation to the Kings Marriage.*

*Ladiſlaus the King received in Boheme.*

*Ladiſlaus the King infeſt enemy againſt the Huſſians*

ſeemed

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ſeemed to frown upon them. In the next Pagent after theſe came forth the Prieſts of the high Miniſter, after the moſt Popiſh manner, meeting him with Proceſſion, and with the Sacrament of the Altar: For as *Panacea* among Phyſicians ſerveth for all diſeaſes, ſo the Sacrament of the Popes Altar ſerveth for all pomps and Pagents. Firſt it muſt lye upon the Altar, then it muſt be holden up with hands, then it muſt hang in the Pixe, it muſt ſerve for the ſick, it muſt alſo help the dead, it muſt moreover viſit the ſick, it muſt walk about the Churchyard, it muſt go about the ſtreets, it muſt be carried about the fields to make the graſs to grow, it muſt be had to the battail, it muſt ride on horſeback before the Pope: And finally it muſt welcome Kings into Cities. Wherein theſe Catholick Fathers do ſeem ſomewhat to forget themſelves. For if the Pope being inferior to the Sacrament of the Altar, at the coming of Kings do uſe to ſit ſtill while the Kings come and kiſs his feet, what reaſon is it that the Sacrament of the Altar, which is (I know) above the Pope, ſhould meet Kings by the way, and welcome them to the Town? But this by the way of *Parenthesis*: Let us now continue the Text.

The Sacrament of the Altar uſed to many purpoſes.

*Ex Æneæ Sylvio in Hiſt. Boben.*

When *Ladiſlaus* this Catholick King, who had ſhewed himſelf before ſo ſtout and ſtern againſt *Rochezana* and his company, had ſeen theſe Catholick Prieſts with their Proceſſion, and eſpecially with their bleſſed Sacrament, to come with all reverence and much devotion he lighted down from his Horſe, he embraced the Croſs and kiſſed it, and with chearful countenance ſaluted the Prieſts in order. All this while his young Wife was not yet come out of *France*, but Legates were ſent, after moſt ſumptuous wiſe, to conduct her. Other Legates alſo were ſent the ſame time to the Emperor *Frederick*, for concluſion of peace. The third Legacy was directed likewiſe to Pope *Calixtus* about Religion, how to reduce the *Bohemians* to the Church of *Rome*. The Author of this Story (which was Pope *Pius* himſelf) declareth further the opinion of ſome to be, that King *Ladiſlaus* the ſame time had intended to make a final end and deſtruction of all that ſect in *Bohemia*, which held with the Doctrine of *John Hus* and *Hierome*, by the aſſembly and concourſe of the Catholick Princes, and Popiſh Prelates which were appointed there to meet together at that Marriage in *Prague*. For there ſhould be firſt the Emperor *Frederick*, *Elizabeth* the Kings Mother, and his Siſters *Elizabeth* and *Anna*, the Princes of *Saxony*, *Bajoria*, *Sleſia*, *Franconia*, the Palatine, and other Princes of *Rhene*: many alſo of the Lords of *France*, beſides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates, and other Poteſtates of the Popes Church; who if they had altogether convented in *Boheme*, no doubt but ſome great miſchief had been wrought there againſt the *Huſſites*; againſt whom this *Ladiſlaus*, following the ſteps of *Sigiſmundus* his Grandfather, and *Albertus* his Father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purpoſed, yet God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him.

A great concourſe of Catholick Princes intended againſt the *Huſſites*.

Man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth.

*Ex Æneas Sylvio.*

And therefore truly it is written of *Æneas Sylvius* in the ſame place, ſaying, *De regimine Civitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum eſt quod homines poſſint (tum vero de religionis conſtitutione multo minus) magna magnus diſponit Deus.* That is, In Regiment of Cities, in alteration of Kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is leſs than nothing that man can do; it is the High God that ruleth high things. Where-unto then I may well add this moreover, and ſay, That if the governance of worldly Kingdoms ſtandeth not in mans power, but in the diſpoſition of God, much leſs is it then that mans power can do in the Regiment and governing of Religion. Example whereof in this purpoſed device of Princes doth evidently appear. For as this great preparation and ſolemnity of Marriage was in doing, and the Princes ready to ſet it forth, with a little turn of Gods holy hand, all theſe great purpoſes were ſuddenly turned and daſhed. For in the midſt of this buſineſs, about the one and twentieth day of *November*, Anno 1461, this great adverſary of Chriſts people, King *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Boheme*, of *Hungary*, and Prince of *Auſtria* ſickned, and within ſix and thirty hours died; ſome ſay of a Peſtilent ſore in his Groin, ſome ſay of poyſon. But howſoever it was, as it came not without the juſt judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of *Ladiſlaus Huniades* Son, wrongfully put to death before; ſo by the opportune death of this King, the poor Churches of *Boheme* were graciouſly delivered. And this end made *Ladiſlaus* one of the mightieſt Princes at that time in all *Europe*; in whom three mighty Kingdoms were conjoyned and combined together, *Auſtria*, *Hungaria*, and *Bohemia*; which Countries do lye South-Eaſt from *England*, in the fartheſt parts of all *Germany*, toward *Conſtantinople*, and the Dominions of the *Turks*, and contain theſe principal Towns in them.

Governance of Empires and Kingdoms is not in mans power, much leſs the Governance of Religion.

The great work of God in defending his poor ſervants.

The death of King *Ladiſlaus*.

Blood revenged by God.

## *The Large Dominion of* Ladiſlaus.

*Auſtria*, called once *Pannonia ſuperior*.
*Vienna*, which was beſieged of the *Turk*, Ann. 1533.
*Meleck.*
*Neuſtat. nova Civitas.*
*Gretz.*
*S. Hypolit.*
*Lintz.*
*Stein.*
*Haynberg.*
*Kremſz.*
*Karolsburg.*
*Toben.*
*Rotzo.*
*Raba.*
*Lindenburg.*

¶ To *Auſtria* be adjoyning alſo certain Provinces and Earldoms: as,

*Stiria.* *Carinthia.* *Croatia.* — Provinces.

*Cilicia.* *Tyolentz.* — Earldoms.

*Hungaria*, which was once called *Pannonia inferior*.
*Buda. Ofen.*
*Strigonium.*
*Kalachia.*
*Varadinum.*
*Nitria.* *Nicopolis.* — *Nova.* *Vetus.*
*Agria.*
*Orſzaw.*
*Boſſen.*
*Sabaria.*

¶ This *Hungaria* was firſt called *Pannonia*, or *Pœnia*. After the coming of the *Huns*, it was called *Hungaria*. Of which came *Attila*, which deſtroyed *Italy*, about the year of the Lord 440. Through *Hungaria* runneth *Danubius*, having on the Weſt-ſide, *Auſtria*, and *Bohemia*; on the Eaſt, *Servia*; on the South-ſide, *Polonia*, &c. The moſt of this *Hungary* is now under the *Turk*; which *Turk* firſt came into *Europe*, *Ann.* 1211.

*Bohemia.*
*Praga.*
*Pilzen.*
*Thabor.*
*Buduvis.*
*Kolm*, or *Kælu.*
*Egra.*
*Kuttenberg.*
*Leimiritz.*
*Laun.*
*Raconick.*
*Glaraw.*
*Bern.* or *Beraun.*
*Bruck. Moſt.*
*Gretz. Hradetz.*
*Auſt.*
*Maut. Myto.*
*Hoſ.*
*Jaromir.*
*Dub. Biela.*
*Lanitzhut.*
*Gilowy.*
*Krupka.*
*Krumaw.*
*Pardubitz.*
*Chumitaun.*
*Lokgt.* *Teplitz.*
*Hantzburg.* *Zbraſlaw.*
*Labe.* *Ultawa.*

*George Pogiebracius.*

After the death of *Ladiſlaus*, the Kingdom of *Boheme* fell to *George Pogiebracius* above mentioned, whom Pope *Innocent* the Eighth did Excommunicate and depoſe for his Religion, as is afore declared.

*Matthias Huniades.*

Furthermore the Kingdom of *Hungary* was given to *Matthias* Son of *Huniades*, who was in captivity (as is ſaid) with King *Ladiſlaus*, and ſhould have been put to death after his Brother, had not the King before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the ſaid King *Ladiſlaus* thus dying without wife and iſſue, left behind him two Sifters alive, to wit, *Elizabeth*, which was married to *Caſimirus* King of *Polonia*; and *Anna*, married to *William* Duke of *Saxonie*; *Elizabeth* by her Husband *Caſimirus*, King of *Polonia*, had *Uladiſlaus*, who at length was King of both *Boheme* and *Hungary*. This *Caſimirus* firſt was married to *Beatrix*, Wife before to *Matthias*. Then being divorced from her by the diſpenſation of Pope *Alexander*, he married a new Wife, a Counteſs of *France*, by whom he had two Children, *Lewes* and *Anna*; *Lewes* which was heir of both Kingdoms, of *Boheme* and *Hungary*, was ſlain fighting againſt the *Turks*. *Anna* was married to *Ferdinandus*, by whom he was Archduke of *Auſtria*, King of *Boheme*, &c.

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sigiſmundus* left only one Daughter, | *Elizabeth*, Wife to *Albertus* Emperour: who had three Children. | *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*, *Boheme*, and *Auſtria*. | *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Boheme* and *Hungary*: who by his ſecond Wife, Counteſs of *France*, had | *Ludovicus*, King of *Boheme* and *Hungary*. |
| | | *Elizabeth*, Wife of *Caſimirus*, King of *Polonie*: who had | | *Anne*, Wife to *Ferdinandus*, Father to this *Maximilian*, now Emperor. |
| | | *Anna*, Wife to *William* Duke of *Saxon*. | | |

*War betweene Matthias and Frederick the Emperor.*

Ye heard before how after the deceaſe of *Ladiſlaus* the *Hungarians* by their Election preferred *Matthias*, Sirnamed *Corvinus*, which was Son of *Huniades*, to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. For which cauſe diſſention fell between *Frederick* the Emperor and him, for that the ſaid *Frederick* was both nominated himſelf by divers unto that Kingdom, and alſo becauſe he had the Crown of *Hungary* then remaining in his hands, which *Elizabeth* Mother to King *Ladiſlaus* had brought to the Emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceaſed by the interceſſion of the Princes of *Germany*, ſo that *Matthias* ranſomed that Crown of *Frederick* for Eight thouſand *Florences*.

*George Pogiebracius by the Pope depoſed from his Kingdom, for favouring of John Hus.*

Not long after, Pope *Innocent* being diſpleaſed with *George Pogiebracius* (or *Bojebracius*) King of *Bohemia*, for favouring of *John Hus* and his Religion, that is to ſay, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did Excommunicate and depoſe him, conferring his Kingdom to *Matthias*. But forſomuch as *Frederick* the Emperor would not thereto conſent, and eſpecially after the death of the aforeſaid *George*, when the Emperor and the *Bohemians*, leaving out *Matthias*, did nominate *Uladiſlaus* Son of *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*, and of *Elizabeth*, to be King of *Boheme*, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and *Frederick* the Emperor. Wherein the Emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not *Albertus* Duke of *Saxony*, reſcued the Emperor, and repreſſed the vehemency of *Matthias*.

*Albert D. of Saxony.*

*The noble acts of John and Matthias Huniades againſt the Turks. Sirmium & the borders of Illyrica, recovered from the Turks.*

The noble acts of *John Huniades*, and of this *Matthias* his Son, were not only great ſtays to *Hungary*, but almoſt to all Chriſtendom, in repelling back the *Turk*. For beſide the other Victories of *John Huniades* the Father aforementioned, this *Matthias* alſo his Son ſucceeding no leſs in valiantneſs than in the name of his Father, did ſo recover *Sirmium*, and the confines of *Illyrica*, from the hands of the *Turks*, and ſo vanquiſhed their power, that both *Mahometes* and alſo *Bajazetes* his Son were inforced to ſeek for Truce.

*Jaitza recovered. The ſubtile practiſe of Satan to ſtop good proceedings*

Over and beſides, the ſame *Matthias* conducting his Army into *Boſna* (which lyeth South from *Hungary*) recovered again *Jaitza*, the principal Town of that Kingdom from the *Turks* poſſeſſion. Who if other Chriſtian Princes had joyned their helps withal, would have proceeded farther into *Thracia*. But behold here the malicious ſubtilty of Satan, working by the Pope. For while *Matthias* was thus occupied in this expedition againſt the *Turks*, wherein he ſhould have been ſet forward and aided by Chriſtian Princes, and Biſhops; the Biſhop of *Rome* wickedly and ſinfully miniſtreth matter of civil diſcord between him and *Pogiebracius* aforeſaid, in removing him from the right of his Kingdom, and transferring the ſame to *Matthias*. Whereupon not only the courſe of victory againſt the *Turks* was ſtopped, but alſo great war and bloodſhed followed in Chriſtian Realms, as well between this *Matthias* and *Pogiebracius*, with his two Sons *Victorinus* and *Henricus*, as alſo between *Caſimirus Uladiſlaus*, and *Matthias* warring about *Uratiſlavia*, till at length the matter was taken up by the Princes of *Germany*.

*The Popes Excommunication not obeyed of divers in Bohemia.*

Albeit, for all the execrable Excommunication of the Pope againſt *Pogiebracius*, a great part of *Boheme* would not be removed from the obedience of their King, whom the Pope had curſed, and depoſed; yet *Matthias* took from him *Moravia*, and a great portion of *Sileſia*, and adjoyned it to his Kingdom of *Hungary*, Anno 1474.

*Matthias adjoyned Moravia and part of Sileſia unto Hungary.*

{Anno 1474.}

*The Religion of the Bohemians defended by God againſt the four greateſt Princes in Europe.*

¶ Where this by the way is to be noted, that the Religion in *Bohemia*, planted by *John Hus*, could not be extinguiſhed or ſuppreſſed with all the power of four mighty Princes, *Vinceſlaus*, *Sigiſmundus*, *Albertus* and *Ladiſlaus*, notwithſtanding they with the Popes did therein what they poſſibly could; but ſtill the Lord maintained the ſame, as ye ſee by this *Pogiebracius* King of *Boheme*, whom the Pope could not utterly remove out of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

*Matthias a great lover of Learning and of learned men*

This forementioned *Matthias*, beſide his other memorable acts of Chivalry, is no leſs alſo commended for his ſingular knowledg and love of Learning and of Learned men, whom he with great Stipends procured into *Pannonia*; where by the means of good Letters, and furniture of Learned men, he reduced in ſhort ſpace the barbarous rudeneſs of that Country into a flouriſhing Commonwealth. Moreover ſuch a Library he did there erect, and repleniſh with all kind of Authors, Sciences and Hiſtories, which he cauſed to be tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*, as the like is not thought to be found, next to *Italy*, in all *Europe* beſide. Out of which Library we have received divers fragments of Writers, as of *Polybius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which were not extant before. *Ex Peucero.*

*The noble Library of Matthias K. of Hungary. Ex 5. Lib. Peuc.*

The conſtant fortitude alſo of *Georgius Pogiebracius*, King of *Boheme*, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom alſo Pope *Pius* himſelf, in *Deſcriptione Europæ*, doth honeſtly report (as a Pope may ſpeak of a Proteſtant) in theſe words writing, *Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus belli-cis clarus*, &c. Who although Pope *Innocent* did execrate with his Children, yet he left not off the profeſſion of the verity and knowledg which he had received. Moreover, the Lord ſo proſpered his Sons, *Victorinus* and *Henricus*, that they ſubdued their enemies, and kept their Eſtate: Inſomuch that when *Frederick* the Emperor at *Vienna* was in cuſtody incloſed by the Citizens, *Victorinus* did reſtore, and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the Emperor afterward advanced them to be Dukes. Alſo God gave them ſometimes proſperous victory againſt *Matthias*, as at the City of *Glogovia*, &c.

*Commendation of Geo. Pogiebracius Ex Pii Pont. Deſcriptione Europæ.*

*Gods fat out to the Sons of Pogiebracius.*

*The death of Pogiebracius.*

After the deceaſe of *Georgius Pogiebracius* King of *Boheme*, *Frederick* the Emperor aſſigned that Kingdom, not to *Matthias* upon whom the Pope had beſtowed it before, but upon *Uladiſlaus* Son of *Caſimirus* King of *Poloſie*, and of *Elizabeth*, Daughter of the Emperor *Albert*, and Siſter to *Ladiſlaus*. For the which *Matthias* being diſcontented, and for that the Emperor had denied him his Daughter *Kunegunda*, went about to exclude *Uladiſlaus*

*Uladiſlaus Caſimirus Son, made King of Hungarie*

out

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out of *Boheme*, and alſo proclaimed war againſt *Frederick*. But before he accompliſhed his purpoſed preparation, death prevented him, who without iſſue departed, *Anno* 1490.

After the death of *Matthias*, departing without iſſue, *Uladiſlaus* Son of *Caſimirus* King of *Polonie*, and of *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Albert* Emperor, and Siſter to King *Ladiſlaus*, married his Wife *Beatrix*, whom *Matthias* left a Widow, and with her was Elected King of *Hungary*, with this condition made between him and *Frederick* the Emperor, that if he died without lawful iſſue, then the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and of *Boheme* ſhould return to *Maximilian* Son to *Fredericus*. But *Uladiſlaus* not long after did repudiate his Wife *Beatrix*, and depriving her of the Kingdom, cauſed the ſaid *Beatrix* to ſwear and to conſent to his marrying of another woman, which was the Daughter of the *French* King, named *Anne*, procuring from Pope *Alexander* a diſpenſation for the ſame, as is before ſignified. By this *Anne Uladiſlaus* had *Lewis*, and *Anne*, which *Anne* afterward was married to *Ferdinandus*, &c.

*Uladiſlaus* forſaketh his firſt wife. Diſpenſation from Pope *Alexander* to forſake his firſt Wife, and to marry another.

*Ludovicus*, *Uladiſlaus* Son, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemie*.

*Lewis* ſucceeding after his Father, had both the ſaid Kingdoms of *Boheme* and *Hungary*, Ann. 1492, and married *Mary*, Siſter to *Charles* the fifth Emperor. *Anne*, as is ſaid, was coupled to *Ferdinandus*, &c.

Of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoine* ſomewhat was before touched, who had married King *Edwards* Siſter; and what troubles by him were ſtirred up in *France*, partly was before notified. This *Charles* after he had beſieged the City *Nuſſia*, or *Novaſium*, the ſpace of a whole year, went about to alienate the Territory of *Colen* from the Empire to his own Dominion: wherefore war began to be moved between him and *Frederick* the Emperor. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a Marriage appointed between *Mary* the only Daughter of *Charles*, and *Maximilian* the Emperors Son, *Anno* 1475. Then from *Novaſium*, *Charles* leadeth his Army toward *Helvetia*, againſt *Renatus*, or *Reinhardus* Duke of *Lotharing*; then againſt the *Helvetians*, where he being thrice overcome, firſt at *Granſon*, then at *Moratum*, or *Muria*, in the higher part of *Helvetia*, at laſt at the Town of *Nauſe*, was overthrown and ſlain, *Anno* 1477. The procurer of which wars was chiefly *Lewis* the 11*th*, the *French* King, to the intent he might compaſs the Dominion of *Burgundy* under his ſubjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding *Mary* the Daughter of *Charles*, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cauſe the *Burgundians* were the more willing to joyn her Marriage with *Maximilian*, Son of *Frederick* the Emperor: by reaſon whereof the Title of *Burgundy* was firſt joyned to the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Wars between *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyn* and *Frederick* the Emperor.

Anno 1475. *Charles* Duke of *Burgoine* ſlain in war.

Ann. 1477.

*Mary* Daughter of *Charles* of *Burgoyn* married to *Maximilian*.

And thus have you the miſerable vexations and contentions among our Chriſtian Princes here in *Europe* deſcribed, under the reign of this *Frederick* the Third Emperor, ſo that almoſt no angle or portion of all Chriſtendom (whether we conſider the ſtate of the Church, or Civil Government) was free from diſcord, tumults, and diſſentions. This cankered worm of ambition ſo mightily creepeth, and every where prevaileth in theſe later ends of the world, that it ſuffereth neither reſt in Commonweals, nor peace in the Church, nor any ſparkle of charity almoſt to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then if the Lord ſeeing us ſo far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counſels, but almoſt from the ſenſe and bond of nature, that Brother with Brother, Uncle with Nephew, Blood with Blood cannot agree, in ſtriving, killing, and fighting for worldly Dominions, do ſend therefore theſe cruel *Turks* upon us, ſo to ſcourge and devour us? Of whoſe bloody tyranny and daily ſpilling of Chriſtian blood hereafter (by the Grace of Chriſt) we will diſcourſe more at large, when we come to the peculiar conſideration of the *Turkiſh* Stories. In the mean time this ſhall be for us to note and obſerve not ſo much the ſcourge how grievous it is; but rather to behold the cauſes which bring the whip upon us, which is our own miſerable ambition and wretched wars among our ſelves.

War and diſſention among Chriſtian Princes.

The diſcord of Chriſtians ſcourged by the *Turks*.

And yet if this Chriſtian peace and love, left and commended ſo heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now baniſhed out of Chriſtian Realms, and Civil Governance, might at leaſt find ſome refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuary among men profeſſing nothing but Religion, leſs cauſe we had to mourn. Now ſo it is, that as we ſee little peace and amity among Civil Potentates; ſo leſs we find in the ſpiritual ſort of them, which chiefly take upon them the adminiſtration of Chriſts Church. So that it may well be doubted whether the ſcourge of the *Turk*, or the civil ſword of Princes have ſlain more in the fields, or the Popes Keys have burnt more in Towns and Cities. And albeit ſuch as be profeſſed to the Church do not fight with Sword and Target for Dominions and Revenues, as warlike Princes do; yet this ambition, pride and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly Poteſtates; eſpecially if we behold and adviſe the doings and inſatiable deſires of the Court of *Rome*. Great arguments and proof hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be ſought, what Realm almoſt through all Chriſtendom hath not only ſeen with their eyes, but have felt in their purſes the ambition intolerable, and avarice inſatiable of that devouring Church, and alſo have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redreſſed? What exactions and extortions have been here in *England* out of Biſhopricks, Monaſteries, Benefices, Deanries, Archdeaconries, and all other Offices of the Church, to fill the Popes Coffers? and when they had all done, yet every year brought almoſt ſome new invention from *Rome* to fetch in our *Engliſh* money; and if all the floods in *England* (yea in all *Europe*) did run into the See of *Rome*, yet were that Ocean never able to be ſatisfied.

Ambition and avarice of the Church of *Rome*.

¶ In *France* likewiſe what floods of money were ſwallowed up into this See of *Rome*? It was openly complained of in the Council of *Baſil*, as is teſtified by *Henry Token*, Canon and Ambaſſador of the Archbiſhop of *Maidenburge*, written in his Book intituled *Rapulari*, where he writeth that in the Council of *Baſil*, Ann. 1436, the Archbiſhop of *Lions* did declare that in the time of Pope *Martin* there came out of *France* to the Court of *Rome*, Nine Millions of Gold, which was gathered of the Biſhops and Prelates, beſides thoſe which could not be counted of the poor Clergy, which daily without number ran unto the Court of *Rome*, carrying with them all their whole ſubſtance. The Archbiſhop of *Turonne* ſaid alſo at *Baſil*, in the year of our Lord 1439, that Three Millions of Gold came unto *Rome* in his time, within the ſpace of fourteen years, from the Prelates and Prelacies, whereof no account could be made, beſide the poor Clergy which daily run to that Court. Let the man which feareth God judg what a devouring gulf this is; a Million containeth Ten hundred thouſand.

*Ex Rapulario Henrici Token.*

The See of *Rome* is turned into an Ocean, that hath no bottom.

What a Million is.

And what made Pope *Pius* the Second to labour ſo earneſtly to *Lewis* the Eleventh, the *French* King (who as is aforeſaid was a great enemy to the Houſe of *Burgoine*) that he would (according to his former promiſe) aboliſh and utterly extinguiſh the conſtitution eſtabliſhed before at the Council of *Bitures*, by King *Charles* the Seventh his Predeceſſor, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; but only the ambition of that See, which had no meaſure, and their avarice which had no end? The ſtory is this, King *Charles* the Seventh the *French* King, willing to obey and follow the Council of *Baſil*, did ſummon a Parliament at *Bitures*; where by the full conſent of all the States in *France*, both Spiritual and Temporal, a certain conſtitution was decreed and publiſhed, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and Decrees concluded in the Council of *Baſil*. The which conſtitution the ſaid King *Charles* willed and commanded through all his Realm inviolably to be obſerved and ratified for the honour and increaſe of Chriſtian Religion for ever. This was *Ann.* 1438.

*Concilium Biturienſe.*

*Pragmatica Sanctio.*

*Ex Joan. Mario Belg. de Schiſmat. & Concilio, Cap.* 24.

It followed that after the deceaſe of the foreſaid *Charles* the Seventh, ſucceeded King *Lewis* the Eleventh, who had promiſed before, being Dauphin, Pope *Pius*, that if he ever came to the Crown, the foreſaid *Sanctio Pragmatica* ſhould be aboliſhed. Whereupon *Pius* hearing him to be Crowned, did ſend unto him *John Balvus* a Cardinal, with his great Letters-patent, willing him to be mindful of his promiſe made. The King either willing, or elſe pretending a will to perform, and accompliſh that he had promiſed, directed the Popes Letters-patent, with the ſaid Cardinal, to the Council of *Paris*, requiring them to conſult upon the cauſe.

Pope *Pius* laboureth that *Pragmatica Sanctio* ſhould be aboliſhed.

Diſcord and Diſſention in the Church noted.

Thus the matter being brought and propoſed in the Parliament-Houſe, the Kings Attorney named *Joannes Romanus*, a man well ſpoken, ſingularly witted, and well reaſoned, ſtepping forth, with great eloquence, and no leſs boldneſs, proved the ſaid ſanction to be profitable, holy and neceſſary for the wealth of the Realm, and in no caſe to be aboliſhed. Unto whoſe ſentence the Univerſity of *Paris* adjoyning their conſent, did appeal from the attempts of the Pope to the next General Council. The Cardinal underſtanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatning many terrible things againſt them; but all his minatory words notwithſtanding, he returned again to the King, his purpoſe not obtained, *Anno* 1438. *Ex Joan. Mario.*

The Council of *Paris* appealeth from the Pope to the General Council. *Vide ſupra.*

Thus the Popes purpoſe in *France* was diſappointed, which alſo in *Germany* had come to the like effect, if *Frederick* the Emperor had there done his part likewiſe toward the *Germans*; who at the ſame time, bewailing their miſerable eſtate, went about with humble ſuit to perſwade the Emperor, that he ſhould no longer be under the ſubjection of the Popes of *Rome*, except they had firſt obtained certain things of them as touching the Charter of Appeals; declaring their eſtate to be far worſe, (although undeſerved) than the *Frenchmen* or *Italians*, whoſe ſervants (and eſpecially of the *Italians*) they are worthily to be called, except that their eſtate were altered. The Nobles and Commonalty of *Germany* did inſtantly intreat with moſt weighty reaſons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the Empire, to have the Emperors aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an Oath; alledging alſo the great diſhonour and ignominy in that they alone had not the uſe of their own laws, declaring how the *French* Nation had not made their ſuit unto their King in vain againſt the exactions of Popes, by whom they were defended; which alſo provided Decrees and Ordinances for the liberty of his people, and cauſed the ſame to be obſerved; the which thing the Emperor ought to foreſee within his Empire; and to provide for his People and States of his Empire, as well as other Kings do; for what ſhall come to paſs thereby, if that foreign Nations, having recourſe unto their Kings, being relieved and defended by them from the ſaid Exactions, and the *Germans*, and States of the Empire flying unto their Emperor, be by him forſaken, or rather betrayed and deprived of their own Laws and Decrees? The Emperor being moved, and partly overcome by their perſwaſions, promiſed that he would provide no leſs for them, than the King of *France* had done for the *Frenchmen*, and to make Decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of *Æneas Sylvius*, as *Platina* writeth in the Hiſtory of *Pius* the ſecond, brake off the matter; who by his ſubtle and peſtiferous perſwaſions, did ſo bewitch the Emperor, that he, contemning the equal, juſt and neceſſary requeſts of his Subjects, choſe the ſaid *Æneas* to be his Embaſſador unto *Calixtus* then newly choſen Pope, to ſwear unto him in his name, and to promiſe the abſolute obedience of all *Germany*, as the only Country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the Ordinances and Decrees of their Country, as before he had done unto *Eugenius* the 4th, being Embaſſador for the ſaid *Frederick*, promiſing that he and all the *Germans* would be obedient unto him from henceforth in all matters, as well ſpiritual as temporal.

The complaint of the *Germans* to the Emperor, for help and aid againſt the oppreſſion of the Pope.

Thus twice *Frederick* of *Auſtrich* contemned and derided the *Germans*, and fruſtrating them of their native Decrees and Ordinances, brought them under ſubjection and bondage of the Pope; which partly was the cauſe that ſeven years before his death, he cauſed his Son *Maximilian*, not only to be choſen, but alſo crowned King of *Romans*, and did aſſociate him to the miniſtration of the Empire, leſt after his death (as it came to paſs) the Empire ſhould be tranſported into another Family, ſuſpecting the *Germans*, whom he had twice contrary to his Laws made ſubject, and in bondage unto the Popes Exactions; firſt before he was crowned in the time of *Eugenius* the fourth; and again, the ſecond time after his Coronation, and death of Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, denying their requeſts. Whereupon *Germany* being in this miſerable poverty and grievous ſubjection under the Popes tyranny and pollings with tears and ſighs lamenting their eſtate, continued ſo almoſt unto *Luther*'s time; as the Hiſtories hereafter following do teſtifie.

Frederick made the *Germans* twice ſubject unto the Pope.

And here ceaſing with the ſtory of *Frederick*, we will now proceed to the Reign of *Maximilian* his ſon, omitting divers things elſe incident in the time of this Emperor; as firſt touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this *Frederick* and *Albertus* his Brother, and *Sigiſmundus* his Uncle, for the Dukedom of *Auſtria*, after the death of *Matthias* afore mentioned. Omitting alſo to ſpeak of the long and cruel War between the *Pruſſians* and *Polonians*, with the religious Sect of them, which were called *Tentones fratres ſanctæ Mariæ*, in the time of *Uladiſlaus*: Omitting alſo the ſtrife and variance for the Dukedom of *Millain*, between *Fredericus* the Emperor, *Alphonſus*, *Carolus* Duke of *Orleance*, and *Franciſcus Sfortia*; And how the ſaid Princedom being after given to *Sfortia*, great Wars were kindled and long continued between *Sfortia* and the *Millenerſ*, then between the *Milleners* and *Venetians*, and after between the *Frenchmen* and the *Milleners*. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpoſe of this ſtory, I refer to other Writers, where they are to be found more amply diſcourſed.

KING { 1 Ed. 4. } *Frederick, Albertus* his Brother, and *Sigiſmund* ſtrive for the Dukedom of *Auſtria*. War between *Franciſcus Sforſa* and the *Venetians* about *Millain*. War between *Lewis* the *French* K and the City of *Millain*.

This as more properly belonging to the ſtory of the Church, I thought good not to paſs over, touching ſuch as were condemned, and ſuffered the pains of fire for teſtimony of Chriſt and his Truth. Of whom one was *John* a Paſtor or a Neat-herd, which was keeper of Cattel: The other was *Joannes de Weſalia*, although not burned, yet perſecuted near to death, under the Reign of this Emperor *Fredericus* the 3d.

And firſt touching this *John* the Neat-herd, thus writeth *Sebaſt. Munſterus*, That the Biſhop of *Herbipolis* condemned and burned for an Heretick one *John*, which was a Keeper of Cattel at a Town called *Nicholas Hauſen* in *Franconia*, becauſe he taught and held that the life of the Clergy was ignominious and abominable before God. *Ex Munſter.*

*John* Neat-herd of *Franconia* Martyr. Anno 1476.

The other was Doctor *Joannes Weſalia*, who was complained upon unto *Dietherus* the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, by the *Thomiſts*, upon certain Articles and Opinions gathered out of his Books. Wherefore the ſaid *Dietherus* fearing elſe to be depoſed again from his Biſhoprick, directeth forth Commiſſion to the Univerſities of *Heidelburgh* and *Colen*, to have the matter in examination; who conventing together the year above mentioned, called this Doctor *de Weſalia* before them, making him to ſwear that he ſhould preſent and give up all his Treatiſes, works and writings, whatſoever he had made or preached; that being done, they divided his Books amongſt themſelves, ſeverally every man to find out what Hereſies and Errors they could. His Articles and Opinions are theſe:

*John de Weſalia* perſecuted. Anno 1479.

*That all men be ſaved freely, and through meer grace by faith in Chriſt. Free will to be nothing. That we ſhould only believe the Word of God, and not the Gloſs of any Man, or Fathers. That the Word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another. That Prelates have no authority to make Laws, nor to expound the Scriptures, by any peculiar right given unto them more than to another. That mens Traditions, as Faſtings, Pardons, Feaſts, long Prayers, Peregrinations and ſuch like, are to be rejected. Extream Unction and Confirmation to be reproved; Confeſſion and Satisfaction to be reprehended. The Primacy of the Pope alſo he affirmed to be nothing.*

The Articles and Opinions of *J. de Weſal.* Free-will nothing. Prelates have no more power over Scriptures than other men. Extream Unction reproved. Againſt the primacy of the Pope.

Certain other Articles alſo were gathered out of him by his adverſaries, but in ſuch ſort, that they may ſeem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than true intelligence of his mind, whereof more is to be underſtood in this proceſs hereafter.

Thus when *Weſelianus* was commanded to appear, there convented together firſt the Archbiſhop, the Inquiſitor, the Doctors of *Colen*, and the Doctors of *Heidelburgh*, with the Maſters of the ſame, and the Rector of the Univerſity of *Mentz*, the Dean of Faculties, Bacheloss of Divinity, and many other Maſters of the ſame Univerſity, Canons, Doctors, with the Biſhops Chancellor, and his Counſellors, beſides many religious Prelates, Scholars, with a Doctor of *Francfort*, the Summer and Bedles, which all met together in the great Hall of the *Minorites*, for the examination of this *Jo. de Weſalia.*

Frier *Elton* the Inquiſitor firſt ſitteth in the higheſt place, then after him, others according to their degree. In the beginning of the Examination, firſt the Inquiſitor be-

The Inquiſitor ſpeaks.

KING Ed. 4. beginneth with theſe words, *Moſt Reverend Fathers and honourable Doctors, &c. Our reverend Father and Prince Elector hath cauſed this preſent Convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Maſter* John de Weſalia, *in certain ſuſpected Articles concerning the Catholick Faith. But ſomething I will ſay before, that may do him good, and deſire that two or three of them that favour him, or ſome other, will riſe up and give him counſel to forſake and leave his errors, to recognize himſelf, and to ask pardon; which if he will do, he ſhall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed againſt him without pardon.* And thus *Weſalianus* being cited, and brought in the midſt betwixt two *Minorites*, being very aged, and having a ſtaff in his hand, was let before the Inquiſitor. Who beginning to anſwer for himſelf with a long proteſtation, could not be ſuffered to proſecute his Oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words, whether he would ſtand to his opinions, or to the determination of the Church. To this he anſwered, that he never ſpake any thing againſt the determination of the Church, but ſaid, *That he had written divers and ſundry Treatiſes, in the which if he had erred, or were found to ſay otherwiſe than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the ſame, and do all things that were requiſite.* Then ſaid the Inquiſitor, *Do you aſk then pardon?* The other anſwered, *Why ſhould I aſk pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?* The Inquiſitor ſaid, *Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the Examination.*

*J. de Weſalia brought before the Prelates.*

*The anſwer of Weſalianus reaſonable.*

*The quiet proceeding of the Inquiſitor.*

In the mean time, others called upon him inſtantly to ask pardon. Then ſaid *Weſalianus, I aſk pardon.* Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitor proceeded to the Examination, reading there two Inſtruments, declaring that he had authority from the Apoſtolick See; after this, he cited the ſaid *John* to appear to his Examination. Thirdly, he commanded him under pain of diſobedience, in the vertue of the Holy Ghoſt, and under pain of Excommunication of the greater Curſe (from the which no man could abſolve him, but only the Pope, or the Inquiſitor, except only at the point of death) to tell plainly the truth upon ſuch things as ſhould be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and ſophiſtication of words. And ſo being demanded firſt whether he did believe upon his Oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were againſt himſelf or any other; To this he anſwered, *Scio*, that is, *I know*. Then the Inquiſitor biddeth him ſay, *Credo*, that is, *I believe*. To which he anſwered again, *What need I ſay that I believe that thing which I know?* There the Inquiſitor ſomething ſtirred with the matter, as hot as a Toaſt (as they ſay) cried with a loud voice, *Maſter* Joannes, *Maſter* Joannes, *Maſter* Joannes, *ſay* Credo, *ſay* Credo; then he anſwered, *Credo.*

*The greater curſe of the people.*

*Scio.*

*Credo.*

After this, being demanded whether he had written any Treatiſe, concerning the binding of humane Laws, to one *Nicholas* of *Boheme*; and whether he had written any Treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical power of Indulgences and Pardons, and of Faſting and other Treatiſes; he anſwered, *That he believed that he had ſo written, and had conferred with divers learned men*; alſo, *That he had ſent to the Biſhop of* Worms *a certain Treatiſe of Faſting.*

Many other interrogatories were miniſtred unto him, whereof ſome were vain, ſome falſe. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leaving out ſuperfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a fautor of the *Bohemians*, he ſaid, he was not. Alſo, being demanded concerning the Sacrament of the holy Body and Blood of our Lord, whether he thought Chriſt there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe in the ſaid Sacrament, the ſubſtance of Bread there to remain, or only the form thereof; To this he anſwered, not denying but the Body of Chriſt was there really contained, and alſo that with the Body of Chriſt the ſubſtance of Bread did remain.

*His opinion of the Sacrament.*

After this, he was demanded his Opinion concerning Religious Men, as Monks, Nuns or *Begwines*, whether he thought them to be bound to the Vow of Chaſtity, or to the keeping of any other Vow, and whether he ſaid to the Friers *Minorites* any ſuch word in effect, *I cannot ſave you in this your ſtate and Order.* This he confeſſed that he had ſaid, *how that not your Religion ſaveth you, but the grace of God, &c.* not denying but they might be ſaved.

*His opinion of Monks and Nuns. The Vow of Chaſtity.*

*Item*, Being required whether he believed, or had written, that there is no mortal ſin, but which is expreſt to be mortal in the Canon of the holy Bible; To this he anſwered, *that he did ſo believe as he hath written, till he was better informed.* Likewiſe, being required what he thought of the Vicar of Chriſt in earth, he anſwered, *That he believed that Chriſt left no Vicar in earth*; for the confirmation whereof he alledged and ſaid, *That Chriſt aſcending up to Heaven, ſaid* Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum, &c. *Behold I am with you*, &c. *In the which words he plainly declared, that he would ſubſtitute under him no Vicar here in earth*; and ſaid moreover, *if a Vicar ſignified any man which in the abſence of the Principal hath to do the works of the Principal, then Chriſt hath no Vicar here in earth.*

Mortal ſin found by the Pope, beſide that which is expreſſed to be mortal in the Scripture.

What is this Article, but to make the Pope a God? Chriſt left no Vicar in earth.

In like manner, concerning Indulgences and Pardons, ſuch as the Church doth uſe to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof; who anſwered again, *That he had written a certain Treatiſe of that matter, and what he had written in that Treatiſe he would perſiſt therein, which was thus, That he believed that the treaſure-box of the merits of Saints could not be diſtributed of the Pope to others, becauſe that Treaſure is not left here in earth, for ſo it is written in the Apocalyps*, Opera enim illorum ſequuntur illos, &c. that is, *their works follow them.*

Pardons and Indulgences be of no effect.

The treaſure of Saints merits is not in earth

*Item, That their Merits could not be applied to other men, for the ſatisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the Pope and other Prelates, cannot diſtribute that treaſure to men.*

It was objected to him moreover, that in the ſaid his Treatiſe he called Pardons and Indulgences, *Pias fraudes fidelium*, that is, *holy frauds and deceits of the faithful.*

This ſaying was taken out of one *Castor Parienſis*, which was wont to ſay, that Pardons were holy deſerts, becauſe that lay-men there were provoked, by naughty deſerts, to give good alms.

Alſo being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and bleſſing of Altars, Chalices, Veſtments, Wax Candles, Palms, Herbs, Holy-water, and other divine things, *&c.* He anſwered, *That they had no ſpiritual vertue and power in them to drive away Devils, and that Holy-water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remiſſion of venial ſins, and driving away Devils, and other effects, which the School Doctors do attribute to it.*

*Item*, For degrees of Marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth, *That all Chriſtian men under deadly ſin are bound unto the ſame.*

Degrees in Scripture forbidden to marry.

*Item*, That he believeth, *That God may give grace to a man, having the uſe of reaſon, without all motion of free will.* Alſo he thinketh, *that Saint* Paul *in his Converſion did nothing of his own free will for his Converſion.* He believeth moreover, *That God may give ſuch grace to a man having the uſe of reaſon, not doing that which in him is.*

*Item*, He affirmed, *That nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the Canon of the Bible.*

Nothing to be believed, but which is in Scripture contained.

Alſo, *That the Elect are ſaved only by the grace of God.*

Beſides all theſe, moreover he was charged with the old Opinion of the *Grecians*, which they did hold contrary to the *Roman* Church, unto the time of the Council of *Ferraria* above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt.

The *Wedneſday* next following, three Doctors, the Suffragan, *Herwicus* and *Jacobus Sprenger*, were ſent unto him, with perſwaſions to exhort him; and when he would not ſtand to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute his Doctrine, he was then demanded of *Herwicus*, why he would believe rather the four Evangeliſts, than the Goſpel of *Nicodemus*? To whom he anſwered, becauſe he would. Being aſked again why he believed the four Evangeliſts, he ſaid, becauſe he ſo received of his Parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the Doctors; *becauſe* (ſaid he) *their Doctrine is not Canonical Scripture.* Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himſelf when he preached, ſeeing he would not believe the holy Doctors? To whom he anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, *That he did preach as his duty was; but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.*

The Church giveth witneſs who were the Writers of the Scriptures, but hath no authority above that which is written.

This Examination being ended, after theſe Articles were condemned by the Inquiſitor and his Aſſiſtants, then ſaid he after this manner, *As you do with me, if Chriſt himſelf were here, he might be condemned as an Heretick.*

By this Inquiſition, Chriſt himſelf might be condemned.

After

After this they ſent divers to him to have communication with him, and to perſwade him, ſending alſo to him, with his Articles, a form of asking pardon; at length, within three or four days after, he was content to condeſcend unto them, and to ſubmit himſelf to their holy Mother Church, and the information of the Doctors. In the Book of *Orthuinus Gratius*, and in *Paralipomena*, adjoyned to *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, we read theſe words written of this *Joannes de Weſalia*, *Dempto ſolo articulo de proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti in aliis videtur non ita grave cenſura, &c.* That is, *Except only the Article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt, in other Articles it ſeemeth that he was not to be chaſtned with ſo ſharp cenſure, if reſpite and ſpace had been given him, if good counſellors had been about him, if all they which did accuſe and moleſt him had not been* de via realium, *as* Thomiſts, *that is, of the Sect of* Thomas; *which* Thomiſts *were ſet at that time againſt the other Sect of the Seculars, which were called* Nominales, *and therefore they ſo ſpited this Doctor, becauſe he did not hold with their* Thomas, *againſt whom otherwiſe (had it not been for that cauſe) they would never have been ſo fierce and malicious in proceeding againſt him. I take God to witneſs, which knoweth all things, that this Proceſs which was made againſt him, for his revoking and burning of his Books, did greatly diſpleaſe Maſter* Engeline *of* Brunſwick, *a great Divine, and alſo, Maſter* John Keiſersburg, *being both learned and famous men; but namely Maſter* Engeline *thought, that too much malice and raſhneſs was ſhewed in handling of that ſame man, and did not fear to ſay, That many of his Articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantaſtical diſſention of the* Thomiſts, *ſeeking by all manner of ways how to get the triumph over the Secular Divines, &c.* Hæc ille.

*Ex Ort. Gra. Ex Paralip. Ab. Urſper.*

*Diſcord betwixt Reals and Nominals.*

*Ex Ort. Gra.*

Although this aged and feeble old man by weakneſs was conſtrained to give over unto the *Romiſh* Clergy by outward profeſſion of his mouth; yet notwithſtanding, his Opinions and Doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death preſent had not inforced him to ſay otherwiſe than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no ſuch form of Recantation to be preſcribed to him to read openly unto the People, as the uſe is here in *England*. This ſtory of this man is more fully to be found in the Books of *Orth. Gratius, &c.*

*Doctor John de Weſalia revoketh his opinion.*

As touching the Reign of this *Frederick* Emperor, ſeeing we have comprehended hitherto ſufficiently the moſt principal matters in his time incurrent, we will now paſs forward (the Lord guiding us) to *Maximilian*, after I have firſt given a brief *Memorandum* of three valiant Princes and Captains, flouriſhing in the ſame time of this *Frederick* in *Germany*: Of the which, one was *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*; who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by publick voice, *Dextra manus Imperii, The right hand of the Empire.* The other was *Albert*, Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, to whom alſo the name was attribute, named of Pope *Pius* to be *Achilles Germanicus*. The third was *Frederick* Earl *Palatine*, ſirnamed *Victoriosus*, who manfully defended the Freedom and Majeſty of the Empire, from the fraudulent oppreſſions of the Popes tyranny.

*Albert Duke of Saxony, called Dextra manus Imperii. Albert Marqueſs of Brandenburgh, called Achilles Germanicus.*

{Ann. 1484} In the year of our Lord 1484, in this Emperors time died Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, a little before touched, a Monſter rather of Nature, than a Prelate of the Church. Of him writeth *Platina*, that unjuſtly he vexed all *Italy* with war and diſſention. *Agrippa* writing of him ſaith, That among all the Bawds of theſe our later days, which were builders of Brothel-houſes, this Pope *Sixtus* the 4th, ſurmounted all other; who at *Rome* erected a Stews of double abomination, not only of Women, but alſo, *&c.* whereupon no ſmall gain redounded to his Coffers. For every ſuch common Harlot in *Rome* paid him a *July* piece, the ſumm whereof grew in the year, ſome while to 2000, at length to 4000 Duckets. Whereunto accordeth right well the Epitaph of *John Sapidus*, which in the end hereof we will annex.

*The abomination of Pope Sixt. Ex declamatione Agrippæ ad Lavatienſes.*

*John Carion* alſo, ſpeaking of this Biſhop, witneſſeth him to be a man rather born to War than to Religion. For he warred againſt *Vitellius*, *Tiphernates*, againſt the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, whom he excommunicated, and did not abſolve till he died; alſo againſt *Columnenſis*, againſt *Ferdinandus* King of *Apulia*, and Duke of *Calabria*; alſo againſt other Nation and Princes more. *Ex Joan. Laziardo.*

*The Wars of Pope Sixtus.*

{KING Ed. 4.} *Ex Joan. Laziardo lib. 8. Hiſt. Univerſ. ca. 284.*

Of the ſaid Pope it is recorded, that he was a ſpecial Patron and Tutor to all Begging-Friers, granting them to have and enjoy Revenues in this World, and in the World to come everlaſting life. Among the which Friers there was one named *Alanus de rupe*, a black Frier, which made the Roſary of our Ladies Pſalter (ſo they term it) and erected a certain new fraternity upon the ſame, called *Fraternitas Coronariorum*, pertaining to the Order of the *Dominicks*, of the which Order *Jacobus Sprenger*, one of the condemners of *Joannes de Weſalia* above mentioned, was a great advancer, and eſpecially this Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who gave to the ſaid Fraternities large graces and priviledges.

*A large gift of this Pope to the begging Friers.*

*Alanus* author of our Lady Pſalter.

Concerning the Inſtitution of this Roſary, there was a Book ſet forth about the year of our Lord 1480. In the beginning whereof is declared, *That the bleſſed Virgin entred into the Cell of this* Alanus, *and was ſo familiar with him, that not only ſhe did eſpouſe him to her Husband, but alſo kiſſed him with her heavenly mouth, and alſo for more familiarity opened to him her Paps, and poured great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the ſaid* Alanus *this holy Father (ſaith the ſtory) did ſwear deeply, curſing himſelf, if it were not thus as he had made relation.*

*Then had the bleſſed Virgin Mary a Husband.*

*An ok! Knave to ſuck his Wives breaſt.*

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of *John Bale*, I began with my ſelf to miſtruſt the credit thereof, and had thought not to trouble the Reader with ſuch incredible Forgeries. But as the Providence of God worketh in all things, ſo alſo it appeared in this, that the very ſame Book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this ſelf ſame narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in *John Bale* is expreſſed, but alſo found in like manner another wonder as prodigious as this; where in another place not far off it is ſtoried in the ſame Book, how that about the time of Saint *Dominick*; there was a certain Matron in *Spain*, named *Lucia*, which being taken Captive by the *Saracens*, having her Husband killed, was carried great with Child into the *Turkiſh* Land.

When the time of her labour came, ſhe being left deſolate among Beaſts and Hogs, and remembring this twice holy Roſary; (firſt inſtituted, ſaith the Book, by Saint *Dominick*, and afterward renewed by *Alanus*) eftſoons the holy Virgin was ready and ſtood by her, and received the Child at her travel, ſupplying all the parts of a diligent Midwife; and moreover cauſing a Prieſt ſuddenly to appear, ſhe gave the Child to be Chriſtened, calling it after her own name, *Marianus*; and ſo was ſhe Wife to *Alanus*, Midwife to *Lucia*, and Godmother to *Marianus*. Which ſtory if it be true, then is the Popes Canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth Midwives in time of neceſſity to baptiſe, ſeeing the bleſſed Virgin, playing the part her ſelf of a Midwife, durſt not baptiſe this Child without a Prieſt.

*The deteſtable impiety and blaſphemy of the Popiſh lying Relligion.*

*Mendacem memorem eſſe oportet.*

It followeth more in the ſtory, that by the help of the ſaid bleſſed Virgin, this *Lucia* our Ladies Goſſip, after her Purification, was reſtored with her Child ſafe to her Country again. This Book, being in *Latine* and printed, beareth this Title *Roſacea Auguſtiſſimæ Chriſtiferæ Mariæ corona*; and in the front it ſheweth the name of *Jodocus Biſſelajus*, a Nobleman of *Aquine*. And this by the occaſion of Pope *Sixtus*. Which *Sixtus*, what a maintainer of blind Superſtition he was, partly by that afore ſpoken, partly by the end following it may be ſeen. For we read in certain Writers, that after this Pope had underſtanding that *Hercules Eſtenſis*, Duke of *Ferraria*, had joyned peace with the *Venetians* againſt his will, he was ſo grieved therewith, that for rancour of mind, within five days after he died; whereunto his Epitaph following giveth ſufficient Record. About whoſe time alſo died *Platina*, a man not unlearned, but yet a ſhameful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the Popes.

*Ex Latino Codice impreſſo, cui titulus, Roſacea Mariæ Coronæ.*

*The death of Pope Sixtus the fourth. Here endeth Platina.*

KING Ed. 5.

The Epitaph of Pope *Sixtus* is this:

*Non potuit ſævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum,*
*Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.*

Another Epitaph of the ſame Pope.

*Siste jaces tandem, noſtri diſcordia ſecli,*
*Sævis in ſuperos, nunc Acheronta move.*
*Siste jaces tandem, deflent tua buſta cinædi,*
*Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.*

Another.

*Gaude priſce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,*
*Hic ſcelus omne ſimul clauditur, & vitium.*

But leaving here Pope *Sixtus* with his Verſes and Vices, let us now proceed, as we before promiſed, to enter the ſtory of *Maximilian*; keeping notwithſtanding, the order of our Kings here in *England*. For a little before the Reign of *Maximilian*, King *Edward* the fourth ceaſed his life, *Anno* 1483. after he had Reigned twenty two years. In the time of which King *Edward* this alſo is not to be forgotten, that one *Burdet*, a Merchant dwelling in *Cheapſide*, at the Sign of the Crown, which is now the Sign of the *Flower-deluce*, merrily ſpeaking to his Son, ſaid that he would make him inheritor of the Crown, meaning indeed his own Houſe. For the which words, King *Edward* cauſing them to be miſconſtrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the Crown of the Realm, within leſs ſpace than four hours, he was apprehended, judged, drawn and quartered in *Cheapſide*.

The death of K. Edw. the fourth. Ann. 1483

*Burdet.*

Tyranny in miſconſtruing a mans words.

The lawes of the Realm miſconſtrued for the Princes pleaſure.

## *King* EDWARD *the Fifth.*

K. *Edward* the Fifth.

THIS King *Edward* left behind him by his Wife *Elizabeth*, two Sons, *Edward* and *Richard*, and two Daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Cecile*. Which two Sons *Edward* and *Richard*, forſomuch as they were under Age, and not ripe to govern, a Conſultation was called among the Peers, to debate whether the aforeſaid young Prince and King, ſhould be under the government of his Mother, or elſe that *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Brother to King *Edward* the fourth, and Uncle to the Child, ſhould be Governor of the King, and Protector of the Realm, there hath been and is an old Adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wreſted out of *Solomon*, *Væ Regno cujus Rex eſt puer, &c.* i. *Wo to the Kingdom, the King whereof is a Child, &c.* But if I may find leave herein to thruſt in a Gloſs, I would add this, and ſay, *Væ illi puero, qui ſui Regni Rex non eſt.* i. *Wo to that child, which is a King in a Kingdom unruly and ambitious.* There was the ſame ſeaſon, among other noble Peers of the Realm, the Duke of *Buckingham*, a man of great authority, who had married King *Edward*'s Wives Siſter. Becauſe the Duke being ſo near allied to the King, had been unkindly (as he thought) of the King entreated, having by him no advancement, nor any great friendſhip ſhewed, according to his expectation, he took part therefore with *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, both againſt the Queen and her children, to make the foreſaid Duke the chief Governor and Protector. The which thing being brought to paſs, by the aid, aſſiſtance and working of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Queen took Sanctuary with her younger Son; the elder Brother, which was the King, remaining in the cuſtody of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, his Uncle. Who, being now in a good towardneſs to obtain that which he had long looked for, ſought all the means, and ſoon compaſſed the matter, by falſe colour of diſſembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that the other Brother alſo ſhould be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious Protector and unnatural Uncle, having the poſſeſſion of his two Nephews, and innocent Babes, thought himſelf almoſt up the Wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in ſuch miſts and clouds, but his deviſed purpoſes began to be eſpied; which cauſed him more covertly to go about to remove from him all ſuſpicion, and to blind the peoples eyes. But before he could accompliſh his execrable enterpriſe, ſome there were whom he thought firſt muſt be rid out of the way, as namely the Lord *Haſtings*, and the Lord *Stanley*; who as they were ſitting together in Council within the Tower, the Protector (the matter being ſo appointed before) ſuddenly ruſhed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he ſuddenly haſted out again, his mind belike being full of miſchief and fury, was not quiet. Who within the ſpace of an hour returned again into the Chamber, with a ſtern countenance and a frowning look, and ſo there ſate down in his place. When the Lords were in great marvel and muſe at the meaning hereof, then he out of a cankered heart thus began to bray, asking them, *What are they worthy to have, which go about to imagine the deſtruction of him being ſo near to the Kings Bloud, and Protector of the Realm?* At the which queſtion as the other Lords ſate muſing, the Lord *Haſtings*, becauſe he had been more familiar with him, thus anſwered, *That they were worthy of puniſhment, whatſoever they were.* Which when the other Lords alſo had affirmed; *that is* (quoth the Protector) *yonder Sorcereſs, my Brothers Wife*, meaning the Queen and other with her; adding moreover, and ſaying, *That Sorcereſs and other of her Council, as* Shore's *Wife with her affinity, have by their Witchcraft thus waſted my body*, and therewith ſhewed forth his left Arm, a weariſh withered thing, as it was never otherwiſe, as was well known.

The deviliſh Protector picketh quarrels.

The Queen and *Shore*'s Wife falſly accuſed of the Protector to be witch his Arm.

This *Shore*'s Wife had been before a Concubine to King *Edward*, and afterward was kept by the ſame Lord *Haſtings*. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the conſent of the ſaid Lord *Haſtings*, the cruel Protector had deviſed about the ſame time, the Kindred of the Queen innocently to be beheaded at *Pomfret*, of meer deſpite and hatred. Wherefore, this puniſhment not undeſervedly, by the juſt hand of God, fell upon the Lord *Haſtings*.

Adultery puniſhed of God.

Murder juſtly puniſhed of God.

It followeth then more in the ſtory, that when the Lord *Haſtings* had heard of theſe falſe accuſations of the Tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; *Certainly (my Lord)* ſaid he, *if they have ſo done, they be worthy of heinous puniſhment. Why*, quoth the Protector, *doſt thou ſerve me with if and with and? I tell thee, they have ſo done, and that I will make good on thy body, Traytor*; and therewith giving a great rap on the Board (for a token or a watchword) one cried *Treaſon* without, and forthwith the Chamber was full of harneſſed men. The Protector then approaching to the Lord *Haſtings*, arreſted him as a Traytor. Another let fly at the Lord *Stanley*; who to avoid the blow, ſhrunk under the Table, or elſe his Head had been cleft aſunder; notwithſtanding he received ſuch a wound, that the bloud ran about his ears. There were in that Council the ſame time the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, (by whoſe procurement afterward King *Henry* the Seventh was ſent for into *England*, and he made Archbiſhop after that of *Canterbury*) theſe with the Lord *Stanley* diverſly were beſtowed in divers Chambers. The Lord *Haſtings* was commanded to ſpeed and ſhrieve him apace, for before Dinner the Protector ſware by Saint *Paul* that he ſhould die; and ſo incontinently, without further judgment, his Head was ſtricken off, by whoſe counſel the Queens Kindred were at the ſame time and day beheaded at *Pomfret*.

L. *Haſtings* arreſted for a Traytor.

L. *Stanley* wounded.

Biſhop *Morton*.

The tyranny of the Protector.

The Lord *Haſtings* beheaded.

After this tyrannous Murder accompliſhed, the miſchievous Protector aſpiring ſtill to the Crown, to ſet his devices forward, firſt through gifts and fair promiſes, did ſuborn Doctor *Shaw* a famous Preacher then in *London*, at *Pauls Croſs* to inſinuate to the people, that neither King *Edward* with his Sons, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begotten, nor the very Children of the Duke of *York*, but begotten unlawfully by other perſons in Adultery on the Dutcheſs their Mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful Heir of the Duke of *York*. Moreover, to declare and to ſignifie to the audience, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but his Wife before was Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and ſo the two Children of King *Edward* to be baſe and Baſtards, and therefore the Title of the Crown moſt rightly to pertain unto the Lord Protector. Thus this falſe flatterer and loud lying Preacher, to ſerve the Protectors humour, ſhamed not moſt impudently to abuſe that holy Place, that reverend Auditory, the ſacred Word of God, taking for his Theme, *Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas, &c.* which he

The beaſtly Protector accuſeth his own Mother.

Dr. *Shaw*'s impudent Sermon at *Pauls-Croſs*.

Sapi. 4.

Ecclc. 10.

*Væ puero regi in ſuo regno.*

Rich. Duke of *Gloceſter* made Protector.

The young King committed to the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* a great doer for the Protector.

Both King *Edward*'s Children in the poſſeſſion of the Protector.

he moſt impiouſly did apply againſt the innocent Children, and right Heirs of the Realm. Whereupon ſuch grudge and diſdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that for ſhame of the people crying out of him, in few days after he pined away.

Example for all flattering Preachers to beware.

When this Sermon would take no effect with the people, the Protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, reſted not thus, but within a few days after excited the Duke of *Buckingham*, firſt to break the matter in covert talk to the Mayor and certain Heads of the City picked out for the purpoſe; that done, to come to the *Guildhall*, to move the people by all flattering and lying perſwaſions to the ſame, which ſhameleſs *Shaw* before had preached at *Pauls Croſs*. Which the Duke with all diligence and helps of eloquence, being a man both learned and well ſpoken, endeavoured to accompliſh, making to the people a long and artificial Oration, ſuppoſing no leſs, but that the people, allured by his craftie inſinuations, would cry, *King Richard, King Richard*. But there was no King *Richard* in their mouths, leſs in their hearts. Whereupon the Duke looking to the Lord Mayor, and asking what this ſilence meant, contrary to the promiſe of the one, and the expectation of the other; it was then anſwered of the Mayor, that the people peradventure well underſtood him not: wherefore the Duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewiſe the third time he repeated his Oration again and again. Then the Commons which before ſtood mute, being now in amaze, ſeeing this opportunity, began to mutter ſoftly among themſelves, but yet no King *Richard* could ſound in their lips, ſave only that in the nether end of the Hall, certain of the Dukes ſervants, with one *Naſhfield*, and other belonging to the Protector, thruſting into the Hall among the Preaſe, began ſuddenly at mens backs to cry King *Richard*, King *Richard*, throwing up their Caps, whereat the Citizens turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but ſaid nothing.

The Duke of *Buckingham* another Miniſter for the Protectors fury.

The Duke of *Buckingham* ſpeaketh for the Protector in *Guildhal.*

An hard thing to make the tongue ſpeak againſt the heart.

A ſtoln conſent in the *Guildhal.*

The Duke and the Lord Mayor with that ſide, taking this for ſufficient teſtimony, incontinent came blowing for haſte to the Protector, then lying at *Baynards* Caſtle. Where the matter being made before, was now ſo contrived, that forſooth humble petition was made in the name of the whole Commons, and that with three ſundry ſutes, to the humble and ſimple Protector, *That he, although it was utterly againſt his will to take it, yet would of his humility ſtoop ſo low, as to receive the heavy Kingdom of* England *upon his ſhoulders*. At this their tender requeſt and ſute of the Lords and Commons made (ye muſt know how) the mild Duke, ſeeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although ſore againſt his will (ye muſt ſo imagine) and to ſubmit himſelf ſo low, as of a Protector to be made King; not much herein unlike to our Prelates in the *Popiſh* Church, who when they have before well compounded for the Popes Bulls, yet muſt they for manner ſake make courteſie, and thrice deny that for which they ſo long before have gaped, and ſo ſweetly have payed for.

Fie of hypocriſie.

The hypocriſie of the Protector, denying the Crown thrice before he would take it.

## *King* RICHARD *the Third*, Uſurper.

K. *Richard*, Uſurper.

AND thus *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* took upon him to be made and Proclaimed King of *England*, the year aforeſaid, *Anno* 1583. in the Month of *June*. Who then coming to the Tower by Water, firſt made his Son, a child of ten year old, Prince of *Wales*, and *John Haward* (a man of great induſtry and ſervice) he advanced to be Duke of *Northfolk*, and Sir *Thomas Haward* his Son he ordained Earl of *Surry*. Alſo *William* Lord *Barkley* was appointed Earl of *Nottingham*. *Francis* Lord *Lovel* was made Viſcount *Lovel*. Lord *Stanley* for fear of his Son was delivered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the Kings Houſhold. Likewiſe the Archbiſhop of *York* was ſet free; but *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely* was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, by whom was wrought the firſt device to bring in *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* into *England*, and to co conjoyn Marriage between *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s Daughter and him, whereby the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* were united together.

After the Kingdom of *England* was thus alotted to King *Richard* the Uſurper, as in manner above remembred, he tarried not long for his Coronation, which was ſolemnized the Month next enſuing, the ſixth day of *July*.

{KING *Ric.* 3.}

K. *Richard* crowned.

The triumph and ſolemnity of his uſurped Coronation being finiſhed, and all things to the ſame appertaining, this unquiet Tyrant yet could not think himſelf ſafe, ſo long as young *Edward* the right King and his Brother were alive; wherefore the next enterpriſe which he did ſet upon was this, how to rid thoſe innocent Babes out of the way, that he might reign King alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and ſorrow the tender hearts of theſe fatherleſs and friendleſs children were in, what little joy of themſelves, what ſmall joy of life they had, it is not ſo hard as dolorous for tender hearts to underſtand. As the younger Brother lingred in thought and heavineſs; ſo the Prince which was eleven years old, was ſo out of heart, and ſo fraught with fear, that he never tyed his points, nor joyed good day, till the traiterous impiety of their cruel Uncle had delivered them of their wretchedneſs which was not long in diſpatching. For after King *Richard* their Uncle had firſt attempted to compaſs his deviliſh device by *Robert Brakenbury* Conſtable of the Tower, and could not win him to ſuch a cruel fact (to die therefore) then he got one *James Tyril*, joyning with him *J. Dighton*, and *Miles Forreſt*, to perpetrate this heinous murther. Which *Dighton* and *Forreſt*, about midnight entring into their Chamber, ſo bewrapped and intangled them amongſt the Cloths, keeping down the Featherbed and Pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they ſmothered and ſtifled them piteouſly in their Bed.

The frugh of *Rob. Brakenbury* to his Prince.

*James Tyril*, *J. Dighton*, *Miles Forreſt*, cruel Traitors, and Murtherers of their Prince.

Young Princes, the 2 children of K. *Edward* murthered.

And thus ended theſe two young Princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of theſe forenamed tormentors, who, for their deteſtable and bloudy murther committed, eſcaped not long unpuniſhed by the juſt hand of God. For firſt *Miles Forreſt*, at S. *Martins le graund*, by piece-meal miſerably rotted away; *John Dighton* lived at *Calis* long after, ſo diſdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great miſery. Sir *James Tyril* was beheaded at Tower-Hill for Treaſon. Alſo King *Richard* himſelf, within a year and a half after, was ſlain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, torn and tugged like a Cur-dog.

The juſt puniſhment of God upon the murtherers of them two.

The puniſhment of God upon K. *Richard*.

Furthermore, the ſaid juſtice of Gods hand let not the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcape free, which was a great maintainer and ſetter up of this butcherly Uſurper: for leſs than within a year after, ſo God wrought, that he was himſelf beheaded for Treaſon by the ſaid King, whom he ſo unjuſtly before had advanced and ſet up.

The puniſhment of God upon the Duke of *Buckingham*

In the ſame Catalogue and order of theſe wicked doers afore recited, we have alſo to comprehend two other, as well worthy of memorial as the beſt, or rather as the worſt. The name of the one was Doctor *Shaw* above rehearſed; The other Doctor *Pinky*, Provincial of the *Auſten* Friers; both famous Preachers, and both Doctors in Divinity, both of more learning than vertue (ſaith the ſtory) of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. *Shaw* made a Sermon in praiſe of the Protector, before his Coronation. *Pinky* preached after his Coronation. Both were ſo full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. *Pinky* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was feign to leave off and came down in the midſt. Dr. *Shaw* by his Sermon loſt his honeſty, and ſoon after his life, for very ſhame of the world, ſo that he never durſt after that ſhew his face again. But as for the Friar, he was ſo far paſt ſhame, that the loſs thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of Doctor *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, by whoſe means the device was firſt broached, for the conjoyning of the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* together. This deviſe was firſt broken to the Duke of *Buckingham*, which ſoon after coſt him his life. But that Biſhop, more crafty to ſave himſelf, incontinent fled into *Britain*. Notwithſtanding, the device once being broached, was ſo plauſible and took ſuch effect, that meſſage was ſent over the Sea to *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Mother, and by the Queen, Mother to the Lady *Elizabeth*, that if he would make his return, and promiſe to marry with the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s Daughter, he ſhould be received. To make a longer diſcourſe of this matter

Dr. *Shaw*, and Dr. *Pinky*, two flattering Preachers.

Gods judgement upon flattering Preachers.

The firſt motion of joyning the two Houſes *York* and *Lancaſter* together.

KING *Hen.7.*

matter which is ſufficiently ſet forth by Sir *Tho.More*, ſo ornately, it needeth not.

Earl *Henry* maketh preparation toward his journey.

Briefly, (to contract that in a ſmall compaſs of words, which was not ſo ſmall a thing in doing) after that the Earl *Henry*, with ſuch other baniſhed men as fled out of *England* at the taking of the Duke of *Buckingham*, had perfect intelligence by his Mother, and by the Queen and other friends more out of *England*, how the caſe of the Realm ſtood, and how it was here purpoſed by his friends, that is, that he ſhould with all convenient ſpeed haſte his return over into *England*, promiſing to marry with Lady *Elizabeth*; he with all diligence, as time and preparation would ſerve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furniſhed by *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, and ſo ſhipped his men. Albeit his firſt Voyage ſped not; for that, the Winds turning contrary, by force of Weather his Ships were diſperſed, and he repulſed back into *France* again.

The arriving of Henry Earl of Richmond in Wales.

His ſecond Voyage was more proſperous. Who taking the Seas at *Harfler*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1485, accompanied only with two thouſand men, and a ſmall number of Ships, arrived at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, and firſt came to *Dale*, then to *Harford weſt*, where he was joyfully received, and alſo by the coming in of *Arnold Butler* and the *Pembroke* men, was in power increaſed. From thence he removing by *Cardigan* to *Shrewsbury*, and then to [illegible], and ſo to *Stafford*, from thence to *Lichfield*, his Army ſtill more and more augmented. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many ſmall Rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; ſo to this Earl, divers noble Captains and men of power adjoyned themſelves, as *Richard Griffith*, *John Morgan*, *Rice ap Thomas*, then Sir *George Talbot*, with the young Earl of *Shrewsbury* his Ward, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Burchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Knights. At the laſt the ſaid Earl, hearing of the Kings coming, conducted his whole Army to *Tamworth*.

K. Richard gathered his power to encounter with Earl Henry.

King *Richard* firſt hearing of the arrival of the Earl *Henry* in the parts of *Wales* after ſuch a ſlender ſort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after underſtanding that he was come to *Lichfield*, without reſiſtance or incumbrance, he was ſore moved, and exceedingly took on, curſing and crying out againſt them which had ſo deceived him, and in all poſt ſpeed ſent for *John* Duke of *Northfolk*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, with other his friends of ſpecial truſt. *Robert Brakenbury* alſo, Lieutenant of the Tower, was ſent for, with Sir *Thomas Burchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, with certain other Knights and Eſquires, of whom he partly miſdoubted, or had ſome ſuſpicious jealouſie. Thus King *Richard*, after moſt forcible manner, well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, ſet forward toward his enemies. The Earl by this time was come to *Tamworth*, to whom ſecretly in the Evening reſorted Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Sanford*, Sir *Simon Digby*, and many other, forſaking the part of King *Richard*, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwiſe deſerved. The King, having perfect knowledge the Earl to be encamped at *Tamworth*, embattelled himſelf in a place near to a Village called *Boſworth*, not far from *Leiceſter*, appointing there to encounter with his adverſaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and ſuſpence concerning the Lord *Stanley*, (which was the Earls Father-in-law, and had married his Mother) to what part he would encline. For although his heart went (no doubt) with the Earl, and had ſecret conference with him the night before, yet becauſe of his Son and Heir *George* Lord *Strange*, being then in the hands of King *Richard*, left the King ſhould attempt any prejudicial thing againſt him, he durſt not be ſeen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured, and therefore cloſely kept himſelf between both, till the puſh came that his help might ſerve at a pinch.

K. Richard taketh the field of Boſworth.

This Lord Stanley was he, which was hurt at the Tower when the L. Haſtings was arreſted.

The number of the Earls part exceeded not to the one half of the ſide of King *Richard*. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two Battels ſhould encounter and joyn together, ſore ſtripes and great blows were given on both ſides, and many ſlain. If number and multitude might govern the ſucceſs of Battel, King *Richard* had double to the Earl. But God is he, not Man that giveth Victory, by what means it ſeemeth to his Divine Providence beſt. In what order, and by what occaſion this Field was won and loſt, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expreſſed, but only the Hiſtory of *Polydore Virgil*, whom Sir *Thomas More* doth follow word for word. In the which ſtory it doth appear, that as theſe two Armies were coupling together, King *Richard* underſtanding by his Eſpials where the Earl of *Richmond* was, and how he was but ſlenderly accompanied, and ſeeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage, than ruled with reaſon, ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and ranging out of the compaſs of his Ranks, preſſed toward the Earl, ſetting upon him ſo ſharply, that firſt he killed Sir *William Brandon* the Earls Standard-bearer, Father to the Lord *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, then after overthrew Sir *John Cheinie*, thinking likewiſe to oppreſs the Earl. But as the Lord by his ſecret Providence diſpoſeth the event of all things, as the Earl with his Men about him, being overmatched, began to deſpair of Victory, ſuddenly and opportunely came Sir *William Stanley* with three thouſand well appointed able men, whereby King *Richard*'s men were driven back, and he himſelf, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there ſlain, and brought to his confuſion and death, which he worthily deſerved.

*Boſworth* field.

The Hiſtory of Sir *Tho. More*, word for word taken out of *Polydore Virgil*.

*W. Brandon*: *Charles Brandon*.

The death of K. *Rich.*

In the mean time the Earl of *Oxford*, who had the guiding of the foreward, diſcomfited the forefront of King *Richard*'s Hoſt, and put them to flight, in which Chaſe many were ſlain, of Noblemen eſpecially above other, *John* Duke of *Northfolk*, Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Richard Radcliff*, and *Robert Brankenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, *&c.* Lord *Thomas Haward* Earl of *Surrey* there ſubmitted himſelf, and although he was not received at firſt to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

Duke of *Northfolk* ſlain. L. *Thomas Haward* Earl of *Surrey* advanced by King *Henry* 7th.

This King *Richard* had but one Son, who, ſhortly after the cruel Murther of King *Edward*'s Sons, was taken with ſickneſs and died. The Wife of the ſaid King *Richard* (whether by poyſon or by ſickneſs) died alſo a little before the Field of *Boſworth*, after whoſe deceaſe, the ſtory of *Polydore* and of Sir *Thomas More* affirmeth, that he intended himſelf to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, his own Brothers Daughter, and ſo to prevent the Earl of *Richmond*.

K. *Richard*'s Son puniſhed for the wickedneſs of his Father. K. *Richard* purpoſed to marry *Elizabeth* his Brothers Daughter.

Morever, as touching the Lord *Stanley*, thus reporteth the ſtory, that King *Richard* being in *Boſworth* Field, ſent for the Lord *Stanley* by a Purſevant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his preſence; otherwiſe he ſware by Chriſts Paſſion, that he would ſtrike off his Sons Head before Dinner. The Lord *Stanley* ſent word again, *That if he did, he had more Sons alive.* Whereupon the King immediately commanded the Lord *Strange* to be beheaded; which was the very time when both the Armies were within ſight, and were ready to joyn together. Wherefore the Kings Counſellors, pondering the time and the caſe, perſwaded the King that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, adviſing him to delay the matter till the Battel were ended. And ſo (as God would) King *Richard* breaking his Oath, or rather keeping his Oath, for he himſelf was ſlain before Dinner, the Lord *Strange* was committed to be kept Priſoner within the Kings Tent; who then, after the Victory gotten, was ſought out and brought to his joyful Father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched King *Richard*.

L. *Stanley* Husband to K. *Henry*'s Mother, forſook K. *Richard*.

The Lord *Strange* marvellouſly preſerved

*Henry* the Earl of *Richmond*, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God for his glorious Victory obtained, proceeded to the Town of *Leiceſter*, where was brought to him, by the Lord *Strange*, the Crown, and put on the Earls Head.

In the mean time the dead Corps of King *Richard* was ſhamefully carried to the Town of *Leiceſter*, being naked and deſpoiled to the skin; and being truſſed behind a Purſevant of Arms, was carried like a Hog or a Dog, having his Head and Arms hanging on the one ſide of the Horſe, and the Legs on the other ſide, all ſprinkled with mire and bloud. And thus ended the uſurped Reign of King *Richard*, who reigned two Years and two Months, *Ex Polyd. & Th. More.* { Anno 1485

The ſhameful toſſing of King *Richard*'s dead Corps.

*King*

## *King* HENRY *the Seventh.*

King *Henry* the 7th.

WHEN King *Henry*, by the Providence of God, had obtained this Triumphant Victory and Diadem of the Realm, firſt ſending for *Edward Plantaginet* Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and committing him to ſafe cuſtody within the Tower, from *Leiceſter* he removed to *London*, and not long after, according to his Oath and Promiſe made before, eſpouſed to him the young Lady *Elizabeth*, Heir of the Houſe of *York*; whereby both the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* were conjoyned together, to the no little rejoycing of all *Engliſh* hearts, and no leſs quiet unto the Realm, which was *Anno* 1485. This King Reigned 23 Years and 8 Months, and being a Prince of great Policy, Juſtice and Temperance, kept his Realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here interrupting a little the courſe of our *Engliſh* matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the ſtory above promiſed, of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and matters of the Empire, eſpecially ſuch as pertain to the Church.

King *Henry* married with *Elizabeth*. The two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* joyned together.

## ¶ Maximilian *the Emperor.*

{Ann. 1486} *Maximilian* Emperor.

IN the Year of our Lord 1486, *Fredericus* waxing aged, and partly alſo miſtruſting the hearts of the *Germans*, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore miſdoubting that his Houſe, after his deceaſe, ſhould have the leſs favour among them, for that cauſe in his life time did aſſociate his Son *Maximilian* to be joyned Emperor with him; with whom he Reigned the ſpace of ſeven years, till the death of the ſaid *Frederick* his Father, who departed *Anno* 1494, after he had Reigned over the Empire 53 years, lacking only but three years of the Reign of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, under whom was the Birth of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt.

The Reign and Death of *Frederick* Emperor. {Anno 1494.}

This *Maximilian*, as he was a valiant Emperor, prudent and ſingularly learned, ſo was his Reign intangled in many unquiet and difficil Wars; firſt in the lower Countries of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, where the ſaid *Maximilian* was taken captive, but ſhortly after reſcued and delivered again by his Father, *Anno* 1487. It was ſignified before how this *Maximilian*, by the advice of the *Burgundians*, had to Wife *Mary* the only Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* afore mentioned, by whom he had two children, *Philip* and *Margaret*, *Anno* 1477. Which *Mary* not long after, about the year of our *Lord* 1481. by a fall from her Horſe, fell into an Ague, and departed. Other Wars many more the ſame *Maximilian* alſo atchieved, both in *France*, in *Italy*, in *Hungary*, and divers beſides.

*Maximilian* marrieth the Dutcheſs of *Burgoin*. This *Mary* was Neece to King *Edward* the fourth.

The learning of *Maximilian* the commended

So happy was the education of this Emperor in good Letters, ſo expert he was in Tongues and Sciences, but eſpecially ſuch was his dexterity and promptneſs in the *Latine* ſtile, that he, imitating the example of *Julius Ceſar*, did write and comprehend in *Latine* Hiſtories his own acts and feats done, and that in ſuch ſort, that when he had given a certain taſte of his Hiſtory to one *Pircamerus* a learned Man, asking his judgment how his warlike ſtile of *Latine* did like him, the ſaid *Pircamerus* did affirm and report of him to *John Carion* (the witneſs and writer of this ſtory) that he did never ſee nor read in any *German* ſtory, a thing more exactly (and that in ſuch haſte) done, as this was of *Maximilian*. Moreover, as he was learned himſelf, ſo was he a ſingular Patron and advancer of learned Students, as may well appear by the erecting and ſetting up the Univerſity of *Wittenburgh*. By this Emperor many in thoſe days were excited to the embracing as well of other Liberal Arts, as alſo namely, to the ſearching out of old Antiquities of Hiſtories, whereby divers were then by him firſt occaſioned in *Germany*, to ſet their minds, and to exerciſe their diligence in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of Hiſtory, as well of ancient as alſo of later times, as namely *Cuſpinianus*, *Nauclerus*, *Conradus*, *Peutingerus*, *Manlius*, and other.

*Maximilian* Writer of his own ſtories. *Ex Joan. Carione.*

*Maximilian* firſt ordainer of the Univerſity of *Wittenberg.*

Here now it began right well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the World by the Art and Faculty of *Printing*, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which *Printing* the Church and Commonwealth of Chriſt, began now to be repleniſhed with learned Men, as both may appear by this Emperor, being ſo indued himſelf with ſuch excellent knowledge of good Letters, and alſo by divers other famous and worthy wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to encreaſe and fruitfully; as *Baptiſta Mantuanus*, *Aug. Politianus*, *Hermolaus*, *Barbarus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and *Franciſcus* his Coſin, *Rodol. Agricola*, *Pontanus*, *Philippus*, *Beroaldus*, *Marſilius*, *Ficinus*, *Volateranus*, *Georgius Valla*, with infinite other.

{KING *Hen.* 7. Learned men begin to grow in *Chriſtendom*}

Among whom is alſo to be numbred *Weſelus Groningenſis*, otherwiſe named *Baſilius*, who was not long after *Joan. de Weſalia* above recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This *Weſelus* died in the year of our Lord 1490. After that *Johannes* Doctor *de Weſalia* aforeſaid, was condemned, this *Weſelus* being familiar with him, thought that the Inquiſitor would come and examine him alſo, as he himſelf in a certain Epiſtle doth write. He was ſo notable and worthy a man, that of the people he was called *Lux Mundi*, that is, *The light of the World.*

Dr. *Weſelus Groningenſis.*

*Weſelus* called *Lux Mundi.*

Concerning his Doctrine, firſt he reprehended the Opinion of the *Papiſts*, as touching Repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, Satisfaction and Confeſſion he did diſallow. Likewiſe Purgatory and Supererogation of works and pardons he did diſprove, both at *Rome* and at *Paris*. He ſpake againſt the Popes Indulgences, by the occaſion whereof divers of the Popes Court perſwaded by him, began to ſpeak more freely againſt the ſame matter, than he himſelf had done.

The Doctrine of *Weſelus Groningenſ.*

The abuſes of Maſſes, and praying for the dead he diſallowed; and likewiſe the Supremacy of the Pope he utterly rejected (as appeareth in a Book of his, *De ſacramento pœnitentiæ*) denying utterly that any ſupream Head or Governor ought to be in the World over all other; affirming alſo, and ſaying many times, *That the Pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth*, that is, *ſo far as truth goeth with him, ſo far his ſentence to ſtand; neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, ſo as every true Chriſtian Biſhop may prevail over another.* Alſo in ſome place in his writings he denieth not, *but that Popes and their ſpiritual Prelates, proceeding againſt Chriſts Doctrine, be plain Antichriſts. Such as were infirm and not able to perform the bond of Chaſtity taken upon them, he ſaid they might well break their Vow.*

*Ex lib. D. Weſeli. De ſacramento pœnitentiæ.* The Popes ſupremacy written againſt.

Alſo the ſaid *Weſelus* witneſſeth, that the forefathers which were before *Albert* and *Thomas*, did reſiſt and withſtand the Popes Indulgences, calling them in their Writings plain Idolatry, meer fraud and error; adding moreover, that unleſs the ſeverity of ſome good Divines had withſtood theſe Pardons and Indulgences of the Pope, innumerable errors had overflown the Church.

Amongſt theſe works of *Weſelus*, there is a certain Epiſtle of one written to him, in which the Author of the Epiſtle confeſſeth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at *Paris*, called Mr. *Thomas de Curſelis* a Dean; who being in the Council of *Baſil*, where as divers began to advance the power of the Pope too far, declared and affirmed, to be ſaid to him of Chriſt, *Quicquid ligaveris ſuper terram, erit ligatum & in cœlo, &c. Et non quicquid dixeris eſſe ligatum*; that is, *Whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven*, but not, *Whatſoever thou ſayſt to be bound.* As who ſhould ſay, the Pope can not nor doth not bind therefore, becauſe he ſo ſaith, except truth and righteouſneſs go alſo with him; then he doth ſo bind indeed. There is a certain Book of this man amongſt divers others, which he intituled, *De ſubditis & ſuperioribus*, in the which he diſputeth greatly againſt the Pope and his Prelates; affirming that the Pope, unleſs his Faith and Doctrine be ſound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth alſo that the Pope may err, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of means to reſiſt him. *Item*, That great and ſuperfluous riches in the Clergy do not profit, but hurt the Church. That the Pope doth wickedly diſtribute the Rents of the Church, and the Church it ſelf, to unworthy Miniſters by Simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear, that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the Church. *Item*, That the precepts and commandments of the Pope and Prelates be no otherwiſe but as the counſels and precepts of Phyſicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholeſome and ſtanding with the truth of the word.

*Ex epiſt. cujuſdam in opere Weſeli.* Chriſts anſwer to *Tho. de Curſelis* touching this place, *Quicquid ligaveris.* Not whatſoever is ſaid to be looſed on Earth, is looſed in Heaven; but whatſoever is looſed in every deed in earth, there is alſo looſed indeed in Heaven.

Againſt riches in the Church. The precepts of the Pope and Prelates ſlow they bind.

{KING *Hen.7.*} The Popes keys. Vows. Doctrine to be received without examination.

word. *Item,* That the Pope can command no man under pain of deadly ſin, except God command him before. He ſaith, that the Keys of the Pope and of the Prelates be not ſuch wherewith they open the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather ſhut it, as the *Phariſees* did. Concerning Vows, he diſputeth that ſuch as be fooliſh and impoſſible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to diſcern and judge of the doctrine of their Prelates, and not to receive every thing that they ſay, without due examination.

Excommunication.

He ſheweth moreover that the ſentence of Excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly, honeſt, ſimple and learned man, than from the Pope; as in the Council of *Conſtance, Bernard* was more eſteemed than *Eugenius.* Alſo if the Pope with his Prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they never ſo baſe, ought to reſiſt him.

Writing moreover of two Popes, *Pius* the Second, and *Sixtus* the Fourth, he ſaith, that *Pius* the Second did uſurpe unto himſelf all the Kingdoms of the whole World, and that *Sixtus* the Pope did diſpenſe with all manner of Oaths, in cauſes temporal, not only with ſuch Oaths, as have been already, but alſo with all ſuch as ſhall be made hereafter; which was nothing elſe but to give liberty and licence for men to forſwear themſelves and deceive one another.

*Eg Noviomage.* A Probeſſe of *Weſelus.* This *Oſtendorpius* was a man well learned and Canon of the Minſter of Lubeck.

This *Weſelus* being a *Phrygius* born, and now aged in years, upon a certain time when a young man, called M. *Joannes Oſtendorpius,* came to him, ſaid theſe words; Well my child, thou ſhalt live to that day, when thou ſhalt ſee that the doctrine of theſe new and contentious Divines, as *Thomas* and *Bonaventure,* with others of the ſame ſort, ſhall be utterly rejected and exploded from all true Chriſtian Divines. And this which *Oſtendorpius* then being young heard *Weſelus* to ſpeak, he reported himſelf to *Noviomagus,* which wrote the ſtory, *Anno* 1520, and heard it of the mouth of the ſaid *Weſelus, An.* 1490, *Martij.* 18.

Heſt it appeareth that this *Rodulphus Agricola* was of good judgment though the Friers afterward buried him in a Friers weed. *Rodulphus Agricola, Weſelus* lamenteth the darkneſs of the Church.

*Philippus Melanchthon* writing of the life of *Rodulphus Agricola,* ſaith, that *Joſquinus Groningenſis,* an ancient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes preſent at the Sermons of *Rodulphus* and *Weſelus,* wherein they many times lamented the darkneſs of the Church, and reprehended the abuſes of the Maſs and of the ſingle life of Prieſts. *Item,* that they diſputed oftentimes of the righteouſneſs of Faith, why Saint *Paul* ſo oftentimes did inculcate, that men be juſtified by Faith, and not works. The ſame *Joſquine* alſo reported, that they did openly reject and diſprove the opinion of Monks, which ſay that men be juſtified by their works. *Item,* Concerning mens Traditions their opinion was, that all ſuch were deceived, whoſoever attributed unto thoſe Traditions any opinion of Gods worſhip, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the ſtory of Doctor *Weſellianus* and *Weſelus.*

By this it may be ſeen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of Printing, firſt came forth learning; by learning came light to judge and diſcern the errors of the Pope from the truth of Gods Word; as partly by theſe above ſaid may appear, partly by other that follow after (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall better be ſeen.

About the very ſame time and ſeaſon, when as the Goſpel began thus to branch and ſpring in *Germany,* the Hoſt of Chriſts Church began alſo to muſter and to multiply likewiſe here in *England,* as by theſe Hiſtories here conſequent may appear. For not long after the death of this *Weſelus,* in the year of our Lord 1494, and in the ninth year the Reign of *Henry* the *7th,* the 28*th* of *April,* was burned a very old Woman named *Joane Boughton* widow, and Mother to the Lady *Young,* which Lady was alſo ſuſpected to be of that opinion which her Mother was. Her Mother was of fourſcour years of age or more, and held eight of *Wickliffs* opinions (which opinions my Author doth not ſhew) for the which ſhe was burnt in *Smithfield* the day aboveſaid. My Author ſaith, ſhe was a Diſciple of *Wickliff,* whom ſhe accounted for a Saint, and held ſo faſt and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the Doctors of *London* could not turn her from one of them: and when it was told her that ſhe ſhould be burnt for her obſtinacy and falſe belief, ſhe ſet nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſo beloved of God, and his holy Angels, that ſhe paſſed not for the fire, and in the midſt thereof ſhe cryed to God to take her ſoul into his holy hands. The night following that ſhe was burnt, the moſt part of her aſhes were had away of ſuch as had a love unto the Doctrine that ſhe dyed for.

{Anno 1494.} *Joane Boughton* Mother to the Lady Young, Martyr.

Shortly after the Martyrdom of this godly aged Mother, in the year of our Lord, 1497, and the 17*th* of *January,* being Sunday, two men, the one called *Richard Milderale,* and the other *James Sturdy,* bear Faggots before the proceſſion of *Pauls,* and after ſtood before the Preacher in the time of his Sermon. And upon the Sunday following ſtood other two men at *Pauls* Croſs all the Sermon time; the one garniſhed with painted and written papers, the other having a Faggot on his neck. After that in *Lent* ſeaſon upon Paſſion Sunday one *Hugh Glover* bear a Faggot before the proceſſion of *Pauls,* and after with the Faggot ſtood before the Preacher all the Sermon while at *Pauls* Croſs. And on the Sunday next following four men ſtood, and did their open Penance at *Pauls,* as is aforeſaid, in the Sermon time, and many of their Books were burnt before them at the Croſs.

{Ann. 1497.} *Richard Milderale. James Sturdy.* *Hugh Glover.* Four other bear Faggots.

Furthermore the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1498, in the beginning of *May,* the King then being at *Canterbury,* was a Prieſt burnt, which was ſo ſtrong in his opinion that all the Clerks and Doctors then there being could not remove him from his Faith: Whereof the King being informed, he cauſed the ſaid Prieſt to be brought before his preſence, who by his perſwaſion cauſed him to revoke, and ſo he was burnt immediately.

{Anno 1498.} A Prieſt burnt.

In the ſame year above mentioned, which was the year of our Lord 1498, after the beheading of *Edward Plantaginet* Earl of *Warwick,* and ſon to the Duke of *Clarence,* the King and Queen being removed to *Calis,* a certain godly man and a conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, named *Babram,* in *Norfolk,* was burnt in the month of *July,* as is in *Fabian* recorded, after the Copy which I have written. Albeit in the Book *Fabian* Printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is, *An.* 1500. *Ex Fabianio, & alio ſcripto codice.*

The Queen was removed to Calis at the beheading of her Couſin *Edward Plantaginet.* *Babram* burnt in *Norfolk,* Martyr.

*The burning of Babram.*

*The Martyrdome of Ierome & his two companions*

An old man burned.

ABout which year likewiſe, or in the year next following, the twentieth day of *July*, was an old man burnt in *Smithfield*.

{Anno 1499.} *Hieronymus Savanarola* with two Friers Martyrs.

In the ſame year alſo, which was of the Lord, one thouſand four hundred ninety and nine, fell the Martrydom and burning of *Hieronymus Savanarola*, a man no leſs godly in heart, then conſtant in his profeſſion. Who being a Monk in *Italy*, and ſingularly well learned, preached ſore againſt the evil life and living of the ſpiritualty, and ſpecially of his own Order, complaining ſore upon them as the ſprings and authors of all miſchiefs and wickedneſs. Whereupon by the help of certain learned men he began to ſeek reformation in his own order. Which thing the Pope perceiving and fearing that the ſaid *Hierom*, which was now in great reputation amongſt all men, ſhould diminiſh or overthrow his authority, he ordained his Vicar or Provincial to ſee reformation of theſe matters; which Vicar with great ſuperſtition began to reform things: but the ſaid *Hierom* did always withſtand him, whereupon he was complained of to the Pope, and becauſe that contrary unto the Popes commandment he did withſtand his Vicar, he was accurſed. But for all that *Jeronymus* left not off preaching, but threatned *Italy* with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophecied before unto them, that the Land ſhould be overthrown for the pride and wickedneſs of the people, and for the untruth, hypocriſie and falſhood of the Clergy, which God would not leave unrevenged, as afterward it came to paſs, when as K. *Charles* came into *Italy* and to *Rome*, and ſo ſtraightly beſet Pope *Alexander*, that he was forced to make compoſition with the King.

Prophſie of *Jer. Savanarola* againſt *Italy*.

Pope *Alexander* beſieged by *Charles* the French King.

Now forſomuch as the ſaid *Hierom* would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the Pope, to give account of his new learning (for ſo then they called the truth of the Goſpel) but by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuſe that he could not come. Then was he again forbidden by the Pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernitious, falſe and ſeditious.

*Savanarola* cited to appear before the Pope.

The doctrine of *Savanarola* condemned becauſe he would not come before the Pope.

This *Jeronymus*, as a man worldly wiſe, foreſeeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear left off preaching. But when as the people, which ſore hungred and longed for Gods Word, were inſtant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach in the year of our Lord, 1496, in the City of *Florence*, and albeit that many counſelled him that he ſhould not ſo do without the Popes commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When as the Pope and his ſhavelings heard news of this, they were grievouſly incenſed and inflamed againſt him, and now again curſed him, as an obſtinate and ſtiffnecked Heretick. But for all that, *Jeronymus* proceeded in teaching and inſtructing the people, ſaying that men ought not to regard ſuch curſes, which are againſt the true doctrine and the common profit, whereby the people ſhould be learned and amended, Chriſts Kingdom enlarged, and the Kingdom of the Devil utterly overthrown.

*Savanarola* preacheth contrary to the Popes commandment.

In all his preaching he deſired to teach no other thing than the only pure and ſimple Word of God, making often proteſtation that all men ſhould certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for upon his own conſcience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure Word of God. What his doctrine was all men may eaſily judge by his Books that he hath written.

*Hierom* with two other Friers committed to priſon.

After this, in the year of our Lord, 1498, he was taken and brought out of Saint *Marks* Cloiſter, and two other Fryers with him, named *Dominick* and *Silveſter*, which favoured his learning, and was carried into Priſon, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that moſt comfortable thirty firſt *Pſalm*; *In te Domine ſperavi, non confundar in æternum, ſed in juſtitia tua libera me.* Wherein he doth excellently deſcribe and ſet forth the continual ſtriſe between the fleſh and the ſpirit.

The commentary of *Jerom. Savana.* upon the Pſalm beginning. *In te domine ſperavi.*

After this the Popes Legates came to *Florence* and called forth theſe three good men, threatning them marvelouſly; but they continued ſtill conſtant. Then came the chief Counſellers, of the City, with the Popes Commiſſioners, which had gathered out certain Articles againſt theſe men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the tenor of which Articles hereafter enſue.

Articles objected againſt *Jerom* and the two Friers.

1. The firſt Article was as touching our free Juſtificaſion through Faith in Chriſt.

2. That the Communion ought to be miniſtred under both kinds.

3. That the Indulgences and Pardons of the Pope were of no effect.

4. For preaching againſt the filthy and wicked living of the Cardinals and ſpiritualty.

5. For denying the Popes Supremacy.

KING *Hen.7.*

6. Alſo that he had affirmed that the Keys were not given unto *Peter* alone, but unto the Univerſal Church.

7. Alſo, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Chriſt, for that he did attribute more to his own Pardons and Traditions, than to Chriſts merits, and therefore he was Antichriſt.

8. Alſo, that the Popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth fear or flee them is excommunicate of God.

9. *Item*, That Auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary.

10. *Item*, That he had moved the Citizens to uproar and ſedition.

11. *Item*, That he had neglected and condemned the Popes Citation.

12. *Item*, That he had ſhamefully ſpoken againſt, and ſlandred the Pope.

13. *Item*, That he had taken Chriſt to witneſs of his naughtineſs and Hereſie.

14. Alſo, that *Italy* muſt be cleanſed through Gods ſcourge, for the manifold wickedneſs of the Princes and Clergy.

Theſe and ſuch other like Articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the ſaid *Hierom* and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they anſwered, that through Gods help they would ſteadfaſtly continue in the manifeſt truth, and not depart from the ſame. Then were they degraded one after another by the Biſhop of *Vaſtion*, and ſo delivered over to the ſecular Rulers of *Florence*, with ſtraight commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obſtinate and ſtiffnecked Hereticks

*Hierom with his two companions hanged and burnt for the Goſpels truth.*

Thus was the worthy witneſs of Chriſt, with the other two aforeſaid, firſt hanged up openly in the Market place, and afterward burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes gathered up, and caſt into the River of *Arum*, the 24*th* of *May*, in the year of our Lord, 1499. *Ex Catal. teſtium Illyrici.*

*The Prophecies of Hieronymus Savanarola.*

This man foreſhewed many things to come, as the deſtruction of *Florence* and *Rome*, and the renewing of the Church; which three things have hapned in theſe times within our remembrance. Alſo he foreſhewed that the Turks and Mores in the later days ſhould be converted unto Chriſt. He alſo declared that one ſhould paſs the *Alpes* into *Italy*, like unto *Cyrus* which ſhould ſubvert and deſtroy all *Italy*. Whereupon *Johannes Franciſcus Picus*, Earl of *Mirandula*, called him a Holy Prophet, and defended him by his writings againſt the Pope. Many other learned men alſo defended the innocency of the ſaid *Savanarola*. *Maſilius Ficinus* alſo in a certain Epiſtle doth attribute unto him the ſpirit of Propheſie, greatly commending and praiſing him. In like manner *Philippus Comineus* a French Hiſtoriographer, which had conference with him, witneſſeth that he was a holy man, and full of the ſpirit of Propheſie, forſomuch as he had foreſhewed unto him ſo many things which in event had proved true.

*Ex Joan. Franciſ. Mirandula.*

*Ex Marſilio Ficino.*

*Ex Phi. Comin.*

*Anton. Flaminius* an *Italian*, and for piety and learning famous, in that age, wrote this Epigram upon the death of *Hierm. Savanarola.*

*Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, paſcitur artus,*
*Relligio, ſanctas dilaniata comas,*
*Flevit, & O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,*
*Parcite, ſunt iſto viſcera noſtra rogo.*

*Which may be thus Engliſhed.*

Whilſt flames unjuſt (bleſt Saint) thy body burns,
Weeping Religion with diſhevel'd hairs,
Cries out, and ſays, Oh ſpare his ſacred urnes,
Spare cruel flames; that fire our ſoul impairs.

There were beſides theſe, many other, not to be paſſed over or forgotten: as *Philip Norice* an Iriſhman, profeſſor at *Oxford*, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is ſaid) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that ſuch as have occupied themſelves in writing of Hiſtories, and have ſo diligently committed unto memory all other things done in forreign Common-wealths, had beſtowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing thoſe things which pertain unto the affairs of the Church: whereby the poſterity might have had fuller and more perfect underſtanding and knowledge of them.

This *Savanarola* abve mentioned, ſuffered under Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, of which Pope more leiſure and opportunity ſhall ſerve hereafter (Chriſt willing) to entreat, after that we ſhall firſt make a little digreſſion, to entreat of certain caſes and complaints of the *Germans*, incident in the mean time, which as they are not to be overpaſt in ſilence, ſo can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred. What complaints of the *Germans* were made and moved unto the Emperor *Frederick* againſt the Popes ſuppreſſions and exactions, mention was made before; where alſo was declared, how the ſaid *Germans* at that time were twice put back and forſaken of the Emperor, whereby they continued in the ſame yoke and bondage untill the time of *Luther*. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it alſo good here briefly to declare, how the ſaid *Germans*, in the time of *Maximilian* the Emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the Emperor ten principal Grievances, whereby, the Germans have been long time oppreſſed; ſhewing alſo the remedies againſt the ſame, with certain adviſements unto the Emperors Majeſty, how he might withſtand and reſiſt the Popes ſubtilites and crafts: The order and tenor whereof here enſueth.

*The complaint of the Germans againſt the Popes grievances renewed.*

## *The ten Grievances of the* Germans.

*Ten Grievances complained of by the Germans.*

1. THat the Biſhops of *Rome*, ſucceſſors one unto another, do not think themſelves bound to obſerve and keep the Bulls, Covenants, Priviledges, and Letters, granted by their Predeceſſors, without all derogation; but by often diſpenſation, ſuſpenſion and revocation, even at the inſtance of every vile perſon, they do gainſay and withſtand the ſame.

2. That the elections of Prelates are oftentimes put back.

3. That the elections of Preſidentſhips are withſtood, which the Chapter houſes of many Churches have obtained with great coſt and expence, as the Church of *Spire* and *Haſell* do well know; whoſe Bull, touching the election of their Preſident, is fruſtrate, he being yet alive which granted the ſame.

4. That Benefices, and the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical dignities are reſerved for Cardinals and head Notaries.

5. That expectative graces, called Vowſons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continual contentions do ariſe, and much money is ſpent, both that which is laid out for the Bulls of thoſe Vowſons, which never take effect, and alſo that which is conſumed in going to Law. Whereupon this proverb is riſen, Whoſoever will get a Vowſon from *Rome*, muſt have C. or C. C. pieces of Gold laid up in his Cheſt, for the obtaining of the ſame, which he ſhall have need of, to proſecute the Law withal.

6. That Annates, or yearly revenews are exacted without delay or mercy, even of the Biſhops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through the new Offices and new Servants, as by the examples of the Churches of *Mentz* and *Strausbourgh*, may be ſeen.

7. That the rule of the Churches is given at *Rome* unto thoſe that are not worthy, which were more fit to feed and keep Mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

8. That new Indulgences and Pardons, with the ſuſpention and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and ſcrape money together.

9. That Tenths are exacted, under pretence of making War againſt the *Turk*; when as no expedition doth follow thereupon.

10. That the cauſes which might be determined in *Germany*, where there are both learned and juſt Judges, are indiſtinctly carried unto the Court of *Rome*; which thing S. *Bernard* writing to Pope *Eugenius*, ſeemeth wonderfully to reprove.

## *Here enſueth the remedy againſt the ſaid Grievances.*

*Remedies againſt the foreſaid Grievances.*

IF it ſhall ſeem good unto the Emperors Majeſty, let it be declared unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the *Germans*, to ſuffer continually ſo great charges and grievances, to pay

ſo great Annates for the confirmation of the Biſhops and Archbiſhops, and eſpecially in ſuch Biſhopricks, whereas the Annates by ſucceſs of time are enhanſed, and in many (as it is ſaid) doubled. For the Archbiſhops See of *Mentz* (as it is ſaid) ſometime paid only ten thouſand Florens; which ſum, when as one which was choſen there, refuſed to give, and ſo continued even unto his death, he which was afterward elect, being deſirous of confirmation, fearing to withſtand the Apoſtlick See, offered the old ſum of 10000 Florens: but notwithſtanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10000, which his predeceſſor before him had not paid.

The Archbiſhops Pall of *Mentz*, what it coſteth.

By this means he was compelled to pay 20000 Florens. Which being enrolled in the regiſter of the Chamber, as much hath been exacted of every Archbiſhop ſince, until theſe our days; and not only 20000, but alſo 25000 for their new offices, and new ſervants. At laſt, the ſum drew to 27000 Florens, which *James* the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* was commpelled to pay, as his Commiſſary did report. So by this means, in a little time there was ſeven times 25000 Florens payd out of the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz* unto *Rome*, for the confirmation of the Archbiſhop. And when this Archbiſhop *James* had kept the Archbiſhoprick ſcarce four years, the Lord *Uriel* was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the leaſt 24000, or 25000 Florens. Whereof a part he borrowed of Merchants: but to ſatisfie and pay them again, he was forced to exact a Subſidy of his poor Subjects and Husbandmen, whereof ſome have not yet ſatisfied and paid the tribute for the Biſhops Pall, ſo that by this means our people are not only tormentd and brought to extream poverty, but alſo are moved unto rebellion, to ſeek their liberty by what means ſoever they may, grievouſly murmuring againſt the cruelty of the Clergy.

The Popes Pall dearly bought.

The Pope alſo ſhould be admoniſhed, how that, through divers and ſundry Wars and Battels, the Lands of *Germany* lye deſolate and waſte, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminiſhed, ſo that for the ſcarſeneſs of Husbandmen, the Fields for the moſt part lye untilled, the Tolls are by divers means diminiſhed, the Mines conſumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould pay their Annates unto the Apoſtolick See, beſides their other neceſſary and honeſt charges; inſomuch, that not without juſt cauſe, *James* the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, being even at the point of death, ſaid, That he did not ſo much ſorrow for his own death, as for that his poor Subjects ſhould be again forced to pay a grievous exaction for the Pall. Wherefore let the high Biſhop, as a godly Father, and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent Paſtor, deal more favourably with his children the *Germans*, leſt that perſecution happen to riſe againſt the Prieſts of Chriſt, and that men following the example of the *Bohemians*, do ſwerve from the Church of *Rome*.

The people polled for the Popes Pall.

At the leaſt, let him be more favourable, as often as any Archbiſhop or Biſhop hapned to rule his Church but a few years; as it hapned to the Biſhops of *Bamberge*, whereof three died within few years. The like alſo might happen by other Biſhopricks, whereof (as *Æneas Sylvius* witneſſeth) there are in *Germany* to the number of fifty, beſides Abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at *Rome*.

About fifty Biſhopricks in *Germany*.

And admit that in *Germany* there were greater profits and Revenues riſing of the Ground, Mines and Tolls; notwithſtanding the Emperor and the other Princes ſhould lack treaſure and munition of War againſt their enemies, and ſpecially the Infidels, and to preſerve *Germany* in peace and quietneſs, and to miniſter juſtice unto every man: for which purpoſe the Council of the Chamber, being moſt holily inſtructed and furniſhed with great coſt and charges, doth chiefly ſerve. Beſides that, the Emperor hath need of treaſure, to ſuppreſs the Rebels in the Empire, to baniſh and drive away Thieves and Murtherers, whereof a great number are not aſhamed to ſpoil Churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but alſo to aſſail the Clergy themſelves. Finally, our Nation and Country of *Germany* hath need of great riches and treaſure, not only for the repairing of Churches and Monaſteries, but alſo for Hoſpitals for Children that are laid out in the Streets, for Widows, for Women with Child, for Orphans, for marriage of the Daughters of poor Men, that they be not deflowred, for ſuch as have need and neceſſity, for the Old and Weak, for the Sick and the Sore, whereof (the more is the ſorrow) *Germany* is fully repleniſhed and filled.

{KING *Hen.7.*}

## *Advertiſements unto the Emperors Majeſty.*

The Emperor advertiſed of the ſubtil practices of the Pope and popiſh Prelates.

LEt the Emperors Majeſty foreſee and provide that the begging Friers do not preach againſt his Majeſty, which are wont to complain gladly unto the Apoſtolick See, fearing to loſe their priviledges, which I would to God were as well grounded upon Chriſt, as they are upon profit. Let the Emperors Majeſty alſo beware, that the Pope do not give commandment unto the Electors to proceed to the Election of a new King of the *Romans*, as he did againſt *Frederick* the Second, when as the Landgrave of *Thurin*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, were elect by the commandment of the Pope. Let the Emperors Majeſty alſo fear and take heed of all the Prelates of the Churches, and eſpecially of the Preſidents, which by their Oath are bound to advertiſe the Pope. Let the Emperors Majeſty alſo fear and beware, that the Pope do not take away from his Subjects their obedience, and provoke the people bordering upon him, to make invaſion into the Emperors Dominions and Archduchy of *Auſtrich*; which thoſe men, under colour ſhewing obedience unto the Popes commandment, be ready to do.

Let the Emperors Majeſty alſo take heed of the Apoſtolick cenſures, from which the Pope will in no caſe refrain. Finally, let the Emperors Majeſty diligently foreſee and take heed, that the Pope do not perſwade the people with moſt ſubtil Arguments, contrary to the Pragmatical ſanction, excuſing himſelf, and getting the good will of the ſimple, alledging that with great coſts and charges, he will repair the Church of Saint *Peter* in *Rome*, and build in certain places againſt the Turks, and recover again the Lands and Patrimony partaining unto the Church of Saint *Peter*, as he is bound by his Office. Therefore let your Majeſty diligently foreſee and deliberate, how through your moſt wiſe and diſcreet Counſel, if need ſhall require, you will anſwer to thoſe ſubtilties of the Pope.

The Popes pretence of building S. *Peters* Church in *Rome*.

## *A certain godly Exhortation unto the Emperors Majeſty.*

A ſupplication or Exhortation to *Maximilian* Emperor of the Church.

YOur Majeſty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternal remembrance, than to moderate the great exactions and oppreſſions of the *Germans*; to take away all occaſions from the Laity, to perſecute the Clergy: alſo to take away the Benefices out of the hands of Courteſans, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counſel any man (of which Benefices, as *Æneas Sylvius* writeth, ſome are equal to the Biſhopricks of *Italy*) to encreaſe Gods honour and worſhip; and ſo to bridle the avarice and ungodlineſs of thoſe Courteſans, whereby your Majeſty may the better provide for the children of many Noble and famous men and Citizens of *Germany*; which being brought up from their youth in the Univerſity, learning both the Scriptures, and other humane letters, may without unquiet vexations, and moſt ſumptuous charges and contentions, aſpire to the Eccleſiaſtical promotions, who by their Counſel and prayers may be helps unto the whole Church: for there is no ſmall occaſion, why the Realm of *France* ſhould ſo flouriſh, having ſo many notable learned men in it. If the Emperor would aboliſh this impiety, and reſtore *Germany* unto their ancient liberty, which is now oppreſſed with grievous tributes, and would make way for learned and honeſt men unto Eccleſiaſtical promotions; then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the reſtorer of *Germany* to his ancient liberty, and the father of his Country, and ſhould obtain no leſs glory thereby unto himſelf, and profit unto *Germany*, than if he had by force of Arms ſubdued any Province unto them. And ſo ſhall *Germany* render no leſs thanks unto the ſaid *Maximilian*, than unto all the reſt, which having tranſlated the Empire

from

KING Hen. 7. from the *Grecians* unto *Germany*, have reigned many years before.

Hereafter enſueth the Copy of a certain Letter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, given out in manner of a Decree or Commandment againſt certain abuſes of the Clergy. Whereunto we have alſo annexed the anſwer of *Jacobus Seleſtadienſis* unto the Emperors Letters, wherein he ſeemeth alſo to have ſought advice for the remedy of the like abuſes, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

## An Edict of *Maximilian* the Emperor.

*WE according to the example of our dearly beloved Father*, Frederick *Emperor of* Rome, *reverencing the chief Paſtor of the Church, and all the Clergy, have ſuffered no ſmall revenues of the Eccleſiaſtical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the Prelates and Clergy that are abſent, whoſe faults committed by humane frailty, with* Conſtantine *our Predeceſſor, we have not diſdained to hide and Cover. But forſomuch as through our liberality, the decay of Gods honour is riſen, it is our part to foreſee (which are elect unto the Empire, without any deſert) that among all other affairs of Peace and War, the Churches do not decay, Religion quail not, or Gods true worſhip be not diminiſhed; which we have manifeſtly experimented, and daily do perceive by the inſatiable covetouſneſs of ſome, which are never ſatisfied in getting of Benefices, through whoſe abſence (being reſident but only upon one) GODS honour and worſhip is diminiſhed, houſes decay, Churches decreaſe, the Eccleſiaſtical liberty is hurt, Learning and Monuments are loſt and deſtroyed, Hoſpitality and Alms diminiſhed, and by their unſatiable greedineſs, ſuch of the Clergy, as for their Learning and Vertue were worthy of Benefices, and their Wiſdom profitable in Commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore according to the office and duty of our eſtate, for the love of the encreaſe of GODS honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any Canonſhip or Vicarage in one City of our Empire, ſhall occupy or poſſeſs a Prebend in another Church of the ſame City, except he give over the firſt within a years ſpace unto ſome perſon fit and profitable for the Church; neither that he do by unjuſt quarels, vex or trouble any man in getting of Benefices, neither that any man do falſly feign himſelf to have been of the Emperors houſhold, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the Patronages from any Lay-man, or aggravate the ſmall Prebends of Curates, or Churches with Penſions, neither that they do uſe in getting of Benefices and Bulls, any fraud, deceit, falſe inſtruments, corrupt witneſſes, and cloaked Simony; neither that any man preſume to obtain any regreſs, or other thing contrary to the ſacred Canons, right, honeſty, equity and reaſon, upon pain of the moſt grievous offence of Treaſon: the which we will, that not only they going ſo contrary to God and all honeſty; but alſo all their favourers, which do help, Council, harbour or give them any thing, all their Meſſengers, and Writers, Proctors, Sureties, and other their friends, ſhall incur, and receive condign puniſhment for ſo great offence and contempt of our commandment. From* Oenopent, *&c.*

No man to have two Canonſhips or Prebends at once.

¶ Here enſueth the Copy of a Letter written unto the Emperor *Maximilian*.

### To our Moſt victorious Lord, *Maximilian* the Emperor, *Jacobus Seleſtadienſis* moſt humble commendations.

*MOſt Victorious Emperor, when I had read your Majeſties Epiſtle, and received inſtructions of your Secretary, I prepared my ſelf with all my whole endeavour to ſatisfie your Majeſties deſire. For even from my youth hitherto, I have applyed all my care and ſtudy, firſt for the honour of your Majeſty, and conſequently for the amplifying of the German nation, and ſacred Roman Empire. Albeit I know my ſelf far unable to ſatisfie your deſire and purpoſe, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which have greater learning and experience of theſe common matters. There be alſo with other Princes, and in the Senates of Commonwealths, many excellent learned men, which can exornate and beautifie* Germany, *and perſwade to reduce all the Clergy unto a Chriſtian Diſcipline, and to an unity and peace of the univerſal Church. Wherein, not only your Majeſty, but alſo your predeceſſors, as* Charles *the Great, and his Son* Ludovicus Pius, *the* Othoes, Conrades, Fredericks, *and* Henricks, *and laſt of all,* Sigiſmundus, *have with all labour and diligence travelled, being ſtirred thereunto undoubtedly through the zeal and charity which they bear unto Almighty God, and thankfulneſs to Chriſt for his benefits which he hath beſtowed upon mankind, and ſpecially for the benefit of his moſt bitter paſſion. For Chriſt became not poor for us, that we ſhould live in all riot and wantonneſs upon his patrimony, and ſhew forth our ambition and covetouſneſs; neither did he ſuffer hunger, that we ſhould glut up our ſelves; nor ſuffered labours, chaſtity, and grievous torments, that we ſhould live in idleneſs, wantonneſs, and all kind of voluptuouſneſs. Neither they which were contributers, and Benefactors to Churches, enduing the Miniſters thereof with their temporal riches, had any ſuch reſpect herein, that the Clergy ſhould live only in idleneſs, having all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cauſe, why that they in times paſt did impoveriſh themſelves and theirs, to endow the Church; verily, that they might the better attend unto Divine Service, without care of want of living (which they might eaſily get and gather out of the Fields, Woods Medows and Waters), and to the intent that they ſhould liberally give Alms unto the poor Chriſtians, Widows, Orphans, Aged and Sick perſons. For in the Inſtitutions of the Canonical profeſſion, which we ſuppoſe was written by the commandment of* Ludovicus Pius *the Emperor, and allowed by the Council of the Biſhops, thus it is read; The goods of the Church (as it is alledged by the Fathers, and contained in the Chapters before) are the vows of the faithful, and patrimony of the poor. For the faithfull, through the ferventneſs of their faith and love of Chriſt, being inflamed, having an earneſt deſire of that heavenly Kingdom, have enriched the holy Church with their own goods, that thereby the Souldiers of Chriſt might be nouriſhed, the Church adorned, the poor refreſhed, and captives according to the opportunity of time redeemed. Wherefore ſuch as have the adminiſtration of thoſe goods, ought diligently to be looked upon, that they do not convert them unto their own proper uſe, but rather according to their ſubſtance and poſſibility they do not neglect them, in whom Chriſt is fed and cloathed.* Proſper *is alſo of the ſame mind, affirming that holy men did not challenge the Church goods to their own uſe, as their own proper goods, but as things commended unto the poor, to be divided amongſt them. For that is to contemn that which a man poſſeſſeth, not to poſſeſs a thing for himſelf, but for others, neither to covet the Church goods with covetouſneſs to have them to himſelf, but to take them with a godly zeal to help other. That which the Church hath, is common to all them which have nothing, neither ought they to give any thing of that unto them (ſaith he) which have of their own; for to give unto them which have enough, is but to caſt things away.* Ex Illyrico.

To return now to the order of Popes, where we left before, ſpeaking of *Innocentius* the eighth. After the ſaid *Innocentius*, next ſucceeded Pope *Alexander* the ſixth. In which *Alexander*, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when *Gemes* (*Peucerus* named him *Dames*) brother to *Bajazetes* the Great *Turk*, Pope *Alexander*.

was committed by the *Rhodians* to the ſafe cuſtody, firſt of Pope *Innocent*, then of *Alexander* the ſixth, for whoſe keeping, the Pope received every year 40000 Crowns; yet notwithſtanding, when Pope *Alexander* afterward was compelled to ſend the ſaid *Gemes* to *Charles* the eighth, the French King, for a pledge, becauſe the French King ſhould not procure the Great Turks favour, by ſending his Brother *Gemes* to him to be ſlain, he being hired by the *Turk*, cauſed the ſaid *Gemes* to be poyſoned, who, in his journey going toward the French King, died at *Terracina*. *Ex Hieronymo Mario.*

The Pope poyſoneth *Gemes* the Turks Brother, being committed to his cuſtody. *Ex Paulo Jovio lib.* 2. *Ex Peucero lib.* 6. *Ex Hieronym Mario.*

Moreover, in the ſaid *Hieronymus Marius*, it appeareth that this *Alexander* taking diſpleaſure with the foreſaid *Charles* the French King, about the winning of *Naples*, ſent to *Bajazetes* the *Turk*, to fight againſt the forſaid *Charles*. *Ex eodem.*

The Pope ſetteth the Great Turk againſt the French King. *Ex Seb. Munſtero lib.* 4. *Coſmograph.*

*Munſterus lib.* 4. *Coſmog.* declaring the foreſaid Hiſtory of *Gemes* ſomething otherwiſe, firſt calleth him *Zizimnus*, and ſaith that he was firſt committed by the *Rhodians* to the French King. And when as *Joannes Huniades* aforementioned did labour to the French King to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory againſt the *Turk*, as it was not unlike: This *Alexander* the Pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French King into his own hands, by whoſe means the ſaid *Gemes* afterward was poyſoned, as is in manner before expreſſed.

Unto theſe poyſoned acts of the Pope, let us alſo adjoyn his malicious wickedneſs, with like fury exerciſed upon *Antonius Mancinellius*, which *Mancinellus* being a man of excellent learning, becauſe he wrote an eloquent Oration againſt his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as *Antoninus* the Tyrant once did with *M. Cicero*, for writing againſt his horrible life, at length, as one poyſon requireth another, this poyſond Pope, as he was ſitting with his Cardinals, and other rich Senators of *Rome* at dinner, his ſervants unawars brought to him a wrong Bottle, wherewith he was poyſoned, and his Cardinals about him.

*Mancinellus*, writing againſt the wickedneſs of the Pope, loſt his hands and tongue.

Poyſon requited with poyſon.

In the time of this Pope *Alexander* alſo it hapned (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the Angel, which ſtood in the high top of the Popes Church, was beaten down with terrible Thunder; which thing ſeemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedom. After this Pope, next ſucceeded *Pius* the third, about the year of our Lord, 1503. After whom came next *Julius* the ſecond, a man ſo far paſſing all other in iniquity, that *Wicelius*, and ſuch other of his own friends writing of him, are compelled to ſay of him, *Marti illum quam Chriſto deditiorem fuiſſe*; that is, that he was more given to War and Battel, than to Chriſt. Concerning the madneſs of this man; this is moſt certainly known, that at what time he was going to War, he caſt the Keys of Saint *Peter* into the River *Tibris*, ſaying, that forſomuch as the Keys of *Peter* would not ſerve him to his purpoſe, he would take himſelf to the Sword of *Paul*. Whereupon *Philip Melanchthon*, amongſt many other writing upon the ſame, maketh this Epigram.

The high Angel of the Palace thrown down.

Pope *Pius* 3. Pope *Julius* 2.

*Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius eſſet*
*Geſturus, ſicut fama vetuſta docet:*
*Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem*
*Egreſſus ſævas edidit ore minas.*
*Iratuſque ſacras claves in flumina jecit*
*Tibridis, hic urbi pons ubi junget aquas.*
*Inde manu ſtrictum vaginâ diripit enſem,*
*Exclamanſque truci talia voce refert:*
*Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoſte,*
*Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat iſta Petri.*

Whereupon alſo *Gilbert Ducherius* maketh this Epigram.

*In Gallum, ut fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum,*
*Armatam educit Julius urbe manum.*
*Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem*
*Projicit, & ſævus talia verba facit:*
*Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,*
*Auxilio Pauli forſitan enſis erit.*

{KING Hen. 7.}

*The ſenſe of theſe Epigrams in Engliſh, is this.*

When *Julius* Pope againſt the French
determined to make War:
As fame reports, he gathered up
great troops of men from far.
And to the Bridge of *Tibur* then,
marching as he were wood;
His holy Keys he took and caſt
them down into the flood.
And afterward into his hand
he took a naked Sword:
And ſhaking it broke forth into
this fierce and warlike word:
This Sword of *Paul* (quoth he) ſhall now
defend us from our foe;
Since that this Key of *Peter* doth.
nothing avail thereto.

Of this *Julius* it is certainly reported, that partly with his Wars, partly with his curſings, within the ſpace of ſeven years, as good as 200000 Chriſtians were deſtroyed. Firſt, he beſieged *Ravenna* againſt the *Venetians*, then *Servia*, *Imolia*, *Faventia*, *Forolivium*, *Bononia*, and other Cities, which he gate out of Princes hands, not without much bloodſhed. The Chronicles of *John Sleyden* make mention, that when this *Julius* was made Pope he took an Oath, promiſing to have a Council within two years: but when he had no leiſure thereunto, being occupied with his Wars in *Italy* among the *Venetians*, and with the French King, and in *Ferraria*, and in other Countries; nine of his Cardinals, departing from him, came into *Millain*, and there appointed a Council at the City of *Piſe*; amongſt whom, the chief were *Bernardus*, *Crucei-us*, *Gulielmus Preneſtinus*, *Franciſcus*, *Conſtantinus*, with divers others; unto whom alſo were adjoyned the Procurators of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and of *Charles* the French King. So the Council was appointed the year of our Lord, 1511, to begin in the Kalends of *September*. The cauſe why they did ſo call this Council, was thus alledged, becauſe the Pope had ſo broken his Oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any Council; and alſo becauſe there were divers other crimes, where upon they had to accuſe him. Their purpoſe was to remove him out of his ſeat, the which he had procured through Bribes and ambition. *Julius* hearing this, giveth out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man ſhould obey them, and calleth himſelf another Council againſt the next year, to be begun the 19*th* day of *April*. The French King underſtanding Pope *Julius* to joyn with the *Venetians*, and ſo to take their part againſt him, convented a Council at *Thurin*, in the Month of *September*; in which Council theſe Queſtions were propoſed.

The Popes Law given leave to kill all that be accurſed of him.

The Wars and bloodſhed of Pope *Julius* 2.

A Council called to depoſe Pope *Julius*.

The Pope perjured.

*Whether it was lawful for the Pope to move War againſt any Prince without cauſe.*

*Whether any Prince in defending himſelf, might invade his adverſary, and deny his Obedience.*

Unto the which Queſtions it was anſwered, That neither the Biſhop ought to invade, and alſo that it was lawful for the King to defend himſelf. Moreover, that the Pragmatical ſanction was to be obſerved through the Realm of *France*: Neither that any unjuſt Excomunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjuſt. After this the King ſent to *Julius* the anſwer of his Council, requiring him either to agree to Peace, or to appoint a general Council ſome other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. *Julius* would neither of both theſe, but forthwith accurſed *Charles* the French King, with all his Kingdom. At the length *Ravenna*, in a great War he was overcome by the French King, and at laſt, after much ſlaughter and great bloodſhed, and mortal War, this Pope died in the year of our Lord, 1513, the 21. day of *February*.

The Pragmatical ſanction eſtabliſhed, mentioned before.

No unjuſt Excommunication to be feared.

{KING *Hen.7.*}

The Turks doings requiſite to be known of Chriſtians.

IF it were not that I fear to overlay this our Volume with heaps of forreign Hiſtories, which have profeſſed chiefly to intreat of *Acts and Monuments* here done at home; I would adjoyn after theſe Popes above rehearſed, ſome diſcourſe alſo of the Turks ſtory; of their riſing and cruel perſecution of the Saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of *Chriſtendom*: yet notwithſtanding, certain cauſes there be, which neceſſarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruine and ſubverſion of ſo many Chriſtian Churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Chriſtians, to be made plain and manifeſt, as well to this our country of *England*, as alſo to other Nations.

The firſt cauſe.

*Firſt*, For the better explaining of the Propheſies of the new Teſtament, as in Saint *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, and alſo in the Revelation of Saint *John*. Which Scriptures otherwiſe, without the opening of theſe Hiſtories, cannot ſo perfectly be underſtood. Of the which Scriptures, we mind hereafter (Chriſt granting) orderly, as the courſe of matter ſhall lead us, to make rehearſal.

The ſecond cauſe.

Another cauſe is, that we may learn thereby, either with the publick Church to lament with our Brethren, ſuch a great defection and decay of Chriſtian faith, through theſe wicked Turks; or elſe may fear thereby our own danger.

The third cauſe.

The third cauſe, that we may ponder more deeply with our ſelves the ſcourge of God for our ſins, and corrupt doctrine; which in the ſequel hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The fourth cauſe.

*Fourthly*, The conſideration of this horrible perſecution of the Turks, riſing chiefly by our diſcord and diſſention among our ſelves, may reduce us again from our domeſtical Wars, in killing and burning one of another, to joyn together in Chriſtian patience and concord.

The fifth cauſe.

*Fifthly*, But chiefly, theſe great victories of the Turks, and unproſperous ſpeed of our men fighting againſt them, may admoniſh and teach us, following the example of the old Iſraelites, how to ſeek for greater ſtrength to encounter with theſe enemies of Chriſt, than hitherto we have done. Firſt, we muſt conſider that the whole power of Satan, the Prince of this World, goeth with the Turks. Which to reſiſt, no ſtrength of mans Army is ſufficient, but only the name, ſpirit, and power of our Lord Jeſus the Son of God, going with us in our battels; as among the old Iſraelites the Ark of Gods covenant and promiſe went with them alſo fighting againſt the enemies of God. For ſo are we taught in the Scripture, that we Chriſtian men have no ſtrength but in Chriſt only. Whether we War againſt the Devil, or againſt the *Turk*, it is true that the Scripture ſaith, *Sine me nihil poteſtis facere, i.* without me you can do nothing. Otherwiſe there is no puiſſance to ſtand againſt the Devil, or to conquer the world, *Niſi fides noſtra*, that is, our Faith only, to which all the promiſes of God (touching ſalvation) be annexed, beyond which promiſes we muſt not go, for the Word muſt be our rule. He that preſumeth beyond the promiſes in the Word expreſſed, goeth not, but wandreth, he cannot tell whether. Neither muſt we appoint God how to ſave the World, but muſt take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not ſet God to ſchool, nor comprehend his holy ſpirit within our Sculs. He that made us without our Councel, did alſo redeem us as pleaſed him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies ſurmount our capacity, let us therefore not reſiſt but ſearch his Word, and thereunto apply our Will; which if we will do, all our contentions will be ſoon at a point. Let us therefore ſearch the Will of our God in his Word, and if he will his ſalvation to ſtand free to all Nations, why do we make merchandiſe thereof? If he have graciouſly offered his waters to us, without mony or money worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous ſprings of his grace given us.

Admonition to fight againſt the *Turk*.

Chriſtian faith neceſſary to be joyned with outward force againſt the *Turk*.

*Gratis venumdati eſtis, gratis redimimini.* Eſay 52.

*Omnes ſitientes venite ad aquas, emite abſque argento & commutatione.* Eſay 55.

And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to ſtand alone, let not us preſume to admix with his Majeſty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth Saint *George* or Saint *Dennis* as Partrons to the field to fight againſt the *Turk*, leaveth Chriſt (no doubt) at home. Now how we have fought theſe many years againſt the *Turk*, though ſtories keep ſilence, yet the ſucceſs declareth. We fight againſt a perſecutor, being no leſs perſecutors our ſelves. We wreſtle againſt a bloody Tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Chriſts people with the Sword, and we burn them with fire. He obſerving the works of the Law, ſeeketh his juſtice by the ſame; the like alſo do we. But neither he nor we ſeek our juſtification as we ſhould, that is, by Faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, our Doctrine being as corrupt almoſt as his, and our converſation worſe, if Chriſt fight not with us, fighting againſt the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed ſo mightily, not becauſe Chriſt is weak, but becauſe that Chriſtians be wicked, and their Doctrine impure. Our Temples with Images, our hearts with Idolary are polluted: our Prieſts ſtink before God for Adultery, being reſtrained from lawful Matrimony. The Name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We War againſt the Turk with our Works, Maſſes, Traditions and Ceremonies; but we fight not againſt him with Chriſt, and with the Power of his Glory, which if we did, the Field were won.

Reformation of religion requiſite before we fight the Turks.

Wherefore briefly to conclude, ſaying my judgment in this behalf, what I ſuppoſe; this hope I have, and do believe, That when the Church of Chriſt with the Sacraments thereof ſhall be ſo reformed, that Chriſt alone ſhall be received to be our Juſtifier, all other Religions, Merits, Traditions, Images, Patrons and Advocates ſet apart, the Sword of the Chriſtians, with the ſtrength of Chriſt, ſhall ſoon vanquiſh the Turks pride and fury. But of this more largely in the proceſs of this ſtory.

Faith getteth victory.

The ſixth and laſt cauſe, why I think the knowledge of the Turks Hiſtory requiſite to be conſidered, is this: becauſe that many there be, which for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themſelves to be out of danger, take little care and ſtudy what hapneth to their other Brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this ſo lamentable ruin of Chriſts Church, I thought it requiſite, by order of Hiſtory, to give this our Nation alſo ſomething to underſtand, what hath been done in other Nations by theſe cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the Church of Chriſt, except we make our earneſt invocation to Almighty God, in the Name of his Son, to ſtop the courſe of the Devil by theſe Turks, and to ſtay this defection of Chriſtians falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his Faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Jeſus of his grace grant with ſpeed. *Amen.*

The ſixth cauſe.

Earneſt invocation neceſſary in the Church of Chriſt.

Before we enter into this ſtory of the Turks and *Saracens*, firſt let us call to remembrance the Propheſie and forewarning of Saint *Paul* writing to the *Theſſalonians*, in his ſecond Epiſtle, in theſe words: Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or writing, or by Letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection firſt, and the wicked perſon be revealed. *&c.* Of this defection, ſundry minds there be of ſundry Expoſitors: ſome thinking this defection to mean a falling away from the Empire of *Rome*: ſome from the obedience of the Pope. But as Saint *Paul* little paſſed upon the outward glory of the Roman Empire; ſo leſs he paſſed upon the proud obedience of the Pope. What Saint *Paul* meant by this defection, the reading of theſe Turkiſh ſtories, and the miſerable falling away of theſe Churches by him before planted, will ſoon declare.

2 *Theſſ.* 2.

The place of S. *Paul* expounded, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. Speaking of the defection to come.

Another Miſtery there is in the Revelation, *Apocal.* 13. where the number of the Beaſt is counted 666. Whereby may ſeem, by all evidences, to be ſignified the firſt Origin and ſpringing of theſe beaſtly *Saracens*, as by the ſequel hereof may appear, by the firſt riſing of this deviliſh ſect of *Mahomet*.

The number of the *Apocalypſe* cap. 13. expounded.

Moreover, another place there is, *cap.* 16. *Apocal.* where we read, that by pouring out of the Vial of Gods wrath, of the ſixth Angel, the great flood *Euphrates* was dryed up, to let in the Kings of the *Eaſt*; the opening of which propheſie may alſo more evidently appear, in conſidering the order and manner of the coming of theſe Turks into *Europe*.

Another place *Apoc.* 16.

Some alſo apply to the Turks certain Propheſies of *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, and other places of the Old Teſtament which here I omit, forſomuch as the Propheſies of the Old Teſtament, if they be taken in their proper and native ſenſe, after my judgment, do extend no further than

*Et ſexto Angelus effudit phialam ſuam ſuper &c.*

to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the *Jews* Kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any mans opinion, but that every man may abound in his own ſenſe.

*The time of Mahomet the falſe Prophet expounded.*

As touching the year and time when this peſtiferous ſect of *Mahomet* the firſt began, Hiſtories do not fully conſent, ſome affirming that it began, *Anno* 621. and in the tenth year of *Heraclius* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; in which mind is *Joannes Lucidus*. As *Munſterus* counteth, it was in the year of our Lord, 622. *Martin Luther* and *John Carion* refer it to the 18*th* year of the reign of *Heraclius*, which is the year of our Lord, 630. Unto the which number, the computation of the *Beaſt* ſignified in the *Apocalypſe*, doth not far diſagree, which numbereth the name of the Beaſt, with three Greek letters χ ξ σ, which Greek letters, after the ſupputation of the *Grecians*, make the number of ſix hundred ſixty and ſix.

*The number of the Beaſt in the Apoc. c. 13.*

*Mahomet of the ſtock of the Iſhmaelites, dwelling in Arabia.*

In this all writers agree, that this damnable *Mahomet* was born in the Country of *Arabia*, bordering on the Eaſt part of *Jewry*. His father was a *Syrian*, or a *Perſian*, his mother was an *Iſhmalite*, which *Iſhmalites* being a people of *Arabia*, were called the *Agarens*; Which term *Mahomet* afterward turned to the name of *Saracens*. Of this wretched *Mahomet*, mention was made before, where we ſhewed, how he making himſelf the higheſt Prophet, of all other, yet denieth not Chriſt to be an holy Prophet, and next to him, and *Moſes* alſo to be another. Moreover, he denieth not *Mary* the Mother of Chriſt to be a Virgin, and to have conceived Chriſt by the Holy Ghoſt: affirming further, that Chriſt in his own perſon was not crucified, but another called *Judas* for him. He greatly commendeth alſo *John* the ſon of *Zachary* for a Virgin: when he himſelf permitteth a man to have four Wives, and as many Concubines as he is able to find: and ſaith that whereas Chriſt and other Prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was ſent by force of ſword, to compel men to his Religion.

*The prodigious lies and blaſphemies of Mahomets Alchoran.*

*Mahomets Alchoran mingled with divers Laws.*

The prodigeous vanities, lyes and blaſphemies contained in his Law called *Alchoran*, are rather to be laught at, than recited.

It is thought that *Sergius* a *Neſtorian* was a great doer with *Mahomet*, in contriving of this lying *Alchoran*, and ſo it doth well appear by the ſcope and pretence thereof, which eſpecially tendeth to this end, to take the divinity from the perſon of Chriſt, whom he granteth notwithſtanding to be a moſt holy man, and alſo that he is received up to God, and ſhall come again to kill Antichriſt, *&c.*

Moreover, this ridiculous *Alchoran* is ſo blanched and poudered with divers mixtures of the Chriſtians, *Jews*, and the Gentiles Laws, giving ſuch liberty to all wantonneſs of fleſh, ſetting up Circumciſion, abſtaining from ſwines fleſh, and Judaical lotions, and ſo much ſtandeth upon Father *Abraham*, that it is ſuppoſed of ſome, this filthy *Alchoran*, not to be ſet out in the days of *Mahomet*, but that certain *Jews* had ſome handling alſo in this matter, and put it out after his death, and ſo ſeemeth firſt to take his force about the number of years limited in the *Apocalypſe*, as is aforeſaid, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the Beaſt: for it is the number of a man, and his number is ſix hundred ſixty and ſix.

*The numeration of the Apocal. 66c.*

After this deviliſh *Mahomet* had thus ſeduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of ſword to give his Law, and that they which will not obey it, muſt either be put to death, or elſe pay tribute (for ſo be the words of the *Alchoran*;) and after that he had gathered ſtrength about him of the *Arabians*, which *Arabians* had then occaſion to rebel againſt the Emperor, becauſe their ſtipends were not paid them of *Heraclius* the Emperors Officers, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of *Syria*, bordering near unto him, and firſt ſubdued *Mecha*, then *Damaſcus*; and further increaſing in power, he entred into *Ægypt*, and ſubdued the ſame. From thence he turned his power againſt the *Perſians*, with whom *Coſroes* the King of *Perſia* encountred with a puiſſant Army, overthrew the *Saracens*, and put *Mahomet* to flight. Of theſe *Perſians* came the *Turks*, which afterward joyning with the *Saracens*, maintained them againſt the Chriſtians. *Ex Munſter.*

*Damaſcus ſubdued of the Saracens.*

*Mahomet put to flight by Cofroes, King of the Perſians.*

After the death of this Beaſt, which as ſome ſay, was poyſoned in his houſe, ſucceeded *Ebocara*, or *Ebubecer* his Father in law, or as *Bibliander* affirmeth, his Son in law, who took upon him the government of the Chriſtians, and got the City *Gaza*, and beſieged alſo *Jeruſalem* two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief City *Damaſcus*.

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*Jeruſalem beſieged.*

After him followed *Omar*, or *Ahumer*, who conquered a great part of *Syria*, and got *Ægypt*.

The fourth King of the *Saracens*, after *Mahomet*, was *Odman*, then followed *Haly*, and after him *Muhanio*: which after a Siege of 7 years, obtained and got the Chriſtian City of *Ceſarea*; alſo overcame the *Perſians*, with their King *Orimaſda*, and ſubdued that Country to his Law.

*Ceſarea got of the Saracent.*

*The Kingdom of the Perſians ſubdued to the Saracens.*

Thus the wicked *Saracens*, in the ſpace of thirty years, ſubdued *Arabia*, got *Paleſtina*, *Phenicia*, *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and *Perſia*, which came directly to the 666 years, Propheſied of in the Revelation of Saint *John*, as is aforeſaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got *Afrik*, and then *Aſia*, as in the proceſs of their ſtory ſhall appear, the Lord willing.

*Arabia, Paleſtina, Phenicia, Syria, Ægypt, and Perſia, ſubdued of the Saracens.*

Not long after *Heraclius* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſucceeded *Conſtance* his Nephew, who in the 13. year of his Empire, fighting unluckily againſt the *Saracens* in *Lycia*, was overthrown of *Muhamas* aforeſaid, in the year of our Lord 655. Which *Conſtence*, if he were not propered by the Lord in his Wars, it was no great marvel, conſidering that he had ſlain his brother *Theodoſius* before at home; moreover, lived in inceſtuous Matrimony: alſo, being inclined to certain new Sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but ſlew them which admoniſhed him thereof. The ſaid *Conſtance* going afterward to *Italy*, was alſo overcome of the *Lumbards*, &c. The *Saracens* after this victory, ſpoiled all *Rhodes*.

*Conſtance the Emperor overcome by the Saracens.*

*Murder commonly proſpereth not with the Lord.*

*Rhodes ſpoiled of the Saracens.*

Although theſe curſed *Saracens* in theſe their great victories and conqueſts, were not without domeſtical ſedition and diviſions among themſelves, yet the Princes of the *Saracens*, being called then Sultans, had in their poſſion the government of *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Afrik*, and of a great part of *Aſia*, about the term of 400 years, till at length the *Saracen* King which ruled in *Perſia*, fighting againſt the *Saracen* of *Babylon*, ſought aid of the Turks, to fight with him againſt the Sultan of *Babylon*. The which Turks by little and little ſurpriſed upon the Sultan of *Perſia*, and not long after putting him out of place, uſurped the Kingdom of *Perſia*: which afterwards went further, as ye ſhall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the firſt beginning of the Turks dominion.

*Sultans firſt called.*

*The firſt riſing of the Turks.*

Theſe *Turks*, after they had thus overcome many Countries and Provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in *Aſia* and *Europa*, began to divide their Kingdoms and Countries amongſt themſelves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly War contended for the bounds of thoſe Kingdoms and Dominions, in the mean time four of the principal Families, conquering and ſubduing all the reſt, parted the whole Empire amongſt themſelves. And yet they alſo not ſo contented, fell to ſuch cruel hatred, contention, war and ſlaughter, (no doubt by the juſt Judgment of God againſt his blaſphemous Enemies) that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient *Turks* was utterly rooted out.

*The Turkiſh dominions parted into four families.*

For it is evident that there are few now remaining, which are *Turks* indeed by birth and blood, and that the State of that great Empire is not upholden, but by the ſtrength and power of Soldiers, which have been Chriſtians, and now are turned to *Mahomets* Religion; ſo that even their own natural Language is now out of uſe amongſt them, ſaving in certain Families of their Nobility and Gentlemen.

Theſe four Families above-mentioned, with their Captains and Armies, about the year of our Lord 1330, went raging throughout all *Aſia* and *Europe*, and every one of them conquered ſome part of the Countries where they paſſed.

The cauſes of theſe great Invaſions and Victories were the diſſention and diſcord, falſhood, idleneſs, unconſtancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Chriſtian Men of all ſtates and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilful defection and back-ſliding of the Chriſtians, the *Turkiſh* power did exceedingly increaſe, in that

*The diſſention of the Chriſtians do make the Turk ſo ſtrong.*

many

KING Hen. 7.

many deſiring the licentious life and liberty of War, and allured with the proſperous ſucceſs of things, forſook the Church of God, and made themſelves bondſlaves to *Mahumet* and his Deviliſh Sect; both becauſe that fleſhly liberty is delightful to all Men, and partly alſo becauſe as fortune favoureth, ſo commonly the wills of Men incline. And again, ſuch as be prophane and without the fear of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all Ages are wont commonly to judge of Religion, according to the ſucceſs of Realms and Kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but alſo for the diverſity of events and fortune amongſt Men, have enquired and do enquire, Whether there be any Church of God diſtinct from other Nations: what it is, and where it is: eſpecially, forſomuch as the greateſt part of Men, both in the old time, when as the four Monarchies flouriſhed in order, was ignorant of this Doctrine, which is peculiar to the Church alone, and now alſo the barbarity of *Mahumet* prevaileth and reigneth in the moſt part of the World. And how ſtandeth this with Mans Reaſon, that a ſmall number, both miſerable and alſo feebled and broken with many Battels, ſhould be regarded and loved of God, and the other flouriſhing in all Wealth, Proſperities, Victories, Authority and Power, ſhould be rejected and deſpiſed of God, ſeeing there is no Power and Authority, but by the Ordinance of God? Albeit therefore the power of the *Turks* hath been, for theſe two hundred years, of greater force than any other Monarchy of the World beſides, yet is there no Imperial Dignity to be eſteemed in that *Turkiſh* tyranny, but amongſt thoſe Nations only, where the Heavenly Doctrine of the Goſpel is preached, and other Diſciplines neceſſary for the Church of God, and the common life of Man maintained and regarded; where the Laws of God, and other honeſt and civil Ordinances agreeable to the ſame, do flouriſh and reign: where lawful Judgment is exerciſed; where vertue is honoured and rewarded; where ſin and wickedneſs is puniſhed; where honeſt Families are maintained and defended.

No Imperial Country in all the *Turkiſh* Dominions.

Theſe things are not regarded amongſt the *Turks*, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful Empires: becauſe they diſſolve and reject all godly Societies, honeſt Diſcipline, good Laws, Policies, righteous Judgment, the Ordinance of Matrimony, and godly Families. For what hath the Empire of the *Turks* been hitherto, but moſt deadly, cruel, and perpetual War, to work all miſchief, deſtruction and deſolation? To ſubvert good Laws, Cities, Kingdoms, Policies, and to enlarge their cruel Power and Dominion? The ſtay and ſtrength whereof is not love and favour proceeding of vertue and juſtice, as in Lawful and well Governed Empires; but fear, violence, oppreſſion, ſwarms and infinite thouſands of barbarous and moſt wicked people, Miniſters of Satans malice and fury. Which kind of Dominion and Tyranny hath been condemned by the Voice of God many years ago; the Teſtimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the Church, leſt the godly, being moved with the power and ſucceſs thereof, ſhould fall away and forſake the Son of God.

The deſcription of the *Turks* unfortunate Empire.

Ezek. 39 Apo. 20.

Wherefore, let us not ſeek for any Imperial ſtate in that barbarity: but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reſerved to us certain remnants of the *Roman* Empire: And let us call upon him daily with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the Houſe of God, that this *Turkiſh* power joyned with the malice of Satan againſt the Son of God, prevail not againſt the poor Congregations and little Remnant of his Church, as it hath hitherto done againſt thoſe ſtrong and noble Chriſtian Kingdoms and Churches, where now we ſee the *Turkiſh* tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full poſſeſſion. Whoſe ſtate was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without ſuch horrible overthrows and deſolation. Oh that we might foreſee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads. For though the *Turk* ſeemeth to be far off, yet do we nouriſh within our breaſts at home, that which may ſoon cauſe us to feel his cruel hand and worſe, if worſe may be; to over-run us; to lay our Land waſte; to ſcatter us amongſt the Infidels, the Enemies and Blaſphemers of the Son of God.

The Chriſtian Kingdoms and Churches deſtroyed by the *Turks* are a warning for us whom God hath yet ſpared.

Now, although theſe four Families above-mentioned long continued together in bloody Wars, deadly hatred, yet one of them paſſed the reſt in all cruelty and tyranny, and ſubduing the other three Families, took upon him the Government alone, and ſo became the firſt Monarch, or Emperor, that reigned amongſt them, called *Ottomannus*; of whom all that reigned after him were called *Ottomanni*. Who ſucceeding orderly of his Line, have occupied the ſame Dominion and Seat of the *Turks*, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this preſent time, which have been to the number of 12, of the which 12, in ſuch order as they lived and reigned, I intend (Chriſt ſo permitting) ſeverally and compendiouſly ſomething to intreat, briefly abſtracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, ſuch ſpecialties, as for us Chriſtians ſhall be briefly requiſite to be known.

Four principal Families of the *Turks*.

The Family of *Ottomannus*.

## Ottomannus *the firſt great Emperor, or Tyrant of the* Turks.

THIS *Ottomannus* was at the firſt of poor eſtate, and obſcure amongſt the common ſort of Men, coming of a baſe Progeny, and of ruſtical Parents; but through his valiantneſs and activity in War, he got him a great name amongſt the *Turks*. For he being a Man of fierce courage, refuſing no labour, and delighting in War, and gathering together by great ſubtilty a multitude of common Soldiers, began to make War, and by conqueſt and victories to advance himſelf and his Family. Firſt, He began to rob and ſpoil with a great band of rovers, and afterward he attempted to ſet upon all Men. Neither did he vex and deſtroy the Chriſtians only, but ſet upon his own Nation alſo, and ſought all occaſion to ſubdue them wholly unto him. For now the Princes and Captains of the *Turks* inflamed with ambition and deſire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themſelves, inſomuch that they fell to domeſticial and inward War, with all the power they could.

Ottomannus the firſt Emperor of the *Turks*.

Inward War among the *Turks*.

*Ottomannus* having this occaſion very fit and meet to accompliſh that which he long had ſought for, gathering unto him all ſuch as he thought to be given to robbing and ſpoiling, and ſet all upon miſchief, in ſhort time began to grow in Authority, and firſt ſet upon certain Towns, as he ſaw opportunity to ſerve him. Of which Towns ſome he took by force, ſome by yielding, other ſome he ſpoiled and overthrew to terrify the reſt, thus laying the firſt foundation of his riſing. In the mean time, the diſcord which was amongſt the Chriſtians was no ſmall advantage to this *Ottomannus*, by occaſion whereof, he within ten years ſpace ſubdued *Bithynia*, and all the Provinces about *Pontus*; alſo *Natolia*, which comprehendeth all the Dominion of the *Greeks* within *Aſia*: *Ancyra* a in *Phrygia*: *Synope* a City in *Galatia*; and *Sabaſtia* a City in *Cappadocia*: and thus ſtill prevailing, he increaſed in ſhort time to a mighty power, either through the ſecret Judgment of God againſt that Nation, or elſe becauſe God would have them ſo far and ſo cruelly to prevail, for the puniſhment of the ſins of other Nations, like as it was Propheſied before, that ſuch a Kingdom there ſhould be of *Gog* and *Magog*.

The coming up of *Ottomannus*. *Bithynia*, *Natolia*, *Ancyra*, *Synope*, *Sabaſtia* ſubdued.

Ezek. 38

This *Ottomannus*, after he had reigned 28 years, in the year of our Lord 1327, died, and departed to his *Mahumet*, leaving behind him three Sons, of whom *Orchanes*, being the youngeſt, killed his two Brethren, whilſt they were at variance between themſelves.

## Orchanes *the ſecond Emperor after* Ottomannus.

ORchanes, the youngeſt of the Sons of *Ottomannus*, after he had ſlain his two Brethren, took the Regiment of the *Turks* after his Father. Who after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, ſuch as had their diſpoſitions ſet upon the licentious life of War, converted his power further to enlarge his Fathers Dominion, winning and ſubduing *Myſia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia* and *Caria*: All which Countries, being within the compaſs of *Aſia*, unto the Sea-ſide of *Helleſpontus*, and the Sea *Euxinus*, he added to the *Turkiſh* Empire. Alſo he wan *Pruſia*, which was the Metropolitan City of *Bithynia*,

*Orchani* the ſecond Emperor of the *Turks* after *Ottomannus*.

*Myſia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Pruſia*, *Nicea*, *Nicomedia*. Chriſtian Cities ſubdued of the *Turks*.

*nia*, which then he made the chief seat of the *Turks* Empire. Besides these moreover, he conquered *Nicea*, and got *Nicomedia*: all which were before Christian Cities and Regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian Princes in *Grecia* to cease their civil Wars, and to joyn and accord among themselves; Such debate and variance, was then between *Cantacuzenus* on the *Greeks* part, and *Paleologus* the Emperor of *Constantinople*. By reason whereof, the *Turks* aid was sent for out of *Asia* to help our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of *Europe* from them both. Who if they had, according to their profession, so well joyned in Brotherly Unity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had *Orchanes* so prevailed in getting *Prusia* from the *Grecians*, neither had the *Turks* so soon presumed into *Europe* as afterward they did. *Orchanes* after these victories, when he had reigned two and twenty years, was strucken, some say, with a Dart in the shoulder, at the Siege of *Prusia*. The opinion of other is, that he fighting against the *Tartarians*, where he lost a great part of his Army, was there also slain himself, *Anno* 1349.

Civil War among the *Grecians*.

By the discord of Christians the *Turks* increase.

## Amurathes *the third after* Ottomannus.

THE *Greek* writers do hold that *Orchanes* had two Sons *Solimannus* and *Amurathes*. Of which two, first *Solimannus* reigned, albeit not long. After him followed *Amurathes*, who after that *Asia* now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade *Europe*. To whose ambitious purpose the Domestical Wars of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certain discord fell between the Princes of *Greece* (whose Captain was *Cantacuzenus*) and *Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*. Whereupon *Paleologus*, for that he was not able to make his party good with the *Grecians*, most unwisely sent for *Amurathes* to help him. Who being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aid him 12000 *Turks* into *Thracia*: but first he used all delays he cou'd of crafty policy, to the intent that the *Greeks* first should waste their strength, and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterward to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

*Amurathes* the third after *Ottomannus*. *Amurathes* seeketh occasion to invade *Europe*.

The *Turks* thus being called into *Europe*, by the Christians, whether they tasting the sweetness of the soil, incensed *Amurathes* their Emperor to make Invasion, or whether *Amurathes* of his own head thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himself over into *Europe* with 60000 *Turks*, falling upon the *Grecians*, being wasted and spent with their long Wars and Battels before. The pretence of the Devilish *Turk* was, to aid and assist the Emperor *Paleologus*, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian Ships of the *Ligurions*, for mony were hired to conduct them over, taking for every Soldier a piece of Gold. *Ex Peucer & aliis.*

The first coming of the *Turks* into *Europe*.

The covetousness of the Christians brought over the *Turks*.

Thus the *Turks* Army being conveyed over by the *Grecian* Sea called *Hellespontus*, first got *Calipolis*, with other Towns and Cities bordering about the Sea, and their planting themselves, and preparing Ships of their own for transporting their Munitions out of *Asia*, advanced their power further into *Thracia*, and there won *Philippolis*, then got *Adrianopolis*, which was not far from *Constantinople*, and there *Amurathes* made his chief seat. Then began *Paleologus* the Emperor at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with *Amurathes*. When the *Turks* had expugned thus a great part of *Thracia*, they extended forth their Army unto *Mysia*, which they soon subdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the *Bessos* and *Triballos*, they entred into *Servia* and *Bulgarsa*, where they joyning Battel with *Lazarus Despota*, Prince of *Servia*, and with other Dukes of *Dalmatia* and *Epyrus*, won of them the Field, and put them to the worse; where *Lazarus Despota* being taken, and committed to Prison, ended his life. This *Lazarus* had a certain faithful client or servant, who to revenge his Masters death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to the Tyrant and thrust him through with his Dagger. This *Amurathes* reigned 23 years, and was slain in the year of our Lord, 1372.

*Calipolis*.

*Thracia* gotten of the *Turks*. *Philippolis*, *Adrianopolis*.

The *Turks* enter into *Mysia*, and *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*. *Lazarus Despota* overcome of the *Turks*.

Example of a faithful servant.

KING Hen. 7.

The death of *Amurathes*.

## Bajazetes *the fourth after* Ottomannus.

THE power of the *Turks* began to increase in *Europe*, what time *Bajazetes*, the first of that name, after the death of his Father, entred the possession of the *Turks* Kingdom. This *Bajazetes* had two Brethren, *Solimannus* and *Sauces*: which *Sauces* had his Eyes put out by his Father, for striving for the Kingdom. *Solimannus* was slain of his Brother. Thus *Bajazetes*, beginning his Kingdom with the murther of his Brother, reduced his Imperial Seat from *Prusia* a City of *Bithynia*, unto *Adrianople*, intending with himself to subdue both *Asia* and *Europe* to his own power. First he set upon the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, thinking to revenge his Fathers Death, where he gave the overthrow to *Marcus Despota*, with all the Nobility of the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the Fines and Borders of the *Illyrians*. All *Thracia* moreover he brought likewise under his yoke, only *Constantinople* and *Pera* excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of *Grecia*, prevailing against the Countries of *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, *Phocides* and *Attica*, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto *Adrianople*, laid Siege to *Constantinople* the space of eight years, and had expugned the same, but that *Paleologus*, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the *French*-men, and of *Sigismund* the Emperor. Who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of *French*-men and *Germans*, came down to *Hungaria*, and toward *Servia*, against the *Turk*. *Bajazetes* hearing of their coming, raised his Siege from *Constantinople*, and with 60000 Horsemen came to *Nicopolis*, where he encountring with them, overthrew all the Christian Army, took *John* the Captain of the *French* power Prisoner: *Sigismundus*, which before in the Council of *Constance* had burned *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, hardly escaped by flying. *Bajazetes*, after the Victory got, carried away Duke *John*, with five other in Bands, into *Prusia*, where before his face he caused all the other Christian Prisoners to be cut in pieces. Afterward the said *John*, being Ransomed with 200000 Crowns, was delivered. Some Authors refer this Story to the time of *Calepinus*, as followeth hereafter to be seen.

*Bajazetes* the fourth after *Ottomannus*.

*Marcus Despota* slain of the *Turk*. *Servia*, *Macedonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Phocides*, *Thracia*, *Attica*, *Thessalia*: with other Christian Countries, conquered of the *Turks*. *Constantinople* Besieged eight years by the *Turks*.

The Christians overthrown of the *Turks*. *Sigismund* the Emperor put to flight.

The barbarous cruelty of the *Turk* against the Christians.

*Bajazetes* the cruel Tyrant after this Victory won, and Tyranny shewed upon the Christians, returned again to the Siege of *Constantinople*, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the Providence of God had found such a means, that *Tamerlanes* King of *Parthia*, with an hundred thousand Horsemen, and swarms of Footmen, like a violent flood over-running *Asia*, and pressing upon *Syria* and *Sebastia*, had taken *Orthobules*, the Son of *Bajazetes*, Prisoner, and afterward slew him, exercising the like cruelty upon his Prisoners, as *Bajazetes* had done before upon the Christians; insomuch that he spared neither Sex nor Age of the *Turkish* multitude: of whom he caused twelve thousand at one time to be over-ridden and trodden down under his Horses feet. By reason whereof, *Bajazetes* the Tyrant was enforced to raise his Siege from *Constantinople*, and to return his power into *Asia*; where he, near the Hill called *Stella*, pitched his Tents there to encounter with *Tamerlanes*.

*Tamerlanes* a *Parthian* stirred up of God, to revenge the Christians. *Bajazetes* Son taken and slain. Cruelty justly revenged with cruelty. *Bajazetes* raiseth his Siege from *Constantinople*.

The Fight between these two, was long and great on both sides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397, and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at *Nicopolis* in *Pannonia*; but the Victory of this Battel fell to *Tamerlanes* at length. In the which Battel, as *Munsterus* writeth, were slain 200000 *Turks*. Among whom *Bajazetes* the Tyrant, having his Horse slain under him, was taken Prisoner; and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in Golden Fetters, and so being inclosed in an Iron Grate (whom before all *Grecia* could not hold) was led about and shewed through all *Asia*, to be scorned and laught at: and moreover, was used instead of a footstool to *Tamerlanes*, or a block, as often

*Bajazetes* overcome of *Tamerlanes*, King of *Parthians*. The just hand of God upon a cruel Persecutor. *Bajazetes* made for a block for *Tamerlanes* to get upon his Horse.

KING *Hen.7.*

as he mounted upon his Horse. Some add also, That he was made like a Dog to feed under *Tamerlanes* Table. The tyranny of which *Bajazetes* against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of *Valerianus* the *Roman* Emperor above-mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for as *Sapores* King of the *Persians* did then with *Valerianus* in time of the Eighth Persecution of the Primitive Church, so likewise was *Bajazetes* this Persecutor worthily handled by *Tamerlanes* King of the *Parthians*, as in manner above-said.

The great victories of Tamerlanes in *Asia.*

*Tamerlanes* after this Conquest passed with his Army into *Mesopotamia*, to *Egypt*, and all *Syria*, where he victoriously subduing the Cities and Munitions of the *Turks*, at length also conquered *Damascus*. In his Sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in White attire, the second day in Red, the third day in Black, signifying thereby Mercy the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the Sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last after great Victories, and Spoils gotten of the *Turks*, he returned into his Country again, and there died, *Anno* 1402.

*Ex Seb. Munstero lib. 4. Cosmographiæ.*

*Seb. Munsterus*, writing of this *Tamerlanes*, Recordeth that he had in his Army 20000 Men: and that he overcame the *Parthians*, *Scythians*, *Hiberians*, *Albans*, *Persians*, *Medes*, and Conquered all *Mesopotamia*: and after he had also subdued *Armenia*, passing over the River *Euphrates* with Six hundred thousand Footmen, and Four hundred thousand Horsemen, he Invaded all *Asia Minor*, Conquering and subduing from the Flood *Tanais* unto *Nilus* in *Egypt*, and was called *Terror Orbis*, the Terror of the World. He left behind him two Sons, who, falling in discord for their Possessions, lost all again that their Father got.

*Tanais* is the uttermost flood in the North-side; and *Nilus* the uttermost flood in the South-side of *Asia*. A generation of Vipers.

In the mean time *Bajazetes*, in the second year of his Captivity, died, leaving behind him divers Sons, *Jesus* or *Josua* the eldest, *Mulsumanes*, *Moses*, *Celebinus*, or *Calepinus*, *Jesus* the younger; *Mustaphas* and *Hali*, of whom, first *Jesus* the eldest was overcome and slain of *Mulsumanes*, which *Mulsumanes* afterward was delivered to *Moses* his Brother, and by him was slain likewise; which *Moses* had also the like end by his Brother *Calepinus*, having his Neck broken with a Bow-string, which was then the usual manner among the *Turks* in killing their Brethren. The same *Calepinus* sparing only the life of *Mustaphas* his other Brother, condemned him to perpetual Prison. *Jesus* the younger was Baptised, and shortly after departed at *Constantinople*. In these such discords and divisions among the *Turks*, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered again of the *Turks* that they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private Wars otherwise occupied with themselves?

## Calepinus *the Fifth after* Ottomannus.

*Calepinus* the fifth, after Ottomannus.

*Calepinus* or *Celebinus*, was the Son of *Bajazetes*, and of four Brethren the eldest; who being all taken Captives of the *Parthians*, he only escaped and obtained his Fathers Kingdom. This *Calepinus* encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the Princes of *Europe*, and by the discord of the *Grecians* amongst themselves and other Nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the *Bulgarians*, *Servians*, and *Macedonians*, even to the time of *Sigismundus*. Which *Sigismundus* seeing now *Bajazetes* to be overcome and taken of *Tamerlanes*, and the power of the *Turks* weakned in *Europe*, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from Heaven, to destroy and utterly to root out, not only out of *Asia*, but also all *Europe*, that barbarous Nation, and cruel Enemies to the Name and Religion of Christ: and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his Army Fighting before with *Bajazetes* at *Nicopolis* a City in *Mysia*; with great Power made War against *Calepinus* at *Columbatium* a Town in *Servia*, as is also before-mentioned, but as unluckily and with as little success as he did before against *Bajazetes* his Father. For in that Battel were slain of the Christians to the number of Twenty thousands and the rest utterly discomfited, the King himself escaping so hardly, that he entred not again into his Kingdom for the space of Eighteen months after. Some write that this was done under *Bajazetes*; otherwhile refer this Battel to *Amurathes*; but howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians. He Reigned but Six years and died very young, *Anno* 1404.

The overthrow of *Sigismund*, fighting against the *Turks*

Some stories Record this conflict to be after the time of this *Turk*.

## Orchanes *and* Moses *his Uncle, the Sixth after* Ottomannus.

*Orchanes* and *Moses* his Uncle. Diversity in Historie.

After the Captivity of *Bajazetes* above-mentioned, Histories diversly do dissent. The *Greek* writers, making no mention at all of *Calepinus*, only make mention of the Sons of *Bajazetes*, and of the contention among them, until the time of *Mahumetes*. The *Latin* Stories writing of the Children of *Bajazetes* and of their succession, do not therein agree, some affirming, That *Bajazetes* had two Sons, *Orchanes*, surnamed *Calepinus*, and *Mahumetes* his Brother, which within two years slew the said *Calepinus*, and entred his Dominion. Other attribute to *Bajazetes* more Sons, as is above-rehearsed. Some again do give to *Bajazetes* only these two Sons, *Celebinus* and *Mustaphas*; and hold that *Calepinus* or *Celebinus* had two Sons; to wit, *Orchanes* and *Mahumetes*; and add moreover, That the said *Orchanes*, being somewhat young, was slain of his Uncle *Moses*, who governed but two years. For *Mahumetes*, to revenge his Brothers death, slew *Moses*, and invaded his Dominion. The *Greek* Stories make no mention at all of *Orchanes*.

Tyranny between Uncle and Nephew. Murther revenged with murther.

## Mahumetes *the Seventh after* Ottomannus.

*Mahumetes* the seventh after Ottomannus, *Wallachia* assaulted by *Mahumetes*.

THIS *Mahumetes*, whether he was the Son of *Bajazetes*, or else of *Calepinus*, converted to himself alone the Kingdom, or tyranny rather of the murdering *Turks*. Who afflicted the Christians with sore Wars within *Europe*, especially the Country called *Wallachia*, lying not far from the Flood *Danubius*, between *Hungary* and *Thracia*. From thence he removed into *Asia*, where he recovered divers parts in *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, which before *Tamerlanes* had alienated from the *Turks*. This *Mahumetes* planted his Chief Imperial Seat in *Adrianople* not far from *Constantinople*, within the Country of *Thracia*. In some Writers the conflict between *Sigismund* and the great *Turk*, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this *Mahumetes*, than to *Calepinus*; of which conflict mention is above made in the Story of *Sigismundus*. This *Mahumetes* Reigned, as some say, fourteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 1419. Others affirm seventeen years.

The *Turks* seat at *Adrianopolis*

## Amurathes *the Second, Eighth after* Ottomannus.

*Amurathes* the Eighth after Ottomannus.

*Amurathes*, as *Philelphus* saith, was the Son of *Celebinus* as *Laonicus Chalcondiles* testifieth, of *Mahumetes*: whose Son soever he was, a wretched Tyrant he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the story of *Bajazetes* mention was made before of *Mustaphas* his Son, who was condemned to perpetual Prison by *Calepinus* his Brother. This *Mustaphas* escaping out of his Brothers Prison, was conveyed to the *Grecians*, where he remained long in custody, till at length they understanding the purpose of *Amurathes*, set him up with sufficient Habiliments and Furniture of War, to Fight against the said *Amurathes* his Nephew. But in conclusion he being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his Enemy, and had his neck broke with a Bow-string, after the manner of the *Turkish* execution.

*Mustaphas* murdered by *Amurathes* his Nephew.

The *Grecians* then terrified with this sinister adversity, required truce of the *Turk*; but when that would not be granted, they procured unto them *Mustaphas*, the other Brother to *Amurathes*, being of the age of 13 years; who, likewise being Armed of the *Grecians*, got the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, from *Amurathes* his Brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same City, and brought to *Amurathes*; who caused him likewise to taste of the same Whip, as the other *Mustaphas* had done before. *Amurathes* being now out of all fear and doubt of Brethren and Kinsfolks to rise against him, converted all his

The *Turk* murthereth his Brother.

*Amurathes* fet against the *Grecians*.

power

*Tracia ſubdued to the Turk.*

power againſt the *Grecians*: and firſt ranging throughout *Thracia*, where divers Cities yielded unto them, which before belonged to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, from thence he ſet forward to the Noble and Famous City *Theſſalonica*, being then under the league and protection of the *Venetians*. This *Theſſalonica* is a City in *Greece*, bordering upon *Macedonia*, to the Citizens whereof Saint *Paul* writeth, foreſhewing unto them, in his ſecond Epiſtle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of our Lord, 2 *Theſ.* 2. By the which Apoſtaſie or defection what the holy Apoſtle doth mean, this ſtory of the Turks may eaſily declare. After *Theſſalonica* was ſubdued, *Phocis* with all the Country about *Athens*, *Beotia* likewiſe, *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, with all the Region beyond *Peloponneſus*, unto the Coaſt of *Corinth*, to whom Saint *Paul* alſo wrote other two Epiſtles, were brought in bondage and ſlavery unto the *Turk*.

*Theſſalonica ſubdued.*

*The defection ſpoken of S. Paul declared, 2 Theſ. 2.*

*Joannes Caſtriotus. Croia* given to the *Turk*. The 3. ſon of *Caſtriotus* Hoſtages with the *Turk*, *Georgius Scanderbeius*, *Alexander the Great.*

In *Epirus*, and in that quarter that adjoyneth to *Macedonia* named *Albania*, Reigned then one *Joannes Caſtriotus*; who, perceiving himſelf too weak to match with the Turks power, made with the *Turk* this converſion, that he ſhould have *Croia*, a Famous City in *Grecia*, and alſo gave to him his three Sons for hoſtages, to wit, *Conſtantinus*, *Repoſius*, and *Georgius*.

In this *George* ſuch towardneſs of noble courage, ſuch vigor of mind, and ſtrength of body ſingularly did appear, that the *Turk* cauſed him more freely to be inſtructed after the Turkiſh Religion and manner in his own Court: where he being trained up, did ſo ſhoot up as well in feats of activity, as in ſtrength of body, that he excelled all his equals; inſomuch that he was named *Scanderbeius*, which ſoundeth as much as *Alexander Magnus*.

*The valiant Acts of Georgius Scanderbeius.*

After this *Alexander* was grown up to mature ripeneſs of age, and was well trained up in feats of War, he was ſent out by the *Turk*, to War againſt *Caramannus* of *Cilicia*, the Turks enemy. In which expedition he ſped himſelf moſt manfully, fighting hand to hand, firſt with a footman of *Scythia*, then with an Horſeman of *Perſia*, being challenged by them both to encounter, firſt with the one, after with the other; whom he ſo valiantly overthrew that he wan great renown with the *Turk*: In ſo much that he truſting to the Turks favour, when he heard of the deceaſe of his Father, durſt ask of the *Turk* the grant of his Fathers Dominion to be given unto him. Which requeſt although *Amurathes* the *Turk* did not deny him; yet notwithſtanding, he perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, by ſubtile means and policy ſlipt out of the Turks Court, and came to *Epyrus* his own inheritance, where firſt by forged Letters he recovered *Croia*. The other Cities of their voluntary mind yielded themſelves unto him; who then gathering unto him the people of *Epyrus* and *Macedonia* (which were not ſo many in number, as with good willing minds they ſtuck unto him ſo manfully and valiantly behaved himſelf, that againſt all the puiſſance both of *Amurathes*, and alſo of *Mahumetes*, he maintained his own, repulſed their violence, and put to flight their Armies many years together. But to return again to the courſe of *Amurathes* victories, after he had thus prevailed (as is before ſignified) againſt the Eaſt parts of *Europa* and *Grecia*, and had convented thus for the Dominion of *Epyrus*, he invaded *Illyricum*, (otherwiſe called now *Sclavonia*) containing in it *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Iſtria*, and *Liburnia*: which Countries after he had ſpoiled and waſted, he continued his courſe to *Albania* and *Boſna*. In which Regions, when he had ſubdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to *Walachia* and *Servia*, upon hope to Conquer all *Pannonia*.

*Georgius Scanderbeius ſtealeth away from the Turk to his Country. Croia* recovered. *Epyrus* and *Macedonia* recovered from the *Turk*. The valiant acts of *Georgius Scanderbeius* againſt the Turks. *Illyricum* or *Sclavonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Iſtria*, *Liburnia*. *Albania*, *Boſna* ſpoiled and waſted by the *Turk*.

There Reigned at the ſame time in *Servia* a certain Prince named *Georgius Deſpota*, who made great ſute to the *Turk* for Truce and Peace, promiſing to give his Daughter to marriage; for by the Turks Law they marry as many wives as they liſt. It was not long after *Amurathes* had married the Daughter of *Deſpota*, but he contrary to his league and promiſe, made War upon *Deſpota* his Father-in-law, and expelled him out of his Kingdom, taking from him divers Cities, as *Scopia*, *Novomonte*, *Sophia*, and all *Myſia*. *Georgius* himſelf fled into *Hungary*, leaving behind him his Son to defend the Town of *Sinderonia*. *Amurathes* underſtanding of the flight of *Deſpota* his Father in law, compaſſed the City of *Sinderonia* with a ſtrong Siege, which when in few days had expugned, he took his Wives Brother the Son of *Deſpota*, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous Tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes, with a Baſon red hot ſet before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in deriſion in deſpite of his cowardly Father. *Ex Chriſtoph. Richerio Gallo, & Gaſp. Peuc. & aliis.*

*Georgius Deſpota* Prince of *Servia*. An ungodly grant of a Chriſtian Father to marry his Daughter to the *Turk*. *Sophia*, *Novomonte*, *Myſia*, ſubdued of the *Turk*. *Georgius Deſpota* fled into *Hungary*.

KING Hen. 7. The cruelty of the *Turk* upon his wives Brother.

*Servia* being thus won and gotten, *Amurathes*, thinking to go further into *Hungary*, beſieged the City called *Belgradum*, and no doubt had alſo ſuppreſſed the ſame, had not the Providence of God found means, that partly through ſlaughter of his men, partly for lack of Victual and other Forrage, he was compelled to raiſe his Siege and retire.

*Belgradum* beſieged of the *Turk*.

In the mean time *Joannes Huniades* (of whom mention was made before:) had got great victories againſt the Turkiſh power, and had recovered part of *Servia*, and all *Muldavia*; againſt whom *Amurathes* the *Turk*, with a mighty Army, moved into *Pannonia*. But *Huniades* with the power and aid of *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polonia* (but ſpecially by the power of the Lord) did ſoon infringe the puiſſance of the *Turk*, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Chriſtians the greateſt part of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*.

*Joannes Huniades* Valvoda.

In this Battel *Huniades* had five ſundry conflicts with the Turks upon one day, and with five Victories put them to the worſe, and toward night did ſo diſcomfit and overthrow the great Captain of *Amurathes*, called Baſſa, the Duke of *Anatolia* (which is otherwiſe named *Aſia Minor*) that he ſlew of the Turks that day to the number of Thirty Thouſand. *Amurathes*, although, he was not a little thereat diſcouraged, yet diſſembling his fear, with ſtout countenance ſent for *Carambeius* his principal ſtay and Captain, with a new power brought out of *Aſia* to aſſiſt him in his wars. This *Carambeius* in the Downs of *Tranſylvania*, *Ladiſlaus* the foreſaid King of of *Polonia* (the Lord ſo working through the induſtry of *Joannes Huniades*, ſo received and with ſuch celerity oppreſſed him unprovided, that all his ſtout and ſturdy Army either was ſlain down right, or elſe put to flight and diſparkled, *Carambeius* the Captain being himſelf taken priſoner in the ſame field.

Five Victories of *Johannes Huniades*, againſt the *Turk*, gotten in one day. The great Baſſa or Duke of the *Turks* overthrown by *Huniades*. The Victory of *Huniades* againſt *Carambeius* the great Captain of the Turks. The Great *Turk* brought to great diſtreſs.

Theſe Victories of *Huniades* ſtrook no little terror to *Amurathes*, inſomuch that for diſtreſs of mind he was ready to deſtroy himſelf (as ſome do write) but being confirmed by *Helibeus* Baſſa his Counſellor, he kept himſelf within the ſtraits of Mount *Rhodope*. Who then hearing that *Caramannus* invaded the ſame time the Country of *Bithynia* and *Pontus* in *Aſia*, was glad to take truce with *Ladiſlaus* and *Huniades* upon ſuch conditions as they liſted to make themſelves: which conditions were theſe, that *Amurathes* ſhould depart clearly from all the Region of *Servia*, and ſhould remove from thence all his Garriſons, which were placed in the Caſtles and Forts of the ſame; alſo he ſhould reſtore *George Deſpota* (which is to ſay) Prince of *Servia*, unto his poſſeſſion, and ſet his children free, whom he had in captivity, and reſtore them to their inheritance. *Item*, that he ſhould make no more claim nor title to the Country of *Muldavia* above mentioned, nor to that part of *Bulgravia* which he had loſt; and that he ſhould deſiſt hereafter from all wrongs and injuries againſt the Chriſtians. Upon theſe conditions the *Turk* being agreed, ſo was truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and with ſolemn Oath between them confirmed.

*Amurathes* ſeeketh truce of the Chriſtians. The conditions between *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polonia*, and *Amurathes*.

This done, *Amurathes* the Tyrant addreſſeth himſelf toward *Aſia*, to reſiſt the invaſion of *Caramannus* aforeſaid. At what time Pope *Eugenius* ſo ſoon as he heard the *Turk* to be returned into *Aſia*, ſendeth *Julianus Cæſarianus* his Cardinal (whoſe ſtory is before touched) unto *Ladiſlaus* the foreſaid King, with full diſpenſation and abſolution to break his Oath and league with the *Turk*, promiſing moreover great hope and aid, if he would go in Arms ſtoutly againſt the Tyrant.

Truce between the Chriſtians and the Turks for ten years. *Amurathes* returned into *Aſia*. The Popes diſpenſation and abſolution abuſed.

¶ Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promiſe in that Peſtilent Sea of *Rome*, neither was there ever any War proſpered, which was taken in hand by the Popes Council: ſo was there never any Council of the Pope that brought with it more detriment to Chriſtianity, than this. But the Pope belike thought, that

The Popes evil Councell perilous to Chriſtendom.

{KING} {*Hen.*7.}

Nothing proſpereth that is taken in hand by the Popes ſetting on.

The Pope breaketh Truce made between the Chriſtians and the *Turk*.

that as he might lawfully break promiſe with *John Hus*, and with other Chriſtians, ſo alſo he needed not to obſerve any League of Truce taken with the *Turk*: But it turned much otherwiſe than the Popes blind Brains imagined, as by the ſequel is to be ſeen. For *Ladiſlaus* being thus excited by the unadviſed and ſiniſter inſtigation of Pope *Eugenius*, contrary to the Truce eſtabliſhed a little before, ſet out with his Army from *Seledinus*, and ſo proceeding to *Walachia* and *Burgaria*, came to *Varna*, a Town of *Bulgary*, where he fell ſick.

The Pope, and *Ladiſlaus* to break truce.

It was not long but the *Turk*, having thereof intelligence, left his Wars begun with *Caramannus* in *Aſia*, and with great journeys made haſte into *Europ*, paſſing over by the Straits near to *Callipolis*, where all the *Italian* Navy ſtill looking on, and whether of purpoſe, or whether for cowardlineſs, would not ſtir one Ore to ſtop the paſſage of the *Turkiſh* Army. When *Amurathes* was come to *Adrianopolis* in *Thracia*, uſing ſuch celerity as no Man looked for, within eight days he was in *Burgaria*; and there encamped himſelf againſt *Ladiſlaus*.

The falſe dealing of the *Italian* Navy.

The battel of *Varna*, between *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polonia*, and *Amurathes*.

The day of battel being ſet, the Armies joyned on both ſides. *Huniades* was himſelf there preſent, but all the matter was ruled by *Julianus* the Cardinal, and the Popes Clergy. The Fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodſhed on each ſide; inſomuch that the field did ſtand with lakes of blood. It ſeemed at the firſt to incline to the Chriſtians, by breaking the firſt ranks of the *Turks*. But the Prieſts and Prelates which were at the field (which had been more fit to have been in the Church) ſeeing the *Turks* to begin to flie, unskilfully left their array to purſue the Enemy, ſo that they leaving the other ſtandings of the Chriſtians naked, gave great advantage to the *Turks* with their Darts and ſhot to diſturb the Chriſtian rangs. By the which occaſion *Amurathes* incloſing the Chriſtians with his Army round about, obtained the Victory. In the which field, *Ladiſlaus* the young King of *Polony*, having his Horſe firſt killed under him, was ſtrucken down and ſlain. The Popes Biſhops flying to ſave themſelves, fell into the Marſhes, and there were deſtroyed, ſuſtaining a durty death condign to their filthy fallhood and untruth. *Julianus* the Cardinal, which with the Pope was the chief doer in breaking the League, in the way was found dead, being full of Wounds, and ſpoiled to his naked skin. Of the reſt of the Army that eſcaped by flying, part was drowned in the Marſhes, ſome periſhed miſerably for hunger, ſome for cold, watching and wandring in the Woods. *Huniades* hardly eſcaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God, being reſerved to the further profit and Commodity of *Chriſtendom*.

The Popiſh Prelates were the cauſe of loſing the Field.

A juſt puniſhment upon the Popiſh Prelates for their unjuſt dealing.

*Julianus* the Cardinal ſlain in the War and ſpoiled.

*Huniades* eſcapeth.

This *John Huniades* the worthy Warrior was born in *Walachia*, being Earl of *Biſtice*, of all Captains that ever went againſt the *Turks* moſt famous and ſingular, prudent in wit, diſcreet in Councel, expert and politick in War, prompt of hand, circumſpect before he attempted, quick in expedition: in whom wanted almoſt no good property requiſite in a warlike Captain. Againſt two moſt mighty and fierce Tyrants, *Amurathes* and *Mahumetes*, through the Lords Might, he defended all *Pannonia*, and therefore was called the Thunderbolt and Terror of the *Turks*. Like as *Achilles* was unto the *Grecians*, ſo was he ſet up of God to be as a Wall or Bulwark of all *Europe* againſt the cruel *Turks* and Enemies of Chriſt and of his Chriſtians. Neither was there any King or Prince that ever atchieved ſuch noble Victories, either ſo many in number, or ſo profitable for the publick utility of all *Europe*, as did he, and that not only in the days of this *Amurathes*, but alſo of *Mahumetes* his ſucceſſor, as hereafter remaineth further to be ſeen.

The worthy commendation of *John Huniades*.

This battel of *Amurathes* againſt the Chriſtians at *Varna* in *Bulgaria*, was fought in the year of our Lord, 1404.

*Amurathes* by reaſon of this Victorious overthrow againſt the Chriſtians, ſurpriſed with no ſmall Pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the *Grecians*, where *Caſtriotus* was, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeius*. And firſt coming to *Peloponneſus*, and breaking down the Wall about the Straits of *Corinth*, encountred with the Brother of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, whom with his ſudden coming he oppreſſed, with all the *Greeks* Army, ere they were provided. *Paleologus* the Emperor after that, did build up the Wall again, but at the *Turks* bidding he was compelled to undo it again: which Wall afterwards the *Venetians* did repair. After the demolition of the Wall, *Amurathes* entring into * *Peloponneſus* took divers Towns and Cities, as *Sycione*, and *Patris*; and moreover made all the parts of *Theſſalia* and *Achaia* Tributaries unto them.

Amurathes taketh his Voiage againſt the Grecians.

* *Peloponneſus Sycione, Patris*, with all the parts of *Theſſalia* and *Achaia*, brought under the *Turk*.

The next year after this battel of *Amurathes* fought againſt the Chriſtians at *Varna*, the *Turk* being now about the parts of *Grecia*, purpoſed to bend all his force and main againſt the Country of *Epyrus* belonging to *Georgius Caſtriotus Scanderbeius*. Of this *Scanderbeius* mention was made before, how he was brought up in the *Turks* Court, from whence we declared alſo how ſubtilly he conveyed himſelf, and came to the poſſeſſion of his own patrimony of *Epyrus*. * Which *Epyrus* this noble and victorious *Scanderbeius* (whom the Lord alſo had raiſed up the ſame time with *Huniades*, to bridle the fury of the *Turks*) valiantly defended againſt all the power of *Amurathes*; inſomuch that he diſcomfited and vanquiſhed ſeven of the moſt expert Baſſaes or Dukes of the *Ottoman* Emperor, one after another, with all their Armies of moſt picked and choſen Souldiers, diſlodged them of their Tents, and expulſed them utterly out of all *Epyrus*. Alſo when *Amurathes* himſelf with his whole puiſſance had invironed about the City of *Croja*, with cruel ſiege and ordinance out of meaſure, yet notwithſtanding the ſaid *Scanderbeius* (through the power and bleſſing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulſed him from the ſiege.

The memorable Acts of *Scanderbeius* againſt *Amuralbes*.

* This *Epyrus* is a Country in *Grecia*, bordering near to the parts of *Macedonia*.

Seven Captains of the *Turks* overcome by *Caſtriotus Scanderbeius*.

After this diſcomfiture, the ſaying is, that *Amurathes*, to keep his Vow made before, after his Victory at *Varna*, gave himſelf unto a religious Order, living a contemplative life with certain other Prieſts joyned unto him, in the Forreſt of *Bithynia*, renouncing the government of his Realm to the hands of *Haly*, one of the Princes (for thou muſt underſtand, good Reader, that the *Turks* alſo be not without their ſundry Sects of Religion, no more than we Chriſtians are without our Friers and Monks.)

*Amurathes* renounced his Dominion, and made himſelf a *Turkiſh* Monk.

In the mean time while *Amurathes* this *Turkiſh* Tyrant was cloyſtered up in his Monkiſh Religion, *Joannes Huniades* in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and *Caſtriotus Scanderbeius* in *Grecia*, kept a great ſtir againſt the *Turks*. By reaſon whereof *Amurathes* was taken again from his Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, and brought again into the field: For firſt *Huniades* had reſcued the whole Country of *Hungaria*, and had propulſed moreover all the might of the *Turks* far from *Servia*. And although the peeviſh practice of *Georgius* Prince of *Servia* had oftentimes diſcloſed his Councils unto the *Turks*, whereby twice he was brought in danger, yet notwithſtanding (through the Lords gracious Protection) ye was preſerved and delivered by the ſaid *George* unto the *Hungarians* again, and after that manfully vanquiſhed the *Turks*, ſo that they had no reſting place about thoſe parts of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, ſo long as he lived.

Two Chriſtian Warriors in *Europe* ſtirred up of God to vanquiſh the *Turks*.

This *John Huniades* is reported of twenty battels with the *Turk*, to loſe but two.

On the other ſide in *Grecia*, *Caſtriotus Scanderbeius* ſo foiled the *Turk* in defence of his Country *Epyrus* and *Macedonia*, and kept *Amurathes* ſo ſhort, that not only he was not able to win any great Town in all *Epyrus*, but alſo coming from *Epyrus* in the Straits, he was ſo intangled by *Caſtriotus*, that he was forced to give battel: In the which battel he was ſo vanquiſhed, and moſt part of his Army ſlain, that, for grief and ſorrow conceived, he falling into a raving ſickneſs, was tranſported out of his Pavillion unto *Adrianople*, and there in fury and madneſs died, after he had Reigned 34 years, which was about the year of our Lord, 1450.

*Epyrus* and *Macedonia*, defended by *Scanderbeius*.

*Amurathes* overcome by *Scanderbeius*.

This *Amurathes* firſt ordained the order of the *Janizarites*. Which were the Men-children of ſuch Chriſtians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the Faith of Chriſt, wherein they were Baptized, and brought them up in *Mahumets* Law, and exerciſed them in the ſame Feats of War as he did his own people, and after that they came to Mans eſtate, he named them *Janizari* (that is to ſay) Souldiers of a ſtrange Country, and made them to guard his perſon. They wear on their head, inſtead of an Helmet, a white Attire made of the groſſeſt ſort of Wooll, and in ſo many folds

*Janizari* among the *Turk*.

folds about their head that it cannot be pierced with a Sword. It hangeth down on the back with a Tail, and before on the forehead it is garniſhed with Gold and Silver. They were wont to uſe Bows and Lances in the field, but now they uſe Dags as our Horſemen do.

At the firſt inſtitution there were but Eight thouſand in their Garriſon, but now there be twice ſo many. This of all bondage and ſervitude that the Chriſtians ſuffer under the *Turks* is moſt intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Chriſtians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to ſee their Children pulled from the Faith of Chriſt wherein they were Baptized, and by whoſe blood they ſhould eternally be ſaved, and to be inſtructed and nouriſhed with the blaſphemous Doctrine of *Mahumet*, and ſo be profeſſed Enemies of Chriſt and his Church, to make War againſt Heaven, and to periſh everlaſtingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to ſee and behold our own Children born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel Enemies, and to cut our Throats with their own hands? This ſervitude of mind is far greater than death it ſelf: which if our Princes would well conſider, it would cauſe them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power againſt this cruel Enemy.

*A lamentable ſlavery of Chriſtian Mens Children under the Turk.*

## Mahumetes *Second, the ninth after* Ottomannus.

*Mahumetes the ninth Turk after Ottomannus*

*Murathes* left behind him three Sons, *Mahumetes* born of the Daughter of *Deſpota*, Prince of *Servia*, being Twenty years of Age, the ſecond Son called *Turcines*, the Third named *Calepinus*. This *Turcines* being an Infant, and but eighteen Months old, was Strangled at the commandment of the *Turk* by his ſervant *Moſes*, himſelf being there preſent and beholding the horrible Murther. And when *Moſes* the Executer of the murther had deſired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his Brother, he anſwered, that it was the manner of all the *Ottoman Turks*, that all the other Brethren being deſtroyed, none ſhould be left alive but one to goven the Empire. Wherefore *Moſes* was commanded by the Tyrant, there preſently, and in his ſight, to kill the Infant. This horrible Fact when the Mother of the Child underſtood, ſhe cried out, and almoſt mad for ſorrow, curſed the Tyrant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his Mother, at her requeſt, being deſirous to be revenged upon the Executer of her Sons death, delivered the ſaid *Moſes* bound into her hands, who then in the preſence of the Tyrant thruſt him to the Heart with a Knife, and opening his ſide took out his Liver, and threw it to the Dogs to be devoured.

*The Tyranny of Mahumetes in murthering his Brethren.*

The third Son called *Calepinus*, which was but ſix Months old, the foreſaid *Amurathes* his Father commended to the cuſtody of *Halibaſſa*, one of his Nobles, who, to gratifie and pleaſe the Tyrant, betrayed the Infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he at the Tyrants commandment was ſtrangled. Some affirm, that in ſtead of *Calepinus* another Child was offered unto the Tyrant, and that *Calepinus* was conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, and after the taking of *Conſtantinople* was carried to *Venice*, and then to *Rome* to Pope *Calixt*, where he was Baptized, and afterward came into *Germany* to *Frederick* the Emperor, and there was honorably entertained, and kept in *Auſtrich* during his life. Where note how the merciful Providence of God, whom he liſt to ſave, can fetch out of the Divels mouth. And note moreover the foreſaid *Halibaſſa* the betrayer of the Infant, how he eſcaped not unrevenged. For *Mahumet* underſtanding him to be a Man of great ſubſtance and riches, through forging of falſe Crimes, with great Torments put him to death to have his Riches; for this Tyrant was given to inſatiable avarice. Thus this bloody *Mahumet* began regiment with horrible Murther, after the example of other curſed Tyrants his Predeceſſors.

*Halibaſſa a Traytor to his Maſter. Horrible parricide of the abominable Turk. Gods providence can fetch out of the Divels mouth whom he liſt to ſave. Note here Gods puniſhment upon the betrayer of innocent blood.*

Although this *Mahumet*, notwithſtanding that he came of a Chriſtian Mother, being the Daughter of *Deſpota* Prince of *Servia*, and by her was brought up and inſtructed from his Childhood in the Precepts of Chriſtian Religion and manners, yet he ſoon forgetting all, gave himſelf to *Mahumets* Religion, and yet ſo, that he being addicted to neither Religion became an Atheiſt, believing and worſhipping no God at all, but only the Goddeſs of good Fortune, irriding and mocking the minds and judgments of Men, which believe that God by his Providence governeth and regardeth the ſtate of human things on Earth.

KING Hen. 7.

After that this *Mahumet* heard of the Victories and Conqueſts of other his Predeceſſors, and had underſtanding how *Bajazetes* lay eight years about *Conſtantinople*, and could not win it; he diſpraiſing *Bajazetes*, and diſdaining that ſo long time ſhould be ſpent about the ſiege thereof, and yet no Victory gotten, bent all his ſtudy and device how to ſubdue the ſame. But firſt having a privy hatred againſt the City of *Athens*, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his Brethren, this murthering *Mahumet* firſt of all taketh his Voyage to ſubvert and deſtroy the City aforeſaid, being a famous School of all good learning and diſcipline. Againſt the which City he did ſo furiouſly rage for the hatred of good Letters, that he thought he ought not to ſuffer the Foundation thereof to ſtand, becauſe that City was a good nurſe and foſterer of good Arts and Sciences; wherefore he commanded the City to be raced and utterly ſubverted; and whereſoever any Monumets or Books could be found, he cauſed them to be caſt into durty Sinks, and the filthieſt places of the City, or put to the moſt vile uſes that could be deviſed, for extirping and aboliſhing of all good literature; and if he underſtood any to lament the caſe, and ruine of that noble Place, thoſe he grievouſly puniſhed and put to death.

*Mahumet firſt letteth upon Athens.*

*The fury of Mahumet the Turk againſt the City and School of Athens.*

*Athens deſtroyed.*

Thus the famous and ancient School of *Athens* being deſtroyed and overthrown, he returned his Army and Power into *Thracia*, where in all haſte he, gathering up his Power together both by Sea and Land, with a mighty multitude compaſſed the City of *Conſtantinople* about, and began to lay his ſiege againſt it, in the year of our Lord, 1453. and in the four and fiftieth day of the ſaid ſiege it was taken, ſacked, and the Emperor *Conſtantinus* ſlain. As touching the cruelty and fierceneſs of the *Turks* in getting of this City, and what ſlaughter there was of Men, and Women, and Children, what calamity and miſery was there to be ſeen, forſomuch as ſufficient relation, with a full deſcription thereof, hath been made before, it ſhall be ſuperfluous now to repeat the ſame. This only is not to be omitted touching three principal Cauſes of the overthrow of this City; whereof the firſt was the filthy avarice of thoſe Citizens, which hiding their Treaſures in the Ground, would not imploy the ſame to the neceſſary defence of their City. For ſo I find it in Story expreſſed, that when the *Turk*, after the taking of the City, had found not ſo much Treaſure as he looked for, ſuſpecting with himſelf (as the truth was) the Treaſures and riches to be hidden under the Ground, commanded the Earth to be digged up, and the Foundations of the Houſes to be ſearched: where when he had found Treaſures incredible. What (quoth he) how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with ſuch great Riches as here is, and plenty of all things? The ſecond cauſe was the abſence of the Navy of the *Venetians*, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a ſafeguard againſt the invaſion of the enemies. A third cauſe alſo may be gathered upon occaſion incident in Stories, either for that the City of *Conſtantinople* fifteen years before, did yield to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as is before to be ſeen, or elſe becauſe (as in ſome Writers it is evident) the Images were there received and maintained in their Churches, and by the *Turks* the ſame time deſtroyed.

*The fierce and taking of Conſtantinople.*

*Vide ſupra.*

*Three cauſes ſpecially noted in the winning of Conſtantinople.*

*Ex Joanne Ramo, lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.*

*Vide ſupra.*

*Joannes Ramus*, writing of the deſtruction of this City, amongſt other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifix, being there in the high Temple of *Sophia*, which Image the *Turk* took, and writing this ſuperſcription upon the head of it, *Hic eſt Chriſtianorum Deus*, i. This is the God of the Chriſtians, gave it to his Souldiers to be ſcorned, and commanding the ſaid Image with a Trumpet to be carried thorow all his Army, made every Man to ſpit at it moſt contumeliouſly. Wherein thou haſt (good Reader) by the way to note, what occaſion of ſlander and offence we Chriſtians give unto the barbarous Infidels by this our ungodly ſuperſtition, in having Images in our Temples, contrary to the expreſs

*Ex Ramo. An Image of the Crucifix in Conſtantinople.*

*What offence is given to the Infidels by Images in Chriſtian Churches.*

{KING Hen. 7.}

preſs commandment of God in his Word. For if Saint *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, ſaith, *We know Chriſt now no more after the fleſh*; how much leſs then is Chriſt to be known of us in blind Stocks and Images ſet up in our Temples, ſerving for none other purpoſe, but for the Infidels to laugh both us and our God to ſcorn, and to provoke Gods vengeance? which by the like example (I fear) may alſo fall upon other Cities, which ſuch Images and Idolatrous ſuperſtition is maintained; whereof God grant *Vienna* to take heed betime, which hath been ſo long, and yet is in ſuch great danger of the *Turk*, and polluted with ſo many Images, and plain Idolatry.

*Vienna admoniſhed.*

*In ſumma*, to make the Story ſhort, ſuch was the cruelty of theſe *Turks* in winning the City, that when *Mahumet* had given licence to the Souldiers three days together, to ſpoil, to kill, and to do whatſoever they lifted, there was no corner in all *Conſtantinople*, which did not either flow with Chriſtian blood, or elſe was polluted with abominable abuſing of Maids, Wives, and Matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the which Citizens, ſome they Murthered, ſome they Roſted upon Spits, of ſome they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to conſume with Famine, of otherſome they put Salt into their Wounds; the more terrible to torment them, inſomuch that one of them contended with another, who could deviſe moſt ſtrange kinds of new Torments and Puniſhments, exerciſing ſuch cruelty upon them, that the place where the City was before, ſeemed now to be no City, but a Slaughter-houſe or Shambles of Chriſtian Mens bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body alſo of *Conſtantine* the Emperor was found; whoſe Head being brought to *Mahumet*, he commanded it to be carried upon a Spear thorow the whole City for a publick ſpectacle and deriſion to all the *Turkiſh* Army. And becauſe he would diminiſh the number of the Captives, which ſeemed to him to be very great, he never roſe from his Table, but he put every day ſome of the Nobles to death, no leſs to fill his cruel Mind with Blood, than his Body was filled with Wine; which he uſed ſo long to do as any of the Nobles of that City was left alive. And of the other ſort alſo, as the Stories do credibly report, there paſſed no day in the which he did not orderly ſlay more than three hundred Perſons, the reſidue he gave to his raſcal Souldiers to kill, and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as *Conſtantinus* the Son of *Helena* was the firſt Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſo *Conſtantinus* the Son alſo of *Helena* was the laſt Emperor thereof.

*The cruel murthes by the Turks in the City of Conſtantinople.*

*A lamentable deſtruction of the City of Conſtantinople.*

*The bloody cruelty of the Turk againſt the Chriſtian Captives.*

Not far from the ſaid City of *Conſtantinople* there was another little City called *Pera*, and once called *Gallatia*, ſituated by the Sea ſide; who hearing of the miſerable deſtruction of *Conſtantinople*, and ſeeing the City flaming with fire, ſent certain of the chief Men with ſpeed to *Mahumet*, declaring unto him, that they neither had ſent any help to the City of *Conſtantinople*, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his Army: wherefore they deſired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, ſo he would be favourable unto them and ſpare them, and not to puniſh the guiltleſs with the guilty. *Mahumet*, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they ſubmitted themſelves, and that they would rather reſiſt him if they had been able, yet he received for that time the ſubmiſſion of the Meſſengers: but ſending with them his Ambaſſadors into the City, he commanded alſo his Army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the City, which although it was greatly ſuſpected and miſliked of the Citizens, yet they durſt not otherwiſe do but ſuffer them to enter: which being done, the Ambaſſador gave a ſign to the Souldiers, every Man to do whatſoever he was bidden; of whom, ſome ran to the Walls, ſome to the Temples and Churches, ſome to the Streets and Houſes of the City, plucking all things down to the ground, ſacking and ranging with no leſs fury and abominable filthineſs, than they had done at *Conſtantinople* before, ſaving only that they abſtained from murther: but the ſame day Letters came from *Mahumet* to the Ambaſſador, that he would ſpare none, but deſtroy and murther all that ever were in the City; which meſſage, becauſe it ſeemed to the Ambaſſador to be too cruel, forſomuch as they had yielded themſelves, he ſtayed his hand a little until night came. In the mean time, drunken *Mahumet* coming ſomething to himſelf (whom drunkenneſs had before overcome) ſent his ſecond Letters to revoke the firſt. *Where again is to be noted the merciful Providence of God towards his people in their deſerved Plagues, by ſtaying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their Enemies, when otherwiſe the caſe ſeemeth to be paſt all remedy.*

*The City of Pera yieldeth it ſelf for fear to the Turk.*

*The City of Pera ſpoiled.*

*Drunken Mahumet falſe of prediction.*

*The merciful Providence of God in ſaving his people.*

*Mahumet* thus being in himſelf not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of *Conſtantinople*, where he had now made the Imperial Seat of the *Turkiſh* Dominion the third year next following, to adventure more maſteries, he ſet out to the ſiege of *Belgradum*, a City of *Hungary*, lying near to the Banks of *Danubius*, thinking to have the like ſucceſs there, as he had in the winning of *Conſtantinople*, albeit, through the Lords diſpoſing, it fell out much otherwiſe. Within the City of *Belgradum*, the ſame time of the ſiege thereof, was *Joannes Huniades*, the valiant Captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a ſufficient ſtrength of of picked Souldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the *Turks* Army, valiantly defended the City with great courage, and no leſs ſucceſs. In the which ſiege great diligence was beſtowed, and many of the *Turks* ſlain. Among whom alſo *Mahumet* himſelf, being ſtrucken with a Pellet under the left Arm, was fain to be carried out of the Field for half dead, and the reſt ſo put to flight. that of the *Turks* the ſame time were deſtroyed to the number, or not much under the number of forty thouſand, beſides the loſs of all their Ordinance, which the *Turks* in haſte of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

*Conſtantinople made the Imperial ſeat of the Turk.*

*The ſiege of Belgradum in Hungary. John Huniades.*

*Forty thouſand Turks ſlain at the ſiege of Belgradum.*

*Hieronymus Zieglerus*, writing of the ſiege of this *Belgradum*, addeth moreover, that when *Mahumet* was at the ſiege thereof, ſeeing the Town to be ſo ſmall and weak of it ſelf, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he ſtaring and faring like a mad Man, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the Walls and Towers of the Town: So that the Chriſtians within the Walls were vehemently diſtreſſed; for the Siege continued both night and day without intermiſſion. Among the reſt of the Chriſtians which defended the Town *Hieronymus Zieglerus* maketh mention of a certain *Bohemian*, much worthy of his condign commendation; Who being upon the Walls, and ſeeing a *Turk* with a Banner or Enſign of the *Turks* to be gotten up, by the ſight whereof, the whole Town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the *Turk*, and claſping him about the middle, ſpeaking to *John Capiſtranus* ſtanding below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind did caſt himſelf with that Dog (ſo he termed him) down headlong from the Wall to be ſlain with him; what ſhould become of his ſoul, and whether he might be ſaved or not? To whom when the other had anſwered, that he ſhould be ſaved without doubt, he eſtſoons tumbleth himſelf with the *Turk* down off the Wall, where by his death he ſaved the ſame time the life of all the City. *Mahumet* being ſo wounded, and in deſpair of winning the City, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length coming again to himſelf, partly for fear, and partly for ſhame, was ready to kill himſelf. And thus was the Town of *Belgradum* at that time reſcued through Gods Providence, by the means of *Joannes Huniades* and this good *Bohemian*.

*Ex Hier. Zieglero, in lib. de illuſtrib. viris Germa. cap. 98.*

*The noble Act of a Bohemian in defence of his country.*

*The Town of Belgradum valiantly defended from the Turk.*

This ſiege of *Belgradum* began in the year of our Lord, 1456. and endured ſix and forty days. At which ſiege were numbred of the *Turks* two hundred thouſand. Of whom more than forty thouſand (as is aforeſaid) were ſlain, where the victory fell to the Chriſtians through the proſperous ſucceſs given of God to *Joannes Huniades*, and *Capiſtranus*. Which *Huniades* not long after the ſaid victory, through the importune labour and travel in defending of the Town, was taken with a ſore ſickneſs, and thereof departed; to whoſe valiant proweſs and ſingular courage, Stories do give great laud and commendation.

*Two hundred thouſand Turks at the ſiege of Belgradum.*

*The deceaſe of Joannes Huniades.*

*Mahumetes* the *Turk*, after this done in *Europe*, returned into *Aſia* to War with *Uſumcaſſanes* a *Perſian*, one of the *Turks* ſtock, with whom he had three Battels. The firſt was about the River *Euphrates*, where the *Turk* loſt Ten thouſand Men, and was put to the worſe.

*The Turks War againſt Uſumcaſſanes.*

In the ſecond field likewiſe he was diſcomfited. The third Battel at *Arſenga*, where through the terrible noiſe of the brazen pieces, the *Perſian* Horſes diſturbed the Camp, and ſo was *Uſumcaſſanes* overcome.

returned againſt the Chriſtians.

From thence the *Turk* reduced again his power againſt the Chriſtians, and firſt ſubdued unto him *Synope* and all *Paphlagonia*: Alſo the Kingdom of *Trapezunce*, which he beſieging both by Land and water, wan from the Chriſtians, and ſent *David* the King of the ſame with his two Sons, and *Calus* his Uncle, unto *Conſtantinople*, where they were miſerably and cruelly put to death, and all the ſtock of the *Comneni*, which were of the Kings ſtock, by the *Turk* were deſtroyed. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1459. at which time this miſchievous *Mahumet* was firſt ſaluted Emperor.

*Synope, Paphlagonia, Trapezuntus* gotten of the *Turk*.

*David* Emperor of *Trapezuntus* with his two Sons, and Uncle cruelly killed of the *Turk*.

Not long after, he got from the *Grecians Corinthus* and *Mitylene*, not without great ſlaughter of Chriſtian men; inſomuch that the whole City of *Mitylene* was utterly to the ground almoſt deſtroyed. The Iſles alſo of *Lemnus* and *Lesbos* he wan from the *Venetians*; in the which Iſland of *Lesbos* is the City of *Mitylene* aforeſaid.

*Corinthus, Mitylene, Lesbos, Lemnus* ſubdued of the *Turk*.

Not far from this Iſle of *Lesbos* and *Mitylene*, there is a Country in *Aſia* toward the Sea ſide bordering next to *Europe*, called *Miſia*, or of ſome called *Maeſia*, wherein ſtood the City of *Troy*. This Country *Mahumet* coveting to win rather by policy and falſhood, than by doubtful danger of War, ſecretly ſent for the Prince thereof to come to ſpeak with him for certain cauſes (as he pretended) which would concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the King of *Myſia* either for ſhame would not, or for fear durſt not deny, he came to him as to confer upon neceſſary affairs in common to them appertaining. *Mahumet*, when he had brought that to paſs which he would, he cauſed the King to be apprehended, and cruelly to be ſlain, or rather torn in pieces; and ſo invading the Land of *Myſia*, he exerciſed the like Tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

The falſhood of the wretched *Turk* againſt the Prince of *Myſia*.

The cruelty of the *Turk* againſt the King of *Myſia*.

This *Myſia* by fraud being taken and loſt, *Mahumet* flyeth again toward *Europe*, where he aſſailed the Iſland *Euboia*, otherwiſe called *Nigroponte*, making a Bridge of a marvelous frame over the Sea *Euripus*, to convey over his Army out of *Grecia*, and there laid his ſiege to the City *Chalcis*, which at length in thirty days he overcame, not without a great ſlaughter of his Army; who in the ſiege thereof, is ſaid to have loſt Forty thouſand of the *Turks*. But the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians was greater; for when the City was won, the Tyrant commanded moſt cruelly, none to be ſpared within the whole City, but to be put to the Sword, whoſoever was above the Age of Twenty years. This cruelty was ſhewed of the barbarous Tyrant for anger and fury, becauſe ſuch a number of his *Turks* were ſlain at the ſiege thereof, being reckoned (as is ſaid) to Forty thouſand. In the fierce ſiege of this City it is memorable that is in Stories recorded, how that the Women of that City, ſeeing the Men begin to faint, and the City to lie in preſent danger, took the matter themſelves in hand, and playing the Men, went to the Walls, and there defended the City with no leſs trouble to the Enemy, than the Men had before done, and ſo for a ſpace continued, ſo long as any Mans ſtrength and diligence could do any good. A great cauſe of the loſs of this City and Iſland, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the *Venetians* Navy; who being there preſent, and having proſperous Wind, yet durſt not, or would not adventure upon the *Turks* Bridge, which if they had done, the Iſland of *Euboia* and *Chalcis* had not ſo ſoon been overmatched of the *Turks*.

The ſiege of *Chalcis* in *Euboia*.

The cruel Tyranny of the *Turk* againſt the City of *Chalcis*. *Ex Joanne Remo de rebus Turcicis.*

The noble ſtratagem of women in defending that City.

Thus all the *Eaſt* parts of *Grecia* being ſubdued to the *Turkiſh* Tyrant, with all *Achaia*, *Attica*, *Acarnania* and *Euboia*, ſhortly after followed alſo *Peloponneſus*, brought, in like ſubjection to the *Turk*. Within *Peloponneſus* were theſe Provinces contained, *Achaia*, *Meſſenia*, *Laconia*, *Argolica* and *Archadia*, &c. The *Venetians* in this *Peloponneſus* had great poſſeſſions, and had made up the Wall again toward the Sea ſide, near to the Straits of *Corinth* before mentioned, where for the more ſpeed of the work, they had Thirty thouſand Work-men to the building thereof: which, when it came to the knowledge of the *Turk*, he braſt into the Country of *Peloponneſus* with an Army of Eight thouſand, and firſt waſted the Regions of the *Coroneans*, and *Methoneans*, and making a great ſlaughter of the *Venetians*, in ſhort time he brought the whole Dominion of *Peloponneſus* under his yoke and tribute.

*Peloponneſus, Achaia, Meſſenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia*, Chriſtian Provinces in *Grecia*, ſubdued of the *Turk*.

KING *Hen.* 7.

Long it is, and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this *Mahumet*, gotten againſt the Chriſtians both by Land and Sea; who, after he had overcome the Iſle *Lesbos* above mentioned, and had cruelly ſlain *Nicholas Cataluſius* the Prince thereof, turning his Army toward the Sea of *Pontus Euxinus*, got the Country of *Capha* from the *Genuans*. Before was declared how Truce was taken between *Georgius Scanderbeius*, and the *Turk* for Ten years: which Truce being expired, *Mahumet* leaveth no time unſpent, no diligence unſought, but maketh all his Power to *Epyrus* and *Albania*, which he, after long fatigation of ſiege, at length overcame and ſubdued. In the which Tract alſo he wan from the *Venetians*, *Scodra*, *Lyſſon* and *Dinaſtrum*. Notwithſtanding, when *Scanderbeius* the valiant Captain had done againſt the *Turk*, what in Mans ſtrength did lie, yet being overmatched with power and multitude, ſeeking no poſſibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his Country as an exile, and went to *Italy*, and there being ſent for by the Popes Letters, openly declared that it was not poſſible otherwiſe to reſiſt the furious rage of the barbarous *Turks* by the ſtrength of any one King or Prince, unleſs all *Europe* with one conſent ſhould joyn their power and force together. And thus *Gregorius Scanderbeius*, a Man of puiſſant courage, being driven out of his Country, continued his age in exile. Whoſe courage and vehemency is reported to have been ſuch, that in fighting againſt the barbarous Eenemy, for very eagerneſs of Spirit, his blood was ſeen to burſt out of his Lips. It is teſtified alſo of him, that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, never turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded but only once with a light ſhaft in his foot, neither ever ſet againſt the *Turk* with moe than ſix thouſand Horſemen, and three thouſand Footmen; who is ſaid with his own hand to have ſlain above 2000 *Turks*, whom with ſuch violence he did ſtrike, that many of them he did cleave aſunder from the head to the middle.

*Capha* taken of the *Turk*.

The Counſell of *Scanderbeius* how to fight againſt the *Turk*.

A notable example of ſingular courage in a Captain.

The commendation of *Scanderbeius* againſt the *Turk*.

Neither yet was the unſatiable greedineſs of this *Turkiſh* Hell-hound with all this ſatisfied, but ſtill he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole World? and ſo paſſing forward towards *Europe*, he ſubdued all *Illyria*, ſlaying *Stephanus* the King of *Boſna*, about the year of our Lord 1463. But afterward *Matthias Corvinus*, the Son of *Huniades* afore mentioned, recovered again the ſaid Kingdom of *Boſna*, with many other Cities near unto *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and moreover repulſed *Mahumet* the *Turk* in his ſecond ſiege of *Jaitza*, taking his Tents and munitions left behind him.

*Matthias* the Son of *Huniades*.

Moreover, the ſaid *Mahumet* paſſing unto *Walachia*, ſet upon *Dracula* the Prince thereof; which *Dracula*, although he had no greater power of Souldiers, yet he ſo encloſed and environed the *Turk*, that he had almoſt loſt his whole Army, of whom a great part notwithſtanding was deſtroyed, and many of his Enſigns taken. Into *Dalmatia* were ſent two Captains of the *Turk*, who, fighting againſt the Provinces of the *Venetians*, made great ſpoil and waſte about the Regions of *Stiria* and *Carinthia*; whoſe alſo the *Venetian* Power was diſcomfited, and *Hieronymus Novel* their Captain ſlain. At length Truce was taken between the *Turk* and the *Venetians*, upon this condition, that *Scodra*, *Tenarus* and *Lemnus* ſhould be yielded unto him, and that they ſhould pay to him yearly, Eight thouſand Duckets, for the free paſſage of their Merchants.

*Stiria* and *Corinthia* taken of the *Turk*.

After this peace concluded with the *Venetians*, *Mahumet* himſelf ſaileth over into *Aſia*, ſending two of his great Captains abroad to ſundry places; of whom, *Meſithes* was ſent againſt the *Rhodes* with a mighty Navy. The other called *Acomates Baſſas* was ſent into *Italy* to take *Rome*, and all the *Weſt* Empire. Concerning the Voiage of which two Captains, this was the event, that *Maſithes*, after his great Travel, and bloody ſiege againſt the *Rhodians*, was fain to retire, at length with great ſhame and loſs. The other Captain *Acomates* (as is ſaid) was ſent into *Italy* with a Navy of a hundred Ships, and fifteen thouſand Men, who by the way ſailing, got *Leucadia* (which now they call S. *Maure*) *Caphalania* and

*Rhodes* beſieged.

KING Hen. 7. Leucadia, Cephalonia, Zacynthus, Favelona taken of the Turks.

and *Zacynthus*, and ſailing by *Favelona*, arrived in *Apulia*, and ſo paſſing along by the Sea ſide, ſpoiled and waſted divers parts by the coaſt, till at length he came to *Hidruntium*, a City in *Calabria* in *Italy*, which after long ſiege he overcame and ſubdued, and brought ſuch a terror into all *Italy*, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himſelf, with all haſte fled out of *Rome*. After the City of *Hydruntium* was taken, and the *Turks* placed in the ſame, which was the year of our Lord 1481. *Mathias Corvinus*, *Huniades* Son, was ſent for by the *Italians*, to ſet upon the ſaid City, upon the reſcue whereof, when *Acomates* was about to make his return with five and twenty thouſand *Turks*, in the mean time news came, that *Mahumet* the great *Turk* was dead; by reaſon whereof, the ſiege brake up, and the City was delivered to the *Italians* again, and ſo was *Italy* delivered at that time out of that preſent peril and danger. This *Mahumet* wan from the Chriſtians two hundred Cities, and twelve Kingdoms, and two Empires, which he joyned both together. He died in the year aboveſaid, *Anno* 1481.

*Hydruntium* taken.

The Pope flieth for fear of the *Turk*.

These two Empires were *Conſtantinople* and *Trapezzande*.

## Bajazetes *the Second, the tenth after* Ottomannus.

*Mahumetes* aforeſaid had three Sons; of the which *Moſtapha* the Eldeſt, through voluptuouſneſs and carnal Luſt, died before his Father. The other two were *Bajazetes* and *Demes*, otherwiſe called *Zizimus*. About whom great controverſie aroſe amongſt the *Turks*, which of them ſhould ſucceed in their Fathers Kingdom. For neither of them was preſent at *Conſtantinople* when *Mahumetes* died; *Bajazetes* being in *Cappadocia*, and *Demes*, in *Lycaonia*, wherefore, when great diſſention was among the Nobles for the ſucceſſion, and great ſtriſe and bloodſhed for the matter, the *Janizarites*, which were the *Turks* guard, did proclaim *Bajazetes* Emperor; others, in the abſence of *Bajazetes* the Father, did chooſe *Corchuthus* his Son. *Bajazetes* the Father coming at length from *Cappadocia*, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with Money, got the Wills of the *Janizarites*, and was made Emperor. *Demes* the other Brother being in *Lycaonia* more near, although he made no leſs ſpeed in his coming, yet was prevented of *Bajazetes*, and excluded out of *Conſtantinople*. Wherefore he being put back from all hope of his Kingdom, incited by ſome of his Friends, moved War againſt his Brother; who being overcome in three Battels by *Acomates*, *Bajazetes* Captain, who had got *Hydruntum* before, did flie to the great Maſter of the *Rhodes*, leaving in a place called *Carræ*, his Mother and two young Children, whom *Bajazetes* ſlew.

Of theſe *Janizarites*, read before.

*Bajazetes* ſlayeth his Brothers and Mother, and his two Nephews.

This *Demes* being with the Maſter of the *Rhodes*, was deſired firſt of Pope *Innocent* the fourth, then of *Ludovicus* the ſecond *French* King, but eſpecially of *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, intending by him to obtain great victory againſt *Bajazetes*. But in concluſion, the Knights of the *Rhodes* ſent him to the Biſhop of *Rome*, where he being kept, and afterwards ſent to *Charles* the 8th *French* King, for an Hoſtage of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, was poiſoned by the way of *Terracina*, by the ſaid Pope *Alexander*, as is before declared. After whoſe death, *Bajazetes*, to requite the foreſaid *Acomates* for his good ſervice, put him to the Halter, partly miſdoubting his power, partly for lucre ſake to have his Treaſure: Whoſe death redounded to the great profit of the Chriſtians, forſomuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the Religion and name of Chriſt.

Read before.

Falſe Treaſon worthily recompenſed.

*Bajazetes* thus being confirmed in his Tyranny, made his expedition againſt *Wallachia*, where he ſubdued two great Forts, one called *Lithoſtomus*, the other called *Mancaſtrum*. From thence he removed his Power, taking his Voiage into *Aſia*, thinking to be revenged of the *Sultan* of *Egypt*, which had ſuccoured and entertained both his Brother *Demes* againſt him; where he loſt two great Battels, the one fought at *Adena*, the other at *Tarſus*; but eſpecially at the field at *Tarſus*, the Army of the *Turk* took ſuch a wound, that of an hundred thouſand brought into the field, ſcarce the third part remained unſlain. But as touching the *Rhodians*, although they were ſuccourers of *Demes* aforeſaid, yet *Bajazetes* (whether for fear, or for ſubtilty) abſtained to provoke them with War, but rather entring with them the League of peace; requiring the Maſter of the *Rhodes* to keep his Brother ſafe under his cuſtody, promiſing for his yearly ſalary, to be payed unto him every year in every Month of *Auguſt*, 45000 Duckets.

Lithoſtomus, Moncaſtrum, Chriſtian Forts ſubdued of the *Turk*.

The *Turk* overthrown at *Tarſus*.

Thus *Bajazetes* being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting againſt the *Sultan* of *Egypt*, removed from *Aſia*, and directed his Army into *Europe*, where he got *Dyrachium* near unto *Velona*, and had a great victory over the Chriſtian Army in the Country of *Croatia*, where the *Illyrians*, *Pannonians* and *Croatians*, joyning their Powers together, encountred with the *Turk*, and loſt the field, about the year of our Lord, 1493.

*Dyrachium* taken of the *Turk*.

From thence the *Turk* leading his Army againſt the *Venetians*, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the *Turk* ſometimes was put to the worſe, and ſometimes again prevailed, out of *Jadra* and divers other Cities about *Dalmatia*, carried away great multitudes of Chriſtians into Captivity, which was about the year of our Lord, 1498.

The *Turk* againſt the *Venetians*.

The Chriſtians carried away captives.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1500. *Bajazetes* with 150000 armed Men, entred into *Peloponneſus*; which although *Mahumet* had expugned before, yet the *Venetians* had defended *Methone*, otherwiſe called *Modon*, all this while againſt the *Turks*. Which *Methone* the *Turk* beſieged with three Armies, having about the Walls five hundred great braſen Canons, whereof twenty two were moſt violent and hurtful, wherewith he battered the City both day and night: but the Citizens, which were within the City, committing themſelves to God, defended their City as well as they could, rather chuſing to die than to yield unto the *Turks* Tyranny. But the *Turk* prevailing, and they not able to withſtand the ſiege, the Chriſtians convented together into a certain Houſe prepared for the purpoſe, both Men, Women and Children; where they ſetting the Houſe on fire, gave themſelves rather to be burned, than to come into the Tyrants hands. Certain Women alſo, with their Children, caſt themſelves headlong into the Sea, by that means to avoid the *Turkiſh* Captivity. Some writers there be, which affirm that the *Methonians*, ſeeing five great Ships of the *Venetians* coming with Men and Victuals toward them, iſſued down from the Walls to the Sea ſide to receive them; which were all taken Captives, being above the number of a thouſand: which all being tyed with long Ropes, were brought before the Tyrant, and in his ſight were cruelly ſlain, except certain Nobles, whom *Cherſeogles*, Son in Law to *Bajazetes*, got to be pardoned, amongſt whom was *Andreas Gritto*. The City of *Coron*, and alſo *Pilus*, Cities in *Greece*, being terrified with the example of the *Methonians*, yielded themſelves to the Power of the *Turks*. *Criſſeum*, otherwiſe called *Caput Sancti Galli*, was expugned by *Cherſeogles*, by force of Guns.

*Peloponneſus* again invaded by the *Turk*.

*Methone* taken of the *Turks*, and miſerably deſtroyed.

*Coron*, *Pilus*, *Criſſeum* yielded to the *Turk*.

Theſe things thus atchieved, although *Bazajetes* went away Victor unto *Conſtantinople*, yet notwithſtanding the *Venetians*, through the help of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, had won from the *Turk*, *Chephalania* an Iland very commodious for their Traffick. Alſo they had gotten other two Lands, *Leucas* and *Nerius*, otherwiſe called *Sancta Maura*, ſlaying all the Garriſon of the *Turks*. But afterwards peace being taken between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*, by the Counſel of *Andreas Gritto* aforeſaid, the *Turks* ſo agreed, that *Leucas* and *Nericus*, the Illands aboveſaid, ſhould be rendred unto the *Turks*, and the *Venetians* ſhould keep ſtill the poſſeſſion of *Chephalania*.

*Chephalania*, *Leucas*, *Nericus*, Illands recovered of the *Turks* by the *Venetians*.

Truce between the *Venetians* and the *Turk*.

Unto this League the *Turk* did the rather condeſcend, for that he had to maintain War againſt *Iſmael Sophus* in *Aſia*, King of *Perſia*. Which *Sophus* was ſtirred up by Gods Providence to War with this *Bazajetes*, whereby the Chriſtian Churches in *Europe* might have ſome breathing time, and freedom from the *Turks* cruel Tyranny and bloodſhed. This *Sophus* was a valiant *Turk*, who with great Power and Victories had over-run a great compaſs of the *Eaſt* parts of *Aſia*; then paſſing from *Aſſyria* into *Media*, and returning again into *Armenia*, he made War againſt the *Albanians*, *Hiborians*, and *Scythians*, and from thence coming into *Aſia Minor*, encountred with *Corchuthus Bajazetes* Son, and afterward coming to *Bithynia*, fought with *Caragius Baſſa*, *Bajazetes* Captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his Wife,

War between *Sophus* and *Bajazetes*.

priſoners. Afterward he was encountred by *Halibaſſa* another Captain of the *Turks*, whom *Techellus* one of the ſaid *Sophus* Captains, meeting in the plain of *Galatia*, did withſtand, and ſo by the way ſlew *Caragius* the Captain, and hanged him upon a Pole in the ſight of *Halibaſſa*; which *Halibaſſa* ſhortly after was ſlain in War, and his Army ſcattered and put to flight.

*Caragius the Turks Captain taken Priſoner and ſlain of Sophus.*

*Halibaſſa the Turks Captain ſlain.*

Thus through the admirable example of Gods Juſtice and Providence, were theſe *Turks* kept occupied, and ſo came it to paſs, that theſe *Barbarians* being blaſphemous againſt the Son of God, ſhould thus horribly run on to the deſtruction one of another, being worthily puniſhed with mutual ſlaughter and bloodſhed, for their Impiety and Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt and his Religion, whereby in the mean time ſome reſt was given to the *Chriſtians*.

*Reſt given to the Chriſtians by the diſcord of the Turks.*

*Bajazetes* partly by theſe Victories diſcouraged, partly diſeaſed and languiſhing of the *Gout*, and partly alſo broken with age, finding himſelf unweildy to the Regiment of that tumultuous Kingdom, began to have talk with his Nobles about the chuſing of one to ſucceed him. The occaſion whereof miniſtred much matter of inward Wars amongſt the *Turks*. This *Bajezetes* had in all ſix Sons, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left alive; to wit, *Acomates*, *Corchutus* and *Zelymus*. *Bajazetes* himſelf had moſt mind to *Acomates*, but the chiefeſt of his Nobles did favour rather *Zelymus*; who through their traiterous incitation, provoked him to ſtir War againſt his Father: and notwithſtanding that he was overcome in War, yet through interceſſion, he was reconciled again to his Father, and afterward proclaimed again Emperor againſt his Fathers will, through the help and favour of the Souldiers, entring the firſt beginning of his Kingdom, with the murthering of his own Father. The ſtory whereof in ſome Authors is thus declared.

*Zelymus made Emperor againſt his Fathers will*

After that the *Janizarites* had perſwaded with *Bajazetes*, for that he himſelf was unweldy, therefore he ſhould do well to conſtitute ſome Succeſſor, and that he had aſſigned *Acomates* to ſucceed him; the *Janizarites* being offended with the ſaid *Acomates*, becauſe he would not inlarge their ſtipends, and bribe them, compaſſing about the Kings Palace with their privy Swords which they had under their Garments, with a mighty cry, required *Zelymus* to be appointed for their Emperor. Unto whom when *Bajazetes* had anſwered, That he had aſſigned *Acomates*, they refuſed him, becauſe he was fat, groſs, and unable thereunto: but needs would have *Zelymus*, which was ſtout and warlike, to be made Emperor: and withall they drew out their Swords, crying *Zelymus*, *Zelymus*. Then *Bajazetes* giving place to their fury, ſhewed himſelf content to give them *Zelymus*; whom the *Janizarites* receiving, brought him into the Palace: unto whom *Bajazetes* his Father giving place, willed him not to be ſo haſty and furious in his doings, but to be modeſt and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things, and think himſelf to be a man ſubject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are: and thus ſpeaking, he reſigned his Imperial Throne and Seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entring into a certain Order of their Religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, ſaluting *Zelymus* as Emperor. Who then taking the Rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, deſtroying many of his Nobles, ſuch as had ſtood againſt him, ſome with poiſon, ſome by other cruel means, and advancing his own ſide, with great Honours and Promotions.

*What theſe Janizarites were, read before.*

*The counſel of Bajazetes to his Son Zelymus.*

Not long after that *Zelymus* was thus ſetled in his Kingdom, *Bajazetes* his Father intending to ſee and prove how he behaved himſelf in his Government, firſt entred into his Treaſure-houſe, where he found all his riches to be ſcattered and gone. Afterward he came into his Armory, where all the ſpoils gotten by War were likewiſe waſted; then he entred into the Jewel-houſe, where all his Plate and Gifts ſent from Kings and Princes were kept, which likewiſe were diſperſed and given away. At length he came into the Stable, where alſo he ſeeing his principal Horſes to be lacking, ſighing with himſelf, and crying *Vengeance upon him*, he prepared himſelf, with the reſidue of the treaſure which was remaining, to ſail over into *Natolia* unto his eldeſt Son; and paſſing by an Orchard near to the Sea-ſide, where he had appointed to take Ship, in the mean time whilſt the Ships were in furniſhing, he ſate down under a Tree, and began to curſe his Son, and to ask Vengeance upon him, for that he had ſo deſpiſed his Father, and was become ſo impious a Wretch.

*The diſpleaſure of Bajazetes againſt his Son Zelymus.*

*Zelymus* underſtanding of his Fathers departure came into the Orchard where his Father was, ſeeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his Father would ſo privily depart and go away, ſeeing that he deſired not the Government of the Empire, but was contented only with the Title thereof. *O Father* (ſaid he) *do not thus privily depart away; do not procure this ſhame to your Son, who ſo tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the Emperour indeed. The end of your natural life moſt patiently I ſhall expect, which I pray God may long continue.* And thus uſing many fair and flattering words to his Father, he commanded a Banquet with many dainty Junkets to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poyſon. Which aſſoon as *Bajazetes* had begun to taſte of, and felt the ſtrength of the poiſon working in his body, he took his laſt Farewel of his Son, and going out of the City accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the Streets, in the middle of his way they fell down and miſerably died, in the year of our Lord, 1512. Here maiſt thou ſee, good Reader, a curſed brood of this *Turkiſh* Generation, where the Father dieth in curſing the Son, and the Son reigneth by poiſoning his Father.

*The diſſembling words of Zelymus to his Father.*

*Zelymus the Son, poiſoneth his Father.*

## Zelymus *the Eleventh after* Ottomanus.

AFter that this wretched *Zelymus* had exerciſed his barbarous cruelty upon his Father, with like impiety he ſeeketh the deſtruction of his Brethren and their Children, firſt beginning his murther with the five Children his Nephews, which were the Sons of his three Brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two Brethren yet alive, *Acomates* and *Corchutus* with their Children, likewiſe to be deſtroyed. Of whom the one had three Sons, whom the Father ſent to *Zelymus* his Brother, and their Uncle, with fair and gentle words, to intreat him to be good unto their Father, offering to him their duty and ſervice in all things, honouring him alſo as Emperor. But cruel *Zelymus* commanded forthwith his ſaid Nephews to be ſtrangled. The Father hearing of the cruel murther of his Sons, leaving houſe and home, went and hid himſelf in Mountains, where he lived for a ſpace with herbs and wild honey; but being betrayed by one of his men, he was brought to *Zelymus*, and ſo was ſtrangled.

*Zelymus the Eleventh after Ottomanus.*

*The cruelty of Zelymus againſt his Father and his Brethren*

*The cruelty of Zelymus againſt his Coſins.*

*Chriſtopherus Richerus*, writing of theſe matters, ſeemeth ſomething to differ from other ſtories, and ſaith, That *Zelymus*, after the death of his Brother *Corchutus*, came to *Burſia*, where he under the colour of making a great Triumph, ordained a Feaſt for his Friends and Kinſfolk, whereunto were called eſpecially his Nephews, who then at the end of the Feaſt calling his Nephews aſide (as under the pretence of conferring with them ſecretly about his neceſſary affairs) committed them to his Servants to be ſtrangled and put to death. All this while *Acomates* his other Brother, through the help and inſtruction of his Mother, was kept out of the Tyrants hands, till at length, after great labour and ſearch made how to get him, certain forged Letters were caſt abroad, wherein was contained, that *Acomates* to revenge the great Impiety, and ſubdue the tyranny of *Zelymus* his Brother, ſhould ſhew himſelf abroad. Which if he would do, he ſhall find Friends enough to take his part. *Acomates* circumvented with theſe ſubtil trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for deſire of the Empire, ſhewed himſelf abroad with ſuch power and ſtrength as he had; who, being ſet upon incontinent by *Zelymus* his Brother, was overcome in battel, and falling from his horſe, being a man corpulent and groſs, and his horſe falling upon him, was ſo overpreſſed and ſlain.

*Ex Chriſt. Rich.*

*Zelymus the Turk warreth againſt his Brother.*

Touching the death of this *Acomates*, *Munſterus* ſomewhat differing from this Narration, addeth moreover, and ſaith, That he was not killed with the fall from his horſe, but ſitting all diſmayed upon a ſtone, and ſeeing no other remedy but death, deſired the Captain, taking his Rings from his Fingers, to deliver the ſame to his Brother, deſiring him that he might not be put to any extream cruelty of death, but that he gently would ſuffer him to be let blood in the Bath, and ſo to die. But *Zelymus*, being not

ignorant

KING *Hen.7.*

ignorant of this, ſuborneth privy Tormentors, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet, caſt him down upon the ground, and ſo twiſting his Neck with a cord, did ſtrangle him. This *Acomates* had two Sons, who hearing of the death of their Father, did fly for ſuccour, the one to *Sophus* in *Perſia*, and the other to the Sultan in *Egypt*.

*The cruelty of Zelymus againſt his Brother.*

*The two Sons of Acomates fly from the tyranny of Zelymus the Turk.*

By the means whereof, new occaſion of War grew unto *Zelymus*, whereby he was kept in *Aſia*, at home, to fight againſt the *Perſians* and *Egyptians*: ſo that through the Lords Providence, *Chriſtendom* by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the *Turks* tyranny. For otherwiſe the *Turk* was wholly minded, with all his Force and Puiſſance, to Invade the *Chriſtians*, being in doubt whether firſt to begin with *Rhodes*, or whether to aſſault *Pannonia*, or elſe to ſet upon *Italy*, being then at great diſcord within it ſelf: but this cauſe occupied the *Turks* mind otherwiſe, and kept him at home. Such was then the Providence of the Lord for the ſafeguard of his people.

*The Providence of God, in ſtirring up occaſions for his people.*

Wherefore, forſomuch as the affairs and doings of this *Turk* were ſpent for the moſt part in the *Turkiſh* and *Heathenish* Countries; it ſhall not be greatly neceſſary to trouble our *Chriſtian* ſtories therewith, but only ſhall ſuffice to contract them in a brief ſum, declaring ſuperficially what unquietneſs was amongſt them there, which could never be quieted, but ever working ſome miſchief either abroad or at home. *Amurathes* the *Turks* Nephew aforeſaid, after he had obtained Aid of *Sophus* the King of the *Perſians*, firſt invaded *Cappadocia*; not long after whom followed *Iſmael Sophus* the *Perſian* King. By reaſon whereof, a great battel was fought betwixt the *Perſians* and *Zelymus*, in the fields of *Armenia major*. In the which battel, *Iſmael Sophus* the *Perſian* King was hurt on the ſhoulder with a pellet, and ſo being carried out of the field, left the Victory to *Zelymus*: who, albeit he had an Army of 150000 men, yet in the ſame field loſt about 30000 of his *Turks*. Which field was fought in year of our Lord, 1514. *Zelymus* after this Victory, went to *Tauricia*, the Imperial City of the *Perſians*, which he, by yielding, ſubdued.

*War between Zelymus and Sophus the Perſian King.*

In this mean time it hapned that one *Aladulus*, a King of *Armenia* the greater, was alſo a helper to *Iſmael* againſt the *Turk*; whereupon *Zelymus* the *Turk* taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the *Perſians*, fought againſt the ſaid *Aladulus*, and in the end overcame him; and afterward being found in a Cave in a Wood, he was taken out and brought to *Zelymus*, and ſo beheaded: whoſe head, being firſt carried about *Aſia* for a Triumph, was afterward ſent to the Senate of *Venice* for a terrour unto them. The eldeſt Son of *Aladulus*, ſcaping the hands of his Purſuers, fled into *Egypt*. This battel thus fought and ended, *Zelymus* after he had divided the Kingdom of *Aladulus* into three Provinces, went to *Lyconia*, and from thence to *Europe*, there to defend the City of *Samandria*, againſt the *Chriſtians* in *Hungary*, but the *Hungarians* being ſoon repreſſed by *Juno Baſſa* the *Turks* Captain, great preparation began to be made by the *Turks* againſt the Confines of *Servia* bordering upon *Hungary*. The terrour whereof ſtirred up *Maximilian* the Emperor, and *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, and *Sigiſmundus* King of *Polony*, to conſult together, and conjoyn their Power for defence of *Chriſtendom*. But through new incumbrances incident, the *Turk* leaving *Europe*, made haſte again into *Aſia*, to renew again his Wars againſt the *Perſians*, who had made a Vow not to give over that War before *Iſmael* was overthrown.

*War between Zelymus and Aladulus another Turk.*

*Preparation of War between Zelymus and the Chriſtians.*

*The Turk called away from the Chriſtians.*

*A Turkiſh Vow.*

But before he entred that War, firſt he ſent his Meſſengers to the Sultan of *Egypt*, requiring him not to intermeddle in that War; for this Sultan before had promiſed to aſſiſt the *Perſians* againſt the *Turk*. The name of the Sultan which reigned then in *Egypt* was *Campſon*, ſet up by the *Mamalucs*. Theſe *Mamaluci* were a certain Order amongſt the *Egyptians*, much like to the *Janizaries* about the *Turk*, who being the Children of Chriſtian men, and after denying Chriſt, were the chiefeſt doers in the Sultans Court, and being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a *Turkiſh* barbarity, or rather became worſe than *Turks*. This *Campſon* unto the Meſſengers of the *Turk*, gave this Anſwer again, *That unleſs he would leave off this War againſt* Iſmael, *and reſtore the Son of* Aladulus, *he would not lay down his Armour.*

*Campſon the Sultan or Ruler of the Egyptians. Mamalugi.*

*Zelymus* being incenſed not a little with this inſolent Anſwer of the Sultan, leaving all other Wars aſide, with great celerity advanced his Power againſt the Sultan. Which Sultan, partly through the falſehood of his Captain *Cajerbeius*, partly by the ſuddenneſs of the *Turks* coming, not far from the City of *Damaſcus*, encountred with the *Turk*, and there overthrown from his horſe, being a fat and groſs body, and falling under his horſe, and his horſe alſo falling upon him, was quaſhed in pieces, and ſo died, which was the year of our Lord, 1516.

*Cajerbeius falſe to his Maſter.*

*Campſon ſlain.*

The *Mamaluci*, of whom more than a thouſand in this battel were ſlain, flying from thence to *Memphis*, ſet up *Tomumbeius* in ſtead of *Campſon*: whoſe Captain *Gazelles* was overcome at the City of *Gaza*, and he afterward himſelf driven out of *Memphis*, where a great part of the *Mamaluci* were deſtroyed. Then *Tomumbeius*, flying over the Flood *Nilus*, renewed his Army again; but in the end was diſcomfited and chaſed into a Mariſh, where he was found ſtanding in the water up to the chin, and ſo being brought to *Zelymus*, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confeſs where *Campſons* treaſures were: but when he would not declare, he was carried about the Town with an halter about his Neck, and hanged up upon an high Gibbet for a Spectacle to all *Egypt*; which was the year of our Lord, 1517. And thus were the two Sultans of *Egypt* deſtroyed with the *Mamaluci*, which there had born the Rule in *Egypt*, the ſpace of 243 years. The Progeny of the which *Mamaluci* remaining of the Wars, the *Turk* commanded in the priſon gates of *Alexandria* to be cut in pieces. *Zelymus* from thence triumphing, departed to *Conſtantinople*, intending to ſpend the reſt of his time in perſecuting the *Chriſtians*. But in that mean ſpace he was ſtricken with a cankered ſore rotting inward, and died after he had reigned ſeven years like a Beaſt, in the year of our Lord 1520.

*Tomumbeius made Sultan of Egypt.*

*Tomumbeius executed.*

*A worthy deſtruction of the Mamaluci forſaking their Faith and Religion.*

*Note again the Providence of God.*

*The death of Zelymus.*

The Reign of this *Turk* was but ſhort in number of years; but in number of his murders and cruel bloodſhed it might ſeem exceeding long, which lived more like a beaſt than a man; for he never ſpared any of his friends or kindred. His Father firſt he poiſoned, his Brethren and all his couſins he quelled, leaving none of all his Kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal Captains for ſmall occaſions he put to death, as *Muſtapha*, *Calogere*, *Chondage*, *Boſtang* his Son in law, and *Juno Baſſa*.

*The beaſtly cruelty of Zelymus againſt his Kindred.*

It is ſaid moreover, that he intended the poiſoning of his own Son *Solyman*, ſending unto him a ſhirt infected with poiſon, becauſe he ſeemed ſomething freely to ſpeak againſt the cruel demeanor of his Father: but by the means of his Mother, the gift being ſuſpected, was given to another which was his Chamberlain, who putting on the ſhirt was ſtrucken with the poiſon thereof, and therewithall died.

*The cruelty of Zelymus againſt his Son Solyman.*

As touching this *Turk Zelymus*, by the way here may be noted how the ſecret Providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his *Turkiſh* Wars at home, while that the Reformation of Chriſtian Religion here in *Europe*, the ſame time begun by *Martin Luther*, might the more quietly take ſome rooting without diſturbance or interruption. For ſo it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this *Zelymus*, *Martin Luther* firſt began to write againſt the Popes Indulgences, which was in the year of our Lord, 1516.

*A note of Gods Providence for the Reformation of Religion.*

## Solymannus *the Twelfth after* Ottomannus.

*Solymannus the Twelfth after Ottomannus.*

SOlymannus the only Son of *Zelymus* ſucceeded after his Fathers death, who in the firſt beginning ſeemed to ſome to be ſimple and ſheepiſh, and not meet for the *Turkiſh* Government. Wherefore certain of his Nobles, conſulting how to depoſe him, intended to ſet up another Emperor. In which Conſpiracy eſpecially are named *Cajerbeius* and *Gazelles*. This *Cajerbeius* was he that betrayed before *Campſon* the Sultan of *Egypt* to *Zelymus*, as is aforeſaid; who now alſo being in conſultation with *Gazelles* and other about this matter, detected them alſo unto *Solyman*. Wherefore the ſaid *Gazelles* and his Fellows being thus detected, were put to death by *Solyman*, declaring thereby that he was not ſo ſheepiſh as he was thought of them to be, and as alſo by his Acts afterward did more appear.

*Solymannus,*

KING Hen. 7.

Belgradum again beſieged of the Turk. Read before.

*Solymannus*, after this execution done upon the Conſpirators, taking his Voyage into *Europe*, firſt beſieged *Belgradum*; which being a City in *Hungary* was the ſtrongeſt Fort of all the *Roman* Empire, and the chief defence at that time of all *Chriſtendom*; which alſo aſſaulted before time by *Amurathes* the Second, was valiantly defended by *Joannes Huniades*, as is above ſpecified. But here now lacked ſuch an one as *Huniades* was. For the Kingdom of *Hungary* at that time was under the government of *Ludovicus* a young King, unexpert and of a ſimple wit. Whom other Princes, and ſpecially the covetous Churchmen did ſo pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare Name and Title of his Kingdom, whereby, he being unfurniſhed both of men and money, was unable to match with ſuch an Enemy.

Diſcord amongſt Chriſtian Princes, what miſchief it bringeth.

Another vantage alſo the *Turks* had in beſieging *Belgrade*: For the *Chriſtian* Princes at that time were in civil diſſention and variance amongſt themſelves; and the Pope with his Churchmen alſo were ſo buſie in ſuppreſſing of *Luther*, and of the Goſpel then newly ſpringing, that they minded nothing elſe, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own Bellies: Which Pope if he had ſet his care (as his duty was) ſo much in ſtirring up Princes againſt the common Enemy, as he was bent to deface the Goſpel, and to perſecute the true Profeſſors thereof; ſome might have brought to paſs, not only that *Belgrade* might have been defended againſt the *Turk*, but alſo that to be recovered again which was loſt before; and moreover he might have ſtopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the Religion and Church of Chriſt; which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

The Pope ſo buſie againſt *Luther*, that he neglecteth the ruine of *Chriſtendom*.

Certes whatſoever the Pope then did, this had been his duty, ſetting all other things apart, to have had an earneſt compaſſion of ſo many miſerable and loſt Captives, which were faln from their Faith and Religion, unto the miſery and ſlavery of the *Turk*, and thraldom of the Devil, and to have ſought all means poſſible to have reduced them, as loſt ſheep, into the Fold again. Which then might ſoon have been done, if Prelates and Princes, joyning together in Chriſtian concord, had loved ſo well the publick Glory of Chriſt, and Souls of Chriſtians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels.

True compaſſion lacking in the Pope.

And admit that the Pope had conceived never ſo much malice againſt *Luther*, his quarrel alſo being good; yet the publick Church ſtanding in ſuch danger, as it then did by the Invaſion of the *Turk*, Reaſon would, Nature led, Religion taught, time required, that a good Prelate, forgetting lighter matters, ſhould rather have laid his ſhoulder to the excluding of ſo great a danger, as then was imminent both to himſelf, and the univerſal Church of Chriſt: But now his quarrel being unjuſt, and the cauſe of *Luther* being moſt juſt and godly, what is to be ſaid or thought of ſuch a Prelate, who forbearing the *Turk*, whom in a time ſo dangerous he ought chiefly to have reſiſted, perſecuted the Truth which he ſhould ſpecially have maintained? But Chriſt of his mercy ſtand for his Church, and ſtir up zealous Princes and Prelates, if not to recover that that is loſt, yet at leaſt to retain that little which is left.

The City of *Belgrade* won of the *Turk*.

*Solyman* therefore taking this occaſion, and uſing the commodity of time, while our Princes were thus at variance betwixt themſelves, without any reſiſtance or interruption brought his Army unto *Belgrade*, in the year of our Lord, 1521. Which City being but ſlenderly defenced, the *Turk* through his Underminers, Guns, and other Engins of War, without great difficulty, and with little loſs of his Souldiers, ſoon ſubdued and overcame.

After this Victory, *Solyman* reſting himſelf a whole year, and caſting in his mind how to make all ſure behind him, for fear of Enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpoſe if he might obtain the Iſland of *Rhodes*; for that only remained yet *Chriſtian* betwixt him and *Aſia*: wherefore the next year following, he brought his Army of 450 Ships, and 300000 Men, to the beſieging thereof. This *Rhodes* was a mighty and ſtrong Iſland, within the Sea called *Mare mediterraneum*. The Inhabitants whereof at the firſt did manfully reſiſt the *Turk*, ſparing no labour nor pains for the defence of themſelves and of all *Chriſtendom*. But afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, ſeeing alſo no Aid to come from the *Chriſtians*, ſomewhat began to languiſh in themſelves. The *Turks*, in the mean time caſting up two great Mountains with ſtrength of hand, two miles off from the City, like rolling Trenches carried them before them near unto the City, in the tops whereof they planted their Ordnance and Artillery, to batter the City. The Maſter of the Knights of the *Rhodes* was then one *Philippus Villadamus*, a *Frenchman*, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the City. The *Rhodians* likewiſe ſo valiantly behaved themſelves upon the Walls, that with their ſhot all the Ditches about the City were filled with the Carkaſſes of dead *Turks*. Beſides this, ſuch a diſeaſe of the *Bloody-Flux* reigned in the *Turks* Camp, that 30000 of them died thereof, and yet for all this *Solyman* would not ceaſe from his ſiege begun: who, at length by Underminers caſting down the Vamures and uttermoſt parts of the City, won ground ſtill more and more upon the *Rhodians*, and with Mortar-pieces ſo battered the houſes, that there was no free place almoſt ſtanding in all the City. And thus continued the ſiege for the ſpace of five or ſix months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the *Chriſtians*. Wherefore they being out of all hopes through the advice of *Villadamus* yielded themſelves unto the *Turk*, upon condition that he would ſpare them with life and goods; which converſion the *Turk* kept with them faithfully and truly.

*Chriſtian* Princes negligent in helping their Fellows.

Thus *Solyman* with his great glory, and utter ſhame to all Chriſtian Princes, and alſo ruine of all *Chriſtendom*, got the noble Iſle of *Rhodes*, although not without great loſs and detriment of his Army, inſomuch that at one aſſault twenty thouſand *Turks* about the Walls were ſlain with Fire, Sword, Stones, and other Engins. Whereby it may be conjectured what theſe *Rhodians* might or would have done, if ſuccour had come to them from other Chriſtian Princes as they looked for. This City was won upon *Chriſtmas-day*, *Anno* 1522.

*Rhodes* won of the *Turk*.

This Conqueſt of *Rhodes* obtained, *Solyman* the fourth year after bringeth back his Army again into *Hungary*, where he found none to reſiſt him but only *Ludovick* the young King, who being accompanied with a ſmall Army, and nothing able to match with the *Turk*, yet of a haſty raſhneſs and vain hope of victory, would needs ſet upon him; who if he had ſtaid but a little, had proſpered the better. For *Joannes Vaivoda*, being a Captain well exerciſed in *Turkiſh* Wars before, was not far off, coming with a ſufficient Power of able Souldiers. But *Paulus* the Archbiſhop of *Coloſſ.* a *Franciſcan-Frier*, a man more bold than wiſe, with his temerity and raſhneſs troubled all their doings. For the whole ſum of the Army of the *Hungarians*, contained in all but only four and twenty thouſand Horſemen and Footmen, who at length coming unto the battel, and being compaſſed about with a great multitude of the *Turks* Army, were brought into great diſtreſs. The *Turks* twice ſhot off their pieces againſt the *Chriſtian* Army; yet ſcarce was any *Chriſtian* touched with the ſtroke thereof: which was thought to be done of purpoſe, becauſe they were *Chriſtians* which had the ordering of the Guns, for then the ſpecial Gunners of the *Turks* were *Chriſtians*, whom for the ſame cauſe they ſpared. Then the *Turks* Horſemen, coming upon the back of the *Chriſtian* Army, compaſſed them about, and by reaſon of their multitude overcharged their Horſemen. Amongſt whom was ſlain the ſame time the Archbiſhop Frier abovеſaid, with the Biſhops of *Strygone* and *Varadine*, and many other Nobles beſide. Alſo the King himſelf, being deſtitute of his neceſſary aid and ſuccour, was compelled to fly into a Marſh, where he falling from his Horſe, being heavy laden with the Harneſs, was not able to riſe again, but there miſerably periſhed.

*Chriſtian* wars againſt the *Turk* never ſped well under the guiding of Popiſh Prelates.

*Chriſtians* were the ſpecial Gunners to the *Turks*.

The raſh Archbiſhop ſlain.

King *Ludovick* periſhed in War.

*Solyman* the *Turk* marvelled at the fooliſhneſs of *Ludovick* the King, who with ſo ſmall an Army would preſume to encounter with ſuch a great Hoſt of two hundred thouſand. This battel in *Hungary* was fought, *Anno* 1526.

*Ferdinandus* of Hungary.

After the deceaſe of *Ludovick*, *Ferdinandus* ſucceeded in the Kingdom, being Duke of *Auſtria* and King of *Hungary*. Then *Solyman*, ſetting contention betwixt *Joannes Vaivoda* and *Ferdinandus* for the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſped his Voyage to the City of *Buda*, which alſo

*Rhodes* beſieged.

In ſhort time he made to be yielded unto him upon condition that they ſhould eſcape with their lives and goods; which condition ſome ſay he kept, and ſome ſay he did not. Beſides *Buda*, divers places and munitions the ſaid *Turk*, contrary to his League made before, did ſpoil and waſte; as *Varadinum*, *Quinque Eccleſias*, and other Forts and Munitions more, bordering about the Coaſts of *Hungary*.

*Buda, Varadinum*, and the City called *Quinq; Eccleſiæ* taken of the *Turk*.

In the year of our Lord, 1529. *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, aforeſaid recovered divers Holds gotten of the *Turk* before; and alſo warring againſt *Joannes Vaivoda* his Enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expulſed him out of his Kingdom. Whereupon *Vaivoda*, flying to the *Turk*, deſired his aid. The *Turk*, glad to take that occaſion, with great preparation addreſſed himſelf to return into *Hungary*, where he recovering again the City of *Buda* which *Ferdinandus* had gotten from him a little before, removed his Army into *Auſtria*, ſpoiling and deſtroying by the way all that came to his hands, ſhewing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny moſt lamentable to hear and underſtand. For of ſome he put out their Eyes, of ſome he cut off their Hands, of ſome their Ears and Noſe; and of their Children he cut off their Privy Members. The Maidens he corrupted, the Matrons had their Breaſts cut off, and ſuch as were with child were ript and their Children caſt into the fire. And theſe examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched *Turk* perpetrated by the way coming toward *Vienna* a noble City in *Auſtria*, beſides the Captives which he took by the way and led into Servitude moſt miſerable, mounting to the number of 30000.

Contention between *Ferdinandus* and *Vaivoda*.

*Vaivoda* flieth to the *Turk*.

Horrible examples of the *Turks* cruelty.

Among other Holds by the way as the *Turks* came, there was a Caſtle called *Altenburch*, ſtrongly by nature ſituated, and by art defenced; which Caſtle the *Turk* intending not to overpaſs, becauſe he would make all things ſure behind him, began to make his Aſſault, and lay his Ordnance againſt it. The Warders and Keepers of the Caſtle, ſo ſoon as the *Turk* began to lay ſiege againſt them, making no reſiſtance, of a womanly cowardlineſs ſent their Meſſengers to the *Turk*, to yield themſelves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual. Amongſt whom were three hundred *Bohemians*, who were commanded to follow the Hoſt, that the *Turk* by them might learn what ſtrength was in the City of *Vienna*; alſo where the King was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

The effeminate cowardlineſs of the Souldiers in *Altenburch*.

The Caſtle of *Altenburch* yielded to the *Turk*.

Of whom when the *Turk* had underſtanding how all things ſtood, and how that there were but twenty thouſand men in *Vienna* able to bear Armor, and that other Cities of *Auſtria* would ſoon yield if that were gotten, and that *Vienna* was victualled but for two months, and that the King was of late in *Boheme*; thus the *Turk* of all things being certified, having no doubt in his mind of Victory, made ſpeed toward *Vienna*; and firſt coming to *Neapolis*, a City but eight miles diſtant from *Vienna*, he required them to yield themſelves; who notwithſtanding withſtood them, and repulſed them valiantly. Then the *Turks* aſſigned a placed for the pitching of their Tents; which becauſe it ſeemed ſomething too little for ſuch a great multitude, they took in more ground to the compaſs of ſeven miles circuit. The multitude of his Army, which he there planted, is accounted of ſome to extend to 250 thouſand Souldiers. The *Turk* thus being planted, made daily excurſes over all the Country of *Auſtria*, ſpecially about the City of *Vienna*, waſting and ſpoiling with great cruelty and murther amongſt the poor *Chriſtians*.

*Neapolis* beſieged of the *Turk*.

The *Turks* Army of two hundred and fifty thouſand Souldiers.

Moreover, to make all things more ſure toward the preparation of the ſiege, Scouts were ſent abroad, and Ambuſhments were laid about the River ſide of *Danubius*, to provide that no aid nor victual ſhould be brought to *Vienna*. So it pleaſed the Providence of the Lord (who diſpoſeth all things) that three days before the coming of the *Turk*. *Fredericus* the Earl [redacted], which was then aſſigned by the Empire to take the charge of *Vienna*, was come down by the River of *Danubius* with 14000 and with a certain Troop of Horſemen well appointed and picked for the purpoſe. After the coming of this *Frederick*, proviſion alſo of victual was appointed to follow ſhortly after by the ſaid River of *Danubius*.

*Vienna* beſieged of the *Turk*.

*Fredericus* Earl *Palatine* Captain in *Vienna*.

In the mean time, they which had the carriage and tranſporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the Paſſages ten miles about *Vienna* ſtepped by the *Turks*, although they knew the City to ſtand in great need of victual, yet ſeeing there was no other remedy, rather than it ſhould come to the Enemies hand, thought it beſt to ſink their Boats with their carriage, and ſo they did. Whereby albeit the *Chriſtians* wanted their relief, yet were the *Turks* diſappointed of their prey and purpoſe. The Captains which had the keeping of the City, which were chiefly *Fredericus* the Earl *Palatine*, *Gulielmus Rogendorfius*, and *Nicolaus* Earl of *Salme*, ſeeing themſelves ſo ſtraitned contrary to their expectation, although they had great cauſes to be diſcouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they conſulted together for the beſt way to be taken: and ſeeing that the little City *Neapolis* (above mentioned) being eight miles diſtant from them, ſo valiantly withſtood the *Turks*, that in one day they ſuſtained ſeven grievous Aſſaults againſt all the main force of the *Turkiſh* Army; by their example and manful ſtanding being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the uttermoſt before they would give over; and firſt plucking down all the Suburbs and Buildings without the Walls, whereby the Enemy might have any Succour, they willed all the Farmers and Inhabitants about the City to ſave themſelves, and to bring in their goods within the Walls. Such places as were weak within the Walls, they made ſtrong. About the Towers and Munition of the Walls they provided Rampiers and Bulwarks diſtant eighty foot one from another, to keep off the ſhot; and every man had his place and ſtanding awarded to him upon the Wall, and his office appointed what to do: but eſpecially that ſide of the City which lieth to the River of *Danubius* they fortified after the beſt wiſe; for that way only now remained for victual to be tranſported from the *Bohemians* unto them. Wherefore eight Enſigns were aſſigned to the keeping of the Bridge, and in the Plain, which was like an Iſland incloſed within the River, a ſufficient Garriſon of Horſemen were placed, lying within the gunſhot of the City, to the intent that if any grain or victual were ſent from the *Bohemians*, they might provide the ſame ſafely to be brought into the City.

*Fredericus* Earl *Palatine*, *William Rogendorfius*, Nicolaus Earl of *Salme*, Captains of *Vienna*.

Preparation within the City of *Vienna*, againſt the *Turk*.

Proviſion made for victualling the City.

Theſe things thus being diſpoſed and ſet in order, Lord *William Rogendorff*, to aſſay the ſtrength of the *Turks*, made divers Rodes out with his Horſemen, albeit myſh againſt the minds of the *Auſtrians*; who, knowing the manner of the *Turks*, thought it better to ſuffer them, while either with time they might be overwearied, or for lack of victuals conſumed. Among many and ſundry Skirmiſhes which the *Chriſtians* had with the *Turks*, one eſpecially was to our men unproſperous; in which certain of the Horſemen, eſpying a ſmall Troop of the *Turks* ſcattering abroad from their company, made out after them, who ſuddenly and guilefully were incloſed and circumvented by the *Turks*, before they could recover the Gates of the City, and ſo were all taken alive: Of whom three were ſent from the *Turks* into the City, to declare to the *Viennians* what ſtrength they had ſeen in the Camp of their Adverſaries, and to ſollicite them to yield their City for fear of puniſhment which would follow. The reſidue they reſerved to torments and puniſhment, whom in the ſight of the whole Army, and of the *Chriſtians* (which ſhould tell the ſame to the Citizens) they cauſed every man to be drawn with four Horſes apieces, and ſo to be diſmembred and pluckt aſunder.

Good counſel and experience refuſed.

Raſh hardineſs of the *Chriſtians* in skirmiſhing with the *Turk*.

The wretched cruelty of the *Turks* againſt the *Chriſtian* Captives.

After this done, the barabrous *Turk* immediately ſent his Herald to talk with the Captains of the City, whether they would yield the City upon honeſt conditions, or elſe would abide the arbitrement of War. If they would gently ſubmit themſelves, they ſhould have all gentleneſs to them ſhewed. If they would be ſtubborn, and ſtand to their defence, he would alſo ſtand to his ſiege begun, ſo that he neither would ſpare man, woman, or child. To this the Captains anſwered again, That they were contented that *Solyman* ſhould ſtand to his ſiege begun, and do his uttermoſt, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a point to defend themſelves and their City ſo long as they might; the event and fall of Victory to be doubtful, and many times ſo to happen, that they which begin the War, are wearied ſooner than they which be provoked; neither that they were ſo unmindful either of themſelves, or of their Country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be *Germans*, who

The meſſage of the *Turk* to the *Viennians*.

The anſwer of the *Viennians* to the *Turk*.

who are always firſt to aſſay the Adverſary, what he is able to do, and not raſhly to commit themſelves into their Enemies hands.

*Solymannus approacheth Vienna with three great Armies.*

*Solyman* not a little diſdaining at this Anſwer, firſt burning and conſuming all the Villages, Houſes and places round about the City, infecting alſo the Springs and Fountains which gave water into the City, and ſo ſtopping all Paſſages that no Relief ſhould have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the City, with three great Camps; ſending them word in ſcorn and contumely by one of his Captains, that if they ſtood in need of help of Souldiers, he would ſend unto them the three hundred *Bohemians* (mentioned a little before) to aid them in their defence. To whom the *Palatine* directed anſwer again, That they had more Souldiers in the City than they needed. As for the *Bohemians* which had yielded themſelves, he might do with them what he would, for *Vienna* ſtood in no great need of them.

A Meſſenger ſent from *Ferdinandus* to *Vienna.*

In the mean time a Meſſenger coming from *Ferdinandus* was privily let in by night into the City, which brought word that they ſhould play the men in keeping out the Enemy a while; for it would not be long, but both *Ferdinandus* and *Carolus* his Brother, with the ſtrength of all *Germany*, would be ready to reſcue them. At which Meſſage the hearts of the Souldiers began ſomewhat to be cheared, and to contemn the huge multitude of the Adverſaries, being ſo great as they never did behold, nor did ever almoſt hear of before. The largeneſs of whoſe Army extended no leſs in compaſs (as is above-ſaid) than of ſeven miles round about the City Walls.

The ſiege of *Vienna* beginneth.

Long it were to recite the whole Order of this terrible ſiege, with all the parts and circumſtances thereof. Briefly to touch ſo much as ſhall ſuffice for this Hiſtory, with fewer words than were ſtripes given at the ſiege thereof; this is to be judged and confeſſed, whoſoever beholdeth the number and fierceneſs of the *Turks*, the abſence of King *Ferdinandus*, the lack of proviſion and victual within the City, the noiſe of the Guns, the violence of the ſhot, the terrour of the fight, and yet no ſuccour ſent unto them; that the cuſtody of that City was no mans doing, but the Arm only of the Lord God of Hoſts, according to the true ſaying of the *Pſalm*, *Unleſs the Lord do keep the City, the Watchmen watch in vain which watch to ſave it: Unleſs the Lord do build the Houſe, the Builder ſtriveth in vain which taketh upon him to build it.* Experience whereof in keeping this City may well appear.

The Lords Power and Providence in keeping the City of *Vienna.*

Firſt, *Solyman* bending his ſhot and Ordnance againſt the City, beat down to the ground the Vamures with all the uttermoſt Suburbs of the City, and that in ſuch a ſhort moment of time, that the hearts of the *Viennians*, a little before refreſhed, were now as much appalled again with fear, miſdoubting with themſelves, leſt the *Turk* with the ſame celerity and violence would have prevailed againſt the inward Walls, as he did in beating down the outward Vamures. And no doubt the ſame time the *Turk* had put the City in great hazard, had not night coming on, broken off the ſiege for that day.

The ſlaughter of the *Turks* about the walls of *Vienna.*

In the mean time the Citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreſhing the Walls, to make all things ſure againſt the next Aſſault. The next day early in the morning the *Turks* approaching the City again with a new Aſſault, thinking to ſcale the Walls, were ſo repulſed and manfully reſiſted by the *Germans*, that unneth any ditches about the Walls could be ſeen for the bodies of the dead *Turks*, wherewith they were repleniſhed; ſo that the *Turks* were fain to fight ſtanding upon the bodies of them which were ſlain. By the which Calamity the force of the Enemy was not a little abated.

The manlineſs of Captain *Rogendorffius* againſt the *Turks.*

It happened the ſame time, that a Company of the *Turks* being ſpied out of the City wandering out of order, the Captain *Rogendorffius* with two Legions of Horſemen iſſuing out of the City Gate called *Salmaria*, and ſo paſſing cloſely under the hills ſide, did ſo ſet upon them, that they ſlew a great number of them; the reſt being driven to take the River, whom with ſtones and ſhot likewiſe they deſtroyed, and ſo retired back into the City again. By this Victory the Captain *Rogendorffius* began to be terrible to the *Turks*. For in the ſame Skirmiſh (as after was known) were ſlain of them ſo many, that of 5000 and 300 Horſemen and Footmen ſcarce 140 eſcaped alive.

*Solyman* diſdaining at this repulſe thought to prove another way, and ſo bringing his Power toward the Gate called *the Kings-Gate*, there making his Trenches and Bulwarks, planted his Ordnance, with the violence whereof the Walls were ſo battered and ſhaken, that no man was able there to ſtand. Wherefore the *Turk*, ſeeing two great breaches made in the Wall, commanded his Souldiers covertly in the dark ſmoke of the Gunpowder to preſs into the City. The like alſo was done at the *Scotiſh* Tower, whereby the City was invaded in two ſundry places at one time. The *Viennians* at the firſt freſhly began to withſtand them, new Souldiers ſtill coming in the place of them that were ſlain and hurt; and ſo this aſſault continuing more than ſix hours together, our men began at length to languiſh and faint, not only in ſtrength but alſo in courage, whereby the City had been in great danger of loſing, had not the two aforeſaid Captains, *Rogendorffius* in the one place, and the Earl of *Salme* in the other place, manfully encouraged the Souldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out a while the violence of the *Turks*, promiting that immediately they ſhould have aid from *Ferdinandus*.

KING *Hen.* 7. Another Aſſault of the *Turks* againſt *Vienna.*

Another repulſe of the *Turks.*

In the mean time the *Turks* came ſo thick for the greedineſs of the Victory, ſcaling, climbing, and fighting upon the Walls, that had it not been for that preſs and throng of the great multitude of the *Turks*, coming ſo thick that one of them could not fight for another, *Vienna* that ſame day had been taken and utterly loſt. But by the policy of the Captains giving a ſign within the City, as though new Souldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the *Turks* hearts to be diſcomfited.

*Vienna* undermined by the *Turks.*

When *Solyman* ſaw his Army the ſecond time repulſed, he began to attempt a new way, purpoſing by undermining to overthrow the City; in the which work ſpecially he uſed the help of the *Illyrians*, of whom he had a great number in his Camp, expert in that kind of feat. Theſe *Illyrians* beginning to break the earth at the Gate *Carinthia*, and coming near to the foundations of the *Tower*, which they by ſtrength of hand attempted to break, could not work ſo cloſely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, which were ſkilful and expert in that kind of matter; who contrariwiſe undermining againſt them, and filling their Trenches as they went with Gunpowder, ſo conveyed their train, that when fire ſhould be ſet unto it, the violence thereof ſhould burſt out by the trenches of the Enemies: which done, ſuddenly the ground beneath made a great ſhaking, ſo that the Tower did cleave aſunder, and all the Underminers of the *Turks*, working in their Trenches, were ſmothered and deſtroyed, which came to the number (as it was ſuppoſed afterward) of eight thouſand perſons; inſomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead mens ſculs are found in the ground.

Another aſſault of the *Turks* againſt *Vienna.*

When *Solyman* ſaw that this way alſo would not ſerve, and had privy Intelligence that the Walls about the Gates of *Stubarium* were negligently kept, and that he might have there more eaſie entrance; ſecretly he conveyeth about ten Garriſons of freſh Souldiers, in ſuch ſort as the Townſmen ſhould not perceive them: who came ſo ſuddenly upon them, that they had filled their Ditches, and were upon the top of the Fortreſſes and Munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themſelves ready to reſiſt them. For although there was no lack of Souldiers within the City, yet forſomuch as the whole brunt of the ſiege did lie, eſpecially at the two Gates aforeſaid, from whence the Souldiers which were there warding could not be well removed, for a ſhift the Reſcuers (which within the City were ready for all ſudden adventures) were ſent to the Walls; by whoſe coming, thoſe few which kept the Enemies off before, being ſore hurt and wounded, were ſuccoured and ſent to Surgery; and thus the ſaid Aſſault continued terrible and doubtful until (the dark night coming upon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the *Turks* to be ſlain more than 3000.

Then the Captain *Rogendorffius* commending the valiant ſtanding of his Souldiers, miſdoubting with himſelf (as it hapned indeed) that the *Turks* would not ſo give over, but would ſet upon him the next day with a freſh aſſault, providing with all diligence for the purpoſe, made up the breaches of the Walls, and prepared all things neceſſary for reſiſtance. The next morning following, which was ſomething dark and miſty, the *Turks* thinking to prevent

our

{KING Hen. 7.} The Turks again repulſed.

our men with their ſudden coming, began again buſily to bicker upon the top of the Walls.

It would require a long tractation here to deſcribe the great diſtreſs and danger that the City thoſe three days following was in. During all the which time there was no reſt, no intermiſſion, nor diligence lacking, either in the Enemies, fighting againſt the City, either in our men in defending the ſame. For the *Turks*, beſides the multitude of the great Ordnance, wherewith (as with a great tempeſt of Gun-ſhot) they never ceaſed, till battering the Walls, and beating the Munitions of the City, ſent alſo ſuch heaps and multitudes of the *Turks*, to the ſcaling and climbing of the Walls, that unneth with all the Ordnance and ſhot of the City, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminiſhed; till at the laſt the Souldiers of the *Turks*, perceiving themſelves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themſelves, grudging and repining againſt their Dukes and Captains, imputing the whole cauſe only to them, that the City was yet untaken, ſeeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking; and ſo ceaſed the ſiege for that time.

Another aſſault of the Turks repelled.

The Turks at variance among themſelves.

After this, when *Solyman* had purpoſed in himſelf with his laſt and ſtrongeſt ſiege to try againſt the City the uttermoſt that he was able to do, and had encouraged his Souldiers to prepare themſelves in moſt forcible wiſe thereunto: the Souldiers ſhewed themſelves much unwilling to return again from whence they were ſo often repulſed before; by reaſon whereof great commotion began to riſe in the *Turks* Camp. The rumor whereof when it came to *Solymans* ears, he ſendeth his grand Captain to keep all the Souldiers in Order and Obedience; or if they would be ſtubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accompliſh his Commandment. Who coming to the Souldiers, ſhewed to them the great *Turks* Meſſage; and to animate and incourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time preſent was not to be neglected, neither could they now without great ſhame give over, after ſo many Aſſaults attempted; who, if they would ſuſtain but one brunt more, the Victory were in their own hands. The Townſmen, he ſaid, were waſted, and their Victuals ſpent; and the more to enflame their minds, he promiſed them not only great Thanks and Reward of their Emperor, but alſo the whole ſpoil of the City, in recompence of their travel.

The Turk and his Souldiers could not agree.

The Turk entreateth his Souldiers.

Compulſion of mariage not where the Lord defended.

But when all this could not ſtir up the ſturdy ſtomacks of the tired *Turks*, uſing compulſion where perſwaſion would not ſerve, he appointed a number of Horſemen to be ſet at their backs; whereby to inforce them either to go forward, or if they be denied, with Guns and Spears to deſtroy them. The *Turks* ſeeing themſelves in ſuch a ſtrait, that whether they went or tarried it was to them like peril, yet would they not ſet forward except the Captain would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his array thus ſpake unto his Fellows, ſaying, *Do you forſake your Faith and Allegiance, and betray the Emperor of* Conſtantinople *unto the* Chriſtians *if you will; but I will diſcharge my duty towards the Common-wealth and my Emperor*, and with that word advanced his Enſign, making toward the City Walls. Whom when other followed, and ſtill more and more preſſed after, ſo it came to paſs that whole routs of them were overthrown and ſlain of our men upon the Walls, before it was known what they meant. Others terrified by their example gave back and left their Array, and winding themſelves by by-ways and under covert of hills, returned again into their Tents, and ſo came it to paſs, that the ſtrength of the Enemies daily more and more decreaſing, they had leſs hope every day more and more than other of obtaining the City. For beſides the innumerable ſlaughter of *Turks* upon the Walls, the Townſmen alſo watching the Forrages and Purveyers of the *Turks*, as they ranged about for Victual for the Camp, ever as occaſion ſerved them did compaſs them about, and ſo encountred with them by that way, that of a whole Legion ſcarcely the tenth part returned again to their Fellows alive, by means whereof the courage of the Enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby ſuch a marvelous alteration happned, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, ſo the *Turks* began ſtill more to droop and to languiſh with diſpair; ſo that at length

The ſlaughter of the Turks at *Vienna*.

The Turks ſlain.

ſcarce durſt they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light Skirmiſhes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to ſhew themſelves.

*Solyman* perceiving his Souldiers thus daily to go to wrack, of whom he had loſt already more than eighty thouſand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being alſo in lack of Forrage, for that the Country about him was waſted, beginneth to conſult with his Captains and Counſellors, what remained beſt to be done, Of whom the moſt part adviſed him to raiſe his ſiege, and betime to provide for himſelf. Which to do many cauſes there were that moved him. Firſt, the loſs of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, beſides them which lay in his Camp wounded, or ſick, or famiſhed. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the approaching near of *Winter*. But the chiefeſt cauſe was, for that he heard *Frederick Palatine* above mentioned, coming with a great Army at *Ratisbone* towards *Vienna*, and there had done great moleſtation to a great number of the *Turks* Forragers, whom by the way he prevented, and ſo encloſed in the Woods that he ſlew them. Whereof when *Solyman* had intelligence, thinking it not beſt to abide the coming of the *Palatine*, made haſte with bag and baggage to remove his Camp, and to retire; and firſt ſending away his Carriage before him, he made ſpeed himſelf with his Army to follow ſhortly after.

The Turk beginneth to take counſel to retire.

*Solyman* removeth and raiſeth his ſiege from *Vienna*.

The *Viennians*, when they heard of the removing away of the *Turks*, although at the firſt they ſcarcely believed it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their removing, and alſo of the Order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chaſe, were greatly deſirous to make out of the City after them. Wherein, albeit the preſence of the *Palatine* with his Army, if he had been there preſent, might have ſtood them in great ſtead, yet notwithſtanding they took the opportunity of the time preſent, and iſſuing out of the City, in moſt ſpeedy wiſe ſet after them with their Horſemen; and firſt overpaſſing the Tents (where the *Turks* had pitched their ſtations or pavilions) for haſte of the way, they made ſuch purſuit after them, that within little time they overtook the rereward or later end of the Army, whereof they made ſuch havock and deſtruction, that (as the Author reporteth) there was never a ſhot of the Purſuers, nor Weapons drawn, nor ſtroke ſtrucken, which light in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to do. For as the *Turks* in their flight went ſcattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being ſo far off from jeopardy) return back to help their Fellows, it was eaſie for our men, without reſiſtance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet notwithſtanding in long purſuits, when our men could not ſee the Carriage of the *Turks*, which was wont in Armies to come away behind after the Hoſt, and ſuſpecting (as truth was) ſome ambuſh to be left in privy waight behind them, to come betwixt them and home; they called themſelves to retreat, and conſulted upon the matter, thinking good, firſt to ſend out certain Scouts, to eſpy and bring them word where the Enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the *Turks* Army was remaining in the Tents behind, word was ſent to their Fellows in *Vienna* to iſſue out, and to join alſo with them againſt the tail of the *Turks*, which had entrenched themſelves within the Camp. Other were appointed to follow the chaſe, leſt peradventure the *Turks* ſeeing our men to recul back, might return again upon them and help their Fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time, while part of the *Viennians* were hovering after the main Army, the reſt encountred with them that were left in the Camp. Who ſeeing themſelves overmatched, firſt defenced their Camp with a deep Ditch and Bulwark, to delay the time until ſome help might come to them from the Army. Secondly, they directed Meſſengers to the *Chriſtians*, to intreat for peace. Thirdly, they conveyed their privy Letters unto *Solyman* for ſpeedy aid and reſcue. But all the ways and paſſages being ſtopped by the *Chriſtians*, their Letters were intercepted, and ſo the miſerable *Turks* being deſtitute of all hope and ſuccour, ſeeing no other remedy, made out of their Camp, to hazard and prove the uttermoſt for their defence; but in concluſion, in their deſperate venture they

The Turks Camp purſued in their flight.

The privy purpoſe of the Turks prevented.

were

were enclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the Sword and slain, a few only excepted, who escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their Fellows, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their Tents was distributed amongst the Souldiers, only such things reserved as might serve for their publick use and commodity of the City.

**The rest of the *Turks* slain in the Camp.**

Thus through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, *Austria* was delivered from the fierce and barbarous Hostility of the cruel *Turks*. Notwithstanding, that neither *Ferdinandus* the King, nor the Emperor his Brother were there present, but only the Power of God, through the valiantness of the worthy *Germans*, defended that City; in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliverance (no doubt) of all these West parts of *Christendom*. For the which immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein by the way take this for a note (gentle Reader) how and after what manner Gods blessing goeth with the true Reformers of his Religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the *Turks* in so many battels and sieges heretofore were never so repulsed and foiled, as at this present time in encountring with the Protestants and Defenders of sincere Religion. This City of *Vienna* was besieged and delivered the year of our Lord, 1529. The Assaults of the *Turk* against the City are numbred to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his Army which he first brought, was 250000, whereof were reckoned to be slain eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away out of the Country about, many Captives, Virgins and Matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked, the Children he stuck upon stakes.

**The merciful protection of God over Christendom.**

**Gods blessing goeth with the Maintainers of his true Worship and Religion.**

*Solyman* thus put from the hope of Victory of *Vienna*, after he had breathed himself a while at home, the second year after, which was *Anno* 1531, repairing his Host, returned again into *Hungary*, with no less multitude than before; where first he got the Town called *Gunza*, being but slenderly kept with a small Garrison. By reason whereof the Townsmen and Souldiers, yielding themselves unto the *Turks*, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions. *Ex Joanne Ramo.*

*Melchior Soiterus* in his Second Book writing *De bello Pannonico*, touching the foresaid Town of *Gunza* or *Gunzium*, differeth herein something from *Ramus*, declaring how this *Gunza*, being a small Town in *Hungary*, and having in it but only an hundred Souldiers (or as *Wolfgangus Drechslerus* in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred Souldiers) under the valiant Captain *Nicholaus Jureschitz*, defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable Power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand *Turks*, that they being notwithstanding distressed with lack and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the *Turks* invaded, yet with pure courage and promptness of heart sustained the uttermost force and violence of thirteen Assaults of that great multitude, for the space of twenty five days together.

**Ex Melc. Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.**

**Nicolaus Jureschitz a valiant Captain.**

Although the Narration of the Author may seem to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, That what time the great Ordnance and Battering pieces of the *Turks* were planted upon two Mountains much higher than the Town, whereby they within the Town were oppressed both before and behind, insomuch that eight Ensigns of the *Turks* were already within the Town, yet by the reason of Women and Children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the Town were congregate in an house together, such a noise and clamor went up to Heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the *Turks* within the Walls, supposing a new Army of fresh Souldiers to be sent into the Town, for sudden fear voided the Town, and leaped down from the Walls again, (which before they had got) whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a Souldier almost was left on the Walls, which was not either slain or else wounded with the *Turks* Ordnance. At what time through the Lords Providence it so hapned, that one *Ibrahimus Bassa* near about the *Turk*, seeing both the Town to be small, and the great destruction of the *Turks* in the siege thereof, and that the Captain in no case would yield, perswaded to the *Turk*, declaring how the Town being so little was not worth the loss of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow: whereby the *Turk* being perswaded did follow his counsel, which was this; that *Nicolaus* the Christian Captain being called unto him, under pledges and safe conduct, should receive the Town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should do no violence to his Souldiers left behind and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the recuring of them; and so he raising his siege departed. Another cause might be also, which moved him to suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the *Palatinate* not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore taking his flight by the Mountains of the *Noricians*, he returned with much spoil of Christian mens goods unto *Constantinople*. *Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.*

**A miraculous example of the Lords protection and providence.**

**The Turk raiseth his siege from Gunza.**

For so it was provided the same time in *Germany*, after the Council of *August* and *Ratisbon* (at what time the Controversie of Religion between the *Protestants* and the *Papists* was deferred and set off to the next general Council) that *Charles* the Fifth and *Ferdinandus* his Brother, having understanding of the *Turk* thus ranging in *Hungary*, should collect of the *Germans*, *Hungarians*, and *Spaniards*, and others, an able Army of eighty thousand Footmen, and thirty thousand Horsemen to repulse the Invasions of the *Turk*. But *Solyman* having intelligence of this preparation of the *Christian* Power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to espy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our detriment, refused at that time to tarry their coming, and so, speeding his return unto *Constantinople*, retired with much spoil and prey sent before him, as is above premised: which was in the year of our Lord, 1532.

**The Emperor Charles and Ferdinand begin at length to stir against the *Turk*.**

**The *Turk* refuseth to tarry for the *Christian* Army.**

Not long after, being the year of our Salvation, 1534. *Solyman* intending two Wars at once, first sent *Conradinus Barbarossa* the Admiral of his Navies into *Afriek*, to war against the King of *Tunis*; whom *Barbarossa* also dispossessed and deprived of his Kingdom: but *Charles* the Emperor, the next year following, *Anno* 1535, restored the said King again into his Kingdom, and delivered in the same Voyage twenty thousand Captives out of Servitude.

**The *Turk* warreth against the King of *Tunice*.**

***Tunice* won of the *Turks*.**

***Tunice* recovered again by *Charles* the Emperor.**

The same time the *Turk* also sent another Captain into *Hungary*, to War against *Vaivoda*, while he himself taking his course to *Persia*, planted his siege against the City *Taurus*, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same; For *Tahames* King of the *Persians*, suddenly coming upon the *Turks* unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his Concubines, to the great foil and reproach of the *Turk*.

***Taurus* a City of *Persia* taken of the *Turks*.**

**Twenty thousand *Turks* slain of the *Persian* King.**

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord, 1537. *Solyman*, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning again out of *Asia* into *Europe* with 270 Ships, great and little, set upon *Corcyra*, another Island belonging to the *Venetians*, which he besieged ten days, wasting and burning the Towns and Fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly led away Captives. From thence he sailed to *Zacinthus* and *Cythara*, another Island not far from *Corcyra*, bordering near to the Coasts of *Epyrus* and *Grecia*. Where he suddenly by night invading the Husbandmen in Villages and Fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harm, drew them out of their Houses and Possessions, Men and Women, besides Children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his Bondslaves; burning moreover their Houses, and carrying away all the Goods and Cattel being without the said City of *Zacinthus* and *Cythara*. *Ex Joan. Crispo.*

***Corcyra* the Island wasted and spoiled by the *Turks*.**

**The Isle of *Zacinthus* and *Cythara* spoiled by the *Turks*.**

From thence these Hellhounds turned their course to the siege and spoil of *Egina*, a rich and populous Island, lying between *Grecia* and *Asia*. Where first the *Eginians* did manfully in battel resist them, and were like to have prevailed: but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh *Turks*, which still were sent in, to rescue the other which were overcome before, were compelled to fly unto the City of *Egina*. Which City the cruel *Turks* (or rather Devils on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great Ordnance set out of their Ships, subdued and cast down to the ground; the Citizens and Inhabitants whereof the *Turk* after he had

**Captives of the *Christians*.**

**War between the *Eginets* and the *Turks*, *Egina* taken of the *Turk*.**

**The Citizens of *Egina* slain of the *Turks*.**

burned

KING Hen. 7. burned their Houſes, and ranſackt their Goods, commanded to be ſlain and killed every one. The Women both noble and unnoble, with their Infants, were given to the Mariners to be abuſed, and from thence being ſhipped unto *Conſtantinople*, were led away to perpetual miſery and Slavery, which was in the Year of our Lord, 1537.

The Women of Egina miſerably entreated and captivated of the Turks.

In the ſame Journy *Solyman* alſo took the Iſle in the ſaid Sea of *Eugeum*, called *Parum*; alſo the Iſle adjoyning to the ſame named *Naxus*, and made them to him Tributaries. The Duke whereof, he which wrote the ſtory both of theſe Iſlands aforeſaid, and alſo of the other Iſlands, called *Cyclades*, and other Dukes. *Ex Joanne Criſpo, Duce Naxi, &c.*

The Iſle Parum and Naxus.

Cyclades ſubdued of the Turks. Ex Joan. Criſpo.

This done, *Solymannus* directed his Navy unto *Apulia*, where he ſet on Land Ten thouſand Foot-men, and 2000 Horſe-men, which ſpoiled likewiſe and waſted thoſe parts, while the Emperor, the Pope, and the Venetians were together in War and Diſſention. Furthermore, the next Year following, *Anno* 1538. great Attempts began in *Stiria*, but by the reſiſtance of the Inhabitants, the force of the barbarous *Turks* was repulſed, notwithſtanding great ſpoils of Men and Cattel were carried from thence, and the Country miſerably ſpoiled. In the which Year alſo, the *Turk* turning into *Hungary*, gave Battel unto the Chriſtians in *Savia*; where, through fraudulent falſhood of the Captain *Caſſianerus* (*Wolfgangus* nameth him *Calcianus*) being (as they ſay) corrupted with mony, our men were put to the worſe. *Anno* 1538.

Note, what hurt cometh by the diſſention of Chriſtian Princes.

Stiria is a Country or Province near adjoyning to *Auſtria*.

After that the *Turks* had invaded the Iſland of *Corcyra* aboveſaid, the *Venetians*, with *Solyman* the *Turk*, had joyned Truce for a certain time, for the which they gave the *Turk* 300 thouſand Crowns, with the City *Neapolis*, and *Maluaſia*, in the borders of *Macedonia*. But within four or five Years, the *Turk*, to get a new ſtipend of the *Venetians*, brake his League, and invaded their Dominions, whereby they were enforced to enter new Conditions again with him.

The falſhood of the *Turks* with the *Venetians*.

In the Year of our Lord, 1540. the reſtleſs *Turk* making his return toward *Hungary* by the way paſſing by *Dalmatia*, lay againſt the Town called *Newcaſtle*, being defended by the *Spaniards*. In the which Town, becauſe they refuſed to yield themſelves, all the Inhabitants and Souldiers were put to the Sword, and ſlain every one. This *Novum Caſtellum*, or *New Caſtle*, was a ſtrong Fort of the Chriſtians, which being now in the *Turks* power, he had great advantage over all thoſe Quarters of *Dalmatia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Hungaria*. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his courſe into *Hungary*, where he planted his Power againſt the City of *Buda*.

*Novum Caſtellum* in *Dalmatia* overthrown by the *Turks*, and the people ſlain.

This *Buda* was a principal City in *Hungary*, about which great Contention had been (as ye have heard before) between *Joannes Vaivoda* and *Ferdinandus*. By reaſon whereof the *Turk* occaſioned by *Vaivoda*, came into *Hungary*, and delivered the City of *Vaivoda*. This *Vaivoda* living not long after, left behind him a Son, whom being an Infant, he committed to the Government of one *Georgius Monachus*, who, being left Tutor unto the Infant, reduced all *Tranſylvania*, *Buda*, *Peſta*, with other parts of *Hungary*, which belonged to *Vaivoda* before, to the ſubjection of the Child. *Ferdinandus* hearing thereof, in great haſte and anger, levied an Army to recover his Lands in *Hungary*, and ſo laid ſiege to *Buda*. *Monachus* ſeeing his part weak, firſt ſent his Legate to *Ferdinandus*, deſiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both. Whereupon, both the Parties being agreed, the place and manner of their Convention was appointed, and alſo the day and time aſſigned. Thus the parties (according to the Agreement) conventing together with their Armies, withdrawing a little aſide, as they were entred in Communication, ſuddenly among *Ferdinandus* men there was a Dog to be heard, which by the heat of the day (as is thought) looſing of his own accord, gave a crack. The ſound whereof coming to the Ears of *Monachus*, he ſuppoſing the ſame to have been diſcharged againſt him, in great anger drew out his Sword, bidding *Ferdinandus* avaunt with his doubling diſſimulation, ſaying, That he would never any more truſt the Promiſes of Chriſtians; and immediately upon the ſame, ſent to *Solymannus* the *Turk* for aid againſt the Chriſtians, promiſing that he would ſurrender to him free poſſeſſion of *Hungary*, if he would come and vanquiſh the Army of *Ferdinandus* lying about the Siege of *Buda*. The *Turk* maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occaſion, and with a mighty Power flyeth into *Hungary*, and eftſoons diſcharging the Hoſt of *Ferdinandus*, and putting them off from the Siege of *Buda*, getteth the City into his own hands, commanding the ſon of *Vaivoda*, with his Mother, to follow after his Camp.

The conſention in *Hungary* between *Ferdinandus*, and *Vaivoda* and his ſucceſſors.

The communication between *Monachus* and *Ferdinandus*.

What hurt may come of rash ſuſpicion.

The *Turk* called again into *Hungary* by the diſſention between *Monachus* and *Ferdinandus*.

In the Hiſtory of *Joannes Ramus*, it followeth, that when *Solyman* the *Turk* had thus prevailed againſt the City of *Buda* aforeſaid, and againſt other parts more of *Hungary*, by the aſſent of the Empire, one *Joachimus* Duke of *Brandenburg*, Prince Elector, was aſſigned with a puiſſant Army of choſen Souldiers of all Nations, collected to recover the City of *Buda* from the *Turk*, and to deliver the other parts of Chriſtiandom from the fear of the *Turk*, *Anno* 1542. Which *Joachimus* at his firſt ſetting forth, appeared ſo Couragious and Valiant, as though he would have Conquered the whole World: but this great heat was ſo ſlacked in ſhort time by the *Turk*, that before any great jeopardy was offered unto him, he was glad to be diſcharged of the Voyage, and with ſhame enough returned home again. And would God he had left behind him in the Fields no more but his own ſhame. For the Enemies having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking to work ſome point of Maſtery or Victory before his going, did ſet upon the Right wing of his Army (which chiefly conſiſted of *Dutchmen* of *Low Germany*) out of the which they took away with them above Five hundred ſtrong and valiant Souldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive. For whom it had been much better to have ſtood to their Weapon, and to have died manfully upon the *Turks*, than by yielding themſelves to be diſgarniſhed of Weapon and Armor, and ſo to be left to the curſed courteſie of the foul *Turks*. To whom what courteſie was ſhewed by the ſequel, did appear. For after the *Turks* had led them out of *Hungary* into their own Dominions, after a moſt horrible and beaſtly ſort they diſfigured and mangled them, and ſo ſent them abroad through all *Græcia*, to be witneſſes of the *Turks* Victory. Their kind of puniſhment was thus. Firſt, They had their right Arm thruſt through with an Iron red hot, whereby they ſhould be unable and unmeet to all labor and warfare. Secondly, Their Heads were ſhaven to the very Sculls, after the manner of our Friers and Monks, when they are newly ſhaven. Thirdly, They had all their Privy Members cut off from their Bodies, to the intent to make them unfruitful for Propagation; which wound was ſo grievous unto them, that the greateſt part of them died thereupon: the few that recovered the torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miſerable than death it ſelf. And this kind of Cruelty was executed in order upon them all. In much like ſort did cruel *Pharaoh* exerciſe his Tyranny againſt the People of God in *Egypt*; who to deſtroy the Generation of them, cauſed all the Male Children to be drowned in the River. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that ſeeing the Tyranny of this Turkiſh *Pharaoh* is come to ſuch an Extremity, the merciful Goodneſs of God will the more ſhortly ſend ſome *Moſes* or other unto us for our ſpeedy Deliverance. This was by the cruel *Turks* done, *Anno* 1542. witneſſed by *Joannes Ramus*, which not only writeth the Story, but by the Teſtimony alſo of his own Eyes recordeth the ſame to be true, beholding with his Eyes one of the ſame number in the City of *Vienna*, who having Wife and Children in *Bruxelles*, either for ſhame or ſorrow, had no mind to return home to his own Houſe. *Ex Joan. Ramo.*

The cowardly Voyage of *Joachimus* Duke of *Brandenburg* againſt the *Turks*.

500 Chriſtian Souldiers taken and carried away of the *Turks*.

The horrible puniſhments practiſed of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians.

*Ex Joanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis, lib. 2.*

But to return again to the City of *Buda*, from whence we have digreſſed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falſhood and what cruelty the *Turks* uſed toward the Chriſtians there after their Victory. For after that *Solyman* the *Turk*, upon yielding and ſubmiſſion of the Men of *Buda*, had given to them his promiſe of Safety and Life, within ſhort time the ſaid *Turk* picking a Quarrel with them for ſelling *Oxen* unto the Chriſtians, and for bargaining with them, ſlew all the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City of *Buda*; like as in all other Cities whereſoever the Chriſtians yielded unto him, he never, or very rarely kept his promiſe with them, neither did ever any

The falſeneſs of the *Turks* in keeping no promiſe with the Chriſtians.

Chriſtians ſpeed better with the *Turk*, than they which moſt conſtantly did reſiſt him.

An horrible example of the beaſtly cruelty of the falſe *Turks*.

And as his Promiſe with the Magiſtrates of *Buda* was falſe and wretched; ſo his Cruelty with the Souldiers thereof, was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of *Buda*, amongſt the reſt which were ſlain, two Cohorts or Bands of Chriſtian Souldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he ſeemed at the firſt to grant Pardon of Life, he commanded to put on their Armor again, and to diſpoſe themſelves in order and Battel array, after the Warlike manner of the Chriſtians. Which when they had accompliſhed readily, according to his Commandment, and he riding about the Ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain ſpace, at length he commanded them to put off their Armor again. Which done, certain of the talleſt and ſtrongeſt of them he picked out, the reſidue, he commanded by his Souldiers coming behind them with Swords, to be cut in pieces and ſlain. Of the other, whom he had elected and choſen, ſome he ſet for Marks and Buts to be ſhot at; ſome he appointed to his two Sons, for them to ſlaſh with their Swords and try their ſtrength, which of them could give the deeper Wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the moſt Blood might follow out of their Chriſtian Bodies. *Ex Epiſt. Mart. Stellæ de ſucceſſibus Turcarum.*

*Ex Epiſt. Mart Stellæ, de Succeſſibus Turcarum, &c.*

After the winning of *Buda*, the *Turk* purpoſing not ſo to ceaſe, before he had ſubdued and brought under his obedience all *Hungary*; proceeding further with his Army, firſt, brought under a ſtrong Hold of the Chriſtians, named *Peſtum* or *Peſta*, where a great number of Chriſtian Souldiers partly were ſlain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

The Caſtle of *Walpo* won of the *Turks*.

Then he came to another Caſtle called *Walpo*, ſituate in the Confines of *Boſna*, *Croatia*, and *Hungary*. Which Fort or Caſtle he beſieged three months, while no reſcue or aid was ſent unto them, neither from *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, nor from any other Chriſtian Prince or Princes. Whereupon at length the Fort was given up to the *Turk*; but more through the falſe treachery, or cowardly heart of the Souldiers than of the Captain. Wherein is to be noted an Example not unworthy of memory. For when the cowardly Souldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs ſurrender themſelves and the place unto the *Turk*, contrary to the mind of the Captain, which in no caſe would agree to their yielding: they thinking to find favour with the *Turk*, apprehended their Captain and gave him to *Solyman*. But ſee how the Juſtice of God, ſometimes by the hand of the Enemy, diſpoſeth the end of things to the rewarding of Virtue and puniſhing of Vice. For where they thought to ſave themſelves by the danger of the faithful Captain, the Event turned clean contrary; ſo that the Turk was to the Captain bountiful and very liberal, and the Souldiers, notwithſtanding that they had all yielded themſelves, yet were all put to death, and commanded pitiouſly to be ſlain. *Ex Joan. Martino Stella de Turcarum in Hungaria ſucceſſibus &c.*

A notable example of Gods Judgements lighting upon themſelves, which mean ſ thood toward the innocent.

The City of five Churches yielded to the *Turks*.

There is in *Hungary* another Town, bearing the name of Five-Churches, called *Quinque-eccleſienſis*, which being partly ſpoiled before, as is above-mentioned, which now through the loſs of *Walpo*, and by the hugeneſs of the *Turks* Army (containing in it two hundred and twenty thouſand fighting Men) ſo diſcouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the Biſhop and chief Nobles of the Town, fled before the Jeopardy: the reſt of the Commons, which were partly prevented by the ſudden coming of the *Turks* partly for poverty could not avoid, ſent their Meſſengers to the *Turk*, to yield and ſurrender the Town, upon promiſe of life, unto his hands. Whoſe promiſe how firm it ſtood, the ſtory leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this *Quinque-eccleſienſis*, never a *Turk* durſt enter the City, *Anno* 1543. *Ex Joan. Martino Stella, & aliis.*

The Biſhop leaveth his Flock in the bryers.

*Socloſia*, a Town in *Hungary* ſubdued of the *Turks*.

The next Fort or Hold gotten by the *Turks* in *Hungary*, was *Socloſia*. The Town at the firſt Invaſion of the *Turks* was won, ſack'd, and fired. The Caſtle within the Town did ſomething hold out for a time, and firſt requiring truce for fourteen days, to ſee what aid ſhould be ſent unto them, to deliberate upon the Conditions that ſhould be propoſed unto them, after the fourteen days expired, they truſting to the ſituation and munition of the place, which was very ſtrong) began for a certain ſpace ſtoutly to put back the Enemy. But afterward, ſeeing their Walls to be battered, their Foundations to ſhake (for the *Turk* had ſet twelve thouſand Underminers under the Ditches of the Caſtle) and their ſtrength to diminiſh, and miſdoubting themſelves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themſelves, upon condition to eſcape with Life and Goods. Which condition of ſaving their Goods was the loſing of their Lives, eſpecially of the richer ſort. For the *Turks* perceiving by that condition, that they were of Wealth and Subſtance, omitting the inferior or baſer ſort, fell upon the Wealthy men for their Riches, and ſlew them every one, *Anno* 1543. *Ibid.*

KING Hen. 7.

Covetouſneſs of worldly goods is the deſtruction of many a man.

The *Turk* keepeth no promiſe.

In the which his Hiſtory, this is alſo to be noted, that during the time while the Caſtle of *Socloſia* was beſieged, the Villages and Pages round about the ſame, came of their own accord, ſubmitting and yielding themſelves unto the *Turk*, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kind of Victuals and Forrage into the *Turks* Camp. Which done, *Solyman* the *Turk* commanded all the Headmen of the Pages to appear before him, which humbly obeyed and came. Then the *Turk* warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his Inferior Retinue and Houſhold Servants. Which when they had with like diligence alſo according to his Commandment accompliſhed, the *Turk* immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole Army to be ſlain, and ſo was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the Bloody Cruelty of the *Turk*, the more Courage it may miniſter to our Men the more conſtantly to withſtand him. *Ex Martino Stella.*

Example what cometh by Chriſtian mens yielding to the *Turk*.

*Strigonium*, a City in *Hungary*, beſieged of the *Turks*.

Another ſtrong Town there is in *Hungary*, named *Strigonium*, diſtant from *Buda* aboveſaid, the ſpace of five Dutch Miles, againſt the which the *Turks* made great preparation of Ordnance, and all other Inſtruments of Artillery neceſſary for the Siege thereof. Which City in like manner began alſo to be compaſſed and incloſed by the *Turks*, before it could be ſufficiently prepared and garniſhed of our Men, but that the Archbiſhop only of *Strigon* privily conveyed unto them two hundred Oxen. Such was then the negligence of *Ferdinandus* King of *Hungary*, which ſo ſlenderly looked unto the neceſſary defence of his Towns and Cities. Moreover, ſuch was the Diſcord then of Chriſtian Kings and Princes, which in their Civil Diſſention and Wars were ſo occupied and hot in needleſs Quarrels, that they had neither leiſure nor remembrance to help in time there where true need required. Which ſlender care, and cold zeal of the Chriſtian Rulers, not in tendring the publick Cauſe, while they contended in private Trifles, hath cauſed the *Turk* to come ſo far as he hath; and yet farther is like, unleſs the mercy of the Lord do help more than our diligence. One of the chief Captains within the City, was *Martinus Laſcanus*, a *Spaniard*.

Negligence of Chriſtian Princes in publick defence.

The *Turks* in the beginning of the Siege, began firſt to attempt the Citizens with fair words, and accuſtomed promiſes, to yield and gently to ſubmit themſelves. But they not ignorant of the *Turks* promiſes, wiſely refuſed, and manfully ſtood ſo long as they could to the defence of their City; now and then skirmiſhing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; ſometime with their ſhot diſturbing their munitions, and breaking the Wheels of their Guns, *&c.*

Three ſpecial helps of the *Turks* in winning Towns and cities.

Three ſpecial means the *Turks* uſe in winning great Forts and Cities; great multitude of Souldiers, great Ordnance and Mortar Pieces; the third is by Undermining. All which here in the Siege of this City lacked not. This Siege continued by the ſpace of a certain ſpace; in which the *Strigonians* had born out four ſtrong Aſſaults, and ſlew many thouſands of the *Turks*, till at length the *Turks* either departing away, or elſe ſeeming to depart unto *Buda*, the people at laſt being ſo perſwaded and made to believe of ſome chief Rulers of the City (perad venture not the trueſt men) the Citizens being erected with hope and comfort, and ſinging *Te Deum*, as though the City had been free from all danger, ſuddenly (by whoſe counſel it is unknown) conveyed themſelves all out of the

City

{KING Hen. 7.} The Citizens of Strigonium fly the City.

City, 300 Horſemen alſo paſſed over the River and departed. The *Italians* which were under *Franciſcus Salamanca* a Spaniſh Captain, hardly could be perſwaded by him to abide, which were in all ſcarce 600.

The Town of *Strigonium* deſtroyed after the flying of the Citizens and the Caſtle defended.

Within three days after, Three hundred German Souldiers, with two Ships laden with Shot, Powder, and Artillery, were privily let into the Town; ſo that of our men in all there were ſcarce 1300 Souldiers. Who ſeeing the ſmall quantity of their number, burning and caſting down the Town and Suburbs, took them to the Caſtle; from whence they beat off the *Turks* valiantly with their Ordnance a good ſpace, and with Wild-fire deſtroyed great Companies of them, till at laſt they ſeeing their Walls to fail them, and the whole Caſtle to ſhake by Undermining, but eſpecially by the working of a certain Italian ſurnamed *Presbyter*, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or falſhood, ſecretly unknown to the reſt of the Souldiers, accompanyed with two other, conveyed himſelf down from the Walls, and being brought into the Tents of the next Captain or *Baſſa* of the *Turks*, there in the name of all his Fellows covenanted with the *Turks*, to give up to them the Caſtle: whereupon the *Turks* were bid to ceaſe the ſhooting. This Italian ſhortly after, with two other *Turks*, was ſent back to *Salamanca* his Captain, with the *Turks* Meſſage. The going out of this Italian being privy to the reſidue of his Fellows, contrary to the Laws and Diſcipline of War, although it ſeem'd to come of his own head: yet forſomuch as the other Souldiers were not ſo ſure, but rather ſuſpected leſt the other Italians his Country-men had been in ſome part of co. ſent therein, and would take his part; they neither durſt offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well adviſe with themſelves what was beſt to do, for fear of privy Confederacy within themſelves.

An Italian feat in yielding the Caſtle of *Strigonium* to the Turk.

A Turkiſh truce taken with the Chriſtians, they not knowing thereof.

Thus, while *Laſcanus* the chief Captain of the Chriſtians aforeſaid, with his Fellow-Souldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who giving a Sign both to the Chriſtians and the Turks to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was againſt all Law of War to fight after Peace and Truce taken: our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward Tower. The *Turks* in the mean time had got into the Caſtle, and occupied all the utter parts. Then was *Salamanca*, by the conſent of the reſt, ſent out to the *Turk*, who there being ſtayed that night; the next morrow the *Turks* Bull or Warrant was ſent into the Caſtle, permitting free liberty to the Chriſtians to depart with Bag and Baggage: who now being ready to depart, firſt were commanded by the *Turks*, compaſſing them round about, to caſt from them their Dags, Lances, Battelaxes, into the Trench. Then coming to the Gate to go out, their Swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but preſent death.

The falſe Turks never true in promiſe.

At laſt, when they were come a little further, other were ſent to them to diſcharge them of their Helmets, their Targets, Curets, and whatſoever piece of Harneſs was about them: whereupon great fear came upon them, leſt ſome great cruelty ſhould be ſhewed upon them. *Solyman*, after he had long deliberated with himſelf, whether to kill them or not; at laſt, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives: but before they ſhould be diſmiſſed, he firſt cauſed them, in deriſion of Chriſtianity, to be baited with ſcorns and mocks throughout all the Turkiſh Army; and ſo the next day commanded them, being ſtript of their Coats and Apparel, to be reduced again into the Caſtle by Companies, ſetting over them certain *Turks* with Cudgels and Bats to lay upon their backs and ſides, cauſing them to bury the dead Carkaſſes, and to gather up the rubbiſh broken down from the Caſtle-walls, and to ſcour the Ditches: which done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an Interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take Horſe and Armor to ſerve him in his Wars; which Condition, divers for fear were contented to take, ſeeing no other remedy to avoid preſent death. Some, neither by menacing words, nor for any fear of death, could be compelled thereunto; of whom certain, which ſtood ſtoutly in refuſing thereof, were preſently ſlain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and Catalogue of Martyrs.

The miſerable affliction of our Chriſtian Souldiers taken at *Strigonium*.

Holy Souldiers and Martyrs ſlain of the Turks for their faithful Religion.

Of the aforeſaid Chriſtians, part were carried over the River *Danubius*, not without great villany, and contumely moſt deſpightful. For ſome had their Wives taken from them, and carried away, ſome had their Wives raviſhed before their face; and ſuch as made or ſhewed any reſiſtance thereat, had their Wives before them caſt into the River and drowned; alſo their Infants and young Children, being appointed by the *Turks* to the abominable Order of the Janizarites, mentioned before, their Parents not conſenting thereunto, were precipitate and thrown into the River and drowned. All which things are teſtified by *John Martinus Stella*, in his Epiſtles in Print extant, written to his two Brethren, *William* and *Michael*, &c. which *Martin Stella* moreover addeth and affirmeth this, That he himſelf, being the ſame time at *Vienna*, did ſee one of the foreſaid Wives, who being held faſt by the hair of the Head; yet notwithſtanding having her Hair pluckt off, caſt her ſelf into the River *Danubius*, for the ſingular love to her Husband, and ſo ſwam to the Ship where he was. And thus this miſerable company of *Germans*, *Spaniards* and *Italians* mixt together, macerate with labors, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours and ſorrow conſumed, came at length to *Schinda*.

*Ex Joan. Mart. Stella in Epiſt. ad fratres.*

When the tidings thereof was noiſed at *Vienna*, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hearts were moved and vexed diverſly. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their City, ſhewing themſelves ſo daſtardly and cowardly. Others thought again, that mercy was to be ſhewed unto them, and commended their Fact, for that they being ſo few, and unfurniſhed of aid, neither able to match by any means with ſuch an innumerable multitude of the *Turks*, kept themſelves till better time might ſerve them. But howſoever the matter was to be thought of, the Captains brought the poor remnant of that ruful company unto *Poſſidonium*, where the ſaid Captains were laid faſt, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable ſtory of *Strigonium*.

Divers opinions of the *Viennians* touching theſe miſerable afflicted Souldiers.

The *Turk* proceeding in his Victories conducted his Army next unto *Tath*, and to the parts lying near about *Comaron*. This *Tath* was alſo a ſtrong Hold in *Hungary*, wherein were placed certain Garriſons, partly of the *Germans*, partly of the *Italians*. The Chieftain of the *Italians* was one *Annibal Taſſo*, conſtitute by *Philippus Tornelius*. This *Taſſo* was a Man well expert in Proweſs of War, but of a filthy corrupt Life, and alſo a fowl Swearer, and horrible Blaſphemer of God and his Saints. To make the ſtory ſhort, this Fort of *Tath*, before any Siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the *Turks*; upon what conditions, or by whoſe means, the Author ſheweth not. Thus much he ſheweth, That the ſaid *Annibal* ſhortly upon the ſame, returning into *Italy*, was commanded by *Tornelius* aforeſaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

*Tath* ſubdued of the Turks.

Victory hath never ſucceſs under a wicked Captain and Swearer.

After the *Turks* had ſubverted and deſtroyed the Fort of *Tath*, they turned their Power againſt *Alba*, ſurnamed *Regalis*, for that the Kings of *Hungary* have been always wont there to be Crowned and Buried. This *Alba* is a little well compacted City in *Hungary*, having on the one ſide a Mariſh ſomewhat foggiſh or fenny, which made the Town leſs aſſaultable. But near to the ſame was a Wood, from the which the *Turks* every day with ſix hundred Carts brought ſuch matter of Wood, and Trees felled for the ſame purpoſe, in the Mariſh, that within leſs than twelve days, they made it apt and hard to their feet, which the Townſmen thought never could be gone upon, but only in the hard Froſts of winter. At the firſt beginning of the Siege, there ſtood a little without the Munitions, in the front of the City, a certain Church or Monaſtery, which the Citizens pretending to maintain and keep againſt the *Turks*, had privily conveyed light matter eaſily to take flame, with Powder in ſecret places thereof, and had hid alſo Fire withal: which done, they (as againſt their wills being driven back) withdrew themſelves within the Munitions, waiting the occaſions when this Fire would take. Thus the *Turks* having the poſſeſſion of the Church, ſuddenly the Fire coming to the Powder, raiſed up the Church, and made a great ſcatter and ſlaughter among the barbarous *Turks*.

*Alba Regalis* beſieged of the Turk.

The Turks device in filling up the Mariſh.

A ſtratagem of the Chriſtians againſt the Turks.

This was not ſo ſoon eſpied of them within the Town, but they iſſued out upon them in this diſturbance, and ſlew of them a great number. Among whom, divers of their Nobles alſo the ſame time were ſlain, and one Baſſa an Eunuch, which was of great eſtimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the ſame skirmiſh was taken one of thoſe Gunners which the French King is ſaid to have ſent to the *Turk* a little before. Which if it be true, let the Chriſtian Reader judge what is to be thought of thoſe Chriſtian Princes, which not only forſaking the common cauſe of Chriſts Church, joyned League with the *Turk*, but alſo ſent him Gunners to ſet forward his Wars to the deſtruction of Chriſts People, and to the ſhedding of thir blood, for whom they know the blood of Chriſt to be ſhed. If this be not true, I ſhew mine Author; if it be, then let the Pope ſee and mark well how this Title of *Chriſtianiſſimus* can well agree with ſuch doings.

A note touching the French King that then was.

*Ex Epiſt. Joan. Marii Stellæ ad fratres de Turcar. in Hungaria ſucceſſib.*

But to let this matter ſleep, although the *Turks* (as ye heard) had won the Fen with their Policy and Induſtry againſt the City of *Alba*, yet all this while the *Albanes* were nothing inferior to their Enemies, through the valiant help and couragious indeavor of *Octavianus Scruzetus*, a Captain of *Millain*. By whoſe prudent Counſel and conſtant ſtanding, the buſie Enterprizes of the *Turks* did little prevail a long time, till at length ſuddenly aroſe a thick Fog or Miſt upon the City, whereas round about beſides the Sun did ſhine bright. Some ſaid it came by Art Magical, but rather it may appear to riſe out of the Fen or Mariſh, being ſo preſſed down with Mens feet, and other matter laid upon it.

The outward Walls got by the Turks.

The *Turks* uſing the occaſion of this miſty darkneſs, in ſecret wiſe approaching the Walls, had got up to a certain Fortreſs where the *Germans* were, before our Men could well perceive them: where they preſſed in ſo thick, and in ſuch number, that albeit the Chriſtian Souldiers, ſtanding ſtrongly to the defence of their Lives, did what valiant Men in caſes of ſuch extremity were able to do; yet being over-matched by the multitude of the *Turks*, and the ſuddenneſs of their coming, gave back, ſeeking to retire unto the inward Walls. Which when their other Fellows did ſee to reſcue, then was there flying of all hands, every man ſtriving to get into the City. There was between the outward Walls or Vamures, and inward Gate of the City, a ſtrait or narrow Paſſage, caſt up in the manner of a Bank or Cauſway, ditched on both ſides; which Paſſage or Ingreſs hapned the ſame time to be barred and ſtopped. By reaſon whereof the poor Souldiers were forced to caſt themſelves into the Ditch, thinking to ſwim as well as they could into the City, where many of them ſticking in the Mud were drowned, one preſſing upon another; many were ſlain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to reſiſt. A few which could ſwim out, were received into the City; but the chief Captains and Warders of the Town were there ſlain.

A miſerable ſlaughter of Chriſtian Souldiers.

The Citizens being deſtitute of their principal Captains and Warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themſelves what to do, ſome thinking good to yield, ſome counſelling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the Citizens were diſtract in divers and doubtful Sentences, the Magiſtrates minding to ſtand to the *Turks* gentleneſs, ſent out one of their Heads unto the *Turk*, who in the name of them all ſhould ſurrender to him the City, and become unto him Tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of Life and Goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkiſh Faith and Aſſurance: firſt, the Souldiers which were left within the City, putting off their Armor, were diſcharged and ſent away: who being but only 300 left of four Enſigns of *Italians*, and of 1000 *Germans*, by the way were laid for by the *Tartarians* for hope of their ſpoil; ſo that they ſcattering aſunder one one way, and another another to ſave themſelves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought beſt. Of whom, ſome wandring in Woods and Mariſhes fainted for Famine; ſome were taken and ſlain by the *Hungarians*; a few, with bare and empty withered Bodies, more like Ghoſts than Men, eſcaped and came to *Vienna*. And this befell upon the Souldiers.

Let never good Chriſtians ſtand to the *Turks* gentleneſs.

Now underſtand what hapned to the yielding Citizens. So in the Story it followeth, That when the *Turk* had entred the Town, and had viſited the Sepulchre of the Kings, for three or four days he pretended much Clemency toward the Citizens, as though he came not to oppreſs them, but to be revenged of *Ferdinandus* their King, and to deliver them from the ſervitude of the *Germans*. On the fourth day, all the Chief and Head men of the City were commanded to appear before the *Turk*, in a Plain not far from the City, where the condemned Perſons before were wont to be Executed, as though they ſhould come to ſwear unto the *Turk*. At this commandment of the *Turk*, when the Citizens in great number, and in their beſt Attire were aſſembled; the *Turk*, contrary to his Faith and Promiſe, commanded ſuddainly a general ſlaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the Citizens of *Alba*.

KING *Hen. 7.*

The cruelty of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians. What it is to yield to the *Turk*, & to trick to his promiſe. The Citizens of *Alba* deſtroyed of the *Turks*.

In the mean time, during the Siege of *Alba*, the *Hungarians* meeting ſometimes with the Horſemen of the *Tartarians*, which were ſent out to ſtop their Victuals from the City, ſlew of them at one bickering, three thouſand *Turks*. In which ſtory is alſo reported and mentioned of mine Author, an horrible ſight and example of Miſery, concerning a certain Captain (a Chriſtian belike) who coming unto *Vienna*, was found to have in his Scrip or Satchel the half of a young Child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before, *Anno* 1543. *Ibid.*

Half of a young child found in the fatchel of a Captive coming from the *Turk*.

Next after this, was expugned the Caſtle of *Pappa* by the *Turks*. Let the Caſtle now of *Pappa* take heed, leſt one day it follow after.

The Caſtle of *Pappa* won by the *Turks*.

The like fidelity the *Turks* alſo kept with the Fort of *Wizigradum*, and the Souldiers thereof. This *Wizigradum* is ſituate in the mid-way between *Buda* and *Strigonium*. Of the which Fort or Caſtle, the higheſt Tower ſo mounteth upon the Hill, that unleſs it be for Famine or lack of Water, they have not to dread any Enemy. Notwithſtanding ſo it hapned, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher Tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of Life and Goods, to yield themſelves. But the Deviliſh *Turks* keeping no Faith nor Promiſe, ſlew them every one: only *Petrus Amandus* the Captain of the Place, excepted: who privily was conveyed by the Captain of the *Turks* out of the ſlaughter, *Anno* 1544.

*Wizigradum* got and forprized of the *Turks*. The falſe dealing and cruelty of the *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians.

To theſe moreover, may be added the winning of *Novum Caſtellum* in *Dalmatia*, where he ſlew all that were within, both Souldiers and other, for that they did not yield themſelves in time. Thus the *Turk*, whether they yielded to him or not, never ſpared the People and Flock of Chriſt.

*Novum Caſtellum* in *Dalmatia* won by the *Turks*.

As the falſe and cruel *Turk* was thus raging in *Hungary*, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Chriſtians, and might eaſily then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that *Charles* the Emperor, and *Franciſcus* the French King, were at the ſame time in War and Hoſtility, and alſo other Chriſtian Princes; as *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* againſt *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*; alſo Princes and Rulers were contending among themſelves: Behold the gracious Providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, ſeeing the miſery, and having pity of his poor Chriſtians, ſuddenly as with a ſnaſle reined this raging Beaſt, and brought him out of *Europe* into his own Country again, by occaſion of the *Perſians*, who were then in great preparation of War againſt the *Turks*, and had invaded his Dominion. By reaſon whereof the *Turks* were kept there occupied, fighting with the *Perſians* a long continuance. Which Wars at length being atchieved and finiſhed (wherein the ſaid *Turk* loſt great Victories, with ſlaughter of many thouſands of his Turks) he was not only provoked by the inſtigation of certain evil diſpoſed *Hungarians*, but alſo occaſioned by the diſcord of Chriſtian Princes to return again into *Europe*, in hope to ſubdue all the parts thereof unto his Dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an Army incredible of ſuch a multitude of *Turks*, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, ſee again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his People. As the *Turk* was thus intending to ſet forward with his innumerable multitude againſt the Chriſtians, the hand of the Lord ſent ſuch a Peſtilence through all the *Turks* Army and

The diſcord of Chriſtian Princes within themſelves. The *Turk* occaſioned to return out of *Europe* into *Aſia*.

The proviſdence of God for his Chriſtians.

Another example of Gods Proviſidence for his.

Do-

KING *Hen.* 7.

Dominions, reaching from *Bythinia*, and from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, and alſo to *Hungary*, that all the Turks poſſeſſions ſeemed almoſt nothing elſe, but as an heap of dead Corſes, whereby his Voyage for that time was ſtopt, and he almoſt compelled to ſeek a new Army.

Beſides this Plague of the Turks aforeſaid, which was worſe to them than any War, other lets alſo and domeſtical Calamities, through Gods providence, hapned unto *Solymanus*, the great rover and robber of the world, which ſtayed him at home from vexing the Chriſtians, eſpecially touching his eldeſt Son *Muſtapha*.

This *Muſtapha* being hated, and partly feared of *Ruſtanus* the chief Councellor about the Turk, and of *Roſa* the Turks Concubine and after his Wife, was divers times complained of to his Father, accuſed, and at length ſo brought into ſuſpition and diſpleaſure of the Turks, by them aforeſaid, that in concluſion, his Father cauſed him to be ſent for to his Pavilion, where ſix Turks with Viſors were appointed to put him to death: who coming upon him, put (after their manner) a ſmall Cord or Bow-ſtring full of knots about his Neck, and ſo throwing him down upon the ground, not ſuffering him to ſpeak one word to his Father, with the ſame thereof throtled and ſtrangled him to death, his Father ſtanding in a ſecret corner by, and beholding the ſame. Which Fact being perpetrate, afterward when the Turk would have given to another Son of his and of *Roſa*, called *Granger*, the Treaſures, Horſe, Armor, Ornaments, and the Province of *Muſtapha* his Brother: *Granger* crying out for ſorrow of his Brothers death: Fy of thee, ſaith he to his Father, thou impious and wretched Dog, Traytor, Murtherer, I cannot call thee Father, take the Treaſures, the Horſe and Armor of *Muſtapha* to thy ſelf: and with that, taking out his Dagger, thruſt it thorow his own body. And thus was *Solyman* Murtherer and Parricide of his own Sons: which was the year of our Lord, 1552.

*Solyman the Turk murdereth Muſtapha his own ſon.*

Wherein notwithſtanding, is to be noted the ſingular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Chriſtians. For this *Muſtapha*, as he was couragious and greatly expert and exerciſed in all practiſe of War, ſo had he a cruel heart, maliciouſly ſet to ſhed the Blood of Chriſtians: wherefore great cauſe have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God for the happy taking away of this *Muſtapha*. And no leſs hope alſo and good comfort we may conceive of our loving Lord hereby miniſtred unto us, to think that our merciful God, after theſe ſore afflictions of his Chriſtians under theſe twelve Turks afore recited, now after this *Solyman* intendeth ſome gracious good work to Chriſtendom, to reduce and releaſe us out of this ſo long and miſerable Turkiſh captivity, as may be hoped now, by taking away theſe young Imps of this impious Generation, before they ſhould come to work their conceived malice againſt us: The Lord therefore be glorified and praiſed. *Amen.*

*The loving providence of our Lord for his Chriſtians.*

*Good hope at Gods hand to be conceived of the Chriſtians.*

Moreover, as I was in writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain Writing out of *Germany*, certifying us of ſuch News and Victory of late atchieved againſt the Turk, as may not a little increaſe our hope and comfort us, touching the decay and ruine of the Turks power and tyranny againſt us. Which News are theſe: That after the Turkiſh Tyrant had beſieged, with an Army of 30000 Men, the famous and ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Jula* in *Hungary*, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river *Danubius*, which City had by the ſpace of ſix weeks ſuſtained many grievous aſſaults: God through his great Mercy and Goodneſs ſo comforted the ſaid Town of *Jula*, and the poor Chriſtians therein, at their earneſt Prayers, that the Turk, with all his Hoſt, was driven back by the hands of the General, called *Karetſhim Laſlaw*, and his valiant Company: who not only defended the ſaid Town, but alſo conſtrained the Turks to retire to their great ſhame and confuſion, with a great ſlaughter of the Turkiſh rabble; for the which, the everlaſting God be praiſed for ever.

*Good newes of the Turks lately repulſed by the Chriſtians.*

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the foreſaid General did ſee his Advantage, with Captain *George*, and other Horſe-men of the *Silaſians* and *Hungarians*, they ſet on the Rereward of the Turks and killed about eight thouſand of them, and took alſo ſome of their Artillery, and followed them ſo faſt, that the Turks were conſtrained to flye into a Mariſh Ground, and to break the wheels of the reſt of their Artillery to ſave themſelves, and therewith they got a very rich Booty, reſcuing beſides, and taking from the Turks, a great number of Chriſtian Priſoners. Like thanks are alſo to be given to God, for the proſperous ſucceſs given to *Magotzchy* the valiant Captain of *Erla*, who making toward the Turks and encountring with the *Tartarians*, ſlew of them about eight hundred.

*8000 Turks ſlain.*

*Chriſtian captives reſcued and taken from the Turks. 800 Turks ſlain.*

Not long after this it hapned, through the like providence of our God, a Turkiſh Captain called *Begen*, accompanied with a thouſand freſh Horſemen, came newly out of Turky, to go toward the City named *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, or *Finffenkyrchen*, with whom the Earl of *Serin* by the way did encounter, and in the night ſetting upon him, killed the Captain, and took eight Camels, and eight Mules laden with Treaſure, and alſo got two red Guidons, with a whole great piece of rich Cloth of Gold, and with another fair and ſtrange Jewel. The Horſe of this foreſaid Turkiſh Captain was betrapped and decked moſt richly. The Saddle whereof had the Pommel and back part covered over with Plate of fine Arabick Gold, and the reſt of the Saddle, beſide the ſitting place, was plated with Silver very fair gilded. The Seat of the Saddle was covered with purple Velvet; the Trappers and Bridle beſet with little Turkies and Rubies; which Horſe was ſent to *Vienna* unto the Emperor *Maximilian* for a Preſent.

*A great Captain of the Turks ſlain, and his treaſure taken.*

Although the Earl would very fain have ſaved the Captain, not knowing what he was, yet the *Janizarites* laboring to carry away their Captain, ſo ſtifly defended themſelves, that the Earl with his Company, was conſtrained to kill both them and their Captain. From whom the ſaid Earl of *Serin* the ſame time got fifteen thouſand *Turkiſh* and *Hungarian* Ducates; which mony was brought for the payment of the *Turkiſh* Souldiers in the Town aforeſaid of *Finffenkyrchen*, *&c.* All which be good beginnings of greater Goodneſs to be hoped for hereafter, through the Grace of Chriſt our Lord, eſpecially if our Chriſtian Rulers and Potentates, firſt the Church-men and Prelates for their parts, then the Civil Powers and Princes for their parts, with-holding their affections a little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of Peace put in their minds to do. Amen. Or otherwiſe, if it will ſo pleaſe the Lord that the *Turk* come further upon us, ſo as he hath begun for our puniſhment and caſtigation, his Grace then give to the Flock of his poor Chriſtians conſtancy of Faith, patience in Suffering, and amendment of Life. For ſo I underſtand by publick fame, although uncertainly rumored by the voice of ſome, that the *Turks* power of late, this preſent year of our Lord, 1566. hath pierced the parts of *Apulia* within *Italy*, waſting and burning the ſpace of an hundred miles toward *Naples*. Which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the *Turk* having thus ſet in his foot, and feeling the ſweetneſs of *Italy*, will not ſo ceaſe before he get in both head and ſhoulders alſo ſo far into *Italy*, that he will diſplay his Banners within the Walls of *Rome*, and do with old *Rome* the like, as *Mahumet* his great Grandfather did with new *Rome*, the City of *Conſtantinople*, and as the *Perſians* did with *Babylon*.

*The Turks piercing into Italy.*

The cauſes why we have ſo to judge, be divers: firſt, That the See of *Rome* hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much Blood; and therefore it may ſeem not uncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be loſt with Blood again, according to the verdict of the Goſpel: *He that ſtiketh with the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword*, &c. Another cauſe is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, where it is written, *That great Babylon ſhall fall, and be made an habitation of Devils, and a Den of unclean Spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean Birds: the fall whereof ſhall be like a mill-ſtone in the Sea*, that is, *which ſhall not riſe again*. And this to come before the Day of Judgment, the Text of the ſaid Chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, ſhewing, *That the Kings of the Earth, and the Merchants which had to do with the whoriſh City, ſtanding afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the ſmoke of the ſaid City flaming and burning with fire, ſhall bewail and rue her deſtruction and deſolation*, &c. What City this is, called *Great Babylon*, which

*Conjectures why it is to be feared that the Turk ſhall get Rome.*

which like a Milſtone ſhall fall and burn, and be made an habitation of unclean Spirits and Beaſts; let the Reader conſtrue. This is certain and plain by theſe her Kings and Merchants ſtanding afar off for fear, and beholding her Burning, that the deſtruction of this City (what City ſoever it be) ſhall be ſeen here in Earth before the coming of the Lords judgment, as may eaſily be gathered by theſe three circumſtances, that is, by the ſtanding, the beholding and bewailing of her Merchants. By the which, Merchants and Kings of the Earth, peradventure may be ſignified the Pope, the rich Cardinals, the great Prelates and fat Doctors, and other Obediencies of the Romiſh See, who at the coming of the *Turks*, will not adventure their Lives for their Church, but will flye the City (no doubt) and ſtand afar off from danger; and when they ſhall ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears the City of *Rome* to be ſet on fire and conſumed by the cruel *Turks*, the ſight whereof ſhall ſeem to them pitious and lamentable, to behold the great and fair City of *Rome*, the tall Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, the Popes mighty See, (where they were wont to fiſh out ſuch Riches, Dignities, Treaſures and Pleaſure) ſo to burn before their Eyes, and to come to ſuch utter deſolation, which ſhall never be re-edified again, but ſhall be made an habitation of Devils and unclean Spirits, that is, of *Turks* and Heathen *Sultans*, and barbarous *Saracens*, *&c.* This (I ſay) peradventure may be the meaning of that Prophetical place of the *Apocalyps*; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but only give my gueſs what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plain and manifeſt. For myſtical Prophecies lightly are never ſo well underſtood, as when the event of them is paſt and accompliſhed.

The Prophecie of the 18 *chapter of the Apocalips expounded.*

Another cauſe, concurring with the cauſes aforeſaid, may be collected out of *Paulus Jovius*, who writing of the ſubverſion of *Rhodes*, which was as ye heard. *Anno* 1522. upon *Chriſtmas* day, ſaith, That it chanced ſuddenly the ſame day in *Rome*, that as Pope *Hadrian* the ſixth, was entring into the Church to his Service, ſuddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the Chappel fell, which was of Marble, immediately as the Pope was entring, fell down, and ſlew certain of his Guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruine of *Rome* was not long after to follow the loſs of *Rhodes*.

The third cauſe. *Ex Paulo Jovio.*

The fourth cauſe I borrow out of *Joannes Aventinus*, who in his third Book alleaging the names, but not the words of *Hildegardis*, *Brigit*, and other Prophetical Men, hath theſe words; *Si vera ſunt carmina & vaticinia, D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ, Sybillarum Germaniæ, & Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea quæ noſtro ævo completa vidimus longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt; Agrippinenſis Colonia, nolimus velimus, Turcarum caput erit, &c.* that is, If the Sayings and Prophecies of *Hildegard*, of *Brigit*, and of other Prophetical Perſons be true, which being foretold long before, we have ſeen now in theſe our days accompliſhed; the Town of *Colen*, will-we nill-we, muſt needs be the head City of the *Turk*, *&c.*

The fourth cauſe.

*Ex Joan. Aventino Annal. lib. 3. fol. 30. A Prophecie.*

And this I writ, not as one pronouncing againſt the City of *Rome* what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to paſs (as I pray God it do not) then ſhall the Pope well underſtand, whether his wrong underſtanding of the Scriptures, and his falſe flattering Glofers upon the ſame, have brought him.

Wherefore my counſel is to the Pope, and all his Popiſh maintainers and upholders, to humble themſelves, and to agree with their Brethren betime, letting all contention fall; leſt that while the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall ſtrive to be the higheſt of all other Biſhops, it ſo fall out ſhortly, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall be found the loweſt of all other Biſhops, or peradventure no Biſhop at all.

A Caveat to the Biſhop of *Rome*, if he be wiſe.

Whereunto alſo another cauſe may be added, taken out of *Jeronymus Savanarola*, who Propheſieth, that one ſhall come over the *Alpes* like unto *Cyrus*, and deſtroy *Italy*. Whereof ſee more before.

*Ex Paulo Jovio.*

This *Solymannus*, if he be yet alive, hath now raigned forty ſix years, who began the ſame year in the which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth was Crowned, which was, *Anno* 1520. and ſo hath continued by Gods permiſſion, for a ſcourge to the Chriſtians, unto this year now preſent, 1556. This *Solyman*, by one of his Concubines, called *Roſa*, he had four Sons, *Mahumet*, *Bajazetes*, *Zelymus*, and *Gianger*. Of the which Sons, *Muſtapha* and *Gianger* were ſlain (as ye heard before) by the means of their own Father. And thus much concerning the wretched Tyranny of the *Turks*, out of the Authors hereunder written.

{KING Hen. 7.}

## ¶ The Authors of the *Turks* Stories.

Authors of the Turks Stories.

*Laconicus Chalcondyla.*
*Nicolaus Eboicus Epiſc. Saguntinus.*
*Joannes Ramus.*
*Andræas a Lucana.*
*Wolfgangus Drechſlerus.*
*Joan. Criſpus.*
*Joan. Faber.*
*Ludovicus Vives.*
*Bernardus de Breydenbach.*
*Mityleneus Archiepiſc.*
*Sabellicus.*
*Iſidorus Rutherus.*
*Marinus Barletus.*
*Henricus Penta de bello Rhodio.*
*Melchior Soiterus.*
*Paulus Jovius.*
*Joan. Martinus Stella.*
*Gaſpar Peucerus, &c.*
*Nicolaus a Moſſen Burgundus.*
*Sebaſt. Munſterus.*
*Baptiſta Egnatius.*
*Bartbol. Peregrinus.*

## ¶ *A notice touching the miſerable Perſecution, Slaughter and Captivity of the Chriſtians under the Turks.*

Perſecution under the Turks.

HItherto thou haſt heard (Chriſtian Reader) the lamentable Perſecutions of theſe later days, wrought by the *Turks* againſt the People and Servants of Chriſt. In the reading whereof, ſuch as ſit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may ſee what miſery there is abroad; the knowledge and reading whereof ſhall not be unprofitable for all Chriſtians earneſtly to weigh and conſider, for that many there be, which falſly deceiving themſelves, imagine that Chriſtianity is a quiet and reſtful ſtate of Life, full of pleaſure and ſolace in this preſent World, when indeed it is nothing leſs teſtified by the mouth of our Saviour himſelf, who rightly defining his Kingdom, teacheth us, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, premoniſhing us alſo before, *That in this World we muſt look for affliction, but in him we ſhall have peace.* Examples hereof in all parts of this Hiſtory through all Ages, are plenteous and evident to be ſeen, whether we turn our Eyes to the firſt Ten Perſecutions in the Primitive Church, during the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt: or whether we conſider the later three hundred years in this laſt Age of the Church, wherein the poor Flock of Chriſt hath been ſo afflicted, oppreſſed and devoured, that it is hard to ſay, whether have been more cruel againſt the Chriſtians, the Infidel Emperors of *Rome* in the Primitive Age of the Church, or elſe theſe barbarous *Turks* in theſe our later times of the Church now preſent.

Compariſon between the perſecutions of the Primitive Church and of the later Church.

Thus from time to time the Church of Chriſt almoſt hath had little or no reſt in this Earth; what for the Heathen Emperors on the one ſide; what for the proud Pope on the other ſide; on the third ſide, what for the barbarous *Turk*: for theſe are and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital Enemies of the Church of Chriſt, ſignified in the *Apocalyps*, *by the Beaſt, the falſe Lamb, and the falſe Prophet, from whom went out three foul Spirits like Frogs, to gather together all the Kings of the Earth to the Battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty*, Apoc. 16. The cruelty and malice of theſe Enemies againſt Chriſts People hath been ſuch, that to judge which of them did moſt exceed in Cruelty of Perſecution, it is hard to ſay; but that it may be thought that the bloody and beaſtly Tyranny of the *Turks*, eſpecially above the reſt, incomparably ſurmounteth all the afflictions and cruel ſlaughters that ever were ſeen in any Age, or read of in any ſtory. Inſomuch, that there is neither Hiſtory ſo perfect, nor Writer ſo diligent, who writing of the miſerable Tyranny of the *Turks*, is able to expreſs or comprehend the horrible Examples of their unſpeakable cruelty and ſlaughter, exerciſed by theſe twelve

Three ſpecial enemies of Chriſts Church.

*Apoc. 16.* The cruelty of the furious Turks deſcribed.

Turkiſh

KING *Hen.* 7. Turkiſh Tyrants upon poor Chriſtian mens bodies, within the compaſs of theſe later Three hundred years. Whereof although no ſufficient relation can be made, nor number expreſſed; yet to give to the Reader ſome general gueſs or view thereof; let us firſt perpend and conſider what Dominions and Empires, how many Countries, Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, ſtrong Holds, and Forts, theſe *Turks* have ſurprized and won from the Chriſtians. In all which Victories, being ſo many, this is ſecondly to be noted, That there is almoſt no place which the *Turks* ever came to and ſubdued, where they did not either ſlay all the Inhabitants thereof, or led away the moſt part thereof into ſuch Captivity and Slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or elſe ſo lived, that Death almoſt had been to them more tolerable.

*Two things to be noted in the Turks, how many victories they have got, and how cruelly they have uſed their victories.*

Like as in the time of the firſt Perſecutions of the *Roman* Emperors, the Saying was, That no man could ſtep with his feet in all *Rome*, but ſhould tread upon a Martyr: ſo here may be ſaid, That almoſt there is not a Town, City or Village in all *Aſia*, *Grecia*, alſo in a great part of *Europa* and *Africa*, whoſe Streets have not flowed with the Blood of the Chriſtians, whom the cruel *Turks* have murdered. Of whom are to be ſeen in Hiſtories, heaps of Souldiers ſlain, of Men and Women cut in pieces, of Children ſticked upon Poles and Stakes, whom theſe deteſtable *Turks* moſt ſpitefully (and that in the ſight of their Parents) uſe to gore to death: ſome they drag at their Horſe tails, and famiſh to death; ſome they tear in pieces, tying their Arms and Legs to four Horſes; otherſome they make Marks to ſhoot at; upon ſome they try their Swords how deep they can cut and ſlaſh, as before ye have read. The aged and feeble they tread under their Horſes: Women with Child they ſpare not, but rip their Bodies, and caſt the Infants into the Fire, or otherwiſe deſtroy them. Whether the Chriſtians yield to them, or yield not, all is a matter. As in their promiſes their is no truth, ſo in their Victories there is no ſenſe of Manhood or Mercy in them, but they make havock of all.

*Ex Marino Barletio de Scod. expugnat. lib. 2.*

So the Citizens of *Croja*, after they had yielded and were all promiſed their Lives, were all deſtroyed, and that horribly. In *Myſia*, after the King had given himſelf to the *Turks* hand, having promiſe of life, *Mahumet* the *Turk* ſlew him with his own hands. The Princes of *Raſia* had both their Eyes put out, with Baſons red hot ſet before them. *Theodoſia*, otherwiſe called *Capha*, was alſo ſurrendred to the *Turk*, having the like aſſurance of life and ſafety; and yet contrary to the League, the Citizens were put to the Sword and ſlain. At the winning and yielding of *Lesbos*, what a number of young Men and Children were put upon ſharp ſtakes and poles, and ſo thruſt thorow? At the winning of the City of *Buda*, what tyranny was ſhewed and exerciſed againſt the poor Chriſtians which had yielded themſelves, and againſt the two Dukes, *Chriſtopher Biſſerer*, and *Joannes Tranbinger*, contrary to the promiſe and hand-writing of the *Turk*, is to be ſeen in the Story of *Melchior Soiterus*, *De bello Pannonico*.

*Ex Michael. Soiter lib. 1. de bell. Pannonico. fol. 515.*

The like alſo is to be read in the Story of *Bernardus de Breydenbach*, who writing of the taking of *Hydruntum*, a City in *Apulia*, teſtifieth of the miſerable ſlaughter of the young Men there ſlain, of old Men troden under the Horſe feet, of Matrons and Virgins raviſhed, of Women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the Prieſts in the Churches ſlain, and of the Arch-Biſhop of that City, who being an aged Man, and holding the Croſs in his hands, was cut aſunder with a wooden Saw, *&c.* The ſame *Bernardus*, alſo writing of the overthrow of *Negropontus* otherwiſe called *Chalcides*, *Anno* 1471. deſcribeth the like terrible ſlaughter which there was exerciſed, where the *Turk*, after his promiſe given before to the contrary, moſt cruelly cauſed all the Youth of *Italy* to be pricked upon ſharp ſtakes; ſome to be daſhed againſt the hard ſtones, otherſome to be cut in ſunder in the midſt, and otherſome with other kinds of Torments to be put to death: ſo much, that all the ſtreets and ways of *Chalcides*, did ſtink with the Blood of them which were there ſlain. In which Hiſtory the foreſaid Writer recordeth one memorable example of Maidenly chaſtity, worthy of all Chriſtians to be noted and commended. The Story is told of the Pretors Daughter of that City, who being the only Daughter of her Father, and noted to be of an exceeding ſingular Beauty, was ſaved out of the ſlaughter, and brought to *Mahumet* the *Turk* to be his Concubine. But ſhe denying to conſent to his Turkiſh appetite and filthineſs, was commanded therewith to be ſlain and murdered, and ſo dyed ſhe a Martyr, keeping both her Faith and her Body undefiled unto Chriſt her Spouſe. *Ibid.*

*Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach. Decan. Eccl. Magunt.*

*The ſuperſtitious uſe of the material croſs.*

*Vide ſupra. Ex Bernard. Breydenb.*

*A notable example of maidenly chaſtity.*

The like cruelty alſo was ſhewed upon them which kept the Caſtle, and afterward yielding themſelves upon hope of the *Turks* promiſe, were ſlain every one. What ſhould I ſpeak of the miſerable ſlaughter of *Methone*, and the Citizens thereof dwelling in *Peloponneſus*? who, ſeeing no other remedy but needs to come into the *Turks* hands, ſet the Barn on fire where they were gathered together, Men, Women and Children; ſome Women alſo with child, voluntarily caſt themſelves into the Sea, rather then they would ſuſtain the *Turks* captivity.

*Vide ſupra.* *The miſerable ſpilling of Chriſtian mens blood by the wretched Turks.*

Miſerable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts and horrible ſlaughters wrought by theſe miſcreants againſt the Chriſtians through all places almoſt of the World, both in *Aſia*, in *Africa*, but eſpecially in *Europe*. Who is able to recite the innumerable Societies and Companies of the *Grecians* Martyr'd by the *Turks* Sword, in *Achaia*, *Attica*, *Theſſalia*, *Macedonia*, *Epyrus*, and all *Peloponneſus*? beſides the Iſland of *Rhodes*, and other Iſlands and Cyclades adjacent in the Sea about, numbred to two and fifty; of the which alſo *Pathmos* was one, where Saint *John* being baniſhed, wrote his *Revelations*. Where did ever the *Turks* ſet any Foot, but the Blood of Chriſtians there, without pity or meaſure, went to wrack? and what Place or Province is there almoſt through the World, where the *Turks* either have not pierced, or are not likely ſhortly to enter? In *Thracia*, and through all the Coaſts of *Danubius*, in *Bulgaria*, *Dalmatia*, in *Servia*, *Tranſilvania*, *Boſna* in *Hungaria*, alſo in *Auſtria*, what havock hath been made by them of Chriſtian mens Bodies, it will rue any Chriſtian heart to remember. At the Siege of *Moldavia*, at the winning of *Buda*, of *Peſta*, of *Alba*, of *Walpo*, *Strigonium*, *Soclosia*, *Tathe*, *Wizigradum*, *Novum Caſtellum* in *Dalmatia*, *Belgradum*, *Varadinum*, *Quinque Eccleſia*: alſo at the Battel of *Verna*, where *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polony*, with all his Army almoſt, through the raſhneſs of the Popes Cardinal, were ſlain: At the winning moreover of *Xabiacchus*, *Lyſſus*, *Dynaſtrum*: At the Siege of *Gunza*, and of the faithful Town *Scorad*, where the number of the Shot againſt their Walls, at the Siege thereof, were reckoned to Two thouſand five hundred thirty nine. Likewiſe at the Siege of *Vienna*, where all the Chriſtian Captives were brought before the whole Army and ſlain, and divers drawn in pieces with Horſes: but eſpecially at the winning of *Conſtantinople*, above mentioned; alſo at *Croja* and *Methone*, what beaſtly cruelty was ſhewed, *it is* unſpeakable. For as in *Conſtantinople*, *Mahumet* the drunken *Turk*, never roſe from Dinner, but he cauſed every day, for his diſport, Three hundred Chriſtian Captives of the Nobles of that City to be ſlain before his face: ſo in *Methone*, after that his Captain *Omares* had ſent unto him at *Conſtantinople*, five hundred Priſoners of the Chriſtians, the cruel Tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in ſunder by the middle, and ſo being ſlain, to be thrown out into the Fields.

*A brief recital of Chriſtian Towns and Forts won of the Turk in Europe.*

*The cruelty of the Turk againſt the Citizens of Conſtantinople. Vide ſupra.*

*The cruelty of the Turk againſt the Priſoners of Methone. Ex Leonico Chalcondyla de rebus Turcicis. lib. 10.*

*Leonicus Chalcondyla* writing of the ſame Story, addeth moreover, a prodigious Narration (if it be true) of a brute Ox, which being in the Fields, and ſeeing the Carcaſes of the dead Bodies ſo cut in two, made there a loud noiſe after the lowing of his kind and nature: and afterwards coming to the Quarters of one of the dead Bodies lying in the Field, firſt took up the one half, and then coming again, took up likewiſe the other half, and ſo (as he could) joyned them both together. Which being eſpied of them which ſaw the doing of the brute Ox, and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to *Mahumet*, he commanded the Quarters again to be brought where they were before, to prove whether the Beaſt will come again, who failed not (as the Author recordeth)

*A ſtrange and prodigious wonder of a brute Beaſt toward a dead Chriſtian Body.*

recordeth) but in like ſort as before, taking the fragments of the dead Corps, laid them again together. It followeth more in the Author, how that *Mahumet*, being aſtonied at the ſtrange wonder of the Ox, commanded the Quarters of the Chriſtian Mans body to be interred, and the Ox to be brought to his Houſe, and much made of. Some ſaid it to be the body of a *Vehetian*; ſome affirmed, that he was an *Illyrian*: but whatſoever he was, certain it is, That the *Turk* himſelf was much more Beſtial than was the brute Ox; which being a Beaſt, ſhewed more ſenſe of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another. *Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.*

The Biſhop, with the Citizens of *Methone* ſlain of the *Turk.*

To this Cruelty add moreover, That beſide theſe five hundred *Methonians* thus deſtroyed at *Conſtantinople*, in the ſaid City of *Methone*, all the Towns-men alſo were ſlain by the foreſaid Captain *Omares*, and among them their Biſhop likewiſe was put to death. *Ex Andr. de Lacuna, & ex Wolfg. & aliis.*

*Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & aliis. Ex Joanne Fabro, in oratione ad regem Hen. 8.*

*John Faber*, in his Oration made before King *Henry* the Eighth, at the appointment of King *Ferdinandus*, and declaring therein the miſerable Cruelty of the *Turks* toward all Chriſtians, as alſo toward the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church, teſtifieth, how that in *Mitylene*, in *Conſtantinople*, and *Trapezunda*, what Biſhops and Arch-biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſtical and Religious Perſons the *Turks* could find, they brought them out of the City into the Fields, there to be ſlain like Oxen and Calves. The ſame *Faber* alſo writing of the Battel of *Solyman* in *Hungary*, where *Ludovicus* the King of *Hungary* was overthrown, declareth, That eight Biſhops in the ſame Field were ſlain. And moreover, when the Arch-biſhop of *Strigon*, and *Paulus* the Arch-biſhop of *Coloſſenſis* were found dead, *Solyman* cauſed them to be taken up, and to be Behcaded and chopt in ſmall pieces. *Anno* 1526.

The cruelty of the *Turk* in *Euboea.*

What Chriſtian heart will not pity the incredible ſlaughter done by the *Turks* in *Euboia*, where the ſaid *Faber* teſtifieth, That innumerable people were ſticked and gored upon ſtakes, divers were thruſt thorow with a hot Iron, Children and Infants not yet weaned from the Mother, were dalhed againſt the ſtones, and many cut aſunder in the midſt? *Ex Joban. Fabro, & aliis.*

The Prince of *Servia* ſlain, and ſlain of the *Turk.*

But never did Country taſte and feel more the bitter and deadly Tyranny of the *Turks*, than did *Raſia*, called *Myſia Inferior*, and now *Servia*. Where (as writeth *Wolfgangus Drechſterus*) the Prince of the ſame Country being ſent for, under fair pretence of words and promiſes, to come and ſpeak with the *Turk*, after he was come of his own Gentleneſs, thinking no harm, was Apprehended, and wretchedly and fally put to Death, and his Skin ſlain off, his Brother and Siſter brought to *Conſtantinople* for a Triumph, and all the Nobles of his Country (as *Faber* addeth) had their Eyes put out, *&c.*

Let never Chriſtian Prince truſt the *Turk.*

The *Turke* ſtirred up of the Devil, to fight againſt Chriſt. The *Turke* are butchers of the Chriſtians.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of theſe curſed Caitiffs, it may ſeem that Satan the Old Dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Chriſt, hath ſtirred them up to be the Butchers of all Chriſtian People, inflaming their beaſtly hearts with ſuch malice and cruelty againſt the Name and Religion of Chriſt, that they degenerating from the nature of Men to Devils, neither by reaſon will be ruled, nor by any blood or ſlaughter ſatisfied. Like as in the Primitive Age of the Church, and in the time of *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*, when the Devil ſaw that he could not prevail againſt the Perſon of Chriſt which was riſen again, he turned all his fury upon his ſilly ſervants, thinking by the *Roman* Emperors utterly to extinguiſh the Name and Profeſſion of Chriſt out from the Earth: So in this later Age of the World, Satan being let looſe again, rageth by the *Turks*, thinking to make no end of murthering and killing, till he have brought (as he intendeth) the whole Church of Chriſt, with all the Profeſſors thereof, under foot. But the Lord (I truſt) will once ſend a *Conſtantinus* to vanquiſh proud *Maxentius*, *Moſes* to drown indurate *Pharaoh*, *Cyrus* to ſubdue the ſtout *Babylonian.*

The miſerable ſtate of the Chriſtian captives under the *Turk.*

And thus much hitherto touching our Chriſtian Brethren which were ſlain & deſtroyed by theſe blaſphemous *Turks*. Now for ſo much as beſides theſe aforeſaid, many other were pluckt away violently from their Country, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their poſſeſſions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury, it remaineth likewiſe to intreat ſomewhat alſo concerning the cruel manner of the *Turks* handling of the ſaid Chriſtian Captives. And firſt here is to be noted, that the *Turk* never cometh into *Europe* to war againſt the Chriſtians, but there followeth after his Army a great number of brokers or merchants, ſuch as buy men and children to ſell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great cheats. In the which chains they link them by fifty and ſixty together, ſuch as remain undeſtroyed with the ſword, whom they buy of the ſpoils of them that rob and ſpoil the Chriſtian Countries; which is lawful for any of the *Turks* Army to do, ſo that the tenth of their ſpoil or prey (whatſoever it be) be reſerved to the head *Turk*, that is, to the great maſter Thief.

KING *Hen. 7.*

The buying and ſelling of Chriſtian captives under the *Turks.*

Of ſuch as remain for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very few be reſerved alive, becauſe little profit cometh of that age) they be ſold to the uſe of husbandry or keeping of beaſts. If they be young men or women, they be ſent to certain places, there to be inſtructed in their Language and Arts, as ſhall be moſt profitable for their advantage, and ſuch are called in their Tongue, *Sarai*: and the firſt care of the *Turks* is there to make them deny the Chriſtian Religion, and to be Circumciſed; and after that they are appointed, every one as he ſeemeth moſt apt, either to the learning of their Laws, or elſe to learn the feats of War. Their firſt rudiment of War is to handle the Bow; firſt beginning with a weak Bow, and ſo as they grow in ſtrength coming to a ſtronger Bow, and if they miſs the Mark, they are ſharply beaten; and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day, till they come and take wages to ſerve in War. Some are brought up for the purpoſe to be placed in the number of the wicked *Janizarites*, that is, the Order of the *Turks* champions, which is the moſt abominable condition of all other. Of theſe *Janizarites*, ſee before. And if any of the foreſaid young men or children ſhall appear to excel in any Beauty, him they ſo cut, that no part of that which Nature giveth to man, remaineth to be ſeen in all his body; whereby while the freſhneſs of age continueth, he is compelled to ſerve their abominable abomination; and when age cometh, then they ſerve inſtead of Eunuchs to wait upon Matrons, or to keep Horſes and Mules, or elſe to be ſcullions and drudges in their kitchins.

Chriſtian captives ſithed of the *Turks.*

O wickedneſs paſſing all miſery.

O miſery above all miſeries!

Such as are young Maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. They which be of mean beauty, ſerve for Matrons to their drudgery work in their houſes and chambers, or elſe are put to ſpinning, and ſuch other labors; but ſo, that it is not lawful for them either to profeſs their Chriſtian Religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them wch fall to the *Turk* by tithe.

The ſervitude of young women captives.

The other which are bought and ſold amongſt private ſubjects, firſt are allured with fair words and promiſes to take Circumciſion: which if they will do, they are more favorably intreated; but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their Country, which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if ſuch coming at length to liberty, will marry, they may; but then their Children remain bond to the Lord, for him to ſell at his pleaſure; and therefore ſuch as are wiſe amongſt them will not marry. They which refuſe to be Circumciſed, are miſerably handled; for example whereof, the Author (which giveth teſtimony hereof) doth infer his own experience. Such Captives as be expert in any manual Art or Occupation, can better ſhift for themſelves; but contrariwiſe, they which have no Handicraft to live upon, are in worſe caſe. And therefore ſuch as have been brought up in Learning, or be Prieſts or Noble-men, and ſuch other whoſe tender Education can abide no hardneſs, are the leaſt reputed, and moſt of all other neglected of him that hath the ſale or keeping of them, for that he ſeeth leſs profit to riſe of them than of the other; and therefore no coſt of rayment is beſtowed upon them, but they are carried about bare-head and barefoot, both Summer and Winter in froſt and ſnow. And if any faint and be ſick in the way, there is no reſting for him in any Inn, but firſt he is driven forward with Whips, and if that will not ſerve, he is ſet peradventure upon ſome Horſe; or if his weakneſs be ſuch that he cannot ſit, then is he laid overthwart the Horſe upon his belly like a Calf; and if he chance to dye, they take off his garment, ſuch as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

*Ex Bartholo. Georgievitz. Peregrina lib. de affli. ctione Chriſtianorum ſub Turca.*

In

{KING *Hen.*7.} In the way moreover, beſide the common Chain which doth incloſe them all, the hands alſo of every one are manacled, which is, becauſe they ſhould not harm their Leaders; for many times it hapned, that ten perſons had the leading of fifty Captives; and when night came their feet alſo were fettered, ſo that they lodged in no Houſe, but lay upon the ground all night.

The miſerable calamity of Chriſtian Women being in captivity under the *Turks*.

The young Women had a little more gentleneſs ſhewed, being carried in Paniers in the day time. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miſerable crying out of ſuch as were incloſed within, by reaſon of the filthy injuries which they ſuffered by their Carriers, inſomuch that the young tender age of ſeven or eight years, as well of the one Sex as of the other, could not ſave them from the moſt filthy villany of the Beſtial *Turks*.

The manner of Chriſtian Captives how they are brought to Markets and ſold.

When the Morning cometh, they are brought forth to the Market to to ſale, where the Buyer, if he be diſpoſed, plucking off their Garments, vieweth all the Bones and Joynts of their Body; and if he like them he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miſerable ſervitude, either to tilling of their Ground, or to paſture their Cattle, or to ſome other ſtrange kind of Miſery incredible to ſpeak of: Inſomuch that the Author reporteth, that he hath ſeen himſelf, certain of ſuch Chriſtian Captives yoked together like Horſe and Oxen, and to draw the Plough. The Maid-ſervants likewiſe are kept in perpetual toil and work in cloſe places, where neither they come in ſight of any Man, neigher be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow-ſervants, *&c.* Such as are committed to keep Beaſts, lie abroad day and night in the wild Fields, without houſe and harbor, and ſo changing their Paſture go from Mountain to Mountain; of whom alſo, beſide the Office of keeping the Beaſts, other handy-labor is exacted at ſpare hours, ſuch as pleaſeth their Maſters to put unto them.

Chriſtians in their Captivity, out to draw in the Plough like Horſes.

The great danger of Chriſtian Captives which fly out of *Turkie*.

Out of this miſery there is no way for them to flye, eſpecially for them that are carried into *Aſia* beyond the Seas; or if any do attempt ſo to do, he taketh his time chiefly about Harveſt, when he may hide himſelf all the day-time in the Corn, or in Woods or Mariſhes, and find Food; and in the Night only he flyeth, and had rather be devoured of Wolves and other wild Beaſts, than to return again to his Maſter. In their flying they uſe to take with them an Hatchet and Coards, that when they come to the Sea ſide, they may cut down Trees, and bind together the ends of them, and ſo where the Sea of *Helleſpontus* is narroweſt, about the *Seſtos* and *Abidos*, they take the Sea, ſitting upon Trees, where, if the wind and tide do ſerve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the moſt part either periſh in the Floods, or are driven back again upon the Coaſts of *Aſia*, or elſe be devoured of wild Beaſts in Woods, or periſh with Hunger and Famine. If any eſcape over the Sea alive into *Europe*, by the way they enter into no Town, but wander upon the Mountains, following only the North-Star for their guide.

The manner and ſhift of our men in getting over the Sea.

The manifold dangers by the way in flying.

The miſery of Chriſtian Cities and Provinces which live under the Turks tribute.

As touching ſuch Towns and Provinces which are won by the *Turk*, and wherein the Chriſtians are ſuffered to live under tribute: Firſt, All the Nobility there they kill and make away, the Church-men and Clergy hardly they ſpare. The Churches, with the Bells and all the Furniture thereof, either they caſt down, or elſe they convert to the uſe of their own blaſphemous Religion, leaving to the Chriſtians certain old and blind Chappels, which when they decay, it is permitted, to our men to repair them again for a great ſum of Mony given to the *Turk*. Neither be they permitted to uſe any open Preaching or Miniſtration, but only in ſilence and by ſtealth to frequent together. Neither is it lawful for any Chriſtian to bear Office within the City or Province, nor to bear Weapon; nor to wear any Garment like to the *Turks*. And if any contumely or blaſphemy, be it never ſo great, be ſpoken againſt them, or againſt Chriſt, yet muſt thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou ſpeak one word againſt their Religion, thou ſhalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumciſed: And then if thou ſpeak one word againſt *Mahumet*, thy puniſhment is Fire and Burning. And if it chance a Chriſtian being on Horſe-back to meet, or paſs by a *Muſulman*, that is, a Turkiſh Prieſt, he muſt light from his Horſe, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the *Muſulman*; or if he do not, he is beaten down from his Horſe with clubs and ſtaves.

If Chriſtians may not go like *Turks*, why ſhould our Goſpellers go like Papiſts? The *Turks* have their fire and faggots as well as our Papiſts. The Chriſtians muſt light from their Horſes meeting a Turkiſh Prieſt, and adore him.

Furthermore, for their Tribute they pay the fourth part of their ſubſtance and gain to the *Turk*; beſide the ordinary Tribute of the Chriſtians, which is to pay for every Poll within his Family a Ducket unto the *Turk*; which if the Parents cannot do, they are compelled to ſell their Children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go chained in Fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or elſe muſt lye in perpetual Priſon.

Another miſery moſt lamentable in taking away Chriſtian mens children from their Parents, to ſerve the *Turk*.

And yet notwithſtanding, when the Chriſtians have diſcharged all duties, it remaineth free for the *Turks*, to take up among the Chriſtians children whom they beſt like, and them to Circumciſe, and to take them away being young from the ſight of their Parents to far places, to be brought up for the *Turks* Wars, ſo that they may not return to them again; but firſt are taught to forget Chriſt, and then their Parents; ſo that if they come again amongſt them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

O miſery.

This miſery paſſing all other miſeries, no Man is able with Tongue to utter, or with words to expreſs. What weeping and tears, with ſorrow and lamentation; what groaning, ſighs, and deep dolour, doth fear and rent aſunder the woful hearts of the ſilly Parents at the plucking away of their Babes and Children? To ſee their Sons and their own Children, whom they have born and bred up to the ſervice of Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight againſt Chriſt? to ſee their Babes born of Chriſtian blood, of Chriſtians to be made *Turks*, and ſo to be pluckt out of their arms, and out of their ſight, without hope ever to return to them again? to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blaſphemous *Turks*, and ſo to become of the number of them which are called fatherleſs and motherleſs?

This is with tears rather than with words to be expreſſed.

Privy Goſpellers in *Turky*.

Albeit the ſame Children afterward do greatly degenerate from the Faith of Chriſt, yet very many of them have privily about them the Goſpel written of St. *John*, *In principio erat verbum, &c.* Which for a token or remembrance of their Chriſtian Faith they carry under their Arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabick, who greatly deſire, and long look for the revenging Sword of the Chriſtians to come and deliver them out of their dolourous thraldom and captivity, according as the *Turks* themſelves have a Propheſie, and greatly ſtand in fear of the ſame. Whereof more ſhall be ſaid (Chriſt willing) in the Chapter following.

An old Propheſie of the *Turks*, touching the Sword of the Chriſtians.

¶ And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Chriſtian Brethren under the cruel Tyranny and Captivity of the *Turks*, paſſing all other Captivities that ever have been to Gods people, either under *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, or under *Nebuchadonozer* in *Babylon*, or under *Antiochus* in the time of the *Macchabees*. Under the which Captivity, if it ſo pleaſe the Lord to have his Spouſe the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this Miſery come by the negligence and diſcord of our Chriſtian Guides and Leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our Guiders and Rulers, or elſe better Guides and Rulers to his Flock.

Neceſſary for many cauſes that the troubles of the Church be known.

And theſe Troubles and Afflictions of our Chriſtian Brethren ſuffered by the *Turks*, I thought good and profitable for our Country People here of *England* to know, for ſo much as by the ignorance of theſe, and ſuch like Hiſtories worthy of conſideration, I ſee much inconvenience doth follow. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that becauſe we Engliſhmen being far off from theſe Countries, and little knowing what miſery is abroad, are the leſs moved with zeal and compaſſion to tender their Grievances, and to pray for them whoſe Troubles we know not. Whereupon alſo it followeth, that we not conſidering the miſerable ſtate of other, are the leſs grateful to God, when any Tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little Cloud of perturbation ariſe upon us, be it never ſo little, as poverty, loſs of living, or a little baniſhment out of our Country for the Lords Cauſe, we make a great matter thereof, and all becauſe we go no further than our own Country, and only feeling our own croſs, do not compare that which we feel with the

the great croſſes whereunto the Churches of Chriſt commonly in other places abroad are ſubject. Which if we did rightly underſtand, and earneſtly conſider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we ſo exceſſively forget our ſelves in time of our proſperity given us of God, nor yet ſo impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our Adverſity, and all becauſe either we hear not, or elſe we ponder not the terrible croſſes which the Lord layeth upon our other Brethren abroad in other Nations, as by this preſent ſtory here prefixed may appear.

KING Mar. 7.

NOw conſequently remaineth, as I have ſhewed hitherto what Tyranny hath been uſed of the *Turks* againſt Chriſts People, ſo to declare likewiſe how far this Tyranny of the *Turks* hath extended and ſpread it ſelf, deſcribing as in a Table, to the Chriſtian Reader, what Lands, Countries and Kingdoms the *Turks* have won and got from Chriſtiandom; to the intent, that when Chriſtian Princes ſhall behold the greatneſs of the *Turks* Dominions ſpread almoſt thorow all the World, and how little a part of Chriſtianity remaineth behind, they may thereby underſtand the better how it is time now for them to beſtir them, if ever they think to do any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a compendious Draught, as in a brief Table, of ſuch Countries, Kingdoms and Dominions, got from us by the *Turks*: We will firſt begin with *Aſia*, deſcribing what Tracts, Countries, Cities and Churches the *Turk* hath ſurprized, and violently pluckt away from the Society of Chriſtian Dominions, taking only ſuch as be moſt principal, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were too long to Diſcourſe all and ſingular ſuch Places by name, as the *Turk* hath under his ſubjection.

The largeneſs of the *Turks* Dominions declared.

The World being divided commonly into three parts, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europa*; *Aſia* is counted to be the greateſt in compaſs, containing as much as both the other, and is divided into two Portions, the one called *Aſia Major*; the other called *Aſia Minor*. And although the Empire of the *Turk* extendeth unto them both; yet eſpecially his Dominion ſtandeth in the other *Aſia*, which is called *Aſia Minor*, which reacheth from the Coaſts of *Europa* unto *Armenia Major*, beyond the River *Euphrates*, and comprehendeth theſe Regions and Cities following.

## The Diviſion of *Aſia Minor*, called *Cheroneſus*, with the particular Countries and Cities belonging to the ſame.

| Countries. | | Cities. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pontus.* | *Acts* 2. | *Nicea.* | |
| | | *Chalcedon.* | |
| | | *Heraclea.* | |
| | | *Prurſa* or *Burſa.* | |
| *Bythinia.* | *Acts* 26. | *Nicomedia.* | |
| | | *Apamea.* | |

*Apamea* is a City in *Bithynia*, alſo another in *Meſopotamia Apamea Cyborn*: alſo a City in great *Phrygia*, and another alſo in *Parthia*.

¶ *Natolia*, or *Anatolia*, containeth divers Countries, with their Cities, as followeth.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Myſia Minor.* | *Acts* 16. | *Cizicus.* | |
| | | *Parium.* | |
| | | *Lampſacus.* | |
| | | *Dardanum.* | |
| | | *Callipolis.* | |
| | | *Abydus.* | |
| *Phrygia Minor.* | *Acts* 2. | *Alexandria* or *Troas.* | *Act.* 16. |
| | | *Ilium.* | |
| *Troas.* | *Acts* 20. | *Aſſos.* | *Acts* 20. |
| | | *Scepſis.* | |
| *Myſia Major.* | *Acts* 16. | *Adramitium.* | *Acts* 27. |
| | | *Herrapolis.* | *Col.* 4. |
| *Phrygia Major.* | *Acts* 2. | *Pitane.* | |
| | | *Apollonia.* | |
| | | *Myrina.* | |
| | *Iſai.* 66. | *Phocæa.* | |
| | | *Smyrna.* | *Apoc.* 2. |
| *Lydia.* | | *Erythræ.* | |
| | | *Laodicia.* | *Apoc.* 3. |
| | | *Carura.* | |
| | | *Thyatira.* | *Apoc.* 2. |
| *Æolis.* | | *Philadelphia.* | *Apoc.* 3. |
| | | *Pergamus.* | *Apoc.* 2. |
| | | *Cuma.* | |
| *Ionia.* | | *Epheſus.* | *Apoc.* 2. |
| | 1 *Mach.* 15. | *Sardis.* | *Apoc.* 3. |
| | | *Halicarnaſſus.* | 1 *Mach.* 15. |
| *Caria.* | | *Miletus.* | *Acts* 20. |
| *Doris.* | | | |

At *Cauros* certain Band with a company of harlots being there lodged, ſuddenly happened an Earthquake in the City, wherein the ſaid Band, with all his Serumpets, were ſwallowed up. *Pius* 2 *Papa, lib. de Deſcriptione cap.* 16.

| Countries. | | Cities. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ¶ Thus far reacheth the compaſs of *Natolia.* | | | |
| | | *Coloſſæ.* | *Col.* 1. |
| *Lycia.* | *Acts* 27. | *Patara.* | *Acts* 21. |
| | | *Pinara.* | |
| | | *Xanthus.* | |
| | | *Andriacæ.* | |
| | | *Myra.* | *Acts* 27. |
| *Galatia, vel Gallogrecia.* | *Acts* 16. | *Ancyræ.* | |
| | | *Gordium.* | |
| | | *Tharma.* | |
| *Paphlagonia.* | | *Peſenus.* | |
| | | *Amiſus.* | |
| | | *Sinope.* | |
| | | *Corambis.* | |
| | | *Perga.* | *Acts* 13. |
| *Pamphilia.* | *Acts* 2. | *Attalia.* | *Acts* 14. |
| | | *Aſpendus.* | |
| *Piſidia.* | *Acts.* | *Phaſelis.* | *Macch.* 15. |
| | | *Trapeſus.* | |
| | | *Temiſcyra.* | |
| | | *Comana Pontica.* | |
| *Cappadocia.* | | *Amaſia vel Eupatoria.* | |
| | | *Maſa vel Cæſarea.* | Here *Baſilius Magnus* was Biſhop. |
| | | *Nazziantium.* | |
| | | Here *Gregorius Nazianzenus* was Biſhop. | |
| | | *Comana Cappadocia.* | |
| | | *Miletena.* | |
| *Armenia Minor.* | | *Nicopolis.* | |
| | | *Leandis.* | |
| | | *Claudiopolis.* | |
| | | *Juliopolis.* | |
| | | *Tharſus.* | *Acts* 22. |
| | | * *Coricus.* | |
| | | *Solimuntis, vel Trajanopolis.* | |
| *Cilicia.* | | *Iſſus, vel Jajaſſa.* | |
| | | *Auguſta.* | *Acts* 27. |
| | | *Iconium.* | *Acts* 14. |
| | | *Lyſtra.* | *Acts.* 16. |
| | | *Derbe.* | *Acts* 14. |
| | | *Antiochia Piſidiæ.* | *Acts* 11. |
| *Laconia.* | | | |

The Country where St. *Paul* was born. * Another *Coricus* is alſo in the Ile of *Creta*.

¶ *Syria*

| Countries. | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|
| ¶ *Syria* comprehendeth in it divers particular Provinces, with their Cities; as followeth. | | |
| *Syria.* | *Acts* 15. | *Jerosolyma.* *Acts* 1.<br>*Cæsarea Stratonis.* *Acts* 8. |
| *Palestina Judea.* | | *Bethleem.* *Matth.* 2.<br>*Emaus.* *Mark* 1.<br>*Jericho.* *Matth.* 20.<br>*Joppe*, or *Joph.* 15.<br>*Japheth.* *Acts* 9.<br>*Tyberias.* *John* 6.<br>*Accaron.* *Josh.* 13. |
| *Chanaan.* | | *Azotus.* *Acts* 8.<br>*Ascalon.* *Judic.* 2.<br>*Gaza.* *Acts* 8. |
| Bersabee is a City in Juda, a 16 another in Idumea. | | *Bersabee.* *Josh.* 19. |
| *Samaria.* | *Acts* | *Antipatris.* *Acts* 23.<br>*Asharon.* *Acts* 9.<br>*Bethania.* *Mark* 11.<br>*Lydda.* *Acts* 9. |
| *Galilæa.* | *Matth.* 3. | *Nazareth.* *Matth.* 4.<br>*Capernaum.* *Matth.* 4. |
| *Phœnicia.* | *Acts* 11. | *Cana.* *John* 2.<br>*Tyrus.* *Luke* 6.<br>*Sydon, vel Sichem.* *Luke* 6.<br>*Ptolomais.* *Acts* 21. |
| * *Antiochia apud Orontem*, chief City in Syrie, where the Disciples of Christ were first named Christians. *Acts* 11. | *Damascene.* | *Cæsarea Philippi.* *Matth.* 16.<br>*Damascus.* *Gal.* 1. |
| * *Neapolis*, is a Citie also in *Macedonia*, mentioned in the Epistle of Saint Paul to *Titus*, *chap.* 1. | *Cœl-Syria.* | *Philadelphia.* *Apoc.* 1.<br>*Buthis, vel Pellæ.* |
| * *Seleucia*, is a City in *Syria*. Also another in *Pamphylia*, another in *Cilicia Pisidiæ*, another in *Cœlosyria*, and the *Mesopotamia* another. | *Cassiotis.* | * *Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theophilis.* *Acts* 11.<br>*Samosata.* |
| | *Comagena.* | *Antiochia, sub Tauro*<br>*Alexandria apud Issum.* |
| * In this *Laodicea* was the Councell kept which is called *Concilium Laodicenum*. There is another *Laodicea* in *Lydia*, near to *Colossa* in *Asia minor*, *Coloss.* 2. *Laodicea* also is the chief City in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, near to *Gelania*, *Acts* 18 & *Lim.* 6. | *Seleucis.* | * *Nicopolis.*<br>*Gephyra.*<br>*Gindarus.* |
| | *Laodicene.* | * *Seleucia.* *Act.* 13.<br>*Imma.*<br>** Laodicæa.* *Col.* 2.<br>*Paradisus*<br>*Jabruda.* |
| | *Apamene.* | *Nazamma.*<br>*Apamia.* |
| | *Idumæa.* *Mark* 3. | *Besamma, vel Bersabee.*<br>*Euleusa.*<br>*Massa.* |

¶ Thus far reacheth the Compass of *Syria*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Arabia.* | *Gal.* 1. 4. | *Petræa*, or *Nabatæa.*<br>*Felix.* { *Panchaia.* / *Sabæa.* }<br>*Deserta.* |
| *Mesopotamia.* | *Psal.* 59. | *Carra*, or *Charan*, where *Abraham* dwelt. *Acts* 7.<br>*Selencia.* |
| * In *Edessa* reigned King *Abgarus*, named Eusebius *lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. to whom Christ wrote, promising to send unto him after his death. | | * *Edessa*, which is now called *Orpha*, and in the story of *Tobias*, called *Rages.* |
| *Babylonia.* | *Dan.* 3. | *Bible.*<br>*Babylon, vel Baldach.* *Act.* 7. |
| In the Country of *Babylonia*, is also a certain Region appointed for Philosophers and Astronomers, called *Chaldea.* | *Jer.* 50. | *Orchoe, vel Urchoa, vel Hur Chaldæorum*, where *Abraham* was born. *Gen.* 11. 15.<br>*Patarve.* |
| | *Sarmatia.* | *Azara.*<br>*Gernesa. S. Georgius.* |
| | *Colchis.* | *Sinda.*<br>*Dioscuria vel Sebastia*, which is now called *Sujas.* |
| | *Iberia.* | *Phasis.*<br>*Lubium.* |
| | *Albania.* | *Artanissa.*<br>*Armachica.*<br>*Getara, vel Gangara.*<br>*Chabala.* |

| Countries. | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|
| *Armenia.* | *Gen.* 8. | *Armenia major* is divided from *Armenia minor* by the River *Euphrates.*<br>This *Armenia major* and *minor*, this day be both under the *Turks.* |

¶ And thus far reacheth the compass of *Asia minor*, with the Countries and Provinces to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the Faith of Christ, are now in a manner all subdued to the *Turks*.

¶ The Islands belonging to the Regions of *Asia minor* aforesaid, gotten by the *Turk*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Thinias.* | | | *Bithynia.* |
| *Tenedos.* | | | *Troas.* |
| *Chios* | *Acts* 20. | | *Lydia.* |
| *Pathmos.* | *Apoc.* 1. | | |
| *Possidium.* | | | *Æolis.* |
| *Samos.* | *Acts.* 20. | to | *Ionia.* |
| *Trogolium.* | *Acts* 20. | | |
| *Cnidus.* | *Acts.* 27. | | *Doris.* |
| *Coes, Cous.* | *Acts* 21. | | *Doris.* |
| *Carpathus.* | | | *Doris.* |
| *Rhodus.* | *Act.* 21. | | *Lycia.* |
| *Cyprus.* | *Acts* 11. | | |

Islands belonging to *Asia minor.*

¶ *Æneas Sylvius*, otherwise Pope *Pius* the Second, in describing *Asia Minor*, *chap.* 74. reciteth a certain Fact of a worthy Virgin; who at what time the *Turks* were besieging a certain Town in *Lesbos*, and had cast down a great part of the Walls, so that all the Townsmen had given over, putting on mans Harnes, stepped forth into the Breach, where not only she kept the *Turks* from entring in, but also slew of them a great sort. The Citizens seeing the rare Courage, and good success of the Maiden, took to them again their Hearts and Harnes, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the *Turks* were slain. The rest being repulsed from the Land, reculed into their Ships; who being then pursued by a Navy of *Calisa*, were worthily discomfited likewise upon the Sea. And thus was the Isle of *Lesbos* at that time by a poor Virgin, that is by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak Creature, preserved from the *Turks*. *Æneas Syl. Et Seb. Munst. lib.* 5.

This *Cyprus* King *Richard* the first did once subdue, fighting against the Saracens: *Eneas Sylvius de Europ. cap.* 74. A memorable fact of a Virgin, in defence of her Country.

Besides these Regions and Countries of *Asia minor* above described, *Sebast. Munster* in the fifth Book of his Cosmography declareth moreover, that the *Turks* and *Sultanes* have under their subjection, both *Arabia*, *Persia*, and also *India exterior*, wherein is *Calecute*. The which *Persia*, although it be under the *Sophi*, which is an enemy to the *Turk*, yet it is to be thought, that he is a *Sultane*, one of the *Turkish* and *Mahumetish* Religion. This *Persia* and *India* were once seasoned with Christs Gospel, as may appear by the Primitive Church. And thus have you the parts of *Asia* described, which in times past being almost all Christened, do now serve under the *Turk*.

*Ex select. Munst. Cosmog. lib.* 5. *in Præfat.*

*vide supra.*

After the description of *Asia*, let us next consider the Parts and Countries of *Africk*. Where although the greatest part either consisteth in Deserts desolate, or is possessed with *Prester John*, which professeth Christ and his Gospel; yet the *Turk* hath there also no little portion under his Dominion, as,

| Countries. | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|
| *Egyptus.* | *Matth.* 2. | *Alexandria.*<br>*Memphis.*<br>*Arsinoe.* |
| *Regnum Tunece.* | | *Charlago.* |
| *Africa Minor.* | | *Aphordisium.*<br>*Hippon.* Here Saint *Augustine* was Bishop. |
| *Cyrene.* | *Acts* 2. | |
| *Mauritania.* | | |

¶ A De-

¶ A deſcription of the Countries and Cities in *Europe*, which were before Chriſtened, and now are ſubdued and ſubject to the *Turk*.

| Countries. | | Cities. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Thracia.* | | *Europa.* | |
| | | *Conſtantinopolis*, or *Bizantium.* | |
| | | *Pera.* | |
| | | *Adrianopolis.* | |
| *Samothracia.* | *Acts* 16 | *Trajanopolis.* | |
| | | *Caliopis.* | |
| | | *Seſtus.* | |
| | | *Apollonia.* | |
| | | *Theſſalonica.* | Acts 17. |
| *Græcia.* | Acts 20 | *Philippi.* | Acts 16. |
| | | *Demetrias.* | |
| | | *Neapolis.* | Act. 16. |
| *Macedonia.* | Rom. 15. | *Amphipolis.* | Act. 17. |
| | | *Apollonia Mygdoniæ.* | Acts 17. |
| | | *Berrhæa.* | Acts 17. |
| *Theſſalia.* | | | |
| *Epyrus.* | | *Ambracia.* | |
| | | *Actium.* | |
| *Chaonia.* | | *Torona.* | |
| | | *Azelia.* | |
| *Threſprotia.* | | *Acarnanon.* | |
| *Amphilochia.* | | *Argos.* | |
| | | *Aſtacus.* | |
| *Ambrachia.* | | *Omphalium.* | |
| *Achaia.* | Rom. 15. | *Athenæ.* | |
| *Attica.* | | *Megaris.* | |
| *Beotia.* | | *Thebæ.* | |
| *Phocis.* | | *Delphos.* | |
| | | *Egris.* | |
| *Ætolia.* | | *Chalydon.* | |
| | | *Locris.* | |
| | | *Naupactus.* | |
| *Peloponneſus.* | | *Corinthus.* | Act. 17. |
| | | *Meſena.* | |
| *Corinthia.* | | *Tegea.* | |
| | | *Argos.* | |
| *Argia.* | | *Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta.* | 2 *Mach.* 5. |
| | | *Epidaurus.* | |
| | | *Helice.* | |
| *Laconia.* | | *Lerna.* | |
| | | *Leuctrum.* | |
| *Meſſenia.* | | *Methone.* | |
| | | *Mycenæ.* | |
| *Elis.* | | *Megalipolis.* | |
| | | *Nemea.* | |
| *Sicyona.* | | *Nauplea.* | |
| | | *Olympia.* | |
| *Arcadia.* | | *Sicyon.* | |
| | | *Ægyra.* | |

¶ Iſlands bordering about *Græcia*, won likewiſe by the *Turk* from the Chriſtians.

| Countries. | | Cities. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Euboea*, or *Nigroponius.* | | *Chelcis.* | |
| | | *Chariſtus.* | |
| | | *Cerinthus.* | |
| | | *Gereſtus.* | |
| | | *Pulchri Portus.* | Act. 27. |
| *Creta.* | Acts 17. | *Laſæa.* | Acts 27. |
| | | *Phœnice.* | Acts 17. |
| *Salmone.* | Acts 27. | | |
| *Clauda.* | Acts 27 | | |
| *Cycladæs.* | Inſulæ 53 | *Salamis.* | |
| | | *Delus.* | 1 Mach. 15. |
| *Cephalenia.* | | | |
| *Zacynthus*, or *Zanthus.* | | *Vide ſupra.* | |
| *Lemnos.* | | | |
| *Ithaca.* | | | |
| *Samos.* | Acts 20. | | |
| *Corcyra.* | | *Vide ſupra.* | |
| *Orcica.* | | | |

¶ After the *Turk* had ſubdued *Thracia* and *Græcia*, proceeding further into *Europe*, he invaded other Regions and Cities, which alſo he added to his Dition; as,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Rhætiaria.* | |
| | *Neſſus.* | |
| | *Ulpianum.* | |
| | *Scupi.* | |
| | *Siginduenum*, or *Singet.* | |
| | *Triballorum. Oſcius.* | |
| | *Triſta.* | |
| | *Axium*, or *Chilia.* | |
| *Dalmatia.* | 2 Tim. 4. | *Labacus, Metropolis.* |
| *Carinthia.* | | |
| | *Epidaurus*, or *Ragusium.* | |
| | *Milea*, or *Meleda.* | |
| *Corvatia.* | *Senia*, or *Segna.* | |
| | *Enona*, or *Hona.* | |
| | *Jadra*, or *Zara.* | |
| *Croatia.* | *Sebenica.* | |
| | *Stridon*, where Saint *Jerome* was born. | |
| *Iſtria.* | | |
| | *Quinque Eccleſiæ.* | |
| *Boſna.* | *Faitza, Metropolis.* | |
| | *Bulgaria*, was won of *Bajazetes* the *Turk* from the Crown of *Hungary*, through the unproſperous War of *Sigiſmundus*, at the field of *Nicopolis*, Anno 1395. This *Sigiſmundus*, was the Burner of *John Hus*, and the Perſecutor of his Doctrine. | |
| *Bulgaria.* | | |
| | *Tergoviſtus*, or *Tervis.* | |
| *Wallachia.* | *Huniad*; where *Joannes Huniades* was born. | |
| | *Hermenſtat.* | |
| | *Croneſtat.* | |
| *Tranſylvania*, or *Septem caſtra.* | *Saltzburg.* | |
| | *Alba Julia*, or *Weſſenburge.* | |
| | *Gyula.* | |
| *Servia.* | *Samandria.* | |
| | *Columbetz.* | |
| *Raſcia.* | *Walpo. Vid. Sup.* | |
| | *Novigradum.* | |
| *Moldavia.* | *Varna.* | |
| | *Buda*, or *Oſen.* | |
| *Hungaria.* | *Alba regalis.* | |
| | *Belgradum*, or *Taurinum.* | |
| | *Strigonium.* | |
| *Auſtria.* | *Varadinum.* | |
| | *Neapolis.* { *Major.* | |
| | *Peſtum.* { *Minor.* | |

¶ As I was writing hereof, a certain ſound of lamentable News was brought unto us, how the *Turk*, whom we had hoped before to have been repulſed by the Emperor *Maximilian* out of Chriſtendom, hath now of late, this preſent year 1566. got the Town of *Gyula* about *Tranſylvania*, after they had ſuſtained fixteen of his moſt forcible Aſſaults, deſtroying in the ſame moſt cruelly many thouſand of our Chriſtian brethren, men, women, and children; but becauſe we have no full certainty, we will refer the ſtory thereof to further Information.

The

KING Hen. 7.

# *The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures conſidered, touching the coming up and final ruine and deſtruction of this wicked Kingdom of the* TURK, *with the Revelations and foreſhewings alſo of other Authors concerning the ſame.*

Prophecies conſidered for the beginning and falling of the *Turks* Kingdom.

FOrſomuch as you have hitherto ſufficiently heard to what quantity and largeneſs the Dominion of the *Turks* hath increaſed, and do underſtand what cruel tyranny theſe wretched miſcreants have and do daily practice moſt heinouſly wheresoever they come againſt the ſervants and profeſſors of Chriſt; it ſhall not be unprofitable, but rather neceſſary, and to our great comfort, to conſider and examine in the Scriptures, with what Prophecies the holy Spirit of the Lord hath premoniſhed and forewarned us before of theſe heavy Perſecutions to come upon his people by this horrible Antichriſt. For as the government and conſtitution of times and ſtates of Monarchies and Policies fall not to us by blind chance, but be adminiſtred and allotted unto us from above, ſo it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a great alteration and mutation of Kingdoms, ſuch a terrible and general Perſecution of Gods people almoſt through all *Chriſtendom*, and ſuch a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and gendred by theſe *Turks*, cometh without the knowledge, ſufferance, and determination of the Lord before, for ſuch ends and purpoſes as his divine wiſdom doth beſt know. For the better evidence and teſtimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures ſufficient inſtruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly ſee to our great comfort how theſe grievous afflictions and troubles of the Church, though they be ſharp and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by mans working only, but even as the Lord himſelf hath appointed it, and doth permit the ſame.

Two things to be conſidered in the time and order of the Old Teſtament. The Scriptures, and the people.

And firſt to begin with the time of the Old Teſtament, let us ſeriouſly adviſe and ponder, not only the Scriptures and Prophecies therein contained, but alſo let us conſider the whole ſtate, order and regiment of that people; the Church I mean of the *Iſraelites*. For although the Scriptures and Prophets of the Old Teſtament were properly ſent to that people, and have their relation properly to things done, or that ſhould be done in that Commonwealth, of which Prophets *John Baptiſt* was the laſt and made an end, as our Saviour himſelf witneſſeth, ſaying, the Law and Prophets be unto the time of *John*, *&c.* Yet notwithſtanding the ſaid people of that Old Teſtament beareth a lively image and reſemblance of the Univerſal Church which ſhould follow, planted by the Son of God through the whole earth. So that as the Prophets of God ſpeaking to them from the Mouth and Word of God, propheſied what ſhould come to paſs in that people; ſo likewiſe the whole courſe and Hiſtory of thoſe *Iſraelites* exemplifieth and beareth a prophetical Image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the Univerſal Church of God diſperſed through the World, planted in Chriſt Jeſus his Son, according as *Philip Melanchthon*, gravely gathering upon the ſame, teſtifieth in divers places in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Daniel*.

*Phil. Melan. in Dan. Prophet.*

As firſt the Hiſtory of godly *Abel* ſlain by wicked *Cain*, what doth it import or propheſie, but the condition of the people and ſervants of God, which commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppreſſed by the contrary part which belongeth not to God?

Gen.

The like may be ſaid alſo of *Iſaac* and *Iſmael*; of *Jacob* and *Eſau*. Of whom thoſe two which were the children of promiſe, and belonged to the Election of God, were perſecuted in this world of the other which were rejected. Where moreover is to be noted concerning *Iſmael*, that of his Stock after the fleſh came the *Saracens*, whoſe Sect the *Turks* do now profeſs and maintain. And as *Iſmael* had but 12 Sons; ſo it were to be wiſhed of God, that this *Solyman*, which is the 12th of the *Turkiſh* Generation, may be the laſt. But of this better occaſion ſhall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The *Saracens* come of *Iſmael*. Reſemblance between the twelve Sons of *Iſmael*, and the *Ottoman Turks*.

4 Reg. 17.

Furthermore, of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, the ſacred Hiſtory ſo reporteth, that after they had a long ſeaſon continued together by the ſpace of eight or nine hundred years, at length, for their idolatry and tranſgreſſion of their forefathers Ten Tribes of them were cut off, and diſperſed among the *Gentiles* an hundred and thirty years before the Captivity of *Babylon*; ſo that but two Tribes only remained free, and they alſo at laſt, after an hundred and thirty years, were captived under the *Babylonians* for a certain time. No otherwiſe hath it hapned with the Church of Chriſt almoſt in the Univerſal World, of which Church the greateſt part, both in *Aſia*, in *Africa*, and almoſt in *Europe*) where the holy Apoſtles ſo laboured and travelled) we ſee now to be diſparkled among the *Turks*, and their Candleſticks removed (the Lord of his great grace reduce them again, *Amen.*) So that of twelve parts of *Chriſtendom*, which was once planted in Chriſt, ſcarce two parts remain clear, and they how long they ſhall ſo continue the Lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lord they eſcape the danger of the *Turks*, yet have they been ſo beaten with the Pope, that they had been better almoſt to have been in the *Turks* hands.

The old Church of the *Iſraelites* beareth a repreſentation or Image of the publick Church of Chriſt Jeſu.

Again, After the ſaid *Iſraelites* returned, being reſtored of *Cyrus*, let us conſider well their ſtory, the continuance of time, the manner of their regiments, and what afflictions they ſuſtained in the time of the *Macchabees*, and we ſhall ſee a lively repreſentation of theſe our days expreſſed in that Prophetical People, according as St. *Paul* writing of them ſheweth how all things hapned to them in Figures; that is, the actions and doings of that one Nation, be as Figures and Types of greater matters, what ſhall happen in theſe later times of the whole Church univerſally in Chriſt collected.

1 Cor. 1

So the tranſmigration and deliverance again of thoſe two Tribes, declareth to us the affliction of Chriſts Church for ſin; and yet that God will not utterly reject his people for his Sons ſake, as by manifold examples of the Church hitherto may well appear.

The Church of the Jews a figure of Chriſts Church.

Again, The continuance of the Law firſt given by *Moſes* unto the deſtruction of the ſaid people by *Titus*, amounteth to 1564 years; ſo we counting the age of the New Teſtament, and reckoning from the day of our Redemption unto this preſent, be come now to the year 1534, lacking but only three and thirty years of the full number.

*Ex Phi. Melanct. in Dan. cap. 9*

Likewiſe, In counting the years from their deliverance out of Captivity to the end of their diſſolution, we find 564 years, during which year as the Church of the *Jews* was not governed under the authority of Kings, but the High Prieſts took all the power and authority to themſelves; ſo we Chriſtians, for the ſpace eſpecially of theſe later 564 years, what have we ſeen and felt, but only the juriſdiction and domination of the Pope and High Prieſts playing the *Rex* in all Countries, and ruling the whole? whereby, by the count of the years, it is to be thought the day of the Lords coming not to be far off.

The times and years of the old Church, compared with the new. The rule and dominion of the High Prieſts in the *Jews* Commonwealth, and our Prelates compared.

Furthermore, in thoſe later years of the *Jews* Kingdom, what troubles and afflictions that people ſuſtained 300 years together, but chiefly, the laſt 166 years before the coming of Chriſt, by *Antiochus* and his fellows, the Hiſtory of the *Macchabees* can report. Wherein we have alſo notoriouſly to underſtand the miſerable vexations and perſecutions of Chriſtian Churches in theſe later ends of the World by Antichriſt. For by *Antiochus* Antichriſt (no doubt) is figured and repreſented. This *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Magnus*, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* his Son, came of the Stock of *Seleuchus Nicanor*; much like as the *Mahumetes*, the *Turk*, and *Solymannus* came of the ſtock of *Ottomannus*. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, That like as of the ſaid *Seleucus* iſſued Twelve *Syrian* Kings one after another of that generation, which reigned over the *Iſraelites* with much ſeverity and tyranny; ſo of this Deviliſh Generation of *Ottomannus* have come Twelve *Turkiſh* Tyrants, whereof this *Solyman* is now the twelfth; God grant he may be the laſt. And

*Antiochus* beareth a figure of Antichriſt.

The Family of *Antiochus*.

The Family of the *Turks*

as the two laſt *Antiochi*, being Sons of the two Brethren, did fight together for the Kingdom, and in fighting were both ſlain, and ſhortly after the Kingdom fell to the *Romans*; ſo the Lord grant for Chriſts ſake, that the bloudy brood of this old *Solyman*, (which has reigned now ſix and forty years) may ſo fight together, and periſh in their own bloud, that the bloudy tyranny of theirs may come to a final end for ever, Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appear to ſuch as be diſpoſed to meditate more upon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the Reader, to ſet before his eyes, in Table-wiſe the Catalogue of both theſe Antichriſtian Families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the Twelve *Syrian* Kings, then of the Twelve *Ottomanni*, in like number and order. {KING Hen. 7.}

# A Compariſon between the *Syrians* and the *Turks*.

Reſemblance between the *Syrian* Kings, and the *Turks*.

| The *Syrians*. | | The *Turks*. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | *SELEUCUS.* 32 | I. | *OTTOMANNUS.* |
| II. | *Antiochus Soter.* 19 | II. | *Orchanes*, he ſlew his two Brethren. |
| III. | *Antiochus Theos*, who killed *Bernice* his Mother-in-Law, and his young Brother. 15 | III. | *Amurathes*, he put out the eyes of *Sauces* his own Son. 23 |
| IV. | *Seleucus Callinicus*, with *Antiochus Hierax* his Brother, which two Brethren warred one againſt the other. 20 | IV. | *Bajazetes*, he ſlew *Solymannus* his Brother. |
| V. | *Antiochus Magnus.* 36 | V. | *Calepinus*, The *Greek* ſtories made no mention of this *Calepinus*, the *Latine* ſtories ſay that *Calepinus* and *Orchanes* were both one, and that he was ſlain by *Mahumetes* his Brother. 6 |
| VI. | *Seleucus Philopator.* 12 | VI. | *Orchanes*, whom *Moſes* his Uncle did ſlay. |
| VII. | *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or rather *Epimanes.* | VII. | *Mahumetes* 1. He ſlew *Muſtaphas* his Brother. 14 |
| VIII. | *Antiochus Eupator.* | VIII. | *Amurathes* 2. He ſlew *Muſtaphas* his Brother. 34 |
| IX. | *Demetrius* Brother of *Epiphanes*, who killed *Eupator* his Couſin. | IX. | *Mahumetes* 2. He ſlew his two Brethren *Turcinus* an infant, and *Calepinus.* 37 |
| X. | *Demetrius Nicanor*, whom *Antiochus Sedetes* his Brother expulſed from his Kingdom. | X. | *Bajazetes* 2. He warred againſt his Brother *Demes*, which *Demes* was afterward poyſoned by Pope *Alexander 6th.* 33 |
| XI. | *Antiochus, Sedetes.* Theſe two laſt being Brethren had two Sons. | XI. | *Zelymus*, He poyſoned *Bajazetes* his Father, and his two Brethren *Acomates* and *Corcutus*, with all their Children, his own Couſins. 7 |
| XII. | *Antiochus Griphus*, and *Antiochus Cizicenus.* Theſe two, ſtriving together for the Kingdom, were both ſlain, and ſo not long after, the Kingdom of *Syria* came to the hands of *Tygranes* King of *Armenia*, and ſo being taken from him came to the *Romans* in the time of *Pompeius.* | XII. | *Solymannus*, He ſlew *Muſtaphas* his own Son, and was alſo the death of *Gianger* his ſecond Son. 46 |

THeſe two peſtilent Families and Generations, riſing out (doubtleſs) from the bottomleſs Pit; to plague the people of God, as in number of ſucceſſion they do not much differ; ſo in manner of their doings and wicked abominations they be as near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the People and Church of Chriſt, both murtherers and parricides of their own Brethren and Kindred, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole World. Wherein we have all to learn and note, by the way, the terrible anger of Almighty God againſt ſin, and wickedneſs of men.

The time of Antichriſt examined by Prophecies.

One Antichriſt prefigured another.

Furthermore, who ſo is diſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of times, and to mark how things be diſpoſed by the marvellous operation of Gods Providence, ſhall find the times alſo of theſe two adverſaries in much like ſort to concur and agree. For in conſidering with our ſelves both the Teſtaments and Churches of God, the firſt of the *Jews*, the ſecond of the Chriſtians; look what time had the *Syrian* Kings to rage then in *Jeruſalem*, the ſame proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the *Turks* to murther the Chriſtians; ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the Book of *Macchabees* may appear, *Antiochus Epiphanes* was about the 191 year before the Paſſion of our Saviour, and day of our Redemption; ſo now caſting the ſame number from this preſent year backward, we ſhall find it to be about the ſame year and time, when *Bajazetes*, the fourth *Turk* after *Ottoman*, began to remove his Imperial ſeat from *Burſa* in *Bithynia* to *Adrianople* in *Europe*, which is a City of *Thracia*. In which year and time began all the miſchief in *Europe*, as is to be ſeen before, and this was the year of our Lord 1375. Unto the which year if we add 191. it maketh 1566. according to the Prophecy of the *Apocalyps*, Chapter 20. where it is propheſied of *Gog* and *Magog*, that they ſhall compaſs about the Tents of the Saints, and the welbeloved City, by the which welbeloved City is meant (no doubt) *Europa*; and this was in the year aboveſaid 1375. Although touching the preciſe points of years and times, it is not for us greatly to be requiſite therein; but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may help to knowledge, I would not wiſh negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of *Antiochus* and his fellows. Apoc. 20.

Now what cruelty this *Antiochus* exerciſed againſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the Hiſtory of the *Macchabees*; where we read that this *Antiochus* in the 8th year of his Reign, in his ſecond coming to *Jeruſalem*, firſt gave forth in commandment, that all the *Jews* ſhould relinquiſh the Law of *Moſes*, and worſhip the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, which he ſet up in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. The Books of *Moſes* and of the Prophets he burned. He ſet Garriſons of Soldiers to ward the Idol. In the City of *Jeruſalem* he cauſed the Feaſts and Revels of *Bacchus* to be kept, full of all filth and wickedneſs. Old Men Women and Virgins, ſuch as would not leave the Law of *Moſes*, with cruel torments he murthered. The Mothers that would not circumciſe their Children, he ſlew. The Children that were circumciſed he hanged up by the necks. The Temple he ſpoiled and waſted. The Altar of God, and Candleſtick of Gold, with the other orna- Mac. lib. 1. cap. 1. The cruelty of Antiochus againſt Gods people.

KING Hen. 7. Ornaments and Furniture of the Temple, partly he caſt out, partly he carried away. Contrary to the Law of God he cauſed them to offer and to eat Swines fleſh. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them either to leave their law, or to loſe their lives. Among whom, beſides many other, with cruel torments, he put to death a godly Mother with her ſeven Sons, ſending his cruel Proclamations through the whole Land, that whoſoever kept the obſervances of the Sabbath, and other Rites of the Law, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof the City of *Jeruſalem* was left void and deſolate of all good men, but there was a great number that were contented to follow and obey his idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the King, and became enemies unto their Brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of miſery could be ſhewed in any place, which was not there ſeen. Of the tyranny of this *Antiochus* it is hiſtoried at large in the Book of *Macchabees*; and *Daniel* prophecying before of the ſame, declareth that the people of the *Jews* deſerved no leſs for their ſins and tranſgreſſions.

1 Mac. 1. Dan. 9.

By conſent of all Writers, this *Antiochus* beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, who was to follow in the later end of the World, and is already come, and worketh what he can againſt us. Although, as Saint *John* ſaith, there have been, and be many Antichriſts, as parts and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are forerunners; yet to ſpeak of the head and principal Antichriſt, and great enemy of Chriſts Church, he is come in the later end of the world, at what time ſhall be ſuch tribulation as never was ſeen before; whereby is meant (no doubt) the *Turk*, prefigured by this *Antiochus*. By this Antichriſt I do alſo mean all ſuch, which following the ſame Doctrine of the *Turks*, think to be ſaved by their works and demerits, and not by their Faith only in the Son of God, of what title and profeſſion elſe ſoever they be; eſpecially if they uſe the like force and violence for the ſame, as he doth, *&c.*

Antiochus a figure of the Turk.

Ex Lyra in Gloſſ. ordin. c. 1 Macch.

The name of Antichriſt, what it containeth.

Of the tyranny of this *Antiochus* aforeſaid, and of the tribulations of the Church in the later times, both of the *Jews* Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let us hear and conſider the words of *Daniel* in the 11th Chapter, and alſo in his 7th Chapter, prophecying of the ſame as followeth:

Dan. 11. *He ſhall return and fret againſt the holy Covenant; ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall even return and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy Covenant. And arms ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily Sacrifice, and they ſhall ſet up the abominable deſolation. And ſuch as wickedly break the Covenant ſhall flatter with him deceitfully; but the people that do know their God ſhall prevail and proſper. And they that underſtand among the people ſhall inſtruct many; yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame, by captivity and by ſpoil many days.*

*Now when they ſhall fall they ſhall be holpen with a little help, but many ſhall cleave unto them feignedly. And ſome of them of underſtanding ſhall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out; for there is a time appointed. And the King ſhall do what him liſt; he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnifie himſelf againſt all that is God, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Gods, and ſhall proſper till the wrath be accompliſhed, for the determination is made. Neither ſhall he reguard the God of his Fathers, nor the deſires of women, nor care for any God; for he ſhall magnifie himſelf above all. But in his place ſhall he honour the God* Mauzzim, *and the God whom his Fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold and with ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſant things.*

*Thus ſhall he do in the holds of* Mauzzim *with a ſtrange God, whom he ſhall acknowledge; he ſhall increaſe his glory, and ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gain. And at the end of time ſhall the King of the* South *puſh at him, and the King of the* North *ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind, with Chariots, and with Horſemen, and with many Ships, and he ſhall enter into the Countrys, and ſhall overflow and paſs through. He ſhall enter alſo into a pleaſant land, and many Countries ſhall be overthrown: but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even* Edom *and* Moab, *and the chief of the children of* Ammon. *He ſhall ſtretch forth his hands alſo upon the Countrys, and the land of* Egypt *ſhall not eſcape, but he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and of ſilver, and over all the precious things of* Egypt, *and of the* Lybians, *and of the black* Moors *where he ſhall paſs. But the tidings out of the* Eaſt *and the* North *ſhall trouble him; and therefore he ſhall go forth with great wrath to deſtroy and root out many. And he ſhall plant the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas in the glorious and holy Mountain, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him.*

To this place of *Daniel* above prefixed, might alſo be added the Prophecy of the ſaid *Daniel* written in the 7th Chapter, and much tending to the like effect; where he entreating of his Viſion of four Beaſts (which ſignifie the four Monarchies) and ſpeaking now of the fourth Monarchy, hath theſe words: Dan. 7.

*After this, I ſaw in the viſions by night, and behold the fourth beaſt was grim and horrible, and marvellous ſtrong. It had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue under his feet; and it was unlike the other Beaſts that were before it, for it had ten horns. As I conſidered the horns, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the firſt horns pluckt away. And behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking preſumptuous things, and ſeemed more ſtout than the other. Which horn alſo (when I looked on) made battel with the Saints, and prevailed againſt them; until the old aged came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the higheſt, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints ſhould have the Kingdom.*

Thus have you heard the plain words of *Daniel*. In the which as he doth manifeſtly deſcribe the coming of *Antiochus* the great adverſary, toward the later end of the *Jews*; ſo by the ſame *Antiochus* is figured alſo to us the great adverſary of Chriſt, which is the *Turk*.

Although ſome there be notwithſtanding, which with great learning and judgment do apply this place of *Daniel* above recited, not to the *Turk*, but rather to the Pope, and that for ſix or ſeven ſpecial cauſes herein touched and noted. Vide Rodul. Gualt. de Antichriſto.

The firſt note.

The firſt is this, That the wicked tranſgreſſors of the Covenant ſhall joyn with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which ſhall pollute the Tabernacle of ſtrength, and take away the perpetual ſacrifice, and bring in the abomination of deſolation.

The 2d note.

The ſecond note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among the people ſhall teach many, and that they ſhall fall upon the ſword, into fire and captivity, and ſhall be baniſhed, whereby they ſhall be tryed, choſen, and made bright and pure, *&c.* All which (ſay they) is not among the *Turks* to be ſeen, but only in the Popes Church; where the faithful preachers and teachers of the people are ſlain and burned, and go to wrack, *&c.* Where likewiſe it followeth, that they ſhall be holpen againſt Antichriſt, and that many falſe brethren ſhould joyn unto them diſſemblingly, *&c.* To this they alledge, that the Chriſtians have no ſuch help againſt the *Turk*, whereunto ſuch falſe brethren ſhould joyn themſelves, as is and hath been commonly ſeen among the Chriſtians againſt the Pope, from time to time, almoſt in all Countries; as in *Germany* by the Proteſtants, and free Cities; in *England* in King *Henry's* time by the Lord *Cromwel*, and afterward by King *Edward*, and now by Queen *Elizabeth*; in *Scotland* by the godly Nobility; in *France*, by the Queen of *Navar* and her Son; and alſo by the Prince of *Condy* and the worthy Admiral, and his two brethren, and many others; in *Flanders*, by them whom the Regent called Beggers; ſo as was in the time of the *Macchabees*, againſt *Antiochus*. Helps of Chriſtians againſt the Pope.

The 3d note.

Thirdly, That the King ſhall exalt himſelf above all that hath the name of God, and ſhall lift up his mouth to ſpeak preſumptuouſly againſt God.

The 4th note.

Fourthly, That he careth not for the deſires of women; which may ſeem to note how the Popes Doctrine ſhall forbid the honeſt and lawful marriage in Church-men.

The 5th note.

Mauzzim the Popes God.

The fifth ſpecialty which they apply to the Pope, is that which followeth in the Prophet ſaying, *Neither ſhall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor any God; but inſtead of him ſhall ſet up his God* Mauzzim, *and ſhall wor-*

*worſhip him with ſilver and gold, and precious ſtone, &c.* which they do apply to the Pope, ſetting up his God of bread, and worſhipping him with gliſtering golden ornaments, and moſt ſolemn ſervice.

The ſixth Note.

Sixthly, It followeth, *and he ſhall increaſe them with much glory and riches, and ſhall divide unto them lands and poſſeſſions, &c.* meaning that the Pope having dominion over treaſures of gold and ſilver, and all precious things of the land, ſhall indue his Cardinals, Prelates, his flattering Doctors, with Friers Monks and Prieſts, and all ſuch as ſhall take his part, with great priviledges, liberties, revenues and poſſeſſions. And thus I ſay, ſome there be which apply this Prophecy of the ſeventh and eleventh Chapters of *Daniel* unto the Biſhop of *Rome*. Whom although I take to be an extream Perſecutor of Chriſts Church; yet I judge rather thoſe two Chapters of *Daniel* concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten horns, and the great deſtroyer of the pleaſant Land and glorious holy Mountain, to mean firſt *Antiochus*, and by him ſecondly to mean the great Antichriſt, the *Turk*; who hath now ſet already the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas, according to the Prophecies of *Daniel*, as is aboveſaid.

The ſeventh and 11th. Chapters of *Daniel*, mean the great Antichriſt, the *Turk*.

Over and beſides theſe Prophecies above alledged, there may be added alſo the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, *cap.* 39. ſpeaking of *Gog* and *Magog*; which as it may be applied to the oppreſſion of the *Jews* under the heathen multitude, which ſtopped the building of the City, and under the *Syrian* Kings, &c. yet in the ſame alſo are expreſſed the calamities and afflictions of Chriſts Church in theſe later times, under the *Saracens* and the *Turks*, *&c.*

*Ezek.* Chap. 38. 39. *Gog* and *Magog*.

Proceeding further in this matter, let us come now to the Propheſies of the New Teſtament, and mark the words of St. *Paul*, writing to the *Theſſalonians*, which then were Chriſtened, and now either are *Turkiſh*, or under the *Turk*, which words be theſe, *Be ye not ſuddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter as ſent from us, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing firſt, and that wicked man be revealed, the ſon of perdition, which is an adverſary, and is extolled above all power, and that which is called God; ſo that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, boaſting himſelf to be God, &c.* Although this defection and departing may have a double underſtanding, as well of the Popes ſect (which is gone and departed from the free juſtification by faith only in Chriſt through the promiſe of Grace) as of the *Turks*; yet leaving a while to ſpeak of the Pope, becauſe it appeareth more notoriouſly in the *Turk*, we will chiefly apply it to him; in whom ſo aptly it doth agree, that unleſs this great defection from faith in ſo many Churches had hapned by the *Turk*, it had been hard to underſtand the Apoſtles mind, which now by the Hiſtory of theſe *Turks* is eaſie and evident to be known, conſidering what a ruin hath hapned to the Church of Chriſt by theſe miſerable *Turks*, what Empires, Nations, Kingdoms, Countries, Towns and Cities be removed from the Name and profeſſion of Chriſt, how many thouſands, and infinite multitudes of Chriſtian men and children, in *Aſia*, in *Africk*, and in *Europe*, are carried away from Chriſts Church to *Mahumets* Religion, ſome to ſerve for the *Turks* Guard among the *Janizarites*, ſome for Soldiers, ſome for Miners, ſome for Gunners, to fight and war againſt the Chriſtians; ſo that the moſt part of all the Churches, planted once by the Apoſtles, are now degenerated into *Turks*, only a ſmall handful of Chriſtians reſerved yet in theſe Weſt parts of *Europe*, of the which ſmall reſidue what ſhall alſo become ſhortly, except Chriſt himſelf do help, Chriſt only himſelf doth know. How great this defection hath been, ſpoken of by St. *Paul*, thou mayeſt ſee (gentle Reader) in the Table above deſcribed.

The Propheſies of the New Teſtament concerning the *Turk*. 2 Theſ. 2

The defection in time of Antichriſt declared.

*Vide ſupra.*

Notwithſtanding this Text of the holy Apoſtle (as I aforeſaid) may be verified alſo with no leſs reaſon upon the Biſhop of *Rome*, than upon the *Turk*, but for that he is a man of ſin, that is, his ſeat and City is a great maintainer of wickedneſs, and alſo for that he is an adverſary, that is, contrary in all his doings and proceedings to Chriſt.

The place of Saint *Paul*, 2 *Theſ.* 2. applied to the Pope.

Thirdly, For that he ſitteth in the Temple of God, and ſo did not *Mahumet*.

Fourthly, Becauſe he is an exalter of himſelf, and ſitteth more like a god than a man in *Rome*, whereof ſee more in the Book ſet forth in *Engliſh*, called, *The Conteſtations of the Popes*.

{KING Henry}

Fifthly, For that he ſeduceth, and hath ſeduced by his Apoſtaſie the moſt part of all Chriſtendom from the Doctrine and free promiſes of God, into a wrong and ſtrange way of ſalvation, which is not to be juſtified freely before God only by our Faith in Chriſt his well beloved Son, (unto the which Faith the promiſe of God freely and graciouſly hath annexed all our ſalvation only, and to no other thing) but hath taught us to work our ſalvation by an infinite number of other things. Infomuch, that he bindeth the neceſſity of our ſalvation alſo to this, that we muſt believe (if we will be ſaved) and receive him to be the Vicar of Chriſt in earth, *&c.*

*Ex Bonifacio Extravag.*

But to return again unto the *Turks*, among all the Propheciesboth of the Old Teſtament and of the New, there is none that painteth out the Antichriſtian Kingdom of the *Turks*, better than doth the *Revelation* of Saint *John*, whoſe words let us weigh and conſider. Who in the *Apocalyps 9.* where he ſpeaketh of opening the Seventh and laſt Seal, (which ſignifieth the laſt age of the world) and there uniting of the Seven Trumpets of the Seven Angels, at the ſounding of the Sixth Angel ſaith, *Looſe the four Angels which are bound in the great River Euphrates. And the four Angels were looſed, which were ready both day, and hour, and month, and year, to ſlay the third part of men. And the number of Horſemen were twenty thouſand times ten thouſand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I ſaw in a viſion horſes, and them that ſat on them, having fiery Habergions, and of Jacinth-ſtone, and of Brimſtone, and the heads of the horſes were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouths went forth fire, and ſmoke, and brimſtone; of theſe three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, ſmoke, and brimſtone, which proceeded out of their mouths, &c.*

Apoc. 9.

By the Seventh Seal is meant the ſeventh and laſt Age of the World, which laſt Age of the World is from Chriſt to the Judgment and Reſurrection of the Dead.

Trumpets of the Seven Angels in the *Apocalypſe* expounded.

By the Seven Angels with their Seven Trumpets is ſignified the ſeven Plagues that come in this ſeventh and laſt Age of the World.

By the Sixth Trumpet of the ſixth Angel is meant the ſixth Plague coming laſt and next before the Plague of the great Judgment-day, which ſixth Plague is here deſcribed to come by the Eaſt Kings, that is, by the *Turks*, as followeth to be ſeen.

The ſixth Trumpet.

By looſing the Angels which had rule of the great River *Euphrates*, is ſignified the letting out of the Eaſt Kings, that is, the *Turks* out of *Scythia*, *Tartaria*, *Perſia*, and *Arabia*, by whom the third part of Chriſtendom ſhall be deſtroyed, as we ſee it this day hath come to paſs.

Looſing of the Angels upon the river *Euphrates*.

It followeth in the Prophecy, *Their power ſhall be in their mouths, and in their tayls. For their tayls ſhall be like Serpents, having heads, and with them they hurt, &c.* Meaning that theſe *Turks* with the words of their mouths ſhall threaten great deſtruction of fire and ſword, to them that will not yield unto them, and in the end, when the Chriſtians ſhall yield unto them, truſting to their promiſes, they like Serpents ſhall deceive them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the ſtory of the *Turks* above paſt.

Apoc. 9.

The like Prophecy alſo, after the like words and ſenſe, is to be ſeen and read in the ſixteenth Chapter of the *Apocalypſe*, where Saint *John* entreating of ſeven Cups filled with the wrath of the Living God, given to the hands of ſeven Angels, by one of the four Beaſts (that is, in the time of one of the four Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of *Rome*) ſpeaketh likewiſe of the ſixth Angel, *which poured his vial of Gods wrath upon the great River Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried up, that the way of the Kings of the Eaſt ſhould be prepared, &c.*

Apoc. 16

The Four Beaſts in the *Apocalyps* meant the four Monarchies.

By the ſixth Angel with the ſixth Vial is meant, as before the laſt Plague ſave one, that ſhall come upon the Chriſtians. By the Kings of the Eaſt are meant the

*Saracens*,

{KING Rettn. 7.} *Saracens*, and twelve *Ottoman Turks*. By drying up the River of *Euphrates*, is ſignified the way of theſe *Turks* to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the Eaſt to the Weſt parts of the World, to moleſt and afflict the Chriſtians. It followeth more in the Text. *And I ſaw three unclean ſpirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe prophet, for they are the ſpirits of devils, doing wonders, to go unto the Kings of the whole earth, to aſſemble and gather them together to the battel againſt the day of the great God omnipotent, &c.* And it followeth ſhortly after, *And he aſſembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrew Armagedon, that is, a trap or train of deſtruction.* And immediately it followeth in the ſame place, *And the ſeventh Angel poured out his Vial in the air, and a mighty voice came from Heaven, out of the Throne, ſaying, factum eſt, it is done or finiſhed, &c.* Whereby it is to be underſtood, that toward the laſt conſummation of the World great force ſhall be ſeen, and a mighty Army of the enemies ſhall be collected and gathered againſt the People and Saints of the higheſt, and then cometh the conſummation, with *factum eſt, &c.*

The Kings of the Eaſt. Drying up of *Euphrates*. Iſa. 11.

Wherefore it is not for nought that the holy Spirit of God in the ſame place, a little before the ſixth Angel doth pour out his Vial, doth exhort all the faithful, ſaying, *Behold, I come like a thief in the night, Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, leſt he walk naked, and men ſee his filthineſs, &c.*

*Ibidem.* An exhortation of the Holy Ghoſt to the faithful.

*Nicholas de Lyra*, and *Paulus* Biſhop of *Burdens*, and *Matthias Dorinke* writing upon the 13th Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, and expounding the myſtery of the ſecond Beaſt riſing out of the earth, having the horns of a Lamb, *&c.* do apply the ſame to *Mahumet* and the *Turks*, with a ſolemn Declaration made upon the ſame. Which interpretation of theirs, although in ſome points it may ſeem to have ſome appearance of probability, neither can it be denied but that *Mahumet* and the *Turk* be peſtilent and picked enemies of Chriſt our Lord, and moſt bitter Perſecutors of his Church; yet as touching the proper and natural meaning of the Apoſtle in that place, ſpeaking of the falſe Lamb, &c. if we conſider well all the circumſtances of that Beaſt, and mark the conſequence of the Text, both of that which goeth before and followeth after, we muſt needs grant, that *Nicholas de Lyra* with his fellows, and with all ſuch like of the Popes School that follow that School, be deceived, and that the deſcription and interpretation of that falſe horned Lamb muſt neceſſarily be applied only to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and none other, which is to be proved by ſix principal cauſes or arguments.

*Apoc.* 13. The Prophecy of *Apoc.* 13. diſcuſſed.

The Beaſt having horns like the Lamb, muſt needs mean the Pope.

The firſt is, for that this Beaſt is deſcribed to bear the horns of a Lamb; By the which Lamb, no doubt, is meant Chriſt. By the horns of the Lamb is ſignified the outward ſhew or reſemblance of Chriſt our Saviour; which ſhew or reſemblance can have no relation to *Mahumet*, for that he taketh himſelf to be above Chriſt, and Chriſt as an excellent Prophet of God ſitting at his feet. Wherefore ſeeing *Mahumet* cometh neither as equal to Chriſt, nor as Vicar under Chriſt, this Prophecy cannot agree to him, but only to him which openly in plain words proteſteth, that all Chriſts Lambs and Sheep not ſingularly, but univerſally through the whole world, are committed to him as Vicar of Chriſt, and ſucceſſor of *Peter*, and that all men muſt confeſs the ſame of neceſſity, or elſe they are none of Chriſts ſheep, *&c.* Wherein it is eaſie to ſee where the pretenſed horns of the Lamb do grow.

The firſt reaſon.

*Bo Boniface. 8. Extrav de Majorit. & obed.*

The ſecond Argument, *And he ſpake like the Dragon, &c.* A Lambs Horns and the Mouth of a Dragon do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, ſo neither can they be found in any perſon, either *Turk* or other (if we judge truly) ſo lively, as in the Biſhop of *Rome*. When thou hearеſt him call himſelf *The Apoſtolical Biſhop, The Vicar of Chriſt, The Succeſſor of* Peter, *The Servant of Gods Servants, &c.* Thou ſeeſt in him the two Horns of a Lamb, and wouldſt think him to be a Lamb in deed, and ſuch a one as would waſh your feet for humility; but hear him ſpeak, and you ſhall find him a Dragon. See and read the Epiſtle of Pope *Martin* the Fifth above mentioned, charging, commanding, and threatning Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Rectors, Conſuls, Proconſuls with their Shires, Counties and Univerſities of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Villages, and other places. See the anſwer of Pope *Urban* the ſecond, and his meſſage to King *William Rufus*. Behold the works and doings of Pope *Innocent* againſt King *John*.

The ſecond reaſon. {Aſino 1553}

*Vide ſupra.*

Note alſo the anſwer of another Pope to the King of *England*, which for the price of the Kings Head would not grant unto him the inveſting of his Biſhops. Mark well the words and doings of Pope *Hildebrand* againſt the Emperor *Henry* the fourth; alſo of Pope *Alexander* the ſecond, treading upon the neck of *Fredericus Barbaroſſa*, not like a Lamb treading upon a Dragon, but like a Dragon treading upon a Lamb; ſo that his own Verſe might be turned upon himſelf, *Tanquam aſpis & baſiliſcus ſuper oviculam ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco conculcans agnum.* Conſider moreover the behaviour, manner, condition, and property almoſt of all the Popes which have been theſe ſix hundred years, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous than their own doings and words can ſpeak and give teſtimony againſt themſelves.

The Pope both the horns of a Lamb, but the mouth of a Dragon.

It followeth moreover in the ſame Prophecy of the *Apocalyps* for the third Argument, *And he doth all the power of the firſt Beaſt preſently before his face, and cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to honour the firſt Beaſt, the ſtripe of whoſe deadly wound was cured, &c.*

The third reaſon.

In this Prophecy two things are to be noted; firſt, what the firſt Beaſt is, whoſe power the ſecond Beaſt doth execute. Secondly, what this ſecond Beaſt is which ſo doth exerciſe his power in his ſight. The firſt of theſe Beaſts in the *Apocalyps* deſcribed, having ſeven heads and ten horns, muſt needs ſignifie the City of *Rome*, which may eaſily be proved by two demonſtrations. Firſt, by the expoſition of the 17 Chapter of the ſame *Apocalyps*, where is declared and deſcribed the ſaid Beaſt to ſtand of ſeven Hills, and to contain ten Kings, having the whole power of the Dragon given; and alſo the ſame City to be named *The Whore of Babylon, drunken with the bloud of the Saints*. All which properties joyned together, can agree in no wiſe but only to the Heathen Empire of *Rome*, which City at that time of writing theſe Prophecies had the government of the whole world. The ſecond demonſtration or evidence may be reduced out of the number of the Months aſſigned to this Beaſt, *Apoc.* 13. For ſo it is written, that this Beaſt had power to make, that is, to work his malice againſt Chriſts people forty two months, which months counted by Sabbaths of years, (that is, every month for ſeven years) maketh up the juſt number of thoſe years in which the Primitive Church was under the terrible Perſecutions of the Heathen Emperors of *Rome*, as is afore ſpecified.

The two Beaſts in the 13th chap. of the *Apocalyps* expounded.

A deſcription of the City and Monarchy of *Rome*.

Which thing thus ſtanding, proved and confeſſed, that the firſt Beaſt muſt needs ſignifie the Empire and City of *Rome*, then muſt it neceſſarily follow that the ſecond Beaſt with the Lambs Horns, muſt ſignifie the Biſhop and Pope of the ſame City of *Rome*. The reaſon whereof is evident and apparent by that which followeth in the Prophecy, where it is declared, that the ſecond Beaſt, having two Horns of a Lamb, received and exerciſed all the power of the firſt Beaſt, before or in the ſight of the ſaid Beaſt, which cannot be verified either in the *Turks* or in any other, but only in the Pope of *Rome*, who (as you ſee) receiveth, uſurpeth and deriveth to himſelf all the power of that City and Monarchy of *Rome*; inſomuch that he ſaith, that when *Conſtantine* or *Ludovicus* yielded unto him the rule and Kingdom of that City, he gave him but his own, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

The deſcription of the Beaſt with the 2 Horns of the Lamb, *Apoc.* 13.

The Pope having all the rule and power of *Rome*.

And this authority or power over all the Empire of *Rome* he worketh not in *Aſia*, or in *Conſtantinople* as the *Turk* doth, but in the ſight of the Beaſt which gave him the power, that is, in the City of *Rome* it ſelf, which is the firſt Beaſt here in this Prophecy of the *Apocalyps* deſcribed.

Fourthly, It followeth more, *And he cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worſhip and honour the firſt Beaſt, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c.* The interpretation of this part, as alſo of all the other

*Apoc.* 13. The fourth reaſon.

parts of the ſame Chapter, ſtandeth upon the definition of the firſt Beaſt; for it being granted, as cannot be denied, that the firſt Beaſt ſignifieth the City and Empire of *Rome*; it muſt conſequently follow, that the Biſhop (whom we call the Pope) of the ſaid City of *Rome*, muſt be underſtood by the ſecond Beaſt, forſomuch as neither *Turk* nor any other, but only the Biſhop of *Rome* hath holden up the eſtimation and dignity of that City, which began to be in ruine and decay by the *Vandalians*, *Goths*, *Herulians* and *Lombards*, about the year of our Lord 456, but afterward by the Biſhop of *Rome* the priſtine ſtate and honour of that City revived again, and flouriſhed in as great veneration as ever it did before. And that is it which the Holy Ghoſt ſeemeth here to mean of the firſt Beaſt, ſaying, *That he had a wound of the Beaſt, and was cured.* For ſo it followeth.

The 5th reaſon.

Fifthly, *And he cauſed all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beaſt, which had the ſtripe of the ſword and lived. And it was given to him to give life to the image of the beaſt, and to make the image thereof to ſpeak, and to cauſe all them that worſhipped not the image of the beaſt, to be killed; forcing all perſons, both little and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to take the mark of the beaſt in their right hand, and in their foreheads, and that none might buy or ſell, but they which had the mark, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name, &c.*

*Rome* almoſt dead.

*Rome* called *Odacria.*

By giving life to the image of the beaſt, and making it to ſpeak, is to be preſuppoſed that the beaſt was at a near point of death, and lay ſpeechleſs before, inſomuch that the City of *Rome* began to loſe and change his name, and was called a while *Odacria*, of *Odacer* King of the *Herulians*, which by dint of ſword ſurpriſed the *Romans*; and yet notwithſtanding, by the means of this *Roman* Prelate, the ſaid City of *Rome*, which was then ready to give up the ghoſt, recovered his majeſty and ſtrength again, that it is hard to ſay, whether *Rome* did ever ruffle and rage in his tyranny before, in the time of *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Diocleſian*, and other Emperors, more tragically, than it hath done under the Pope; or whether that *Rome* had all Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all ſubjects more under obedience and ſubjection, when the Emperors reigned, or now in the reign of the Pope. And therefore it is ſaid not without cauſe of the Holy Ghoſt,

To give life to the image of the beaſt. The image of *Rome* ſpeaketh again as cruelly as ever it did.

*That it is given to him, to give life and ſpeech to the image of the beaſt, cauſing all them to be ſlain which will not worſhip the image of the beaſt, &c.* As for example hereof, who ſeeth not what numbers and multitudes of Chriſtian Men, Women and Children in all Countries hath been put to fire and ſword? Stories of all times will declare, what havock hath been made of Chriſtian bloud about the preheminence and majority of the See of *Rome*; what Churches and Countries, both *Greeks* and *Latines*, have been excommunicated; what Kings have been depoſed, and Emperors ſtripped from their Imperial Seat, and all becauſe they would not ſtoop and bend to the Image of the Beaſt, that is, to the Majeſty and Title of *Rome*, advanced up ſo highly now by the Biſhop thereof, as it was never higher before in the Reign of *Nero* or *Diocleſian*. Wherefore taking the firſt Beaſt to ſignifie the Empire of *Rome*, which cannot be denied, it is plain, that the ſecond Beaſt muſt neceſſarily be applied to the Pope and not to the *Turk*, foraſmuch as the *Turk* ſeeketh nothing leſs than the advancement of that Empire, but rather ſtriveth againſt it to pluck it down.

*Et faciet eos occidi qui non adoraverint imaginem beſtiæ. Apoc. 13.*

The 6th reaſon. The number of the name of the Beaſt diſcuſſed. 666. λ The number of theſe letters in Greek, υ maketh the full numbet of 666.

The ſixth and laſt argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the Beaſt, expreſt by the Holy Ghoſt in the ſame Propheſie, by the Letters χ ξ ſ. In which Letters, although there lieth great darkneſs and difficulty to be underſtood, yet certain ancient Fathers which were Diſciples and hearers of them which heard St. *John* himſelf, as *Irenæus* and other, do expound the ſaid Letters conjecturally, to contain the name of the Beaſt, and to be the name of a man under this word λατεῖνος: Whereas elſe, no other name lightly of any perſon, either in *Greek* or *Latine*, will agree to the ſame, ſave only the foreſaid named λατεῖνος. Although ſome later Writers, giving their conjectures upon the ſame, do find the name of *Lateranus* in *Hebrew* Letters to anſwer to the ſame number. Some feign other names, as ἀντεμος or τεῖτας, made words, which ſignifie nothing, as *Diclux*, or *Luduuic*, by *Roman* Letters, &c. But of all names properly ſignifying any man, none cometh ſo near to the number of this Myſtery, (if it go by order of Letters (as doth the word λατεῖνος aforeſaid. And thus much by the way, and occaſion of *Nicholaus de Lyra*, *Paulus Burgen*, *Matthias Dorinkus*, the Author of *Fortaliſium fidei*, and other Commentaries more of the ſame Faction; who writing upon this thirteenth Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, and not conſidering the circumſtances thereof, both are deceived themſelves, and deceive many other, applying that to the *Turk*, which cannot otherwiſe be verified, but only upon the Pope, as may appear ſufficiently by the premiſſes. Not that I write this of any mood or malice, either to the City of *Rome*, or to the perſon of the Biſhop as being Gods creature; but being occaſioned here to entreat of the Prophecies againſt the *Turks*, I would wiſh the Readers not to be deceived, but rightly to underſtand the ſimple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof, being bolted out, it may be the better known what Prophecies directly make againſt theſe *Turks*, what otherwiſe.

{KING Hen. 7. *Nichol. de Lyra*, and other Foreign Writers, deceived in the 13th Chapter of the *Apoc.*

In the which Prophecies againſt the *Turks*, now to proceed, let us come to the 20th Chapter of the *Apocalyps*, wherein the holy Scripture ſeemeth plainly and directly to notifie the ſaid *Turks*. The words of the Prophecy be theſe.

*Apoc.* 20.

*And I ſaw an Angel deſcending from Heaven, having the key of the bottomleſs pit, and a great chain in his hand; and he took the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satanas, and bound him up for a thouſand years, and caſt him in the pit, and ſealed him up, that he ſhould not ſeduce the people any more, till the thouſand years were expired; and after that he muſt be let looſe for a little while, &c.*

And it followeth after, *And when the thouſand years ſhall be compleat, Satanas ſhall be let out of his dungeon, and ſhall go abroad to ſeduce the people, which are on the four corners of the land of* Gog *and* Magog, *to aſſemble them to battel, whoſe number is like to the ſands of the Sea. And they went up upon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compaſſed about the tents of the Saints, and the welbeloved Cities, &c.*

The binding and looſing out of Satan examined 3 things to be noted in this Prophecy.

To the perfect underſtanding of this Prophecy, three things are neceſſary to be known. Firſt, what is meant by binding up, and looſing out of Satan as the old Dragon. Secondly, at what time and year firſt he was chained up and ſealed for a thouſand years. Thirdly, at what year and time theſe thouſand years did end, when as he ſhould be looſed out again for a little ſeaſon. Which three points being well examined and marked, the Prophecy may eaſily be underſtood directly to be meant of the *Turk*. Albeit Anagogically ſome part thereof may alſo be referred not unproperly unto the Pope, as is above notified.

What is meant by binding up of Satan.

Firſt, by binding and looſing of *Satanas* ſeemeth to be meant the ceaſing and ſtaying of the cruel and horrible Perſecution of the Heathen Emperors of *Rome* againſt the true Chriſtians, as is to be ſeen in *The Ten firſt Perſecutions in the Primitive Church* above deſcribed in the former part of theſe *Acts and Monuments*, in the which moſt bloudy Perſecutions, *Satanas* the Devil then raged without all meaſure, till the time it pleaſed Almighty God to ſtop this old Serpent, and to tie him ſhorter. And thus have you to underſtand what is meant by the binding up of Satan for a thouſand years; whereby is ſignified, that the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians ſtirred up by the Beaſt (that is, in the Empire of *Rome*, through the inſtigation of Satan) ſhall not always continue, but ſhall break up after a certain time, and ſhall ceaſe for a thouſand years, *&c.*

The time of binding up of Satan.

Now at what time and year this Perſecution, that is, the fury and rage of Satan ſhould ceaſe, is alſo declared in the *Apocalyps* before; where in the 11 and 13 Chapters we read, that the Beaſt afore mentioned ſhall have power to work his malice and miſchief the ſpace of 42 months, and no more, and then that Satan ſhould be locked up for a thouſand years. The computation of which months, being counted by Sabbaths of years (after the example of the ſixty nine Weeks of *Daniel*, Chapter 11.) it doth bring us to the juſt year and time, when that terrible Perſecution in the Primitive Church ſhould end, and ſo it

*Apoc.* 11. 13. 42 months in the *Apocalyps* declared.

KING 3. Rev. 7.

did. For, give to every month a Sabbath of years, that is, reckon every month for seven years, and that maketh 294 years, which was the full time between the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*, (under whom Christ suffered) and the death of *Maxentius* the last Persecutor of the Primitive Church in *Europe*, subdued by *Constantinus*, as may appear by the calculating the years, months and days between the said year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the later end of *Maxentius*; and so have you the supputation of the year and time when Satan was first bound up, after he had raged in the Primitive Church two and forty months. Which months, as is said, being counted by Sabbaths of years, after the usual manner of the Scripture, amount to 294 years; and so much was the full time between the Passion of our Lord, which was in the 18th year of *Tiberius*, unto the last year of *Maxentius*.

Supputation of Years between the beginning and ceasing of the persecutions in the Primitive Church.

*Vide supra.*

And here by the way cometh a note to be observed, That forsomuch as by the number of these 42 months specified in the *Apocalyps*, the Empire of *Rome* must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast; therefore it must by like necessity follow, the Bishop of *Rome* to be the second beast, with the two Horns of the Lamb: for that he only hath and doth cause the said Empire of *Rome* to revive and to be magnified, and so doth not the *Turk*, but rather labours to the contrary. Wherefore let every Christian man be wise, and beware betime how he taketh the mark of the Beast, lest peradventure it follow upon him, that he drink of that terrible Cup of wrath mentioned, *Apoc. chap.* 14.

The Pope proved to be the 2d Beast mentioned in the Apoc. 13

*Et hic bibet de vino iræ Dei Apo. 14.*

Thirdly, It remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this foresaid Prophesie, that as we have found out (through the help of Christ) the year and time of Satans binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his loosing out, which by the testimony of Scripture was approved to be a thousand years after his binding up, and rightly according to the time appointed it came to pass. For if we number well by the Scripture the year of his binding up, which was from the Passion of our Lord 294 years, and add thereto a thousand years, it mounteth to 294; which was the very year when *Ottomannus* the first *Turk* began his Reign, which was the first spring and Wellhead of all these woful calamities that the Church of Christ hath felt both in *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*, almost these 300 years past. For so we find in Chronicles, that the Kingdom of the *Turks* being first divided into four Families, *Anno* 1280. at length the Family of *Ottomannus* prevailed, and thereupon came these whom we now call *Turks*, which was about the same time when Pope *Boniface* the 8th was Bishop of *Rome*.

The 2d part of the Prophecy for the loosing out of Satan

The beginning of Turks Empire

Where by the way, this is again to be noted, that after the decree of Transubstantiation was enacted in the Council of *Laterane* by Pope *Innocent* the third, the year of our Lord 1251, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1260, was stirred up the Power and Arms of the *Oguzians*, and of *Orthogules* Father of *Ottomannus*, who about the year of our Lord 1294, began first to vex the Christians about *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and so beginning his Kingdom, *Anno* 1300, reigned 28 years, as is afore mentioned.

Transubstantiation. The time of the *Turks*.

*Ex Leonico Chalcondyla lib. 1.*

Mention was made before of *Ezekiel* prophesying against *Gog*, whose words divers Expositors do apply against the *Turk*, and are these, *Thou shalt come from thy place out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding upon horses, a great and a mighty army, and thou shalt come up against my people of Israel as a cloud, to cover the Land. Thou shalt be in the later days, and I will bring thee upon my land, that the Heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes. Thus saith the Lord God, Art not thou he, of whom I have spoken in the old time by the hand of my servants the Prophets of Israel, that prophesied in those days and years, that I would bring thee upon them? At the same time also when Gog shall come against the Land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger, for in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken it. Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the heaven, the beasts of the field, and all that move and creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the earth shall tremble at my presence; the mountains shall be overthrown; the stars shall fall, and every man shall fall to the ground*, &c.

The Prophecy of Ezek. c. 38.

## *The Prophecies of* Methodius, Hildegardis, *and other concerning the Reign and Ruine of the* Turks.

*Methodius* Prophesies.

UNTO these testimonies above excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let us add also the Prophetical Revelations of *Methodius*, *Hildegardis*, *Sibylla*, and others. This *Methodius* is thought of some to be the same *Methodius* of whom *Hierom* and *Suidas* make mention; which was Bishop first of *Olympus* in *Licia*, then of *Tyrus*, and suffered Martyrdom in the last Persecution of the Primitive Church under *Diocletian*. Unto whom also *Trithemius* attributeth the Book entituled *De quatuor novissimis temporibus*. But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said *Methodius* doth cite and alledge the Master of Sentences, namely, in his second Book, and sixth Distinction, which Master of Sentences followed more than a thousand year after Christ; besides certain other fabulous matters contained in the same Book. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things concerning the state of the Church under Antichrist, and the Reformation of Religion, as seemeth rightly to come to pass, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraud the Reader thereof, leaving the credit of the Author to his Arbitrement, to esteem and judge of him as he seeth cause. Among divers other places of *Methodius*, prophecying of the later time, these words do follow. *After that the children of Ishmael had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the desart aforesaid, they came out of the Wilderness of Araby, and entred into the habitable land, and fought with the Kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promise, and the land was filled with them. And after 70 Weeks, and half of their power wherewith they have subdued all the Kingdoms of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted, seeing themselves so to have prevailed, and to have conquered all things, &c.* And afterward it followeth of the same matter in this sort.

The book of *Methodius* mistaken.

The Prophesies of *Methodius* concerning the Turks.

*It shall come to pass that the said Seed of* Ishmael *shall issue out and obtain the whole World, with the Regions thereof, in the entring of peace, from the Land of* Egypt *unto* Ethiopia; *and from the Flood* Euphrates *unto* India; *and from the River* Tygris *to the entring of* Nabaot, *the Kingdom of* Jonithus, *the Son of* Noah; *and from the North unto* Rome *and* Illyricum, Egypt *and* Thessalonica, *and* Albania, *and so forth to the Sea* Ponticum, *which divideth the said Kingdoms from* Germany *and* France; *and their yoke shall be double upon the necks of all Nations and Gentiles; neither shall there be Nation or Kingdom under Heaven, which shall be able to stand against them in Battel, until the number of eight weeks of years, &c.*

Eight weeks of years, counting every week for a Sabbath of years, that is, every day for a year, cometh to 56 years.

The first state or alteration of time concerning the coming of the Saracens.

Briefly, as in a gross summ, this shall suffice, to admonish the Reader touching the meaning and method of *Methodius* Prophecies, which *Methodius*, first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christs Church, maketh mention of the Seed of *Ishmael*, which coming out of the parts and Deserts of *Araby*, shall destroy (saith he) and vanquish the whole earth. *So that the Christians shall be given of God to the hands of the filthy* Barbarians, *to be slain, polluted, and captived*; Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Egypt, *the East parts*, Asia, Spain, *all* Grecia, France, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia. *The* Romans *also shall be slain and put to flight: also the Islands of the Seas shall be brought to desolation and to captivity, and put to the sword. The which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure; the ransom of Gold and Silver and other exactions intolerable, but especially the dwellers of* Egypt *and* Syria *shall be most in the affliction of those times: And* Jerusalem *shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captivity, from the four Winds which are under Heaven. So that Beasts also, and Fowls, and Fish in the water, and the waters of the Sea shall be to them obedient. Cities and Towns, which were before full of people, shall be laid waste. Women with child shall be ript; their children sticked, Infants taken from their Mothers, and cast in the Streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and sage of the People shall be slain; and thrown out to the Beasts. Churches shall be spoiled; the Priests destroyed; Virgins deflowred, and*

Christians plagued by the Saracens.

men

*men compelled to ſell their children, and the coming of them ſhall be chaſtiſement without mercy, and with them ſhall go their four plagues, Captivity, Deſtruction, Perdition, and Deſolation:* with much more, which for brevity I overpaſs. *And this affliction, ſaith he, ſhall laſt eight weeks, or Sabbaths of years,* which I take to ſignifie eight hundred years, *&c.*

The ſecond ſtate or alteration of the Chriſtians relieved of their plagues and tribulations

Secondly, After theſe terrible Plagues thus deſcribed by *Methodius* upon the Chriſtians, which he ſaith ſhall fall upon them for their wicked abominations recited in the firſt and ſecond Chapter of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*; the ſaid *Methodius* afterward in this great diſtreſs of the Chriſtians, being out of all hope and comfort of relief, declareth and ſpeaketh of a certain King of the *Greeks* or *Romans*, which ſhall reſtore peace again to the Chriſtians. In which peace they ſhall reedifie their Cities and Manſions again; the Prieſts ſhall be delivered from their grievances, and men at that time ſhall reſt from their tribulations, and then ſhall the King of the *Romans* dwell in the City of *Hieruſalem* a week or Sabbath, and a half of times, *&c.*

Chriſtians abuſing Gods benefits.

The third alteration by the coming of the *Turks*.

Thirdly, During the time of this peace the ſaid *Methodius* ſaith, that men ſhall fall into licentious ſecurity, and careleſs life; and then according to the words of the Apoſtle, ſaying, *When they ſhall ſay, Peace, peace, ſudden deſtruction ſhall fall upon them: Then* (ſaith he) *ſhall be opened the Gates of the North, and the beaſtly people ſhall break in, which King* Alexander *the Great did cloſe up within two mountains, making his prayer unto the Lord God, that he would bind up that beſtial and execrable people, leſt with their filthy and deteſtable pollutions they ſhould come out and pollute the holy Land. Whoſe interceſſion being heard, the Lord commanded them to be incloſed within two mountains in the North parts, to the deepneſs of twelve cubits.* (which ſignifieth peradventure 1200 years) *ſo that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means they could get out, or any might come unto them, until the time of the Lord appointed which are* (ſaith he) *the later times, and then according to the Prophecy of* Ezechiel, *in the latter time of the conſummation of the world, God and Magog out from the North ſhall come forth into the land of Iſrael, and ſhall work all this miſchief againſt Chriſtians above recited. And then* (ſaith *Methodius*, proceeding in his Propheſies *ſhall the King of the* Romans, *after he hath reigned in* Jeruſalem *a Sabbath of times, and a half, that is,* (ſaith *Methodius*) *ten years and a half, take the Crown from his head, and yield it up to the Croſs in* Golgotha, *where Chriſt was crucified, and ſhall die. And the Croſs with the Crown ſhall be taken into Heaven, which ſhall not appear again before the coming of the Lord.*

The reign of Chriſtian Kings in *Hieruſalem* laſted 88 years. *Ann.* 1187. By this reſigning up the Crown to the Crucifix in *Golgotha*, is ſignified the ceaſing of the Chriſtians in *Hieruſalem* till the coming of Chriſt. By this Tribe of *Dan*, and the City *Chorozaim Bethſaida*, and *Capernaum*, to ſignifie Gods great malediction upon Antichriſt.

Fourthly, It followeth then moreover in the Propheſies of *Methodius*, which declareth that when the week or Sabbath, and half week of times ſhall end, and when the King of *Romans* ſhall give up his Crown in *Jeruſalem*, and die, *Then immediately ſhall Antichriſt the ſon of perdition begin to appear, and be born in* Jewry, *of the Tribe of* Dan, *whereof alſo came* Judas Iſcariot, *and he ſhall be born* (ſaith *Methodius*) *in* Chorozaim, *and ſhall be bred in* Bethſaida, *and ſhall reign in* Capernaum; to the which three Cities, Chriſt the Lord gave his third Væ. *And whoes great tribulation ſhall increaſe and multiply in the days of this Antichriſt, and all Lordſhip and Dominion ſhall be deſtroyed, the Lord ſhall ſend his two faithful and dear ſervants,* Enoch *and* Hely, *to reprove and detect the falſe ſeducing and lying forgeries of this Antichriſt, openly before all men; ſo that the people ſeeing themſelves falſly beguiled and ſeduced by this ſon of perdition, coming out of the Temple diſſemblingly, to the deſtruction of many, ſhall leave and flie from him, and joyn themſelves to the ſaid two holy Prophets. Which ſon of perdition and Antichriſt ſeeing his proceedings ſo to be reproved, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger ſhall kill the two Prophets of God. And then ſhall appear* (ſaith *Methodius*) *the ſign of the coming of the Son of Man, and he ſhall come in the clouds of Heavenly glory, and ſhall deſtroy the enemy with the ſpirit of his mouth,* &c.

The deſtruction of Antichriſt.

## INTERPRETATION.

{KING Hen. 8.}

The Interpretations.

TO theſe Propheſies and teſtimonies of *Methodius*, what credit is to be given, I leave it to the Reader. But if the meaning of his Propheſies go by ſuch order of times as is ſet and diſpoſed in his Book; he ſeemeth to deſcribe unto us four principal ſtates and alterations of times to come.

The firſt ſtate and alteration is by *Mahumet* and the *Saracens*, which be the off-ſpring and Sons of *Iſmael*, coming out of *Arabie* in the time of *Heraclius* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, Ann. 630, which rebelling againſt *Heraclius* increaſed and prevailed ſtill more and more againſt the Chriſtians both in *Aſia* and *Africa*, and alſo in many places in *Europe*, eſpecially in *Spain* and *Italy*.

The coming of the *Saracens*.

The ſecond ſtate and alteration he propheſieth to come by the *Turk*, which firſt coming out of the far parts of *Scythia*, that is, out of the North, firſt overcame the *Saracens*, ſubdued the *Perſians*, and afterward joyning together with the *Saracens*, conquered the Kingdom of *Hieruſalem*, about the year of our Lord 1187, then ſubdued *Syria* and moſt part of *Aſia*, &c. And theſe be they which *Methodius* ſeemeth to mean of, ſpeaking of the vile and miſerable people cloſed up of the Lord God, at the interceſſion of *Alexander* the great Captain in the North, between two mountains the deepneſs of twelve cubits, leſt that filthy corrupt Nation ſhould pollute the earth with their wickedneſs. Whereby are meant theſe *Turks*, which coming out from the uttermoſt parts of the North, that is, out of *Scythia*, and the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, or elſe *Imaus*, were with-holden and kept back of Almighty God for Chriſts cauſe, that they might not harm his Church a long ſpace, during the time of twelve hundred years; yea, and then the ſins of the Chriſtians ſo deſerving, they were permitted of Almighty God to break out, and to invade the Church; who now joyning together with the *Saracens*, have wrought and daily do work, all theſe grievances againſt our Chriſtian Brethren; as we ſee this day is come to paſs, and more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

The coming of the *Turks*.

*Scythia juxta Caucaſum*

Victory of the Chriſtians got againſt the *Saracens*. *Ex Paulo Jovio.*

The City of *Hieruſalem* recovered by the Chriſtians from the *Saracens*. *Hieruſalem* poſſeſſed of the Chriſtians 88 years. *Hieruſalem* won from the Chriſtians by the *Turks*, Ann. 1187.

Moreover, in the mean ſpace, between the reign of the *Saracens* and the *Turks*, where *Methodius* ſpeaketh of the King of *Romans*, which ſhould reſtore quietneſs to the Church, and ſhould reign in *Hieruſalem* a Sabbath of times, and half a Sabbath; thereby ſeemeth to be underſtood the Voyage of Chriſtian Princes out of the Weſt-parts of *Europe*, under *Gotfridus* Duke of *Lotharing*, and his two Brethren, and many other Chriſtian Princes, with 300000 Footmen, and 100000 Horſemen; who fighting againſt the *Saracens*, recovered again from them the City of *Hieruſalem*, in the year of our Lord 1099, which City before had been in their poſſeſſion the term of 490 years. After which Victory got, firſt *Gotfridus*, then *Baldwinus* his Brother, and other after them, to the number of nine Chriſtian Kings reigned in *Jeruſalem* the ſpace of eighty eight years, and after that through the diſcord of the Chriſtians not agreeing amongſt themſelves, both *Hieruſalem* and *Syria*, with other parts of *Aſia* beſides, were ſubdued and won of the *Turks*, which to this day they keep ſtill. And this was in the year of our Lord 1187.

The coming and marks of Antichriſt deſcribed.

About which year and time (as followeth in *Methodius*) when the City of *Hieruſalem* ſhall be won of the *Turks*, then ſhall Antichriſt begin to be born of the Tribe of *Dan*, of whom came *Judas Iſcariot*, and ſhall be born in *Chorozaim*, and bred in *Bethſaida*, and reign in *Capernaum*; meaning that this Antichriſt or ſon of perdition ſhall be full of Gods malediction, noted by *Judas Iſcariot*, and theſe three Cities againſt whom were ſpoken thrice *Væ* of the Lord.

And here is moreover to be noted, that *Methodius* ſaith not that Antichriſt ſhall be born among the *Saracens* or *Turks*, but among the people of God, and of the Tribe of *Iſrael*. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichriſt ſhall not come of the *Saracens*, nor *Turks*, but ſhall come up among the Chriſtians, and (ſaith *Methodius*) *ſhall ſeem to come out of the Temple, to deceive many*, &c. Whereby the Pope may ſeem, rather than the *Saracen* or the *Turk*, to be deſcribed, forſomuch as the Pope being elected, nouriſhed and reigning in the midſt of Gods people at *Rome*, ſitteth in the Temple, and very place of Chriſt, and (no doubt) deceiveth many, *&c.*

And

KING 1 *Men.* 7.

*The time of Antichriſt.*

And now to come to the time aſſigned of *Methodius*, here is to be added alſo, that which we read in *Antoninus*, *Par.* 3. that about this ſaid preſent time, a certain Biſhop of *Florence* preached that Antichriſt was then coming. But the Pope commanded him to keep ſilence, and to ſpeak no more thereof. Now why the Pope ſo did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichriſt, I refer it to them which liſt to muſe more upon the matter. This is certain, that about this time here aſſigned by *Methodius*, came *Petrus Lombardus*, *Gratianus*, and Pope *Innocent* the Third, the firſt Authors and Patrons of Tranſubſtantiation. At which time alſo began the firſt Perſecution by the Church of *Rome* againſt the *Albigenſes* or *Waldenſes*, about *Tolous*, *Bitures*, and *Avinion*. Of whom 17000 the ſame time were ſlain, by the Popes Croſſed Soldiers. Among whom Frier *Dominick* was then the chiefeſt doer. About which time alſo was Frier *Francis*, of which two came the two Orders of Begging Friers: all which began much about one time together, *Ann.* 1215, which were near within twenty years after the Kingdom of the Chriſtians was taken of the *Turks*, according to the Propheſie aboveſaid.

*Petrus Lombardus. Gratianus. Innocens. 3.*

*Tranſubſtantiation.*

*The firſt Perſecution by the Church of Rome.*

*Dominick. Frier Francis.*

*Ex Antonin. part 3. tit. 19 cap. 1.*

*The Orders of Friers began.*

It followeth moreover in *Methodius*, *That in his time the Lordſhip and Domination ſhall ceaſe and give over*, &c. The verity whereof we ſee now accompliſhed in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double Sword and Triple Crown doth come, there all Secular power muſt give place, both Emperors, Kings and Princes muſt ſtoop.

*The Pope exalting himſelf above Kings and Emperors.*

So King *John* yielded up his Crown to *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate, and was in his hands five days, *An.* 1217.

*Childerick* the *French* King had his Crown taken from him, and given to *Pepin*, Ann. 747.

*Henry* the Fourth Emperor, was forced to ſubmit himſelf and his Scepter to Pope *Hildebrand*, Ann. 1077.

*Notes of Antichriſt.*

*Fredericus Barbaroſſa* Emperor, in St. *Marks* Church in *Venice*, was fain to lay down his neck under Pope *Alexanders* feet, *Ann.* 1277. Which *Frederick* alſo before was fain to hold the Stirrop to Pope *Adrian*, &c.

What ſhould I ſpeak of the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, named *Franciſcus Dandulus*? who being ſent to Pope *Clement* the Fifth, was made to lye under the Popes Table like a Dog, and gather up the Crumbs, mentioned in *Sabell. Ænn. 9. Lib. 7.*

*Henry* the Third being Emperor, had his Diadem firſt ſet on with the feet of the Pope, and afterward ſtroken off from his head with the Popes foot again.

And what ſhall I ſpeak more hereof? when as *Carolus Magnus* ſubmitted himſelf ſo low to kiſs the feet of Pope *Leo*, Ann. 800.

It followeth then in the Prophecy of *Methodius*, *That in the tribulation of thoſe days ſhall be ſent from God two ſpecial Prophets*, Enoch *and* Hely, *to reprove and diſcloſe the fraudulent falſhood of Antichriſt, and that many ſeeing his deluſion, ſhall forſake him, and follow them: Whereat Antichriſt being grieved, ſhall kill them*, &c.

*Enoch* and *Hely.*

*John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague.*

*Vid. in primo Tom. operum Joan. Hus de Anatomia Hieronymi Pragenſis.*

We never read yet in any ſtory of any ſuch two Prophets to be ſent either to the *Saracens*, or to the *Turks*: whereas againſt the Pope we read *John Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*, two learned Martyrs and Prophets of God to have been ſent, and to have reproved and deſcribed the Anatomy of Antichriſt, and at laſt to have been burned for their labour. And what Prophet can ſpeak more plainly, either *Enoch* or *Hely*, than did *Hierome* of *Prague*, prophecying of the coming of *Martin Luther*, an hundred years after him? when the Pope and his fellows ſhould anſwer to God and to him. The time we ſee came juſt. Now let the Pope ſee with his fellows, what anſwer they can make.

*Hierome of Prague a Prophet and a Martyr.*

## The true Plate of *Hus* and *Jerome*, among the *Bohemians*.

*The nearneſs of the Lords judgment.*

It followeth further in *Methodius*, concluding his Propheſie, *And then* (ſaith he) *ſhall appear the coming of the ſon of man in the clouds of Heaven, with celeſtial glory*, &c.

Wherefore after the burning of theſe two notable Prophets, with many other thouſands burned alſo ſince their time by the Biſhop of *Rome*, it is to be thought that the coming of Chriſts judgment in the clouds, is not far off. *Veni cito Domine, Amen.*

And thus much touching *Methodius*, of whoſe Propheſies, how much or how little is to be eſteemed, I leave it indifferent unto the Reader. For me it ſhall ſuffice ſimply to have recited his words, as I find them in his Book contained; noting this by the way, that of this Book of *Methodius*, *De noviſſimis temporibus*, neither *Hierome* in his Catalogue, nor *Suidas*, nor yet *Aventinus* in the place where he intreateth purpoſely of ſuch Propheſies, maketh any mention. As touching *Hildegardis* and *Brigit*, and other whom the *French* call *Bardi*, for their Songs and Prophetical Verſes, ſufficient hath been alledged before out of *Aventinus*: who in his third Book of *Chronicles*, writing of the teſtimonies of *Hildegard*, *Brigit* and *Bardi*, ſeemeth to ground upon them, *That the Turks, whether we will or not, ſhall have their Imperial ſeat at Colen*; and I pray God that it come not to paſs, that the *Turk* do giue ſome attempt againſt *England* by the Seas, before that he come to *Colen* by land.

*The Propheſie of Hildegardis and Brigit of the Turks.*

*Ex Aventin. Lib. 3. Annalium.*

*A Caveat to England.*

*Ex Brigitta Lib. 4. C. 57.*

Brevity cauſeth me to cut off many teſtimonies and revelations of theſe above ſaid, or elſe I could here rehearſe the Prophetical words of *Brigit*, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 57. concerning the City and Church of *Rome*, which as ſhe ſaith, *muſt be purged and ſcowred with three things, to wit, with ſharp ſword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that City, as one that removeth plants out of one place unto another: and finally that the City of* Rome *ſhall ſuſtain the ſentence, as if a Judg ſhould command the skin to be flain off, the blood to be drawn from the fleſh to be cut in ſmall pieces, and the bones thereof to be broken, ſo that all the marrow may be quiſed from the ſame*, &c. But for brevity I let *Brigit* paſs, and will declare ſomething out of *Erythrea Sibylla*, in her Book of Propheſies found in St. *Georges* Church in *Venice*; where ſhe prophecying many thing of the Birth of Chriſt under *Auguſtus*, and of the Birth of *John Baptiſt*, and of Baptiſm, of the Apoſtles, of the Converſion of the Gentiles, and of *Conſtantinus*, &c. hath theſe words, *After that the peaceable Bull ſhall conclude all the climes of the world under tribute, in thoſe days a heavenly Lamb ſhall come; and the days ſhall come, when the power of the flowing ſtream ſhall be magnified in water, and the Lion the Monarch ſhall be converted to the Lamb, which ſhall ſhine to all men, & ſubvert Kingdoms.*

*Propheſies of Brigit againſt Rome*

*The Propheſies of Erythrea Sibylla named Eripbila.*

*Ex Erythrea Sibylla in ſuo Naxiographo 3. Imperiali ſcripto.*

Moreover ſaith *Sibylla*, *In the later age God ſhall be humbled, and the Divine off-ſpring ſhall be abaſed, and Deity ſhall be joyned with Humanity, the Lamb ſhall lye in Hay, and God and man ſhall be bred up under a Maidens attendance, ſigns and wonders ſhall go before amongſt the circumciſed*, &c. Alſo, *An aged woman ſhall conceive a child, having*

*Propheſies of Sibylla of Chriſt.*

*having knowledg of things to come. The world ſhall marvel at Bootes (the Star) which ſhall be a leader to his birth. He having thirty two feet, and ſix thumbs, ſhall chuſe himſelf out of fiſhers and abjects, the number of Twelve, and one Devil, not with ſword nor with battel,* &c. afterward this followeth moreover in *Sibylla*, ſaying, * *The health of the Lamb lying ſhall be clothed with a few ſpoils of the Lion. Black ſhall be turned into red. He ſhall ſubdue the City of Æneas, and Kings, but in the Book of the Fiſhes: In dejection and poverty he ſhall conquer riches, and ſhall tread down pride with his own death. In the night he ſhall riſe up, and be changed, he ſhall live and reign, and all theſe things ſhall be conſummated, and regeneration (or new things) be made: at laſt he ſhall judg both good and evil, &c.* And thus much briefly collected out of *Sibylla Erythrea*, concerning Chriſt our Lord.

* The Lamb lying, that is, the Church, without travel ſhall be maintained with ſome living or poſſeſſions of the chief rulers.

Furthermore, touching the ſtate and courſe of the Church, and of Antichriſt, it followeth in the ſaid *Sibylla*, ſaying, *Then ſhall four winged Beaſts riſe up in teſtimony, they ſhall ſound out with Trumpets the name of the Lamb, ſowing righteouſneſs, and the Law irreprehenſible. Againſt which Law the Beaſt ſhall gain-ſtand, and the abomination and froth of the Dragon. But a marvellous Star ſhall riſe, having the Image of the four Beaſts, and ſhall be in a marvellous multitude; he ſhall bring light to the Greeks, and ſhall illuſtrate the world. The Lake of the fiſher ſhall bring the name of the Lamb with power into the City of Æneas, unto the end of the world (or time.) Then in the City of Æneas the Star joyned ſhall [illegible] were bound of the Devil, and thereof he ſhall rejoyce and glory, and glorious ſhall be his end,* &c.

By theſe 4 Beaſts is meant the 4 Monarchies of the World, that is, the multitude of all the Kingdom of the Gentiles, as in the *Apocal.* By the City of *Æneas* is meant *Rome.*

After this *Sibylla* writing (as it ſeemeth) of Antichriſt, importeth theſe words, *And it ſhall come to paſs, that an horrible Beaſt ſhall come out of the Eaſt, whoſe roaring ſhall be heard to* Africk, *to the people of* Carthage, *which hath ſeven heads, and ſcepters innumerable, feet 663. He ſhall gainſtand the Lamb, to blaſpheme his Teſtament, encreaſing the waters of the Dragon. The Kings and Princes of the world he ſhall burn in intolerable ſweat, and they ſhall not diminiſh his feet. And then two ſtars like to the firſt ſtar ſhall ariſe againſt the beaſt, and ſhall not prevail, till the abomination ſhall be come, and the will of the Lord ſhall be conſummate.* And again ſpeaking of the ſame matter he inferreth theſe words of the foreſaid two ſtars above mentioned. *And toward the later days two bright ſtars ſhall ariſe, raiſing up men lying dead in their ſins, being like to the firſt ſtar, having the face of the four Beaſts, which ſhall reſiſt the beaſt, and the waters of the Dragon, teſtifying (or preaching) the name and law of the Lamb, the deſtruction of abomination and judgment, and ſhall diminiſh his waters, but they ſhall be weakned in the bread of affliction, and they ſhall riſe again in ſtronger force, &c.*

The Prophecy of *Sibylla* of Antichriſt. The 663. feet do mean the years of his reign.

These two ſtars ſeem to mean *Enoch* and *Elias*, who being put to death by the Pope, their Doctrine roſe again more ſtrongly than before.

And it followeth moreover, *After the abomination, then ſhall truth be revealed, and the Lamb ſhall be known, to whom Regions and Countries ſhall ſubmit their necks, and all earthly men ſhall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled under one diſcipline, and after this ſhall be but a ſmall time,* &c.

And ſhortly after, the ſaid *Sibylla* ſpeaking of the later judgment to come, declared how all the abominations of ſins ſhall come before the Lamb; and that terrible fire ſhall fall from Heaven, which ſhall conſume all earthly things created unto the top of Heaven, *&c.*

*Ex libro cui titulus, onus Eccleſiæ.*

And thus much out of *Sibylla*, touching her Prophecies of Chriſt and Antichriſt, according as I found them alledged of a certain Catholick *Romiſh* Writer, in his Book intituled *Onus Eccleſiæ*, excerpted, as he ſaith, out of the Library of St. *George* in the City of *Venice*.

*Philip Melanchthon* in his Preface upon *Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus*, writing of the origine and manners of the *Turks*, alledged a certain Prophecy of *Hiltenus*, mentioned hereafter, which foretold that the *Turks* ſhould bear rule in *Italy* and in *Germany*, *Anno* 1600.

5 KING Hen. 7.

Now it remaineth, in concluſion of theſe Prophecies of the *Turks*, ſomething to ſay of the *Turks* own Prophecies, concerning the enduring and ending of their own Kingdom, whoſe prophetical Prognoſtication, being taken out of their own Language, and their own Books, I thought here to inſert, as I find it alledged in the Book of the foreſaid *Bartholomæus Georgienitz*, as followeth:

## A *Turkiſh* Prophecy in the *Perſian* tongue, of the Reign and Ruine of the *Turks*.

*PAtiſſahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler; iediy ladegh Gyaur keleci eſiknaſſe, on ikiyladegh onlarn beghlig eder: euſi iapar, baghi diker baheſai baghlar, oglikezi olur, ovichi yldenſora Hriſtianon Keleci eſichar, ol Turchigeteſſine tus chure.*

### The ſame in *Latine*.

*IMperator noſter veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in ſuam poteſtatem redigetur: quod ſi ſeptimum uſque annum Chriſtianorum gladius non inſurrexit, uſque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos ſepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, & poſt duodecimum annum, apparebit Chriſtianorum gladius, qui Turcum quaqua verſum in fugam aget.*

By the Prince of the Gentiles the *Turke* do here mean the Kingdoms and Dominions of the Chriſtians; whom they call Gentiles, becauſe they are not circumciſed after their manner.

### *The ſame in* Engliſh.

OUR Emperor ſhall come; he ſhall get the Kingdom of the *Gentiles* Prince; alſo he ſhall take the red Apple, and ſhall bring it under his ſubjection; and if the ſword of the Chriſtians ſhall not riſe unto the ſeventh year, he ſhall have dominion over them unto the twelfth year. He ſhall build Houſes, plant Vineyards, ſhall hedge about his Orchards, ſhall procreate Children; and after the 12th year ſhall appear the ſword of the Chriſtians, which ſhall put the *Turk* to flight every where.

They which make declaration of this *Turkiſh* Prophecy, do expound this 12th year to ſignifie the 12th year after the winning of *Conſtantinople*; which *Conſtantinople*, ſay they, is meant by the red Apple; and after that twelve year, ſay they, ſhall riſe the ſword of the Chriſtians, *&c.* And this Prophecy being written and tranſlated out of the *Perſian* Tongue, with this Expoſition upon the ſame, it is to be found in the Book of *Bartholomeus Georgienitz*. Albeit, concerning the expoſition thereof, it ſeemeth not to be true which is there ſpoken of the 12th year after the winning of *Conſtantinople*, being now 100 years ſince the winning thereof.

The Expoſition of the *Turks* Prophecy. *Ex Bartholo. Georgienitz.*

Wherefore it may rather ſeem probable, that by the 7th and 12th year of the *Turks*, this to be the meaning, that if the 7th of the *Ottoman Turks* do eſcape the ſword of the Chriſtians, they ſhall continue, build and plant, *&c.* until the 12th *Turk*, which is this *Solymannus*, and then after that ſhall riſe the Chriſtians ſword, which ſhall put them to flight, and vanquiſh them in all Quarters. And this Expoſition may ſeem to accord with the place of *Geneſis*; wherein is written of *Iſmael*, that he had twelve Sons, and no more: So that this *Solymannus* being the 12th *Turk* after *Ottomannus*, may (by the grace of Chriſt) be the laſt; whom we heard credibly to be reported, at the Printing hereof, to be dead. But howſoever this Prophecy is to be taken, it appeareth by their own Oracles, that at length they ſhall be overcome by the Chriſtians.

Another Expoſition. Gen. 25.

KING Hen. 7.

## A Table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the Story above prefixed.

The Saracens begin their reign.

*Anno* 632, began the Kingdom of the *Saracens* or *Arabians*, after the death of *Mahumet* the first Ring-leader of the mischief, which *Saracens* reigning in *Babylon* over *Persia* and *Asia*, continued about

198 Years.

*Anno* 667, *Jerusalem* was taken of the *Saracens*. These *Saracens* after they had subdued *Ormisda* King of *Persia*, set up to themselves a new Kingdom, calling their chief Prince *Calipha*, which signifieth a General Lord; and under him *Seriphes*, that is an under Prince; and again under him their *Soldan*; which is a ruler or Captain; under the which *Soldans* all the Provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space above said of

198 years.

The Egyptian Saracens or Sultans.

*Anno* 703, The *Egyptians* being weary of their subjection under the *Romans*, called for help of the *Saracen Calipha*; and so casting off the *Romans*, submitted themselves to the Law of the *Saracens*, and had also their *Calipha*, and their *Babylon* called *Cairus*, where their *Calipha* continued unto *Saraco* or *Syracinus*

447 years.

The Saracens Kingdom ceaseth.

*Ann.* 810, *Maugimetus*, or *Muchumetus* the chief Sultan of *Persia*, being at variance with *Imbraell* the Sultan of *Babylon*, sent for the aid of the *Turks* out of *Scythia*: by whom when he had got the victory against the *Babylonians*, the said *Turks* shortly after conquered the *Persians*, and subdued their Country within the space of

20 years.

*Ann.* 830, The *Saracens* being expulsed out of *Asia* by the *Turks*, wandred about *Africk*, *Spain* and *Italy*, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain.

The Turks Kingdom beginneth.

*Ann.* 830, The *Turks* after they had expulsed the *Saracens* out of *Asia*, began to reign in *Asia*, in *Persia*, and in *Arabia*, and there reigned without interruption, till the coming of the *Tartarians*, the space of

192 years.

*Ann.* 1009, The *Turks* wan the City of *Hierusalem* from the *Saracens*, which City the Sultan of *Egypt* wan again from the *Turks* shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of *Gotfridus*.

*Ann.* 1051, Began the first King of the *Turks*, called *Zaduke*, to reign in *Asia*, and joyned League with *Calipha* of *Egypt*, and there reigned till the conquest of *Gotfridus* and the Christians the space of

46 years.

*Ann.* 1078, *Solymannus* Nephew to *Aspasalem* the *Turkish* King in *Asia*, otherwise called *Turquinia*, subdued *Cappadocia*, which had continued now the space of

500y ears.

*Ann.* 1099, *Gotfridus Bulion*, Duke of *Lotharing* a Christian Prince, taking his Voyage into *Asia* with 700000 Christian Soldiers, first got the City of *Nicea* against the Sultan of the *Turks*; then *Lycaonia*, *Silicia*, *Syria*; afterward *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagena*: then *Antiochia*, Ann. 1098. and the next year recovered *Jerusalem*, being then in the hands of the *Saracens*, which they a little before had won from the *Turks*, as is aforesaid. After this *Gotfridus* succeeded eight Christian Kings, which kept the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* and *Asia*, both from the *Turks* and *Saracens*, the space of

88 years.

*Ann.* 1100, The *Georgians*, which be a people of *Armenia* the greater, vanquished the *Turks* out of the Kingdom of *Persia*, after they had cut their King in pieces. Whereby the *Turks* flying to *Cappadocia*, there remained under *Solomon*, and joyned themselves to the Soldan of *Egypt*, and waxed then strong in *Asia minor*, called now *Turquinia*.

*Anno* 1170, When *Almericus* the Seventh King of *Hierusalem* after *Gotfridus* had overcome the *Calipha*, or Sultan of *Egypt*, the Sultan being overcome, called for the help of *Saracon* the Sultan of *Syria*. This *Saracon* after he had expulsed the Christians out of *Egypt*, turned his power against the Sultan of *Egypt*, and vanquished him, took to himself the Kingdom of *Egypt*: which Kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the *Tartarians*, and the *Mamaluches* about the space of

88 years.

*Anno* 1187, *Saladinus* the Nephew of *Saracon* the Sultan of *Egypt*, perceiving the dissention among the Christian States of *Palestina*, got *Antioch*, where he slew *Raymundus* the Prince with his own hands: Then got *Tiberias*: From thence he went to *Accon*, where he took *Guido* King of *Jerusalem*, and Master of the *Templars*, prisoners; for whose ransom the *Turk* had *Ascalon* yielded up to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued *Jerusalem*, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of

88 years.

*Anno* 1189, *Frederick* the Emperor, *Philip* the *French* King, *Richard* King of *England* made their Voyage into *Asia*, where *Frederick*, washing in a River at *Cilicia*, died. In this voyage at the siege of *Acon*, *Saladinus* wan the field of our men, of whom 2000 were slain in the chase. *Acon* at length was got of the Christians. King *Richard* got *Cyprus*. The two Kings fell at strife. *Philip* retired home without any good doing. King *Richard* laid siege to *Jerusalem*, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to *Vienna* in *Austria*, after he had taken truce before with the Soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the Popes sending out against the *Turks*.

*Ann.* 1215, There was another Council holden at *Rome* by Pope *Innocent* the third, where was Enacted a new Article of our Faith for Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine to be turned into the Body and Blood of our Saviour. In this Council also great excitation was made by the Pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of Dukes, Lords, Knights, Bishops and Prelates, that if Gods blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all *Asia* and *India*.

Transubstantiation.

*An.* 1219, The Christians after eighteen months siege, got a certain Town in *Egypt*, called *Damiata*, or *Elipolis*, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian Army of the Popes sending went about to beliege the City *Cairus*, or *Babylon*, the Sultan through his subtil train so intrapped and inclosed them within the danger of *Nilus*, that they were constrained to render again the City of *Damiata*, with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Soldans hand, and glad so with their lives to

pass

paſs forward to *Tyrus*. Anno 1221.

In the mean time the *Egyptian Turk* cauſed the City of *Jeruſalem* to be raſed, that it ſhould ſerve to no uſe to the Chriſtians. What great thing elſe was doſſe in that voyage, it doth not greatly appear in ſtories. Albeit *Fredericus* the Second Emperor was not unfruitfully there occupied, and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and perſecution of the Biſhop of *Rome* againſt him; whereby he was inforced to take truce with the Sultan for ten years, and ſo returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the laſt City of all belonging to the Chriſtians, which was *Ptolomais*, or *Akers*, was alſo taken from them by the Sultan, ſo that now the Chriſtians had not one foot left in all *Aſia*.

*Vid. ſupra.*

*An.* 1230. Thus the Chriſtians being driven out of *Aſia* by the *Sultans* and *Turks*, yet the ſaid *Turks* and *Sultans* did not long enjoy their victory. For eſtſoons the Lord ſtirred up againſt them the *Tartarians*, who breaking into *Aſia* by the Ports of *Caſpius* ſubdued divers parts of *Aſia*, namely about *Comana*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *&c.* Theſe *Tartarians* as they had got many Captives in their wars; ſo for gain they uſed to ſhip them over cuſtomably to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to be ſold; which ſervants and captives *Melechſala* the great Sultan was glad to buy to ſerve him in his wars. Which captives and ſervants after they had continued a certain ſpace in *Egypt*, and through their valiant ſervice grew in favour and eſtimation with the ſaid *Melechſala*, and began more to increaſe in number and ſtrength; at length they ſlew him, and took to themſelves the name and Kingdom of the Sultan. And thus ceaſed the ſtock of *Saracon* and *Saladinus* aforementioned, which continued in *Egypt*, about the ſpace, as is ſaid, of

*Tartariani.* *Ports Caſpia* — 100 years. — *Saladins ſtock in Egypt ceaſeth.*

*An.* 1240. After the death of *Melechſala*, the Army of theſe foreſaid Raſcals and captives ſet up to themſelves a King of their own company, whom they called *Turquemenius*. Who to fill up the number of their company that it ſhould not diminiſh, deviſed this order, to get or to buy Chriſtian mens children, taken young from their parents, and the mothers lap; whom they uſed ſo to bring up, to make them to deny Chriſt, and to be circumciſed, and inſtructed in *Mahumets* Law, and afterward to be trained in the feats of war; and theſe were called *Mamaluchi*. Among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be King but out of their own number, or elſe choſen by them; neither that any ſhould be made Knights or Horſemen but only the Children of Chriſtians which ſhould deny Chriſt before, called *Mamaluchi*. Alſo it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither *Saracens* nor *Jews* ſhould be admitted. *Item*, that the ſucceſſion thereof ſhould not deſcend to the children and off-ſpring of theſe *Mamaluchi*. Alſo that the ſucceſſion of the Crown ſhould not deſcend to the children of the foreſaid Sultan, but ſhould go by voice and election. The *Tartarians* with *Turquemenius* their King, about this time obtained *Turquia*, that is, *Aſia minor*, from the *Turks*, and within two years after, prevailing againſt the *Turks*, expelled them from their Kingdom, and ſo continued theſe *Mamaluchi* reigning over *Egypt*, and a great part of *Aſia*, till the time of *Tomumbeius* their laſt King, which was deſtroyed and hanged at the Gates of *Memphis*, by *Zelymus* the *Turk*, Father to this *Solymannus*, as in his Hiſtory is declared. Theſe *Mamaluchi* continued the ſpace of

*Mamaluchi in Egypt.* — 260 years. — *Vide ſupra.*

*Ann.* 1245. Theſe *Tartarians* ranging through the Countries of the *Georgians*, and all *Armenia*, came as far as *Iconium*, which was then the Imperial City of the *Turks*.

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*Ann.* 1289. The Soldan of *Egypt* and *Babylon* got from the Chriſtians *Tripolis*, *Tyrus*, *Sidon*, and *Berithus* in *Syria*.

*Ann.* 1291. Laſtly, *Ptolomais*, which alſo is called *Akers*, was ſupriſed by the ſaid Soldan, raced and caſt down to the ground, and all the Chriſtians therein (which were not many left) were ſlain. And this was the laſt City which the Chriſtians had in *Aſia*. So that now the Chriſtians have not one foot (as is ſaid before) left in all *Aſia*. Thus the *Egyptian* Soldans and the *Tartarians* reigned and ranged over the moſt part of *Aſia* above the *Turks*, till the reign of *Ottomannus* the Great *Turk*, about the ſpace of

80 years.

¶ And thus have ye the whole diſcourſe of the *Turkiſh* ſtory, with their Names, Countries, Towns, Dominions, alſo with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order deſcribed, and in years diſtinguiſhed: Which otherwiſe in moſt Authors and Writers be ſo confuſed, that it is hard to know diſtinctly, what difference is between the *Saracens*, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, the *Sultans* or *Soldans*, *Mamalukes*, or *Janizarits*; what is their *Caliphs*, their *Seriphes*, their *Sultan*, or *Baſſa*; in what times they began, and how long, and in what order, years they reigned. All which in this preſent Table manifeſtly to thine eye may appear.

¶ Wherein this thou haſt moreover (gentle Reader) to conſider, which is worthy the noting, how the Biſhop of *Rome* all this ſeaſon, from the firſt beginning of the *Turks* reign, hath not ceaſed from time to time continually, calling upon Chriſtian Princes and ſubjects to take the Croſs, and to war againſt the *Turks*; whereupon ſo many great voyages have been made to the Holy Land, and ſo many Battels fought againſt the *Turk* and *Soldan* for winning the holy Croſs; and yet no lucky ſucceſs hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it proſperouſly forward, whatſoever through the exciting of that Biſhop hath been attempted againſt that great enemy of the Lord; inſomuch that the Chriſtians have loſt not only all that they had in *Aſia*, but alſo are ſcarce able to defend that little they have in *Europe* againſt his violence. What the cauſe is of this hard luck of the Biſhops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muſe as their mind leadeth, and as the Goſpel ſaith. He that hath eyes to ſee, let him ſee. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſtir men up to that buſineſs; ſo on the Princes behalf there hath lacked no courage nor ſtrength of men, no contribution of expences, no ſupportation of charges, no furniture or abilement of war; only the bleſſing of God ſeemeth to have lacked. The reaſon and cauſe whereof I would it were ſo eaſie to be reformed, as it may be quickly conſtrued. For what man beholding the life of us Chriſtians, will greatly marvel why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight againſt the *Turks*? And if my verdict might here have place for me to add my cenſure, there appeareth to me another cauſe in this matter, yet greater than this aforeſaid: which to make plain and evident, in full diſcourſe of words, leiſure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the ſincere Doctrine of Chriſtian Faith, delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been ſo corrupted in the Church of *Rome*; or if the Biſhop of *Rome* would yet reclaim his impure Idolatry and prophanations, and admit Chriſt the Lamb of God to ſtand alone, without our impure additions, to be our only juſtification, according to the free promiſe of Gods grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this Faith, grounding only upon Chriſt the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better diſpoſition; and alſo ſoon would, or yet will bring down the pride of that proud *Holofernes*. But otherwiſe, if the Biſhop of *Rome* will not gently give place to the mild voice of Gods word, I think not contrary, but he ſhall be compelled at laſt to give place and room to the *Turk* whether he will or not. And yet notwithſtanding, when both the *Turk* and the Pope ſhall do againſt it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods Teſtament ſhall fructifie and increaſe by ſuch means as the Lord ſhall work, which beginneth already (praiſe to the Lord) to come graciouſly and luckily forward in moſt places.

*Why the Pope cannot prevail againſt the Turks.*

*God offended with Idolatry & wrong faith of the Chriſtians.*

A

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# A Prayer againſt the Turks.

A Prayer againſt the Turks.

*O Eternal Lord God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Creator and diſpoſer of all things, juſt, gracious, and wiſe only, in the name and reverence of thy Son Jeſus, we proſtrate our ſelves, deſiring thine Omnipotent Majeſty to look down upon theſe afflicted times of thy poor Creatures and Servants; relieve thy Church, increaſe our Faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou haſt given thine only begotten Son unto us, promiſing with him life to all that ſhall believe upon his name; ſo incline the obedience of our Faith to thy promiſes in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other ſinful additions and prophane inventions, which are beſides him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promiſe. And grant (we beſeech thee) to thy Church, more and more to ſee how terrible a thing it is, to ſet up any other means or help of Salvation, but only in him whom thou only haſt ſent and ſealed.*

Pſal. 119. *Reform thy Church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we ſeeing our own weakneſs, may put off our ſelves,*
Gen. 4. *and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So ſhall we ſtand ſtrong, when nothing ſtandeth in us, but thy*
Wiſd. 5. *Son alone, in whom thou art only pleaſed. Renew in this thy Church again the decayed Faith of thy Son Jeſus,*
Iai. 55. *which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of Chriſtian life. And forgive our wretched I-*
Gen. 6. *dolatry and blind fantaſies paſt, wherewith we have provoked manifold ways thy deſerved indignation againſt us.*
Jud. 14. *For our Hearts have been full of Idols, our Temples full of Images, our ways full of Hipocriſie: thy Sacraments*
Joh. 12. *prophaned, and thy religion turned to ſuperſtition becauſe the Lanthorn of thy Word went not before us, therefore we*
Luk. 6. *have ſtumbled. Miſerably we have walked hitherto, like Sons not of* Sarah, *but of* Agar, *and therefore theſe Turk-*
Coloſſ. 2. *iſh* Agarens *have riſen up againſt us. Many hard and ſtraight ways we have paſſed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much coſt we have beſtowed on bread that ſwageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not taſted. We have ſailed far and near in Barks of our own building, but have not kept within the Ark only of thy promiſe, and therefore theſe floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed Temple, and therefore we have not been heard. We have plowed and tilled, but without thy heifer, and therefore this untidy ground of ours bringeth forth ſo many weeds. We do fiſh apace and that all night, but becauſe we fiſh not on the right ſide of the Boat, in our fiſhing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but becauſe the ground-work is not ſurely laid upon the rock of thy promiſe, the Eaſt wind riſeth and ſhaketh them all to ſhivers. We walk and have walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, having a ſhew of wiſdom, but not a holding the head, where lyeth all our ſtrength, and therefore theſe Philiſtin Turks have hitherto ſo prevailed againſt us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be ſhaken out of place. Wherefore we beſeech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and ſet them in the right joynt again. And finally, reduce this ſame thy myſtical body again to his perfect and natural head, which is thine only Son Jeſus Chriſt, and none other. For him only haſt thou annointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head that can miniſter ſtrength and nutriment to this body, but he alone; Foraſmuch as all other heads be ſinful, and are not able to ſtand in thy ſight, but make this body rather worſe than better. Only this thy welbeloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our ſtrength and fullneſs; him only we confeſs and knowledge. For whom and with whom, we beſeech thee (O Lord God of hoaſts) grant to thy Church ſtrength and victory againſt the malicious fury of theſe* Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, *againſt* Gog *and* Magog, *and all the malignant rabble of Antichriſt, enemies to thy Son Jeſus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and diſſolve their Kingdom, that the Kingdom of thy Son ſo long oppreſſed, may recover and flouriſh over all; and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy Salvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our only Mediator and moſt merciful Advocate.* Amen.

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IN this long digreſſion, wherein ſufficiently hath been deſcribed the grievous and tedious perſecution of the *Saracens* and *Turks* againſt the Chriſtians, thou haſt to underſtand (good Reader) and behold the image of a terrible Antichriſt evidently appearing both by his own doings, and alſo by the Scriptures, Propheſied and declared to us before. Now in comparing the *Turk* with the Pope, if a queſtion be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichriſt, it were eaſie to ſee and judge, that the *Turk* is the more open and manifeſt enemy againſt Chriſt and his Church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adverſary to Chriſt and his members; or whether of them hath conſumed and ſpilt more Chriſtian blood, he with ſword, or this with fire and ſword together, neither is it a light matter to diſcern, neither is it my part here to diſcuſs, which do only write the Hiſtory, and the Acts of them both. Wherefore after the ſtory of the Turks thus finiſhed, now to reenter again there where we left, in deſcribing the domeſtical troubles and perſecutions here at home under the Biſhop of *Rome*; after the burning of *Babram* in *Norfolk* above declared. I ſignified alſo of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the *Tower*, intituled *Polichron*, (although I find not his name in the ſaid Chronicle expreſſed) which ſuffered the pains of burning in *Smithfield*, about the ſame time, which was the year of our Lord, 1500. *Ex Polychron.*

A queſtion whether is the greater Antichriſt the *Turk* or the Pope.

Babram and an old man Martyr. *Vide ſupra. Ex ſcripto Polichronico.*

This aged Father I ſuppoſe, is he of whom I find mention made in certain old Papers and Records of *William Cary* Citizen (albeit the day of the month doth a little differ) wherein is thus teſtified, That on the 20*th* day of *July*, *Anno* 1500, upon the day of Saint *Margaret*, there was an old man burned in *Smithfield* for an Heretick, and the ſame perſon upon the 10*th* day before he was burnt, would have ſtolen out of the *Lollards* Tower, and ſo falling out of the Tower, did foully hurt himſelf; whereupon he was carried in a Cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foreſaid Papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how in the year above prefixed, which was *An.* 1499. In the time of one *Perſevel*, many were taken for Hereticks in *Kent*, and at *Pauls* Croſs they bear Fagots and were abjured, and ſhortly after the ſame year there went thirteen *Lollards* afore the Proceſſion in *Pauls*; and there were of them eight women and a young Lad, and the Lads Mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bear Fagots on their necks afore the Proceſſion.

Divers Scottiſh men bearing Fagots.

## William Tylſworth *Martyr.*

FOrſomuch as the world is come now to ſuch a moroſity and peeviſh inſenſibility in theſe contentions and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be ſo circumſpectly written and ſtoried, but ſhall lye in danger of one Sycophant or another, which never will credit there, where they liſt not to like: neither will they ever like that which ſeemeth prejudicial to their faction, or not to ſerve the humor wherewith their fantaſies be infected: therefore to ſtop the mouths of ſuch carping cavillers with as much poſſibility as I may, be it known to all and ſingular ſuch perſons, who by evidence of truth and witneſs will be ſatisfied, that in the Town of *Amerſham* be yet alive both men and women, which can and do bear witneſs of this that I ſhall declare. Alſo there is of the ſaid compacy, one named *William Page*, an aged Father and yet alive, witneſs to the ſame. Alſo another named *Agnes Wetherly* Widow, being about the age of an hundred years, yet living and witneſs hereof; that in the days of King *Henry* the ſeventh, *Anno* 1506, in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*

William Tylſworth Martyr.

Lincoln in *Buckinghamſhire* (*William Smith* being Biſhop of the ſame Dioceſs) one *William Tylſworth* was burned in *Amerſham*, in a Cloſe called *Stanley*, about ſixty years ago. At which time one *Joan Clerk*, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the ſaid *William Tylſworth* and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to ſet fire to her dear Father: and at the ſame time her husband *John Clerk* did penance at her Fathers burning, and bear a Faggot, as did alſo.

The daughter compelled to ſet fire to her Father.

*Robert Bartlet.*
*Richard Bartlet.*
*John Bartlet.*
*Thomas Harding*, and his Wife.
*Henry Harding.*
*Richard Harding.*
*Robert Harding.*
*John Milſent*, and his Wife.
*William White.*
*John Mumbe*, and his Wife.
*Richard Bennet.*
*Roger Bennet.*
*John Fip.*
*William Grinder.*
*Thomas Homes.*
*Tomand Dorman.*
*William Scrivener.*
*John Scrivener.*
*Thomas Chaſe.*
*John Cracher.*

All theſe bear Faggots, and afterward were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain Towns to do Penance, as to *Buckingham*, *Alesbury*, and other Towns more. And alſo divers of theſe men were afterward burned in the Cheek, as *William Page*, which at this preſent is alive, and likewiſe did bear a Faggot with the aforeſaid. Furthermore, the foreſaid *Agnes Wetherly* teſtifieth, that at the burning of this *William Tylſworth*, were 60 and above, that were put to bear Faggots for their Penance, of whom divers were injoyned to bear and wear Faggots at *Lincoln* the ſpace of ſeven years, ſome at one time, ſome at another, *&c.* In which number was alſo one *Robert Bartlet* a rich man, who for his profeſſions ſake was put out of his Farm and Goods, and was condemned to be kept in the Monaſtry of *Aſhryge*, where he wear on his right ſleeve a ſquare piece of Cloath, the ſpace of ſeven years together.

{KING} {Hen.7.} *Amerſham* men bearing faggots.

It followeth moreover in the teſtimony of the forenamed, that about the ſame time of the burning of *William Tylſworth* (as the *Amerſham* men do ſay) or the next day after) as recordeth the foreſaid *Agnes*) was one Father *Roberts* burned at *Buckingham*. He was a Miller, and dwelled at *Miſſenden*: And at his burning there were about twenty perſons that were compelled to bear Faggots, and to do ſuch Penance as the wicked *Phariſees* did compel them. After that, by the ſpace of two or three years, was burned at *Amerſham*, *Thomas Bernard*, a Husband man, and *James Mordon*, a laborer

*The Burning of James Mordon & Thomas Bernard.*

they two were burned both at one Fire, and there was *William Littlepage* (who is yet alive) compelled to be burned in the right Cheek, and Father *Rogers*, and Father *Rever*, *alias Reive*, which after was burned. This Father *Rogers* was in the Biſhops Priſon 14 weeks together, night and day, where he was ſo cruelly handled with cold, hunger and irons; that after his coming out of the ſaid priſon, he was ſo lame in his back, that he cou'd never go upright as long as he lived, as can teſtifie divers honeſt men that be now living. Alſo there were thirty more burned in the right Cheek, and bear Faggots the ſame time. The cauſe was that they would talk againſt Superſtition and Idolatry, and were deſirous to hear and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the Cheek was this: their necks were tyed faſt to a poſt or ſtay with Towels, and their hands holden faſt that they might not ſtir, and ſo the Iron being hot, was put to their Cheeks, and thus bear they the prints and marks of the Lord Jeſus about them.

Father *Reive* Martyr.

Men of *Amerſham* burnt in the Cheek for Gods word.

## *The cruel handling of* Thomas Chaſe *of* Amerſham, *wickedly ſtrangled and martyred in the Biſhops Priſon at* Wooburn, *under* William Smith *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

AMong theſe aforeſaid, which were ſo cruelly perſecuted for the Goſpel and Word of Chriſt, one *Thomas Chaſe* of *Amerſham*, was one of them that

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that was thus cruelly handled: Which *Thomas Chaſe* by the report of ſuch as did know him, was a man of a godly ſober and honeſt behaviour (whoſe vertuous doings do yet remain in memory) and could not abide Idolatry and ſuperſtition, but many times would ſpeak againſt it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and deſpiſe him, and took him and brought him before the blind Biſhop, being at that time at *Wooburn* in the County of *Buckingham*, and as it is written *Acts* 12. that wicked *Herod* did vex certain of the congregation, and killed *James* the Brother of *John* with the Sword; and becauſe he ſaw that it pleaſed the *Jews*, &c. he proceeded farther, and had this ſame *Thomas Chaſe* before him, asking him, many queſtions touching the *Romiſh Religion*, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes, but what anſwer this godly man *Thomas Chaſe* made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that his anſwer was moſt zealous and godly in profeſſing Chriſts true Religion and Goſpel, and to the extirpation of Idolatry, and ſuperſtition, and hypocriſie, for that the ſaid *Thomas Chaſe* was commanded to be put in the Biſhops Priſon, called *little eaſe*, in the Biſhops houſe at *Wooburn*, which Priſon had not been miniſtred unto him, had not his anſwers been found and upright. There *Thomas Chaſe* lay bound moſt painfully with Chains, Gyves, Manicles and Irons, oftentimes ſore pined with hunger, where the Biſhops Alms was daily brought unto him by his Chaplains: Which Alms was nothing elſe but checks, taunts, rebukes and threatnings, ſloutings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly Martyr took moſt quietly and patiently, remembring and having reſpect to Chriſts promiſes. *Matth.* 5. *Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven:* and as followeth, *Bleſſed are ye when men revile you and perſecute you*, &c. When the Biſhop with his band of Shavelings, perceived that by their daily practiſes of cruelty they could not prevail againſt him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earneſt in profeſſing Chriſts true Religion, and that he did tolerate and bear moſt patiently all their wickedneſs and cruelty miniſtred unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, leſt there ſhould be a tumult or an uproare among the people. And as *Richard Hun* ſhortly after was hanged or ſtrangled in *Lollards Tower*, about the year of our Lord, 1514, even ſo theſe blood-ſuckers moſt cruelly ſtrangled and preſt to death this ſaid *Thomas Chaſe* in Priſon, which moſt heartily called upon God to receive his ſpirit; as witneſſeth a certain woman that kept him in Priſon.

*Tho. Chaſe* brought before the Biſhop.

*Tho. Chaſe* condemned to the Biſhops Priſon at *Wooburn* calle little Eaſe.

A worthy Alms of a Biſhop.

The perfect patience and conſtancy of *Tho. Chaſe.*

*Tho. Chaſe* cruelly Murthered in the Biſhops Priſon.

After that theſe ſtinging Vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichriſt, had thus moſt cruelly and impiouſly murthered this faithful Chriſtian, they were at their wits end, and could not tell what ſhift to make, to cloke their ſhameful murther withall: at laſt to blind the ignonorant ſilly people, theſe bloody Butchers moſt ſlanderouſly cauſed it by their Miniſters to be bruted abroad, that the foreſaid *Thomas Chaſe* had hanged himſelf in Priſon; which was a moſt ſhameful and abominable lie, for the Priſon was ſuch, that a man could not ſtand upright, nor lie at eaſe, but ſtooping, as they do report that did know it. And beſides that, this man had ſo many manicles and Irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman did declare that ſaw him dead, inſomuch that they confeſſed that his blood-bulk was broken by reaſon they had ſo vilely beaten him and bruiſed him. And yet theſe holy Catholicks had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and ſlandering of this godly Martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they cauſed him to be buried in the Wood called *Norlandwood*, in the High-way betwixt *Wooburn* and little *Marlow*, to the intent he ſhould not be taken up again to be ſeen: And thus commonly are innocent men laid up by theſe Clerkly Clergy men. But he that is effectually true of himſelf hath promiſed at one time or at another, to clear his true ſervants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true Word. No ſecret, ſaith he, is ſo cloſe, but once ſhall be opened; neither is any thing ſo hid, that ſhall not at the laſt be known clearly. Such a ſweet Lord is God always to thoſe that are his true ſervants. Bleſſed be his holy Name therefore for ever and ever, *Amen.*

*Tho. Chaſe* falſly ſlandered to hang himſelf.

God brings to light the ſecret murthers of the Papiſts. *Matth.* 10. *Luk.* 12.

*Thomas Harding* being one of this company, thus moleſted and troubled, as is aforeſaid, in the Town of *Averſham*, for the truth of the Goſpel, after his Abjuration and Penance done, was again ſought for, and brought to the fire, in the days of King *Henry* the Eighth, and under D. *Longland* then Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſucceeding after Cardinal *Wolſey*. Of whoſe death and Martyrdom we ſhall likwiſe record (Chriſt willing and granting) in order when we ſhall come to the time and year of his ſuffering.

After the Martyrdom of theſe two, I read alſo of one *Thomas Noris*, who likewiſe for the ſame cauſe, that is for the Profeſſion of Chriſts Goſpel, was condemned by the Biſhop, and burnt at *Norwich*, the laſt day of *March*, *Anno* 1507.

*Tho. Noris* Martyr. Ann. 1507

In the next year following, which was *An.* 1508, in the conſiſtory of *London*, was convented *Elizabeth Sampſon*, of the Pariſh of *Aldermanbury*, upon certain Articles, and ſpecially for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at *Wilſdon*, at *Stanings*, at *Crome*, at *Walſingham*, and the Image of Saint *Savior* of *Barmondſey*, and againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and for that ſhe had ſpoken theſe or like words; that our Lady of *Wilſdon* was but a burnt arſe elf, and a burnt arſe ſtock; and if ſhe might have holpen men and women which go to her on Pilgrimage, ſhe would not have ſuffered her tail to have been burnt: and what ſhould folk worſhip our Lady of *Wilſdon*, or our Lady of *Crome*; for the one is but a burnt arſe ſtock, and the other is but a Puppet: and better it were for the people to give their Alms at home to poor people, than to go on Pilgrimage. Alſo ſhe called the Image of S. *Saviour*, Sim Saviour with kit lips, and that ſhe ſaid ſhe could make as good bread, as that which the Prieſt occupied, and that it was not the body of Chriſt, but bread, for that Chriſt could not be both in Heaven and in Earth at one time. For theſe and certain other Articles, ſhe was compelled to abjure before Maſter *William Horſey*, Chancellor, the day and year above written. *Ex Regiſt. Lond.*

*Elizabeth Sampſon.* Anno 1508

## ¶ *Laurence Gheſt.*

LAmentable it is to remember, and a thing almoſt infinite to comprehend the names, times, and perſons of all them which have been ſlain by the rigour of the Popes Clergy, for the true maintaining of Chriſts cauſe, and of his Sacraments. Whoſe memory being regiſtred in the book of Life, albeit it need not the commendoration of our ſtories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not unprofitable, the ſuffering and Martyrdom of them to be notified, which innocently have given their blood to be ſhed in Chriſts quarrel.

*Laurence Gheſt* Martyr.

In the Catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of *Laurence Gheſt*, who was burned in *Salisbury* for the matter of the Sacrament, in the days of King *Henry* the Seventh: He was of a comely and tall perſonage, and otherwiſe (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which the Biſhop and the Cleſe were the more loath to burn him, but kept him in Priſon the ſpace of two years. This *Laurence* had a wife and ſeven children. Wherefore they thinking to expugne and perſwade his mind, by ſtirring of his fatherly affection toward his Children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the ſtake, they brought before him his wife and his foreſaid ſeven Children. At the ſight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him Religion overcoming nature, made his conſtancy to remain unmoveable, in ſuch ſort, as when his wife exhort and deſired him to favour himſelf, he again began to deſire her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good courſe, running toward the mark of his Salvation: and ſo fire being put to him, he finiſhed his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but alſo himſelf to follow Chriſt. As he was in burning one of the Biſhops men threw a firebrand at his face. Whereat the Brother of *Laurence* ſtanding by, ran at him with his Dagger, and would have ſlain him, had he not been otherwiſe ſtaid.

*Laurence Gheſt* two years in Priſon at *Salisbury.*

*Laurence* would not be turned for Wife nor Children.

*Laurence* died a Martyr.

Teſtified and witneſſed by the credible report of one *William Ruſſel*, an aged man dwelling of late in *Coleman-ſtreet*, who was there preſent the ſame time at the burning of *Laurence*, and was alſo himſelf burned in the Cheek, and one of the perſecuted flock in thoſe days, whoſe Daughter is yet living: the ſame is confirmed alſo with the teſtimony of one *Richard Wh*, late

Witneſs of the ſtory.

vant ſometime to M. *Latymer*, who ſojourning in the houſe of the ſaid *William Ruſſel*, heard him many times declare the ſame.

## *Faith full Woman burned.*

A notable ſtory of a faithful woman burned in *Cheaping-Sadbury*.

BUt amongſt all the examples of God, whereof ſo many have ſuffered from time to time for Chriſt and his truth. I cannot tell if ever were any Martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonſtration of Gods mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident againſt the perſecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly Woman put to death in *Cheaping-Sadbury*, about the ſame time, under the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh.

The conſtancy of which bleſſed Woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Chriſtians to behold; ſo again the example of the Biſhops Chancellor, which cruelly comdemned the innocent, may offer a terrible ſpectacle to the eyes of all Papiſtical perſecutors to conſider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may, *Amen*. The name of the Town where ſhe was Martyred, was, as is ſaid, *Cheaping-Sadbury*. The name of the Woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chancellor, who condemned her, was called Doctor *Whittington*. The time of her burning was in the Reign and time of King *Henry* the Seventh, orderly therefore in this place and time to be inſerted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this preſent Hiſtory brought to my hands, and that in ſuch convenient ſeaſon, as I was drawing toward the end of the foreſaid Kings Reign: ſo that it may appear to them which behold the opportunity of things, not to be without Gods holy will and providence, that this foreſaid example ſhould not lye hid and unremembred, but come to light and knowledge, and that in ſuch order of placing, according as the due courſe of our ſtory hitherto kept, requireth.

D. *Whittington* Chancellor a perſecutor.

After this godly woman, and manly Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the wretched Chancellor above named, Doctor *Whittington*, for the faithful profeſſion of the truth, which the Papiſts then called Hereſie, and the time now come when ſhe ſhould be brought to the place and pains of her Martyrdom, a great concourſe of all the multitude, both in the Town and Country about (as the manner is in ſuch times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was alſo the foreſaid Doctor *Whittington* the Chancellor, there preſent to ſee the Execution done. Thus this faithful woman, and true ſervant of God, conſtantly perſiſting in the teſtimony of the truth, committing her cauſe to the Lord, gave over her life to the Fire, refuſing no pains nor torments to keep her Conſcience clear and unreproveable in the day of the Lord. The Sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this bleſſed Martyr. It hapned in the mean time, that as the Catholick Executioners were buſie in ſlaying this ſilly Lamb at the Towns ſide, a certain Butcher was as buſie within the Town ſlaying of a Bull; which Bull he had faſt bound in Ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the Butcher (belike not ſo skilful in his Art of killing Beaſts, as the Papiſts be in murdering Chriſtians) as he was lifting his Ax to ſtrike the Bull, failed in his ſtroke, and ſmote a little too low, or elſe how he ſmit, I know not: this was certain that the Bull, although ſomewhat grieved at the ſtroke, but yet not ſtricken down, put his ſtrength to the Ropes, and brake looſe from the Butcher into the Street, the very ſame time as the people were coming in great preaſs from the burning. Who ſeeing the Bull coming towards them, and ſuppoſing him to be wild (as it was no other like) gave way for the Beaſt, every man ſhifting for himſelf as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the Bull, he paſſed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the Chancellor was. Againſt whom the Bull, as pricked with a ſudden vehemency, ran full butt with his Horns, and taking him upon the paunch, gored him thorow and thorow, and ſo killed him immediately, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his Horns all the Street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that ſaw it.

A faithful Chriſtian woman and Martyr, burned at *Cheaping-Sadbury*.

A compariſon beween Butchers, and the Popes murthering Miniſters.

A rare and ſpecial example of the juſt puniſhment of God upon a perſecutor D. *Whittington* ſlain of a Bull.

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Although the carnal ſenſe of man be blind in conſidering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which poperly pertain to Gods only praiſe and providence; yet in this ſo ſtrange and ſo evident example, what man can be ſo dull or ignorant, which ſeeth not herein a plain miracle of Gods mighty power and judgment, both in the puniſhing of this wretched Chancellor, and alſo in admoniſhing all other like perſecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abſtain from the like cruelty?

Now for the credit of this ſtory left I be ſaid upon mine own head to commit to ſtory things raſhly, which I cannot juſtifie, therefore to ſtop ſuch cavelling mouths, I will diſcharge my ſelf with authority I truſt ſufficient, that is, with the witneſs of him which both was a Papiſt, and alſo preſent at the ſame time at the burning of the Woman, whoſe name was *Rowland Webb*: which *Rowland*, dwelling then in *Cheaping-Sadbury*, had a ſon named *Richard Webb*, ſervant ſometime to Maſter *Latimer*, who alſo induring with him in time of his trouble ſix years together, was himſelf impriſoned and perſecuted for the ſame cauſe. Unto the which *Richard Webb*, being now aged, then young, the foreſaid *Rowland* his Father; to the intent to exhort him from the ſect of Hereſie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the ſtory of the Bull aforeſaid, which he himſelf did ſee and teſtifie. This *Richard Webb* is yet living, a witneſs of his own Fathers words and teſtimony, which I truſt may ſatisfie all indifferent Readers, except only ſuch as think no truth to be believed, but that only which is in their Portues.

## *Verſes touching the ſame* Thomas Hatcherus.

*Mira legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi*
*Exitus, ut pœnas addita pœna luat.*
*Vera legis, Domini cuicunque potentia noſta eſt,*
*Ut delinquente ira ſevera premat.*
*Sæpe fit ut fuſus cumuletur ſanguine ſanguis,*
*Sæpe fit ut pœnis obruat ira novis.*
*Omnia ſunt Domini dextræ ſubjecta potenti,*
*Qui ciet arbritrio bruta, homineſque ſuo.*
*Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus*
*Evitans, fracto fune repente fugit.*
*Forte viam qua turba frequens confluxerat ante,*
*Fœminea ut cernat membra perire rogo,*
*Taurus iit, fertur qua confertiſſima turba;*
*Læſus at extanta ſolus & unus erat.*
*Solus & unus erat, rapidos qui miſit in ignes,*
*Et miſere parvum ſparſit ovile Dei.*
*Et quaſi conſulto ferretur, præterit omnes,*
*Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,*
*Ille jacet, madido fœdatur ſanguine corpus*
*Eruta perque vias viſcera ſparſa jacent,*
*Quis non a Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,*
*Cogitet hæc fieri, non repetendo tremat?*
*Ultio terribiles comitatur juſtæ procellas,*
*Sera licet, certis paſſibus illa venit.*

And thus much concerning the ſtate of the Church. Wherein is to be underſtood, what ſtorms and perſecutions have been raiſed up in all quarters againſt the flock and congregation of Chriſt, not only by the Turks, but alſo at home within our ſelves, by the Biſhop of *Rome* and his retinue. Where alſo it is to be noted in the days and Reign of this King *Henry* the Seventh, how mightily the working of Gods Goſpel hath multiplied and increaſed, and what great numbers of men and women have ſuffered for the ſame with us in *England*, as by theſe ſtories above paſt may be apparent.

The ſtate of the Commonwealth commonly followeth the ſtate of the Church.

Now theſe things declared, which to the Church matters be appertaining, conſequently it remaineth ſomething to intreat of the ſtate likewiſe of the Commonwealth, which commonly doth follow the ſtate of the Church. Where the Church is quietly and modeſtly governed

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verned, and the flock of Chriſt defended by Godly Princes in peace and ſafety, from devouring and violence of bloody Wolves; the ſucceſs of civil eſtate, for the moſt part, there muſt needs flith, and the Princes long continue through Gods preſervation, in proſperous reſt and tranquility. Contrariwiſe, where either the Church of Chriſt through the negligence of Princes, or through their ſetting on, the poor members of Chriſt be perſecuted and devoured; ſhortly after enſueth ſome juſt recompence of the Lord upon thoſe Princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or elſe they find not that quiet in the Commonwealth, which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, ſo in this preſent time be not lacking, whether we conſider the ſtate and condition of other Countries far off, or elſe of our own Country near at home.

The duty of Princes to defend their Subjects from the ſlaughter of the Church of *Rome.*

And here not to wander in our ſtory farther than to *France* only, let us a little behold the example of King *Charles* the eighth, who living in this Kings time, dyed alſo not long before him. This *Charles* is commended of *Philippus Commineus*, to be a moderate, valiant and victorious Prince, adorned with many ſpecial vertues to a Prince appertaining. And yet the ſame King, becauſe he was ſlack and remiſs in defence of Chriſts Church, neither did uſe his authority, nor took his occaſion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the eſtate of the Biſhop and Clergy of *Rome* when he might, he was therefore himſelf puniſhed and cut off of the Lord, as by his ſtory enſuing may right well appear. For ſo it is of him recorded, that being marvellouſly excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the Counſel of moſt of his Nobles) he took his journey into *Italy*, neither being furniſhed with money, nor the ſeaſon of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lords doing, to the intent he would have the Church and Clergy of *Rome* reformed by the Princes Sword, which ſo vexed all Chriſtendom at that time, we ſhall hear what is teſtified in the Commentaries of the ſaid *Philip Commineus*, *Lib.* 3. *de bello Neapolit.* writing in this wiſe.

*Ex commentariis Phil. Cominei. De bello Neapolitano, lib.* 3.

The Propheſie of Jerom Savanarola.

*There was* (ſaith he) *in the City of* Florence *the ſame time a Dominick Friar, named* Hieronymus Savanarola (*of whom mention was made before*) *a man of a right godly and approved life: Who in the ſaid City of* Florence *preached and Propheſied long before, that the French King ſhould come with an Army into* Italy, *being ſtirred up of God to ſuppreſs the Tyrants of* Italy, *and none ſhould withſtand him. He ſhould alſo come to the City of* Piſæ *and the ſtate of* Florence *ſhould be altered; all which happened true. He affirmed moreover to be ſignified to him of the Lord, that the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Church muſt be redreſſed* Per vim armorum. *i. by the Sword or force of Arms. Many things alſo be Propheſied of the* Venetians, *and of the French King, ſaying, that the King with ſome danger and difficulty ſhould paſs that journey, yet notwithſtanding ſhould overcome it and eſcape, albeit his ſtrength were never ſo ſlender; for God would ſafely conduct him in that journey, and ſafely bring him home again. But becauſe he had not done his Office, in amending the ſtate of the Church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it ſhould come to paſs* (*ſaith he*) *and that ſhortly, that ſome incommodity or detriment ſhould happen to the King: or if he ſhould eſcape that danger of his ſickneſs and recover health, then if he did reſiſt the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the ſafety of the poor and miſerable, God would ſhew mercy unto him*, &c. And this the ſaid *Hieronymus* declared before to *Commineus*, one of the Kings Counſellors, which was the writer of the ſtory, and required him to ſignifie the ſame unto the King; which ſo did, and he moreover, himſelf coming to the preſence of the King declared no leſs.

*Vide Phil. Cominæum de bello Neapol. lib* 5.

All which things as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the King being but eaſily accompanied with a ſmall power entred into *Italy*; where firſt he came to *Aſta*, then to *Genoa*, and to *Piſa*, from thence proceeded to *Florence*, which alſo he obtained, diſplacing there *Petrus Medices* the Duke, who had uſed great Tyranny upon the Subjects. From thence he removed toward *Rome*, where a great part of the City Wall, at the coming of the French King fell down.

Afterward, when the King was entred into the City, and the Pope (who then took part with *Alphonſus* King of *Neapolis* againſt the French King) had immured himſelf within the mount of *Adrian*, the Wall of the Caſtle fell down of it ſelf: whereby when the King was both occaſioned, and exhorted alſo by his Captains to invade the Pope, and to depoſe him, and to reform the Church of *Rome* (which he might then eaſily have done, as it had pleaſed him) yet all theſe occaſions offered ſo opportunely of God, moved not the King to do his duty, and to help the poor Church of Chriſt: wherefore ſhortly after, returning home into *France* from *Neapolis*, either the ſame year, or the next year following, he was ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſs at *Amboiſe*, as he was looking on them that played at Tennis, and that in the ſtinkingeſt place in all the Caſtle, where he fell down and died within 12 houres, according to the forewarning of *Hieronymus*, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his Sons death, and of his own, which was about the year of our Lord, 1498. *Ex Philip. Comineo, lib.* 5.

*De bello Neapol. lib.* 5.

Like examples we have many here alſo in this our Realm of *England*. So long as King *John* kept out of the Realm the Popes authority and power, he continued ſafe and quiet with his Nobles: but ſo ſoon as he brought the Realm under tribute and ſubjection to that foraign Biſhop, God ſtirred up his Nobles againſt him, whereby he had much diſquiet and trouble, and ſoon thereupon decayed.

Examples of Kings of *England*, which were bleſſed of God with long proſperity being enemies to the Biſhops of *Rome*.

Of all the Kings of *England*, from *William* the Conquerer to this King *Henry* the Seventh, were none which either longer continued, or more proſperouſly flouriſhed, than King *Henry* the Second, K. *Henry* the third, King *Edward* the firſt, King *Edward* the third, of whom the firſt, how ſtout he was in withſtanding *Thomas Becket* and Pope *Alexander* the Third, is ſufficiently before comprehended.

*Auguſtus* Reigned 55 years.

The ſecond, which was Son of King *John*, albeit through the wretchedneſs of that time his power was not ſufficient to repulſe the Popes uſurped juriſdiction out of the Realm, yet his will was good: at laſt he ſo defended and provided for his Subjects, that they took no great wrong at the Popes hands; who Reigned one year longer than *Auguſtus Cæſar*, which hath not commonly been ſeen in any Prince.

The third, which was King *Edward* the Firſt, ſo vigilantly behaved himſelf for the publick commodity and ſafety of his people, that he defended them from all foraign power and hoſtility both of the *Scots* (then our enemies, now our friends) and alſo from the Biſhop of *Rome*, taking part with them againſt us, as may appear above. Furthermore of the ſame King, and of his worthy Nobles and houſe of Parliament, how valiantly they ſtood in denyal of the Popes Subſidies, and alſo how the ſaid King ſecluded out of his protection the Biſhops, and eſpecially the Archbiſhop *Pecham*, for ſtanding with the Pope, read before.

*Vide ſupra.*

*Vide ſupra.*

Now as touching King *Edward* the Third, how little he regarded, how Princely he with his Nobles likewiſe reſiſted the Popes reſervations and proviſions, how he bridled the Archbiſhop *John Stratford*, and rejected the vain authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, both in defence of his Subjects, and alſo in defence of claiming his right title in the Realm of *France*, read before.

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly ſucceſs and proſperity of life always follow the godly, which we ſee rather to be given more often to the wicked ſort: but ſpeaking of the duty of Princes, I note and obſerve by examples of Hiſtories, that ſuch Princes as have moſt defended the Church of Chriſt committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the Biſhop of *Rome*, have not lacked at Gods hand great bleſſing and felicity: whereas contrariwiſe, they which either themſelves have been perſecutors of Chriſts members, or have not ſhielded them by their protection from foraign Tyranny and injuries, have lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appear by King *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Third, King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the *Fifth*, King *Henry* the Sixth, &c. who becauſe either negligently they have ſuffered, or cruelly cauſed ſuch perſecuting laws to be made and ſo much Chriſtian blood injurioully to be devoured; therefore have they been the leſs proſpered of the Lord, ſo that

*Vide ſupra.* What diſference between moderate Princes, and them that were perſecutors.

they were depoſed, or if they flouriſhed for a while, yet they did not long continue, almoſt not half the time of the other Kings before named.

And therefore, as the ſtate of the Commonwealth doth commonly follow the ſtate of the Church, as ye heard before; ſo it had been to be wiſhed, that this King *Henry 7th* being otherwiſe a prudent and temperate Prince, had not permitted the untemperate rage of the Popes Clergy ſo much to have their wills over the poor flock of Chriſt, as then they had; according as by theſe perſecutions above mentioned may appear. The which King *Henry* the Seventh, albeit he had a ſufficient continuance, who had now Reigned 24 years, yet notwithſtanding here cometh the ſame thing to be noted, whereof I ſpake before; That when the Church of Chriſt beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wrack through miſorder and negligence, the State of the Commonwealth cannot there long endure without ſome alteration, and ſtroke of Gods correction. But howſoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the ſtory: that after the burning and vexing of theſe poor ſervants of Chriſt above recited, when the perſecution began now in the Church to be hot, God calleth away the King, the ſame year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had Reigned the term of 24 years: Who if he had adjoyned a little more pitiful reſpect, in protecting Chriſts poor members from the fire of the Popes Tyranny, to his other great vertues of ſingular wiſdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; ſo much had he been comparable with the beſt of thoſe Princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was ſupplied moſt luckily (bleſſed be the Lord) by his poſterity ſucceeding after him. Of whom in the next Volumn following (Chriſt thereunto aſſiſting us) we have to ſpecifie more at large.

*The death of King Henry.*

*Country men perſecuted.*

Among many other things incident in the Reign of this King *Henry* the Seventh, I have overpaſſed the Hiſtory of certain godly perſons perſecuted in the Dioceſs of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, as we find them in the Regiſters of the Dioceſs recorded, here following.

The year of our Lord, 1485, *March* the *9th*, amongſt divers and ſundry othe good men in *Coventry*, theſe nine here under named, were examined before *John* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* in Saint *Michaels* Church, upon theſe Articles following in order.

*J. Blomſtone.*

*The power of Peter ſhifteth not to his Succeſſors.*

FIrſt, *John Blomſton* was openly and publickly infamed, accuſed, reported and appeached, that he was a very Heretick, becauſe he had preached, taught, holden and affirmed, that the power attributed to Saint *Peter* in the Church of God, by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt immediately, did not ſhit or paſs from him, to remain with his ſucceſſors.

*Item*, That there was as much vertue in an herb, as in the Image of the Virgin *Mary*.

*Purgatory denyed.*

*Item*, That Prayer and Alms avail not the dead; for incontinent after death, he goeth either to Heaven or Hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

*Images not to be worſhipped.*

*Item*, That it was fooliſhneſs to go on Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of *Dancaſter*, *Walſingham*, or of the Tower of the City of *Coventry*: for a man might as well worſhip the bleſſed Virgin by the fire ſide in the Kitchin, as in the aforeſaid places, and as well might a man worſhip the Bleſſed Virgin, when he ſeeth his Mother and Siſter, as in viſiting the Images, becauſe they be no more but dead ſtocks and ſtones.

*Item*, That he ſaid in Engliſh with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: a vengeance on all ſuch Horſon Prieſts, for they have great envy that a poor man ſhould get his living among them.

*Richard Hegham. Merits condemned.*

RIchard *Hegham* of the ſame City was accuſed, *&c.* to be a very Heretick, becauſe he did hold that a Chriſtian man being at the point of death, ſhould renounce all his own works good and ill, and ſubmit him to the mercy of God.

*Item*, That it was fondneſs to worſhip the Images of our Lady of *Tower* in the foreſaid City, or of other Saints, for they are but ſtocks and ſtones.

*Images ſerve rather to be burned than to be worſhipped.*

*Item*, That if the Image of our Lady of *Tower* were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

*Item*, That it were better to deal mony unto poor folks, than offer to the Image of Chriſt and other Saints which are but dead ſtocks and ſtones.

*Robert Crowther.*

RObert *Crowther* of the ſame City was accuſed, that he was an Heretick, becauſe he did hold, that who-ſo receiveth the Sacrament of the Altar in deadly ſin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but Bread and Wine.

*Item*, That neither Biſhop, nor Prieſts or Curates of Churches, have power in the Market of Penance to bind and looſe.

*Againſt Pilgrimage.*

*Item*, That Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of *Tower* is fooliſhneſs; for it is but a ſtock or a ſtone.

*Joh. Smith.*

*The Lords Prayer to be in Engliſh.*

JOhn *Smith* was accuſed to be a very Heretick, becauſe he did hold, that every man is bound to know the Lords Prayer, and the Creed in Engliſh, if he might for theſe falſe Prieſts.

*Item*, That who ſo believed as the Church men did believe, believe ill: and that a man had need to frequent the Schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right Faith.

*Item*, That no Prieſt hath power to abſolve a man in the Market of Penance, from his ſins.

*Roger Brown.*

*Againſt Pilgrimage.*

ROger *Brown* of the ſame City, was alſo accuſed to be an Heretick, becauſe he did hold that no man ought to worſhip the Image of our Lady of *Walſingham*, nor the blood of Chriſt at *Halies*, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatſoever he would ask.

*Item*, That he held not up his hand, nor looked up, at the elevation of the Euchariſt.

*Item*, That he promiſed one to ſhew him certain books of Hereſie, if he would ſwear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

*Fleſh eating in Lent.*

*Item*, That he did eat fleſh in *Lent*, and was taken with the manner.

*Item*, If any man were not ſhriven in his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confeſſed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he ſhould paſs to joy without Purgatory: And if he were confeſſed of any ſin, and were enjoyned only to ſay for Penance one *Pater-Noſter*, if he thought he ſhould have any puniſhment in Purgatory for that ſin, he would never be confeſſed for any ſin.

*Againſt Purgatory and confeſſion Auriculare.*

*Item*, Becauſe he ſaid all is loſt that is given to Prieſts.

*Againſt confeſſion and Satisfaction.*

*Item*, That there was no Purgatory, that would pardon all ſins, without confeſſion and ſatisfaction.

*Tho. Butler.*

THomas *Butler* of the ſame City was likewiſe openly accuſed to be a very Heretick, becauſe he did hold that there were but two ways, that is to ſay, to Heaven and to Hell.

*Againſt Purgatory.*

*Item*, That no faithful man ſhould abide any pain after the death of Chriſt, for any ſin, becauſe Chriſt dyed for our ſins.

*Item*, That there was no Purgatory; for every man immediately after death paſſeth either to Heaven or Hell.

*Againſt Merits.*

*Item*, That whoſoever departeth in the faith of Chriſt and the Church, howſoever he hath lived, ſhall be ſaved.

*Item*, That Prayers and Pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchaſe Heaven.

*John Falkes.*

*Againſt Images.*

JOhn *Falkes* was accuſed to be a very Heretick, becauſe he did affirm, That it was a fooliſh thing to offer to the Image of our Lady, ſaying, Her head ſhall be hoar or I offer to her: What is it but a block? If it could ſpeak to me, I would give it an half peny worth of Ale.

*Item*, That when the Prieſt carrieth to the ſick the Body of Chriſt, why carrieth he not alſo the Blood of Chriſt?

*Item*, That he did eat Cow-milk upon the firſt Sunday of *Lent*.

*It is Hereſie to ſay a ſtone is a ſtone, and a block is a block.*

*Item*, That as concerning the Sacrament of Penance and Abſolution, no Prieſt hath power to aſſoil any Man from his ſins, when as he cannot make one Hair of his Head.

*Item*, That the Image of our Lady was but a Stone or a Block.

*R. Hilmin.*

RIchard *Hilmin* was accuſed that he was a very Heretick, becauſe he did ſay and maintain, That it was better to part with Mony to the Poor, than to give Tithes.

KING *Hen.7.* Tithes to Prieſts, or to offer to the Images of our Lady; and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, than to the Images of God painted.

*Item*, That he had the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel and the Creed in *Engliſh*, and another Book did he ſee and had, which contained the Epiſtles and Goſpels in *Engliſh*, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be ſaved.

Scripture in *Engliſh*. *Item*, That no Prieſt ſpeaketh better in the Pulpit than that Book.

*Item*, That the Sacrament of the Altar is but Bread and that the Prieſts make it to blind the people.

*Item*, That a Prieſt whiles he is at Maſs, is a Prieſt; and after one Maſs done, till the beginning of another Maſs, he is no more than a Lay-man, and hath no more power than a meer Lay-man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were abſoiled and put to Penance.

IN the year of our Lord 1488, the third of *April*, *Margery Goyt*, Wife of *James Goyt* of *Aſburn*, was brought before the foreſaid *John* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who was there accuſed that ſhe ſaid, That that which the Prieſts lift over their heads at *Maſs*, was not the True and very Body of Chriſt: For if it were ſo, the Prieſts could not break it ſo lightly into four parts, and ſwallow it as they do: for the Lords Body hath Fleſh and Bones, ſo hath not that which the Prieſts receive.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. *Item*, That Prieſts buying forty Cakes for a half peny, and ſhewing them to the people, and ſaying, That of every of them they make the Body of Chriſt, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themſelves.

*Item*, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make Man, how can it be that Man ſhould be able to make God?

¶ This Woman alſo was conſtrained to recant, and ſo was ſhe abſoiled and did Penance.

Thus much I thought good here to inſert, touching theſe foreſaid Men of *Coventry*, eſpecially for this purpoſe, becauſe our cavilling adverſaries be wont to object againſt us the newneſs of Chriſts old and ancient Religion. To the intent therefore they may ſee this Doctrine, not to be ſo new as they report, I wiſh they would conſider both the Time and Articles here objected againſt theſe foreſaid perſons, as is above-premiſed.

I ſhould alſo in the ſame Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, have induced that ſtory of *Johannes Picus* Earl of *Mirandula*, the mention of whoſe name partly is touched before. This *Picus* Earl of *Mirandula*, being but a young Man, was ſo excellently witted, and ſo ſingularly learned in all Siences and in all Tongues, both *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*, *Chaldey*, and *Araby*, that coming to *Rome* booted and ſpurred, he ſet up 90 Concluſions, to diſpute in the ſame with any in all Chriſtendom, whoſoever would come againſt him. Of which Concluſions divers were touching the matter of the Sacrament, *&c.* And when none was found in all *Rome*, nor in *Europe*, that openly would diſpute with him, privily and in corners certain of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers and Friers, by the Pope appointed, conſulted together to enquire upon his Concluſions, whereupon they did articulate againſt him for ſuſpition of Hereſie. And thus the unlearned Clergy of *Rome* privily circumvented and entangled this learned Earl in their ſnares of Hereſie, againſt whom they durſt never openly diſpute. He died being of the age of 32 years, of ſuch wit and towardneſs, as is hard to ſay, whether ever *Italy* bred up a better. In his ſickneſs *Charles* the Eighth, then *French* King, moved with the fame of his Learning, came to viſit him. The Furniture of his Books coſt him 7000 *Florens*. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a Coul, to go about and Preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His ſtory, requireth a long tractation, which if place do ſerve, we will not peradventure forget. With two Popes, that is, with Pope *Innocent*, and *Alexander* the ſixth he had much vexation. *Picus Mirandula Earl.*

*The names of the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *in this ſixth Book contained.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 62 | *John Stratford.* | 8 |
| 63 | *John Kempe.* | 3 |
| 64 | *Thomas Bouchier.* | 33 |
| 65 | *John Morton.* | 14 |
| 66 | *Thomas Langhton.* | |
| 67 | *Henry Dene.* | 2 |
| | *Guliel. Warham.* | 28 |

This *Thomas Langhton* was Elected Archbiſhop, but died before he was confirmed.

Here endeth the Sixth Book, and the Firſt Tome.

## *A brief note of Eccleſiaſtical Laws Ordained by Ancient Kings in this Realm.*

Eccleſiaſtical Laws ordained by ancient Kings of this Realm. FOrſomuch as it is, and hath been a perſuaſion long gendred in the heads of many, that the Biſhops of *Rome* be the univerſal heads of the whole Militant Church of Chriſt in Earth, and havea lways ſo continued from the beginning of the Primitive time; and that no Prince, King nor Emperor in his own Realm hath any intereſt to intermeddle with matters and Laws Eccleſiaſtical, but only the ſaid Biſhops of *Rome*: to reſel and remove that Opinion out of the heads of all *Engliſh*-men, as a thing moſt falſe, and contrary both to Hiſtories of Time, and examples of ancient Kings and Governors of this Realm, I thought to fill up a little end of Paper here left, with ſome ſuch brief rehearſal of Laws deviſed and appointed by Kings and Rulers of this Land, for the ordering of the Church, and cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, to the intent that all the World may ſee that the Government of Chriſts Church here in Earth under Chriſt hath not depended only of the Pope from ancient time, but hath been rather directed by ſuch Kings and Princes as God here had placed under him to govern the people of this Realm of *England*, as followeth here in this preſent Table to be noted.

## A brief recapitulation of Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Laws, by ſundry Kings of this Realm Ordained, for Government of the Church, before the Conqueſt.

### *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Inas, *or* Ina.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King *Ina*. 1. FIrſt, King *Inas*, who Reigned in this Land the year of our Lord 712, commanded the Miniſters ſhould frame their converſation of life according to the form in Laws preſcribed.

2. That Infants ſhould be Baptized within 30 days.

3. *Item*, That no Man Lay or Spiritual, Free or Bond, ſhould labour on the Sunday.

4. *Item*, He eſtabliſhed immunity of Churches, and Sanctuary. Alſo he took order for the true payment of the Church-duties, and of the firſt fruits of all that was ſown to be paid at the day of St. *Martin*.

### *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Alured, *or* Alfred.

King *Alured's* Laws. KIng *Alured* after he had ordained divers judicial puniſhments for violating the Holy Precepts of God commanded by *Moſes*, he alſo confirmed and enlarged the priviledge of Sanctuary; he laid double pain upon ſuch as committed offences in the Solemnities of certain Feaſts; Alſo againſt them that committed Sacriledge.

2. He made a Law againſt Prieſts committing Murther.

3. Alſo he made a Law againſt Whoredom, Adultery and Fornication.

4. He

4. He appointed days of Faſting and ceaſing from Labour.

5. *Item*, He ſet order for making and keeping Vows.

## *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Edward *the Elder, and* Gythrum *the* Dane *King.*

King Edward's Laws

1. FIrſt, They agreed upon the Sanctuary; they forbad *Gentiliſm* and *Paganiſm*; they laid puniſhment upon the Clergy committing Theft, Perjury, or Murther, Fornication, or any capital crime.

2. They puniſhed Prieſts, that pretermitted their Office in pronouncing Feſtival, or Faſting-days.

3. They made a Law againſt all Labour, Buying and Selling upon the Sabbath, alſo for keeping of Feaſts.

*Item*, For no Execution to be done on the Sunday. Alſo againſt Witches and Sorcerers, *&c.*

## *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Ethelſtane.

King Ethelſtane's Laws.

1. KIng *Ethelſtane*, who Reigned the year of our Lord 924, commanded that every Village of his own ſhould give a monthly Corody to a poor perſon.

2. That fifty *Pſalms* ſhould be ſung daily in the Church, for the King, *&c.*

3. He alſo Ordained puniſhment for Witches and Sorcerers, *&c.*

## *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Edmund.

King Edmund's Laws.

1. AFter King *Ethelſtane* followed King *Edmund* about the year of our Lord 940, who eſtabliſhed and provided Laws againſt the unchaſte living of Churchmen.

2. *Item*, He made Laws concerning Tithes, with firſt Fruits of every Mans Crop, and Alms-mony duly to be paid.

3. *Item*, He Enacted, That Biſhops of their own proper charges ſhould repair Churches, and ſhould alſo admoniſh the King for the furniſhing of the ſame.

4. For Perjury alſo, and for Fighting within the Church, he ſet Laws and Pains.

## *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Edgar.

King Edgar's Laws.

1. KIng *Edgar*, who began his Reign about the year of our Lord 959, amongſt other Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, Ordained, That the Sunday ſhould be kept Holy from Saturday at noon till Monday in the morning.

2. *Item*, He Ordained and Decreed concerning Liberties and Freedoms of the Church; for Tithes alſo, and firſt Fruits of Corn, and paying of *Peter*-pence.

3. *Item*, For Holy-days and Faſting-days.

4. *Item*, That Aſſemblies or Synods ſhould be kept twice every year, whereat as well the Biſhop of the Dioceſs ſhould be preſent, as the Civil Magiſtrate.

KING Hen. 7.

## *King* Ethelrede, Anno 979.

King Ethelred's Laws.

KIng *Ethelrede* alſo, which ſucceeded after *Edgar* and *Edward*, appointed divers Laws for publick Regiment, whereof we find but few touching matters Eccleſiaſtical, for Tithes, Lights, Feaſts and nothing elſe, and therefore we paſs further to the Laws of *Canutus*.

## *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of King* Canutus.

King Canutus's Laws.

CAnutus the *Dane* King began to Reign in this Land in the year of our Lord 1016. The ſaid *Canutus* (as *Ethelrede* had done before) divided his Laws into Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal.

1. That Eccleſiaſtical perſons being accuſed of Fighting, Murder, or any other offence, ſhould purge themſelves thereof.

2. That Prieſts ſhould be degraded for Perjury, and put in Sureties of good behaviour.

3. He prayeth Prieſts, that they will live chaſt, and commanded other Religious.

4. He limited the Degrees of Marriage.

5. *Item*, He command Celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noon till Monday morning, as *Edgar* had done before, forbidding Markets, Huntings, Labours, and Court-keepings during the ſaid ſpace.

6. He Ordained each Chriſtian Man to come to the Houſel thrice yearly at the leaſt; That they ſearch and injure after Gods Law, and his Commandements.

7. That every Chriſtian Man underſtand the points of his Faith, and that at leaſt he learn perfectly the Lords Prayer and the Creed; and that whoſoever cannot, the ſame ſhall be excluded from the Euchariſt, and ſhall not be received to undertake for others in Baptiſm.

8. That Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould do their Duties; that they cry out and warn their Flocks when the Woulf cometh.

9. That at the Court of every Shire the Biſhop of the Dioceſs ſhall be preſent with the Sheriff, and that the one ſhall teach them Gods Law, and the other Mans Law, as ye heard in King *Edgar*'s Laws before.

Many other Laws, both Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, beſides theſe were enacted by theſe and other Kings here in *England* before the Conqueſt, but theſe be ſufficient to give the underſtanding Reader to conſider, how the Authority of the Biſhops of *Rome*, all this while, extended not ſo far to preſcribe Laws for Government of the Church, but that Kings and Princes of the Realm, as they be now, ſo were then full Governors here under Chriſt, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, both in directing Orders, inſtituting Laws, in calling of Synods, and alſo in conferring Biſhopricks and Benefices, without any leave of the *Romiſh* Biſhops. Thus *Odo*, *Dunſtane*, *Oſwold*, *Ethelwold*, *Adelmus*, and *Lanfrancus*, although they fet their Palls afterward from *Rome*, yet were they made Biſhops and Archbiſhops by Kings only, not by Popes.

Kings of England before the Conqueſt as well in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal

When Kings of England came firſt under the Popes ſubjection.

*And thus ſtood the Government of this Realm of* England *all the time before the Conqueſt, till Pope* Hildebrand, *through the ſetting on of the* Saxons, *began firſt to bring the Emperor (which was* Henry 4*th*) *under foot. Then followed the ſubduing of other Emperors, Kings, and Subjects after that; as namely here in* England, *when* Lanfrancus, Anſelmus, *and* Becket, *went to complain of their Kings, and Governors, then brought they the Popes Judicial Authority firſt from* Rome *over this Land, both over Kings and Subjects; which ever ſince hath continued, till theſe later years. Albeit the ſaid Kings of this Realm of* England *being prudent Princes, and ſeeing right well the ambitious preſumption of thoſe* Romiſh *Biſhops, did what they could to ſhake off the yoke of their Supremacy, as appeareth by the Laws and Acts of their Parliaments, both in King* Edward *the Thirds time, King* Richard *the Second, and King* Henry *the Fourth, above in their Parliament Notes ſpecified; yet for fear of other Foreign Princes, and the blind opinion of their Subjects, ſuch was then the calamity of that time, that neither they could nor durſt compaſs that which fain they would; till at laſt the time of their Iniquity being compleat, through the Lords wonderful working, their Pride had a fall, as in the Volume enſuing (the Lord ſo granting) ſhall by proceſs of Hiſtory be declared.*

{KING 2 Hen. 7. 5}

# *The proud Primacy of Popes described, in order of their rising up by little and little, from faithful Bishops and Martyrs, to become Lords and Governors over Kings and Kingdoms, exalting themselves in the Temple of God, above all that is called God,* &c. 2 Thessal. 2.

The Martyrdom of good Bishops under wicked Emperors in the Primitive Church.

IN the Description of the Primitive Church hath been (gentle Reader) set forth and exhibited before thine eyes the grievous afflictions and sorrowful torments, which through Gods secret sufferance fell upon the True Saints and Members of Christs Church in that time, especially upon the good Bishops, Ministers and Teachers of the Flock, of whom some were Scourged, some Beheaded, some Crucified, some Burned, some had their Eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which days of woful calamity continued (as is foreshewed) near the space of Three hundred years. During which time the Dear Spouse and Elect Church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present World, but in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the Cross passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented and martyred every where, who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the Enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing Psalms and Hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers, and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate; but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound; and the farther off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude, to confirm and rejoyce their Souls. And though their Possessions and Riches in this World were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with Heavenly Gifts and Treasures from above an hundred fold. Then was True Religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance shewed, but in inward affection received, and in the True Image of the Church, not in outward shew pretensed, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the Name and Fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, Zeal ardent, Prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no Pride in the Church, nor leisure to seek Riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the Devil, author of all Dissention. Briefly, the whole Church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this World, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of Gods favour and supportation.

The true Riches of the Church described.

## *The first rising of the Bishops of* Rome.

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

AFter this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the Saints and Servants of his Son, to release their Captivity; to release their misery, and to bind up the old Dragon the Devil, which so long vexed them, whereby the Church began to aspire to some more liberty: and the Bishops which before were as abjects, utterly contemned of Emperors, through the Providence of God (which disposeth all things in his time after his own Will) began now of Emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperors grew more in Devotion, so the Bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter Masters, but rather half Emperors with Emperors.

After this, in process of time, as Riches and Worldly wealth crept into the Clergy, and that the Devil had poured his Venom into the Church (as the Voice was heard, the same time over *Constantinople*) so true Humility began to decay, and Pride to set in his foot, till at last they played as the Ivy doth with the Oak-tree, which first beginning with a goodly green shew, imbraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his Root fast in his Bark, till at last it both stifleth the Stock, and killeth the Branches, and so cometh to be a Nest for Owls and all unclean Birds. Not untruly therefore it was said of *Augustine*, *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem*; that is, Religion begat Riches, and the Daughter hath devoured the Mother. The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all other in the Church of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the same. For after that the Church of *Rome*, through favour of Emperors was indued with Lands, Donations, Possessions and Patrimonies, so that the Bishops thereof feeling the smack of Wealth, Ease and Prosperity, began to swell in Pomp and Pride; the more they flourished in this World, the more Gods Holy Spirit forsook them, till at last the said Bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the Ground, and were persecuted a long time, every Man treading upon them in this World, now of persecuted people, began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of Emperors, and to bring the heads of Kings and Princes under their Girdle. And not only that, but furthermore through Pride and Riches, they were so far gone from all Religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God (whom we call Antichrist) prophecied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the Temple of God, *&c.* Of whom thus we read in the Epistle of *Paul*, 2 *Thess.* 2. where he saith, *We beseech you Brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddainly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us; as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition, that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God,* &.

The Spiritual Riches of the Church turned to Worldly Riches. *Ex lib. Serm. Discipuli.* Look *Tyndal* in his Book of the practice of Prelates.

The great adversary called Antichrist, described by St. Paul, 2 Thess. 2.

By which words of St. *Paul*, we have divers things to understand: First, That the day of the Lords coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, The Apostle giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, To shew what adversary this shall be, he expresseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although *Herod*, *Annas*, and *Caiaphas*, the High Priests and *Pharisees*, *Tertullus*, *Alexander* the Coppersmith, *Elymas* and *Simon Magus*, and *Nero* the Emperor, in *Paul's* time were great adversaries: yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest, not such a one as should be like to Priest, King or Emperor, but such as far exceeding the state of all Kings, Priests and Emperors, should be the Prince of Priests, should make Kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of Emperors, and make them to kiss his feet. Moreover, where the Apostle saith, That he shall sit in the Temple of God; thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the Pope in the City only of *Rome*, but the Authority and Jurisdiction of his See exalted in the whole Universal Church, equal with God himself. For let Men give to the Pope that which he in his Laws, Decrees, and in his Pontifical requireth, and what difference is there between God and the Pope? If God set Laws and Ordinances, so doth he. If God have his Creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of G[illegible]

A declaration of St. Paul's words.

The Pope matching himself even with God.

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Commandments are puniſhed, much more be his. God hath his Religion, the Pope alſo hath his, yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hundred. God hath ſet up an Advocate, he hath an hundred. God hath Inſtituted but a few Holy-days; for Gods one, he hath Inſtituted forty. And if the Holy-day that God hath appointed be *ſimplex*, the Feaſt that the Pope appointeth, is *duplex & triplex*. Chriſt is the Head of the Church; ſo is the Pope. Chriſt giveth influence to his Body; ſo doth the Pope. Chriſt forgiveth ſin; the Pope doth no leſs. Chriſt expelleth evil ſpirits by his Power; ſo pretendeth the Pope by his Holy Water. Furthermore, where Chriſt went bare-foot upon the bare Ground, he with his Golden Shooes is carried on Mens Shoulders. And where Chriſt was called *Sanctus Sanctorum*; he is called *Sanctorum Sanctiſſimus*. Chriſt never practiſed but only the Spiritual Sword; he claimeth both Spiritual and Temporal. Chriſt bought the Church; he both buyeth and ſelleth the Church. And if it be neceſſary to believe Chriſt to be the Saviour of the World; ſo it is neceſſary to believe the Pope to be the head of the Church. Chriſt paid Tribute unto *Cæſar*; he maketh *Cæſar* pay Tribute unto him. Finally, the Crown of Chriſt was of ſharp Thorn; the Pope hath three Crowns of Gold upon his head, ſo far exceeding Chriſt the Son of God in glory of this World, as Chriſt exceedeth him in the Glory of Heaven. The image and patern of whoſe intolerable Pride and Exaltation, according as St. *Paul* doth deſcribe him in his Epiſtle aforeſaid, we have here ſet forth, not only in theſe Tables to be ſeen, and by his own Facts to be noted, but alſo in his own Words and Regiſters, Clementines, Extravagants, and Pontificals expreſſed, as in order (the Lord willing) ſhall follow.

## *The exaltation of Popes above Kings and Emperors, out of Hiſtories.*

*John Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſubdued by the Biſhop of Rome.*

FIrſt, after that *Italy* and the City of *Rome* were overrun by the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, ſo that the Seat of the Empire was removed to *Conſtantinople*, then began *Joannes Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople* to put forth himſelf, and would needs be called Univerſal Biſhop of the World; but the Biſhop of *Rome* in no caſe would ſuffer that, and ſtopped it. After this came the Emperors Deputy, and Exarch of *Ravenna* to rule *Italy*, but the Biſhop of *Rome* through aid of the King of *Lombards*, ſoon quailed him.

*The Emperors Lieutenant of Ravenna ſubdued by the Lombards and Roman Biſhops.*

Not long after, about the year of our Lord 500, came *Phocas* the murderer, who ſlew the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, his Maſter *Mauritius* and his Children. By which *Phocas* the Biſhops of old *Rome* aſpired firſt to their preheminence, to be counted the head Biſhops over the whole Church, and ſo together with the *Lombards* began to rule the City of *Rome*. Afterwards when the *Lombards* would not yield unto him, in accompliſhing his ambitious deſire, but would needs require of the Biſhop the ſaid City of *Rome*; he ſtirred up *Pipinus*, but firſt depoſed *Childericus* the King of *France*, and ſo thruſting him into an Abby, ſet up in his place *Pipinus* and his Son *Carolus Magnus* to put down the ſaid King of *Lombards* called *Aiſtulphus*. And ſo he tranſlated the Empire from *Conſtantinople* into *France*, dividing the ſpoil between him and them; ſo that the Kings of *France* had all the Poſſeſſions and Lands which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receive of them the quiet Poſſeſſion of the City of *Rome*, with ſuch Donations and Lordſhips, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. *Peter's* Patrimony, which they falſly aſcribe to that Donation of *Conſtantine* the great.

*Boniface the Third obtained of Phocas to be called Univerſal Biſhop.*

*Pope Zachary putteth down Childericus the French King, and ſetteth Pipinus in his place.*

*Pipinus and Carolus Magnus ſet up by Pope Zachary.*

*How the Biſhops of Rome came firſt to be the head Biſhops of the Church.*

*Donation of Conſtantine, a thing falſe and forged.*

It followeth then in proceſs of time, after the days of *Pipinus*, *Carolus* and *Ludovicus* (who had indued theſe Biſhops of *Rome*, called now Popes, with large Poſſeſſions) when the Kings of *France* were not ſo appliable to their beck, to aid and maintain them againſt the Princes of *Italy*, who began then to pinch the ſaid Biſhops for their wrongful uſurped Goods, they practiſed with the *Germans* to reduce the Empire to *Otho*, firſt of that name, Duke of *Spain*, referring the Election thereof to ſeven Princes Electors of *Germany*, which was about *An.* 1002. notwithſtanding, reſerving ſtill in his hands the Negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietneſs and ſecurity, and ſo did for a good ſpace.

*Pope Gregory the Fifth practiſeth, with the Germans to reduce the Empire to Germany, An. 1002.*

At length, when ſome of theſe *German* Emperors alſo after *Otho* began a little to ſpurn againſt the ſaid Biſhops and Popes of *Rome*, ſome of them they accurſed, ſome they ſubdued and brought to the kiſſing of their feet, ſome they depoſed, and placed other in their Poſſeſſions.

KING *Hen.* 9. *Otho* firſt *German* Emperor.

So was *Henry* 4th by theſe Biſhops accurſed, the Emperor himſelf forced with his Wife and Child to wait attendance upon the Popes pleaſure three days and three nights in Winter, at the Gates of *Canoſſus*. Read before. Beſides all this, the ſaid Pope raiſed up *Rodulphus* to be Emperor againſt him; who being ſlain in War, then the ſaid Pope *Gregory* 7th, not reſting thus, ſtirred up his own Son *Henricus* the 5*th*, to Fight againſt his own natural Father, and to depoſe him, which *Henricus* the 5*th* was alſo himſelf afterward Accurſed and Excommunicated, and the *Saxons* at laſt ſet up by the Biſhops to Fight againſt him.

*Emperors brought to kiſs the Popes feet.*

*Henricus* the Fourth, accurſed, expireth at the Pope's Gate three days.

*Rodulphus*, and at laſt his own Son ſet up to Fight againſt him.

After this, the Emperors began to be ſomewhat calmed, and more quiet, ſuffering the Biſhops to Reign as they liſted, till *Frederick* the firſt, called *Barbaroſſa*, came and began to ſtir Coals againſt them. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his Son *Henry* in ſuch ſort, that they brought firſt the Neck of *Frederick*, in the Church of *Venice*, under their Feet to tread upon; and after the ſaid Biſhops, Crowning *Henricus* his Son in the Church of St. *Peter*, ſet his Crown on his Head with their Feet, and with their Feet ſpurned it off again, to make him know that the Popes of *Rome* had power both to Crown Emperors, and Depoſe them again. Whereof read before.

*Read before under the Pope Alexander the Third treadeth upon the Neck of Frederick the Emperor.*

*Pope Celeſtine Croweth Henry the Fifth, Emperor, with his Foot, and with his Foot ſpurneth the Crown from his head again.*

Then followed *Philippus* Brother to *Henry* aforeſaid, whom alſo the Popes Accurſed, about the year of our Lord 1198, and ſet up *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*. But when the ſaid *Otho* began to be ſo ſaucy, to diſpoſeſs the Biſhops of their Cities and Lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him beſides the Cuſhion. The like alſo fell upon *Otho* the 4th, that followed after *Philip*, who was ſuffered no longer than four years to Reign, about the year of our Lord 1209.

At this time *Fredericus* the Second, the Son of *Fredericus Barbaroſſa* above-mentioned, was but young, whom the Biſhops of *Rome* ſuppoſing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be Emperor after his Father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiving the immoderate Pomp and Pride of the *Roman* Biſhops, which he could in no caſe abide, ſo netled them and cut their Combs, and waxed ſo ſtout againſt them, intending to extirp their Tyranny, and to reduce their pompous Riches to the ſtate and condition of the Primitive Church again, putting ſome of them to flight, and priſoning ſome of their Cardinals, that of three Popes, one after another, he was Accurſed, circumvented by Treaſon, at laſt Depoſed, and after that Poyſoned, and at laſt forſaken and died.

*Honorius 3. Gregory 9. Innocent 4. againſt Frederick 2. Emperor.*

*War raiſed againſt Conradus, by the Biſhops of Rome.*

After this *Frederick* followed his Son *Conradus*, whom the foreſaid Biſhops for his diſobedience ſoon diſpatched, exciting againſt him in mortal War the *Lantgrave* of *Thurin*, whereby he was at length driven into his Kingdom of *Naples*, and there deceaſed.

*Suevia.*

This *Conradus* had a Son called *Conradinus*, Duke and Prince of *Suevia*. When this *Conradinus*, after the deceaſe of his Father came to enjoy his Kingdom of *Naples*, the ſaid Biſhops ſtirred up againſt him *Charles* the *French* Kings Brother, in ſuch ſort, that through crafty conveyance, both *Conradinus* which deſcended of the blood of ſo many Emperors, and alſo *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria*, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miſerable indurance, unſeeming to their ſtate, at length were both brought under the Axe by the Pops procurement, and ſo both beheaded. And thus ended the Imperial ſtock of *Frederick* the Firſt, ſumamed *Barbaroſſa*.

*The inſolency of Pope Boniface 8. againſt Philip the French King.*

The like as hapned to *Frederick* the Emperor, had almoſt alſo fallen upon *Philip* the *French* King, by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, who, becauſe he could not have his Commodities and Revenues out of *France* after his will, ſens out his Bulls and Letters Patents to diſplace King *Philip* aforeſaid, and to poſſeſs *Albertus* King of *Rhodus* in his room.

And thus hitherto in Foreign Stories. Now touching our Country Princes here in *England*, to ſpeak ſomewhat likewiſe of them: did not Pope *Alexander* the Third preſumptuouſly taking upon him where he had nothing to do,

to

KING Hen. 7. The Tyrannous injuries of Biſhops of Rome againſt Kings of England.

to intermeddle with the Kings Subjects, for the death of *Becket* the rebel, albeit the King ſufficiently cleared himſelf thereof; yet notwithſtanding, did he not wrongfully bring the ſaid K. *Henry* the Second to ſuch Penance as it pleaſed him to enjoyn, and alſo violently conſtrained him to Swear obedience to the See of *Some*? The like alſo was ſhewed before in this ſtory to happen to King *John* his Son. For when the ſaid King like a valiant Prince had he'd out the tyranny of thoſe Biſhops ſeven years together, were not all the Churches in *England* barred up, and his Inheritance with all his Dominions given away by Pope *Innocent* the Third, to *Ludovicus* the *French* King, and he afterward compelled to ſubmit both himſelf, and to make his whole Realm fedotary to the Biſhops of *Rome*, and moreover the King himſelf driven alſo to ſurrender his Crown to *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate, and ſo continued as a private perſon five days, ſtanding at the Popes courteſie, whether to receive it again at his hands or no? And when the Nobles of the Realm roſe afterward againſt the King for the ſame, was not he then fain to ſeek and ſue to the foreſaid Pope for ſuccour, as by his own Letter, taken out of the publick Rolls, may appear?

Pope Alexander the Third againſt King Henry the Second.

Pope Innocent the Third againſt K. John.

## King *John*'s ſupplication to Pope *Innocent* the Third.

Ex Radulfo Dicet. De gen. Regis Joannis 8.

Kings John's Supplication to Pope Innocent the Third.

*Reverendiſ. Domino ſuo & Patri Sanctiſ.* Innocentio *Dei gratia*, Joan. *eadem gratia R. Angliæ*, &c. *Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis devoti eſſent, antequam nos & noſtram terram Dominio veſtro ſubjacere curaſſemus, ex tunc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgunt. Nos vero præter Deum vos ſpecialem dominum & patronum habentes, defenſionem noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos quantum in nobis eſt, curam & ſolicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus diſpoſitioni, devotius ſupplicantes quatenus in negotiis noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, conſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius, videritis expedire, latores præſentium*, &c. *Teſte meipſo apud* Dour. 18. Septem. 6.

And yet all this notwithſtanding that the ſaid K. *John* did ſo yield to the Pope, he was both purſued by his Nobles, and alſo in the end was Poyſoned by a ſubject of the Popes own Religion, a Monk of *Swinſted*; as I have ſufficiently to prove, not only by *William Caxton* above in my ſtory alledged, *Pag.* 332, but alſo have teſtimony of the moſt part of Chronicles for the ſame (a few only excepted) as of *Thomas Gray* in his *French* Chronicle; alſo of an other *French* Chronicle in Meeter; of *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*; *Thomas Rudburn* alſo doth witneſs the ſame; ſo doth *Richard Rede*, *in novo Chronico ad tempora*, Henr. 6. The like alſo doth the Chronicle called *Eulogium Monachi Cant.* The words of *Walter Cisborn* an ancient *Hiſtoriographer*, be plain. No leſs is to be found in *Joan. Major. de geſtis Scotorum, Libr.* 4. *cap.* 3. *fol.* 56. where he not only maketh mention of the Monk and of the Poyſon, but alſo of the Abbot, of his abſolution, and of the Three Monks every day ſinging for the ſaid Monks Soul. To theſe I could alſo annex divers other writers both *Engliſh* and *Latin*, without name, which witneſs that King *John* was Poyſoned; one beginning thus, *Here beginneth a Book in the* Engliſh *Tongue, called Brute*, &c. Another beginneth, *Becauſe this Book is made to tell what time any thing, notable*, &c. The Third in *Engliſh* beginneth, *The reign of* Britain *that now is called* England, &c. Of *Latin* Books which have no name, one beginneth thus: *Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen eſt ſortita*, &c. Another hath this beginning: *Adam pater generis humani*, &c.

William Caxton.

Thomas Gray French Chronicle in Meeter. Ranulph. Ceſtrenſis. Thomas Rudburn. Rede. Eulogium. Walterus Cisburn. Joan. Major.

Writers in Engliſh and Latin without name.

Beſides this King *Henry* the Second, and K. *John* his Son, what Kings have here Reigned in *England* ſince their time, until the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth; who although they were prudent Princes, and did what they could in providing againſt the proud domination of theſe Biſhops, yet were forced at length ſore againſt their wills, for fear, to ſubject themſelves, together with their ſubjects under uſurped Authority, in ſo much as ſome of them (as *Matth. Pariſ.* writeth by King *Henry* the Third) were fain to ſtoop and kiſs their Legates Knee.

King Henry the Third kiſſing the Knee of the Popes Legate.

### *The Image of Antichriſt, exalting himſelf in the Temple of God, above all that is named God, out of his own Decrees, Decretals, Extravagants, Pontificals, &c. word for word, as it is out of the ſaid Books here alledged and quoted.*

Ex D. Paulo, 2 Theſſ. 2.

1. FOraſmuch as it ſtandeth upon neceſſity of Salvation, for every human Creature to be ſubject unto me the Pope of *Rome*, it ſhall be therefore requiſite and neceſſary for all Men that will be ſaved, to learn and know the Dignity of my See and Excellency of my Domination, as here is ſet forth according to the truth and very words of mine own Laws, in ſtyle as followeth: 2. Firſt my Inſtitution began in the *Old Teſtament*, and was conſummate and finiſhed in the *New*, in that my Prieſthood was prefigured by *Aaron*; And other Biſhops under me were prefigured by the Sons of *Aaron*, that were under him. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my Church of *Rome* hath been preferred by any General Council, but obtained the Primacy only by the Voice of the Goſpel, and the mouth of the Saviour. 4. And hath in it neither ſpot nor wrinkle, nor any ſuch like thing. 5. Wherefore as other Seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot Abſolve me: ſo have they no power to bind me or to ſtand againſt me, no more than the Axe hath power to ſtand or preſume above him that heweth with it, or the Saw to preſume above him that ruleth it. 6. This is the Holy and Apoſtolick Mother-Church of all other Churches of Chriſt; 7. from whoſe Rules it is not meet that any perſon or perſons ſhould decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the Will of his Father, ſo muſt you do the Will of your Mother the Church, the head whereof is the Church of *Rome*. 8. And if any other perſon or perſons ſhall err from the ſaid Church, either let them be admoniſhed, or elſe their names taken, to be known who they be that ſwerve from the Cuſtoms of *Rome*. 9. Thus then foraſmuch as the holy Church of *Rome* whereof I am Governor, is ſet up to the whole World for a glaſs or example, reaſon would what thing ſoever the ſaid Church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of all Men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever. 10. Whereupon we ſee it now verified in this Church, that was fore-propheſied by *Jeremy*, ſaying, *Behold, I have ſet thee up over Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant*, &c. 11. Whoſo underſtandeth not the Prerogative of this my Prieſthood, let him look up to the Firmament, where he may ſee two great Lights, the Sun and the Moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night; So in the Firmament of the Univerſal Church, 12. God hath ſet two great Dignities, the Authority of the Pope, and of the Emperor. Of the which two, this our Dignity is ſo much more weightier, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for Kings of the Earth, and the Laws of Men. 13. Wherefore it known to you Emperors, which know it alſo right well, that you depend upon the judgment of us; we muſt not be brought and reduced to your will. 14. For (as I ſaid) look what difference there is betwixt the Sun and the Moon, ſo great is the power of the Pope ruling over the day, that is, over the Spiritualty, above Emperors and Kings, ruling

1. Pope *Bonifacius* 8. *Extravag. de Majorit. & obed. c. Unam.*

2. *Diſtinct.* 12 *c. Decretis.*

3. Pope *Pelagius Diſtinct.* 21. *c. Quamvis.*

4. *Pelagius, ibi.*

5. Pope *Nicolaus Diſtinct.* 21. *c. Inferior.*

6. Pope *Lucius* 24. *q.* 3. *cap.* 2. *Reſta.*

7. Pope *Calixtus Diſt.* 12 *cap. Nun decet.*

8. Pope *Innocentius.* 11. *cap. Qvis.*

9. Pope *Stephen. Diſtinct.* 19. *c. Enim vero.*

10. Pope *Bonifac.* 8. *Extravag. cap. unam ſanctam.* Item, Pope *Joannes* 22. *extravag. cap. Super gemeti.*

11. Pope *Innocent.* 3. *art. de major. & obed. cap. Solitæ.*

12. Pope *Gelaſius Diſt.* 96. *cap. Duo.*

13. *Ibidem.*

14. *Innocentius de Major. & obe. cap.*

15. *Gloſſa. Ibidem.*

ruling over the night; that is, over the Laity. 15. Now ſeeing then the Earth is Seven times bigger than the Moon, and the Sun Eight times greater than the Earth; it followeth that the Popes Dignity fifty ſix times doth ſurmount the Eſtate of the Emperors.

16. *Ibidem.*

16. Upon conſideration whereof, I ſay therefore and pronounce, That *Conſtantine* the Emperor did naught in ſetting the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* at his feet on his left hand.

17. *Innocentius. Ibid.*

17. And although the ſaid Emperor wrote to me, alledging the words of St. *Peter*, commanding us to ſubmit our ſelves to every human Creature, as to Kings, Dukes, and other for the cauſe of God, *&c.* 1 *Pet.* 2. Yet in anſwering again in my Decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. *Peter* to pertain to his Subjects, and not his Succeſſors, willing the ſaid Emperor to conſider the perſon of the ſpeaker, and to whom it was ſpoken. For if the mind of *Peter* had been there to debaſe the Order of Prieſthood, and to make us underlings to every human Creature, then every *Jack* might have dominion over Prelates; which maketh againſt the example of Chriſt, ſetting up the Order of Prieſthood to bear Dominion over Kings, according to the ſaying of *Jeremy*, *Behold, I have ſet thee up over Kings and Nations*, &c.

18. Pope *Clement.* 5. *Clement de jurejurando. c. Romani.*

18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto *Conſtantine*, ſo now I ſay to all other Emperors, That they receiving of me their Approbation, Unction, Conſecration, and Crown Imperial, muſt not diſdain to ſubmit their heads under me, and Swear unto me their Allegiance.

19. Pope *Joannes Diſt.* 96. *c. Nunquam.*

19. For ſo you read in the Decree of Pope *John*, how that Princes heretofore have been wont to bow and ſubmit their heads unto Biſhops, and not to proceed in Judgment againſt the heads of Biſhops.

20 Pope *Clement.* 5. *Clement de Sentent. & de rejudi paſtoralis.*

20. If this reverence and ſubmiſſion was wont to be given to Biſhops, how much more ought they to ſubmit their heads to me being Superior, not only to Kings, but Emperors? and that for two cauſes: Firſt, for my Title of Succeſſion, that I Pope of *Rome* have to the Empire, the room ſtanding vacant; alſo for the fulneſs of power that Chriſt the King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the perſon of *Peter*;

21. Pope *Innocent* 3. *De judiciis c. Novit.*

21. By reaſon whereof, ſeeing my power is not of Man, but of God, who by his Celeſtial Providence hath ſet me over his whole Univerſal Church, Maſter and Governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal ſin of every Chriſtian Man:

22. *Ibidem.*

22. Whereby all criminal offences, as well of Kings as all other be ſubject to my cenſure,

23. Pope *Marcellus, cauſ.* 2. *q.* 6. *c. ad Romanam.*

23, in ſuch ſort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of perſon at any time, either before the Sentence given, or after ſhall appeal to me, it ſhall be Lawful for him ſo to do.

24. *Innocent. Novit ille.*

24. Neither muſt Kings and Princes think it much to ſubmit themſelves to my Judgment; for ſo did *Valentinianus* the worthy Emperor, ſo did *Theodoſius*, and alſo *Carolus*.

25. *Bonifacius Martyr. diſt.* 40. *c. Si Papa.*

25. Thus you ſee all muſt be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I Pope of *Rome*, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable, or hurtful, either to my ſelf or others; yea, if I ſhould draw with me innumerable Souls by heaps to Hell, yet may no mortal Man be ſo hardy, ſo bold, or ſo preſumptuous to reprove me,

26. *Gloſſa Extr. de ſede vacant. Ad Apoſtolatus.*

26. or to ſay to me, *Domine cur ita facis*; that is, Sir why do you ſo?

27. Pope *Leo, cauſ.* 2. *q.* 7. *cap. Nos.*

27. For although you read that *Balaam* was rebuked of his Aſſe, by the which Aſſe our Subjects, by *Balaam* we Prelates are ſignified; yet that ought to be no example to our ſubjects to rebuke us.

28. *Greg.* 2. *q.* 7. *c. Petrus.*

28. And though we read in the Scripture, that *Peter*, who received power of the Kingdom, and being chief of the Apoſtles might by vertue of his Office controul all other, was content to come and give anſwer before his inferiours, objecting to him his going to the *Gentiles*; yet other inferiours muſt not learn by this example to be checkmate with their Prelates, becauſe that *Peter* ſo took it at their hands, ſhewing thereby rather a diſpenſation of Humility, than the power of his office; by the which power he might have ſaid to them again in this wiſe, It becometh not Sheep, nor belongeth to their office to accuſe their Shepherd,

29. Pope *Nicolaus, Diſt. c.* [illegible]

29. For elſe why was *Dioſcorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* condemned and excommunicated at *Chalcedon*? Not for any cauſe of his Faith, but only for that he durſt ſtand againſt Pope *Leo*, and durſt Excommunicate the Biſhop of *Rome*: for who is he that hath Authority to accuſe the Seat of St. *Peter*?

30. *Jer. cauſ.* 2. *q.* 7. [illegible]

30. Albeit I am not ignorant what St. *Jerome* writeth, that *Paul* would not have reprehended *Peter*, unleſs he had thought himſelf equal unto him.

31. *Gloſſa Gratiani. Ib.*

31. Yet *Jerome* muſt thus be expounded by my Interpretation, that this equality betwixt *Peter* and *Paul* conſiſteth not in like Office of Dignity, but in pureneſs of Converſation.

32. *Gloſſa in Diſt.* 11. *cap. Quis.*

32. For who gave *Paul* his licenſe to preach but *Peter*, and that by the Authority of God, ſaying, *Separate to me Paul and Barnabas*, &c.

33. *Cauſ.* 2. *q.* 7. *cap. Beati.*

33. Wherefore be it known to all Men, that my Church of *Rome* is Prince and Head of all Nations,

34. Pope *Nicolaus, Diſt.* 22. *Omnes.*
35. *P. Anaclet, Diſt.* 22. *c. Sacroſancta.*

34. the Mother of the Faith, 35. the Foundation Cardinal, whereupon all Churches do depend, as the Door doth depend by the Hinges,

36. *P. Pelagius. Diſt.* 21. *Quamvis.*
37. *P. Nicolaus, Diſt.* 21. *c. Denique.*
38. *P. Steph. Di.* 19. *Enim vero.*

36. the firſt of all other Seats, without all ſpot or blemiſh. 37. Lady, Miſtriſs and Inſtructer of all Churches, 38. a glaſs and a ſpectacle unto all Men, to be followed in all whatſoever ſhe obſerveth.

39. Pope *Lucius,* 24. *q.* 1. *Arect.*

39. Which was never found yet to ſlide or decline from the path of Apoſtolick tradition, or to be intangled with any newneſs of Hereſie;

40. *P. Nicolaus, Diſt.* 22. *Omnes.*
41. *P. Gregor. Diſt.* 81. *c. Si quis.*
42. *P. Leo, cauſ.* 3. *q.* 6. *c. Multum.*
43. *Diſt.* 20. *Decretales.*
44. Pope *Julius. cauſ.* 2. *q.* 6. *qui ſe.*

40. Againſt which Church of *Rome* whoſoever ſpeaketh any evil, is forthwith an Heretick, 41. yea, a very Pagan, a Witch, and an Idolater or Infidel, 42. having fulneſs of power only in her own hands in ruling, 43. deciding, abſolving, condemning, caſting out, or receiving in. 44. Albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying.

45. *Cauſa.* 2. *q.* 6. *Arguta. Item. c. Ad Romanam. cauſ.* 2. *q.* 6. *c. Placuit. Gloſſa. Gratiani. Niſi.*

45. To the which Church of *Rome* it is Lawful to Appeal for remedy, from all other Churches. Although it was otherwiſe concluded in the General Council of *Millevitane*, that no Man ſhould Appeal over the Sea under pain of Excommunication, yet my Gloſs cometh in here with an exception, *Niſi forte Romanam ſedem appellaverint*, i. Except the Appeal be to the See of *Rome*, &c.

46. Pope *Gelaſ.* 25. *q.* 1. *c. Confidimus.*
47. *P. Urbanus,* 25. *q.* 1. *c. Sunt. P. Pelagius,* 25. *q.* 2. *c. poſteaquam.*
48. *Bulla Donationis, Diſt.* 96. *c. Conſtant.*
49. *P. Paſchalis, Diſt.* 63. *c. Ego.*
50. *P. Clement.* 5. *Clement, c. Romani Gloſſa.*
51. *P. Bonif.* 8. *Sext. Decret. c. ubi.*
52. *Ibidem.*
53 *P. Bonif. probem. Sext. Decret. l. Sacroſancta.*
54. *Anacletus, d.* 22. *c. Sacroſancta.*
55. *P. Bonif.* 4. *Sext. Decret. de pœnit. & remiſ. c.* 5. *Gloſſa. Item Alexand.* 4. *Sext. decret. c.* 4. *in Gloſſa.*

46. By the Authority of which Church of *Rome* all Synods and Decrees of Councils ſtand confirmed. 47. And hath always full Authority in her hands to make new Laws and Decrements; And to alter Statutes, Priviledges, Rights or Documents of Churches; to ſeparate things joyned, and to joyn things ſeparated upon right conſideration, either in whole or in part, either perſonally or generally. 48. Of the which Church of *Rome* I am head as a King is over his Judges, 49. the Vicar of St. *Peter*, 50. yea, not the Vicar of *Peter* properly, but the Vicar of Chriſt properly, and ſucceſſor of *Peter*, 51. Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, 52. Rector of the Univerſal Church, director of the Lords Univerſal flock, 53. Chief Magiſtrate of the whole World, 54. *Cephas*, *i. caput*, the head and chief of the Apoſtolick Church, 55. Univerſal Pope, and Dioceſan in all places exempt, as well as every Biſhop is in places not exempt,

56. *P. Hilarius,* 25. *q.* 1. *Nulli.*
57. *Sext. Decret. cap. ab Arbitris, Gloſſa.*
58. *P. Bonif. Sext. decret. de conſt. cap. Licet.*
59. Pope *Innocentius* 3. *de tranſl. c. Quanto.*
60. *Probem. Clement. Gloſſ. Papa Stupor mundi, &c. Nec Deus es nec homo, quaſi neuter inter utrumque.*
61. *P. Bonif. Extravag. de Majorit. & obed. cap. unam. Item Diſt.* 22. *cap. Omnes.*
62. *Sext. Decr. de ſentent. & re. c. Ad apoſtoli. Item in Gloſſa Ibid.*
63. Pope *Nicolaus, Diſt.* 22. *c. Omnes.*
64. *Gloſſ. Ibid.*

56. moſt mighty Prieſt, 57. *Lex animata in terris. i.* 58. a living Law in the Earth judged to have all Laws in the cheſt of my Breſt, 59. bearing the room of no pure Man, 60. being neither God nor Man, but the admiration of the World, and a middle thing betwixt both. 61. Having both Swords in my power, both of the Spiritual and Temporal Juriſdiction, 62. ſo far ſurmounting the Authority of the Emperor, that I of mine own power alone without a Council, have Authority to depoſe him, or to transfer his Kingdom, and to give a new Election, as I did to *Frederick* and divers other. 63. What power then or poteſtate in all the World is comparable to me, who have Authority to bind and looſe both in Heaven and Earth? 64. That

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is, who have power both of Heavenly things, and also of Temporal things, 65. To whom Emperors and Kings be more inferior, than Lead is inferior to Gold. 66. For do you not see the necks of great Kings and Princes bend under our knees, yea and think themselves happy and well defenced, if they may kiss our hands? 67. Wherefore the sauciness of *Honorius* the Emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his laity would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal Order, but also with matters Ecclesiastical, and Election of the Pope. 68. But here perchance some will object the examples and words of Christ, saying, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, and where he being required to divide betwixt two Brethren their Heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power, 69. For if *Peter*, and I in *Peter*, if we I say, have Power to bind and loose in Heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have Power in Earth to loose and to take away Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what else soever mortal Men may have, and to give them where he will? 70. And if we have authority over Angels, which be the Governours of Princes, what then may we do upon their inferiors and servants? 71. And for that you shall not marvel that I say Angels be subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed Clerk *Antoninus* writeth of the matter, saying, That our power, of *Peter* and me is greater than the Angels in four things; 1. In jurisdiction, 2. In administration of Sacraments, 3. In knowledge, 4. and in reward, &c. 72. And again in *Bulla Clementis*, do I not there command in my Bull the Angels of Paradise, to absolve the soul of Man out of Purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of Paradise? 73. And now besides my Heavenly power, to speak of mine Earthly Jurisdiction, who did first Translate the Empire from the *Greeks* to the *Almains*, but I? 74. And not only in the Empire am I Emperor, the place being empty, but in all Ecclesiastical Benefices have full right and power to give, to Translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement. 75. Did not I *Zacharias* put down *Childerick* the old King of *France*, and set up *Pipinus*? 76. Did not I *Gregorius* the Seventh set up *Robert Wyfard*, and make him King of *Sicilia* and Duke of *Capua*? &c. 77. Did not I the same *Gregorius* also set up *Rodulphus* against *Henry* the Fourth Emperor? 78. And though this *Henricus* was an Emperor of most stout courage, who stood 62 times in open field against his Enemies, 79. yet did not I *Gregorius* bring him *coram nobis*, and make him stand at my Gate three days and three nights bare-foot and bare-leg, with his Wife and Child, in the deep of Winter, both in Frost and Snow, intreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice Excommunicated in my days? 80. Again, did not I *Paschalis*, after *Gregory*, set up the Son of the said *Henricus* against his Father in War, to possess the Empire, and to put down his Father, and so he did? 81. *Item*, Did not I, Pope *Alexander* bring under *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, for the death of *Thomas Becket*, and cause him to go bare-foot to his Tomb at *Canterbury* with bleeding feet? 82. Did not I *Innocentius* the Third, cause King *John* to kneel down at the feet of *Pandulphus* my Legate, and offer up his Crown to his hands; also to kiss the feet of *Stephen Langhton* Bishop of *Canterbury*, and besides merced him in a thousand Marks by year? 83. Did not I *Urbanus* the Second, put down *Hugo* Earl in *Italy*, discharging his Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to him? 84. Did not I *Paschalis* Excommunicate also his Son *Henry* the 5*th*, and get out his of hands all his Right and Title of Elections and Donations of spiritual Promotions? Did not I *Gelasius* the 2*d* bring the Captain of *Cintius* under, unto the kissing of my feet? And after *Gelasius*, did not I *Calixtus* the 2*d* quail the foresaid Emperor *Henricus* the 5*th*, and also bring in subjection *Gregory*, whom the said Emperor had set up against me to be Pope, bringing him into *Rome* upon a Camel, his face to the Horse tail, making him to hold the Horse tail in his hand in stead of a Bridle? 85. Further, did not I *Innocentius* the 2*d* set up and make *Lotharius* to be Emperor for driving out Pope *Anacletus* out of *Rome*? 86. Did not I the said *Innocentius* take the Dukedom of *Sicile* from the Empire, and make *Roger* to be King thereof, whereby afterward the Kingdom became the patrimony of Saint *Peter*? 87. Did not I *Alexander* the 3*d* suspend all the Realm, and Churches of *England* for the Kings Marriage, *Anno* 1159? 88. But what do I speak of Kings? Did not the said *Alexander* bring the valiant Emperor *Frederick* the first to *Venice*, by reason of his Son *Otho* there taken prisoner, and there in Saint *Marks* Church made him fall down flat upon the ground while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the *Psalm*, *Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis? &c.* 89. Did not I *Adrianus* Pope, an *English*-man born, Excommunicate *W. King* of *Sicile*, and refuse his peace, which he offered? And had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have shaken him out of his Kingdom of *Sicile*, and Dukedom of *Apulia*. 90. Also did not I the said *Adrianus* Control and Correct the foresaid *Fredericus* Emperor, for holding the left Stirrup of my Horse, when he should have holden the right? 91. And afterward did not I Excommunicate and Curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? 92. And although a poor Fly afterward overcame and strangled me, yet I made Kings and Emperors to stoop. 93. Did not I *Innocentius* the 3*d* deject *Philippus*, Brother to *Fredericus*, from the Imperial Crown, being elected without my leave, and after set him up again? And also set up *Otho* of *Brunswick*, and after did Excommunicate and also depose the same Four years, setting up the *French* King to War against him? 94. Then was *Fredericus* the 2*d* set up by me, and Reigned 37 years; and yet 5 years before he died. 95. Did not I *Honorius* intredict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? 96. Whom also *Gregorius* the 9*th* did Excommunicate twice together, and raised up the *Venetians* against him, 97. And at length *Innocentius* spoiled him of his Empire; after that he caused him to be poisoned, at length to be strangled by one *Manfredus*, and did Excommunicate his Son *Conradus* after him, not only depriving him of his right Inheritance, but also caused him with *Frederick* Duke of *Austria* to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I Excommunicate and depose all these Emperors in order? *Henry* the Fourth, *Henricus* the Fifth, *Fredericus* the First, *Philippus*, *Otho* the Fourth, *Fredericus* the Second, and *Conradus* his Son? 99. Did not I interdict King *Henry* the Eighth? 100. And all his Kingdom of *England*? 101. And had not his Prudence and Power prevented my practise, I had displaced him from his Kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my Power and of my Seat? 102. For by me only general Councils take their force and confirmation, 103. and the interpretation of the said Councils, and of all other causes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. 104. By me the Works of all Writers, whatsoever they be, either be reproved or allowed. 105. Then how much more ought my Writings and Decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. Insomuch that my Letters and Epistles Decretal be equivalent with the general Councils, 107. And where

65. Pope *Gelasius* *Dist. 96. cap. Duo.*
66. Pope *Gelasius* *idem.*
67. *dist. 96. c. Illud.*
68. *Ex oratione Hiero. Marii.*
69. Pope *Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius 7. Ex Platina, in vita Gregorii.*
70. *Hildebrandus Ibidem.*
71. *Antoninus in tertia Parte Summæ majoris.*
72. *Bulla Clementis.*
73. Pope *Innocent. de Bigna c. Venerabilem.*
74. *Extrav. de præbend. & dig. c. Exhibilis.*
75. Pope *Zacharias, Dist. 35. q. 6. c. Alius.*
76. Pope *Hildebrand, alias Gregor. 7. Ciment. c. Pastoralis.*
77. *Lutfrid Hildebrand.*
*Basilius Egnatius.*
78. *Ibidem.*
79. *Ibidem.*
*b. Platina, Egnatius, anno.*
81. *Polydor. Virgil. Historiæ ornatensis de rebus Anglorum.*
82. *Chronica vergaculd.*
83. Pope *Urbanus Conf. 15. q. 6. cap. Juratos.*
84. Pope *Paschalis Curfulanus, Platina, Antoninus, Stella, Antoninus, Matthæus Parisiensis*, Pope *Gelasius* the Pope.

85. Pope *Innocentius 2.*
86. *Nauclerus.*
87. Pope *Alexander de sponsal. & matr. Non est.*
88. *Nauclerus alias Rom. pontificum.*
89. Pope *Adrian. 4 Rom. pontificum.*
90. *Ex Aventino.*
91. *Bulla Adriani contra Cæsarem.*
92. *Acta R. pont.*
93. Pope *Innocentius 3. Ex vitis & Actis Rom. pontificum. Ex ab Ursperg.*
94. *Ex eodem.*
95. Pope *Honor. 3. Ex Mario.*
96. Pope *Greg. 9. Ex eodem.*
97. Pope *Innocent. Hieronymus Marius Petrus de Vintis.*
98. *Ex Chronic. Carionis.*
99. *Hist. Anglor.*
100. *Ibidem.*
101. *Ibidem.*
102. Pope *Marcel. Dist. 17. c. Sym.*
103. *Dist. 20. Decretales.*
104. Pope *Nicolaus Dist. 19. Si Romani rum.*
105. *Ibidem.*
106. *Dist. 20. Decretales.*
107. *Symmachus Pol. 3. 4. 3. Aliorum.*

whereas God hath ordained all causes of Men to be judged by Men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the Pope of *Rome*, without all question of Men, unto his own judgment.

108. Pope *Innocentius* 6. *q.* 3. *c. Nemo.*

108. 'And therefore where all other creatures be under their Judge, only I, which in Earth am the Judge of all, can be judged of none, either of Emperor, nor the whole Clergy, nor of Kings, nor of the People.

109. *Ibidem.*
110. Pope *Gelasius*, 9. *q.* 3. *cap. Cuncta.*

109. For who hath power to judge upon his Judge? 110. This Judge am I, and that alone, without any other resistance of any Council joyned to me. For I have Power upon Councils; Councils have no Power upon me. But if the Council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I lust without any Council.

111. *Ibidem.*

111. And all for the Preheminence of my Predecessor Blessed Saint *Peter*, which by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever shall retain.

112. *Anastasius Patriarch. D. q.* 3. *cap. Antiquis.*
113. Pope *Greg. a. q.* 3. *c. Quat.*
114. Pope *Agatho Dist.* 19. *c. Sic omnes.*
115. Pope *Nicholas*, 9. *q.* 3 *Patet.*
116. Pope *Innocent.* 2. *Art* 17. *q.* 4 *Si quis.*
117. *Dist.* 19. *cap. In memoriam.*
118. *Sext. Decret. T.* 7. *De renunc. Quoniam Glossa.*

112. Furthermore, and whereas all other Sentences and Judgments, both of Councils, Person or Persons, may and ought to be examined, 113. for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour, only my Sentence and judgment must stand, 114. as given out of Heaven by the mouth of *Peter* himself, which no Man must 115. break, nor retract, 116. no Man must dispute or doubt of. 117. Yea, if my judgment, statute, or yoke seem scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of Saint *Peter* it must be humbly obeyed. 118. Yea and moreover Obedience is to be given, not only to such Decrees set forth by me in time of my Popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be Pope.

119. *Offic. lib.* 1.
120. *Glossa Extra. De verb. signif. c. Ad.*
121. Pope *Greg. Caus.* 35. *q.* 9. *Apostolica.*

119. And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all Men to err, and to be deceived, 120. yet neither am I a pure Man. 121. And again, the Sentence of my Apostolick Seat is always conceived with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delivered out with such gravity and deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be altered or detracted.

122. Pope *Symmachus, Caus.* 9. *q.* 3. *Aliorum.*

122. Wherefor it is manifest, and testified by the voice of Holy Bishops, that the Dignity of this my Seat is to be reverenced through the whole World, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it as to the head of the whole body;

123. *Ibidem.*

123. Whereof it is spoken to me by the Prophet, speaking of the Ark; If this be humbled, whither shall you run for succour, and where shall your glory become? Seeing then this is so, that so holy Bishops and Scriptures do witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require Homage and Tribute of me to whom all other are subject?

124. Pope *Greg.* 6. *p.* 3. *Scriptum est.*
125. *Caus.* 17. *q.* 4. *Sacrileg. Glossa.*
126. *Caus.* 2. *q.* 7. *cap. Plerumque Glossema Gratiani. Item.*

124. Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh, *Deut.* Thou oughtest not to put thy Sithe into another Mans Corn. Which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plain Sacrilege? 125. According to my Canonists, which thus define Sacrilege to consist in three things; either when a Man judgeth of his Princes judgment; or when the Holy-day is prophaned; or when reverence is not given to Laws and Canons. 126. Against the second sort maketh the place of the Book of *Kings*, where we read the Ark of God was brought from *Gaba* to *Jerusalem*, and in the way the Ark inclining by reason of the unruly Oxen, *Ozias* the *Levite* put to his hand to help, and therefore was strucken of the Lord. By this Ark is signified the Prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of Prelates,

127. *Ibidem.*
128. *Ibidem.*

127. which also be signified by the Angels that *Jacob* did see going up and coming down the Ladder: 128. Also by the Prophet where he saith, *He bowed down the Heavens and came down, &c.* By *Ozias*, and by the unruly Oxen are meant our subjects.

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129. *Ibidem.*
130. *Ibidem. His ita.*

129. Then like as *Ozias* was stricken for putting his hand to the Ark inclining, no more must Subjects rebuke their Prelates going awry. 130. Albeit, here may be answered again, that all be not Prelates which so be called; for it is not the name that maketh a Bishop, but his life.

131. Pope *Urbanus* 23. *q. Tributum.*

131. Against the third sort of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular Men, maketh the *New Testament*, where *Peter* was bid to give the Groat in the Fishes mouth, but not the head nor the body of the Fish; No more is the Head or Body of the Church subdued to Kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe things of the Church. And yet not they neither.

132. *Ibidem. Quamvis.*

132. For so we read in the Book of *Genesis*, that *Pharaoh* in time of dearth subdued all the land of the *Egyptians*, but yet he Ministred to the Priests, so that he took neither their possessions from them, nor their liberty. If then Prelates of the Church must be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same,

133. Pope *Benedict. Extr. De aut. & usu pallii. c. Sanct.* 1.
134. Pope *Stephanus. Dist.* 19. *Enimvero.*
135. Pope *Pelag. Dist.* 21 *Quamvis.*

133. which am the Bishop of Bishops, and head of Prelates? 134. For it is not to be thought that the case betwixt me and other Prelates, betwixt my See and other Churches, be like, 135. Although the whole Catholick and Apostolick Church make one Bride-chamber of Christ; yet the Catholick and Apostolick Church of *Rome* had the Preheminence given over all other by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, &c.*

136. *Dist.* 21. *Decretis.*
137. Pope *Anaclet. Dist.* 22. *In novo.*
138. Pope *Bonifacius & Greg. Dist.* 89. *Ad hoc.*

136. Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the Church as it was betwixt *Aaron* and his Children; 137. Betwixt the Seventy two Disciples, and the Twelve Apostles; betwixt the other Apostles and *Peter*: 138. Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of Degrees in the Church betwixt Power, Superior and Inferior; without which order the University of the whole cannot consist.

139. *Ibidem.*

139. For as amongst the Angelical Creatures above in Heaven there is set a difference and inequality of Powers and Orders, some be Angels, some Archangels, some Cherubins, and Seraphins:

140. *Dist.* 89. *Singula.*
141. [illegible] *Bul. dec.* [illegible] *sc.* 3.
142. *De officio Archipresby. in Glossa.*

140. So in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of the Church militant in the Earth, Priests must not be equal with Bishops, Bishops must not be like in Order with Archbishops, with Patriarchs or Primates, 141. who contain under them three Archbishops, as a King containeth three Dukes under him. In the which number of Patriarchs cometh in the state of 142. Cardinals or Principals, so called, because as the Door turneth by his hinges, so the Universal Church ought to be ruled by them. 143. The next and highest Order above these is mine, which am Pope, differing in Power and Majority, and Honor reverential, from these and all other degrees of Men.

144. *Ex* 3. *parte Summe majoris b.* [illegible]
145. Pope *Innocent* 3. *De sacra unctione Qui venisset.*

144. For the better declaration whereof, my Canonists make three kinds of power in Earth; *Immediata*, which is mine immediately from God; *Derivata*, which belongeth to other Inferior Prelates from me; 145. *Ministralis*, belonging to Emperors and Princes to Minister for me. For the which cause the annointing of Princes, and my consecration doth differ; for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in the head, to signifie the difference of Power betwixt Princes and me.

146. P. *Nicholas Dist.* 22. *c. Omnes.*
147. P. *Clement dist.* 80. *c. In illis.*
148. P. *Anacletus dist.* 22. *c. Sacrosancta.*

146. This Order therefore of Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs and other, as a thing most convenient, my Church of *Rome* hath set and instituted through all Churches, following therein not only the example of the Angelical Army in Heaven, but also of the Apostles. 147. For amongst them also there was not an uniform equality or institution of one degree, 148. but a diversity or distinction of Authority

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and Power. Albeit they were all Apoſtles together, yet it was granted notwithſtanding to *Peter* (themſelves alſo agreeing to the ſame) that he ſhould bear Dominion and Superiority over all the other Apoſtles; 149. And therefore he had his name given him *Cephas*, that is, head or beginning of the Apoſtlehood. 150. Whereupon the Order of Prieſthood firſt in the *New Teſtament* began in *Peter*, to whom it was ſaid, Thou art *Peter*, and upon thee I will build my Church; 151. And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; And thou being converted confirm thy Brethren, 152. I have prayed for thee that thy faith ſhall not fail. Wherefore ſeeing ſuch power is given to *Peter*, 153. and to me in *Peter*, being his ſucceſſor, 154. who is he then in all the World that ought not to be ſubject to my Decrees which have ſuch Power in Heaven, in Hell, in Earth, with the quick and alſo the dead? 155. Commanding and granting in my Bull of Lead ſent to *Vienna* unto all ſuch as died in their Peregrination to *Rome*, that the pain of Hell ſhould not touch them: And alſo that all ſuch as took the holy Croſs upon them, ſhould every one at his requeſt, not only be delivered himſelf, but alſo deliver three or four ſouls whomſoever he would, out of Purgatory: 156. Again, having ſuch promiſe and aſſurance that my faith ſhall not fail, who then will not believe my Doctrine? For did not Chriſt himſelf firſt pray for *Peter* that his faith ſhould not fail? 157. Alſo have I not a ſure promiſe of *Pauls* own mouth, writing to my Church by theſe words; *God is my witneſs whom I ſerve in my Spirit, in the Goſpel of his Son, that without ceaſing I make mention of you always in my Prayers? Rom.* 1. 158. Wherefore as I condemn all ſuch worthily which will not obey my Decrees, to be diſpoſſeſſed of all their honour without reſtitution: 159. So all they that believe not my Doctrine, or ſtand againſt the priviledge of the Church, eſpecially the Church of *Rome*, I pronounce them Hereticks: 160. And as the other before is to be called unjuſt, ſo this Man is to be called an Heretick: 161. For why? he goeth againſt the faith which goeth againſt her who is the Mother of Faith. 162. But here may riſe percaſe a doubt or ſcruple, that if my faith and knowledge ſtand ſo ſure by the promiſe of Chriſt, and by the continual Prayer of Saint *Paul*; whether is it true, or is it to be granted, that any other ſhould excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture? 163. For look whoſe knowledge is grounded on moſt reaſon, his words ſhould ſeem to be of more authority. 164. Whereunto I anſwer and grant, that many there be, and have been more abundantly indued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghoſt and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of *Auguſtine*, *Jerom* and others ought to be preferred before the conſtitutions of divers Popes; yet I ſay in determination of cauſes, becauſe they have not the vertue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they ſtand Inferior to my authority. By vertue of which authority, 165. both they themſelves be allowed for Doctors, and their Works approved, and alſo all other matters be ruled, through the Power of the Keys which is given to me immediately of Chriſt. Although I deny not but the ſame Keys be alſo committed to other Prelates, as they were to other Apoſtles beſides *Peter*, 166. yet it is one thing to have the Keys, another thing to have the uſe of the Keys. 167. Wherefore here is to be noted a diſtinction of Keys, after the mind of my ſchool Doctors; one Key which is called *Clavis ordinis*, having authority to bind and looſe, but not over the perſons whom they bind and looſe, and this authority they take not immediately of Chriſt, but mediately by me the Vicar of Chriſt. The other Key is called *Clavis juriſdictionis*, which I the Vicar of Chriſt take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and looſe, but alſo Dominion over them on whom this Key is exerciſed. By the juriſdiction of which Key the fulneſs of my Power is ſo great, that whereas all other are Subjects; 168. yea and Emperors themſelves ought to ſubdue their executions to me: Only I am ſubject to no Creature, 169. no not to my ſelf, except I liſt, *In foro pœnitentiæ*, to my ghoſtly Father ſubmitting my ſelf as a ſinner, but not as Pope. So that my papal Majeſty ever remaineth unpuniſhed; Superior to all Men, 170. whom all perſons ought to obey, 171. and follow, 172. whom no Man muſt judge nor accuſe of any Crime, either of Murder, Adultery, Simony, or ſuch like; 173. No man depoſe, but I my ſelf; 174. No man can Excommunicate me, yea though I Communicate with the Excommunicate, for no Canon bindeth me. Whom no Man muſt lie to, 175. For he that lieth to me is a Church Robber, 176. And who obeyeth not me is an Heretick, and an excommunicate Perſon. 177. For like as all the *Jews* were commanded to obey the High Prieſt of the Leviticall Order, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they were; ſo are all Chriſtian men more and leſs bound to obey me Chriſts Lieutenant in Earth. Concerning the obedience or diſobedience of whom ye have in *Deut.* 17. 178. Where the common *Gloſs* ſaith, That he who denieth to the High Prieſt *Obedientiam*, lieth under the Sentence and Condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his *Omnipotentiam*. Thus then it appeareth, that the greatneſs of my Prieſthood, 179. began in *Melchiſedech*, was ſolemnized in *Aaron*, continued in the Children of *Aaron*, perfectionated in Chriſt, repreſented in *Peter*, exalted in the Univerſal juriſdiction, and manifeſted in *Silveſter*, &c. So that through this *Preheminence* of my Prieſthood, having all things ſubject to me, 180. it may ſeem well verified in me that was ſpoken of Chriſt, *Pſalm* 8. *Omnia ſubjeciſti ſub pedibus ejus, Oves & Boves, & Univerſa pecora campi; Volucres cœli & piſces maris, &c.i. Thou haſt ſubdued all things under his Feet, Sheep and Oxen, and all Cattel of the Field, the Birds of Heaven, and Fiſh of the Sea*, &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by Oxen, Jews and Hereticks; by Cattel of the Field, *Pagans* be ſignified. For although as yet they be out of the uſe of my Keys of binding and looſing, yet they be not out of the juriſdiction of my Keys, but if they return I may abſolve them. 182. By Sheep and all Cattel, are meant all Chriſtian men both great and leſs, whether they be Emperors, Princes, Prelates, or other. By Birds of the Air you may underſtand the Angels and Poteſtates of Heaven, who be all ſubject to me, in that I am greater than the Angels; and that in four things, as is afore declared; and have power to bind and looſe in Heaven, 183. and to give Heaven to them that fight in my Wars. 184. Laſtly, by the Fiſhes of the Sea, are ſignified the ſouls departed in pain or in Purgatory, as *Gregory* by his Prayer delivered the ſoul of *Trajanus* out of Hell, and I have Power to deliver out of Purgatory whom I pleaſe. 185. Laſtly, by the Fiſhes of the Sea are ſignified ſuch as be in Purgatory; inſomuch that they ſtand in need and neceſſity of other Mens help, and yet be in their journey *Viatores*, & *de foro Papæ*. *i.* Paſſengers and belonging to the Court of the Pope; therefore they may be relieved out of the Storehouſe of the Church, by the participation of Indulgence. And foraſmuch as ſome do object that my Pardons cannot extend to them

149. *Ibidem. Quia vero Petrus non a Petra ſed Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κε-φαλῆς.*
150. *Diſt. 21. c. In nova.*
151. *Ibidem.*
152. *Diſt. 21. c. Decretis.*
153. *Pope Leo diſt. 19. c. Ita Dominus.*
154. *P. Nicholaus in canum, diſt. 20.*
155. *P. Clement in Bulla Viennæ in ſerminis privilegiorum.*
156. *Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.*
157. *Pope Anacletus diſt. 22. c. Sacroſancta.* Scripture well applyed and like a Clerk.
158. *Pope Damaſus 9. q. c. Omnia.* *Pope Gelaſ. Diſt. 19. Nulli.*
159. *P. Nicholaus Diſt. 22. Omnes.*
160. *Ibidem.*
161. *Ibidem.*
162. *Diſt. 20. Decretum.*
163. *Ibidem.*
164. *Ibidem.*
165. *Diſt. 19. Si Romanorum.*
166. *Gabriel Biel, lib. 4. Diſt. 19.*
167. *Petrus de Paluda.*
168. *Diſt. 95. cap. Imperator.*
169. *Gabriel. lib. Diſt. 19.*
170. *P. Nicholaus Diſt. c. Si Romanorum* *Gloſſa.*
171. *Item 24. q. 1. Hæreſi.*
172. *Diſt. 40. cap. Si Papa.*
173. *2. q. 7. Nos Si in Gloſſa.*
174. *Extravag. de elect. Innotuit.*
175. *De pœnitentia, diſt. 1. c. Serpens in Gloſſa.*
176. *Diſt. 19. c. Nulli.*
177. *Auguſt. de Ancho.*
178. *Gloſſa Ordinar.*
179. *Antonin vi.*
180. *Antoninus, Summa majoris 3. part. Diſt. 22.*
181. *Ibidem.*
182. *Ibidem.*
183. *23. q. c. Omnium.*
184. *Idem Antoninus, ibid.*
185. *Ibidem.*
*Antoninus Auguſt. de Ancho Th. Part. 4.*

that be departed, for that it was ſaid to *Peter*, Whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon Earth; and therefore ſeeing they are not upon Earth, they cannot be looſed of me: Here I anſwer again by my Doctors, that this word *Super terram, &c. i.* Upon the Earth, may be referred two manner of ways; Firſt to him that is the Looſer, ſo that he which ſhall looſe ſhall be upon the Earth; and ſo I grant that the Pope being dead, can looſe no Man. Alſo it may be referred to him that is looſed, ſo that whoſoever is looſed muſt be upon the Earth, or about the Earth; And ſo the ſouls in Purgatory may be looſed, which albeit they are not upon the Earth, yet they are about the Earth, at leaſt they be not in Heaven. And becauſe oftentimes one Queſtion may riſe upon another, and the heads of Men now adays are curious, a Man hearing now that I can deliver out of Purgatory, will ask here a queſtion, Whether I be able alſo to empty all Purgatory at once, or not? To whom my Canoniſt *Auguſt. de Ancho.* doth anſwer by a triple diſtinction: *Quantum ad abſolutam meam juriſdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem.* Firſt touching my abſolute juriſdiction, he ſaith, Iam able to rid out all Purgatory together, for as many as be under my juriſdiction, as all be, except only Infants unbaptiſed, *In Limbo*, and Men departed only, *Cum Baptiſmo flaminis*, That is, with the Baptiſm of the Spirit, and ſuch as have no Friends to do for them that wherefore pardons be given; theſe only excepted. For all other beſides, the Pope (he ſaith) hath Power to releaſe all Purgatory at once, as touching his abſolute juriſdiction. Albeit *Thomas Aquinas part* 4. denieth the ſame, forſomuch as Chriſt himſelf (he ſaith) when he came down, did not utterly at once releaſe all Purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the Divine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they ſay) is unknown unto them, and to every Creature, yea, and to the Pope himſelf.

*Auguſt. de Ancho. An Papa poſſit totum purgatorium expolare. Ibidem.*

*Abſoluta juriſdictio.* Doctors agree in Purgatory. *Auguſt. de Ancho. Antoninus.*

*Ordinata executio: Divina acceptatio.*

A *Antonin. in Summulis. Auguſtinus de Ancho. in Decre. Aſteſanus Midonita.*

B *Baptiſta de Salvin. ſua. Baptiſtimana. Bonaventura.*

C *Campenſis, lib. Contra verſiarum Cocleus.*

D *Durand. in ſpeculo. Dreido de eccle. Scripturis & dogmat.*

E *Edwardus Pevellus, Anglus contra Luther. Eckius in Enchir.*

F *Franciſcus Fulgo.*

G *Gabriel. Biel. Spica. Gaſpar. Gratianus in Decretis. Gerſon doctor illuminatiſſimus eccleſiaſtica poſtillate.*

And to the intent I would all Men to ſee and underſtand that I lack not witneſſes moe beſides theſe, if I liſt to bring them out, you ſhall hear the whole Quire of my divine Clergy brought out, with a full voice teſtifying in my behalf in their Books, Tractations, Diſtinctions, Titles, Gloſſes, and Summaries, as by their own words here followeth. The Pope (ſay they) being the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt through the whole World, in the ſtead of the living God, hath that Dominion and Lordſhip which Chriſt here in Earth would not have, although he had it in *habitu*, but gave it to *Peter* in *Actu*, that is, the Univerſal juriſdiction both of Spiritual things, and alſo of Temporal, which double juriſdiction was ſignified by the two ſwords in the Goſpel, and alſo by the offering of the wiſe men, who offered not only Incenſe, but alſo Gold, to ſignifie not only the ſpiritual Dominion, but alſo the Temporal to belong to Chriſt and to his Vicar. For as we read, *The Earth is the Lords and the fulneſs thereof*; as Chriſt ſaith, *All power is given to him both in Heaven and Earth:* So it is to be affirmed *Incluſive*, that the Vicar of Chriſt hath Power on things Celeſtial, Terreſtrial, and Infernal. Which he took immediately of Chriſt; all other take it immediately by *Peter* and the Pope. Wherefore ſuch as ſay that the Pope hath Dominion only on Spiritual things in the World, and not of Temporal, may be likned to the Counſellors of the Kings of *Syria*, 3 *Reg.* 20. which ſaid, *That the Gods of the Mountains be their Gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight againſt them in the low Meadows and in Vallies where they have no Power, and ſo we ſhall prevail over them.* So evil Counſellors now adaies, through their peſtiferous flattery, deceive Kings and Princes of the Earth; ſaying, Popes and Prelates be Gods of Mountains, that is, of Spiritual things only, but they be not Gods of Vallies, That is, they have no Dominion over Temporal things, and therefore let us fight with them in the Vallies, that is, in the Power of the Temporal poſſeſſions, and ſo we ſhall prevail over them. But what ſaith the Sentence of God to them, let us hear. Becauſe (ſaith he) the *Syrians* ſay that the God of Mountains is their God, and not the God of Vallies, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord. What can be more effectually ſpoken to ſet forth the Majeſty of my juriſdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord; of the Lord, I ſay, and of no Man? For whereas *Conſtantine* the Emperor gave to *Silveſter*, enduing him with this poſſeſſion and patrimony; that is ſo to be expounded and taken not ſo much for a donation, as to be counted for a reſtitution made of that which tyrannouſly was taken from him before. And again whereas I have given at ſundry times to *Ludovick* the other Emperors, of my Temporal lands and poſſeſſions, yet that was done not ſo much for any recogniſing of Homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to Emperors no due Obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me as to their Superior. And therefore for a diverſity betwixt their degree and mine, in their conſecration they take the Unction on their Arm, I on the Head. And as I am Superior to them, ſo am I Superior to all Laws, and free from all conſtitutions. Which am able of my ſelf, and by my interpretation to prefer equity not being written before the Law written; having all Laws within the cheſt of my Breſt, as is aforeſaid. And whatſoever this my See ſhall enact, approve or diſprove, all Men ought to approve or reprove the ſame, without either judging, diſputing, doubting or retracting. Such is the priviledge given of Chriſt, in the behalf of *Peter*, to the Church of *Rome*, 186. that what Country ſoever, Kingdom or Province, chuſing to themſelves Biſhops and Miniſters, although they agree with all other Chriſts faithful people in the name of Jeſus, that is, in Faith and Charity, believing in the ſame God, and in Chriſt His true Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, having alſo the ſame *Creed*; the ſame *Evangliſts* and Scriptures of the Apoſtles: yet notwithſtanding unleſs their Biſhops and Miniſters take their Origine and Ordination from this Apoſtolick Seat, they are to be counted not of the Church. So that ſucceſſion of Faith only is not ſufficient to make a Church, except the Miniſters take their Ordination by them which have their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles. So their Faith, Supremacy, the Chair of *Peter*, Keys of Heaven, power to bind and looſe, all theſe be inſeparable to the Church of *Rome*: ſo that it is to be preſumed, that God always providing, and Saint *Peter* helping the Biſhoprick and Dioceſs of *Rome*, it ſhall never fall from the Faith. And likewiſe it is to be preſumed and preſuppoſed that the Biſhop of that Church is good and always Holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be deſtitute of his own merits, yet the merits of Saint *Peter*, Predeceſſor of that place, be ſufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his poſterity, 178. yea, though he fall into Homicide or Adultery, he may ſin, but yet he

*Hugo Cardinalis in poſtilla. Hoſtienſis. Holbet. Moſius.*

H

{KING Hen. 7.}

I *Joanne. Antirea. Innocentius. Joan. de Turre Cre mata de eccleſia ſumma.*

L *Lanfrancus contra Wiclef. Litius Triſtanus Anglus. Lapus Florentinus.*

M *Magiſter ſententiarum.*

N *Nicolaus.*

O *Ockam in dialog. parte 1. lib. 1. Cap. 2.*

P *Petrus de Paluda Petrus de Thara Petrus de Alva Panormitanus. Alexander de Alen.*

R *Raymundus in ſumma de caſibus. Richardus. Rabanus Mar. cap. 16. Rupertus Juſtienſis.*

S *Scotus doctor ſubtilis.*

T *Thomas Aquin.*

V *Tricus*

W *Waldenus confeſſion. & de Sacramentis.*

C

186. *Joan Driedo. De dogmatibus variis, l. 4.*

188. *Hugo in gloſſa dist. 40. Non Not.*

KING Hen. 7.

he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the Murthers of *Sampson*, the Thefts of the *Hebrews*, the Adultery of *Jacob*, 188. And likewise, if any of his Clergy should be found embracing a Woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her. Furthermore, the Pope (say they) hath all the Dignities, and all Power of all Patriarchs. In his Primacy, he is *Abel*; In Government, the Ark of *Noah*; In Patriarchdom, *Abraham*; In Order, *Melchisedec*; In Dignity, *Aaron*; In Authority, *Moses*; In Seat-Judicial, *Samuel*; In Zeal, *Helias*, In Meekness, *David*; In Power, *Peter*; In Unction, Christ. (Nay, thou art *Antichrist*) My Power (they say) is greater than all the Saints. For whom I Confirm, no man may Infirm: I may favour and spare whom I please, 189. to take from one and to give to another. And if I be an Enemy to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them so to do. All the Earth is my Diocess, and I the Ordinary of all men, having the Authority of the King of all Kings upon Subjects. I am all in all, and above all, 190. so that God Himself and I the Vicar of God have both one Consistory, 191. and I am able to do almost all that God can do, *Clave non errante*. 192. *Item*, It is said of me, that I have an heavenly Arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, *Substantialia unius applicando alteri*, and of nothing to make things to be; and of a Sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect; In all things that I list, my will to stand for reason. For I am able by the Law to dispense above the Law, and of Wrong to make Justice, in correcting Laws and changing them. You have heard hitherto sufficiently out of my Doctors. Now you shall hear greater things out of mine own Decrees, 193. Read there *Dist.* 96. *Satis*. 194. Also 12. *Caus.* 11. *q.* 1. *cap. Sacerdotibus*. 195. Also 12. *q.* 1. *cap. Futuram*. Do you not find there expressed, how *Constantinus* the Emperor, sitting in the General Council of *Nice*, called us Prelates of the Church, all gods? 196. Again, read my Canon, *Decretal. De transl. Episc. cap. Quanto*. Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how not Man, but God alone separateth that which the Bishop of *Rome* doth dissolve and separate? Wherefore if those things that I do be said to be done not of man, but of God; What can you make me but God? Again, if Prelates of the Church be called and counted of *Constantinus* for gods, I then being above all Prelates seem by this reason to be above all gods. Wherefore no marvel, if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate Laws, to dispense with all things, yea with the Precepts of Christ. For where Christ biddeth *Peter* put up his Sword, monished his Disciples not to use any outward force in revenging themselves, 197. Do not I P. *Nicolaus*, writing to the Bishops of *France*, exhort them to draw out their material Swords in pursuing their Enemies, and recovering their Possessions, setting against the Precept of Christ, the Prophet saying, *Dissolve colligationes impietatis, &c. Item*, where Christ was present himself at the marriage in *Cana Galilea*, 198. Do not I Pope *Martinus* in my distinction inhibit the Spiritual Clergy to be present at Marriage-Feasts, and also to marry themselves? *Item*, where Matrimony by Christ cannot be loosed but only for Whoredom, 199. Do not I Pope *Gregorius Junior* writing *ad Bonifacium* permit the same to be broken for impotency or infirmity of body? 200. *Item*, against the express caution of the Gospel, doth not *Innocentius* the Fourth permit *vim vi repellere*? 201. Likewise against the *Old Testament* I do dispense in not giving Tythes. 202. *Item*, against the *New Testament* in swearing, and that in these six causes, 203. *Pax, fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni Defectus veri, poscunt sibi magna caveri.*

188. *Gloss. in caus.* 12. *q.* 3. *cap. Absit.*
189. *Gloss. in c.* 11. *q.* 3. *Si inimicus.*
190. *Hostiensis in c. Quanto de transl. præb.*
191. *Ex summa casuum fratris Baptistæ.*
192. *Ex Citatione* Henr. Bulling. *de fine Seculi. Orat. Prima.*
*Item, Excitatione* Jacobi Andreæ, *adversus Hossum, lib.* 5. *Item, excitatione* Jer. Marii *in actis*, 2. *Dei.*
193. Pope *Nicolaus Dist.* 96. *c. Satis.*
194. 11. *q.* 11. *Sacerdotibus.*
195. 12. *q.* 1. *futuram.*
196. *Decretal. De Transl. Episc. cap. Quanto.*
Thus you may see it verified, that S. *Paul* prophesieth of the Adversary sitting in the Temple as God, and boasting himself above all that is named God, &c. 2 *Thess.* 2.
197. Pope *Nicolaus Causa* 15. *q.* 6. *c. Authoritatem.*
198. Pope *Martin Dist.* 14. *c. Lector.*
199. Pope *Greg. Junior* 32. *q.* 7. *c. Quod proposuisti.*
200. Pope *Innocent.* Sext. *Decret. de sententia excom. c. Dilecto.*
201. Pope *Alexander* 3. *De decimis, c. Ex parte.*
202. [illegible] 5. *q.* 6. [illegible] 2 3. *D* [illegible] *Significasti in Glossa.*

Wherein two kinds of Oaths are to be noted. Whereof some be *Promissoria*, some be *Assertoria, &c.* 204. *Item*, in Vows, and that *ex toto voto*, whereas other Prelates cannot dispense *ex toto a voto*, I can deliver *ex toto a voto*, like God himself. 205. *Item*, in perjury if I absolve, my Absolution standeth. 206. Where also note, that in all swearing always the authority of the Superior is excepted. 207. Moreover, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gain, do not I Pope *Martinus* give Dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the Council of *Thuron* enacted the contrary, yet with two Bulls I disannulled that decreement. 208. What should I speak of Murder, making it no Murder nor Homicide to slay them that be Excommunicate? 209. Likewise against the law of Nature, 210. *Item*, against the Apostle. 211. Also against the Canons of the Apostles I can and do dispense. For where they in their Canon command a Priest for Fornication to be deposed, I through the authority of *Silvester* do alter the rigour of that Constitution, 212. considering the minds and bodies also of men now to be weaker than they were then. 213. Briefly, against the universal state of the Church I have dispensation, *scilicet quando status Ecclesiæ non decoloratur*. And for Marriage in the second degree of Consanguinity and Affinity, *In collateralibus æquali linea*; that is, between the Brethrens Children, although not *inæquali linea*, so that the Uncle may not marry his Neece, unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such Contracts betwixt party and party, where that Matrimony is not yet consummate by carnal Copulation, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withall. *In summa*, if ye list briefly to hear the whole number of all such cases as properly do appertain to my Papal Dispensation, which come to the number of one and fifty Points, that no man may meddle withall but only I my self alone, I will recite them first in *Latin*, then in *English*, as they be set forth in my Canonical Doctors.

204. *Baptista de Salis in Summa casuum ex Panormitano.*
205. Pope *Inno.* 4. *De elect. Venerabilem.*
206. *Ext. De Jurejurando cap. Venientes. Item Dist. De Elect. Significasti in Glossa.*
207. Pope *Martinus* 5. *Extra, c. Regimini Universalis Ecclesiæ.*
208. Pope *Urbanus* 2. *Caus.* 23 *q.* 3. *c. Excommunicatorum.*
209. Pope *Nicolaus caus.* 15. *q.* 6. *Autoritatem.*
210. *Ibidem.*
211. *Dist.* 82. 1. *Presbyter.*
212. Pope *Pelagius dist.* 34. *cap. Fraternitatis.*
213. *Baptista de Salis, fol.*
214. *Ibidem.*

Casus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Astesanum de *Ast*. Doctorem solemnem in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, De offic. legat. repeti & his versibus comprehensi.

*Si sit Catholicus, Papam non judicat ullus.*
*Erigit & subdit Cathedras; Dividit, Unit,*
i. Votum terræ sanctæ, i. degradatos, i. Episcopos & alios.
*Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se*
*Majores causæ referuntur. Legitimatque,*
i. Insufficientes. i. Intrantes religionem.
*Promovet, Appellare vetat, Probibet profiteri.*
i. Defectum Regi vacante Regno.
*Deponit, transfert, suppletque Renunciat illi,*
Symonia, juramentum Excommunicatio à Papa facta,
*Præsul, & exmptus. Simon, Jurans, Anathema,*
tam Papa quam legati.
*Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex utriusque.*
i. Solvitur Papa.
*Tum neque participans: Et si quem sponte salutat,*
*Quem Canon damnat, sibi soli quando reservat,*
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
*Solvitur a Papa nec non quem regula damnat.*
scilicet addas.
*Addas suspensum, Causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.*
i. Addas. i. Pluralitatem beneficiorum.
*Rescriptum, fidei dubium: Confert bona plura.*
*Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.*
i. Imperatorem
*Approbat Imperium, firmat, deponit, & ungit.*
canonizat;

Concilium

*Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque ſanctos.*
de aliquo facit nihil — de nihilo aliquid.
*Ens non eſſe facit: non ens, fore. Pallia ſemper.*
*Portat, Concedit, Legi non ſubjacet ulli.*
I. Immediate.
*Appellatur ad hunc medio ſine, Judiciumque*
De Monacho non Monachum facit.
*Eſt pro lege ſuum. Monachum revocat renuentem.*
I. Inceſtum, &c.
*Majus adulterio ſolvit generaliter, Arctat*
I. Impedimentum matrimoniale.
*Et laxat quiquid ſponſis nocet. Ordinat extra*
I. Extra 4. tempora.
*Tempora dando ſacrum promotum promovet idem.*
*Ordinat atque die qua conſecratur & ipſe.*
I. Sacerdotium confert nondum vacans.
*Viventiſque locum concedit, Jureque privat.*
Inſignia Epiſcopalia concedit. I. decimis. I. Presbytero concedit infantes ungere.
*Inſignit. Laico ſacro donat; Chriſma miniſtro.*
*Summa ſede ſedet, plenuſque vicarius exat.*
*Si ſit Catholicus Papam non judicat ullus.*

## *Caſes Papal, to the number of one and fifty, wherein the Pope hath Power only to diſpenſe, and none elſe beſides, except by ſpecial Licence from him.*

24. q. 1. Quæſtes. First determination of doubts and queſtions belonging to Faith.

Extr. de tranſl. c. Inter. Tranſlation of a Biſhop, elect or confirmed: Likewiſe of Abbots exempted.

Depoſition of Biſhops.

The taking of reſignation of Biſhops.

Exemptions of Biſhops, not to be under Archbiſhops.

3. q. 6. Quamvis, 9. q. 3. Denique, 16. q. 1. Frater. 2. q. 6. Ideo. Reſtitution of ſuch as be depoſed from their Order.

The judicial definition, or interpretation of his own Priviledges.

Extr. de reſt. ea. cum veniſſ. 7. q. 1. temporis. 16. q. 1. Felix. 36. q. 1. Et Chriſt Extr. de voto, Et multa. Extr. de ſtatu Monachi c. cum. ad. Changing of Biſhopricks, or dimiſſion of Covents, &c. New correction of Biſhops Seats, or inſtitution of new Religions.

Subjection or diviſion of one Biſhoprick under another.

Diſpenſation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.

Diſpenſation for the vow of Chaſtity, or of Religion, or of holy Orders.

Diſpenſation againſt a lawful Oath, or vow made.

Extr. de juramento c. Veniantes. Extr. de judiciis, c. Aoſt clericis. Extr. de Bigamia, cap. nuper. Extr. de clerico non ord. miniſtrante. Diſpenſation againſt divers Irregularities, as in crimes greater than Adultery, and in ſuch as be ſuſpended for Simony.

Diſpenſation in receiving into Orders him that had two Wives.

Diſpenſing with ſuch as being within Orders do that which is above their Order, as if a Deacon ſhould ſay Maſs, being not yet Prieſt.

Extr. de corpore vitiatis & di. 55. To receive into Order ſuch as be blemiſhed or maimed in body.

Diſt. 50. Mixti. Diſpenſation with murther, or with ſuch as willingly cut off any member of mans body.

Extr. de ſententia & excom. c. cum eſſectum. Diſpenſation to give Orders to ſuch as have been under the ſentence of the greater Curſe or Excommunication.

Ibidem. Diſpenſation with ſuch as being ſuſpended with the greater Curſe do miniſter in any holy Order.

Extr. de filiis Presbyt. c. Is qui. Diſpenſation with ſuch as be unlawfully born to receive Orders or Benefices.

Diſpenſation for pluralities of Benefices.

Extr. de Preben. cap. de multa. Diſpenſation to make a man Biſhop before he be thirty years old.

Extr. de elect. cap. Cum nobis. Extr. de ætate & qualit. generalem. Diſpenſation to give Orders under age.

Diſt. 5 per tot. 9. q. 3. Per principale. De elect. cap. Venerabilem. The Pope only hath Power to make and call a General-Council.

Extr. de officio legati, c. Quemnis. 9. q. 3 Aliorum. Extr. de Templi ordine cap. Cum in diſtrib. The Pope only hath Power to deprive an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, and give away his Benefice being not vacant.

The Pope alone is able to abſolve him that is excommunicate by name.

The Pope only is able to abſolve him whom his Legate doth excommunicate.

The Pope both judgeth in the cauſes of them that Appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may Appeal from him. { KING Hen. 7. }

Only he hath Authority to make Deacon and Prieſt, whom he made Subdeacon, either upon *Sundays*, or upon other Feaſts.

Only the Pope, and none elſe, at all times, and in all places, weareth the Pall. Ext. de uſu Pallii, cap. ad honoren. Extr. de elect. Cum Marthan.

The Pope only diſpenſeth with a man, either being not within Orders, or being unworthy to be made Biſhop.

He only either confirmeth or depoſeth the Emperor when he is choſen. Extr. de elect. cap. Venerabilem.

A man being Excommunicate, and his Abſolution reſerved to the Pope, none may abſolve that man but the Pope alone. Tractatu. de cenſuris.

The ſame hath authority in any Election, before it be made, to pronounce it one, when it is made. Extr. de elect. cap. Ignotum.

He doth Canonize Saints, and none elſe but he. Extr. de religione & veneratione Sanct. c. 1.

Diſpenſation to have many Dignities and Perſonages in one Church, and without charge, and cure of Soul, belongeth only to the Pope. Extr. de Prebend. cap. de multa.

To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwiſe, belongeth only to the Pope. Extr. Qui ſpoſint. cap. Tanta. 9. q. 3. c. Ultima. Extr. de ſentent. & re judic. cap. in cauſis. Extr. de elect. cap. Quod ſcut.

To pluck a Monk out of his Cloyſter both againſt his own will and the Abbots, pertaineth only to the Pope. Extr. degeſtit. ſpo. Literas. Extr. de præſcript. cap. vtt. & de judicio cap. Novit.

His Sentence maketh a Law.

The ſame day in which the Pope is conſecrate, he may give Orders.

He diſpenſeth in degrees in Conſanguinity and Affinity. Thomas.

He is able to aboliſh Laws, *quoad utrumque forum*; that is, both Civil and Canon, where danger is of the Soul.

It is in his Diſpenſation to give general Indulgences to certain places or perſons. Extr. Qui ſi ſint legiti. c. per venerabilem. Petrus de Palude, lib. 4

*Item*, To legitimate what perſons ſoever he pleaſe, as touching Spiritualties; in all places, as touching Temporalties, as Honors, Inheritance, &c.

To erect new Religions, to approve or reprove Rules or Ordinances, and Ceremonies in the Church.

He is able to diſpenſe with all the Precepts and Statutes of the Church. Secundum Thomam in 4. 7. q. 3. Per principale. Diſt. 50. Si Papa.

*Item*, To diſpenſe and to diſcharge any Subject from the bond of Allegiance, or Oath made to any manner of perſon.

No man may accuſe him of any Crime, except of Hereſie, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.

The ſame is alſo free from all Laws, ſo that he cannot incur into any ſentence of Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but in the note of crime he may well. Ibidem.

Finally, he by his diſpenſation may grant, yea, to a ſimple Prieſt, to miniſter the Sacrament of Confirmation to Infants; alſo to give lower Orders, and to hallow Churches and Virgins, &c. Diſt. 32. præter hæc Verum.

Theſe be the caſes wherein I only have power to diſpenſe, and no man elſe, neither Biſhop, nor Metropolitan, nor Legate, without a licence from me.

The riches and poſſeſſions of the Pope.

After that I have now ſufficiently declared my Power on Earth, in Heaven, and in Purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulneſs thereof, in binding, looſing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, depoſing, diſpenſing, doing and undoing, &c. I will entreat now a little of my Riches likewiſe, and great Poſſeſſions, that every man may ſee by my wealth and abundance of all things, Rents, Tythes, Tributes, my Silks, my purple Maſters, Crowns, Gold, Silver, Pearls and Gems, Lands and Lordſhips, how God here proſpereth and magnifieth his Vicar on the Earth. For to me pertaineth firſt the Imperial City of *Rome*; the Palace of *Lateran*, the Kingdom of *Cicily* is proper to me, *Apulia* and *Capua* be mine. Alſo the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, be they not, or ought they not to be

Tributaries

KING Hen. 7.

Tributaries to me? 214. To theſe I adjoyn alſo, beſides other Provinces and Countries, both in the Occident and Orient, from the *North* to the *South*, theſe Dominions by name, 215. as *Surrianum, Montembordon, & Lunæ inſulam, Corſicæ Regnum, Parvam Mantuam, Montemſelete, Inſulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Hiſtriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennæ, Faventiam, Ceſenam, Caſtrum, Tiberiatus Roccam Mediolanum, Caſtrum Ceperranum, Caſtrum Cuſianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capiniæ ſeu Olympicum, Caſtrum exforii Robin, Eugubin, Urbin, forum Sempronii, Calli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Coſam, Ducatum Peruſii, Urbenetam, & Tudertum, Caſtrum, Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Selernum, Sorenti inſulam, Cardinam inſulam, Anciæ inſulam, Territorium Cutiſan, Territorium Preneſtinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Cluſium, Terram Tundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianen, Terram Carriſinum, Terram Fabinenſem, Terram Siram, Terram portuenſem, cum inſula Archis, Terram Oſtienſem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinenſem, Civitatem Larmentum, & Suffonariam, Civitatem Faliſenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Citernam, Neapolim, Galiopolim*, with divers other more, 216. which *Conſtantinus* the Emperor gave unto me, not that they were not mine before he did give them. 217. For in that I took them of him, I took them not as a gift (as is afore-mentioned) but as a reſtitution. And that I rendred them again to *Otho*, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace ſake. What ſhould I ſpeak here of my daily Revenues, of my Firſt-fuits, Annats, Palls, Indulgences, Bulls, Confeſſionals, Indults and Reſcripts, Teſtaments, Diſpenſations, Priviledges, Elections, Prebends, religious Houſes, and ſuch like, which come to no ſmall maſs of money? Inſomuch, that for one Pall to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, which was wont to be given for ten thouſand 218. *Florens*, now it is grown to twenty ſeven thouſand *Florens*, which I received of *Jacobus* the Archbiſhop, not long before *Baſil* Council: Beſides the Fruits of other Biſhopricks in *Germany*, coming to the number of fifty, whereby what vantage cometh unto my Coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what ſhould I ſpeak of *Germany*, 219. when the whole World is my Dioceſs, as my Canoniſts do ſay, and all men are bound to believe, 220. except they will imagine (as the *Manichees* do) two beginnings, which is falſe and heretical? For *Moſes* ſaith, *In the beginning God made heaven and earth*, and not in the beginnings. 221. Wherefore as I begun, ſo I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to ſtand upon neceſſity of Salvation, for every humane Creature to be ſubject to me.

214. *Diſt. 90. Conſtantinus.*

215. *Ex Commentariis Theoderici Nichmi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo teſtium, fol. 228.*

216. *Diſt. 96. Conſtantinus.*

217. *Antoninus. In Summa majore 3. part.*

218. *Ex libr. Gravaminum nationis Germanicæ.* Above fifty Biſhopricks in *Germany*. *Æneas Sylvius.*

219. *Sent. decret. De penis cap. Felicis in Gloſſa. Item de privilegiis, c. Autoritatem in Gloſſa.*

220. Pope *Bonifacius* 8. *Extr. de Majo. & obed. ca Unamſanctam.*

221. *Ibidem.*

The End of the Firſt Volume of the Book of Martyrs.

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